

REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 26, 1884,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1883—1884.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXVI.

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May 24, 1886.

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REPORT

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Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

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MAY 26, 1884.

WITH APPENDIX.



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REPORT.

IN presenting their Forty-fourth Annual Report, the Council have to congratulate the Society upon what may be regarded as an important step in the advancement of antiquarian studies in Cambridge. The collections of the Society have recently been accepted by the University with the promise that they should be adequately housed and arranged—a promise which has now been fully realized by the assignment of a considerable portion of the new Museum of Archaeology and the appointment of BARON ANATOLE VON HÜGEL as Curator (*University Reporter* for 1883, p. 239). Until the arrangement of the Museum is completed, it cannot be open for more than two hours daily to the public, but it has been especially provided that members of the Society shall have access to it at all reasonable hours.

The first of a series of exhibitions of portraits lent by the University and the Colleges is being now held in the north gallery of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which has been put at the disposal of the Society by Grace of the Senate (see *Reporter*

for 1883—84, p. 544. 4), at the kind suggestion of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate. A provisional catalogue of the pictures has been prepared and printed.

We have had two losses from death, and twelve members have retired; but forty-seven have been added to our roll, which now contains 304 members.

One Octavo Publication¹, the *Life of Caleb Parnham, Fellow of S. John's College, 1716—1737*, and No. XXIV of our *Reports and Communications* have been issued. No. XXV is nearly ready; No. XXVI, as well as several illustrated works upon the topography of the County and other branches of archaeology are in preparation.

Two excursions have been made, to Thetford last August and to Ely in October; on each occasion papers of permanent interest were read and the Society was most hospitably entertained by our members resident in the locality.

Four Societies have been added to the list of Societies in correspondence for the exchange of publications:

The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
(January 28, 1884).

The Surrey Archaeological Society (February 18, 1884).

The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History
Society (May 12, 1884).

Der Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertums-
kunde (May 12, 1884).

¹ There is a misprint on the title page of this book; "Ufford-cum-Bainton, Yorkshire" should be "Ufford-cum-Bainton, Northamptonshire".

APPENDIX.

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1884.

October 22, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.)
in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

- Rev. R. Black, 3 Mortimer Road.
- J. B. Bradbury, Esq., M.D.; Caius College.
- W. O. Hewlett, Esq., 2 Raymond Buildings, W.C.
- A. Jones, Esq., Trumpington House.
- G. M. Sayle, Esq., Southery House.
- Rev. J. D. Williams, M.A., Bottisham Vicarage.

Mr RIDGEWAY exhibited two Roman coins lately found in Cottenham Fen—a *middle brass* of Trajan and a *denarius* of Alexander Severus, *rev.* SPES · PVBLICA Hope advancing to left and holding the flower of immortality : also an unpublished Ely copper token, WILLIAM · GOTOBED. 1662 ELEY : on a shield ermine three Ely crowns in chief.

Mr LEWIS exhibited a plated *denarius* of Trajan (cos. VI. = 112 A.D.) found last July near the surface in a field opposite to Cavendish College ; and also nine fragments of pre-historic Mexican pottery from Southern Utah, presented by Mr E. A. Barber, of Philadelphia.

The PRESIDENT then delivered the following address :

“In taking the chair for the first time as President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, I will crave your indulgence while I say a few words on one or two subjects of special interest to the Society at the present time.

Before entering upon them, however, I must thank you for your kindness in placing me in the responsible office of President. It is almost a waste of words to say that your selection of myself was most gratifying to me; for it shewed me that the body in this University which is most capable of forming a judgment upon antiquarian subjects did not regard me as such a trespasser upon ground where I had no business, as I was disposed to regard myself. In these days, when knowledge is so highly specialised, anybody who enters upon a new field of research late in life, and even then can devote only a small portion of his time to it, labours under very great disadvantages. My own special devotion to antiquarian research dates only from the period when it was forced upon me by the accident of inheriting the MS. of the work on the Architectural History of this University to which my uncle the late Professor Willis had devoted, first and last, some twenty years of his life, and to which it seems not improbable that I shall devote an equal number; and if that work (*a damnosa hereditas* as I am sometimes disposed to regard it) should ever see the light, it will be through the kind and energetic help which I have received from several members of this Society, and especially from one of our former Presidents, Mr Bradshaw. On the other hand the list of those who have preceded me in this office made me extremely diffident in venturing to succeed them. They have all been distinguished in special studies directly connected with the work of the Society. Our late President, whose severe illness must cause, I am sure, the greatest grief not only to us, but to the whole University, was widely known for his researches on the topography of Rome; and his predecessor, Professor Hughes, brought his geological acquirements to the elucidation of pre-historic and early historic periods, with a success which those who have attended our late meetings can appreciate in part, and which I hope will shortly be made known to the general public in the new Museum. It is not too much to say that he has brought to our knowledge a new department of our local antiquities; which, if we only exercise proper care and watchfulness, may be developed to an almost indefinite extent. With these two immediate predecessors, and with so many distinguished persons in the Society any one of whom would, I feel sure, have made a better President than myself, I might have hesitated before I accepted the very flattering offer of the Council of the Society, had it not been for one consideration. As I have spent rather more than twenty years of my life as Superintendent of a Museum, I thought that I might be of special use to the Society at a time when there is a reasonable prospect of seeing displayed in suitable rooms the collections which have been gradually accumulated since the first establishment of the Society in 1839. Negotiations are now in progress between the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate and ourselves, the object of which is to transfer our collections to the University, on the condition of rooms being assigned to them, and a specially qualified Curator appointed to take charge of them. If these

negotiations be carried to a successful issue, and if the University accept the joint proposal that will probably be made to it in the course of the present Term, a most important step will have been taken for the preservation and illustration of our local antiquities. You will remember that the first Law of the Society used to be "that the Society be for the encouragement of the study of the History and Antiquities of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge;" and though that Law has since been widened, the claims of our own immediate neighbourhood are still tacitly recognised as of primary importance; and I look forward to the time when the Antiquarian Museum will be accepted by those bodies as the natural home of all the antiquities which may be discovered, or which at present are lying hid in private collections. In Denmark there is a law that every antiquarian object, as soon as found, must be offered to the Government, who, if they care to possess it, give a fair price for it; and I hope that an unwritten enactment of a similar character may be sanctioned by custom here. The ridicule which used to be cast upon antiquarian research has now, I am glad to say, become a thing of the past; and it is allowed on all sides that fragments of pottery, worked flints, and ancient weapons are as indispensable to students of history, as the bones of extinct animals are to those who would understand the sequence of life on the globe. Those who have read Sir John Lubbock's fascinating work—"Prehistoric Times"—will remember the way in which he elucidates the use to which such objects as, for example, worked flints, were put by our forefathers, by comparison with the tools and weapons still employed by existing savage races. As these races are rapidly diminishing in number, or, through intercourse with white men, giving up their ancestral customs, it is important to form collections of their arms and implements without loss of time. Two such collections, of great extent and value, formed in Fiji and the South Sea generally, have lately been deposited in my charge by the Hon. Sir A. Gordon, M.A., of Trinity College, and A. P. Maudslay, M.A., of Trinity Hall, and will not improbably be increased by a third. These I propose to entrust to the safe keeping of the Society in the new rooms, where they will be joined by a collection of objects from the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, presented by our Secretary. These collections—which will no doubt attract donations of a similar character—will form no inconsiderable portion of the Antiquarian Museum; and will serve as the nucleus of a collection specially illustrating the Natural History of Man, for which the University already possesses a rich store of material in the great series of crania formed by the late Dr Thurnam, and presented to the University some years ago by Professor Humphry. This series is displayed for the present in the Museum of Human Anatomy, and I am sometimes tempted to regret that the Society is about to move to a somewhat distant home; for it would have been desirable in my opinion, to keep all the collections which illustrate parts of the same subject either in the same Museum, or at least in adjoining

buildings; and if a Professor or Reader in the now popular science of Anthropology should eventually be appointed, it is from these collections that he will look for illustrations of his lectures.

I am glad to be able to congratulate the Society on the continued increase in the number of members, due in great measure to the zeal of our Secretary, and also, I feel sure, to the interest of our meetings, and the value of our publications. These, as you are aware, are divided into *Communications*; and *Octavo Publications*. The latter are of a somewhat miscellaneous character, consisting partly of original essays, partly of editions of works which had previously existed in manuscript only. Of works which fall under the later category, and directly illustrate the History of the University and Town, there are still a great number, which it is hardly creditable, in these days of historical research, to leave much longer unprinted. For instance, if the early Grace-Books and Account-books of the University, and the Accounts of King's Hall, were carefully printed, after the manner of the series published under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, a flood of light would be thrown upon the early-history of the University. Until the end of the seventeenth century it was the custom to enter accounts in detail, instead of in gross; and therefore Account-books are the most certain sources of knowledge of the manners and customs of early times. I may also mention that Dr Caius' Annals of his own College have never been printed; nor does there exist any special collection of the Wills of the Founders and Benefactors, and of the Members of the University in general. Without these original sources of information however, the history of University Institutions, and the accurate dates of special foundations, must remain in those regions of fable which are governed by tradition. I am aware that the publication of such a series as I should like to see issued would involve great labour, and great expense; but I am sanguine enough to hope that if a definite announcement were made by this Society that they were about to commence a special series of editions of works such as those I have mentioned, a large number of additional members would be at once obtained, and that many competent persons would offer their services as editors. These are, however, merely suggestions for future action which I respectfully submit to your consideration. I feel that I have already trespassed too long upon your forbearance, and am detaining you from the proper business of the evening."

The Rev. G. F. BROWNE, who described last year a number of the more famous of the sculptured stones in the north of England, proceeded to describe "some sculptured stones of Anglian character in Lothian (Abercorn, Morham, &c.), and some recently discovered sculptured stones in Durham and Yorkshire (Auckland, Cawthorne, Chester-le-Street, Filey, Gilling, Kirk-Levington, Northallerton, Ripon, Whitby, York, &c.)." His remarks were illustrated by a large number of outlined rubbings of the stone crosses

and other objects to which he alluded. He began with the stones in Lothian, because he believed it could be shewn that a certain character was impressed upon the best stones from the Forth to the Humber. And if that was so, it pointed to the conclusion that that character was impressed upon them at a time when the whole of that territory was one, ecclesiastically and politically. The stones in Scotland south of the Forth differed entirely from those north of the river, of which latter Mr Browne shewed very fine specimens from Pitfour and Dunfallandy. The stones north of the Forth were for the most part flat stones, with crosses and figures sculptured on them. The stones south of the Forth were entirely of the nature of pillar stones, with the four sides sculptured. With regard to ornamentation, the characteristic difference was that the finest stones from the Forth to the Humber bore upon them scrolls, of very great grace and beauty; while among the whole of the stones in the Pictish parts of Scotland there was only one instance of a decided scroll of the classical character, and that stone, curiously enough, was the only one in those parts which bore an inscription, in Roman minuscules. The time when the whole of the district was under one management, politically and ecclesiastically, was very well defined, and the dates of such monuments as were dated brought them to the earlier part of that period. The pillar at Bewcastle had beautiful scrolls on it, and it bore runes declaring that it was set up in memory of Alchfrid, who died in 664. But a case where perhaps the date was more clear was found at Hackness. He shewed rubbings of the various sides of the Hackness fragment, bearing scrolls of much beauty; also one of the numerous inscriptions on the stone, which were in Roman letters and in Anglian runes and in tree runes, shewing that Oedilburga was the person whom the stone commemorated. She was abbess of Hackness at King Aldfrid's death in 705. Mr Browne shewed other examples of these very graceful scrolls, on stones at York, Northallerton, and elsewhere. After shewing the various faces of the beautiful stone at Abercorn, the edges and back bearing scrolls of much elegance, he shewed the four faces of another stone in Lothian, of which two of the sides bore panels all but identical with panels in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells, while the other sides bore scrolls of very remarkable beauty. He shewed also an elegant scroll from a stone at Morham, near Haddington, and mentioned several other like stones in Lothian. Proceeding to Chester-le-Street he shewed a number of stones found this year. One was a shaft, bearing a man on horseback—a most unusual feature on an English stone—with two dragons bearing down upon him from above, and on them was inscribed, in Roman and Runic characters mixed, the word EADMVND. Edmund accompanied his brother Athelstane to Chester-le-Street, on his way to repel an inroad from the north, and on that occasion Athelstane made very rich offerings at the shrine of St Cuthbert. The other stones found were portions of the largest socket stones in which the shafts of the crosses had

been placed. They were sculptured on all sides with subjects. One of those subjects was a figure trampling on a dragon, with a figure on either side having a head not human. Mr Browne shewed a number of rubbings from stones of pairs of figures of this description; with heads one of which might be that of a fox and the other a cock. He thought they were not the heads of evangelists, but he shewed from the Ilkley stones beautifully wrought representations of the evangelists carrying books, the head of each surrounded by a glory, the heads themselves being those of a man, a leopard, a calf, and an eagle. Mr Browne shewed illustrations of the pair of figures from Gilling, Ilkley, and Kirk-Levington, from which last place he shewed rubbings of a large number of rude but interesting fragments found in the recent restoration of the church. He shewed a stone at Bishop Auckland bearing a continuous scroll, in the members of which were birds and animals feeding on fruit, and he pointed out various stages in the decadence of these scrolls. The first idea was that developed at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, the Christian tree of life in which birds and animals rested and fed in peace and plenty. He believed the early teachers meant to contrast this tree with the ash, which was the object of pagan worship, and he shewed a fragment of a fine shaft at York, on one side of which were two harts feeding on fruit, probably two of the four harts which the pagan Saxons represented as feeding on the ash tree, while on the other side was a beautiful series of scrolls with grapes and wheat-ears, representing the Christian vine and the true bread, that being the first idea of the scroll. The stone at Auckland, which was of later date, introduced the idea of sporting, and on it was represented a man lurking among the scrolls and taking aim with his bow and arrow at one of the animals. The head of the man was beautifully cut, and he wore a tight skull cap and a pair of very carefully trimmed moustaches, but no other hair about his face. That circumstance pointed to the later period of the Saxon Monarchy, up to which period the Saxons had worn beards. In the manuscript of Aldhelm's treatise *De Virginitate* were scrolls with beautifully wrought lions and other animals involved in them, but the animals were quite stiff, the scrolls were there merely for ornamentation, and not as representing life and peace and plenty. After the Norman Conquest a scroll of like character was to be found, at the west door of Lincoln Cathedral. But there the departure from the original was still greater, for not only was there a man below, attempting to slay one of the animals, but in the member above was another man engaged in a similar attempt. Mr Browne then shewed a group of rubbings from a remarkable cylindrical pillar at Masham. In the upper part were two tiers of Scripture subjects in romanesque arcades, and at the bottom was another tier which had been unearthed only a year or two. It contained a series of quadrupeds with proudly arched necks. The head of each animal was brought near to the breast, one fore paw was uplifted, and the animal was hampered by an halter winding in loops round and round its neck, and also

by similar bands twisting round its legs. He had found nothing like this on any other stone ; but on the remarkable Runic casket in the museum at Brunswick, which Professor Stephens, in his great work on Runic monuments, shewed to be a casket of Northumbrian work, there were quadrupeds of almost exactly the same character and hampered in the same way. Mr Browne had looked through the coins of all the early kings of England, and only on the coins of one series of kings had he found quadrupeds holding up one fore paw ; these were the kings of Northumbria from about 690 to 800. Mr Browne then shewed rubbings of two stones which he had found high up in a buttress of the north transept of Ripon minster, a portion of that cathedral which had remained almost untouched since it was built by Archbishop Roger in 1160. The two churches in Ripon were built in Wilfrid's time, were probably much damaged by the Danes, and finally destroyed about 948. Archbishop Odo of Canterbury did something to restore Ripon, but Archbishop Roger declared that he had to begin it *de novo*. There seemed then no period at which stones of such very beautiful and intricate design, and of such excellent workmanship, could have been wrought in Ripon between the palmy time of Christianity and Christian art introduced by Wilfrid, and the time of Roger, when apparently these stones were used as building stones and put out of sight. He believed that these were the impostos of an important door of one of the original Saxon stone churches in Ripon. He shewed a beautifully wrought impost of the same character which at the present time was *in situ* at Kirkby, near Borough Bridge. He next pointed to a strongly Hibernian impost still used for the spring of the chancel arch in the church at Hackness, markedly resembling the details of the Lindisfarne and other Hibernian manuscripts. By the kindness of the Dean of Ripon he was enabled to produce an actual stone which had been dug up a few weeks ago from a depth of seven feet in the churchyard of the Minster. It was a portion of the boss and of one arm of a very delicately carved Saxon cross, of the same family, he thought, as a much ruder fragment which was taken from Ripon to York forty years ago, and which bore the name "Adhuse," a name inscribed in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*. It had always been a question why no Anglian stones were found at Whitby, a place so full of interest in connexion with the earliest times of Christianity. His own answer had always been that the monastic buildings so very much more than covered the whole of the original ground, that the Anglian relics, as would be the case with those in immediate connexion with the Saxon cathedral at York, would be hidden under ground that might never be disturbed. But in the course of the last month or two he had heard of an Anglian stone at Whitby and had got a rubbing of it, which he now shewed. There had also been found at Whitby a stone prepared for the head of a cross, but entirely unfinished, apparently nothing more than the first shaping of a cross head out of a piece of flagstone. Across this there was engraved a name, of which he had got a rubbing, but upon the

reading of which he would not venture as he had not seen the stone itself. It was found in a quarry on the cliff near the sea, and was probably being made when the Danes came and destroyed everything; a similar explanation would account for the state of newness in which some of the sculptured fragments were unearthed or taken out of the foundations of the early walls of churches. Some of the later sculptures might perhaps have been wrought by the Danes themselves, after they settled down; but it should be remembered that the Danes were on the whole so pagan that apostacy became frequent among the Saxons in England.

Mr Browne then shewed four of the eight faces of two remarkable fonts of square shape which he had seen in the grounds of Mr Spencer Stanhope, at Cannon Hall, on his visit to a recently found cross head and shaft at Cawthorne. The Cawthorne cross bore several examples of an ornament which he had not seen elsewhere, resembling four segments less than semi-circles with their bases coinciding with portions of the sides of a square. The head of the cross was very large and bold, resembling four crosses displayed on stems on sides of the fonts. The main portion of the fragment of the shaft was occupied by the ape-like figure of a human being from the waist downwards, portions of the hands appearing just below the line of fracture. By the kindness of the Rev. C. T. Pratt, of Cawthorne, he was able to shew a plaster cast of this remarkable face of the stone and of one of the edges. The only known ornamentation at all like this consisted of four triangles similarly arranged, found on a cross at Brompton and in an 8th or 9th century MS. at Trèves, and elsewhere; but there was really no resemblance. Mr Browne shewed rubbings of two remarkable stones from Kirkdale church, and at the same time the well-known Saxon dedication stone of the church, which set forth that Orm, son of Gamal, bought St Gregorius' minster when it was "ael tobrocán & tofalan," and that he "hit let macan newan from grunde in Eadward dagum cyning and Tosti dagum eorl." The great interest of one of the stones, in itself very beautiful, was, that it bore in runes, now very fast disappearing¹, the words "Oethilwald cyning." Oethilwald was the son of Oswald, and gave Lastingham to St Chad. Mr Browne then proceeded to shew rubbings of a number of crosses in Yorkshire which still retain the whole or a portion of the head. One of the finest of these was at Stonegrave, where the head was in the form of a wheel cross and the shaft was completely covered on the face and back with very intricate tracery, and had also two figures and a cross, while the sides of the shaft were ornamented with various small panels of work of Celtic and Anglian types. Another stone of those at Stonegrave bore what might be a representation of a wolf and a raven. In connexion with the Stonegrave collection he suggested that the name itself might have a real significance. He next had to shew an almost perfect though smaller cross at

¹ Mr Browne was having these stones photographed before it was quite too late.

Brompton; a still smaller cross with a wheel head at Kirby Moorside; and a large number of heads of crosses, the largest of all being the boss and one arm of a cross at Lastingham, very intricately ornamented and larger than the head of the great cross at Iona, or, as far as he could determine, of any cross in Great Britain. He shewed the four faces of a shaft in this crypt, all the details of which were highly Celtic; among them was the well-known inverted Z pattern, and he found that pattern embossed on the only piece he had looked at of the prehistoric Mexican pottery shewn that evening. Another cross was one found some years ago at Bilton, near Tadcaster, the boss of which was placed in a quatrefoil formed by the arms of four men whose bodies were in the four arms of the cross while the hands of each were stretched out above his head grasping a hand of each of his neighbour's. The shaft of this cross was remarkable as bearing a man holding a large knife and a woman with a figure exactly resembling the "spectacle" ornament which was one of the three unique symbols of the Pictish stones in Scotland. In Scotland it was usually associated with a broken sceptre, but in the two instances which he had shewn at Dunfallandy the stones had no sceptre and were to all appearance identical with that on the Bilton stone. He suggested that this cross might have been set up in commemoration of the slaughter of Uhtred, Earl of Northumbria, who was killed in the presence of King Canute at an unidentified place called Wiheal. In all probability Canute came by the Wharfe and landed at Tadcaster, and Uhtred came from York to make his submission, and the next place between Bilton, the spot where the cross was found, and Tadcaster was Wighill. Another Earl of Northumbria was assassinated soon after, and in his case a *parvula crux* was set up. After shewing a number of other rubbings, and leaving undescribed a large number more, Mr Browne said his great desire was that some one should undertake to produce for the stones of England some work on the same scale of magnitude as that which Dr Stuart had produced for Scotland. He wished to impress upon the Society what a very large amount of material had been found and was being found every year. He thought that a book such as he suggested should take a general view of the stones of all districts, and he knew of no body but a great University that could undertake such a work. There was an idea in Durham that the local Societies of Antiquaries might produce a book upon the sculptured stones of the county of Durham only. Any work done under those auspices would be well done. But if, as he had said, there was a similarity of character among the sculptured stones from the Forth to the Humber, it would be a misfortune that the subject should not be treated scientifically as a whole. He felt sure that local Societies would give their help, and it was clear that their help would be necessary for such a great work. He should be very glad if in bringing the subject before this Society, he had done anything towards persuading the Pitt Press Syndicate to undertake some work of the kind.

The PRESIDENT said they ought to be most grateful to Mr Browne for having conducted his remarkable explorations, and come there on two occasions to tell the Society about them. The discoveries of which they had been told that evening seemed to furnish one more illustration of the saying that if one looked for a thing one would be sure to find it. He quite agreed with Mr Browne as to the desirability of having these things perpetuated, and he should certainly be very glad if the Pitt Press Syndicate thought proper to undertake the work. It was obvious that there was only one person who could write such a work as was proposed, and that person was Mr Browne himself.

Professor SKEAT said he thought something of the same kind was said on the last occasion on which Mr Browne addressed them on the subject. He much wished that something might render it practicable that the proposed great work should be begun without delay. He hoped it would not be lost sight of. Mr Browne had already proved that the book when begun should not be finished at once; it would be a pity to attempt to finish it too soon, seeing how much had been discovered even during the past year. It seemed to him that whoever undertook the work should undertake it in its entirety. The work must be done with the aid of a comparison of the largest number of facts obtainable. Mr Browne had shewn he was the right person to do it, and that it should be done thoroughly and as a whole. He only hoped that Cambridge would not lose such an opportunity.

November 12, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

- Rev. G. Crabbe, B.A., Merton Rectory, Watton.
- Rev. N. M. Ferrers, D.D., Master of Caius College.
- J. Jennings, Esq., 21 St James's Street, S.W.
- Prof. A. Macalister, M.A., F.R.S., St John's College.
- J. B. Mullinger, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
- C. L. Palmer, Esq., Emmanuel House.
- Rev. S. G. Ponsonby, M.A., Trinity College.
- M. Robertson, Esq., D.Sc. (Lond.), Minver House.
- Rev. G. H. Sing, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
- Prof. W. Robertson Smith, M.A., Trinity College.

The following communication was read from the Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE, Vicar of Barrington, on certain stones discovered in the river bed at Barrington during October, 1883 :

During the past month one of the two water-mills mentioned in Doomsday as belonging to Barrington has been done away with, and

the foundations dug out from the river bed. Amongst these foundations were discovered 13 large blocks of clunch (18 × 12 × 6 inches) boldly carved on one face (18 × 6 in.) with egg and dark moulding. The blocks were laid flat with the moulding embedded in gault, part being in some cases cut away for the sake of making a closer fit to the adjoining stone. The preservation of the work is in several parts of exquisite clearness.

It seems most probable that we have here fragments of some large Roman building, as the foundations of the mill have not been renewed within living memory or tradition, which renders the only other possible explanation of the presence of such work in such a position—that it formed part of some eighteenth-century mansion—exceedingly unlikely. That some such large Roman building existed in the immediate neighbourhood may be conjectured from the very numerous ash-pits of that period found while digging the adjoining field for coprolites, and from an almost complete series of coins having been unearthed in the parish, covering the whole period of the Roman occupation. The ash-pits referred to contained the usual bones, with fragments of coarse pottery (in one instance of Samian bearing the mark *CRSTIO TITI*), and seemed to belong to poor houses, perhaps slaves' quarters, indicating the neighbourhood of some larger edifice of which they were dependencies. In this connexion it is interesting to find that the next field, sloping down to the river—the very ideal of a Roman site—has from time immemorial been called "The Brick Hall," and is mentioned by that name in documents of the 14th century.

That the lately destroyed mill stood on one of the sites mentioned in Domesday may be considered fairly proved from the fact that a hollow way leads down to the river here; and that in digging the close above the mill the dimensions of the ancient mill-pond (of very large size) were traced, and fragments of mediæval pottery, some possibly Norman, found in it.

The stones in question are being carefully preserved by the owner, the Rev. R. Bendyshe of Barrington Hall, and are in the custody of his tenant, Mr F. Coote, Ivy Cottage, Barrington.

The SECRETARY read a paper by Mr C. W. King upon a silver statuette of *Fortuna Nemesis*, which he exhibited. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIX.)

The PRESIDENT gave an account of the architectural development of the Schools quadrangle, Senate-house, &c., the substance of which will appear in Professor Willis's forthcoming work.

December 3, 1883. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

J. H. Flather, Esq., M.A., Cavendish College.

J. H. Fordham, Esq., Melbourn Bury.

Rev. H. Hall, M.A., St Paul's Vicarage.

T. Jones, Esq., Middle Temple.

W. Lovell, Esq., 13 Brunswick Walk.

C. Waldstein, Esq., M.A., King's College.

Mr Alfred P. MAUDSLAY, M.A., of Trinity Hall, gave an account of his recent explorations in Central America.

He began by reminding his hearers that a mystery had always hung round the early American Indian civilisation, that no one knew who were the builders of the many ruined cities now hidden away in the depths of a tropical forest, and that no one could read a word of the inscriptions which cover many of the monuments and are engraved on the walls of the temples.

After pointing out on the map the part of Central America between the south of Mexico and the north of Honduras, over which his own travels had extended, and making some remarks on the present distribution of population, Mr Maudslay went on to give a description of the ruins which he had himself visited known as Copan, Quirigua, Tikal and Menché, all of which lie within or on the borders of the republic of Guatemala.

Tikal was described as the ruin of a city of considerable size, containing a number of stone houses one and two stories high still in fair preservation. The roofs are all high-pitched stone gables, and no trace of an arch could be found. The lintels of the doorways were made of durable wood of the Sapote, and are often found shewing no signs of decay. The town is laid out on a rectangular plan, the ground being terraced, and when there is any difference of level, the slopes are faced with carefully-laid squared stones. The principal feature of the city is the five temples, each raised on pyramidal foundations, the height of the whole structure from the ground to the top of the temple measuring in one instance over 250 ft. The interesting carved wooden beams from the doorways of these temples are now preserved in a museum in Switzerland.

Menché is situated on the lowest point of the banks of the River Usumacinta ever reached with safety in a canoe, and stands in the centre of an almost unknown forest country called the "land of the Lacandones, or Independent Indians." The hill side from the water's edge to the height of 250 ft. is cut into a series of terraces, on which are built rows of

houses and temples, and the slopes are everywhere faced with well-laid masonry. The town is quite a small one, but the temples are of great interest, and shew traces of having been decorated externally with rows of seated plaster figures, sometimes of heroic size, and probably brilliantly coloured. The carving of the under-side of the lintels of the doorways, which in Menché are of stone, is particularly fine, and a cast from one of these sculptures is amongst the best specimens exhibited in the lecture-room.

Mr Maudslay then described the ruins of Quirigua, which he had twice previously visited, and to which, this year, he had devoted the whole of his time and attention. Having shipped a large amount of material from England, which included four tons of plaster and a large quantity of moulding paper, he arrived at Quirigua in February, accompanied by Mr Guintini, a skilled worker in plaster, and Mr Blockley, a qualified surveyor, and although somewhat delayed by the sickness and desertion of his Indian labourers, before the end of May he had succeeded in taking a complete set of moulds of the tables of hieroglyphics carved on the large monoliths, and Mr Guintini had finished a plaster mould in six hundred pieces of the great stone turtle, which is perhaps one of the most elaborate and beautiful monuments to be found in Central America.

After giving a detailed account of these ruins and referring to the complete set of photographs of the monuments found at Quirigua, which were exhibited on the walls of the lecture-room, Mr Maudslay discussed at some length the vexed question of the age of these ruins.

He dealt with this question only in regard to the ruins he had himself visited, and the often-described ruin at Palenque.

He traced with great care the journey of Cortez, as described in the celebrated 'Carta quinta,' and in the History of Bernal Diaz, and referred to an interesting map of Tobasco drawn by Melchior de Santa Cruz in the year 1579, which has lately been found in the archives of Seville by Dr Sebastian Marimon. Mr Maudslay is of opinion that after crossing the Usumacinta near Tenosique, Cortez must have marched to the River San Pedro, and that it is at the junction of the rivers Yachilan and San Pedro that the ruins of the townships of Aculá will be found. Mr Maudslay then referred to the conquest of Chiapa by Louis Marin, that of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado, and the missionary expeditions of Las Casas into Suzulutlan, then known as the Sierra de Guerra and afterwards as the Vera Paz, and shewed how from these accounts it was possible to draw a complete circle round the mysterious land of the Lacandones, without meeting with any reference to the important cities and the advanced civilisation which must once have existed there.

Mr Maudslay then referred to a visit he had recently made to Seville, and to the immense number of important documents stored away in

the archives of the Indies in that city, and dwelt on the kindness and generosity shewn to him by Dr Sebastian Marimon, who had supplied him with copies of some extremely interesting manuscripts, which in the course of a laborious search he had discovered amongst these archives.

Amongst these was an account of an expedition made by the Governor Barrios Leal in the year 1695 into the land of the Lacandones and letters from Fray Diego de Ribas and the Padre Magil, who were attached to his party. This and subsequent expeditions explored the river Lacandon as far as its junction with the Usumacinta. The country is described as a land of almost impenetrable forests and no traces of any existing Indian civilisation were met with. The Lacandones themselves are described as living in much the same state of barbarism as that in which Mr Maudslay found them when he visited them last year.

Mr Maudslay then summed up the evidence he has so far been able to collect as follows:—

We know that the first Europeans who entered the country passed close to Palenque without knowing of its existence.

We never find the land of the Lacandones mentioned by the early settlers as a rich or civilised country. It appears to have been undisturbed for 150 years, and when visited at the end of that period (1695) we know it to have been a land of almost impenetrable forests, and that the inhabitants were the same Lacandones whom Bernal Diaz mentions as being at war with the people of Acalá.

We have a carefully recorded statement of the condition of the Lacandones in 1695, which proves them to have been then living as they are now, in a state of barbarism, their arts not rising above the manufacture of very rude grotesque pottery, the weaving of a very rough fibre cloth, and the chipping of stone arrowheads.

Mr Maudslay therefore considered that the balance of evidence favoured the idea that Palenque and Menché had ceased to exist as living towns at the time of the Spanish Conquest.

At the conclusion of the lecture, which had been listened to with evident interest by a large audience, the PRESIDENT drew attention to the beauty of the photographs and casts which Mr Maudslay had been able to take, and expressed a hope that the University would associate itself with his explorations by making a liberal grant to him from the Worts Fund.

A discussion having been invited,

Professor HUGHES expressed his appreciation of the value of a communication like that which they had just received, where the author exhibited casts, almost as good as the objects themselves, and so clearly described the circumstances under which they were found. He recollected however, discussions that had arisen in the Society as to the mixture with

native forms in Central America of others which seemed as if they must point to a not very remote eastern origin, and he remembered that even the idea of a somewhat recent Atlantis had been suggested to account for it. Among the objects now exhibited with some Egyptian looking figures there were some having rather a mediæval European character. For instance, there was a mediæval bravo holding a large sort of *bâton de commandement* over a crouching native. There was a round ornament like an enlarged coin of Castile and a Laocoon-like group.

With regard to the hieroglyphics, he remembered how upon British imitations of the gold Philippus the quadriga in the hands of native workmen became more and more obscure until it was quite as like a head of Medusa as a four-horse chariot; and looking over one slab before them he noticed all kinds of conventional representations of the human head, the lines of which became more and more broken up until the figure looked like a compound hieroglyph. He would ask the author whether it was not common in these inscriptions to find a repetition of some single object. Also whether speaking generally the sculptures were such as could be evolved in the country with perhaps here and there a curious accidental approach to eastern forms, or whether the combination of eastern forms was so great as to render the theory of independent origin improbable, or whether the evidence he had collected would allow us to support the view that the makers, while going back to an unknown antiquity, lingered on till the mediæval invasion of eastern people, when native workmen began to introduce European forms among the old traditional types of sculptured ornament.

January 28, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

- Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, M.A., Jesus College.
- Rev. A. C. Jennings, M.A. (Jesus College), Whittlesford.
- A. P. Maudslay, Esq., Trinity Hall.
- H. S. Rathbone, Esq., Manchester.
- H. W. Underdown, Esq., Pembroke College.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited a rough grey British terra-cotta vase, six inches high and five and a half inches wide at the top, with five flint flakes and some fragments of charcoal and of the bones of some ruminant, which had been found in the summer of 1882, a little to the west of Upper Hare Park : with the vase were exhibited a first brass of Hadrian, *rev.* ABUNDANTIA, and a middle brass of Maximianus, *rev.* GENIO • POPVLI •

ROMANI, in the exergue TR; and a terra.cotta fragment of a handle; found during the levelling of some mounds on Newmarket Heath in 1883.

Mr BOWES read a paper upon the University Printers from John Siberch in 1521, down to the end of the last century. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XX.)

Mr J. W. CLARK supplemented Mr Bowes's paper by exhibiting and explaining a plan of the district now occupied by the Senate House, Caius College, and adjacent buildings, upon which he shewed the positions of the houses of the earlier printers.

Mr BRADSHAW remarked upon the importance of carrying through the two wholly distinct processes of research, (1) examining the books, and (2) searching through all Registers which relate to the printers of them. Either, if carried on alone, often gave an erroneous idea to the worker. He suggested that all the Parish Registers and such books might be searched, and copies made of everything that concerns the Cambridge printers, as had been done at Bruges by Mr Weale, and that a systematic collection of Cambridge printed books should be made, as was being done to some extent at the Free Library, and as had been done for Oxford so thoroughly by Mr F. Madan, of the Bodleian library. Mr Bowes's paper was likely to give just such an impetus to the investigation, that we might hope to incite others to contribute to the work on this as a satisfactory basis.

Mr A. P. HUMPHRY suggested that Mr Bowes should further use the abundant materials collected by him, for a history of the University printing business with special regard to its exclusive privileges. Probably the first University printer, Siberch, had no peculiar privileges; but in 1534 Henry VIII. granted to the University a Charter enabling them to appoint three printers with the right to print "omnimodos libros." This privilege, from its not having been exercised so far as we know for about 50 years, would seem to have had at first but little commercial value. From 1583 onwards the existence of printed books, and records of quarrels with the London Stationers' Company, and between the University printers in partnership with each other, shew that the business had some value. Afterwards there came attacks by the King's Printers upon the right of the University, based upon the general terms of the Charter of Henry VIII., to print Bibles and Acts of Parliament, these attacks culminating in the suit *Baskett v. Bentham*, which, after lasting 15 years, ended decisively in favour of the University. He felt sure that Mr Bowes, with the materials at his disposal, would be able to fill in the details of such a history and make it of the greatest interest.

Mr MULLINGER brought under the attention of the meeting a volume (small quarto) from the library of St John's College (Gg. 6. 41), without date or either printer's or author's name, which he submitted was probably a production of the Cambridge Press during Thomas's time, but anterior to any of the volumes of 1584 bearing his imprint. The title of the book was, *An Abstract of certaine Acts of parliament: of certaine her Maiesties Iniunctions: of certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles prouinciall; established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within her Maiesties Dominions and Countries.* It was attributed by Baker, in a manuscript note, to Robert Beale, a diplomatist and author of the Elizabethan period, who, in the opinion of Cooper (*Athenae*, ii. 311) was probably educated at Cambridge. The supposition that the volume was a production of the Cambridge Press was founded on the apparent identity (which had been pointed out by Mr Sinker, the librarian of Trinity College¹) of several of the embellishments with those of volumes bearing Thomas's imprint: e.g. the ornament at the head of the title-page with that on the second leaf of *Two Treatises on the Lord's Supper*, by Rouspeau and De l'Espine, printed by Thomas in 1584; the ornament on p. 3 with that on the first page of signature A of James Pilkington's *Exposition of Nehemiah*, printed by Thomas in 1585, and also of an initial T with another in the same volume; and again, the very characteristic tail ornament at the end of the Preface, with one in Whitaker's book against Stapylton (Thomas, 1585). There was also an apparent identity in the type used with some of the type in Thomas's volumes.

The fact that the author spoke (p. 217) of twenty-four years having elapsed since the death of Mary, shewed that the treatise must have been written about 1582, and was probably printed in the early part of 1583, i.e. before the seizure of the Cambridge press and its printed sheets (May, 1583) among which, it is on record, was a work of the celebrated Whitaker, master of St John's. Cambridge was at that time a great centre of Puritanism; and the work itself, although entirely free from scurrility like that of the Marprelate Tracts, was evidently written by one who sympathised with the Puritans. The press had not, at this time, received its licence (which would have made it necessary to append the printer's name), and it accordingly seemed probable that Thomas, who was himself considered to belong to the Puritan party, published the work in its anonymous form.

Mr BRADSHAW pointed out the unusual character of the signatures in the book, which ran thus A, 2, 3, 4, and so on; an arrangement which ought to afford some help in tracing the printer. He also suggested that

¹ Mr Sinker has since found reasons for modifying this opinion. See his *Catalogue of English Books before 1601 in Trinity College Library*, p. 346.

as the licence to print was given in May, 1583, and in the following month the sheets of Whitaker's work were actually seized in the press, no evidence is wanted to shew that 1583, not 1584, is the first year of the University press. At the same time it would be most interesting to recover a specimen of work done in the earlier year.

February 18, 1884. The Vice-President (the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

Rev. J. N. Dalton, M.A. (Clare Coll.), Trinity College.

Rev. J. H. Gray, M.A., Queens' College.

F. C. Searle, Esq., B.A., Selwyn College.

G. E. Wherry, Esq., M.A., M.B., &c., Downing College.

Mr Lewis exhibited :

(1) A denarius of Trajan which had been found in July of last year near the surface in a corn-field on the northern side of the Hills Road nearly opposite to Cavendish College : the legend is :

obv. IMP • TRAIANO • AVG • GER • DAC • PM • TRP • COSVI • PP

rev. PM • TRP • COSVI • PP • SPQR,

and the coin is probably an antique forgery, being evidently struck from two dies which do not belong to each other, as part of the inscription is given twice over.

(2) A medal $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (=7") in diameter, struck at Paris from the mixed metal (a kind of *Corinthian brass*) found in the ruins of the Tuileries after the palace had been burnt by the Communards :

obv. SOUVENIR • DES • TUILERIES. Bust of France, wearing the cap of Liberty.

rev. METAL • TROUVE • DANS • LES • RUINES • DU • PALAIS • DES • TUILERIES • FONDE • EN • L'AN 1564, ET • DETRUIT PAR L'INCENDIE LE 24 MAI 1871.

(3) An example in bronze of the medal, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, struck at Berlin to commemorate the silver wedding of the Crown-Prince Frederick William with our own Princess Royal :

obv. Bust of the Prince and Princess conjugated within a wreath of roses upheld by Cupids ;

rev. FRIEDR • WILH • KRONPR • D • DEUTSCH • REICHES U • V • PREUSSEN
VICTORIA KRONPR • D • DEUTSCH • REICHES U • V • PREUSSEN PR • V • GR • BRITT •
U • IRL • ZUR SILBERNEN HOCHZEIT 25 JANUAR 1883.

Mr HESSELS read "Notes in aid of the study of Mediaeval Glossaries," and began by remarking that the object of his paper was to point out in a few graphic illustrations some of the difficulties in the deciphering of Manuscripts, and the consequent corruptions to which Glossaries had been subject. By doing so it was his wish to prepare the way for a more detailed study of all the symbols which have been used at different times and in different countries to express the vowels and consonants of the documentary and written languages (but chiefly Latin). In speaking of Glossaries, he referred more especially to *Latin*, but all that he was going to say was, in his opinion, equally applicable to English, French and other Glossaries.

The compilation of Glossaries may be said to have ceased about the 16th century, when Dictionaries, properly so called, begin to make their appearance. The sources of all those which originated before that time may be looked for, first of all in the comedians, grammarians, and some later Roman authors, some Fathers of the Church, and more especially in Isidore, the Bishop of Seville, who died in A.D. 636. After Isidore follow a great many more or less unknown Glossators, who either interpreted or corrupted Isidore's collections, while adding, at the same time, some new words to the old ones. In the 11th century Papias made his appearance with large importations of Greek and Hebrew words. Still better known than Papias are Ugucio or Hugutio, who wrote 200 years later, and Johannes de Janua (or Balbus), who flourished in the second half of the 13th century, and whose huge grammar and Lexicon, called *Catholicon*, was printed, for the first time, in 1460, at Mainz, shortly after the invention of printing.

Then there are the mss. and different editions of the so-called *Vocabularius Ex quo*, printed in the 15th century, the various *Gemmae*, *Gemmae gemmarum*, *Gemmulae*, &c., mostly productions of Germany and the Netherlands. England also largely contributed to the Glossary literature. Every one knows the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, published by Mr Albert Way (1843-53) for the Camden Society. There are further the *Medulla Grammatices*, the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, and a variety of other word lists.

In 1881 the Early English Text Society issued a work entitled *Catholicon Anglicum, an English-Latin Word-book*. It was published from a ms., dated 1483, in the possession of Lord Monson, and another ms. of about the same date, preserved in the British Museum, and closely agreeing with Lord Monson's ms., is stated to have been collated for the edition. The book has been badly edited, as the editor had not sufficiently trained himself for the difficulties which are rather more numerous in mss. of the 15th century than in those of earlier periods. Moreover, the mss. themselves are in a very corrupt condition. They present in the most bewildering manner all the errors to which Glossaries have been for centuries, and are still, so peculiarly liable on account of the insulated position of words:

recorded in them. Glossaries contain names of all sorts of strange and uncommon plants, animals, drugs, tools, pieces of furniture, &c., &c., not usually learnt in the school-room. Very often one difficult word is explained by another no less puzzling than the one it is intended to explain. For generations these difficult words have been subjected, not only to the influences of the different pronunciations of copyists, but also to all the misreadings and transmutations which defective human eyes, deceived by the similarity of one letter with another, may bring about.

A close study of the *Catholicon*, published in 1881, shews that an editor of 1881 may fall into almost the same mistakes as the scribe of 1483; and the errors found in Lord Monson's ms. of 1483, and in that of the British Museum, may be discerned in hundreds of Glossaries besides. The *Catholicon* may, therefore, be said to contain the key to a great many of the errors found in Du Cange's and Diefenbach's records of glossarial words, which nearly all have arisen from a combination of peculiar *pronunciation, misreading* and *miswriting*, so systematic as it were, that forms and words, mutilated almost beyond recognition, can be traced back to the point from whence the corruption commenced, with almost incredible facility and certainty, as soon as you know the mysteries of pronunciation and the peculiarities of the handwriting.

For instance, the two strokes of *n* may be misread as *u* (= *v*), and a scribe, ignorant of the word he has before him, but fond of plain writing, may actually write the symbol *v*; the next transcriber of the word may turn this *v* into *b*; another scribe may turn this into *f* or *p*, and *f* may be turned into *ph*, or the *f*, resembling much the *s*, may actually be turned into *s*, the latter, by pronunciation into *c*, and this again by misreading into *t*. The greatest perplexity is sometimes caused by the strokes of *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, which are nearly always written alike; *m* alone may be read in four different ways as: *in*, *ui*, *ni*, *iu*; so we have in the *Catholicon* printed: *auiseges*, for *amseges*, an hede land, and scores of other confusions. The very origin of our verb *to glean* is obscure on account of the misreadings to which the strokes of the Mediaeval forms connected with it have been subject. A Greek word, beginning with ξv , may at last come to commence with *phi*. Thus we find in the *Catholicon* *filobalsamum*, and in Diefenbach *philobalsamum*, both corrupted from *xylobalsamum* (= Gr. $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$), through *silobalsamum*; *s* being misread as *f*, and the next scribe turning the latter into *ph*. In the same way *sylogisticus* is turned into *silogisticus*, this into *filogisticus*, and this into *philogisticus*. The vowels *a*, *o* and *e* are very often written in such a manner that they cannot be distinguished from each other. Hence words in which one or more of these vowels is found by the side of an *f* or *s*, may become completely altered; so we have in the *Catholicon* *offatorium* for *assatorium*; *consarcire*, *consertire*, both for *confercire*. A misread *f* being changed into *s*, this may change, by pronunciation into *c*, and so we have *subcercinare* (through *subsercinare*)

from *subfarcinare*. An *id* may arise from misreading *ul*; hence *clientidus* for *clientulus*; *mod* may arise from a carelessly written *apt*; *ur*, *us* and *con* arose from a misread *a*; *c* and *t* are very often misread, hence *cerale* (itself corrupted from *cereale*), a baking oven, changed into *torale*; *b* may arise from a misread *l* or *l* from *b*; *j* from a misread *r*; *li* from a misread *b*; *l* from *t* and from *k*, and from *f*; *rpi* may come to stand for *rru*; *pi* for *ju*; *p* for *fr*; *r* for *v*, or *v* for *r*; *r* for *c*; *ri* for *u* or *n*; *rp* for *pp*; *u* for *a*, or *a* for *u*, &c.

Professor SKEAT, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Hessels, made the following remarks:

The particular mistake of *l* for *k* is especially frequent where the *k* is double; thus *lk* occurs for *kk*. Similarly *r* for *p*, when the *p* is double; so that *rp* is for *pp*. With respect to the word *glean*, I would observe that the provincial English *yelm*, a handful, is still in use, so that the old spelling *gleme*, probably equivalent to *gelme* or *yelme*, leads us to connect *glean* with the A. S. *gilm*, a handful, as I have already suggested in my Dictionary. I have observed, in collating *Piers the Plowman*, an instance in which the scribe appears to have been writing from dictation, and to have misheard what was said; hence he wrote a line, which though in itself nonsensical, sounds very much like the true reading, when the words are read aloud with the old pronunciation.

The vote of thanks to Mr Hessels was briefly seconded by Mr Bradshaw, and carried unanimously.

March 3, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

H. C. Goodhart, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.

Baron A. von Hügel, Curator of the Museum of Local and General Archaeology.

Mr Giles, of Caxton, exhibited and presented to the Society a pair of mill-stones which had recently been found in this county: the upper one, of conglomerate, 10 inches in diameter, came from Caldecote; the nether, of Niedermendig lava, from Caxton.

The SECRETARY read a note by Mr C. W. King "On a Signet of Eros," which was exhibited. (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XXI.)

The PRESIDENT exhibited some human bones from Burwell, in this county, which Mr Flatman, the proprietor of the clunch-pits in which they

were found, had been so kind as to present to the Museum of Anatomy. The remains comprised a skull with a considerable portion of the skeleton, evidently of a man of unusually lofty stature; and a second skull. Nothing had been found with the skeletons except some pieces of iron, which could not be referred to any particular period; and part of a *fibula*, consisting of a central circle of bone, surrounded by two rows of small squares of coloured glass in a bronze setting, the whole backed by a thin sheet of bronze.

Professor MACALISTER observed that the identification of the race-character in individual skulls was always a matter of difficulty, as the distinctions between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon skulls are comparatively slight. As a rule, the *tapeino-cephalism* of the latter is less pronounced, and the lower jaws are smaller and lighter, while the skulls have generally wide orbits, and narrow nasal openings. The bones exhibited however had all the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon bones, and one of the skeletons belonged to a man decidedly above the ordinary stature: one of the skulls showed signs of posthumous deformation.

Professor HUMPHRY quite agreed with Professor Macalister that the race, whether Anglo-Saxon or not, to which that skull belonged must be determined rather by its surroundings than by its own special characters. Its good size and the dimensions of the other bones were an exemplification of the fact that our early progenitors had no reason to be ashamed of their physical conformation. The crania, in our own Anatomical Museum, of the earliest known inhabitants of this Island shew a cerebral capacity greater than that of the average Englishman of the present day. The same may be said of bones found in the caves of the south of France and elsewhere; and thus far no indications have been found of advance in the physical conformation of the human species from the earliest known periods to the present day.

The SECRETARY observed that the fibula closely resembled in its style several that had been found in Saxon cemeteries at Barrington and Haslingfield in this county.

Dr WALDSTEIN read "Notes on Pythagoras of Rhegion and the coins of Selinus." The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.

Dr WALDSTEIN read a note "On the coins of Macedonia as illustrating the gradual degeneracy in Athletic Games." The publication of this paper is unavoidably deferred.

May 12, 1884. The Society met for the first time in the new Museum of Classical and General Archaeology, the President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

- His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, LL.D., Trinity College.
- Rev. R. Appleton, M.A., Trinity College.
- Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
- Rev. M. B. Cowell, M.A., Ash Bocking Vicarage, Needham Market.
- W. Robinson, Esq., Fore Hill, Ely.
- Rev. C. E. Searle, M.A., Master of Pembroke College.
- H. Wayman, Esq., Wallington Hall, Downham.
- Professor W. Wright, LL.D., Queens' College.

The PRESIDENT gave a brief description of the loan-collection of University and College portraits exhibited in the North Gallery of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and mentioned some of which the attribution is unknown or uncertain.

Mr STEAR, of Saffron Walden, exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a flint implement and a terra-cotta one-handed jug, six inches high and bearing traces of a yellow glaze, found at Fen Ditton in this county.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited a celt, a portion of a skull, with some fragments of Roman pottery, lately found in Swaffham Fen, near Reach, and found in making the new railway (to Mildenhall) between Swaffham and the Devil's Dyke.

Mr A. H. WILLIAMS exhibited and kindly presented to the Society some glass beads, an iron blade, and two bronze fibulae, which he had found at the depth of about two feet last October, in a chalk-pit in Londesborough Park, Yorkshire.

Mr SHUCKBURGH gave a brief account of the life of Dr Laurence Chaderton (or Chatterton), first Master of Emmanuel College, who died in 1640 in his 102nd year—if not aged the full 103 years stated on his grave-stone in the College Chapel. After noting the distinctively Puritan character of the College, which caused a rapid decline in the number of students on the accession of Charles II., he connected his hero's family with Chaderton Hall near Oldham, and mentioned his schooling under Laurance Vaux, the last Warden of the Collegiate establishment of Manchester before its dissolution in 1545. Entered at Christ's College, Chaderton at first distinguished himself chiefly in the Town and Gown rows of the period, once rescuing the future Archbishop Bancroft from a furious mob; but he soon threw himself heartily into the Puritan movement, even at the cost of being disinherited by his father. In 1567 he proceeded to the degree of B.A., became soon after Fellow and

Lecturer of his College, and was distinguished both in controversy and preaching.

Two curious instances of his success in this latter capacity are given by his biographer¹:

Once in a church near Manchester which had been emptied by its regular minister, after a few sermons by Chaderton, it was found *that ten pints of wine were wanted for Communion instead of one.* And again on a certain occasion when he had preached for *two hours*, he said he had "tired his hearers' patience and would leave off," upon which the whole congregation cried out, "For God's sake, Sir, go on, we beg you, go on," and he went on for another hour, a story which shews a difference in the patience as well as the manners of congregations, almost worthy of the Antiquarian Society's investigation.

Such was the man whom Sir W. Mildmay (who had known him at Christ's) when he designed his College selected to be its first Master: and so bent upon it he is said to have been that when Chaderton hesitated (being offered better preferment) he said, "If you won't be Master, I won't be Founder."

Under Chaderton's Mastership the College sprang at once into vigorous life, and quickly outgrew the buildings adapted from the ruins of those of the Grey Friars. He himself lived at first in some rooms hastily repaired which stood apparently at the East end of the present Hall. But presently he removed to another house built on the site of the Old Hostel of S. Nicolas, which seems to have been on the site of the block of buildings on the North side of Emmanuel Street, within the walls of which, according to tradition, Greek was first taught in Cambridge.

The following is the account of the resignation of his Mastership 26 Oct. 1622, reported by one of the existing Fellows:

"We being all assembled he began thus: 'I cannot owing to my age do my duty. Some things there be that I have not attended to as they should be, for which I crave God's pardon.' [His voice at first was husky, his face red, his eyes swelling with tears.] 'What I am about to do is not the resolution of a single day or month or year. I have long deliberated upon it as for the good of the College.' He then began his formal resignation in the words 'In Dei nomine,' but here he was interrupted by the Senior Fellow beseeching him not to do it. 'Do not hinder me,' he replied, 'in doing what I am doing in the name of the Lord.' And so amidst the silent sorrow of the Fellows he completed his resignation and confirmed it *in nomine Dei et Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.* Then with tears running down his cheeks he exhorted the Fellows to remain at peace; affirming that pride was the beginning of all contention, though

¹ *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni...a Willelmo Dillingham S. T. P.* (ed. 2^{nda}, Cantabrigiae, 1700. 8^{vo}), p. 29.

only those could see that whose eyes God opens. 'I know,' he added, 'that some will think me a foolish doting old man for acting in this novel and unprecedented way. But I have long ago digested such remarks.' Finally he handed over the keys to the Senior Fellow, and bade them farewell with mutual tears, praying God to be with us."

Professor MACALISTER exhibited a visceral or so-called Canopic jar of soft calcareous stone, bearing the following inscription in well-executed incised hieroglyphs arranged in two vertical rows:

"Says Nephthys, I throw my arms around Hapi who is within me
The Princess Ha-Nefer, justified, devoted to Hapi."

The jar had been one for holding the small intestines, and originally had a cynocephalus-head for a stopper. The Princess Ha-Nefer appears in Lepsius's *Königsbuch* as a King's daughter of the 20th dynasty. The same name appears in the *Denkmäler* (III. 25 bis); it was the name of the wife of Ra-mes and mother of Semnut, chamberlain of the Palace of Queen Hatasu.

Four similar vases from the Society's collection, and one belonging to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, were exhibited and explained.

May 26, 1884. Annual General Meeting. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

- J. Peile, Esq., M.A., Litt. D., Christ's College.
- E. B. Rouse, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
- W. Wright Smith, Esq., 13 Trinity Street.
- H. Stear, Esq., Saffron Walden.
- The Rev. R. W. Stoddart, B.D., Jesus College, and
- J. Winbolt, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

The following honorary members were elected:

- Commendatore Guiseppe Fiorelli, Roma.
- Professore Luigi Pigorini, Roma.
- Professor Heinrich Brunn, München.
- Professór Adolf Michaelis, Strasburg.
- M. Léon Heuzey, musée du Louvre, Paris.
- M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse, musée du Louvre, Paris.

The following officers were elected for the next year:

- President*:—Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.
- Vice-President*:—Professor G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S.
- Treasurer*:—Mr W. M. Fawcett, M.A.
- Secretary*:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.
- Auditors*:—Mr F. C. Wace, M.A. Mr Swann Hurrell.

New members of council :

Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S.

Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, M.A.

Professor Macalister, M.A., F.R.S.

The Annual Report announced that the Society's collections had received a permanent habitation in the new Museum of Archaeology, to which they had been presented by the Society; that eight meetings and two excursions had taken place during the past year, that forty-seven new members had been elected, and that the first of a series of loan-exhibitions of University and College portraits under the auspices of this Society was now on view in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Professor HUGHES, in speaking of the so-called *Via Devana* running from the end of Worts' Causeway towards Horseheath, pointed out that there was little, if any, evidence of its Roman origin; and insisted that it was rather an entrenchment, to be referred to the same later age which has given us Offa's Dyke in the west, and the Devil's Dyke and so many other notable earthworks in East Anglia also.

So too in respect of the Castle Hill, he pointed out that the certainly Roman roads in the neighbourhood seem to converge to Grantchester rather than to Cambridge, and that the Roman pottery found here indicates rubbish-heaps rather than the site of a camp or permanent fortification; and from all available evidence he drew the conclusion that (though the rural population in this neighbourhood was probably thicker in Roman times than at present) the mound and all the earthworks about it are of Norman origin.

Mr BROWNE shewed outlined rubbings of two stones recently presented to the British Museum by Mr A. W. Franks, acquired some years ago from persons who described them as coming from the City; also of the remarkable rune-bearing stone from St Paul's Church Yard in the Guildhall Library, the case of which had been removed by the kindness of the Librarian in order that the rubbing might be made. Mr Browne shewed similarities in design and execution which rendered it highly probable that the Guildhall stone and the stone of which the British Museum stones are fragments were respectively the headstone and the body-stone of a Scandinavian grave. The headstone has an animal subject, while the other stones have only patterns of symmetrical ornament; the tombstone of the heathen king Gorm the Old has the two combined, with many details in striking resemblance to the three London stones. No other such stones were known to Mr Browne in these islands. The runes on the Guildhall stone, which had certainly been an upright stone, state that 'Kona caused lay this stone', instead of the proper phrase for a standing stone 'raised this stone'. T. G. Repp remarked on this phrase, when the Guildhall

stone was found in 1854, that there must have been a large sculptured horizontal stone in front of the standing stone, "which in the course of eight centuries most likely has been broken into fragments". Mr Browne claimed to have found this body-stone. The fragments are the full breadth of the stone, and are together nearly three feet long.

The Guildhall runes add the words 'also Tuki'. Toga, or Toki, or Tokig, or Thokig, was a well-known *minister* of king Canute, mentioned in various documents dating from 1019 onwards. T. G. Repp remarked that the inscription 'Kona and Tuki caused lay this stone' made it fairly certain that the body-stone bore an inscription setting forth the name and so on of the person buried. In handling the heavy stones at the British Museum a few days ago, in company with Mr Franks, Mr Browne detected on the edge of one of them the final letters of an inscription, with an incised line running centrally as on the Guildhall stone. The last letter but one is an *i*, the portion left of the letter preceding is or may be half of a *k*, and the final letter is less unlike a *g* than any thing else. Thus both inscriptions may end with Tuki or Tokig. Mr Browne believed the whole to be a pagan memorial to some English Dane of great importance.

The Yorkshire stones shewn were those at Bilton and Kirkby Wharfe. At the former place, in addition to a unique cross-head previously described to the Society, there is a stone bearing three figures much resembling the frescoes in the Catacombs of the Three Jews, but with no indication of flames. On a large stone in the church yard, evidently a portion of a shaft of considerable magnitude, figures could still be discovered which might represent Adam and Eve with an unusually large serpent between them. On another fragment, a cast of which was sent some time since to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh because of the appearance of the "spectacle ornament" on the front of a woman, Mr Browne found on close examination that the ground on which the woman stands, with a man by her side carrying a large knifelike implement horizontally across his body, is in reality a large dragon, with a narrow head rising between them. The shaft of the cross at Kirkby Wharfe has a subject which frequently occurs on Northumbrian stones, two figures grasping an upright stem standing between them; in this case the whole is complete, and the head of the stem is found to be a large "Maltese" cross, the arms of which form canopies for the man and woman. Mr Browne shewed various examples of stones illustrated by these points.

The Deerhurst font is an unusual and very fine example of spiral ornament. Mr Browne called attention to the unusually complicated arrangement of four spirals proceeding from the centre instead of three or two, and to a peculiarity in the method of carrying it out, two of the spirals at each centre uniting and thus forming continuous bands. For a

close examination into this detail he was indebted to Mr Henry Wilson of Malvern. He combated the argument for a comparatively late date of the font, derived from the presence of a well-designed scroll with flowers and leaves, by the presence of ornamental scrolls on stones which shewed intimate acquaintance with the Lindisfarne Gospels and other mss. of Hibernian type, and expressed the opinion that the Deerhurst spirals were designed at an early date by some master of the art. There was a Saxon monastery at Deerhurst, and the font might possibly be a relic of its infancy. According to William of Malmesbury, Abbat Tika took to Glastonbury in the eighth century the relics of a large number of early Northumbrian Christians, Aidan, Bega, Hilda, &c., and his own tomb at Glastonbury was specially noted on account of the 'art of its sculpture'. Thus there was some evidence of a Northumbrian influence on the Christian art of the south west.

A fragment of an inscription in Roman capitals was found at Thornhill near Dewsbury several years ago. Two inscriptions in runes were found at the same place, and a third was found two or three years ago. The fragment in Roman capitals is as follows, the thick type shewing the letters which are certain, the thinner type those of which only a small portion has been preserved:

E	A	E	F	T	
O	S	B	E	R	
T	A	E	B	E	
T	B	E	R		

Mr D. H. Haigh completed this in thirteen lines, making it the memorial stone of Osberht of Northumbria, set up by his successor Egberht about the year 867:—

+ Ecgber|cht dis se|ttae
 aeft|aer Osber|chtae
 bec|un Ecgber|chtaes
 be|ornaes ae|ftaer cyn|ingae
 bead|ohrorenum|.
 Gibiddad d|aer saulae|.

This introduces a great deal of unnecessary matter, and to call the stone the *becun* of the man who set it up is unusual, as also is the *aefter* into which the exigences of the fragment drove Mr Haigh.

Professor Stephens, in the third volume of his magnificent work, the *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, completes it in nine lines:—

+ Ecgbe|rcht dis|sete
 aeft|er Osber|chtae
 bec|un Osber|chtaes.
 Gi|biddad da|er saule|.

The tautology *æfter Osberchtae becum Osberchtaes* is a strong argument against this, and the *becun* seems to render *āis* improbable.

Mr Browne preferred to follow the suggestion of the most recent discovery at Thornhill, + *Igilsuith araerde æfter Berchtsuith becum at bergi gibiddat ðær saule*; and adopting Mr Haigh's *Ecgeberht* or any name of similar length, and omitting the *c* throughout in accordance with local precedent, proposed the following alliterative couplet;—

+	E	c	g	b	e
r	h	t	a	r	a
r	d	E	A	E	F
e	r	O	S	B	E
h	T	A	E	B	E
u	n	a	T	B	E
g	i	g	i	b	i
d	a	ð	ð	a	e
s	a	u	l	e	+

+ *Ecgeberht araerde æfter Osberhtae*
*Becun at bergi** *gibiddat ðær saule* +

At bergi occurs nowhere else than at Thornhill on English stones, and only three times in the 3000 Scandinavian runic inscriptions, two of the three Scandinavian cases being found together.

Mr WALDSTEIN made the following remarks:

(1) On two stones from the Via Appia, lately given to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Mr John Bateman, of St John's College and of Knypersley Hall in Staffordshire, was travelling in Italy in the year 1870. When in Rome he came across the workmen in the act of breaking up the stones from the ancient Appian Way for the purpose of macadamising the road. He thought that it would be a pity to destroy all traces of a road connected by such associations with the journey of St Paul. Accordingly he brought three of these ancient paving-stones to England, and kept them for some years at his residence in Staffordshire. Being driven from there by the furnaces of the coal-mines, he migrated to London and took these stones with him.

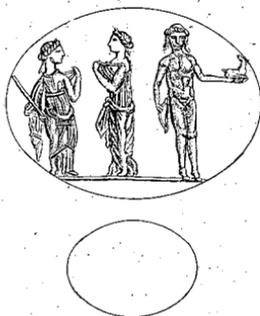
* Possibly meant for *Thornhill*; conceivably a play upon a double meaning of *bergi*, 'hill' and 'grave-mound.'

He recommended to his son Mr J. F. Bateman, of St John's College, that two of them should be sent to his own University, while the third is to be built into the wall of a church in Suffolk with which he was connected.

(2) On a red jasper intaglio from Smyrna in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

The red jasper intaglio in the possession of Mr Lewis has the one great advantage as far as the possibility of its identification is concerned, namely, that what is now technically called its provenance is known. It comes from Smyrna.

To an archæologist the place at once suggests the two Nemeses of Smyrna in the two female figures.



The other (male) figure of an archaic type, strangely archaic in contrast to the female figures, is evidently an Apollo with the bow in the one hand and the deer on the other, and recalls most distinctly the famous type of the Didymæan Apollo from his oracle of the Branchidae near Miletus.

It is well known that the famous sculptor, Kanachos of Sikyon, who marks the period of transition from archaic art to highest freedom, was the sculptor of the colossal bronze statue of Apollo in the temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus. This statue was stolen (it is not quite certain whether by Darius in 493 B.C. or by Xerxes in 474 B.C.), and was returned to the oracle and temple by Seleukos Nikator. He held a bow and a stag, and by some ingenious mechanical contrivance the stag was moveable.

The next question is—what is the connexion between this archaic sacred image of Apollo and the figures of the Nemeses of Smyrna?

The history of Smyrna will give us the answer.

The foundation of Smyrna goes back to the earliest times of the Ionian migration, and was according to Strabo a part of an Ephesian settlement. Herodotus considers Smyrna an Aeolian settlement. The colonists had to struggle hard to maintain their independence, especially against the Lydians.

It was after Alexander the Great that the Smyrna whose ruins are still visible on the hill was founded, the inhabitants migrating from the ancient town to this site.

The cause of the migration is to be found in the story as related by Pausanias VII. v. 1.

"The city of Smyrna, which was among the Aeolian cities, and which stood on the site which even in our days is called the old town, was taken from the Aeolians by the Ionians of Kolophon. Some time after this the Ionians took the Smyrnaeans into their league. The new city was built by Alexander the son of Philip" (it was really begun by Antigonus, and completed by Lysimachus), "urged to this step by a dream. For as he was hunting on Mount Pagus, he is reported to have come to the temple of the Nemeses, where he found a spring of water, and a plane-tree before the temple, growing by the water's side. Here he fell asleep. In his dream there appeared to him the goddesses, who ordered him to build a town on that spot and bring thither the inhabitants of Smyrna. The Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to the oracle of Klaros to get counsel concerning this charge, and received this answer. 'Thrice and four times happy will those be who shall inhabit the Pagus beyond the river Meles.' They gladly changed their dwelling and have since worshipped two Nemeses instead of one. They consider them daughters of Night; while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess of Rhamnous is Okeanos."

The part which the oracular Apollo played is evident: but this is the type of the Klarian Apollo, while the gem seems to relate to a consultation of the Didymaeon Apollo.

One possibility is that a union of two cities (Miletus and Smyrna) is represented. This I believe to be less probable, though it is possible.

A bronze coin of Smyrna, illustrating Alexander's dream, was exhibited, and several coins shewing two Nemeses.

Mr Reade's account of a Roman Villa near Yatton was postponed for want of time.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 26, 1884.

President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

REV. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrar.*

REV. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Surgery.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

REV. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

REV. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

REV. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

REV. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Ebrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A.

SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1883.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance	214 11 2	Octavo Publications, No. XIX	16 16 0
Subscriptions	250 19 0	" " No. XX (University Press)	{ 53 5 6
Life Members	21 0 0	" " " (Illustrations)	{ 22 0 0
Sale of publications :		Communications (No. XXIII) :	
Deighton, Bell & Co.	20 1 3	Illustrations (chromolithographs)	106 9 3
Macmillan & Bowes	5 3 9	Communications (No. XXIV) :	
	<hr/> 25 5 0	Illustrations (photolithographs)	6 12 0
		List of Members (University Press)	5 5 6
		Miscellaneous Printing	5 18 6
		Stationery, wages, carriage and postage	5 2 6
		Repairs to locks of cases	1 5 6
		Secretary for small expenses, stamps, &c.	1 7 6
		Balance	224 2 3
			287 12 11
			<hr/> <u>£511 15 2</u>

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1884.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Edwin A. Barber, Esq., Philadelphia:

Nine specimens of Pueblo pottery found among the stone ruins of southern Utah.

From Mr J. Giles, Caxton:

Two mill-stones, upper and nether; the former (10 in. diameter) found at Caldicote, the latter (9 in. diameter) at Caxton.

From Mr H. Stear, Saffron Walden:

A flint implement (probably spurious), and a one-handed earthenware jug, six inches high, and bearing traces of a yellow glaze, found at Fen Ditton in this county.

From Mr A. H. Williams (St John's):

Some glass beads, an iron blade, and two bronze fibulae, which he had found last October (1883) at a depth of about two feet in a chalk-pit in Londesborough Park, Yorkshire.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From the Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia, U.S.A.):

Report of a visit to the Great Sioux Reserve, by Herbert Welsh. 4to.

From the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta:

Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Honorary Member:

A packet of American Ballads.

Brief Account of the chief Archaeological Collections in the United States. Dy the Donor.

The Coinage of the United States of America. By the Donor.
Report of the Commissioner of Education, U.S.A., 1881. Washington,
1883. 8vo.

Catalogues of Coin sales (141) in New York, Boston, Philadelphia,
Baltimore, Lancaster, Pittsburgh (?).

Twenty-four miscellaneous tracts.

List of the Publications of the American Antiquarian Society, compiled
by Nathaniel Paine. Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.

Reports of the Trustees of the New York State Library. 1880, 1881,
1882.

Circulars of information from the Bureau of Education, Washington, 1,
4, 5, 6.

Three Tracts from the Bureau of Education, Washington.

From Edwin A. Barber, Esq., Philadelphia:

Catlinite; its Antiquity as a material for Tobacco-pipes. By the Donor.

Catalogue of a Collection of Tobacco-pipes deposited in the Pennsylv-
ania Museum by E. A. Barber. By the Donor.

Mound Pipes. By the Donor. (From the American Naturalist, Vol. xvi.)

On the Antiquity of the Tobacco-pipe in Europe. By the Donor.

On Pueblo pottery. By the Donor. (From the American Naturalist,
June 1881.)

From John Johnson, Esq., B.A. (Johns Hopkins University):

Old Maryland Manors with the records of a Court Leet, etc.

From F. W. Putnam, Esq. (Curator of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge,
Mass.):

Notes on Copper Implements from Mexico. By the Donor.

Iron from the Ohio Mounds. By the Donor.

From Lucien Carr, Esq. (Assistant Curator of the Peabody Museum):

The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley. By the Donor.

From Commander E. Y. McAuley, U.S.N.:

Dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics. By the Donor. 4to.

From Professor Newton, F.R.S.:

La verité sur la date de la construction de la Basilique Saint Front de
Perigueux, par M. L. C. Grellet-Balgueret. 12mo.

From John Evans, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.:

On a Hoard of Bronze objects found near Wilburton Fen (Ely), with a
page of lithographs. By the Donor. (From the Archaeologia, Vol. XLVIII.)

From H. G. Fordham, Esq., Odsey Grange, Royston:

Report of the Local Scientific Societies Committee of the British Asso-
ciation.

From Isaac Smucker, Esq., Newark, Ohio, U.S.A.:

Mound-builders' Works near Newark, Ohio.

From the Rev. F. A. Walker, D.D.:

L'Orient: my Tour in the East. London, 1882. 8vo.

From E. M. Beloe, Esq., Lynn Regis:

On a Cemetery Cross of the Black Friars at Lynn (from the Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Vol. ix.).

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):
List of the Society, June 7, 1883. 8vo.
Proceedings, Vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2. 8vo.
2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. GOSSELIN, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):
The Archaeological Journal (Vol. xxxix.), Nos. 158, 159, 160, 161.
3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
Transactions, Vol. i, part iv.
4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
Nothing received this year.
5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich):
Original Papers, Vol. ix, part iv.
6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. MACHELL SMITH, Esq., Bury St Edmunds):
Proceedings, Vol. vi, no. 1.
7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):
Transactions, Vol. ii, parts iii and iv (New Series).
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. xv.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. xxxiii.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
Transactions, Vol. IV, part iii. (with plates).
11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):
Nothing received this year.
12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):
Reports and Papers for 1858, 1859, 1862-69, 1881, 1882.
Index to first eight volumes of Reports and Papers.
13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):
Nothing received this year.
14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:
Nothing received this year.
15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):
Proceedings, Vol. I, nos. 1-19.
Archaeologia Aeliana, Parts 26, 27. 8vo.
Views of old Castles, Priors and Monasteries in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, by S. and N. Buck. Reprinted for the Society. Folio.
Remnants of old Newcastle-upon-Tyne, part i.
South-east view of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):
Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fourth Series), nos. 53, 54, 55, 56, and Fifth Series, no. 1. London, 1883, &c. 8vo.
The Land of Morgan, by G. T. Clark, F.S.A.
17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XVI, parts ii, iii, Vol. XVII, part i.
18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
Journal of the Society, Vol. VI.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):
Journal of the Association (Vol. VI.), nos. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.
20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):
Mémoires, Tome XLIII.
21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):
Foreningen til Norske Fortidmindersmerkers Bevaring: tarsberetning för 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881.
Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges Historie in Middelalderen (Monumenta Historica Norvegiae) ved D^r Gustav Storm, 1880.
Myntfundet fra Graeslia i Thydalen, beskrevet af D^r L. B. Steversen, 1881.
Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden; med Text af N. Nicolaysen. Heft. 10, 11. 1879, 1880.
Kunst og Handverk fra Norges Fortid ved N. Nicolaysen. Heft. 1, 2. 1880, 1882.
Hovestuen Paa Bygd af D^r Yngvar Nielsen. F^o.
22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):
Nothing received this year.
23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):
Nothing received this year.
24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεὺς, Athens):
Πρακτικά for the year 1882.
Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vols. I, II, III. 1862—85. 4to.
25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):
Nothing received this year.
26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):
Annual Reports for 1863, 1866, 1881.
27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, 1883.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):
 Second and Fourth Annual Reports, 1880-81 and 1882-83.
 Bulletins of the School of Classical Studies at Athens, no. 1.
 Report of Professor W. W. Goodwin.
29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):
 Nothing received this year.
30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):
 Nothing received this year.
31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey).
 Huitième Bulletin Annuel 1883.
 Bulletin, nos. 1-6.
 Publications 1-7.
 Extente de l'Isle de Jersey, 1868.
32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (John E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, Albion Road, Stoke Newington). [28 Jan. 1884.]
 Transactions of the Society (from 1855). Vols. I-VI, part i. 1860-1883.
 Proceedings at the Evening Meetings, 1871-74 (4 parts).
 Temple-Bar, or some account of the Marigold, by F. G. Hilton-Price, F.G.S.
 Roman Antiquities found at Walbrook, 1873, by J. E. Price, F.S.A.
 Description of a Roman Tessellated Pavement in Bucklersbury, by J. E. Price. 4to.
 Description of Roman Antiquities found near the Mansion House, by J. E. Price. 4to.
 On a Bastion of London Wall, by J. E. Price. 4to.
 History of Monken Hadley, and of South Mimms, by the Rev. C. Cass, M.A., 2 vols. 4to.
33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (Thomas MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.). [18 Feb. 1884.]
34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Wm. BIDGOOD, Esq., *Curator*, Taunton Castle). [12 May 1884.]
 Proceedings (during the year 1882), New Series, Vol. VIII.
35. Die Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr Dietrich Schäfer, Jena). [12 May 1884.]

V. LAWS.

(Revised Feb. 28, 1881.)

- I. THIS Society shall be called THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.
- II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.
- III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.
- IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas*; or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.
- V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.
- VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.
- VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.
- VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.
- IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 Silver Street, Cambridge.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXVI)
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BEING PART IV OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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XIX. ON A SILVER STATUETTE OF FORTUNA NEMESIS.
Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity
College.

[November 12, 1883.]

IN proportion as antique art declined in beauty of form, and excellence of workmanship, so much did it increase in richness of symbolism and combination of ideas. This was the necessary consequence of the change in the spirit of the religion that had insensibly crept over the Roman world, at the time when the nude, simple anthropomorphism of Greece was respectfully superseded by the mysticism of Persia, and of Egypt :

“qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat,”

where the *symbol* was the only thing of importance, and good taste, or elegance in its representation were for the most part entirely disregarded. This change has bequeathed to us innumerable evidences of itself in swarms of talismans in every variety of fantastic combination,

“All that on Folly Frenzy could beget,”

the offspring of Serapis-worship, Mithraicism and Astrology. From the same source came multitudes of other works, from colossal statues down to pocket-idols; of which however, from their more perishable nature, comparatively few have survived the various accidents of time.

Of all such monuments that have passed under my inspection the *Fortuna Nemesis* (fig. 1) of the Charvet Collection (originally found in France) expresses the doctrines it was meant to teach with the greatest elegance both of form and of execution. I shall first minutely describe the different members that go to its composition, and then offer a few remarks upon the ideas which they were intended to convey.



FIG. 1. Silver statuette of Fortuna Nemesis.

A draped female figure, with long drooping wings, bearing the cornucopie in the left hand, in the other what appears to be a bridle and the trumpet-shaped handle of a rudder at the foot of which rests a wheel, while with the thumb and fore-finger she holds the money-bag (*crumena*) of *Mercury*. Above her shoulders are placed busts of *Sol* and *Luna*, the one crowned with rays, the other with the crescent. But it is upon her head that, as reason would, the designer has lavished all the wealth of symbolism. She wears the *helmet*, the peculiar distinction of *Virgo* in the Zodiac, which again is encircled by the turreted crown of *Cybele*: from each side spring the cow's horns of the great goddess of Egypt; on its crest is set the *modius* of *Serapis*: on the summit of all rests the Winged Orb, the *Mir*, the universal Phoenician type of the Supreme Being, "the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings."

The man who designed this image was assuredly not of Juvenal's opinion, [Fortuna]

"Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia,"

when he thus concentrated all the Powers of Heaven in the person of his pretty Panthea,—to which may be justly applied what Propertius says of the Etruscan Vertumnus:

"Unum opus est; operi non datur unus honos."

That the Greeks expressed the (apparently) capricious deity who rules the affairs of Man under a visible form, is certain from the story of the Athenian wit who put forth the satirical picture representing Timotheus lying asleep whilst *Tύχη* was catching cities for him in her net¹; but under what form the

¹ Which so piqued the Athenian general that he publicly enumerated several of his successes with the remark "In all these Fortune had no share." After this ungrateful boast, it was noticed that she had turned her back upon him, for all his subsequent enterprises ended in disappointment. Plutarch *Sulla*, vi. iii.

goddess was painted, or sculptured by them, there seems to be no certain evidence.

Far otherwise was it with the Romans, who subdivided the functions of this Ruler of Events with such precision as even to erect a temple to the "Fortuna hujusce diei." In some of her characters, especially as "Redux," they depicted her as seated, holding *cornucopiae* and *rudder*: in others, identifying her with Nemesis, they furnished her with *wings* and *wheel*. Under this latter form did she present herself to the mind of Horace, when he wrote

"huic apicem rapax
Fortuna cum *stridore acuto*
sustulit,"

as he beheld her swooping down from aloft with the shrill whirr of her eagle-wings¹—a trope often recalled to my memory when some new Ixion finds a malicious pleasure in startling me on the highway by the graze of his noiselessly approaching *mononon*².

When Julius (who, like his adopted son, lived in wholesome fear of Nemesis) put her figure upon his coin, a *serpent* is added as attribute for some unknown reason; and Claudius



FIG. 2. Aureus of Claudius.

repeats the type on an aureus (fig. 2)—a proof that it was copied from some highly venerated original. "Wings" were the special distinction of Nemesis, for Pausanias instances the twin "Wingless" Nemeses of Antioch as an exception

¹ Like the eagle on the cap of Tarquinius Priscus, as he first entered the gate of Rome.

² A word coined on the analogy of *τέθριππον*, similarly expressing the motive power.

to the universal mode of representing her. The Romans also worshipped a *dual* Fortune, for the "Fortunæ Antiates"



FIG. 3. Denarius struck by Q. Rustius.

who presided over the oldest and most celebrated oracle of Italy, appear as twin-sisters, the one helmeted as cruel, the other olive-crowned as kind, upon the remarkable coin (fig. 3) struck by Rustius, one of the Augustan monetarii. The Zodiacal Virgo always appears with a helmet on her head: Statius calls her "Marathonia Virgo," probably on that account; not merely as being the daughter of Icarus, king of Attica. As this Sign is figured holding the next in order, Libra, in her hand, the Romans seem to have often confounded her with Astraea, the emblem of Justice.

All these examples appear to give sufficient proof of the character under which this pretty little image was intended to be adored.

It now remains to consider the modeller's reason for introducing the miniature busts—perfect masterpieces of his art—the extraordinary amount of care bestowed upon their finish arguing the importance of the part they play in the composition of the *tableau*. Similar types of the Solar and Lunar Powers are



FIG. 4. Sard representing Isis.

not-unfrequent on gems, as accessories to the principal figure of some deity. In my own collection was a sard figured above (fig. 4) to double the original size, bearing a full-length figure of Isis, with the Ibis perched on her arm, and these self-same busts in the field, and similarly arranged¹. Their meaning in such connexion requires no great penetration to divine: their presence declares the deity to rule over all that lies below the Sun and Moon.

This interpretation of these accessory emblems seems to me preferable to another which would make them to signify *Eternity*. It is true that Pescennius Niger symbolizes *ÆTERNITAS* on a denarius of his by a Crescent and seven stars; and that the Sassanian kings add the crescent inclosing the sun-star to their portraits, as a boast that their power should last "so long as the Sun and Moon endureth"—but to the Roman who solicited the patronage of our statuette, the *extent* of her influence was a matter that concerned *him* infinitely more than its never-ending *duration*.

The *modius* or corn-measure on the head of the goddess is the most obvious emblem of abundance of all good things, and as such is regularly borne by Serapis, the great god of Egypt, the granary of the world, in her later days. The mystics of Macrobius' times, who sought far below the surface for the occult sense of every religious type, explained it as meaning "that out of him all things proceed, and into him all things shall return": but as an attribute of *Fortuna* the more commonplace understanding of its import is certainly the best.

The *date* of workmanship may be approximately fixed by comparing its style, especially in the treatment of the wings, with that of similar figures as found on the coins of the second and third centuries. Another criterion is the quality of the

¹ This intaglio may possibly be a record of Cleopatra's arrogance in publicly appearing in the character of *The New Isis*, and giving her twin sons the titles of Sun and Moon.

silver itself, which is evinced from its colour to be much debased by an alloy of lead, being probably of the low standard first brought into the mint by the emperor Severus. There can be no doubt that under the Roman empire, as is still the custom all over the East, the material for any work of art or domestic use in the precious metals, was obtained by melting down the necessary weight of current coin. The already noticed merit of the miniature heads, as contrasted with the somewhat slovenly execution of the chief figure, reminds us of the singular anomaly in the coinage, which every intelligent numismatist must have remarked—that the later artists retained the faculty of drawing spirited and well-finished portraits long after they had entirely lost that of engraving full length figures. The never-ceasing demand for portraits and busts in all materials long kept up the art of modelling from the life.

I have said, at starting, that such Pantheistic figures were the offspring of the old age of Paganism; it is possible that the Vertumnus, above alluded to, may have been an exception to the rule. It was a bronze statue, the work of Mamurius, brought to Rome from Volsinii along with the two thousand others in the plunder of that city, and set up in the Forum to replace its rude predecessor in maple-wood that had stood there even before the days of Numa. Propertius has bestowed upon it one of his most charming poems: but unfortunately his description is so flowery and capable of as many meanings as the god of change himself, that the precise nature of the representation can hardly be guessed. His opening line, however²,

“Quid mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas?”

would lead to the supposition that the god was surrounded by emblems of all the trades and occupations of man. But as the Tyrrhenes, an Asiatic race, drew their first inspirations of Art

¹ Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. vii. (16), 34.

² *IV. II. 1.*

from Phoenicia, a fondness for symbolism in them is not to be wondered at.

The purpose for which the numerous figures of this class were originally intended (for it is evident that they were not meant to be *set up* for worship, neither having bases of their own, nor *tenons* for fixing them into another base) long puzzled me, until some incidental notices in ancient authors gave me the hint of a satisfactory explanation. In the last great battle under the walls of Rome, when Telesinus with his Samnites had all but won the day, Sulla drew *from his bosom*¹ a small Apollo of gold, and in his last despair offered to the god the most fervent prayers for succour. Again, Apuleius, when charged with magical practices (on the same grounds as Othello) by the indignant relatives of his wealthy wife, refuted the tale that he always carried about him the figure of a skeleton for some necromantic rite, by producing a little Mercury of admirable workmanship in boxwood² and putting it into the hands of the judge³. Later still, when the ancient religion was at its last gasp, Ammianus mentions a report that⁴ the burning

¹ A golden Mars $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, weighing 3 ounces, formerly in the Bôocke Collection (sold by Sotheby, 1857), must have been the similar "bosom-friend" of some later *imperator*.

² By Cornelius Saturninus, *artifex*. "Item minutatim ex tabellis compacta crassitudine Mercuriolum expediri potuisse." *De Magia* p. 67, ed. Bipontin.

³ "Accipe, quaeso, Maxime, et contemplare: bene tam puris et tam piis manibus tuis traditur res consecrata. En vero quam facies ejus decora, et succi palaestrici plena sit: quam hilaris Dei vultus, quam decenter utrinque lanugo malis deserpat: ut in capite crispatus capillus intimo pilei umbraculo appareat: quam lepide super tempora pares pinnulae emineant: quam autem festive circa humeros vestis coniecta sit! Hunc qui *sceletum* audet dicere profecto ille aut simulacra Deorum nulla videt aut omnia negligit. Hunc denique qui *larvam* putat ipse est *larvatus*." id. ib. p. 69. From other hints dropped by Apuleius, I suspect he wishes to insinuate that his brother-in-law, Æmilian, was a concealed Christian.

⁴ "Ferebatur autem licet rumore levissimo." XXII. xiii. 3. The old soldier evidently shared Julian's suspicions.

of the famous temple of Apollo at Antioch (which Julian attributed to the spite of the Christians) was due to the carelessness of the philosopher Asclepiades, who in thanksgiving for his safe journey from distant Gaul, to visit his former disciple, had left, at midnight, his inseparable travelling companion, a silver image of the "Goddess of Heaven" (Astarte)¹, with lighted tapers set up all round it, before the elevated feet (*ad pedes sublimes*) of the celebrated colossus². And Pliny laughs at people carrying figures of Egyptian gods upon their fingers, specimens of which are still to be found, resembling the Crucifixings worn by certain anthropomorphic religionists in our day.

The two gems here figured illustrate other modes of representing the goddess. In one (fig. 5), a sard, a City solicits



FIG. 5.

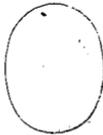


FIG. 6.



protection, as is shown by her gesture; in the other (fig. 6) the motive is expressed by the invocation BOHΘEI added on the reverse³.

¹ "Deae Caelestis *argenteum breve figmentum quocunque ibat secum solitus ferre.*" XXII. xiii. 3.

² A chryselephante colossus, made by Antiochus Epiphanes in emulation of the Olympic Zeus. It is carefully represented on a little coin of Julian's, with the legend APOLLONI SANCTO. Obv. GENIO ANTIOCHENO.

³ I take this opportunity of correcting a mistake into which I had been led by an imperfect copy of a gem in the possession of Mr Fortnum, described in the *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 169. The complete inscription reads ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΝΕΜΕΙΣ Η ΚΥΡΙΑ. The goddess is represented making the usual gesture with her right hand, but carries in her left hand what appears to be an orb; at her feet is a gryphon.

Archaeologists ought to be grateful to this pretty and innocent form of superstition, to which they owe the legacy of so many of these miniature treasures of art—the foremost place amongst which is to be assigned to our FORTUNA NEMESIS. From the Charvet cabinet she has recently winged her way to the *lararium* of the Rev. S. S. Lewis; upon whose fortunes may she shed as benign an influence as was ever invoked by her first possessor!

[*The illustrations in this Communication are from originals in the cabinet of the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.*]

XX. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE UNIVERSITY PRINTERS
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF PRINTING IN CAMBRIDGE
TO THE PRESENT TIME. Communicated by ROBERT
BOWES, Esq.

[January 28, 1884.]

INTRODUCTORY.

THE following pages are the result of an attempt to trace the succession of University printers and to ascertain how far and for how long each printer was actually engaged in the management of the Press. Many of the printers appointed before 1700 appear never to have been so engaged. These were for the most part graduate members of the University holding other offices (Esquire Bedell, Registrar, etc.) and received a small salary. The smallness of this salary (£5 a year, occasionally increased by a gratuity of the same amount) makes it seem probable that the office was looked upon as a sinecure, and that an appointment was made when a vacancy occurred in order to preserve the right of the University to appoint three printers. The printers of the latter class certainly held their office on a different footing, as, for instance, John Hayes was paying £100 a year to the University at the same time that Hugh Martin and Jonathan Pindar were receiving £5 a year from the University.

My information has been mainly obtained from well-known authorities, such as :

Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1749; and the second edition by Herbert, 3 vols., 1785-1790 (cited as Ames-Herbert).

Carter, *Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, 1753 (taken almost entirely from the first edition of Ames).

Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* and *Literary Illustrations*, 17 vols., 1812-1858.

Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 4 vols., 1824.

Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 4 vols., 1841-1852, and later writers. But beside these I have had the advantage of consulting certain sources of evidence, some of which are not so generally accessible, viz.:

1. Documents in the Registry.
2. A Chronological List (MS.) of all documents, entries in the Grace-books, and other material in the Registry relating to the Press, compiled by Mr A. P. Humphry.
3. The Minute-Book of the Curators of the Press, 1696-1740.
4. The Registers of the Stationers' Company from 1554 to 1640, edited by Edward Arber.
5. The Churchwardens' Books of St Mary the Great, 1583-1630.
6. The Churchwardens' Books of St Edward's, 1625-1670.
7. The Churchwardens' Books and Rate-Books, etc., of St Botolph's, 1646-1743, and Registers of Baptisms, Deaths, etc., 1617-1743.
8. The *Additions* to Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*. These sheets were never published. They were discovered in a grocer's shop, where they were being used as waste-paper, when only three copies could be made up. Of these three copies one is in the University Library, one in the Cambridge Free Library, and the third is in my possession. The sheets are

marked Vol. v. Q-Ff, pp. 225-448. Of Vol. v. only one part, pp. 1-128, has been published.

Besides eliciting a small amount of new matter, I have been enabled by consulting the above original sources to verify some statements which had appeared previously and to correct others.

Since the paper was read before the Society, I have received from friends many additions and corrections; and I am especially indebted to Mr F. Jenkinson, not only for the footnotes signed J., but for material help and advice on the paper as a whole. I shall still feel grateful to any one who will point out any inaccuracies that he may discover.

For access to the MS. matter my thanks are due to Dr Luard, Mr J. W. Clark, Mr A. P. Humphry, Mr C. J. Clay, Dr Campion, and the churchwardens of the several parishes named.

It will be convenient, as a preliminary step, to exhibit in a tabular form the chronological order of the printers, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, with the dates of their appointment.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF UNIVERSITY PRINTERS.

(In the following list the names of those who are not known to have printed anything are in italics.)

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1521. | John Siberch. | He disappears after 1522. |
| 1534. | <i>Nicholas Speryng.</i>
<i>Garratt Godfrey.</i>
<i>Sygar Nicholson.</i> | |
| 1539. | <i>Nicholas Pilgrim.</i> | |
| 1540. | <i>Richard Noke.</i> | |
| 1545. | <i>Peter Sheres.</i> | |
| 1577. | <i>John Kingston.</i> | |
| 1583. | Thomas Thomas, M.A. | d. 1588. |
| 1588. | John Legate. | d. 1620. |
| ? | <i>John Porter</i> (before 1593). | |
| 1606. | Cantrell Legge. | He did not print after 1625. |
| ? | <i>Thomas Brooke, M.A.</i> (before 1614). At least till 1621. | |

1622.	Leonard Greene.	d. 1630.
1625.	Thomas Buck, M.A.	Said to have resigned 1653.
	John Buck, M.A.	(?)
1630.	Francis Buck.	Resigned 1632.
1632.	Roger Daniel.	Patent cancelled 1650.
1650.	John Legate (the younger).	Patent cancelled 1655.
1655.	John Field.	d. 1668.
1669.	<i>Matthew Whinn.</i>	
1669.	John Hayes.	d. 1705.
1680.	<i>John Peck, M.A.</i>	
1682.	<i>Hugh Martin, M.A.</i>	
1683.	<i>Dr James Jackson.</i>	
1683.	<i>Jonathan Pindar.</i>	
1693.	<i>H. Jenkes.</i>	
1697.	<i>Jonathan Pindar.</i>	At least till 1730.
1701.	John Owen.	Bankrupt 1703.
1705.	Cornelius Crownfield.	Pensioned 1740.
1730.	W. Fenner.	
	Mrs Fenner	} Lease relinquished by Mrs Fenner 1738.
	Thomas James	
	John James	
1740.	Joseph Bentham.	Resigned 1766.
1758.	John Baskerville.	Nothing after 1763.
1766.	John Archdeacon.	Died 1795.
1793.	John Burges.	Died 1802.
1802.	John Deighton.	Resigned 1802.
1802.	Richard Watts.	Resigned 1809.
1804.	Andrew Wilson.	(?) 1811.
1809.	John Smith.	Pensioned 1826.
1836.	John William Parker.	Resigned 1853.
1854.	Charles John Clay.	
	George Seeley.	Retired 1856.
1882.	John Clay.	

1. JOHN SIBERCH.

John Siberch printed several books at Cambridge in the years 1521 and 1522; and although he was not, strictly speaking, a University printer, he naturally finds a place here as being in a certain sense the precursor of the University

printers. An entry in Dr Caius's *Annales*¹ under date 1569 informs us that Siberch occupied a house between the Gate of Humility and the Gate of Virtue under the sign of the *Arma Regia*. This statement is most interesting, as, besides marking the exact spot on which our first printer worked, it explains how the arms of France and England quarterly came to be used as a device in some of Siberch's books².

Erasmus writing³ on Christmas-day, 1525, to Dr Robert Aldrich of King's College, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, sends greetings to "veteres sodales Phaunum, Omfridum, Vachanum, Gerardum, Nicolaum, et Joannem Siburgum bibliopolas." Unless Erasmus had had no information about Siberch for some years, this would seem to imply that the latter was still in Cambridge in the year 1525.

Beyond this I have seen nothing that gives any information about Siberch; where he came from when he commenced printing in Cambridge in 1521, or what became of him after 1522. I should rejoice if the statement of this fact might lead some one with the necessary time and interest in the subject to try and supply these particulars.

The list of his books as found in the published bibliographies has grown up gradually. For two we are indebted to Maittaire in 1722; for three more to Palmer in 1732; Ames in 1749 raised the number to seven, and an eighth was added by Herbert in 1790. Since that date no fresh book from his press has been discovered. Ames suspected that there was a second book printed in 1522, having seen the last leaf of a book ending "Impressum in Alma Cantabrigia per me Joannem Siberch, anno Domini MDXXII 8 Decembris." But further investigation has not confirmed this suspicion. As the

¹ For this information I am indebted to Mr Bensly, Librarian of Caius College.

² See Appendix A.

³ *Opera* (Lugd. Bat. 1703), vol. III. pars. 1, col. 901 (epist. 782).

result of enquiries made for copies of books printed by Siberch, a copy of *Papyrius Geminus*, the eighth book in Herbert's list, was discovered in St John's College Library and brought to my notice by Dr Wood. The last leaf proved to contain the imprint quoted above, and it became evident that Ames was in fact describing a detached leaf of this book, of which he had apparently never seen a perfect copy.

In a volume in the same library containing two of the eight known books Thomas Baker has written these notes :

Erasmus *de conscribendis epistolis* and Henry Bullock's *Oration to Cardinal Wolsey* etc. are two of the first books, that I (or Mr Bagford who has seen more books than most men in England) ever saw, printed at Cambridge. One other book I have seen printed the same year [1521] and no more.

Dr Fuller [*Hist. of Cambr.*: P: 58, 59.] seems to be of the same opinion, tho' he had never seen Erasmus his book, as appears by mistakes there made.

I never could meet with another copy of either of these books in this University.

I have since seen one in C. C. C. of Erasmus.

Besides these two books, I have only seen one other printed by Siberch at Cambridge this year viz: an: 1521, and there he styles himself, *Joannes Siberch primus utriusque linguae in Angliâ impressor.*

T. B.

In Hearne's *Walter Hemyngforde* (p. 735) there is a somewhat similar note taken from a copy of Erasmus given to Hearne by Baker.

I have not entered into any details respecting the books printed by Siberch, as an examination of the eight books has been made by Mr Bradshaw, and his notes will appear in a reproduction of Bullock's *Oration*.

2. NICHOLAS SPERYNG.
3. GARRETT GODFREY.
4. SEGAR NICHOLSON.

This appointment was made by Grace of the Senate, under the power granted by letters patent of the king, July 20, 1534, "to assign and elect from time to time by writing under the seal of the Chancellor of the University three stationers and printers or sellers of books, residing within the University," etc.¹ They were to print or import for sale only books approved by the censors of the University. This was in accordance with a petition which had been presented to Wolsey by the University in 1529.

The terms of the Grace, which occurs last but one among the Graces from Mich. 1533 to Mich. 1534 (Grace Book F. 148), are as follows:

Yt ys grawntyd that the vnyuersyte shall assine & chose accordyng to your graunte lately made & geven yow by the Kyngs grace at the procuratyon and costis of Nycholas Sperynge, Garret Godfrey, & Segar Nycolsun the same forsayde three Statyoners to have & ynioy all & synguler lybertyes & priuilegis specyfyed yn the same graunte for terme of ther naturall lyvys, so that thei shall fullfyll at all tymes all & synguler dewtys mencioned yn the same graunte belongyng to them on ther party, and that thei may have this your assygnatyon & electyon of them yn wrytyngis sygnd wythe yowre common seale.

Speryng, Godfrey and Nicholson were all in business in Cambridge before their appointment as printers and stationers to the University; and although there is no reason to suppose that they ever printed anything, we can still point to books which are almost undoubtedly specimens of their work as binders².

Godfrey lived in St Mary's parish, and appears as one of the

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, vol. I. p. 368.

² See Appendix A.

Churchwardens in 1517; and in the Parish Book for the year 31 Hen. VIII. (1539) there are the following entries :

Item for the buryall of Garrett Godfreye vi^s viij^d.

* * *

Item for the dyрге of Garrett Godfraye ij^s.

and in the following years we still find

Item for Garrett Godfreys Dyрге vi^s.

It has been suggested¹ that Garrett Godfrey may be the same as Gerard the friend and bookseller of Erasmus, and "Garret our bookbynder" whom Ascham² mentions as well acquainted with the habits of Erasmus.

Speryng also lived in St Mary's parish, and appears as Churchwarden in 1516.

Nicholson was a member of Gonville Hall³; and it is remarkable, in view of his present appointment, that so lately as 1529 he had been accused of "holding Lutheran opinions "and having in his house the works of Luther and other prohibited books without presenting them to the Ordinary." In

¹ By Mr Searle in his *History of Queens' College*, p. 155, where (besides the letter written from Basle on Christmas Day, 1525, already mentioned, p. 287) he quotes *Opera*, vol. III. col. 130 (Epist. 148) salutabis... veterem hospitem meum Gerardum; col. 121-2 (Epist. 141) bibliopolam.

Mr Searle also quotes (*ib.* pp. 188, 189) two entries from the account books of Queens' College.

[1529.] Item Cegarto bibliopolle [Sygar Nicholson] pro constructione duorum illorum librorum in quibus statuta nostra conscribuntur cum reliquo eorundem ornatu et pro stapo papyri regii qui in eorum altero constringitur iiij s. iiij d.

[1531.] Item 2^o die Maji Gerardo [Goodfrey] bibliopola (*sic*) pro libro in quem statuta transcribuntur viiij d.

² *Toxophilus* (ed. Arber), p. 46.

³ Some interesting remarks upon the frequency with which members of the University in those days were engaged as tradesmen in the town, will be found in Mr Mullinger's *University of Cambridge to 1535*, p. 627.

⁴ Cooper's *Annals*, I 329. He quotes Baker MSS. xxiv. 82; "the following charges in the accounts of John Lyndesey and Thomas Wilson,

fact it seems to have been in connexion with this prosecution that the University applied to Wolsey for leave to appoint stationers who should be under their own control.

The names of Nicholson or Segar occur three times in Arber's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*.

1557. Fraunces Nycholson *alias* Seager (I. 69).

1565. Benjamin Nycholas *alias* Seger of Chambraye apprenticed (I. 285).

1595. Beniamyn Segar *alias* Nycolson receives an apprenticeship (II. 207).

5. NICHOLAS PILGRIM.

The Grace for his appointment as Printer is dated 16 October 1539, from which it would appear that he was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Garrett Godfrey.

6. RICHARD NOKE.

A Grace for sealing his Patent occurs in 1540.

7. PETER SHERES.

The Grace for his appointment as Stationer or Printer is dated 5 February 154 $\frac{1}{2}$.

8. JOHN KINGSTON.

The Grace for appointment of John Kingston is dated 8 February 157 $\frac{1}{2}$, and a copy of the Patent is in Grace-book

Proctors, appear to refer to this matter: 'To Edw. Heynes on account of his office as scribe in the proceedings against Sygar for Heresy, 8s.': 'To the minister of the University for keeping of the same Sygar in prison during the time of his examination, 3s. 4d.': 'For faggots for burning books, 4d.'"

Δ, 282 a. On 18 July 1577, Lord Burghley wrote to Dr Goad, Vice-Chancellor, on the subject of Kingston's appointment, and disapproved of printing Psalters, Prayer Books, &c., as interfering with the Queen's grants to Seres, Jugge, Day, and others¹. Notwithstanding the grant of the patent, Kingston seems never to have printed in Cambridge.

9. THOMAS THOMAS.

Thomas Thomas, born in London 25 December 1553, was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow in 1574. He was appointed University Printer by Grace 3 May 1583. He at once began to print a book by William Whitaker, but the Company of Stationers seized his press and materials. This seizure is spoken of in a letter, 1 June 1583, from the Bishop of London to Lord Burghley: "There was alsoe found one presse and furniture " which is saide to belonge to one Thomas a man (as I heare) " vtterlie ignoraunte in printinge, and pretendinge that he en- " tendeth to be the printer for the vniuersitie of Cambridge²." On June 14 of the same year the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, in reply to a letter from Lord Burghley suggesting a Conference with the Company of Stationers, urge the speedy return of Thomas's press that the Stationers had seized, and express the willingness of the University to confer with the Stationers. On the 16th of March, 1584, Lord Burghley replied to a further letter from the University, stating that he had submitted their Charter to the Master of the Rolls, who concurred with him in the opinion that it was valid³. On the 24th of July, 1584, Thomas Thomas, M.A. and printer, entered into

¹ Baker MSS. xxix. 374, quoted in Cooper's *Annals*, II. 357.

² Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 246.

³ Cooper, *Ann.* II. 393.

recognizances in 500 marks before the Vice-Chancellor, subject to the following condition :

If the said Tho. Thomas do not or shall not print or cause to be printed any book, pamphlet, or paper after he hath once finished Saddils works¹, which he hath now under his press, until further order shall be taken with him by the Rt Hon. the Lord Treasurer our Chancellor, Mr Vice-Chancellor, and the University, that then this recognizance to be void and of none effect, or else to stand in full strength².

In 1584 books began to issue from Thomas's press, and Herbert gives the titles of 17 that appeared between that year and 1588. He was at the same time engaged on his Latin Dictionary, which bears the date in the dedication of September 1587; and the great labour of this work is said to have brought on a grievous disease which shortened his life. He died 9 August 1588, and was buried in Great St Mary's Church³.

His attainments as a scholar and a printer combined are spoken of with admiration by his successor John Legate, in the dedication to Lord Chancellor Bacon of the 11th edition of the Latin Dictionary, published in 1619;

He was about 30 years ago a famous Printer among your Cantabrigians; yes something more than a Printer such as we now are, who understand the Latin that we print no more than Bellerophon the letters he, carried, and who sell in our shops nothing of our own except the paper *black with the press's sweat*⁴. But he, a companion of the Stephenses and of the other, very few, printers of the true kind and best omen, was of opinion that it was men of learning, thoroughly imbued with academic studies, who should give themselves to cultivating and rightly applying that illustrious benefit sent down from heaven and given to aid mankind and perpetuate the

¹ *Sadeelis Disputationes Theologicae et Scholasticae* published by Thomas in 1584, 4to.

² Baker MSS. III. 430, quoted by Cooper (*Additions to Annals*, p. 289), who also refers [*ib.* 301] to a letter, dated July 27, 1588, from the Bishop of Lincoln to Lord Burghley on behalf of Thomas, in MS. Baker, vi. 293; MS. Lansd. lvii., Art. 74; Heywood and Wright, *Univ. Trans.* i. 534.

³ Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* II. 29, 543.

⁴ 'preli sudore nigrantem'.

arts. Accordingly what more fit than that when he had wrought what was worthy of type, he should himself, needing aid of none, act as midwife to his own progeny.

Thomas's printing-office, according to Leonard Greene writing about 1629¹, was in the Regent Walk, which was immediately opposite the west door of St Mary's Church.

I can find only two entries in the Parish Book that refer to Thomas. In the Churchwardens' accounts for 1584 he appears as paying 6s. 8d. rate; and in 1589 Mrs Thomas pays "for the buriall of her husband 6s. 8d."

10. JOHN LEGATE.

John Legate, the immediate successor of Thomas, was appointed by Grace, 2 November 1588, "as he is reported to be skilful in the art of printing books." He was the first who used (from 1603 onward) the impression of the *Alma Mater Cantabrigiæ* with the motto *Hinc lucem et pocula sacra* round it, and he seems to have printed at Cambridge till about 1609. He is stated by Carter to have resigned in 1607; but while after 1609(?) all books with his name have *London* on the title-page, he still continues to call himself 'Printer to the University' and to use the University design. His right to this title is confirmed by an entry in a MS. account of the University written by John Scot, Notary Public, in 1617, where his name appears, with those of 'Canterell Legg' and Thomas Brooke, as one of the three University printers.

In the Registers of the Company of Stationers (Arber IV. 45), there is an entry by John Legate (the younger); 21 August 1620, of certain books "the copies of John Legat his father lately deceased," so that we may take 1620 to be the year of his death,

¹ Registry MS. 33. 1. 11. The passage is quoted below in my notes on Thomas Buck (p. 300).

and not 1626 as stated by Ames and subsequent writers¹. He was admitted and sworn a Freeman of the Stationers' Company in April, 1586², and was Master of the Company in 1604³. He married Agatha, daughter of Christopher Barker, the King's printer, and left 11 children, his son John succeeding him⁴.

In 1612, an edition of Perkins's Works is described as to be sold at his house in Trinitie Lane. This, Mr Henry B. Wheatley informs me, was called after the Church of the Holy Trinity, which was destroyed in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, and is described as between Old Fish Street and Bow Lane.

Under date 1 August 1597, the following entry appears in the Stationers' Registers⁵, showing that at that date Legate was recognized by the Stationers as University printer :

WHEREAS John legat hath printed at Cambridge by Auctoritie of the vniuersitie there a booke called the *Reformed Catholike*: This seid booke is here Registered for his copie so that none of this Company shall prynt yt from hym. PROVIDED that this entrance shalbe voyd yf the seid booke be not Authorised by the seid vniuersitie as he saieth it is, vj^d.

He had a grant of the exclusive right of printing for a term of years Thomas's *Dictionary*, as augmented by him [Legate]; and the 11th edition, from the dedication of which an extract has been made under Thomas Thomas (see p. 293), appeared in 1619, the year before his death. This right was renewed to John Legate, his son, on behalf of himself and 10 others his brothers and sisters, 11 February 1620⁶.

Legate's name appears in the St Mary's Parish Book from 1590 to 1610: from 1591 to 1609 there is an annual entry "For Rent of hys shopp 5s.", and in 1610, "Received of Mr Williams

¹ It is a further confirmation of this that in John Scot's *Foundation of the University* written in 1621 (British Museum, Add. MSS. 11720), Legge and Brooke are given as printers, while the third place is left blank.

² Arber II. 696.

³ Arber II. 737.

⁴ Ames *Typographical Antiquities*, page 462.

⁵ Arber III. 88.

⁶ Rymer's *Foedera* xvii. 283, quoted by Ames-Herbert, page 1419.

“for Mr Leggatt’s Rent 5s.” In 1599, “For buriall of a Child wh. died at Mr Leggatt’s.” In 1609, he was elected Churchwarden¹.

Leonard Greene in a document already alluded to², says that Legate hired a house in the Regent Walk for his printing-office; and as Greene lived in St Mary’s parish from 1612, he must have been in a position to have accurate information on the subject. Could this be the shop for which Legate paid rent 5s. to the parish?

11. JOHN PORTER.

On 17 June 1593, John Porter and John Legate prosecuted John Tidder in the Vice-Chancellor’s court for offering books for sale in the Cambridge market³. I can find no record of Porter’s appointment, but he lived in Cambridge⁴, and was evidently one of the stationers appointed by the University at this time. He was a member of the Stationers’ Company, and is probably the John Porter of Haslyngfylde who was apprenticed to Cutbert in 1568 (Arber, *Stat. Reg.* I. 375). Some of Perkins’s books are printed for him (in 1595, etc.) with John Legate, and Walsall’s Sermon in 1607 ‘for I. Porter and Len: Greene of Cambridge.’

12. CANTRELL LEGGE.

Cantrell Legge was apprenticed to his predecessor John Legate, as appears from the following entry :

1589: 26 April. Cantrell Legge some of Edwarde Legge of Burcham in the Countie of Norfolk Y[e]oman, hath put himselfe apprentice to John Legat Citizen and Stacioner of London for Eighte yeres from midsomer nexte [24 June 1589] ij^s vj^d solutum gardiano .6. maij⁵.

¹ “Also Mr Legatt, and Walter Betson were chosen churchwardens for the yere and have payd for their dismissal for a fine eyther of them x^s. to thuse of the said parish.” Parish Book Great St Mary’s, 1609.

² Registry MS. 33. I. 11.

³ Registry MS. 33. 2. 1.

⁴ See Appendix C.

⁵ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* II. 157.

Legge was sworn and admitted freeman of the Stationers' Company, 11 December 1599¹. He was appointed printer to the University by Grace, 5 June 1606. He is said to have been in partnership with Legate, but their names never appear together, and Legate's name never appears as Legge's agent in London for the books printed at Cambridge, which would have been but natural had any partnership existed. From the date of Legge's appointment entries of books under his name occur very frequently in the Stationers' Registers, and in nearly all cases in connection with some of the London Stationers—Leonard Greene, Thomas Man, &c.—showing the kind of partnership that still to a small extent exists in what are known as "Trade editions."

With the growth of the Cambridge press the difficulties with the Stationers' Company seem to have increased, for in 1620 Legge petitioned the Lords in Council on a prosecution by the company for printing Lilly's *Grammar*². On 29 November 1623 the Privy Council made an order defining the rights of the University³. But this evidently did not satisfy the Stationers, as in 1624 the company complained that

About two yeares since one legg, printer of Cambridge, printed great numbers of Psalmes, and endeavored to iustifie the Doing thereof, by Colour of some generall wordes in a Charter made by King Henry the VII^Jth to that vniuersity...The said Legg being assisted by the vice Chancellor, and some Doctors proceeded in printing the *psalmes* to the great hindrance of the Companie of Staconers and almost to their vtter vndoing⁴.

The complaint also extends to the printing of Almanacks. In the year 1623 there was a grace of the Senate to examine the orders concerning the printers. Legge died in or before 1629, as on June 1 of that year his widow transfers her interest in 16 books of her late husband to Boler⁵.

¹ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* II. 724.

² See Appendix B.

³ Cooper's *Ann.* III. 161—2.

⁴ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* IV. 527.

⁵ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 212.

Legge appears in the Parish Book of St Mary the Great from 1607 to 1623.

In MS. Coll. Regin. Oxon. clv. p. 227 is the certificate of Nicholas Hide and Thomas Richardson, Attorney and Solicitor-General, as to the difference between Norton, the King's printer, and Legge, the printer to the University of Cambridge, 1621. (Cooper's *Additions to Annals*, 331).

13. THOMAS BROOKE, M.A., Clare.

The date of Brooke's appointment does not appear; but on 2 June 1614 there was a Grace for granting him a new patent, as he had lost his old one. There is in the Registry (MS. 33. 1. 6.) his resignation dated December 4; but without year. This could not have been before 1621, as in the copy of the MS. 'Foundation of the University of Cambridge' by John Scot written in that year¹, his name still appears as one of the printers.

He probably resigned in the year 1624, in which case Leonard Greene, who was appointed in 1622, would be in place of John Legate, who died in 1620; and Thomas and John Buck appointed in 1625 would take the places of Cantrell Legge and Thomas Brooke. Brooke also held the office of Esquire Bedell; he died in 1629.

14. LEONARD GREENE.

Leonard Greene was a member of the Company of Stationers, having been admitted freeman April 14, 1606²; and the first book registered with his name appears in the following month:

John Porter & Leonard Grene. Entred for their copie vnder the handes of Master Pasfield & Master Norton Warden Meditacons Diuine & Morall, a third Centurie [By Bishop Joseph Hall] vj.

¹ See p. 295, *note*.

² Arber III. 683.

He was appointed one of the printers to the University by Grace, Oct. 31, 1622¹, and on Dec. 16, 1625, there is a second Grace for sealing a patent to him in conjunction with Thomas and John Buck².

How long his connection with the University lasted can only be inferred from a statement of his own. In a document³ containing charges against his partner, Thomas Buck, he avers that he had a knowledge of books and printing "by reason of his trade therein for the space of thirtie years almost." If this period included the time of his apprenticeship, it would date from about the year 1599, so that these charges were probably written about the year 1629. In the same document he claims to have sent everything to the Cambridge press, even books that were entirely his own property, and as we find in 1630 a book printed in London "for Leonard Greene of Cambridge," it is probable that his connection with the Cambridge press had ceased by that time. I do not find any entries in Arber's Registers after the year 1629.

The following entries occur in the St Mary's Parish Book. In 1612, Greene appears as paying jointly with W. Williams (described in 1607 as "bookbynder") 'Rent of shops 13s. 4d.' In the following year each name is entered separately for the same property, Leonard Greene "For hys shop at the south side of the steple, 6s. 8d.", while Williams pays a like sum for the shop on the north side. From 1614 to 1617, the two names appear together as paying jointly, and after the latter year the entry ceases. From 1620 to 1629, Greene pays annually a sum

¹ The imprint in Crakenthorpe's *De Providentia Dei* (March, 1623) is 'Cantabrigiæ, impensis Leonardi Greene unius e Typographis Academiæ.' J.

² Accordingly in William Bedell's Latin version of Pietro Sarpi's *History of Italy under Paul V.* (the dedication of which is dated March 28, 1626), we find Thomas and John Buck and Leonard Greene appearing together on the title-page as University Printers. J.

³ This is the document (Registry MS. 33. 1. 11) already alluded to, p. 294 and p. 296, and quoted on p. 300.

of 4s.; in 1623 and 1626, he signs the Churchwardens' accounts as one of the Auditors; and he would appear to have died in 1630, as in that year there is an entry "for buriall of Mr Leonard Greene, 6s. 8d."

15. THOMAS BUCK.

Thomas Buck, M.A. and one of the Esquire Bedells, was appointed by Grace, July 13, 1625. He would appear to have held the office of printer, or to have retained some interest in it, for upwards of 40 years, as after the death of John Field in 1668 there is a petition of T. and J. Buck against his estate. During this time Buck had several partners, none of whom seem to have found it easy to work with him, and much of the information that we get regarding the press is derived from their complaints and petitions addressed to the University authorities. The first is Leonard Greene, who was appointed three years before him, and in whose petition we read :

That whereas L. Gr. beinge acquainted with the matter of bookes and printinge by reason of his trade therein for the space of thirtie yeeres almost, and Mr Bucke being unexperienced, haveing lead a students life, the said L. Gr. did hide nothinge and conceale nothinge from the said Mr Bucke nor spare any paines (although to the hindrance of his owne busines divers from this) whereby the common benefite of the presse might be furthered.

That for divers copies the sole printinge whereof the said L. Gr. might have had for his owne profite as he is of the Company of Stationers of London, he hath ever brought to this presse, notwithstandinge he hath but a third part therein (and some of them and the best were his before ever Mr Bucke came into the place), and besides the charge of printinge at Cambridge is deerer then at London¹.

Greene then proceeds to complain of Buck taking as a new printing-office in his own name, and without consulting him; the Angel², "leased from Mr Lukyns," Greene desiring instead

¹ Registry MS. 33. 1. 11.

² Called at different times St Mary's Hostel, New Inn, and Angel. It stood, as I am informed by Mr J. W. Clark, on the site now occupied by the Senate House and the portion of Senate House Passage between that

“that the presse might be placed in a house most convenient for all their coming to it, as the Regent walke (in all men’s opinion the fittest), which Thomas and Legatt had successivelie all their time hired—or els at the house where Mr Craine dwelt’.”

Thomas Buck’s next partner was his brother John, also one of the Esquire Bedells, who was appointed by Grace Dec. 16, 1625, and who probably printed in partnership with him² from that time, although I find no record of any partnership arrangement. As early as 1627, we find the names of T. and J. Buck alone together on the title-page of a poem by Phineas Fletcher³. On May 15, 1632, articles of agreement were drawn up between T. and J. Buck, by which John assigned his printing patent to Thomas for seven years for a payment of £56 a year, and agreed to execute his brother’s duties as Bedell during this period. Within two years of this agreement, differences arose between the two brothers, and copies of documents relating to these differences are in the Registry (MS. 33. 1. 21). The two brothers however retained a joint interest in the press to a much later period, as they appear together as claimants against John Field’s estate in 1668.

Roger Daniel was appointed by Grace July 24, 1632, and articles of agreement were entered into between him and Thomas Buck, Aug. 21–22 following. From MS. 33. 1. 19, we learn that

building and Caius College. In the Audit book, 1695, there is an entry “To the Bursar of Bennet College a years rent for the ten’ called St Mary’s Hostel, now part of the New Inn due Mich. 1695 £1 4 0.” This site however would seem to be as central as the Regent walk itself.

¹ There is a note in the St Mary’s Parish. Book by the late Mr Thomas Stevenson to the effect that Mr Craine’s house was that in which he was then (1837) living. The house (at the corner of Trinity and St Mary’s Streets) is that now occupied by Macmillan and Bowes, and before Stevenson’s time was occupied by Nicholson, commonly called ‘Maps.’

² See note on p. 299.

³ *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, etc. by Phineas Fletcher. Cambridge, 1627. 4to. J.

Daniel agreed to take

That Capitall message and tenement called the Augustine Fryars¹ wherein the said Thomas Buck now dwelleth together with the printyng house & all other houses yards orchards closes wayes & all other easements & commodities thereunto belonging,

for a period of six years at the rate of £190 a year paid quarterly, this sum to include the two patents of Thomas Buck and John Buck.

On Feb. 2, 1633, new articles of agreement² were entered into for five years, by which Thomas Buck was to receive two-thirds of the profits and Roger Daniel one-third. On March 14, 1634, or in less than two years from the first agreement, Daniel complains³: "that whereas the petitioner was about August last "was twelve month chosen to be one of the University printers"...he had been led by Buck to enter upon conditions that he was not able to fulfil, and he asks the University to allow him to print independently of Buck. In a document⁴ written at the same time as the petition from which the foregoing extracts are taken, he represents to the University the advantage that would arise from the establishment of more than one printing house.

That parting of the printers will beget in them a laudable emulation which of them shall deserve best either in the books set forth, or the manner of their setting forth, or the materials.

It would appear therefore that although the University continued the old practice of appointing three printers, only one office existed up to this date. Notwithstanding these complaints, the partnership between T. Buck and Daniel did not come to an end, as their names occur together for several years, and on Sept. 5, 1639, articles of agreement were entered into between Buck and Daniel on the one part and certain London stationers on the other. The press was in a condition of great activity during the period that Buck was connected with it. There was

¹ The site of the New Museums in Pembroke Street and Free School Lane.

² MS. 33. 1. 20.

³ MS. 33. 1. 22.

⁴ MS. 33. 1. 23.

an agreement with Edward Weaver¹, a London stationer, for three years to supply 500 reams of Almanacks; while not less than nine editions of the Bible were printed between 1628 and 1640.

From 1640 to 1650, Buck's name does not occur on the title-pages of books², but only Daniel's. In the latter year, however, Daniel's patent was withdrawn, and in 1651 and 1652, Buck's name again appears as 'printer to the University.' He is said to have resigned in 1653, but I cannot discover the authority for this statement, and as has already been seen, he claimed some interest in the business in 1668, only two years before his death in 1670.

Buck was elected Fellow of Catharine Hall, March 16, 161 $\frac{1}{2}$, being then B.A. He took an active part in College affairs, especially in acquiring land for the new building, and "out of the love and affection which he beareth to our said College" advanced money out of his own pocket for this purpose, as appears by entries in the College books between 1622 and 1637. In 1622, he was "M.A. and Fellow"; Jan. 27, 162 $\frac{3}{4}$, "Fellow and late Steward"; 1624, "one of the Esquire Bedells"; 1630, (Jan. 7) he is described as "late Fellow". Between 1624 and 1630, only two Fellows were elected, viz. July 9, 1627 and Jan. 7, 1630, and one of these must have been in the place of Buck. The Rev. G. F. Browne (who has kindly made the extracts from the College books from which the above facts are taken) inclines to the later date.

In 1632, Buck was living³ at the house called the 'Augustine Friars,' which is in the parish of St Edward, and as his name is in the parish book of St Edward's in 1667 and 1669, it is probable that he continued to live there till the time of his death.

¹ MS. 33. 1. 12, 13.

² In 1640, Gerard's *Meditations* is printed by Roger Daniel for Thomas Buck. J.

³ See p. 302.

16. JOHN BUCK.

John Buck, one of the Esquire Bedells, was appointed printer by Grace, Dec. 16, 1625, and seems to have been living in 1668. Such particulars as are known respecting his connexion with the Press will be found under Thomas Buck. He was married and lived in the Parish of St Botolph. A son, Samuel, was baptised Nov. 18, 1632. Another son, John, was baptised June 11, 1635, and buried June 4, 1636. In 1669 "Mrs Bucke, John Bucke's wife was buried." In 1660, there is an entry of £5 received from Mr John Buck given by Mr Brooks for the poor of St Botolph Parish.

17. FRANCIS BUCK.

Francis Buck was appointed printer by Grace, Oct. 27, 1630, and resigned July 21, 1632, so that he held the office for less than two years. His name does not occur in any of the agreements between Thomas Buck and his various partners, nor have I ever seen it on the title-page of any book.

18. ROGER DANIEL.

Daniel was appointed by Grace July 24, 1632, and it has been necessary to give the main facts of his connection with the Cambridge press in a preceding section—that on Thomas Buck. I cannot find his name among those who were admitted freemen of the Stationers' Company up to the year 1640. In the year 1638 I find on the title-page of a large Bible Printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel "and are to be Sold by Roger Daniel, at the Angell in Lumber Street, London." His name occurs on title-pages at a later date at the Angell, and it is therefore clear that while acting as one of the printers to

the University, he had a book shop, perhaps also a printing office, in London.

On 23 August, 1642, the House of Commons ordered

That Roger Daniell, Printer to the University of Cambridge, be forthwith summoned to attend the House, concerning printing the Book set forth in Defence of the Commission of Array¹.

And on September 3 it was ordered

That Mr Daniel, the Printer of the University of Cambridge, be enjoined by this House, not to print anything concerning the Proceedings of Parliament, without the Consent or Order of one or both Houses of Parliament: And that he be discharged of further Attendance².

In January 164 $\frac{2}{3}$ the House of Commons took offence at the publication of *The Resolving of Conscience*, etc., by Henry Fern, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Chester. Roger Daniel was taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms for printing this work; but on the 2nd of February the House ordered him to be forthwith bailed, and on the production of the warrant for the printing under the hand of Dr Holdsworth, the Vice-Chancellor, it was

Resolved, upon the Question, that Dr Holdsworth forthwith be sent up, in safe Custody, at his own charges: and that Captain Cromwell be desired to take care to send him up accordingly³.

Daniel's patent was cancelled for neglect on June 1, 1650, but he continued to print books in London; for instance, in 1651⁴, his shop is "in vico vulgò dicto Pater-noster-row, aulâ vero Lovellianâ," and in 1658 he appears as the printer of a book 'at the Angel'.

¹ *His Majesties answer to the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, Concerning the Commission of Array: Of the first of July 1642.* Printed by his Majesties speciall command, At Cambridge, By Roger Daniel, Printer to the famous Universitie. 1642. 4to.

² *Commons' Journals*, II. 733, 751 quoted in Cooper Ann. III. 332.

³ *Commons' Journals*, II. 900, 951, quoted in Cooper Ann. III. 337.

⁴ See the titlepage of *Patriarchæ sive Iesu Christi Genealogia per Mundi ætates traducta a D. Emanuele Thesauro.* 1651. 8°. J.

19. JOHN LEGATE (THE YOUNGER).

John Legate, the younger, was admitted freeman of the Stationers' Company 6 September, 1619, and in the following year entered¹ certain publications of his father, 42 books in all, 26 of them being by Perkins. He is said by Ames to have obtained in 1626 licence to print Thomas's *Dictionary*, and he continued to use the University stamp and to describe himself on the title-pages of books² as Printer to the University, as his father had done, although I can find no reference to any appointment till 1650. It seems probable therefore that until this year he traded on his father's name. He was appointed one of the University printers by Grace July 5, 1650, evidently in succession to Roger Daniel, whose patent was cancelled on June 1 of the same year. On October 10, 1655, Legate's own patent was cancelled for neglect.

In a list [without date: about 1635] of "The names of suche as keepe printing-houses" there is the following entry:

Master John Legate succeeded John Legate his ffather about 14 yeeres since, I beleeve never admitted, but as I have beene credibly informed his ffather being Printer for Cambridge, and there printing some of the [Stationers'] Companies privileged Ware, to their prejudice; was by the Company allowed to set up and worke here on condicon he would doe so no more (he hath no other right) (he hath sold away his printing house at Cambridg[e])³.

In the Register of St Botolph Parish there is the following entry:

1642. John Leggat and Elizabeth Grime married June 25.

¹ Arber iv. 45.

² e.g. in 1626, 1628, 1633, 1648.

³ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 701 from *State Papers* Charles I. vol. 307, Art. 86. The sentences printed within brackets are added subsequently.

20. JOHN FIELD.

John Field was appointed printer by Grace Oct. 12, 1655. Before that date he was "printer to the parliament," in which capacity he produced many editions of the Bible, that of 1653 in 32mo. forming the subject of an article in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, "Pearl Bibles, and 6000 errata." His name occurs on the title-page of Bibles as early as 1648 and as late as 1668, the year of his death. He would seem to have continued his London press, at least for a time, after the date of his appointment as printer at Cambridge, as books were printed by him in 1658, in which he describes himself as "one of His Highness's Printers." In a pamphlet entitled *The London Printers Lamentacon, or, the Press opprest, and ouerprest*, there is a fierce attack on Field and the two other Republican printers, Newcome and Hills:

Who printed the pretended Act of the Commons of England for the setting up an High Court of Justice, for the tryall of his Martyred Majesty in 1648? Or, the Acts for abolishing King-Ship, and renouncing the Royall Line and Title of the Stuarts? Or, for the Declaring what Offences should be adjudged Treason? For taking the Engagement? for sale of Dean and Chapters Lands? for sale of the Kings, Queens and Princes Goods and Lands; and the Fee-farme Rents? for sale of Delinquents Lands; or, the Proclamation of 13. of September 1652 after the fight at Worcester, offering, One Thousand pound to any person, to bring in his Majesties person? but only John Field Printer to the Parliament of England (and since by Cromwell was and is continued printer to the University of Cambridge!)...Have they [Hills and Field] not invaded and still do intrude upon His Maiesties Royall Priviledge, Prærogative and Præeminence; and by the pusillanimous Cowardize and insignificant Compact of Master Christopher Barker [the younger], and another of his name, and (not without probable suspicion) by the consent and connivance of Master John Bill (though he was artificially defeated in his expectations of profit;) Have they not obtained, (and now keep in their actual possession) the Manuscript Copy of the last Translation of the holy Bible in English (attested with the hands of the Venerable and learned Translators in King James his time) ever since 6 March 1655?¹

¹ Arber, *Stat. Reg.* III. 27, 28.

There is a letter dated August 17, 1668, from Charles II. to the Vice-Chancellor, desiring that a printer be not yet appointed in succession to the late John Field, whose estate is considerably engaged in the service of the press. Field appears in the St Botolph Parish Books as paying rates from 1657 to 1668. He held office in 1660 as Churchwarden and Headbrow¹. Field built in 1655 a new Printing Office in Silver Street (Carter 469), the University having for that purpose taken a lease of the ground from Queens' College for a term of years; and by several renewals this continued to be the University printing-office till about 1827, when the Pitt Press was commenced. It stood on the north side of Silver Street, on a portion of the site now occupied by the new Master's Lodge of St Catharine's College.

21. MATTHEW WHINN, M.A., ST JOHN'S.

The Grace for sealing Whinn's patent is dated 16 March, 1669. He also held the office of Registry, to which he was elected in 1645.

22. JOHN HAYES.

John Hayes was appointed printer by Grace Oct. 14, 1669, it having been decided by the Heads of houses on July 7 to lease the printing to him for £100 a year, the office having been left open for nearly a year in consequence of the letter of Charles II. of August 17, 1668, already alluded to under John Field. There is in the Registry a bond (dated 28 October,

¹ Head-borough, Head-borrow. In England formerly the chief of a frank-pledge, tithing, or decennary, consisting of ten families. Called in some counties Bors-holder, that is, Borough's elder, and sometimes tithing-man. In England Head-boroughs are now known by the name of Petty-constables. *Imperial Dictionary* (Ogilvie and Annandale, 1883).

1703), by which J. Hayes and J. Collyer undertake to pay £150 a year to the University so long as Hayes continues Printer¹. He seems to have done so until the following year, and from a tablet in Botolph Church we find that he died 28 November 1705, aged 71. In the year 1696 active measures were taken to improve the condition of the press. The Duke of Somerset, Chancellor, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor on June 29 of that year suggesting the re-establishment of the press; stating that £800 had been raised towards the erection of a new building, and offering to endeavour to raise a further like sum. In this work however Hayes would appear to have had no part, as in all arrangements for the purchase of new type, &c., his successor, Cornelius Crownfield, who was then acting as Inspector of the Press, seems to have been always employed.

From the time of Field, 1655, the University Printing Office has continued in the Parish of St Botolph², and the printers therefore appear as ratepayers, &c., in that parish. Hayes so appears from 1669 to 1705; in 1672 he was elected sidesman and in 1669 churchwarden.

23. JOHN PECK, M.A., ST JOHN'S.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 20 October 1680. He also held the office of Esquire Bedell, to which he was elected in 1669.

¹ Registry MS. 33. 1. 32.

² Samuel Sewall, the American judge, describes it in 1689. 'By it [Katherine Hall] the Printing Room, which is about 60 foot long and 20 foot broad. Six Presses. Had my cousin Hull and my name printed there. Paper windows, and a pleasant garden along one side between Katherine Hall and that. Had there a Print of the Combinations.' *England in 1689. Being extracts from a Diary etc.* Communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, U.S.A., 1878; by James Greenstreet: Printed for the Society, 1878, and reprinted in *Walford's Antiquarian* for September, 1885, page 129.

24. HUGH MARTIN, M.A., PEMB.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 9 December 1682. He received a salary of £5, but in the year 1691 there is a Grace for an augmentation by consent of the Heads for three years, and during that and the two following years there is an extra payment of £5 to him and to Jonathan Pindar. On October 10, 1698, there is a Grace for an annuity of £5 each to Martin and Pindar, "formerly elected printers." Martin received that salary certainly till 1705, and probably till 1716. He also held the office of Esquire Bedell from 1680 to 1716.

25. DR JAMES JACKSON.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 7 November 1683.

26. JONATHAN PINDAR¹.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 11 June 1686.

27. H. JENKES.

Grace for sealing Patent 30 March 1693. He received a salary of £5, with an extra £5 "by consent of the Heads." In 1698 there is in the Audit Book Mr Halman for Mr Jenkes 1 year and a $\frac{1}{2}$ as printer, £7. 10s.; more, an additional gift to Mr Jenkes "as he is a poor man", £7. 10s.

¹ The name of Pindar occurs frequently in the University Books and Parish Registers. A Jonathan Pindar appears in the St Mary's Parish Book in 1625. From the Audit Books we learn that in 1656-7 Jonathan Pindar received £5 "in consideration of his paines in the Library in transcribing severall Catalogues"; and in 1692, 1693, 1694 payments were made to a bookbinder of the name. In 1693 there is a payment "To Goodwife Pindar by order of the Audit £3."

28. JONATHAN PINDAR.

The Grace for sealing his Patent is dated 8 September 1697. Like his namesake, he received as printer a salary of £5, with additions. On August 28, 1730, there is a Grace declaring the voidance of the office of Printer to be necessary before certain proposals for printing Bibles and Prayer-Books can be settled, and offering Pindar the continuance of his full salary after his resignation.

29. CORNELIUS CROWNFIELD.

The nomination and pricking for election of Crownfield took place December 16, 1705, and the Grace for sealing his patent is of date Feb. 11, 170 $\frac{5}{8}$ ¹. But although his formal appointment did not take place until this date, he was engaged in the service of the press for many years before the death of John Hayes, and would seem to have been the business adviser of the Curators of the press from 1698, the year in which they were first appointed².

There exists among the documents at the Press the Minute-book of the Curators from 1698 to 1741, which affords much information about the work then going on, and from which copious extracts have been made in Mr Chr. Wordsworth's *University Studies*, Appendix IX. At the meeting of the Curators on August 23, 1698 (which appears to have been the first), leave is given to Mr Tonson, of London, to print 4to. editions of Virgil, Horace, Terence, Catullus, Tibullus, and Pro-

¹ After the revolution, one Cornelius Crownfield, a Dutchman, who had been a soldier, and a very ingenious man, had that office, as he told me himself in Cambridge in 1739, and is since succeeded by Mr Joseph Bentham. Ames (1749) p. 462.

² Grace January 21, 169 $\frac{7}{8}$. Among the Curators is "Mr Laughton, Coll: Trin: Academiæ Architypographus."

pertius; and on the same day it was agreed that Cornelius Crownfield have leave to send to Rotterdam for 300 lbs. of double pica for printing the same. On Nov. 9, 1698, it was resolved that Mr Crownfield be allowed ten shillings per week for the inspection of the press. In the minutes of March 1, 1698, an order is directed to be signed by "the Delegates and Mr Crownfield the Printer."

The University now for the first time undertook to manage the Press for itself. Hitherto the University had appointed the printers in the first instance, but had left them to make the business arrangements at their own risk, and print what they chose, so long as it obtained the *imprimatur* of the University authorities. Henceforward every book printed was sanctioned directly by the Curators, who determined the price per sheet, and among other details appointed some competent person to correct for the press.

The minutes consist largely of permissions to Cambridge booksellers to print books at the press; the names of these booksellers, Webster, Jeffery, etc., are found on the title-pages. Among them frequently appears the name of Crownfield himself, from which it would seem that he was a bookseller on his own account, as well as being University printer. An agreement with Tonson of London is mentioned above; one book at least is printed for a Newcastle bookseller. On October 4, 1701¹, they entered into an agreement with John Owen of Oxford Stationer for the production of an edition of Suidas' Lexicon, 3 vols. folio; Owen to pay £1. 10s. 6d. per sheet, paying for the first 100 copies when the second 100 were ready for delivery, and so on, six months credit being given for the last 200. The whole stock was to remain at the Press as security till paid for. Owen evidently was unable to fulfil his part of the engagement, as on April 16, 1703, a Grace was passed for a new contract with Sir T. Jansson,

¹ Registry MS. 33. 6. 31; Minutes of the Curators, p. 18.

in place of John Owen, insolvent. Owen's failure placed the University in difficulties with regard to the work, and correspondence and negotiations respecting it went on for a period of 40 years. Owen had one large book printed in Cambridge in 1703—the first volume of Cellarius' Geography. The second volume was printed at Amsterdam in 1706.

On Feb. 25, 1740, a resolution was passed to appoint a new inspector, and to allow the present, now infirm, to continue his full salary; and on March 24, 1740, it was resolved that Joseph Bentham be appointed in the room of C. Crownfield.

Crownfield was living in the parish of St Edward from 1700 to 1704, as, with other parishioners, he signs the parish book at the Easter meeting in each of those years. He may have been living there before 1700, but there is no list of parishioners given in the book. From 1707 he appears in the rate book of St Botolph. In that year there is an entry of a 22 months' rate "Cornelius Crownfield for the Univ. £1. 13s. 0d.," the first time it appears in this form, and probably the first time that the rate was paid directly by the University, as Hayes paid a fixed sum to the University for his printing rights, and so would pay rate on his own account. In 1726 the rent on which Crownfield is rated is £16, and his name continues till 1742. In the registers there are entries of baptisms and burials of several children: 1710, James baptized; 1710, Anne-Penelope, baptised; 1711, Catern buried; 1714, Thomas, baptized¹. In 1733 is an entry "Mary, wife of Cornelius Crownfield, buried" and Nov. 4, 1743, Cornelius Crownfield, printer to the University.

In St Botolph Book, March 1, 1715, is the following entry:

Received of Mr Crownfield for the year 1708 seven shillings for a piece

¹ There were two of the name of Crownfield who graduated at Clare: Henry, entered July 9, 1715, pupil of Mr Laughton; Thomas, entered May 27, 1729, pupil of Dr Wilcox, afterwards Fellow of Queens'. The latter would not improbably be the son of Cornelius Crownfield.

30. W. FENNER, MRS FENNER, AND THOMAS AND JOHN JAMES.

It will be more convenient to deal with these four names together. On December 29, 1730, the Syndics resolved to lease the right of printing Bibles and Prayer-Books to James and Fenner; and on April 23, 1731, a lease was granted to W. Fenner for 11 years. This license was granted to Fenner for the special purpose of printing from stereotype plates. In Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. II. 721 will be found a full account of this matter, from which we quote :

William Ged, an ingenious artist, was a Goldsmith in Edinburgh, and made his improvement in the art of printing in 1725 * * * * In July 1729 William Ged entered into partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, who was to have half the profits, in consideration of his advancing all the money requisite. To supply this Mr John James, then an Architect at Greenwich,.....was taken into the scheme, and afterwards his brother, Mr Thomas James, a Founder, and James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730 these partners applied to the University of Cambridge for permission to print Bibles and Prayer-Books by Blocks instead of single types, and, in consequence, a lease was sealed to them April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two Prayer-Books : so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738.

It will be seen that the first attempt to work from stereotype plates was made at Cambridge, and that it was not at that time successful. Fenner died insolvent about the year 1734, and his widow continued the printing under the lease, notwithstanding the strong protests of John James, who claimed that *he* had got the concession from the University, that he and his brother Thomas had found about £1000 of the capital for which they had had no return, and that Fenner's name was inserted in the lease only because he was a practical printer, while his partners were not. There was a long correspondence between John James and the University, in which he charged the Fenners with dishonesty towards him; and to these charges

Mrs Fenner replied. The matter was only settled in 1738, by a composition, and Mrs Fenner relinquishing the lease.

Certain London Stationers, with Baskett, King's Printer, entered June 28, 1732, a Bill in Chancery against Fenner for printing Bibles, but on August 4, 1733, an order was obtained to dissolve the injunction against the defendants. Although the action was taken against Fenner, it was really an attack on the printing rights of the University.

Thomas and John James were the sons of a London type founder; Thomas, who was also a type founder, was greatly injured in purse and in health from his connection with Ged's invention, and died in 1738.

At a later period stereotyping was revived by Alexander Tilloch, editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*, who did not know of Ged's plan, and obtained a patent for a similar invention, which he afterwards relinquished. But the exertions of Andrew Wilson were more successful; and an account of his arrangements with the University will be found under the year 1804.

31. JOSEPH BENTHAM.

On Dec. 13, 1740 there was a Grace to appoint a Printer *durante bene placito*; the nomination of Joseph Bentham and W. Goodbed took place the same day; and Joseph Bentham was elected on the next. On January 5, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$, the suit of Baskett *v.* Bentham was commenced, by which the King's Printer sought to prevent the University Printer from printing an abridgment of the Excise Acts, and the litigation was continued until 1758. On Nov. 24 of that year the Court of King's Bench decided in favour of the University. On Jan. 20, 174 $\frac{3}{4}$, there was a Resolution of the Syndics that Mr Bentham is to sell no Bibles without an order from one of the Syndics. On Feb. 26, 1749, the Syndics resolved that Mr Bentham

should demand of all Authors in arrear with the Press, the payment of all sums due within twelve months. On Nov. 7, 1765, the Syndics resolved to appoint an assistant to Bentham. John Archdeacon was appointed Inspector of the Press in place of Joseph Bentham, Oct. 29, 1766 and on Dec. 13, Bentham resigned. The Syndics allowed him to retain the use of the house at the Press.

Bentham, one of 10 children, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Bentham, Vicar of Witchford near Ely, and descended from a very ancient family in Yorkshire, and brother of James Bentham the historian of Ely Cathedral. He was an Alderman of the town, and died June 1, 1778, aged 68, and was buried in Trumpington Church.

Bentham appears as ratepayer in the Parish of St Botolph from 1743 to 1779. On March 2, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ the rental on which rating is made is £22, but other properties are added in subsequent years. 1761, New Printing Office, £12, and Tenements, Silver Street, £5. 5s. and £2. 10s., Pembroke Lane £2. 5s., Black Lion Yard £4, Cock Yard £2. 10s. From 1767 New Printing Office £12 is rated to Archdeacon (in 1771 it is described as "White Lyon Warehouse"): from same date he pays £11, part of Printing Office. From 1779 Archdeacon pays the whole.

32. JOHN BASKERVILLE.

John Baskerville, the celebrated type founder and printer of Birmingham, was born at Wolverley in the County of Worcester in 1706; in 1726 he became a writing master at Birmingham; in 1737 taught at a School in the Bull Ring; in 1745 took a large building to carry on the business of a Japanner; and in 1750 tried his first experiments in type founding, in which business and that of printer, he was chiefly engaged for the next 15 years. He was elected printer for 10 years from December 16, 1758, according to Articles of Agreement dated December 15. The

following letter written to the Vice-Chancellor in May of the next year will show what work he was engaged upon.

Birmingham, 31 May, 1759.

Sir,

I have at last sent everything requisite to begin the Prayer Book at Cambridge. The Bearer M^r Tho. Warren is my Deputy in conducting the whole. I have ordered him to inform you of every step he takes, and to desire you would appoint a person to tell out the number of sheets before they go to press and again before they are packed up for Birmingham. M^r Bentham will inform you how many sheets per 1000 are allowed for wast. I have attempted several ornaments, but none of them please me so well as the specimen; which I hope will be approved by you and the Gentlemen of the Syndick. I propose printing off 2000 the first impression, but only 1000 of the State holidays &c. which the patentee has left out. The paper is very good and stands me in 27/ or 28/ the ream.

I am taking great pains in order to produce a striking title page and specimen of the Bible, which I hope will be ready in about six weeks. The importance of the work demands all my attention; not only for my own (eternal) reputation; but (I hope) also to convince the world, that the University in the honour done me has not intirely misplaced their Favours.

You will please to accept, and give my most respectful duty to the University, particularly to the Gentlemen of the Syndick. I should be very happy if I could make an Interest to a few gent^l to whom the work would not be disagreeable, to survey the sheets, after my people had corrected them as accurately as they are able that I might, if possible be free from every error of the press; for which I would gladly make suitable acknowledgment. I procured a Sealed copy of the Common Prayer with much trouble and expense from the Cathedral of Litchfield, but found it the most inaccurate and ill printed book I ever saw: so that I returned it with thanks.

I am S^r Y^r most obed^t hble Serv^t

JOHN BASKERVILLE.

Addressed on the back

The Rev^d Doctor Caryll Vice Chancellor
of the University of
Cambridge.

In a letter to Horace Walpole dated Easy Hill, Birmingham, Nov. 2, 1762 he thus speaks of his arrangements with the University:

The University of Cambridge have given me a grant to print their 8vo. and 12mo. Common Prayer Books: but under such Shackles as greatly hurt me. I pay them for the former, twenty, and for the latter twelve shillings the thousand; and to the Stationers' Company thirty-two pounds for their permission to print one edition of the Psalms in metre to the small Prayer-Book; add to this the great expense of double and treble carriage; and the inconvenience of a double printing-house an hundred miles off. All this summer I have had nothing to print at home. My Folio Bible is pretty far advanced at Cambridge which will cost me 2000*l* all hired at 5 per cent. If this does not sell, I shall be obliged to sacrifice a small patrimony, which brings me in 74*l* a year, to this business of printing, which I am heartily tired of, and 'repent I ever attempted. It is surely a particular hardship, that I should not get bread in my own country (and it is too late to go abroad) after having acquired the reputation of excelling in the most useful art known to mankind; while every one who excels as a Player, Fiddler, Dancer, &c. not only lives in affluence, but has it in their power to save a fortune¹.

On July 3, 1761, articles of agreement were entered into between the University and Baskerville, and they are probably those alluded to in the foregoing letter. He produced his folio Bible in 1763, and Nichols says that after that he seemed to have become weary of his printing, and that in 1765 he wrote to his friend Dr Franklin, then in Paris, to see if he could dispose of his types. Franklin answered, "that the French, reduced by the "War of 1756, were so far from being able to pursue schemes of "taste, that they were unable to repair their public buildings, "and suffered the scaffolding to rot before them." He died in 1775.

33. JOHN ARCHDEACON.

John Archdeacon, a native of Ireland, was appointed Inspector of the Press in place of J. Bentham, Oct. 29, 1766; the latter having resigned December 13 following, Archdeacon was elected Printer December 15. On May 26, 1768, a resolution of the Syndics of the Press fixed his salary at £140 per ann., without any contingent advantages. Although Archdeacon's

¹ Nichols *Lit. Anecd.* vi. 453 n.

appointment as Inspector was not made until 1766, it will presently appear that he was connected with the Press in the previous year. In Nichols *Lit. Anec.* Vol. II. 459, we read :

In consequence of overtures from a few respectable friends at Cambridge, M^r Bowyer had some inclination towards the latter end of 1765, to have undertaken the management of the University Press, by purchasing a lease and their exclusive privileges, by which for several years they had cleared a considerable sum. To accomplish this he took a journey to Cambridge; and afterwards sent the compiler of these anecdotes to negotiate with the Vice-Chancellor. The treaty was fruitless; but he did not much regret the disappointment.

Nichols wrote to Bowyer as follows :—

Sunday afternoon Sept. 15, 1765.

Good Sir

I write to you now from the house of M^r Labutt, with whom I have dined, and who has most obligingly shown me all in his power. M^r Archdeacon is not at home. I have opened to M^r Labutt my plan, who is of opinion that something may be done. I have talked also with a compositor, who is sensible, and who now works in the house. Six hundred a year I believe may carry it. They *talk of ten* having been offered. For 7 years last past the University have *cleared one-thousand-three-hundred pounds* annually; besides farming the Almanack (200l more). This might at least be *doubled by opening the trade* in new channels. If any bookseller of reputation would enter into a scheme with you, an *immense fortune would certainly be raised*.....

In Bowyer's reply he says :

Mr Archdeacon as you observe, must be a leading person, and there is some delicacy necessary to be shown to him.

A note is added :

M^r John Archdeacon, a very excellent printer; whom the University appointed to succeed M^r Bentham; and who continued in that office several years. He died at Hemingford Abbots, Sept. 10, 1795, æt 70.

The following is extracted from a letter of the Rev. William Ludlam of St John's College¹:

For my own part, I am sometimes forced to make types, which are commonly brass, of which I here send you a specimen (≠a ≠b ≠c).

¹ Nichols *Lit. Anecd.* Vol. VIII. 414.

It is called plus-minus \pm . I printed my first tracts at Cambridge, when Archdeacon (not Bentham) was their printer. I was very sick of it; the University meanly provided with mathematical types, insomuch that they used daggers turned sideways for *plus's*. They were sunk into arrant traders, even to printing hand-bills, quack-bills, &c., which they then for the first time permitted for Archdeacon's profit. As to table-work of which I had a deal, they knew nothing of it; and many a brass rule was I forced to make myself..... I complained of this to M^r Bowyer, and would have had him print my essay on Hadley's quadrant; but he was too full of more important work. I remember I told him I had marked all Archdeacon's damaged letters; which were not a few, especially in the italic. To which the old gentleman replied "I dont like you the better for that."

Archdeacon did not die till 1795, but his successor, John Burges, was appointed in 1793, and from that date until the death of the former, the two names appeared together as printers.

Archdeacon first appears in the books of St. Botolph, rated at £5, Sept. 1759; at £6, 3rd Quarter 1761; June 23, 1767, £12 for New Printing house (in 1771, described as "White Lyon Warehouse"); Dec. 3, 1771, £11 (half of the printing office, Bentham paying the other half); March 15, 1779, the remaining half of printing office, £11. This total, £34, continued till the end of Archdeacon's residence at the Press, 1794. He died¹ at Hemingford Abbots, Sept. 10, 1795, age 70.

34. JOHN BURGES.

John Burges was elected July 1, 1793, and, until Archdeacon's death in 1795, acted in partnership with him. He died April 16, 1802, aged 54, and was buried in St Botolph's Church. He appears in the rate book of St Botolph from July 4, 1794, to July 7, 1802, paying, like Archdeacon, on a rental of £34. The name of John Burges is in the books of the parish from Sept. 23, 1776, for a house in Pembroke Lane, formerly held by Archdeacon, rent £2. 5s. This may have been the same John Burges who was afterwards printer.

¹ Nichols' *Lit. Anec.* Vol. II. 460 n.

35. JOHN DEIGHTON.

John Deighton was elected April 28, 1802, received his patent July 28, and resigned December 11 in the same year. Although he only held the office of printer for about eight months, he was apparently connected with the press, even at that time, as publisher. On 5 July, 1803, a bond was executed by J. Deighton, F. Hodson, and R. Newcome, for securing payment of £2323. 10s., the price of the whole of the University stock of 8vo. Bibles (MS. 33. 1: 44).

A volume with four catalogues of J. Deighton, belonging to Messrs Deighton, Bell and Co., which has been kindly lent to me by Mr W. W. Smith, contains at the end the following entries:

J. Deighton commenced Book-binder at C	May 1. 1777
Bookseller at C	Jan. 1. 1778
Married	Feb. 11. 1779
Removed to London	Jan. 1786

A later hand has added in pencil:

Qy returned to Cambridge, Feb. 1795, successor to Merrill.]

The first "Catalogue of Books, including the Library of the "Rev. Dr Barnardiston, late Principal Librarian to the University "of Cambridge, and Master of Corpus Christi College," is dated November, 1778, and Deighton describes himself as successor to Mr Matthews, bookseller, near Great St Mary's Church. At the end of the catalogue he is called Book and Printseller, Stationer and Bookbinder, but the word "Print" is drawn through with the pen, and "near Great St Mary's Church" is changed in the same way to "opposite the Senate House." In the three other catalogues, dated Dec. 4, 1780, Nov. 1783, and Dec. 1784, the address is given as opposite the Senate House, so it is not improbable that, before he went to London, Deighton's shop was on the site of that occupied as a bookshop

successively by the second John Nicholson, son of "Old Maps," from 1807, by Thomas Stevenson from 1822; and by Macmillans since 1846.

John Deighton would appear to have returned to Cambridge in 1795; and, perhaps, as suggested above, to take the business of J. and J. Merrill, one of the most important in Cambridge during the last half of the 18th century. His two sons, John and Joseph Jonathan, were in partnership with him from 1813, and he died in the parish of St Michael, 16 January, 1828, aged 80. From 1827 the two sons carried on the business as J. & J. J. Deighton till 31 Aug. 1848, when the latter died, aged 56, and was buried in St Bene't churchyard. From that date John Deighton continued the business alone till 13 July, 1854, when he died at the age of 63, and was buried in Grantchester churchyard. After his death the business was bought by Messrs George Bell and W. W. Smith, and has been carried on since then under its present style of Deighton, Bell and Co.

36. RICHARD WATTS.

Richard Watts was elected Dec. 16, 1802, and his connection with the Press terminated by his resignation in 1809. From 1802 to June, 1806, the rate in the St Botolph books is entered as for University Printing Office; from Sept. 1806 to Dec. 1809 in the name of Richard Watts. The rent is still £34. From a pamphlet entitled "Facts and Observations relative to the state of the University Press," printed towards the end of 1809, it would appear that serious differences had arisen between the Syndics and Watts. In the spring, 1808, two of the Syndics—Dr Milner and Mr Wood—were appointed to investigate the Press accounts, and they requested Mr Watts to make out a statement of the accounts for the five years, Michaelmas, 1802 to Michaelmas, 1807. The Syndics represented that, whereas during the 15 or 20 years prior to 1802 there had been a profit

of not less than £1500 a year; under Watts' management for the five years ending 1807 there had been no profit at all. Watts, irritated by the enquiry, resigned June 13, 1808, and at the next meeting of the Syndics his resignation was accepted. A subsequent application to withdraw his resignation "in consequence of the more due consideration of the causes which led to it," was made to the Syndics, but they resolved that no answer could be given till the examination of the accounts was concluded, and apparently the matter was never re-opened. The accounts were not finally completed till June, 1809, when Mr Watts, having surrendered his patent into the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, it was resolved that a new printer be elected in October. In his final letter of June 17, 1809, Watts admits certain mistakes in the accounts, and that the pecuniary result was not what might have been expected. After leaving Cambridge Watts went in the first instance to Broxbourne, where his name appears in the parish books from 1810 to Nov. 1815. In the latter year there appeared an octavo edition of Walton's *Angler*, with imprint: "London: printed for Samuel Bagster, in the Strand, by R. Watts, at Broxbourne, on the River Lea, Herts., 1815." About the end of 1815¹ he left Broxbourne, for London; and early in the following year a book printed for the Church Missionary Society has imprint: "Printed by Richard Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar, London," with date "Lady-day, 1816." While at Broxbourne he was appointed Printer to the Hon. East India Company's College at Haileybury, and retained the appointment after his removal to London, printing for the College Classical and Oriental Examination Papers for Professor Jeremie and others. He paid special attention to printing, in Oriental and other Foreign

¹ For the information respecting Watts after he left Broxbourne I am indebted to Mr C. Cornish, of Messrs Gilbert and Rivington, Limited; and for the examination of the Broxbourne Parish Registers to Mr J. S. Vaizey, Barrister-at-Law, Churchwarden.

languages, Bibles, Testaments, and other works for the British and Foreign Bible Society, Church Missionary Society, &c. He printed also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, and some of the Catalogues of Oriental Books and MSS. in the British Museum.

He died at Edmonton, March 24, 1844, at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, William Mavor Watts, who, in 1867, the premises being required for the new Law Courts, removed to Gray's Inn Road. On March 19, 1870, a fire destroyed the premises with all the types. Fortunately the punches and matrices were preserved in another building, and Mr Watts retiring from business on account of ill-health, these passed into the hands of Messrs Gilbert and Rivington, who re-cast the types and added many others.

37. ANDREW WILSON.

Early in 1804, and soon after Richard Watts had been elected printer, a proposal was made to the University by Andrew Wilson, a London printer, that he should on terms to be agreed upon communicate his secret respecting stereotyping. This secret was the invention of Earl Stanhope, who refused to receive anything in respect of it, or even the repayment of a sum of £6000 spent in experiments. In what it differed from the invention of Ged in 1725, which was exercised in Cambridge by Fenner and James 1730—38, does not appear; and as Ged's invention was not a pecuniary success it is possible that it was forgotten, and that Lord Stanhope's invention was entirely independent of it. Dr William Chambers, writing in 1867 says, that the art of stereotyping has undergone little change since its invention by Ged.

A preliminary agreement was drawn up between the Syndics and Wilson, April 20, 1804, under which Wilson was to receive for a period of fourteen years one-third of the savings

effected by stereotyping; and jointly with Watts the University Printer to act as agent for the sale of the Bibles and Prayer Books. To estimate the savings, each party was to appoint an arbitrator, and these in case of difference had power to appoint an umpire. The work of stereotyping under this preliminary agreement had not been going on for two years before the services of the arbitrators were required, and in 1806 Wilson's Case was printed in a pamphlet of 44 pages. The nature of the agreement would be very likely to lead to differences, unless the items that were to form the basis of the calculations of savings were clearly defined. In Wilson's 'Case' he claims that the stereotype process having enabled the Syndics, by an expenditure of £1500, to turn their warehouse into a printing-office instead of building a new one at a cost of £4500, the difference, £3000, was a stereotype saving in which he had a right to participate.

On March 6, 1807, an agreement between the Syndics and Wilson provided for the payment of a bill for stereotyping plates amounting to £865. 16s. 9d., on condition that some of the plates not then delivered should be delivered within one week; and that Wilson within eight weeks should make and deliver the plates for a nonpareil Welsh Testament, charged at the same rate as those contained in the bill. It was further provided that the University should make so many stereotype plates of 8vo. editions of Ainsworth's Dictionary and Johnson's Dictionary as should come to the amount of Wilson's bills, he supplying at once the original types for the purpose; and a bond for £2000, with R. Watts as surety; was executed to secure the payment of one-third of the amount, and of £500 advanced for the purchase of types, on the delivery of the plates and return of the types; one-third in nine, and one-third in eighteen months. It was a condition that this agreement should bind neither party in other matters in dispute. The following are the details of Wilson's bill;

EXAMPLE 1.

	£.	s.	d.
The Bourgeois Testament in M ^r Wilson's Bill July 10, 1805 :			
Casework of 228 pages at 2s. 4d. per page	26	12	0
Reading $\frac{1}{4}$ th	6	13	0
	<hr/>		
Double of the above two sums		66	10 0
Alterations, over-running, &c. £11. 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$: the double of this		22	3 9
One set of plates 470 lbs. 4 oz. at 3s. per lb., viz. the price per lb. of Bourgeois types		70	10 9
	<hr/>		
	£159	4	6
A printer's principal gain being upon the press-work, one half of the sum thus arising exclusive of the alterations (viz. £137. 0s. 9d.) is added to allow a sufficient profit; proceed therefore thus; brought forward	159	4	6
Allowance instead of press-work	68	10	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
A second set of plates half price, exclusive of alterations, over-running, &c.	68	10	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		
	£296	5	3

EXAMPLE 2.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr Wilson's bill for 126 pages of the Brevier Testament, August 31, 1805, casework and reading at 1s. 8d. and 5d. per page		13	2 6
	<hr/>		
The double of this sum	£26	5	0
Plates 1st set, 155 lbs. 9 oz. at 3s. 6d. per lb. the price of Brevier types	27	4	6
Allowance instead of press-work	26	14	9
A second set of plates	26	14	9
	£106	19	0

EXAMPLE 3.

Mr Wilson's bill for the Welsh Test. May 7, 1806 :			
Casework and reading 14 sheets at £5	70	0	0
	<hr/>		
The double of this	£140	0	0
Alterations, over-running &c. £17. 4s.			
The double of this	34	8	0
332 plates containing 428 lbs. 8 oz. at 3s. 6d. per lb. the price of the types	74	2	3
	<hr/>		
	£248	10	3
Allowance instead of press-work	107	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
A second set of plates	107	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		
	462	12	6
	<hr/>		
	£865	16	9

August 8, 1807. An agreement was entered into for the acquisition by the University of Wilson's stereotype secret, for which the following sums were to be paid:

£2000 on execution of the agreement.

£1000 advanced to Wilson, May 29, 1805; to become his property.

£1000 when the sales from March 25, 1807, shall exceed £4500: £2 for every £45 of such excess till it reaches £1000; but if that sum shall not be reached till March 25, 1818, no further payment to be made¹.

In 1811 a case was submitted by the University for the opinion of Sergt. Lens and Mr Leycester. It is stated that the Syndics consider the charge made by Wilson for stereotype plates was unreasonable, and that in agreeing to pay the amount of £865. 16s. 9d. they expected to get a corresponding advantage to themselves in supplying the plates of Ainsworth and Johnson on the same principle². Wilson refused to send the types from which to set up these books till he was informed how many plates he would have for the sum. During the four years since the agreement was made, wages had largely increased, and counsel held that they were by the agreement bound by the prices of 1807. It is probable that the work was never done, but there is nothing to show how the arrangement with Wilson ended.

There is a hypothetical case, not dated, but placed among the papers of 1811 (33. 7. 28) of which the following is a copy:

Whether supposing A. B. to be acquainted with the secret mode of making stereotype plates, and supposing C. D. to know the mode now in general use, and whereas it is conceived that the secret is now no secret. Supposing A. B. to inquire of C. D. his (C. D.'s) mode of making the plates, and by his answers it appeared that he (C. D.) was acquainted with all the peculiarities of the secret, would A. B. be justified in telling C. D. that such was the secret?

38. JOHN SMITH.

John Smith was elected Nov. 11, 1809. On Nov. 2, 1836, a Grace was passed allowing him a pension of £200 a year

¹ Registry MS. 33. 7. 26.

² Registry MS. 33. 1. 27.

(half his salary), after a long period of service as printer. He died at Thetford, Norfolk, August 16, 1840, and there is a tablet in St Botolph's Church, in which parish he was born Sept. 12, 1777.

From the St Botolph books it appears that Smith, as University Printer, was rated at £34 (Printing Office £22, and Warehouse £12) till April 16, 1827. For the following quarter, July 12, 1827, he is assessed at £45 for printing office and house. Oct. 7, 1830, there is in addition, old premises, £11, and this ceases July 11, 1831, being erased from the book after having been entered. Oct. 21, 1831, a new entry appears, University late A. Watford, £4. 10s.; Jan. 12, 1832, house and University Press, £45; but now it is placed in Mill Lane and Laundress Lane, instead of Silver Street; and there appears, in Trumpington Street, Univ. late Thos. Hill, £8; late Mrs Hill, £5; late Wm. Neal, £10; late John Glasscock, £8. 5s.; late James Nutter, £24; late Thos. Eddlestone, £7; late Wm. White, £10; late A. Watford, £9. 10s. July, 1832, Pitt Press sites of houses, £94. 5s.; Oct. 3, 1833, house, J. Smith, in Mill Lane, £10; in addition to printing office, £45, Silver Street, Univ. warehouse, £15; Univ. old office and house, £23. April 14, 1836, old office, £23, ceases. University Press property:

	£.	s.	d.
Pitt Press, Trumpington Street	94	5	0
University Warehouse (Silver Street)	15	0	0
John Smith's house, Mill Lane	10	0	0
University Office and Warehouse	45	0	0

39. JOHN WILLIAM PARKER¹.

John William Parker was elected Nov. 15, 1836, and held office till 1854. But his connection with the Press dated from an earlier period. In the year 1828, the Press having been

¹ For much of the information respecting Parker I am indebted to an article in the *Bookseller*, June 1, 1870.

found to be in an unsatisfactory condition, the Syndics consulted two eminent London printers—Mr Clowes and Mr Hansard—on the subject. At the request of the University that the former would come to Cambridge and examine the Press, he sent his overseer, Mr Parker; and in February, 1829, on Mr Clowes being appointed superintendent of the Press at a salary of £200 per annum, he accepted the office, performing his duties through Mr Parker. The latter was able very soon to justify the selection of the Syndics, and to make the Press a source of profit. One of the first things he did was to turn to account some of the old and apparently useless stereotype plates, and in this he was most successful. He was soon able greatly to increase the accounts with the Bible Society and with the Christian Knowledge Society, and in other ways opened up channels of trade for the disposal of University books. Upon the resignation of John Smith in 1836 he was appointed printer, with a salary of £400 a year, he visiting Cambridge for two days once a fortnight. After much opposition he succeeded in introducing steam power, but for many years the Bible Society resolutely set their faces against the purchase of books so printed. An amusing illustration is given in the *Bookseller*, June 1, 1870.

Some idea may be formed of the amount of reduction in prices of Bibles and Prayer-Books, during the time of Parker's management, from the Report of the University Commission of 1852:

	1830.	1850.
	s. d.	s. d.
Price of Cheapest Bible	2 5	1 10
„ Medium Bible	7 2½	3 7½
„ Cheapest Prayer Book	0 6½	0 2¾
„ Medium Prayer Book	1 7¼	1 3

The Commissioners remark on this reduction in prices:

Much of this great reduction of price is attributable to improved machinery and to better arrangements in the establishment; much of it

is more apparent than real, arising from the inferiority in paper and execution; the rest from a reduction of profits, which, in the case of the Cambridge Press, has not been compensated, as has been usual in similar cases, by a very great increase in production. On the contrary, the number of Bibles and Prayer-Books produced has rapidly diminished.

The Commissioners attribute these results partly to the "virtual abolition of the monopoly" by which the profits were reduced to the "ordinary commercial standard, and in some respects even below it (for private subscriptions were brought in aid of the production of cheap Bibles in Scotland)."

Parker, whose father had been in the Navy, was born about the year 1792; was apprenticed to Mr Clowes, and stayed with him till 1832, when he left to commence business as a publisher at 445, West Strand. He was appointed "publisher of the books issued under the direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." The publishing business soon became an important one, and Parker's catalogue ultimately contained the works of Whately, Whewell, Hare, Trench, Maurice, Kingsley, Froude, Helps, Miss Yonge, G. H. Lewes, Buckle, &c. &c.; and a large proportion of the educational books produced at Cambridge. In 1843 his son, John William Parker, jun., came into the business. On his death in 1860 Mr Parker took his old assistant, Mr William Butler Bourn, into partnership; but in 1863¹ the business was sold to Messrs Longmans, and the house of Parker, Son and Bourn ceased to exist. Mr Parker resigned his office of Printer in 1854 and died May 18, 1870, aged 78.

¹ *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1863, was published by Parker, Son & Bourn: the number for November by Longman & Co.

40. {CHARLES JOHN CLAY, M.A., Trinity.
 41. {GEORGE SEELEY.
 42. JOHN CLAY, M.A., St John's.

The Cambridge University Commissioners of 1850-52, in their Report, published in 1852, about two years before the resignation of John William Parker, gave it as their opinion that

It is only by associating printers or publishers in some species of co-partnership with the University, or by leasing the Press to them, that any considerable return can hereafter be expected from the capital which has been invested in it.....we are satisfied that no Syndicate, however active and well chosen, can replace the intelligent and vigilant superintendence of those whose fortune in life is dependent upon its success. (Report, pp. 136-7).

This opinion was at variance with that of the Syndics of 1850, as given in the same volume (*Evidence*, p. 21). But very shortly after the issue of this Report it became necessary, on the resignation of Mr Parker, to appoint a new printer; and the Syndics, in their Report May 26, 1854, recommended a partnership with Mr George Seeley and Mr C. J. Clay. This recommendation was carried out in July. Mr Seeley retired in 1856; a new partnership was entered into with Mr Clay alone, and that continued until 1882, when Mr John Clay, son of Mr C. J. Clay, was also admitted as a partner.

In the Report of 1852 we find the following particulars:

The office contains frames, fittings and appurtenances for 70 compositors; presses and appurtenances for 56 press-men; eight printing machines, which require about 50 men and boys to manage, work and supply them. A ten-horse steam-engine; two boilers; turning-lathe, forge and circular saw, occupying at present, four hands; one (steam-power) milling machine, hydraulic and screw hot-presses, at which, together, 100 men and boys might be employed if necessary.

The great increase in the prosperity of the Press, since the above was written, 32 years since, has entirely confirmed the opinion of the Commissioners as quoted above.

It is curious to compare the present condition of the Press with that of 300 years ago, when by decree of the Star Chamber, in 1584, each of the Universities was limited to one press and one apprentice—at the most!

APPENDIX A. (see pages 287, 289).

EARLY CAMBRIDGE BINDINGS.

It is on general grounds quite likely that binding as well as printing went on in John Siberch's shop under the sign of the *Arma Regia*, and that the bindings executed there should bear some identifying mark. The opportunities of examining bindings of that date are however few and far between; I can only refer to one specimen, and that has unfortunately been renovated, so that possibly some evidence has been destroyed.

There is in Lincoln Cathedral Library a volume (T. 4. 3) which contains, among other books belonging to the years 1516 to 1520, *Richardi Croci Britanni introductiones in Rudimenta græca*. 1520. 4°. It is printed, according to the colophon, "Coloniæ in ædibus Eucharîi Cervicorni, anno a Christo nato M.D.XX. menise Maio expensis providi viri domini Joannis Lair de Siberch." But it must have been bound in England; for stamped on the leather are the several badges of the then king of England. The entire ornamentation is formed by three lengths of a roulette pattern side by side within a plain rectangle. The roulette consists of four compartments; the uppermost contains a crowned pomegranate, the next a crowned portcullis, the third a crowned rose, and the lowest a crown over three fleurs-de-lys; with the initials J. S. at the foot, on either side of the lowest fleur-de-lys.

Ames (*Typographical Antiquities*, p. 456) noticed the name Johannes lair de Siborch in this book, and considered the type similar to that used by Siberch at Cambridge. The binding of this copy seems to afford an additional argument for considering the two varying appellations to belong to one and the same person.

[There are also specimens of binding, in Cambridge libraries and elsewhere, which Mr Bradshaw has for some time supposed to be the work of one or other of the stationers appointed in 1534. Books tooled with a rather large roulette pattern containing fabulous animals and the initials G. G. may be referred with great probability to Garrett Godfray; and in the case of Nicholas Speryng the identification seems almost certain. There exist many octavo volumes in stamped calf, having on the obverse¹ cover the Annunciation with a 4-mark and the initials N. S. at the foot, all surrounded by the text ECCE ANCILLA DOMINI FIAT MICHI SECUNDUM VERBUM TUUM, and on the reverse cover (above the same mark and initials) St Nicholas and the three children, with the legend NICOLAUS SPIERNICK at top and bottom, and a scroll with acorns and cockatrices (?) at the sides. As a specimen may be named a Sarum Missal (Paris, Hopyl for Birckman, 1515, 8°) in the Bodleian (Gough 2); and a pair of covers are among the spoils of the Douce Collection. A book from Hengwrt (now in my possession) similarly bound was printed at Paris in 1508. It would be interesting to obtain a list of all such books that are now in existence. J.]

¹ It seems convenient to borrow these terms from the language of numismatics, denoting by *obverse* the front cover, and by *reverse* the other.

APPENDIX B (see page 297).

Extract from the accounts of Dr Mawe, V. C., illustrating the dispute between the University and the Stationers:

	£. s. d.
Univ. Accounts 1621—22. fol. 261 b.	
Item payed to M ^r Tabor for a iourney to London w th Cantrell Legg about the printinge busnesse when he was sent for by y ^e Bp. of Exeter	6 18 4
Item layed out by M ^r Tabor when the Vice Chancellor, D ^r Warde, D ^r Beale, and Legg went to Royston to deliuer a Letter, and Petition to the King in y ^e behalf of y ^e Vniuersitye	5 9 6
fol. 262.	
Item for a iourney to London Januar. 3 when I went to finish my own busnesse, w th I left vnfinished before Christmas, being hastened home to stopp the stationers proceedinge by Petition to the King at Royston	7 1 3
fol. 262 b.	
Item spent in a iourney to London by my selfe, M ^r Tabor, and Cantrell Legg when the cause was to be heard, between the stationers of London and the Vniuersity Printer by the fowre Committies appointed by the King ut patet per diversas billas 28 dayes	33 5 11
Item spent at Newmarket when I went to procure the Kinges leave to sell the Grammars vpon the L ^{ds} certificate	0 11 4
Item given to the M ^r of request to drawe vp the Kinges order for the sellinge of Grammars	5 0 0
1622—23. fol. 267 b.	
Item to M ^r Tabor for expenses at London when hee went vpp with Cantrell Legg beinge sent for by Warrant from the Counsaile there attendinge with him 9 dayes	13 14 0

APPENDIX C (see page 296).

I. In *A note of all such persons as are privileged by the University of Cambridge and dwelling within the Town of Cambridge*, written between June 5, 1592 (the date of John Palmer's appointment as Archdeacon of Ely) and 1594 (when Duckett was appointed University Librarian in place of John

Matthew so described in the list), the names of the following stationers are given :

	Assessed at
Mr Watson	ii s
Mr Legate	xii d
John Porter	viii d
Hughe Burwell	vi d
Manasses Vautrolier	vi d
John Joanes	iii d
Beniamin Prime	ii d
William Scarlett	ii d
Jo. Cuthbert	viii d
Thomas Bradshawe	viii d

The list, consisting of one sheet (4 pages) folio, is in the Library of Downing College (Bowtell MSS.).

II. It seems desirable to add here for comparison the names of stationers which appear in another list of *The privileged persons in the University of Cambridge which are recorded in the Register's Office*, dated during the year 1624.

Thomas Mooden [Morden].
 Anthony Harrison.
 Leonard Greene.
 William Williams.
 Phillip Scarlett
 Peter Scarlett.
 Henry Wray.
 Simon Robuck.
 Richard Ewlam.
 Edmund Porter.
 Jonathan Pinder.
 Samuel Disher.
 John Jones.
 Daniel Boyse.
 Richard Ireland.

besides

Cantrell Legg, Printer.

The list, consisting of two sheets (8 pages) folio, is in the Library of Downing College (Bowtell MSS.).

APPENDIX D.

ORNAMENTS, INITIAL LETTERS AND DEVICES.

It is often convenient, in examining the works of a particular printer, to be able to refer to specimens of the ornaments, &c. which he used to embellish his books. I have accordingly made a collection of some of those which occur in Cambridge-printed books, more complete in the case of the earlier printers, but, as far as I could make it, fairly representative of the whole series.

The books from which the illustrations are taken are as follows:

- Augustini *de miseria vitae*. 1521. 4°. Nos. 4, 5.
 Galeni *de temperamentis*. 1521. 4°. Nos. 1, 2, 8—13.
 Papyrii Gemini Eleatis *Hermathena*. 1522. 4°. Nos. 3, 6, 7.
 P. Rami *Dialecticæ libri duo*: 1584. 8°. No. 28.
 P. Ovidii *Nas nis fabularum interpretatio*. 1584. 8°. Nos. 17, 19, 21, 22.
 Jac. Martini *de prima simplicium et concretorum corporum generatione*. 1584. 8°. No. 18.
Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith. 1586. 8°. No. 15.
 Whitaker, *Disputatio de sacra Scriptura*. 1588. 4°. Nos. 20, 24, 25, 27.
 De l'Espine, *A very excellent discourse*, etc. 1592. 4°. Nos. 14, 16, 23, 26, 34.
 Whitaker *aduersus T. Stapletoni defensionem*. 1594. F°. Nos. 29, 31, 32.
 Perkins *on the Creed*. 1596. 4°. No. 33.
 Perkins, *A Reformed Catholick*. 1598. 8°. No. 30.
 Heydon, *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie*. 1603. 4°. No. 35.
Epicedium Cantabrigiense. 1612. 4°. Nos. 36, 37.
 Davenant, *Expositio epistolæ... in Colossenses*. 1630. F°. Nos. 44—47.
Novum Testamentum. 1632. 8°. Nos. 40—42.
 Dalechamp, *Christian Hospitalité*. 1632. 4°. No. 39.
 Hausted, *Senile Odium*. 1633. 8°. No. 38, 43.
 Garthwaite, *Evangelicall Harmonie*. 1634. 4°. Nos. 48, 49.
Bible. 1638. F°. Nos. 50, 51, 54.

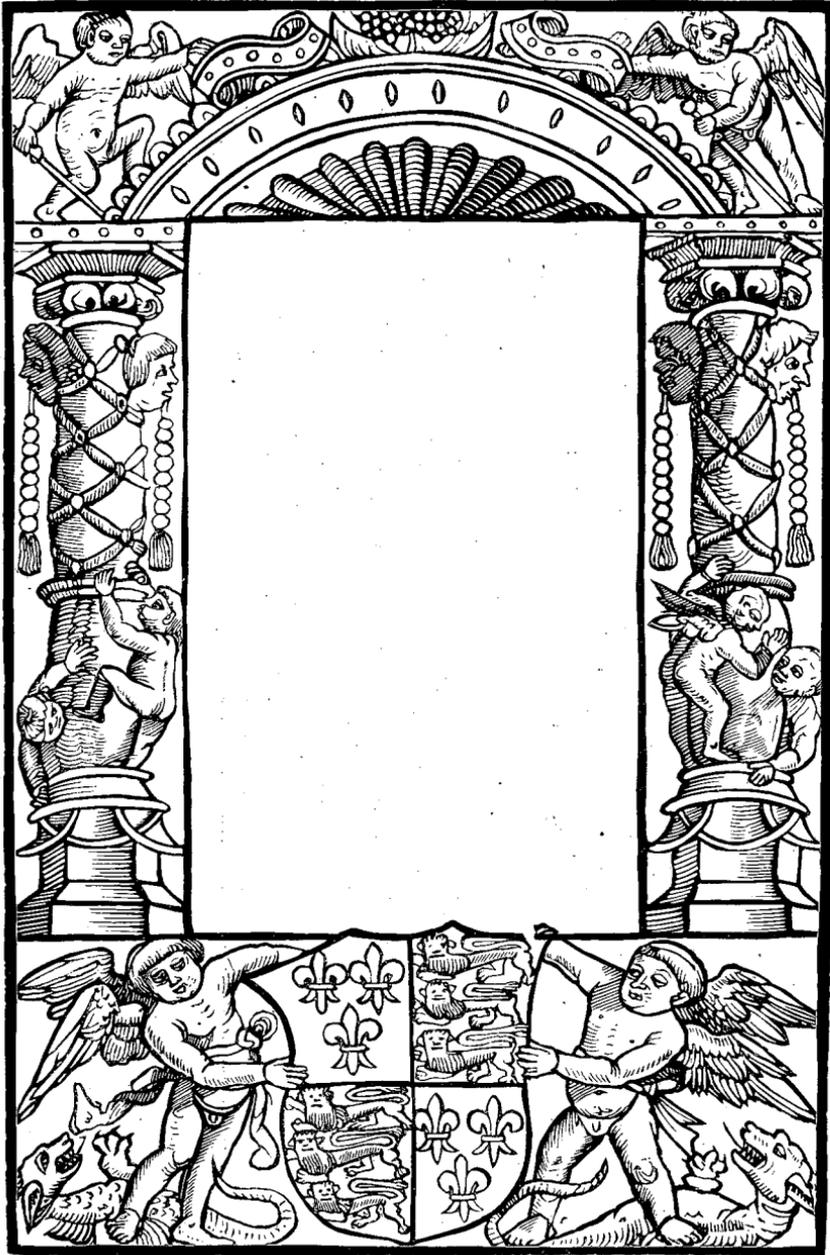
¹ Some of the figures were used by more than one printer; in these cases, from whatever book they may have been taken, they are arranged among those of the printer who is observed to have first used them.

- Book of Common Prayer.* 1638. F°. Nos. 52, 53, 55—61.
 Dury, *Summary Discourse.* 1641. 4°. No. 62.
 Fern, *Resolving of Conscience.* 1642. 4°. No. 63.
His Majesties Declaration, etc. Aug. 12. 1642. 4°. Nos. 64, 65.
 Hall's *Poems.* 1646. 8°. No. 86.
 Love, *Oratio,* etc. 1660. 4°. Nos. 67, 69.
 Kemp, *Sermon,* etc. 1668. 4°. No. 68.
University Queries. 1659 (no printer's name). 4°. No. 70.
 Kidd, *Ichabod.* 1663 (no printer's name). 4°. No. 71.
 Crashaw, *Poemata.* 1670. 8°. No. 72.
 Saywell, *Reformation in England.* 1688. 4°. No. 73.
 Barnes, *Edward III.* 1688. F°. No. 74.
 Cellarius, *Notitia Orbis Antiquae,* Vol. I. 1703. 4°. Nos. 75, 76, 77.
 Bentley's Horace. 1711. 4°. No. 78.
 Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica.* 3 vols. 1720. F°. Nos. 80, 87.
 Middleton, *Bibliotheca Cantabrigiensis.* 1723. 4°. No. 81.
 Parne, *Sermon,* etc. 1724. 4°. Nos. 85, 86.
 Drake, *Concio,* etc. 1724. 4°. No. 83.
 Kerrich, *Sermon,* etc. 1735. 8°. No. 84.
 Middleton, *Dissertation on Printing.* 1735. 4°. Nos. 79, 88.
A Collection of Poems. 1733. 8°. Nos. 89—92.
 Saunderson's *Algebra.* 1740. 4°. No. 82.
 [*Book of Common Prayer.* 1745. F°. See No. 99.]
Gratulatio Acad. Cantabrigiensis. 1748. F°. No. 97.
 Mason's *Odes.* 1756. 4°. No. 93.
Advice to a Young Student. 1760 (no printer's name). 8°. Nos. 94, 95.
Gratulatio Acad. Cantabrigiensis. 1761. F°. No. 96.
Love's Elegies. 1776. 4°. No. 98.

So far the illustrations have been taken in facsimile from the books named. The remainder (Nos. 99—107) are printed from original woodcuts belonging to the University Press, and kindly lent by Messrs C. J. Clay and Son. The books given below are the earliest in which I have noticed the devices severally named with them.

- Book of Common Prayer.* 1745. F°. No. 99.
Altar Service. 1814. 4°. No. 100.
Cambridge University Calendar. 1828. 12°. No. 101.
Prolusiones Acad. 1830. 8°. No. 102.
Bible. 1830. Royal 8°. No. 103.
Cambridge Astronomical Observations. 1833. 4°. No. 104.
 Irenaeus, Harvey. 1857. 8°. No. 105.
Prayer-Book. 1863. Royal 4°. No. 106.
Pearson On the Creed. 1869. 8°. No. 107.

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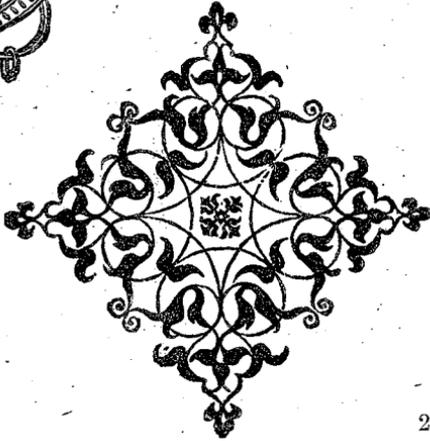
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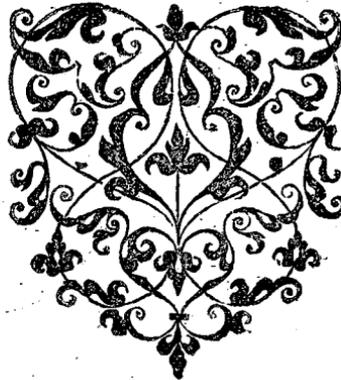


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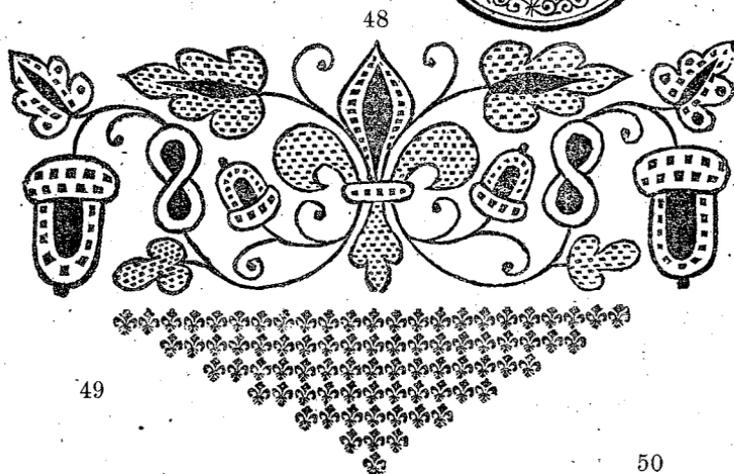
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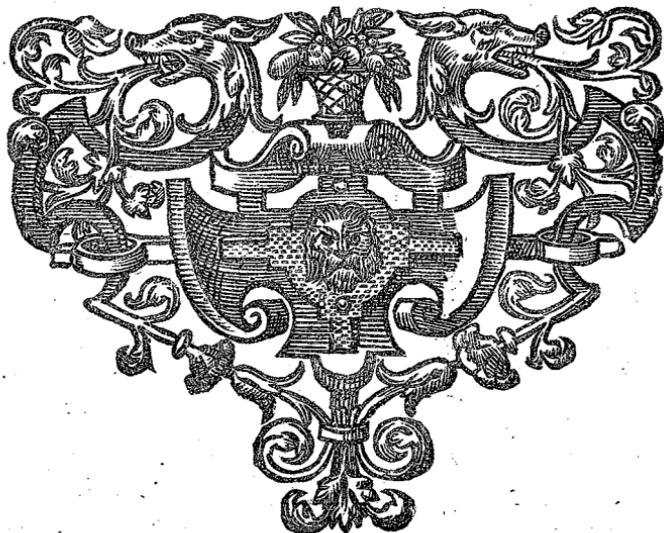


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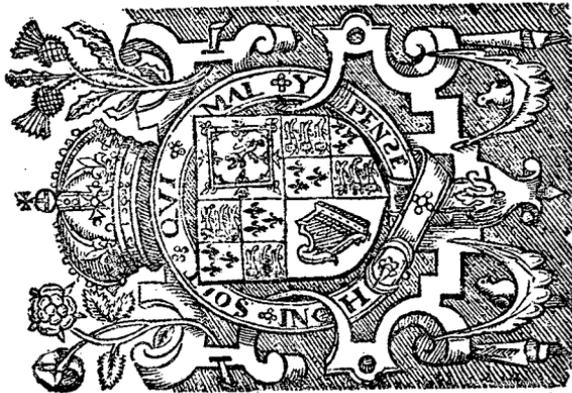
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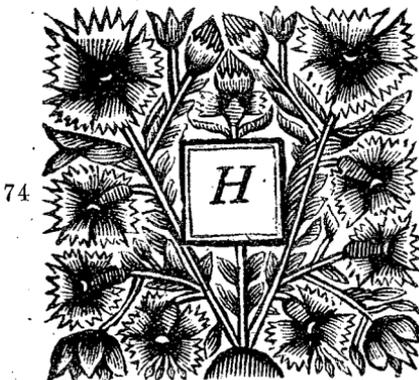
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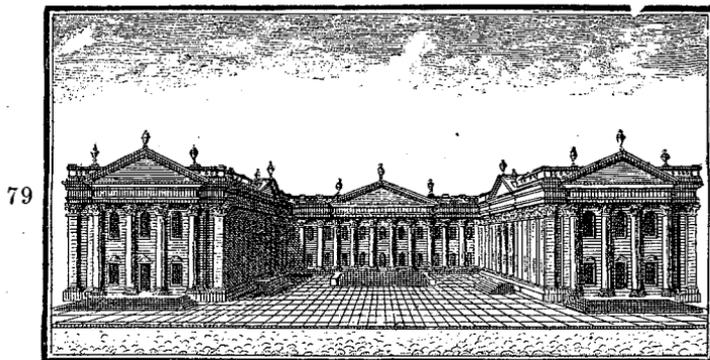
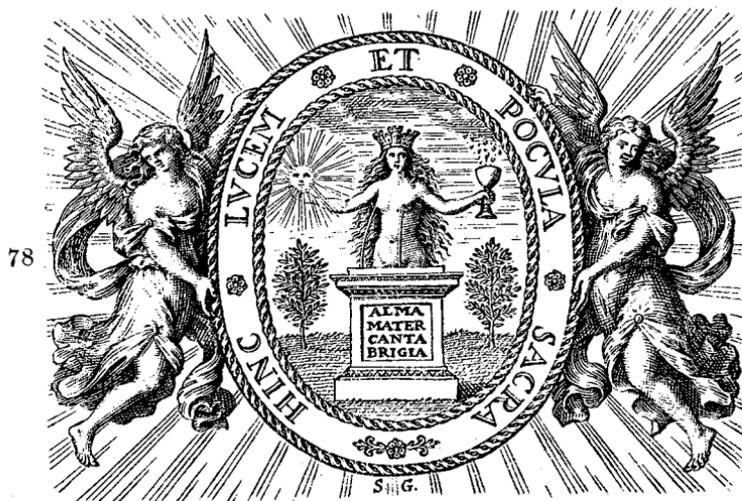


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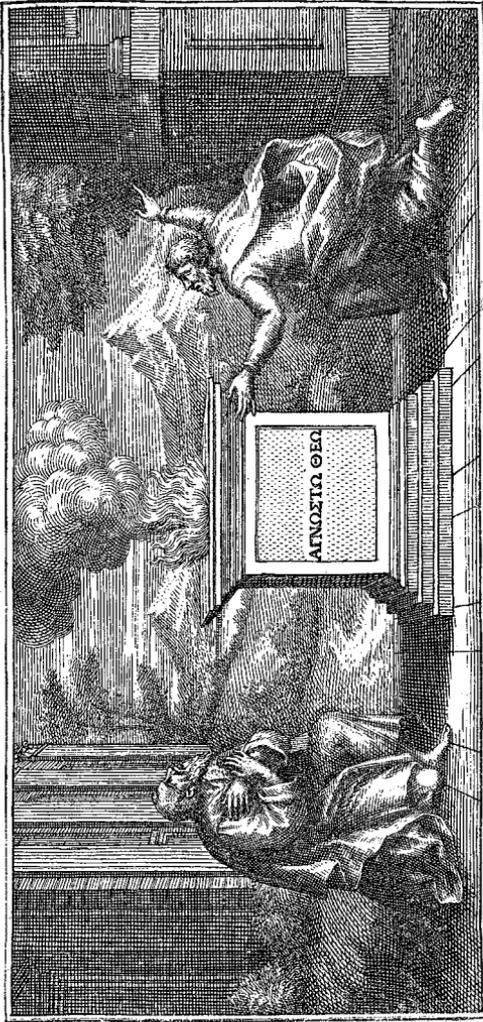


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S. Cribelin Sculp.

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Lud. Cheron Del: **ET PRÆSIDIUM & DUCE DE CUS** S: Gribelin Sculps:

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Lud. Cheron Del: **NEC PIETAS MORAM** S: Gribelin Sculps:

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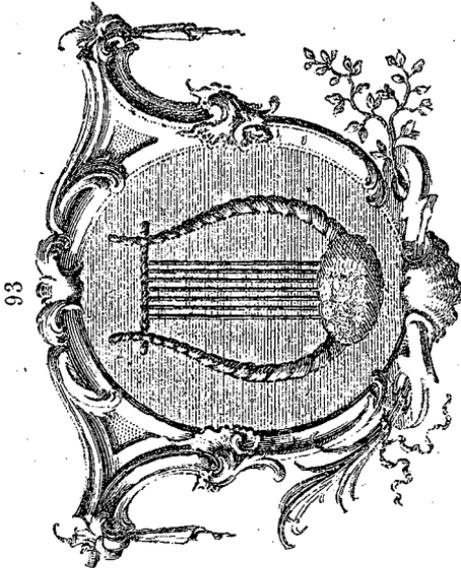
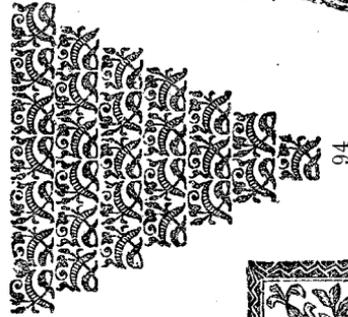
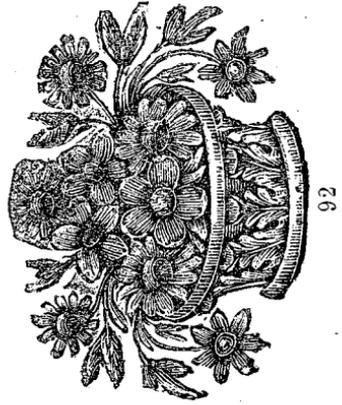
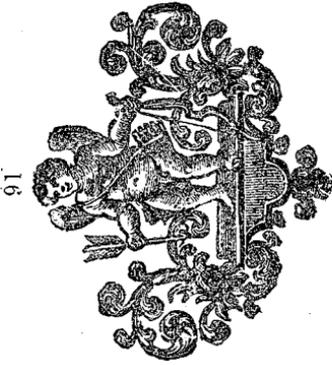


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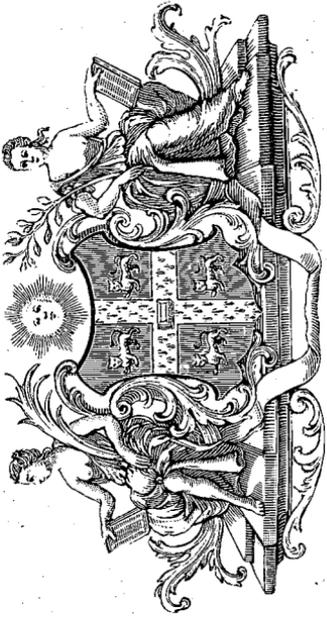
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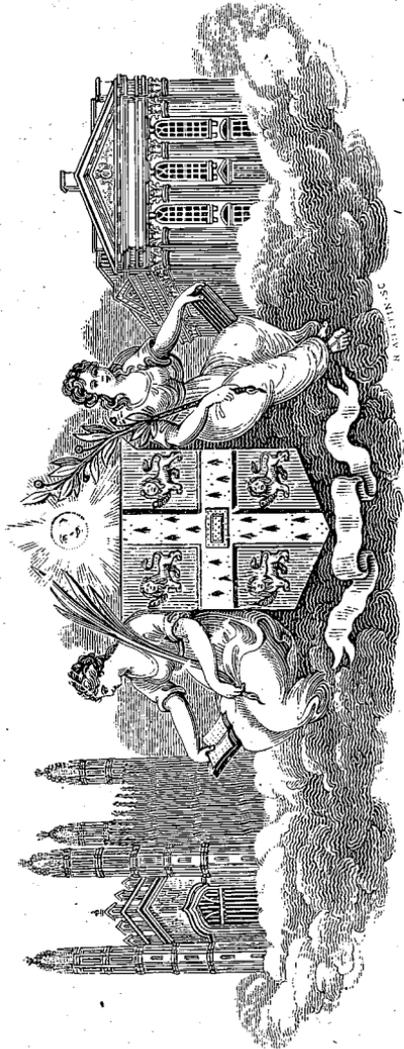
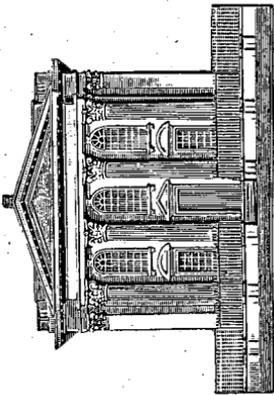
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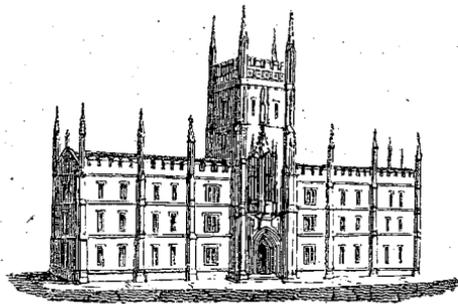


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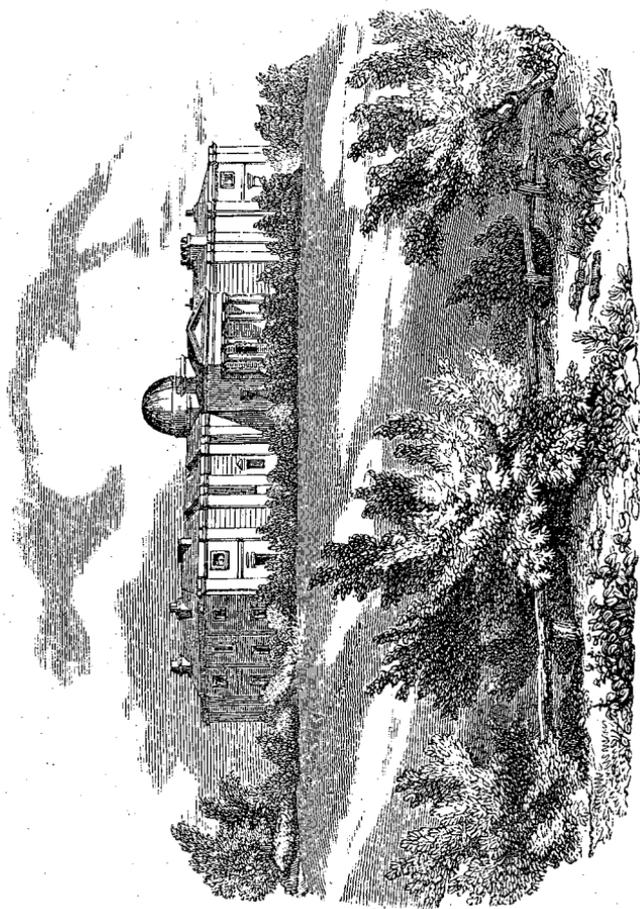
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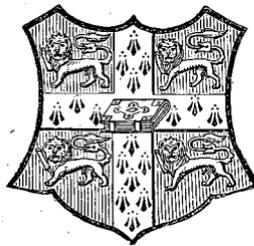
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XXI. ON THE SIGNET OF EROS. Communicated by
C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity College.

[March 3, 1884.]



FIG. 1. VICTORY, standing, in the act of reading from an open scroll held in both hands, as if proclaiming some great success in war. In the field to the left (?) the club of Hercules, placed vertically: on the other side, the name of the owner, EROS, similarly arranged in a straight line. Intaglio in the later Greek style, on brown sard.

THIS elegant device offers many points for consideration, which taken together appear to me to invest the signet with much historical, not to say romantic, interest. Before the question of original ownership can rationally be discussed, it is necessary to determine with such accuracy as is attainable the date of the work.

The style of the engraving is in itself so pure, that it would at once be pronounced *Greek* of the Lysippean school, were it not for the signature in Latin characters; which does not betray (as is often the case) any sign of being the interpolation of some later possessor. To me, this inscription is the most trustworthy criterion of the times to which the engraving ought to be assigned: for both in the form of the letters, and still more in the manner of their disposition on the field, it exactly coincides with the fashion in such things (as the coins attest) that prevailed during the last century of the Roman Republic; but neither previously, nor subsequently to that same period.

A clue of like nature as to its date is offered by the fact that we have here a *Greek* name written in Latin characters; which betokens a time when Greek was as yet a "language not understood of the people in general"—the very time when Q. Cicero, blockaded in his camp by the Eburones, wrote his despatches to Cæsar in Greek letters (though not in the Greek tongue), in order that they should not be read, if intercepted by the enemy, that is, by the Roman deserters in their camp. Under the Empire, on the contrary, when a smattering of Greek was as universal an accomplishment as that of French is amongst ourselves, all Grecian names were inscribed on signets in their proper characters; and persons pretending to superior refinement even went so far as to Grecise their Latin patronymics.

These considerations alone, even though unsupported by other internal evidence, would furnish reasonable grounds for supposing our Eros a contemporary of Julius Cæsar. But in this particular, the *person* himself would be of no greater interest to us than any other one of the thousands of his day that had sufficient taste to imagine a pretty seal-device, and sufficient money to pay a skilful artist to embody it in a gem. But upon further examination of the details, a symbol obtrudes itself on our notice which reveals perhaps (if I have not in-

terpreted it by too lively an exercise of the imagination) the whole history of the man. This key to the problem is the *Club of Hercules*, so conspicuously set up in the middle of the design, to the actual detriment of its beauty; a thing evidently done, because the fact which its presence announced to the recipients of the impression was of an importance that far outweighed all considerations of art: the social position of the sealer was made known to all the world by the view of this prominent badge of his *clientela*.

Our next step, therefore, in this inquiry is to hunt out in the series of Consular coins what noble family claims such a badge for its own; and the *gens Antonia* offers itself at the very opening of the search. Plutarch records that the most celebrated of the family, the amorous Triumvir, was mightily proud of his traditional descent from *Anthon*, a son of Hercules, in honour of whom he named his first-born *Anthyllus*, and affected to copy his divine progenitor in his bearing and his costume, as much as he resembled the statues of him in his manly countenance. Heaven itself seems to endorse his claim to relationship, for, conspicuously amongst the omens of his approaching downfall, the statue of *Anthon*, standing at *Alba Longa*, burst into a profuse sweat that could not be dried by wiping: the Temple of *Heracles* at *Corinth* was struck by lightning; and his colossus at *Athens* carried from its basis by a mighty whirlwind. To publish to the world so respectable a genealogy, the Triumvir puts on a bronze coin the bust of *Hercules*, or more probably *Anthon* (for the features are undeniably those of *Antony*), carrying the Club on his shoulder¹: and in order to symbolize the closeness of his union with *Octavius* during the short-lived second Triumvirate the same *Herculean* weapon forms the sole type on the obverse of a

¹ The reverse conveys a most extravagant compliment to *Antony*, for it reads L. A. ΡΩΜΗΣ, typifying the new birth of Rome under his auspices.

denarius (fig. 2) of his youthful colleague, which had been minted by their joint authority.

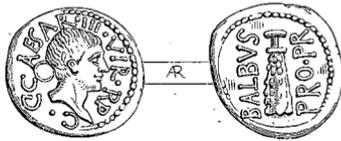


FIG. 2. Denarius of Octavius.

Who then was this Eros, that he should in this elegant pictorial way have placed himself under the patronage of the family Antonia? That he was of servile condition is at once manifested by his *name*, containing a presage of future love and favouritism, like so many others of the class (Cestus, Earinus, Narcissus, Phlegon, Tryphon), and hinting that he was intended, at his outset in life, to gain the good graces of his master by his personal charms (*flore corporis*), as the fashion then was; and by successive stages to grow up from the "deliciae domini" into the respectability and influence of a trusted *libertus*.

To such an Eros, faithful unto death, did the despairing Antony turn for the last medicine of his woes; and when that faithful freedman evaded the obligation of his oath by plunging the sword into his own heart, he exclaimed, "Nobly done, my Eros! thy love would not suffer thee to see thy master die, but thy example has taught him what he ought to do."

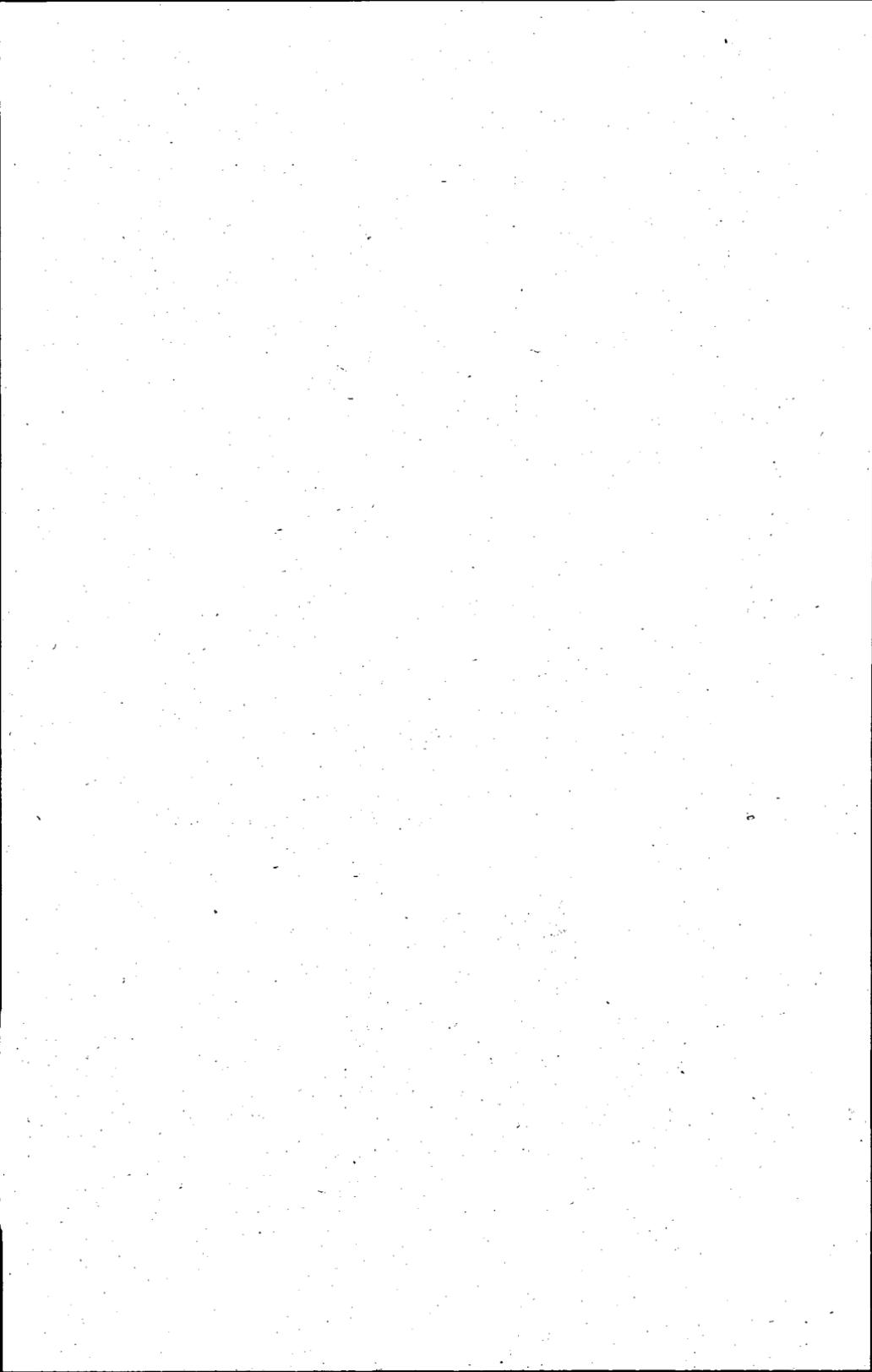
It is not often that one of these minute relics of antiquity comes before us, for the connexion of which with any historical event or personage so many plausible (if not convincing) arguments can be found as in the present instance. The times to which the work belongs are indicated by its workmanship and by the peculiarity of the legend: the introduction of the family cognizance indubitably declares its connexion with the family of Antony: whilst the name of the owner agrees with that of a person known to have had the right of assuming such a badge of dependency. And after all, in a case like this, where

demonstration is impossible, imagination may be allowed a little scope in strengthening the arguments that aim at establishing the reality of so interesting a monument.

This gem turned up at a miscellaneous sale in Town in the spring of 1883, where it was bought on the commission of Mr Lewis, who like Horace's

“Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens [quaerens?], per saxa, per ignes”

in his chase of these fascinating butterflies of the flowery meads of archæology!



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ERRATA.

P. 193, line 23, for MEURFA read MENRFA.

„ 286, line 16, omit John Owen. The Cellarius is printed “impensis J. Owen *typographi*,” but his part in the undertaking was purely that of a publisher, for whom the University printed the book. In 1706 Simon Ockley’s *Introductio ad Linguas Orientales*, 8°, was printed for him at the University Press.

„ „ line 30, for 1853 read 1854.

„ 311, line 19, for 1741 read 1749.

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