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Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

31 OCTOBER, 1892 TO 17 MAY, 1893,

WITH

Communications

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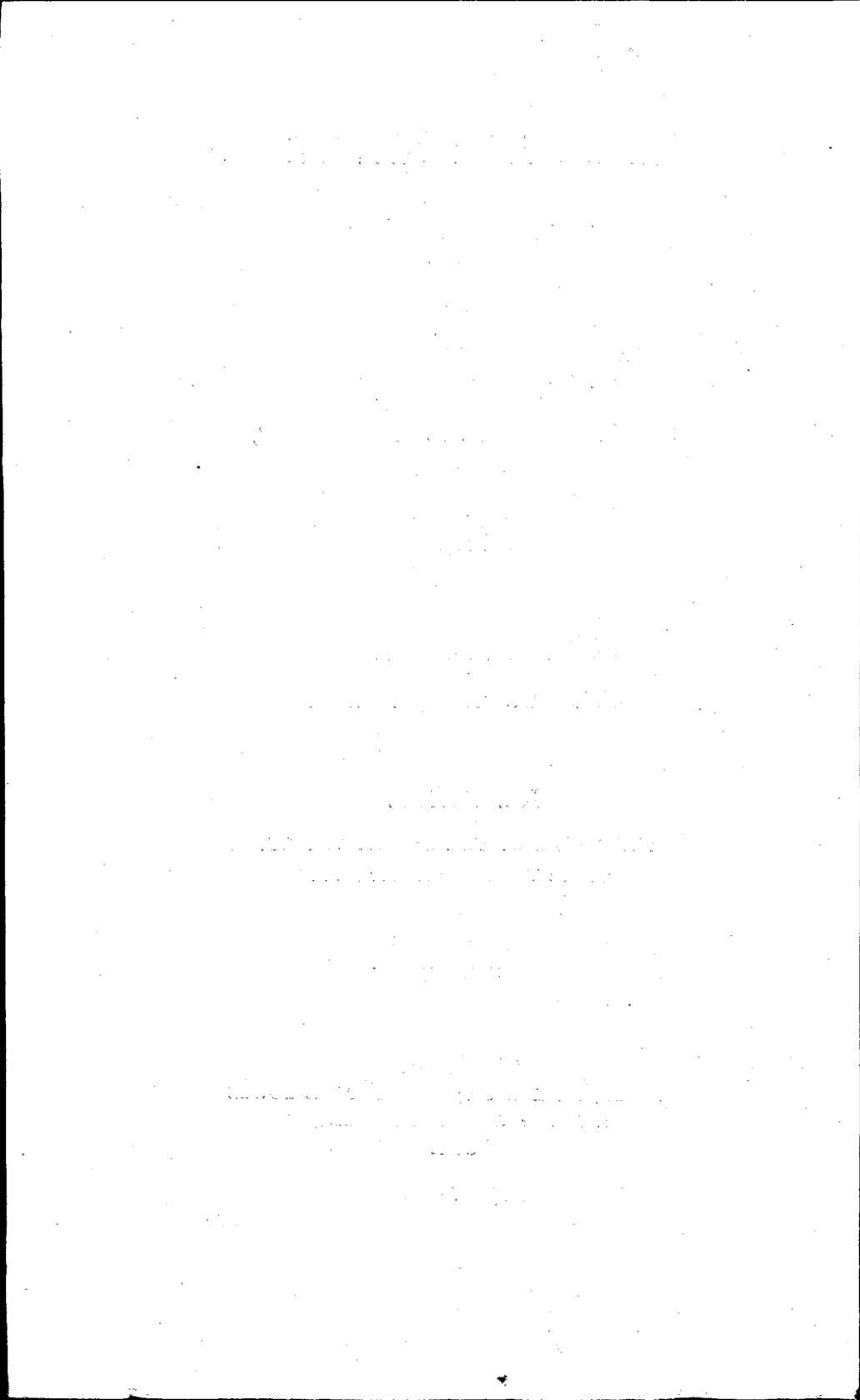
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MONDAY, *October 31st*, 1892.

Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT, after some remarks on the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Cambridge in August last, made the following communication:

ON A ROMAN INSCRIPTION AT CARLISLE.

Professor CLARK exhibited a rubbing and a squeeze, communicated to him by Chancellor Ferguson, from an inscribed stone recently discovered at Carlisle. The stone was found face downwards on the top of a large oak coffin. A portion had been intentionally broken off, a groove being cut for the purpose, though the ultimate fracture follows a rather different line. The result is that six lines are legible, while a seventh is half gone, the remaining part being partially obliterated both at top and bottom. The legible part of the inscription is clear and bold, the lettering good, and the whole appearance above sus-

pcion. It runs as follows:—D M | FLAS ANTIGONS PAPIAS |
 CIVIS GRECVS VIXIT ANNOS | PLVS MINVS LX QVEM AD | MODVM
 ACCOMODATAM | FATIS ANIMAM REVOCAVIT |

As to this part of the inscription Professor Clark remarked: The DM, though not conclusive, is *against* a Christian source. The FLAS is not a regular abbreviation for FLAVIVS, while FLA is. The s therefore most probably stands for some second name—Sextus, Servius, or Severus, which, with others, are found represented by this single letter. ANTIGONS and PAPIAS require no remark. The v is omitted in the former name, not tied to the N; there are no tied letters in the inscription. CIVIS is not a very common expression to indicate *nationality*, which appears to be its meaning here. There are, however, other instances. ANNOS is not, I think, so common with VIXIT as ANNIS, but has quite good authority. PLVS. MINVS, "more or less," has been noted as occurring more frequently in Christian inscriptions than in others. I do not see why it should; and I should set the DM against any inference of a Christian character for this inscription. After the numerals LX comes the difficult QVEM AD MODVM, which may be one word and may be two, but is, in my opinion, three. There is here no other instance of a word divided at the end of a line; and both QVEMADMODVM and QVEM ADMODVM make very poor sense. The first would have to be rendered "in which fashion or manner"—I do not think it ever means "when." The second requires the awkward apposition "whom, a spirit wholly conformed to destiny, &c." I venture to take the three words as meaning "up to which limit"—*i.e.* the 60 years—the spirit of Flavius was ACCOMODATA FATIS "*lent*" (a Ciceronian use) "*by the destinies*," and recalled by whatever power, person, or period we can make out of the fragmentary seventh line.

Professor Clark exhibited a special squeeze of this part of the inscription, and proceeded: All, I think, who have tried their hands at this puzzle agree that SEPTIM is the most probable restoration of the first six letters. There is some difference of opinion as to whether the line after the M is a blundered repetition of the last stroke of that letter, or an I.

It certainly *slants* much more than the other i's. The next letter is undoubtedly A. The next has been taken for both D and B, of which I am strongly in favour of the latter, and the next is certainly O. Then follow four fragmentary strokes, which I am inclined to read as an N, followed by an I. The first and third are not sufficiently *sloping* for an M, such as appears elsewhere in the inscription. The following letter is, I feel confident, an R, but I can read no more. There is room for nine letters in the remainder (the lost part) of the line. How much more may have followed we cannot tell. Of the attractive suggestion SVPREMVS DOMINVS, the former word is out of the question; the latter, I think, unjustifiable by the fragmentary letters. For SEPTIMIA and SEPTIMA the arguments appear to me about equal. As to what BONIR means, I can at present make no suggestion: but I believe the nominative to REVOCAVIT is to be looked for rather in a period or cycle than in a human name like SEPTIMIA¹.

Professor HUGHES made the following communication :

ON MR WILES GREEN'S COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES
FOUND AT OR NEAR MANEA.

The collection before us was made by Mr Wiles Green, of Manea, and generously bequeathed by him to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1892².

The value of such a collection depends largely upon its being a record of the history of one area through many succeeding ages. Manea from its position deserves careful examination, as it is one of a series of gravel-islands which occur just within the area of the fens. These islands running in a west-north-west direction, formed the last dry ground

¹ Since this paper was read, Mr F. Haverfield, F.S.A., in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries (*Proceedings*, xiv. p. 264), has shewn that FLAS would be a regular abbreviation for FLAVIUS in the 4th century. He further quotes a considerable number of cases, also from later times, in which *civis* is used to denote nationality. E. C. CLARK.

² Mr Wiles Green died 8 May, 1892.

occupied by those who took refuge in the fens, and must therefore have been the scene of many a struggle between the refugees and the invaders from whom they fled.

The fen deposits are of later date than paleolithic man, but many of the gravel-islands which project through the peat and silt are of paleolithic age, and rest on an ancient floor of clay, in which are imbedded remains of the earliest postglacial fauna.

The objects exhibited may be divided into several groups according to their age, and may be thus described, beginning with the oldest.

There is one stone implement of paleolithic type. This specimen has suffered recent fractures which enable anyone, by the contrast of colours between the old surface and the new, to infer something as to the vicissitudes through which it has passed. It has undoubtedly been originally derived from a bed of ferruginous gravel, but what accident brought it into juxtaposition with a neolithic celt I cannot tell. The neolithic age is represented by a dozen polished stone instruments which are of exceptional interest from their variety and peculiar characters. There are only two of undoubtedly local origin; the one a thin implement made of the black flint from the East Anglian chalk, with only the broad cutting edge ground. This has never been exposed to surface weathering, and is of the true fen type, resembling that which was found in 1863 sticking in the skull of *Bos primigenius* from Burwell Fen, which is now in the Geological Museum¹. The other of local type, is a small thick unpolished celt of a form not uncommon in the *débris* around Grimes Graves. Whether this means that it was an unfinished form or not I will not venture to decide. The surface of this specimen is white, showing that it has been long exposed to the action of the weather.

There are several large thick polished axes of the dark and light, grey or reddish, blotched flint, which seems to be made from the mottled flint of Yorkshire or Lincolnshire. The only way to explain the occurrence of flint implements of this type

¹ *Antiquarian Communications*, ii. 285.

in such large numbers in East Anglia, if they have not been imported, is to suppose that they have been manufactured out of the masses of flint which have been transported with the drift from the north.

There are also specimens of the bulging blue-grey polished felstone implement—so uniform in type and so widely distributed all through England. These were probably imported into this district, as the rock does not occur *in situ* anywhere near, and is rare in the drift. One small highly-finished, triangular, polished, fibrolite implement is of great interest, as it is difficult to imagine by what combination of circumstances it can have got to Manea. Implements of this material are almost unknown in this country, but are not uncommon on the western continent of Europe, especially in Brittany.

I cannot offer any subdivision of the prehistoric age of metal, whether copper, bronze, or iron, in this district. It is in this collection represented by one socketed and looped bronze axe (the fragments of bronze vessels I refer to Roman times). To approximately the same time, *i.e.*, to the bronze age, I refer the coarse cup-shaped vessel with a single handle, and an indented linear pattern, of which one specimen is exhibited. I have found similar ware in tumuli on the adjoining mainland, but there they were generally very rotten and difficult to remove.

Then came the Romans, and, when the time of fighting and camps was over, and they had settled down to enjoy the fruits of their conquests, whatever they may have done to the people themselves, they seem to have introduced at once important changes in the habits and customs, as well as the instruments and vessels of every-day life, of the inhabitants of this part of the country. They settled on every bit of land that could be cultivated all up and down the rivers and on the higher ground round and in the fens. The rising ground of Manea, as we have evidence in the objects just described, had long been occupied by the people of the stone and bronze ages. How near to Roman times their relics carry us we cannot tell, but the next folk of whom we know anything with certainty are the Romans, and Romanised Britons, or whatever we should call

the well-to-do people who lived in villas all over East Anglia, and used both home-made and foreign pottery and other wares. Whoever they were, they lived in Manea also, and owing to their cleanly habits of burying all their rubbish in pits, we find in their broken pottery a sample of their style and taste, and in the bones from their kitchens a record of how comfortably they lived. The remains have not yet been examined in detail, but we have noticed among the fragments of pottery, Samian ware, some of which is highly decorated, and occasionally has the potter's mark preserved; mortaria, with a name stamped on the rim in some cases; thin red and grey or black ware, such as was made at Caistor and at Upchurch, and many pieces ornamented in slip. But, perhaps, more interesting than these specimens of a better kind, are the fragments of rough ware which seem to have been made nearer home, being exactly like the pottery of which such extensive waste heaps occur round Horningsea. In metal we have not much in this collection, save remains of bronze cooking-vessels. A considerable number of coins and some metal ornaments have been found, which are preserved by Mr Wiles Green's family, and it is hoped may some day be described.

The Romans in their turn passed away, and of the six centuries or so that elapsed while the old English folk were establishing their sway in East Anglia we have no records from Manea. Maybe the island went back to waste. But somewhere in medieval times, between the 11th and 14th century perhaps, we know from a few pieces of pottery that man sojourned there again. One long jug of early form is placed in our museum. Still later, the Church and the glazed ware of the Bellarmine type carry the story on through the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries down to the time of parish records.

There is one very interesting example of a double cone in flint produced by one blow, and by its wonderful symmetry suggesting design. It is, however, a well-known natural form, which I have already described elsewhere.

There is a small black urn, to which I should be sorry to attempt to assign a date. I should not have been surprised

to have learned that it contained coins. Unfortunately the lingering tradition of the law of treasure trove, and the sometimes too well-founded suspicion that insufficient remuneration will be given to the actual finder, does still often interfere with the preservation of objects of real or fancied value, and still oftener causes the real circumstances of the find to be concealed—thus destroying most of its interest and importance as historical evidence. As there are many who are unacquainted with the law of treasure trove, I append an extract from a letter which Dr Waraker has been so good as to send me on the subject.

“At the meeting of the Antiquarian Society on Monday last you remarked in passing that the law of ‘Treasure trove’ caused a disastrous result in that the find of metal ‘was sent into the melting-pot.’ This is not at the present day strictly true, though the belief that the old law still continues to exist in practice, I have no doubt still lingers and may produce the same consequences.

“I think, therefore, that every opportunity should be taken to diffuse knowledge of the existing practice.

“The old law was originally that a person concealing treasure trove was punishable with death, but at a later time the penalty was reduced to fine and imprisonment, and the finder if he delivered up the articles received no reward. Antonio Panizzi pointed out the mischief to which this led in the destruction of things of great archaeological interest, but often of little intrinsic value.

“At length, about 1862, so far as I can recollect, attention was strongly attracted to the subject by a prosecution for concealing treasure trove. The case was *Reg. v. Thomas*, and the facts were these: One Butcher, ploughing a field in Sussex, turned up some gold torques of about 11 pounds in weight. Supposing them to be brass, he sold them for sixpence a pound to Thomas, who re-sold them as gold, and the facts being discovered he was prosecuted and convicted.

“Soon after this the Treasury issued an order that if the finder disclosed the fact and delivered the find to the Treasury he should be paid not merely the intrinsic but the artistic value (fairly assessed) of the article.

“I may mention that it still remains an offence to *conceal* the find, and accordingly the generally obsolete adage ‘Honesty is the best policy’ in this matter still survives.

“Let me add that not every find is treasure trove. The object must be gold or silver, coin, plate, or bullion. It must have been hidden for purposes of concealment, and not placed in the earth with intent not to

resume possession, nor casually lost; such belongs to the finder. Hence if the torques above mentioned had been, as probably was the case, buried with the Keltic chieftain, whose person they had adorned in life, they were not treasure trove."

Mr M. R. JAMES made the following communication :

ON THE FRESCOES IN ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL.

Two reasons have combined to induce me to handle a subject already fully treated by Mr J. W. Clark (and Mr Keyser) in the *Architectural History of Cambridge*. In the first place my attention has been specially drawn to several remains of English art which illustrate the life and miracles of the Virgin in the course of my recent investigation of the sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely; and in the second place, as I have been entrusted with Essex's pencil drawings of the Eton frescoes, through the kindness of the Provost of Eton, the present opportunity of exhibiting and commenting upon them seemed too good to be lost¹. That these paintings are the work of an English artist was among the discoveries which we owe to Mr J. W. Clark. That they are really beautiful works of art I think the drawings amply suffice to show. It is, I fear, too much to hope that the paintings themselves will see the light of day again in our time; but it is a thing to be hoped for and to be kept in view when any alteration of the interior arrangements of Eton College Chapel is next thought of.

Before we proceed to the paintings themselves I must epitomise their history. For this I naturally turn to the *Architectural History* (I. 411, etc.), where I find the following main facts. The paintings were begun in 1479-80. The accounts of that date contain entries for candles to light the painter at his work; sponges to clean them appear in 1482-3, by which time some must have been finished. We find more candles entered in 1484-5; the colours are entered separately in 1487-8; and this item concludes with the words:

¹ These drawings have since been photographed by Messrs Gray and Davies, of Queen's Road, Bayswater.

Et pro diuersis aliis coloribus occupatis de coloribus propriis
 ipsius pictoris scilicet Willelmi Baker iij s.

Nothing more occurs till 1560. We then find:

Item to the Barber for wypping owte the Imagery worke vpon the
 walles in the church vjs viijd.¹

The chapel was wainscotted in 1699-1701, and an organ-screen erected which damaged the frescoes considerably. In 1847 the whole of the wainscot, organ-screen, etc., was cleared out (alas!), and the paintings rediscovered. No orders were given about the treatment of them, and the consequence was that one of the Fellows walking into the chapel one afternoon found that the workmen had scraped off the upper quarter of the painting all along both sides, and were proposing to deal with the residue in like manner. They were stopped; an artist (Mr R. H. Essex) was employed to make careful pencil drawings of all that remained (which drawings we have before us to-night, their proper home being the library of the College); and great discussions followed as to the possibility of leaving these remains of art permanently visible, or at least accessible. The Prince Consort was particularly anxious that this end should be attained; but the then Provost (Hodgson) objected that the subjects of the pictures were papistical, and, I suppose, unfit for the daily contemplation of youth. The result was that the paintings, still *in situ*, are completely concealed from view by modern stall-work, with the exception of a small fragment which appears above and between the canopies at the S.W. corner of the chapel. Besides his pencil drawings, Essex made a couple of lithographs of single heads, the size of the original; and some careful but not very artistic lithographs were also made by the Misses Cust. These reproductions lead one to conclude that the colouring throughout was pale and subdued.

Some of the above details are taken from Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton College*². He there reproduces Essex's two lithographs and some fragments of his drawings. References to articles in periodicals, and a careful description of the paint-

¹ *Architectural History*, ut supra, i. 442.

² 2nd ed., pp. 83-90.

ings by Mr C. E. Keyser, a well-known authority on the remains of mural paintings in England, will be found in the appendix to the *Architectural History*, I. 598-607.

We are to study these paintings in connexion with a series very similar in date and style, which is still visible on the walls of the Lady Chapel in Winchester Cathedral. This series was painted at the expense of Prior Silkstede (1498-1524). Very good reproductions of it are to be seen in Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, and also in the Winchester volume, 1845, of the *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association*. Mr Keyser has brought the two series together in his account just mentioned.

The plans of the Eton and Winchester paintings which are appended to this paper (Figs. 1-4) will probably go further than anything else to make the *rationale* of the whole matter clear. Let me point out the main features which have to be kept in mind.

1. The Eton paintings are in two rows. At each end of each row, and also between each pair of subjects, is a full length figure of a saint, in a niche, on a pedestal, making nine figures in each row, and 36 figures in all.

2. The upper half of the upper row of paintings on each side is gone, except in the last (W.) subject on the S. side.

3. There is a gap in the lower row of paintings on each side at Eton, caused by the erection of the organ-screen in 1700: the stairs to the organ-loft have preserved part of the upper row on each side. The result is that we have lost, on the S. side, two subjects (4 and 5), in the lower row, and two figures (iv. and v.) as well as half of subject 3; and on the N. side subjects 4, 5, and half 6, with figures v. and vi.

The organ-screen has further mutilated the upper row on each side. On the S. side we have lost nearly all figure iv. and a large part of subject 4; on the N. side part of subject 5, the whole of figure vi. and part of subject 6.

Further, on the N. side, some unexplained mutilation has carried away the following portions:

Upper row, figure viii., subject 8, fig. ix.

Lower row, figure viii., half of subject 8.

1. At Winchester the paintings are in two rows, with small figures on shafts separating the main subjects. These figures seem to be all meant for Prophets; and need not detain us further: they are all in bad condition¹.

2. On the S. side the 2nd compartment from E. is narrower than the rest. In the upper row is a portrait of Prior Silkstede; in the lower row is a piscina, which takes the place of a painting.

On the N. side, similarly, the 4th compartment from the E. is occupied by a door: above it is a picture of the Annunciation, longer and lower than its neighbours.

3. Several of the subjects are very faint even in Carter's drawings, made more than a century ago. Especially is this the case with Nos. vii. and x. on the N. side.

I do not propose, in the body of this paper, to go through the subjects of the paintings in detail; these will come in more fitly in an Appendix. I shall rather devote myself to two particular points; (1) the elucidation of the figures of saints in the Eton series, (2) a conjectural restoration of the missing subjects at Eton.

We will take the figures first, and begin with the upper row on each side². All in this row, it will be remembered, are headless, with the exception of two at the S.W. end; and we are reduced in a good many cases to conjecture in identifying them. But the medieval systems of iconography are so simple, and so often repeated, that conjecture based on experience of them has a considerable chance of being correct. The first figure on the south side, beginning from the E. end (A. I.), is an angel with a scroll and sceptre (the only angel in the series), easily recognisable as Gabriel, in the act of appearing to the Virgin. The opposite figure on the north side (A. IX.) which has quite disappeared, must, I feel confident, have been the Virgin herself,—the two together forming a representation of

¹ To save space, these figures are not indicated on the diagrams (figs. 3, 4).

² I will call the upper row A, the lower row B, and refer to the figures by Roman numerals; the plan will show their position.

the Annunciation. It is very usual to place these two figures on opposite sides of an arch or of a building. Among several instances that I might quote I will cite their occurrence on the eastern bay of the roof of S. Mary's Church at Bury S. Edmunds.

Leaving the two easternmost figures, we have eight figures on each side to deal with (in row A). Now all the remaining figures on the north side have been men in long robes with scrolls. When we recollect that the figures at Winchester were almost certainly meant for prophets, we shall be the more ready to allow that those at Eton were prophets also. But in fact they are well-nigh unmistakable. Eight prophets and the Virgin, then, were the figures on the north side in the upper row.

On the south side there is more variety. Four of the figures (A. III. V. VI. VIII.) have the Evangelistic symbols at their feet, in the unusual order of Ox, Eagle, Winged Man, Lion. Moreover, in the S.W. corner the head of the figure with the lion, and the head of his neighbour on the right, survive; and it is plain that the person accompanied by the lion is not an Evangelist, but an ecclesiastic whose head-gear is mutilated, and who holds a staff—probably a double cross. Evidently, as I think, he is S. Gregory. And this leads me to conjecture that the eight figures represented the four Latin Doctors, SS. Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory (very likely in that order), and the four Evangelists. The Doctors would thus have the symbols of the Evangelists beside them; a not uncommon arrangement. To cite one example, there is a xvth century stone pulpit at Botzen, on which the Doctors appear accompanied by the Evangelistic emblems as well as by their own. If this idea be rejected, I can only offer the suggestion that the figures were those of the four major Prophets alternating with the Evangelists. But I am fairly confident that the other suggestion is right.

In the lower row on either side were nine female saints. These figures are among the most beautiful parts of William Baker's work. We begin with those on the south side.

B. I. S. Katherine. Her wheel is gone: but this is the natural place in which to look for her; as the greatest of the Virgin Martyrs and the patroness of learning, she would occupy a position of honour in the series.

II. S. Barbara, with tower.

III. S. Apollonia, with pincers and tooth.

IV. Gone.

V. Gone.

VI. S. Dorothea.

VII. S. Lucy, probably: she has palm and book.

VIII. S. Juliana, a devil at her feet.

IX. S. Agnes, probably: she has a sword.

On the north side are:

B. I. S. Sativola or Sidwell with scythe; she was honoured at Exeter, where she has a church; her picture is also to be found in a window in New College Chapel, Oxford.

II. S. Martha, a dragon at her feet, led by a girdle. This is the Tarasque, the monster which she vanquished at Tarascon.

III. S. Etheldreda (or S. Radegund), a crowned abbess.

IV. S. Elizabeth, with a basket of bread.

V. Gone.

VI. Gone.

VII. S. Margaret, with dragon.

VIII. Gone.

IX. Symbol gone: very likely S. Christina.

The determination of eight of these figures must be considered doubtful; of five because they are gone, of the other three because their symbols are indistinct. I have suggested the names of Agnes, Lucy, and Christina for these last. For the five who are gone I have five names to offer, four of which are very obvious: Mary Magdalene, Agatha, Ursula, Cecilia, Osith.

Osith I suggest because she was a very popular English saint, and I find a distinctly English element in the selection. It is possible that Winifred might be a better conjecture. The other four almost *must* have found places in such a series as this.

The other question I propose to discuss in this paper is this: What were the subjects of the paintings which have been totally destroyed?

There were in all twenty-five¹ subjects represented, if we count the story of the Empress as a single one: this story, it will be remembered, occupies the whole of the lower row on the south side. Of these pictures three are quite gone, and a fourth is doubtful (A. 5 north); besides which, two scenes of the story of the Empress (B. 4, 5 south) are gone. Twenty-two subjects, however, at Eton are recognisable.

At Winchester (figs. 3, 4) there are twenty subjects (exclusive of the Annunciation and the picture of Prior Silkstede), one of which is doubtful. Nineteen may be regarded as certain.

Fourteen subjects unquestionably, fifteen probably, are common to the two series. Eton has eight (or seven) which are not at Winchester. Winchester has five (or four) which are not at Eton: these subjects are:

The illiterate priest reinstated. II. South.

The woman delivered at Mont St Michel. VII. South.

The drowned monk rescued. X. South.

The thief Ebbo preserved alive on the gallows. II. North.

The story of S. George and Julian the Apostate. VII, IX, XI. North.

What were the lost Eton subjects?

On the south side, the gap occurs in the story of the Empress; and we may say with great probability that the scenes lost were (1) the second accusation of the Empress, by the knight's wicked brother, (2) the Virgin appearing and showing the healing herb to the Empress.

On the north side the gaps are not so easy to fill; but considering the similarity of the two series we have before us, we are amply justified in supplying the missing matter from the Winchester list. As we have seen, there are five subjects from which we may choose our three. The most probable to my mind are the following:

(1) The story of the illiterate priest reinstated. I would place this in B. 4 North, under the picture of the sick clerk healed by the Virgin. I notice that there seems to be a certain amount of care taken to place two

¹ There are 16 compartments on each side, or 32 in all. Of these 24 represent separate scenes, while 8 (here counted as one) contain the story of the Empress.

similar subjects together, one above the other. Thus A. 6 and B. 6 both represent stories in which the devil is baffled; A. 7 and B. 7 both shew the punishment of people who insulted the Virgin. And this story of the illiterate priest would make a good pendant to that of the sick clerk.

(2) The story of S. George killing the Emperor Julian. I would place this in B. 5 North, under the similar story of the Virgin helping her champion.

(3). The story of the woman delivered at Mont St. Michel. This I would place in A. 8, above the picture of the Virgin delivering Abbot Elsin from shipwreck. Both stories are connected with the sea.

It is not altogether beyond hope, by the way, that the two gaps in the lower row may at some time be filled up, or rather that the pictures may be recovered; for I find a note on one of Essex's drawings which states that the gaps are caused, not by a scraping of the paint off the wall, but by the presence of a thick coating of oil-paint contemporary with the organ-screen. The frescoes, therefore, may (or may not) be extant under this paint.

I have nothing further to add that can be considered new, save one or two identifications of subjects which baffled Mr Keyser, but which a prolonged study of the drawings has made clear.

I may say in conclusion that if a sufficient number of subscribers can be got, it would no doubt be possible to publish the photographs of Essex's drawings in a small portfolio, with a printed description.

APPENDIX.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS IN
ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL.

South side, beginning at the east end (Fig. 1).

A.

I. S. Gabriel, with sceptre.

1. The Assumption of the Virgin: the lower half of the Virgin's figure remains, supported by four Angels; the drapery of a fifth is seen on *L.* Rays surround them.

Inscription: *Gaudent . Angeli . letantur . archangeli .*

II. S. Matthew: no attribute.

2. The Funeral of the Virgin. S. John preceding to *L.*, holding palm and book (in bag-binding). Behind him another Apostle with book; part of a third seen on *L.* of S. John. On *R.* above, lower half of the Jew drawing his sword and inclining forward; below, the same Jew, bareheaded, fallen, *L.* hand stretched up, adhering to the Virgin's bier; his hat and sword on the ground.

Inscription: *Judeus . quidam . feretrum . beate . Virginis . tangens .*
.....*liberatur . Vinc . li .*

III. S. Ambrose: ox at feet, scroll.

3. Theophilus. On *L.* the lower part of the Devil with one leg hoofed, one human, giving bond to Theophilus facing *L.* In centre Theophilus facing *R.* The rest gone, save a foot on *R.*

Inscription: *Theophilus . christum . et . beatam . virginem . Abnegat .*
.....

IV. S. [Mark: gone.]

4. S. John of Damascus: his hand, cut off by the Caliph, is restored by the Virgin. S. John kneels face *R.*: his *R.* hand rests on a round block: on *R.* the lower part of two draped figures; the Virgin restoring the hand to him.

Inscription: gone.

V. S. Augustine, with bowl, scroll, and bird (eagle) at his feet.

5. The beam at Constantinople raised. On *L.* the architect, in gown, girdle, and cloak over *L.* shoulder, bends *L.* knee, joins his hands, and looks up to *R.* On *R.* three boys in tunics and high boots turn a windlass with

four handspikes at each end. In the foreground lie planks and satchels (these last belonging to the boys).

Inscription: gone.

VI. S. Jerome with scroll and winged man at his feet.

6. A youth betroths himself to the Virgin (unintentionally) by putting a ring on the finger of her image. On *L.* a gothic panelled base. Drapery of a figure: lower part of the youth with gypciere at girdle kneeling, face *L.* On *R.* drapery of two figures facing *R.*

Inscription: *Qualiter · imaginem · quidam · beate · virginis · anulo · desponsavit · et · < mundo > · renunciavit · Vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 87°*

VII. S. Luke, with scroll.

7. S. Bonnet (of Clermont) celebrates mass in the presence of the Virgin.

On *L.*, foot-piece of altar: on it S. Bonnet stands in chasuble, face *L.* Part of two draped figures on *R.* (the Virgin gives a vestment to S. Bonnet).

Inscription: *Qualiter · beata · virgo · sancto · Bonito · aluarnensi · episcopo · post · missarum · solemniam · vestem · celestem · tradiderat (?-it) · Vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 97°*

VIII. S. Gregory in tiara (?), with cross-staff (?), scroll, and lion at his feet.

8. A Jewish boy, having received the Sacrament, is put into an oven by his father: the Virgin rescues him. On *L.* in front, four figures (three youths and a woman) kneel; a priest standing before an altar (full-face) housels them. On *R.* the Virgin stands by an oven on *R.*, in which a boy is seen, through an arched opening.

Inscription: *Qualiter · cuiusdam · Judei · filius · cum · christianis · communionem · accipiens · a · crudeli · patre · in · fornacem · projicitur · legenda · sanctorum*

IX. S. John, face *L.*, beardless.

B.

I. S. Katherine, with sword, crowned.

1. The story of the Empress. The Emperor takes leave of her. On *L.* the Emperor, crowned, in armour, bends from his horse and takes the hand of the Empress, crowned, in ermine, kneeling: behind him are two mounted attendants. He is beardless, with long hair. On *R.* the Empress standing pushes the Emperor's brother, in round cap and long gown, through the door of a tower.

Inscription: *hic · deuotus · imperator · peregrinaturus · uxori · < sue · valedicit >*

II. S. Barbara, turbaned, with hexagonal tower in two stories, and palm.

2. The Emperor returns: his brother accuses the Empress of infidelity in his absence. The Emperor smites her, and orders her to be exposed in a forest. On *L.* in front the brother in gown, bare-headed, *L.* hand raised, *R.* of him the Emperor with *R.* hand raised to strike the kneeling Empress: behind, three attendants. On *R.* the Empress weeping led to *R.* between two men with staves: one has the letters *AMALE* on a band across his breast.

Inscription: *hic · rediens · imperator · accusatam · false · sibi · uxorem · jubet · in · siluam · deduci · et · decapitari · Vincentius li° · 8° · cap ·*

III. S. Apollonia with pincers and tooth, and book under arm.

3. The Empress, taken out by guards to the forest, is rescued by a knight and his train. The right-hand half of this subject is gone. On *L.* the two guards; the one with *AMALE* on his breast is fallen, and about to be killed with the sword by a man standing over him; the other defends himself with staff against a mounted headless figure with starred breast. Centre, the Empress kneels, face *R.* The rest gone.

Inscription: *hic · superuenientis · militis.....*

IV. Gone. S. Agatha [?].

4. Gone. Probably represented the Empress accused for the second time (of murder) by the knight's brother, and put on a desert island.

Inscription: gone.

V. Gone. S. Ursula [?].

5. Gone. Probably the Virgin appearing to the Empress on the island, and shewing her a herb which would cure leprosy.

Inscription: gone.

VI. S. Doróthea, with rose in *R.* hand, and basket in *L.*

6. The Empress heals the knight's brother of leprosy by means of the herb. *L.* two beggars, one in hut, the other touching his cap and leaning on a crutch: he has lost his *R.* foot, and has a begging-bowl at his girdle. In centre, the Empress, face *R.*, gives the knight's brother drink out of a bowl. He kneels. On *R.* stands the knight, his *L.* hand on his brother's head. He wears cap, gown, sword, and rich collar. On either side of him is an attendant.

Inscription:*vincent · li° · 8° · cap ·*

VII. S. Lucy [?], with palm and book.

7. The Empress heals the Emperor's brother of leprosy by means of the herb. On *L.* a Cardinal with double cross attending on a Pope in cope

with morse and tiara, facing *R.* In front of them an attendant (headless), and the Emperor's brother kneeling, with staff. On *R.* the Empress facing *L.* gives him drink out of a bowl. On her *R.* stands the Emperor with sceptre. On extreme *R.* an attendant with sword.

Inscription: *hic · imperator · ipsam · <false · accusatam> · cognoscit · et · reconciliacionem · intime · exoptat · postquam · viderit · fratrem · suum · scelus · suum · confessum ·vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 90° ·*

VIII. S. Juliana, in ermine bodice, a devil at her feet in a chain.

8. The Empress takes leave of her husband and enters a convent. On *L.* a porch; in it stands an abbess with pastoral staff, on *R.* a nun. Before her kneels the Empress in a nun's habit, her crown on the ground on *R.* On *R.* the Emperor with sceptre, in long robe, faces *L.* Behind him an attendant with shield (?).

Inscription: *hic · tandem · imperatrix · marito · suo · et · mundo · renuncians · monachali · veste · velata · castitatem · seruare · deo · et · beate · virgini · decernit · vinc · 11° · 8° · ca · 90° ·*

IX. S. Agnes [?], with sword.

North side, beginning at the west end (Fig. 2).

A.

I. Prophet with scroll.

1. S. Gregory in the pestilence at Rome carries the Virgin's picture in procession. S. Michael is seen on the castle of S. Angelo, sheathing his sword, and angels sing *Regina caeli*. The lower parts of six vested ecclesiastics walking *R.* The first two (from *L.*) hold the staves of a canopy, probably; the third a half-length picture of the Virgin and Child; the other three have books (?).

Inscription:p · *meritis · beate · Virginis · a · peste · sevis <s> ima · liberatur · legenda · sanctorum ·*

II. Prophet with scroll.

2. A robber-knight is devoted to the Virgin: he has a wicked steward. He captures a holy man who detects the Devil in the person of the steward. The Devil confesses that but for the knight's devotion to the Virgin, he would have strangled him. In front, the Devil advancing: he has clawed hands and feet, otherwise he is a beardless man in a tunic; his attitude expresses confusion. Behind him are the lower parts of four figures: the holy man (in long robe), attendant, knight (in short gown) and attendant.

Inscription: *Qualiter · miles · quidam · · convertitur · et · <meritis · beate> · virginis · liberatur ·*

III. Prophet with scroll.

3. A monk, knowing only his *ave* or, rather, certain psalms of which

the initials form the words *ave maria*, dies and is buried; from his mouth springs a lily (or rose), inscribed with the words *ave maria*. In front two men in jerkins dig a grave; bones lie about. Behind, the draperies of four or five monks.

Inscription: *Qualiter . ab . ore . cuiusdam . monachi . in . honore . beate . virginis . certos . psalmos . dicentis . rosa . excrevit . inscripta . ave . maria . vin . li^o . 8^o .*

IV. Prophet with scroll.

4. A clerk devoted to the Virgin falls ill; the Virgin comes, gives him medicine, and cures him. A bed, with locked box at the foot; a figure in it with joined hands; on *L.* draperies of the Virgin and an angel (?); on *R.*, those of another figure.

Inscription: gone.

V. Prophet with scroll.

5. A knight on his way to a tournament stops to say the office of the Virgin; on arriving at the lists he finds that some one has taken his form and defeated all comers.

In front a knight in armour prostrate, another kneels on him about to kill him; behind on *L.* two armed figures face *L.*: on *R.* three attendants face *L.* One has several pointed weapons (?) under his arm.

Inscription: gone.

VI. Gone. Prophet [?].

6. A painter is engaged to paint the Virgin treading on the Devil. The Devil appears to him, and asks him not to paint him in so ugly a guise. He refuses to listen. The Devil breaks the ladder on which he is painting: the painted image or picture of the Virgin puts out its hand and saves him from falling. The left-hand half is gone. On *L.*, feet of three figures; on *R.*, an excited man moving a ladder; planks on the ground, a scaffolding above.

Inscription: *... retentus . est . et . ab . insidiis . diaboli .*

VII. Prophet with scroll.

7. A man playing dice blasphemes the Virgin, and falls dead. In front a figure lying on its back, head to *L.*: behind, remains of two figures on *L.*, and a table on *R.*

Inscription: *Qualiter . sutor . (? lusor) . quidam . ad . tessaras . christum <ho> rrida . morte . delin*

VIII. Gone. Prophet [?].

8. Gone. Probably the story of a woman, going to Mont St. Michel, overtaken by the tide, and delivered by the Virgin.

Inscription: Gone.

IX. Gone. Probably the Virgin.

B.

I. S. Sativola or Sidwell with scythe.

1. A woman dies unshriven of one deadly sin; by the Virgin's intercession she is revived and absolved, and dies again. In front the woman lies dead, head to *L.* Above on *L.* the Virgin crowned kneels to Christ, coped, crowned with thorns, shewing the wounds in his hands and feet; the globe under his feet. On *R.* the woman kneels and confesses to a monk in a chair.

Inscription: *Qualiter · beata · virgo · mulierem · ad · mortem · vsque · laborantem · de · peccato · gravi · commisso · non · confessam · vite · restituit · et · a · periculo · dampnacionis · liberauit · vinc · li° · 8 · ca° · 7°.*

II. S. Martha leading the *Tarasque* by her girdle; she has a palm.

2. A woman's son is taken captive. She takes an image of the Child from the Virgin's lap as hostage. Her son is restored. On *L.* the boy stands by his kneeling mother, who looks round at him, and takes the image of the Child out of a box. On *R.* in an arched recess with window (indicating a church), the woman kneels on a step and puts the image of the Child into the arms of the Virgin who is seated crowned on an altar (or plain base).

Inscription: *Qualiter · mulier · quedam · per · filium · beate · virginis · suum · filium · a · carceribus · liberatum · sibi · restituit · legenda · sanctorum.*

III. S. Etheldreda or S. Radegund, crowned, in nun's habit with pastoral staff and book.

3. A lady, unable to attend mass on Purification Day, has a vision in which she sees mass celebrated before the Virgin, and has a candle given to her which she keeps, and which she finds in her hand on awaking. This candle heals diseases. On *L.* the Virgin crowned, with spiral candle, advances, followed by four Virgins with candles. In front on *R.* the lady kneels at desk, a candle in *R.* hand, *L.* hand to her eye, indicating sleep. An angel speaks to her. Behind, an altar with priest holding maniple, and deacon, both facing west. In the wall are two two-light windows with four figures of saints in the glass: viz. Adrian with sword, anvil, and lion; Alban (?) with sword; an ecclesiastic bare-headed with indistinct object; and Anthony with crutch and pig.

Inscription: *Qualiter · mulier · quedam · nobilissima · in · die · purificationis · beate · virginis · <legenda> · sanctorum.*

IV. S. Elizabeth with three cakes, jewelled turban-like headdress.

4. Gone. [The story of a priest who knew only the Mass of the Virgin; his Bishop deprived him, but was compelled by the Virgin to reinstate him.]

Inscription: Gone.

V. Gone. S. Mary Magdalene [?].

5. Gone. [The story of S. George raised from his tomb by the Virgin, and sent, in consequence of the prayers of S. Basil, to kill Julian the Apostate.]

Inscription : Gone.

VI. Gone. S. Cecilia [?].

6. Amoras, a knight, is distressed for money, and sells his wife to the Devil. They go to keep the appointment; on the way the wife goes into a Chapel to pray to the Virgin. The Virgin assumes her form, and accompanies Amoras (who is ignorant of the change) to the Devil. The Devil is confounded, and the bargain falls through. The left-hand half is gone. There remains the hindquarters of a horse going to *L.* with a lady on its back. On *R.* Amoras in slashed cloak and laced doublet faces *R.*, gives a paper to, and takes a bag from, the Devil, who has one fleshless leg.

Inscription : <Qualiter · miles ·> quidam · a · diabolo · deceptus · exor · ejus · ad · diabolum · conducit · legenda · sanctorum.

VII. S. Margaret with long cross emerges from back of dragon; her robe in its mouth.

7. A soldier (of Brabant) throws a stone at an image of the Virgin and Child which a woman is adoring; the image bleeds, and the soldier is struck dead. Behind on *L.* a man in laced doublet, with sword, about to throw a stone: on *R.* a man stands with spear. On *R.* the west part of a church with side-turret, four-light window, and bell-cot. An image of the Virgin (injured) in a niche below the window, to which a woman kneels. In front, on *L.*, the thrower lies on the ground dead.

Inscription : Qualiter · ymago · filii · beate · virginis (above the line) · a · perfidis · percussa · sanguinem · dedit · Vincent.

VIII. Gone. ? S. Osith or S. Winifred.

8. The Virgin appears to Abbot Elsin in a storm in the Channel, and saves the ship. The left-hand half is gone. On *R.* the Virgin, full-face, crowned, with book under her arm.

Inscription : <naufraga>ntibus · a · periculis · liberat · <Vinc ·> li° · 8° · ca · 89° ·

IX. S. Christina [?], no visible attribute.

Below the lower row runs a band of ornament composed of alternate circles and squares inscribed in quatrefoils, each connected with the next, and with the top and bottom of the band, by horizontal and vertical bands.

	I	1	II	2	III	3	IV	4	V	5	VI	6	VII	7	VIII	8	IX
A	S. Gabriel	The Assumption of the Virgin.	S. Matthew	A Jew at the Virgin's funeral attempts to upset the bier; his hand is withered.	S. Ambrose (Ox)	Theophilus sells his soul to the Devil.	S. Mark	The hand of S. John of Damascus, cut off by the caliph, is restored by the Virgin.	S. Augustine (Eagle)	A beam at Constantinople is raised by a machine of which the Virgin had given the design.	S. Jerome (Winged man)	A youth betrothed to the Virgin's image.	S. Luke	S. Bonnet says mass before the Virgin.	S. Gregory (Lion)	A Jewish boy rescued by the Virgin from the furnace into which his father had thrown him.	S. John
EAST		Not at Winchester		Not at Winchester		Not at Winchester		Winch. N. I		Winch. S. VIII		Winch. S. I		Not at Winchester		Winch. S. IV	
B	S. Katherine	1 The Emperor's departure.	S. Barbara	2 The Empress banished.	S. Apollonia	3 The Empress rescued.	gone. S. Agatha?	4 gone. [The second accusation of the Empress?]	gone. S. Ursula?	5 gone. [The Empress sees the Virgin in a vision?]	S. Dorothea	6 The Empress heals the knight's brother.	S. Lucy	7 The Empress heals her brother-in-law.	S. Juliana	8 The Empress takes the veil.	S. Agnes?
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX
	B. 1—8. The story of the Empress. Not at Winchester.																

FIG. 1. ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL. SOUTH SIDE.

	I	1	II	2	III	3	IV	4	V	5	VI	6	VII	7	VIII	8	IX
A	Prophet	The procession of S. Angelo.	Prophet	The Devil detected as steward to a knight.	Prophet	Burial of a monk from whose mouth a rose grew after death.	Prophet	A sick clerk to whom the Virgin ministered.	Prophet	[The Virgin's champion in a tournament is made victorious?]	Prophet [?]	A pious painter is saved from falling by a picture of the Virgin.	Prophet	A blaspheming dicier is killed.	Prophet [?]	gone. [The miracle of Mont St Michel? Winch. S. VII]	The Virgin [?]
WEST		Winch. S. V		Winch. N. VI		Winch. N. III		Winch. N. VIII		Winch. N. X		Winch. N. IV		Not at Winchester			
B	S. Sidwell	1 A woman dying unconfessed is revived by the Virgin.	S. Martha	2 A woman takes an image of Christ as hostage for her captive son.	S. Etheldreda	3 A lady on Purification Day sees a Mass in a vision, and gets a candle.	S. Elizabeth	4 gone. [An illiterate priest reinstated? Winch. S. II]	S. Mary Magdalene [?]	5 gone. [S. George kills Julian the Apostate? Winch. N. VII. IX. XI]	S. Cecilia [?]	6 Amoras sells the Not his wife to Devil. at Winchester	S. Margaret	7 A stone is thrown at the Virgin's image, which bleeds, and the thrower falls dead.	gone.	8 The Virgin rescues a ship in distress.	S. Christina [?]
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX

FIG. 2. ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL. NORTH SIDE.

Small figures standing on shafts, probably representing prophets, separate the pictures.

	I	III	IV	VI	VIII	X	XII	
EAST	A youth betrothed to the Virgin's image. Eton, S. A, 6	Portrait of Prior Silkstede [1498—1524]	A Jewish boy rescued by the Virgin from the furnace into which his father had thrown him. Eton, S. A, 8	A woman takes an image of Christ as hostage for her captive son. Eton, N. B, 2	A beam at Constantinople is raised by a machine of which the Virgin had given the design. Eton, S. A, 5	The Virgin rescues a monk who had fallen over a bridge and been drowned. Not at Eton	The Virgin rescues a ship in distress. Eton, N. B, 8	WEST
	An illiterate Priest suspended by his Bishop is restored by the Virgin. Not at Eton	PISCINA.	The procession of S. Angelo. Eton, N. A, 1	The Miracle of Mont S. Michel. Not at Eton ?	A woman dying unconfessed is revived by the Virgin. Eton, N. B, 1	A stone is thrown at the Virgin's image, which bleeds, and the thrower falls dead. Eton, N. B, 7	A lady on Purification Day sees a Mass in a vision, and gets a candle. Eton, N. B, 3	
	II		V	VII	IX	XI	XIII	

FIG. 3. LADY CHAPEL IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL SOUTH SIDE.

	I	III	V	VI	VIII	X	
WEST	The hand of S. John of Damascus, cut off by the caliph, is restored by the Virgin. Eton, S. A, 4	Burial of a monk from whose mouth a rose grew after death. Eton, N. A, 3	The Annunciation. Represented at Eton by the two upper eastern figures; S. A, 1; N. A, 9	The Devil detected as steward to a knight. Eton, N. A, 2	A sick clerk to whom the Virgin ministered. Eton, N. A, 4	Apparently a battle-scene. [The Virgin's champion in a tournament made victorious ?] Eton, N. A, 5	EAST
	The thief Ebbo is kept alive on the gallows by the Virgin. Not at Eton	A pious painter is saved from falling by a picture of the Virgin. Eton, N. A, 6	Door.	S. Basil intercedes with Julian the Apostate on behalf of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Not at Eton ?	The Virgin raises S. George from his tomb, and arms him to fight against Julian. Not at Eton ?	S. George kills Julian the Apostate. Eton, N. B, 5 ?	
	II	IV		VII	IX	XI	

FIG. 4. LADY CHAPEL IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL NORTH SIDE.

[To face p. 106.]

WEDNESDAY, *November 16th*, 1892.

J. W. CLARK, M.A., in the Chair.

Mr W. H. ST JOHN HOPE, M.A., Peterhouse, made the following communication :

ON THE ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGES OF CAMBRIDGE, AND OF THE FIVE REGIUS PROFESSORS.

With the exception of an essay by Dr Woodham, entitled "An application of Heraldry to the illustration of various University and Collegiate Antiquities¹," published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society just 51 years ago, no attempt has hitherto been made to collect together everything that can be made out respecting the arms of the University and its Colleges. Since that time the increased facilities for study have brought to light much new matter, and I therefore venture to lay before you the results of investigations made by myself during my residence in Cambridge *in statu pupillari*.

It is not easy to say when corporate bodies first began to bear arms. Few, if any, of our municipal corporations have arms of earlier date than the second half of the 14th century; but some of the religious houses adopted arms before that, and the indisputable evidence of the first Peterhouse seal proves the assumption of arms by a corporate body at Cambridge at least as early as 1284.

Collegiate heraldry is generally derived from the same source as the heraldry of religious houses, viz. from the arms of the founder or foundress, adopted without alteration, as in the arms of Pembroke, Clare, and Magdalene, or with the "difference" of a bordure, as in the Peterhouse, Jesus, and Downing arms. Sometimes, however, a shield of entirely differ-

¹ Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Quarto Series, Vol. i.

ent character appears, having little or nothing in common with the arms of the founder, as in the case of King's, S. Katherine's, and Trinity.

It is unnecessary now to cite further examples, since they will be noticed when we come to speak of the arms in detail, nor need I occupy your time in shewing that similar usages have prevailed at Oxford. I should, however, like to point out that although nine of the existing colleges bear arms differenced with bordures, in four of these cases the bordure already formed part of the founder's or foundress's arms before they were assumed by the college.

The University and Colleges of Cambridge have collectively used at different times nearly forty different shields of arms, extending over a period of six hundred years, from 1284 to the present day.

For this fine series of shields, of which twenty-four are still in use, we have four principal authorities:

1. The seals of the respective Foundations.
2. Grants of Arms.
3. Parker's *Catalogus*, dated 1572.
4. Scott's MS. History of the Foundation of the University, etc. 1617-22.

1. I have already described the seals used from time to time by the University and Colleges in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries¹. I shall therefore only refer to them on this occasion in so far as they illustrate the subject of my paper.

When armorial bearings are introduced into a seal they usually appear in one or other of two positions, either

- (a) as the principal part of the composition, or
- (b) as a subordinate part of the design at the top, sides, or bottom of the seal. A most important point, however, to bear in mind is this: that in the seal of any corporate body, a shield placed at the base of the composition invariably bears either the arms of that body, or those which it is entitled to bear by

¹ Second Series, 1885, x. 225-252.

leave of the patron or founder. We shall see how well this rule holds good in the case of the Cambridge seals.

2. With regard to Grants of Arms (which some people look upon as the official, and in fact the only authorities for the assumption of arms), I have, after much search and enquiry, met with as many as eleven at Cambridge. The earliest in date is the letters patent under the great seal of Henry VI. granting the present arms of King's College. The latest is the grant of arms to Downing College in 1801. The other nine grants were issued by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux King of Arms, between 1570 and 1590, and, whether written in Latin or English, are all couched in similar language in the inflated style of the time. They are, however, far surpassed as examples of extravagant verbosity by Henry the Sixth's grant to King's, and the extraordinary grant by Dalton to Dr John Caius, which is also preserved at Cambridge.

3. Our third authority is a work published by Archbishop Parker, in 1572, entitled: *Catalogus Cancellariorum*, etc. from 1500 to 1571, usually bound up with the same author's *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, etc.

One of the pages of the *Catalogus* has woodcuts of fifteen shields of arms, which Parker's connexion with Cambridge justifies us in looking upon as excellent authority for the arms of the University and Colleges in use in his time. The desire of the author to indicate the arms correctly is also shown by the fact that in some copies the page of shields has been cancelled, and a similar page with some of the arms differently represented has been inserted in place of it.

4. A fourth and apparently trustworthy authority for the college arms is a MS. account of the foundation of the University, with a catalogue of all the principal founders, etc. written by one John Scott. A copy of this work seems to have been made for the head of each college, and at least six of them, all identical, are known. They range from 1617, the date of the Emmanuel College copy, to 1622, when the King's College copy was written. The book contains a series of short accounts of the University and Colleges, with the names of the chief benefactors, etc.

Each account is headed by two illuminated shields, one bearing the founder's arms, the other those of the college. With the former I am concerned only when they throw light on the arms of the college; the latter will be dealt with in their place.

Besides the authorities I have mentioned there are several others that must not be passed over, since they shew what the arms of the colleges were popularly supposed to be at different times. The chief of these are Hamond's map of Cambridge, published in 1592¹, and a broad-sheet published by John Ivory, in 1672². Each is bordered by an elaborate series of shields, but the continual and manifest errors in them considerably neutralise whatever authority they may be supposed to have.

Having now indicated the principal authorities, I will proceed to discuss in detail the arms themselves.

The earliest ascription of a shield of arms to the UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE that I have met with occurs in a work entitled: *Das Concilium buch geschehen zu Constencz*, printed at Augsburg in 1483, in which are engraved the arms of all the archbishops, bishops, and corporations, represented at the Council of Constance in 1415. The arms of the University of Cambridge are there given as: *France modern and England quarterly, in the fess point a book gules, the back to the sinister* (fig. 1). A similar shield is assigned to the University of Oxford, but with the book turned round with its back to the dexter. Interesting as these arms are, they have not been noticed elsewhere, and possibly they may be due to the inventive faculties of the author of the Augsburg folio.

The arms now borne by the University: *gules, on a cross ermine between four lions passant gardant or, a book gules*, were granted by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux King of Arms, on June

¹ This plan is signed John Hamond, and dated "Cantebrigiæ ex aula Clarensi die 22 mensis Februarii, 1592." The only complete copy known is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is fully described in *The Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, ed. Willis and Clark, i. ci—cvii.

² *The Foundation of the University of Cambridge, With a Catalogue of the Principal Founders [etc] Anno 1672.* Printed by John Hayes... for John Ivory, Herald-Painter.

9th, 1573 (fig. 2). The original grant, in Latin, after reciting, in the inflated style of the time, the reasons for its issue, grants and confirms to William Cecil, K.G., Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the University, and to the masters



FIG. 1. The University, ancient.



FIG. 2. The University, 1573.

and scholars of the same University, the arms which are depicted in the margin, and thus described in French, "videlicet gules sur ung croix dermines entre quatre Lions passant d'or ung livre de gules." Although thus blazoned as *passant* the drawing in the margin shews the lions as *passant gardant*; that is to say, as lions of England, typical of the royal patronage of the University. Burke and other authorities describe the book as a Bible, but for this there is no warrant whatever.

In the University Audit Book for 1574-5 (p. 129, b) is entered a payment of £3. 6s. 8d.

haraldis londini pro diversis formis insigniorum describendis, ut summus noster Cancellarius delectum faceret, quam ex illis præstatueret, proque eorundem confirmacione sub sigillo officii sui.

We do not know what were the other designs submitted to the Chancellor, but we may surely commend him for his selection of so appropriate a shield of arms as that granted by Cooke.

No arms are shewn on any of the University seals of older date than those now in use, which were engraved in 1580, and therefore bear the arms granted seven years before.

PETERHOUSE, the most ancient of the Cambridge colleges, has apparently used no fewer than four different shields since its incorporation in 1284.

For the first, *gules, three crowns or* (fig. 3), we have the indisputable authority of the original seal of the college, whereon they occur in the place usually occupied by the arms of the foundation.

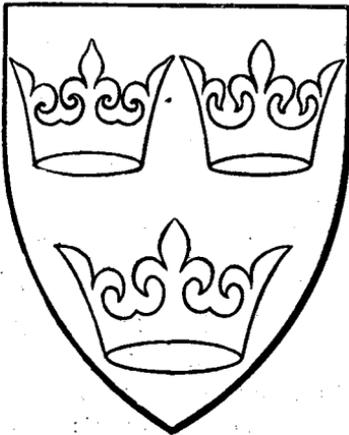


FIG. 3. Peterhouse: first shield.

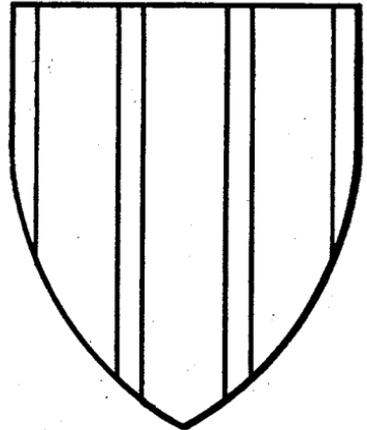


FIG. 4. Peterhouse: third shield.

These arms are identical with those of the See of Ely, which they doubtless represent; and were probably borne by the college by leave of the founder, in the same way as the royal arms were displayed by royal foundations. They are carved, or otherwise represented, in various parts of the college.

The second shield, *gules, two keys in saltire or*, allusive of the patron saint, is given as the arms of Peterhouse in the first issue of the *Catalogus* of 1572; and it also occurs on several parts of the college buildings. At what time it superseded, or began to be used with, the first shield, does not appear.

The third shield, *or, three pallets gules* (fig. 4), is given in the revised edition of the *Catalogus, circa 1573*, and also in Hamond's map of 1592. The arms are those traditionally assigned to bishop Hugh de Balsham, the founder, but I do not know upon what authority. They appear as the founder's arms in John Scott's MS. 1617-22. The bishop's seal has no arms thereon.

The fourth shield, that now borne by the College, was granted by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1572. The original patent is preserved in the college treasury. The arms are blazoned in the grant as "*d'or quatre pales ung bordre de gules semé coronnes du champ,*" but they are depicted in the margin and more correctly blazoned as, *or, four pallets gules, within a bordure of the last charged with eight gold crowns* (fig. 5). These arms are obviously intended for the founder's, within a bordure of the See of Ely, but, apparently through an error in the draft of the grant, the pallets have been increased from three to four. The arms are now borne as depicted in the grant, but this is quite a modern usage, for almost all the earlier representations of these arms shew only three pallets within the bordure. They so appear on the present early seventeenth century college seal, in Scott's MS. (1617-22), within and without the college chapel (which was built in 1632), in the library and other parts of the college, as well as in the Visitation of 1684, and it is to be regretted that the blundering herald should have introduced any variation. In an old "Index of Arms," *temp.* Charles II., in the Herald's College, the arms are given as in the grant with a marginal note: "Mr Gibbon Blew Mantle saies but three Pallets."

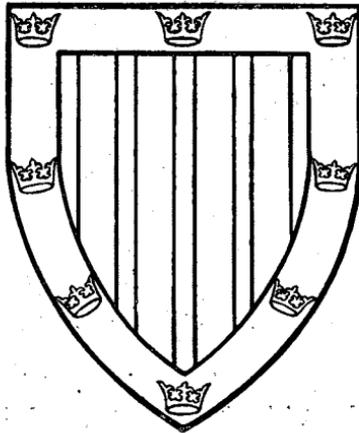


FIG. 5. Peterhouse: fourth shield.

The three colleges next in date to Peterhouse, viz. MICHAEL HOUSE, UNIVERSITY HALL, and KING'S HALL, now merged into later foundations, do not appear ever to have had arms. Hamond's map assigns to the first two the arms that may have been borne by their founders, and to King's Hall a shield of England within a bordure compony, but none of these occur elsewhere.

For the arms of CLARE COLLEGE, formerly CLARE HALL, we have the satisfactory authority of the beautiful silver seal

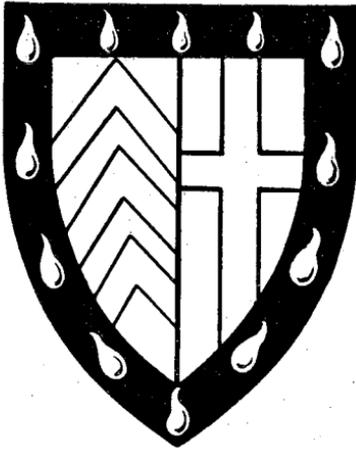


FIG. 6. Clare College.

made in 1338-9. This has in base a shield composed of the arms of De Clare, impaling those of De Burgh, all within a bordure *sable guttée* (fig. 6). These arms were not devised for the college, but were borne by the foundress herself after the death of her third husband, Roger D'Amori, in 1322. She seems, in fact, to have put her shield into mourning by adding to it this black bordure, bedewed with tears. The drops are now always represented as gold, but I think they should

more properly be silver. These arms were duly confirmed at the Visitation of 1684, and have been in continual use since the foundation of the college.

The shield of VALENCE MARY HALL, or PEMBROKE COLLEGE, as it is now called, has also been in use since the foundation in 1347. It consists of the arms of the foundress, as shewn on her seal, without any difference (fig. 7). These arms are derived from those of De Valence, marshalled with those of S. Paul by the curious process known as dimidiation. This early method of combining the arms of husband and wife was

accomplished by halving or dimidiating the two shields vertically, and joining the dexter half of one to the sinister half of the other. In practice a little more than the half of each shield was sometimes shewn, as in the example under notice, where two of the three pallets and three of the five points of the label in the S. Paul arms are given. The original silver seal of the college shews the arms as still borne, as well as those of De Valence.

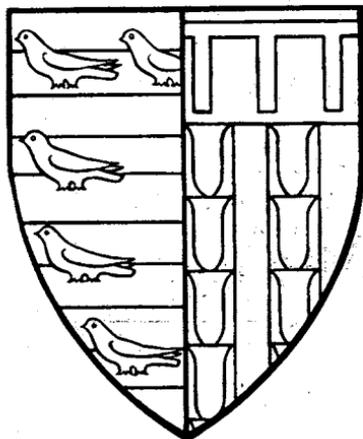


FIG. 7. Pembroke College.

Of GONVILLE HALL, despite its separate existence for two centuries, no arms are known, though Hamond's map gives those of Edmund de Gonvile, the founder. The college seal contains no arms.

With regard to TRINITY HALL, the original seal of 1350 clearly shews by the shield in base that the college at first bore the arms of its founder, *sable, a crescent ermine within a bordure engrailed argent* (fig. 8). These arms occur on both the seal of dignity and the seal *ad causas* of Bishop Bateman, who followed a practice common among bishops during the 14th century of differencing his paternal arms with an engrailed bordure. In 1575 these interesting arms were set aside by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, who granted to the college a new shield of arms (fig. 9), with the anomalous and absurd addition of a crest! The original grant was borrowed or stolen from the college about 1864, and has not yet been recovered. Fortunately, two transcripts of it exist, and as it is in English I give it as a specimen of these documents:

To all and singular as well nobles and gentills as others to whom these

presents shall come: Robert Cooke Esquier alias Clariencieulx principall Herehault and Kinge of Arms of the south east and weast parts of this Realme of England from the River of Trent southwards sendith greeting in oure Lord God everlasting. Whereas the Colledg or Hall commonly called Trinitie Hall within the Universitie of Cambridge, incorporated by the name of Maister Fellowes and Scollers of the Colledg or Hall of the Holy Trinity in the Universitie of Cambridge was founded by William Bateman Bishop of Norwich. Nevertheless the Maister Fellows and Scollers of the same Colledg or Hall not willing to prejudice any other Corporation have required me the said Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes to sett foorth and allowe unto their said Colledg or Hall such armes and creast as may be lawfully borne; wch their reasonable request consider'd, and at the

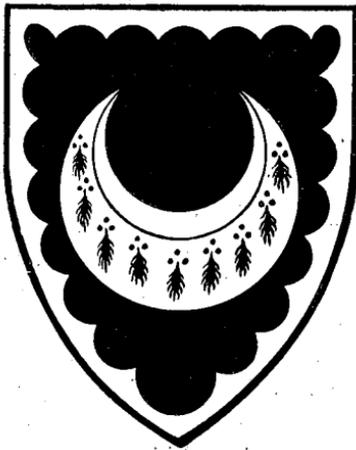


FIG. 8. Trinity Hall: ancient.



FIG. 9. Trinity Hall: modern.

instance of Henry Harvy Esquier Doctor of Law, I have sett foorth and allowed the armes and creast hereafter followeng: that is to say sables a cressant a border ermyns, and to the creast upon the healm on a wreath silver and sables a Lion seant gules holding a Book the Cover Sables the leaves gold mantelled gules dobled silver, as more plainly apperith depicted in this margent, the wch armes and creast and every parte and parcell thereof, I the said Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes (by power and auctoritie unto my office annexed and graunted by Letters Patents under the great Seale of England) do ratifie and confirme give and graunt unto and for the said Maister Fellowes and Scollers and to their successors in office and like place for ever, and they the same to use and enjoy without impediment let or Interruption of any person or persons.

In witness whereof I the said Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes have sett

hereunto my hande and seale of office the xvij day of Septembre Ao. Doi. 1575 and in the seventinth yere of the Raigne of oure Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, &c.

Rob. Cooke alias Clarencieux
Roy Darmes.

The alteration by Cooke of the ancient *engrailed bordure argent* to a *plain bordure ermine* is probably a blunder of his own, for we may surely acquit the college of any desire on their part to substitute a new shield of arms for that given them by their founder, and honourably borne by them since the foundation.

The arms granted by Cooke were however confirmed at the Visitations of 1575 and 1684.

It would appear, from the silver seal made on its foundation in 1352, that CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE at first used as arms those of the Corpus Christi gild and the gild of our Lady, by whose joint munificence it was founded. These are placed side by side on the seal, and bear, the one, the verbal emblem of the Holy Trinity, the other, the Instruments of Our Lord's Passion. At the instance and cost of Archbishop Parker, who was a great benefactor to the college, the present arms were granted by Cooke in 1570. They are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4 gules, a pelican in her piety argent; 2 and 3 azure, three lily flowers argent* (fig. 10). From the appropriate reference to the two gilds I think that Matthew Parker rather than Robert Cooke must be credited with the composition of these arms. The original grant deserves special notice for its prettily illuminated border.

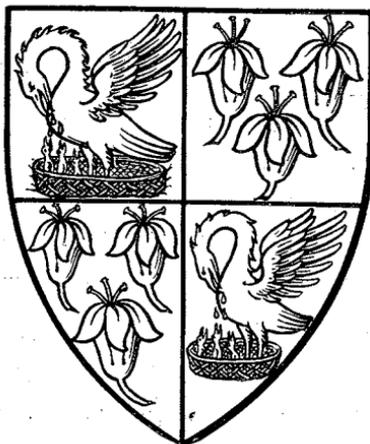


FIG. 10. Corpus Christi College.

The little college of GOD'S HOUSE, now merged in Christ's College, displays no arms on either of its curious pictorial seals. Hamond's map gives a shield intended for the arms of Bingham, or, on a fess gules, three water bouquets argent, but there is no evidence of these having been borne by the priest of the church of St John Zachary, or by the college that he founded.

The royal foundation of KING'S COLLEGE on its first establishment in 1441, so far as we at present know, had neither arms nor seal. On its enlargement, in 1443, the splendid silver seal, which is still in use, was engraved. It had in base a shield of great interest, which may be blazoned as: *Sable, a mitre pierced by a crosier between two lily flowers proper; a chief per pale azure with a fleur-de-lis of France, and gules a lion of England* (fig. 11).

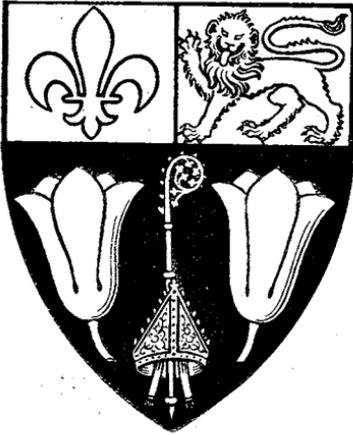


FIG. 11. King's College: first shield.

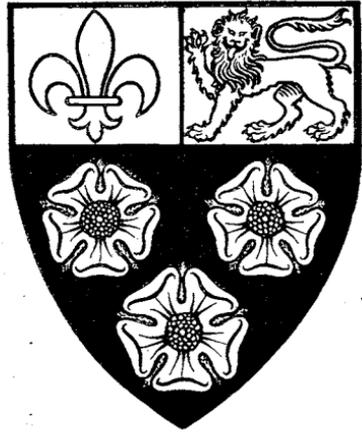


FIG. 12. King's College: second shield.

This beautiful composition contains quite an epitome of the history of the college; the lilies of Our Lady, and the mitre and crosier of St Nicholas, denote the patron saints in whose honour it was founded, while the royal patronage is shown by the chief derived from the royal arms. I have blazoned the field *sable*, from analogy with the contemporary arms of the sister foundation of Eton College, which bore, and still bears, arms similar

to those first used by King's College, but with a third lily flower in place of the mitre and crosier.

By letters patent dated January 1st, 1448-9, Henry VI. authorised his two colleges at Cambridge and Eton to bear arms. The Eton grant is practically a confirmation of the arms shown on the first seal of that college (fig. 13); but the Cambridge grant authorises an entirely new shield. The royal chief of the first



FIG. 13. Eton College.

arms is retained, but the lilies and the mitre and crosier give place to three silver roses, and the arms of King's College now are: *Sable, three roses argent; a chief per pale azure a fleur-de-lis of France, and gules a lion of England* (fig. 12).

These new arms necessitated an alteration in the college seal. This was effected by the simple expedient of re-engraving the lower part of the shield in base bearing the old arms; the chief, which needed no alteration, being left as before.

Two impressions of the seal in its former state remain among the college muniments, appended to deeds dated 1445-6 and 1446-7, and so the only record of the old arms has fortunately been preserved. Why Henry VI. altered the first shield is uncertain. Mr Maxwell Lyte¹ suggests that a desire for uniformity in the arms of King's and Eton was aimed at. I think it equally probable that the original similarity between the two shields caused the arms of King's College to be altered so as to avoid all risk of confusion.

The original grant to King's College is preserved in the college library. It measures 18 inches by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and has the shield emblazoned in the middle. The great seal, in green wax, is appended by a plaited cord of blue and white silk (the Lancastrian livery colours) interwoven with gold thread. The text, in Latin, is mostly occupied with an inflated introduction on the desirability of conferring illustrious emblems of nobility, etc., etc. The principal clause, however, which recites the

¹ *History of Eton College*, ed. 1889, pp. 50-53.

actual grant of the arms, is so interesting from the meaning therein assigned to them, that I shall venture to read an English translation of it made for me by the late Henry Bradshaw, M.A., Fellow of King's and University Librarian :

Therefore we assign for arms and ensigns of arms in a field sable three silver roses, having in mind that our newly founded College, to last for ages to come, whose perpetuity we wish to be signified by the stability of the black colour, may bring forth the brightest flowers redolent of every kind of knowledge to the honour and most devout worship of Almighty God, and the spotless Virgin and glorious Mother, to whom as in other things so especially in this our foundation¹, with an ardent mind we offer our heartfelt and most earnest devotion.

To which also that we may impart something of royal nobility which may declare the work truly royal and illustrious, portions of the arms which by royal right belong to us in the Kingdoms of England and France, we have appointed to be placed in the chief of the shield party per pale of azure with a flower of the French and of gules with a leopard passant gold.

The college next in order to King's, S. BERNARD'S COLLEGE, founded by Andrew Docket in 1446, appears from its beautiful common seal to have been content during its two years' existence to display the royal arms, France modern and England quarterly, in lieu of any other, as being under royal patronage.

In 1448 the site and estates of S. Bernard's College were granted to Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., who re-founded it by the name of the QUEEN'S COLLEGE of S. Margaret and S. Bernard.

As many as five different shields have been borne by this college since its foundation, three or four of which are identified in a most interesting way with the history of England.

The first shield (fig. 14), which is prominently displayed in the base of the original seal of 1448, bears the six quarterings (Hungary, Naples, Jerusalem, Anjou, De Barre, and Lorraine) of Queen Margaret, without any bordure or difference.

This shield continued in use until 1465, when the college was re-founded by Elizabeth Widvile, queen of Edward IV., and a new common seal was made to commemorate the Yorkist queen's magnanimity. In addition to the arms of Edward IV.

¹ The words thus translated are : *cui sicuti in aliis et in hac potissimum fundacione nostra.*

and Elizabeth, which appear at the sides, there is placed in the base of the seal a shield bearing a cross of S. George with a sword in the first quarter (fig. 15). These arms are identical

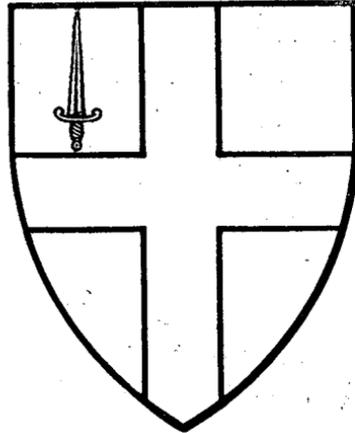
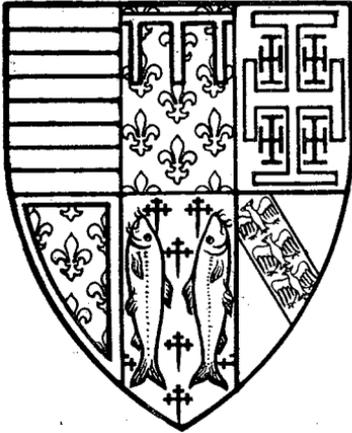


FIG. 14. Queens' College: first shield.

FIG. 15. Queens' College: second shield.

with those of the city of London, but I must confess my inability to explain their meaning or presence on the college seal. It is possible, though not very probable, that they are due to a blunder on the part of the engraver.

The third shield of Queens' College (fig. 16) is a very interesting composition, which connects us with the next chapter in the history of England. It is properly blazoned as: *sable, a cross and crosier in saltire or, surmounted by a boar's head argent.* The boar's head is usually represented gold, but is obviously derived from Richard III.'s badge of a white boar, and should therefore be silver. The two staves are the cross generally borne by S. Margaret, and the crosier of S. Bernard. It is interesting to note, in connexion with these arms, that in 1544 the college possessed an ancient silver seal, "*insculptum porcellis seu apris,*" the gift of Richard, King of England.

Although there can be little doubt that this pretty composition dates from the reign of Richard III., there seems to be no earlier documentary authority for it than the 1572 edition

of the *Catalogus*. Fuller also notices it in his *History of the University*, and ingeniously suggests that the crossed staves "in form of S. Andrew's Cross, might in their device relate to Andrew Ducket, so much meriting of this foundation." These arms are also ascribed to Queens' College by Sylvanus Morgan in his fantastic *Sphere of Gentry*, published in 1661, but he concludes his description with the note, "Which is the arms of the Deanery of Essex."



FIG. 16. Queens' College: third shield.

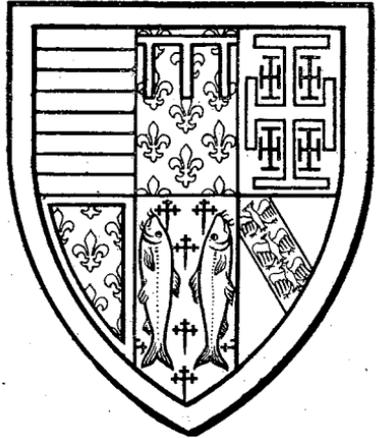


FIG. 17. Queens' College: shield granted 1575.

During the days of the Tudor Kings, or, at any rate, during those of the second of that family, the arms suggestive of former benefactors to the college seem to have been wholly or in part suspended, and in their stead Queens' College used for its fourth shield the royal arms, France modern and England quarterly, as may be seen from a new common seal made in 1529.

Finally, in 1575, Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, granted to the college the present arms together with a crest. The original patent is preserved in the College Treasury. It grants to the college the arms of Queen Margaret of Anjou, but with the addition of a bordure *vert* (fig. 17); and, for a crest, a black eagle with gold wings issuing from a golden coronet. The

grant states that when Queen Margaret founded the college "she did also graunt unto the said president and Fellows and their successors her armes to be used in the said Colledge as they stand depicted in this margent." That the Queen empowered the college to use her arms is likely enough, although the fact is not recorded elsewhere, but they were certainly not enclosed by a green border as depicted in the grant. For the introduction of this novelty we are probably indebted to the worthy King of Arms himself. Hamond's map of 1592 gives the arms without the bordure.

S. KATHERINE'S COLLEGE. or hall of S. Katherine the virgin" seems always to have borne for its arms: *gules, a Katherine wheel or* (fig. 18). No grant, however, exists for this shield, and we have no earlier authority for it than the *Catalogus* of 1572. At the Visitation of 1684 it was noted to "have been auncientlie borne and used by the Master and Fellows of the said house." In his *Sphere of Gentry*, Sylvanus Morgan gives the field of the shield as *sable* instead of *gules*, perhaps from analogy with the arms of the founder's college of King's, but the red for the virgin martyr seems more fitting.

Robert Wodelarke's "college

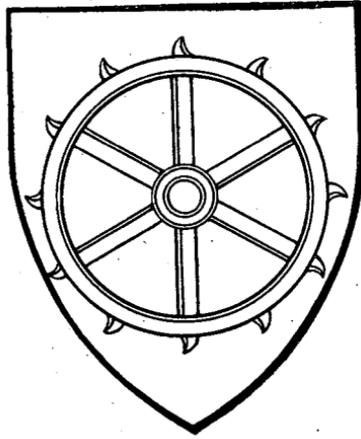


FIG. 18. S. Katherine's College.

JESUS COLLEGE. Bishop Alcock's college of "Jesus, Mary and John Evangelist" displays in the base of its first seal, which dates from the foundation in 1496, a shield bearing the Five Wounds (fig. 19). These arms were probably set aside at the Reformation as savouring of "superstition," and in their stead the *Catalogus* of 1572 gives the later arms of the founder:

argent, on a fess between three cocks heads erased sable, beaked combed and wattled gules, a mitre or.

The present arms, which are the founder's within a bordure of the see of Ely, were granted, with a crest, by Cooke in 1575. They are blazoned in the letters patent as: *silver, a fesse between thre cocks heads razed sables combed and wattled a*

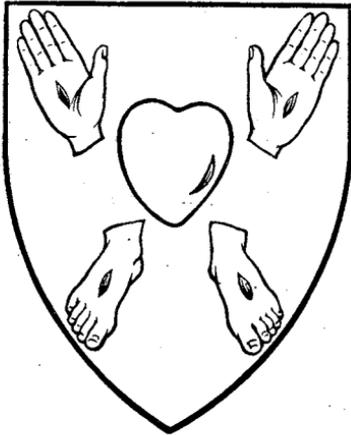


FIG. 19. Jesus College: ancient shield.



FIG. 20. Jesus College: modern.

border gules semy crowns golde (fig. 20). The word "*semy*" properly means "strewn" or "sprinkled with," and is applied to a field or ordinary represented as if cut out of a piece of stuff woven or stamped with a device indefinitely repeated, like the old arms of France. The word is therefore loosely used by Cooke both in the Jesus and Peterhouse grants, since each shews entire crowns only on the bordure. In the Jesus grant the crowns are ten in number. The crest granted at the same time is *a cock sable, membered gules, issuing from a gold coronet*.

The arms of Jesus College are now almost always drawn with a mitre on the fess, a practice for which there is no proper authority. A mitre does not occur in Cooke's grant, nor in the shield on the *ad causas* seal of 1586, and, since the addition of the bordure of Ely to the founder's arms is a sufficient "dif-

ference" in itself, the mitre used by the bishop for the same purpose was rightly omitted by Cooke. The error is, nevertheless, one of long standing, since it is found in Scott's MS. of 1617-22. The grant of arms and crest in 1575 cost the college £3. 6s. 8d.

The two colleges founded by the Lady Margaret Beaufort, CHRIST'S and S. JOHN'S, have always borne the same arms, namely, those of their foundress: *France modern and England quarterly within a bordure compony argent and azure* (fig. 21).

Splendid representations of these arms, surrounded by various badges, are carved on the gateways of the two colleges, and it may be of interest on this occasion to compare them with the magnificent seals of the foundress herself¹. Curiously enough, the seals of the two colleges contain no shields of arms, but are profusely decorated with various Beaufort badges. Thus the common seal of Christ's has a representation of the Resurrection of our Lord, with two angels above supporting a large crowned Tudor rose, and in the base of the seal a crowned portcullis between a *marguerite* and a four-leaved flower; the stops of the legend are roses and fleurs-de-lis, and a diaper of the same devices fills up the sides of the central subject. The Master's seal, which, with the other, is of the same date as the foundation, displays a spotted antelope on a field powdered with roses and portcullises. The common seal of S. John's,



FIG. 21. Christ's College and St John's College.

¹ Impressions of these seals were exhibited. The elaborate decoration of the gates of Christ's College and S. John's College is fully described in *The Architectural History*, etc. ed. Willis and Clark, iii. 292.

which also dates from the foundation, bears a representation of St John writing his Gospel, with the eagle perched on his desk. On the field are a four-leaved flower, a portcullis, an antelope, and a *marguerite* or daisy. The contemporary Master's seal reproduces the same devices in miniature; there is also a later Master's seal bearing a portcullis ducally crowned.

On Hamond's map the Christ's and St John's arms are shewn with a plain bordure, while Ivory in 1672 gives for Christ's *France Ancient and England quarterly, with a label ermine*, an error also followed by Loggan.

Of BUCKINGHAM COLLEGE, afterwards refounded by Thomas Lord Audley of Walden by the name of Magdalene College, no seals or arms are known.

The arms of MAGDALENE COLLEGE are those of its founder,



FIG. 22. Magdalene College.

to whom they were granted in 1538: *Quarterly, per pale indented, or and azure, in the 2nd and 3rd quarters an eagle displayed gold; over all, on a bend azure, a fret between two martlets or* (fig. 22). They are thus given in Hamond's map of 1592, and by all later authorities. From analogy with other examples the college arms should be those given on the original common seal, which has in base a foreign-looking shield or panel, with a figure of a wyvern.

This does not, however, seem to be meant for a shield of arms, but is the founder's crest treated as a badge.

The large copper-gilt seal and counter-seal of TRINITY COLLEGE bear no armorial devices, but the college seems

always to have borne for its arms: *argent, a chevron between three roses gules; on a chief of the last, a lion passant gardant between two books or* (fig. 23). After diligent search through the college muniments and other records I have failed to find any original grant for these arms, and the earliest authorities for them are the *Catalogus* of 1572 and the visitation of 1575, where they are duly noted. There is no earlier record of them at the College of Arms, but that does not militate against the possibility of their having been granted at or shortly after the foundation in 1546.



FIG. 23. Trinity College.

The refoundation of Gonville Hall, which Dr Caius desired should be known as GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, bore for its first arms those of Gonville: *argent, on a chevron between two couple closes indented sable three escallops or impaled with those of Dr Caius* (fig. 24). They are so given in the *Catalogus* of 1572 and by Hamond and Ivory. In 1575 they were formally granted to the College by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, with the addition of a *bordure compony argent and sable*.

By the kindness of the college I am able to exhibit both

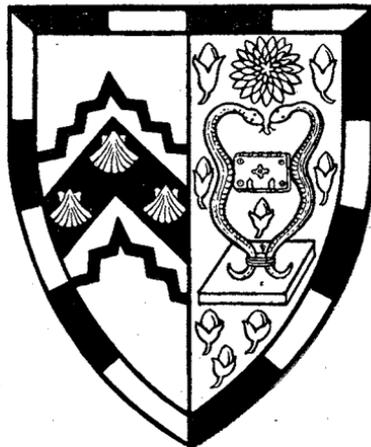


FIG. 24. Gonville and Caius College.

the original grant, and the grant to Dr Caius of the extraordinary arms assigned to him by Laurence Dalton, Norroy King of Arms, in 1560. This latter grant is a fine document of the period, with an elaborate floriated border inclosing a crowned Tudor rose within the Garter, between a sengreen with the motto, *SEMPER VIVUM*, and a gentil with the word *AMARANTHVS*. The initial T encloses a figure of Norroy in his crown and tabard pointing to the arms which are depicted in the margin. These are described as:

Golde semyed with flowre gentle in the myddle of the cheyfe, sengrene resting upon the heades of ij serpentis in pale, their tayles knytte together, all in proper colour, restinge upon a square marble stone vert, betwene their brestes a book sable, garnished gewles, buckles gold...betokening by the boke, learning; by the ij serpentis resting upon the square marble stone, wisdom with grace founded and stayed upon vertues stable stone; by sengrene and flower gentil, immortalite y^e. never shall fade.

In the base of the college seal of 1558 is an oval cartouche between the letter B and a mitre, charged with three flowers slipped. The former refer to the connection of Bishop Bateman with Gonville Hall, but I am unable to suggest any explanation of the three flowers; they may be a blunder of the engraver for the three mitres that form the arms of the see of Norwich.



FIG. 25. Emmanuel College.

The arms borne by *EMMANUEL COLLEGE* are: *argent*, a lion rampant *azure*, holding in his dexter paw a wreath of laurel *vert*, and with a scroll issuing from his mouth with the word *EMMANUEL* (fig. 25). These arms were granted to the college in 1588, four years after its foundation, by Cooke, Clarencieux. They are derived from the arms of the founder, Sir Walter Mildmay, who bore *argent* three lions rampant *azure*.

The arms borne by SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, and so given in Scott's MS. and by Ivory, are: *argent, a bend engrailed sable for Radcliffe, impaling or, a pheon azure for Sidney* (fig. 26). These are simply the arms of the foundress, the lady Frances Sidney, widow of Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex. According to Burke's *General Armory* these arms were granted by Walker, Garter, in 1675. The college was not however founded until 23 years later, and it certainly possesses no such grant, nor is there any record of one at the College of Arms. The assumption of the arms by the college

is quite in accordance with the spirit and true principles of armory. The college seal bears the cognisance of the Sidneys, *a porcupine azure, quilled, collared and chained or, with a large estoile above and a small fleur-de-lis below.*

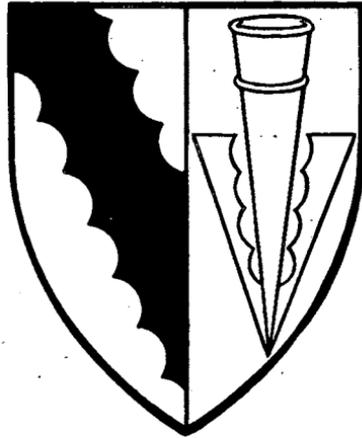


FIG. 26. Sidney Sussex College.

The arms of the latest of the Cambridge foundations, DOWNING COLLEGE, are *Barry of eight, argent and vert, a griffin segreant or, within a bordure azure charged with eight silver roses* (fig. 27). These arms, with the motto QVÆRERE VERVM, were granted in 1801 by the three kings of arms: Heard, Garter; Lock, Clarendieux; and Harrison, Norroy. They are composed of the arms of the founder, Sir George



FIG. 27. Downing College.

Downing, with the addition of a bordure for difference. After the grotesque arms invented for Dr Caius, and the poor design drawn up for so important a college as Trinity, it is satisfactory to find that so late as 1801 medieval precedent was followed in granting arms to this college, and that in not adding a crest the absurdities of the Elizabethan heralds were avoided.

Besides the arms of the University and its colleges there is another remarkable series of arms which must not be passed over.

Among the documents in the University Registry are letters patent of Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, dated 8th November, 1590, granting to the five REGIUS PROFESSORS or, as they are there called, Readers, "and their successors in lyke place and office for euer," the following official arms and crests:

1. Regius Professor of Medicine:

Arms: Azure, a fess ermine, between three lozenges or; on a chief gules, a lion passant gardant gold, charged on the side with the letter M sable (fig. 28).

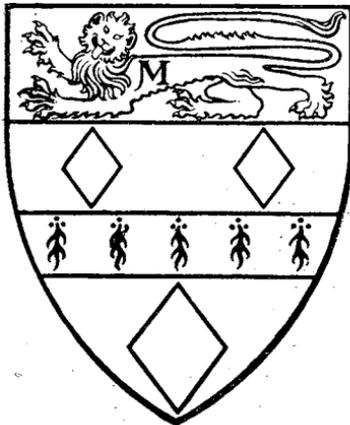


FIG. 28. Regius Professor of Medicine.

Crest: On a wreath or and azure, a quinquangle argent.

2. Regius Professor of Law :

Arms : *Purple, a cross moline or; on a chief gules, a lion passant gardant gold, charged on the side with the letter L sable (fig. 29).*

Crest : *On a wreath purple and or, a bee volant gold.*

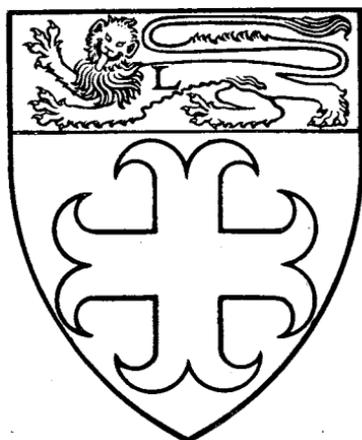


FIG. 29. Regius Professor of Law.



FIG. 30. Regius Professor of Divinity.

3. Regius Professor of Divinity :

Arms : *Gules, on a cross ermine, between four doves argent, a book of the first edged and clasped or, and charged with the letter Θ sable (fig. 30).*

Crest : *On a wreath argent and gules, a dove volant silver, with an olive branch in its beak.*

4. Regius Professor of Hebrew :

Arms : *Argent; the Hebrew letter נ sable, on a chief gules, a lion passant gardant or, charged on the side with the letter H of the second (fig. 31).*

Crest : *On a wreath argent and sable a turtle dove azure.*

5. Regius Professor of Greek :

Arms : *Per chevron, argent the letters Α and Ω sable, and sable a grasshopper silver; on a chief gules, a lion passant*

gardant or, charged on the side with the letter G sable (fig. 32).

Crest: On a wreath argent and sable, an owl silver, beaked legged and eared gold.

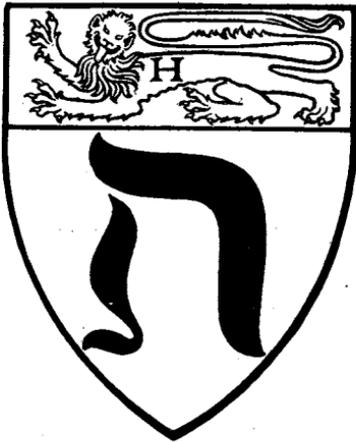


FIG. 31. Regius Professor of Hebrew.



FIG. 32. Regius Professor of Greek.

The original grant has at the top coloured drawings of the ensigns of the five Professors, and at the bottom Cooke's official seal.

It is perhaps not generally known that there is ample authority for the impalement of their official and personal arms by the Regius Professors; and it would be quite according to old custom for the heads of colleges to impale their personal arms with those of the foundations over which they severally preside. Many examples exist which it is not necessary to cite here.

I have taken up so much time with necessary descriptive matter that I fear there is no room left for any general remarks. Much could be said of the use and abuse of heraldry, and of the lessons to be learned from an intelligent study of it, both from its scientific and artistic sides, but these are matters deserving fuller consideration than could be given to them now.

It is much to be desired that the ignorance and confusion that prevail with regard to so many of the college arms could be dispelled, and that scientific correctness and artistic treatment could be more studied. How far Peterhouse would be justified in again reducing its four pallets to the traditional three, or Trinity Hall in reverting to the beautiful arms of its founder, I cannot say; but, as both the present shields are clearly blunders, such a reversion would be a practical renunciation of Cooke's error. At any rate the mitre should be omitted from the Jesus arms, and the ermine bordure of the modern Trinity Hall shield should not be engrailed; the compilers, too, of the *Cambridge University Calendar* should abstain from assigning to the suppressed Michael House and King's Hall arms that were never borne by either foundation.

A large number of seals, original Grants of Arms, and other documents were exhibited.

Some discussion ensued on these, and the Chairman expressed the indebtedness of the Society to the Governing Bodies of the Colleges, for allowing the exhibition of their Grants of Arms.

BARON ANATOLE VON HÜGEL made the following communication:

ON AN ANCIENT WELL AT MOUNTSORREL.

The well which forms the subject of this communication was discovered in February, 1892, having been accidentally exposed during the course of some blasting operations in the granite quarries at Mountsorrel, near Loughborough, in Leicestershire. By the courtesy of the Earl of Lanesborough, I am enabled to exhibit some of the objects which it contained.

Mr R. F. Martin, the Managing Director of the Mountsorrel Granite Company, was good enough to send me prompt intimation of the find; and, owing to his kindness, I had two opportunities of inspecting the well before its destruction, once alone, and once in the company of Mr Jenkinson¹:

¹ To Mr Martin I am, also, yet further indebted for careful notes which have furnished many of the following data.

Even at the time of my first visit, the quarrymen, in the course of their work, had already entirely cleared out the well; and the black earth and débris with which it had been completely filled was being rapidly shovelled into trucks, to be disposed of with other quarry refuse, and thus any small objects which it may have contained were swept away and lost. This is the more to be regretted when we consider the great interest of those objects which by their size had attracted the attention of the men, and had in consequence been saved. Yet these visits were not altogether fruitless; for some hours of diligent search in the heap of well-earth, which recent snow and thaw had transformed into a tenacious slimy mass, most difficult to manipulate, yielded a considerable number of fragments, some of which were missing portions of the objects already picked up by the workmen.

The well, a rectangular vertical shaft, with sides measuring seven feet and four feet respectively, and some sixty feet in depth, had been sunk in a fault in the granite near the summit of the hill, the actual Mount Sorrel, one side of which has already been entirely quarried away. In the steep cliff produced by these operations, the whole vertical section of the well had been exposed to view. As the breadth of the well-shaft coincided with the entire width of the 'fault,' the two long sides of the shaft showed a natural smooth face of rock. The upper twenty feet of the well had passed through a thin layer of soil and disintegrated surface-rock, and to this depth the sides of the shaft were faced with a neatly built wall of thin slabs of blue lias lime-stone¹. The upper courses of this stone facing lay directly under the turf, but it seems probable that the mouth had been protected by a wall and coping, which in course of time had been destroyed.

Some Roman pottery, mostly in a very fragmentary condition, was found in the well; it consisted of the coarser kinds of ware, and included a graceful vessel with little stout loops under the rims for suspension, evidently a pitcher used for

¹ This stone, Mr Martin informs me, must have been brought from Barrow, a spot about one and a half miles distant from Mount Sorrel.

raising water from the well. There were also some bricks and tiles, both plain and flanged.

But the most interesting discovery was a wooden bucket with bronze fittings of, presumably, late Celtic workmanship. Its form and general construction will be seen in the accompanying drawing (fig. 1). The ornamental details of the bronze fittings are given on a larger scale on plate XII.

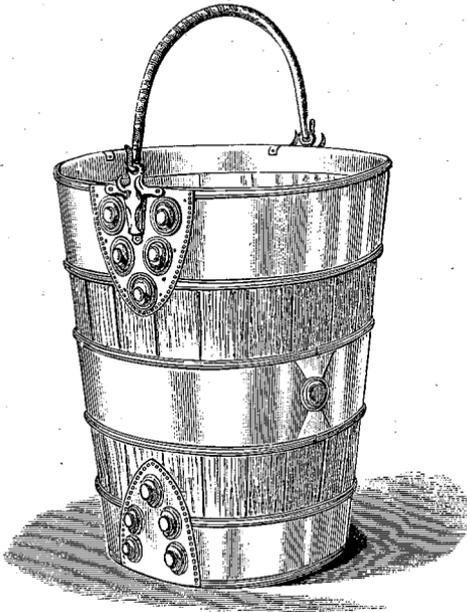
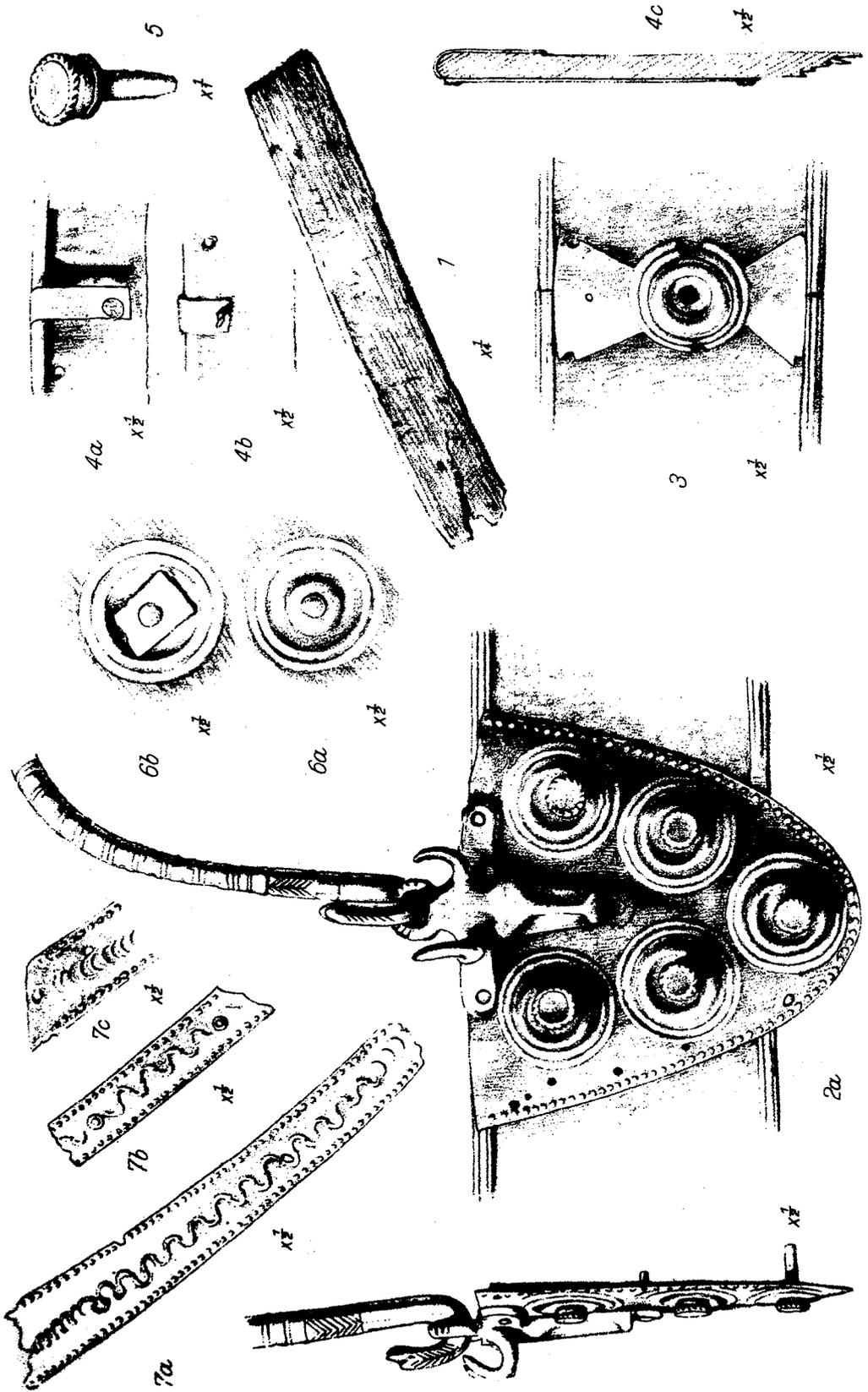


FIG. 1. Restoration of bucket (about one-sixth of the actual size).

From the statement of the workmen engaged in clearing out the well, it appeared that when found the bucket was practically intact; but it had received such rough treatment at their hands, that when I reached Mount Sorrel it was completely broken up. Of the wood-work but one imperfect stave remained, as the bucket had been pulled to pieces and trodden under foot after the bronze bands and ornamental fittings had been wrenched off. Important portions of the bronze-work



were also missing, but of these Mr Jenkinson and I were so fortunate as to find several¹, all indeed that were required for a reconstruction of the vessel.

Judging by the existing portion (it appears to be the lower half) of one of the staves (fig. 1), the bucket was composed of seventeen moderately stout staves, which must have measured about 3·5" in width and 0·3" in thickness. The wood appears to be pine.

Three broad bands of bronze encircled the bucket, the first, placed immediately below the rim, measuring a fraction over 3" in width; the second, the central band, the same; and the third, which went round the bottom of the bucket, measuring 2·4". Along the edges of the bands a narrow fillet, about 0·1" wide, is soldered, bearing a simple, flat, bead-moulding (figs. 2a, 3, 4c). The rim of the bucket was protected by a bronze band, about one half of which has been preserved. It was nailed to the inside of the mouth of the bucket, and bent outwards over the rim; and, as an additional safeguard, a number of small bronze straps, attached by little angular nails to this band, were brought over the rim and fastened under the first hoop, thus acting as clamps in keeping the rim-guard in its place. This is the usual method employed by the Saxons in securing the rim-guards of their buckets. Fig. 4a (Pl. XII.) shows the inner, and fig. 4b the outer, view of a portion of this rim-guard, and exhibits in place one of these little straps, the only one that was found. A longitudinal section of the upper portion of the bucket is also given (fig. 4c), with the rim-guard and the upper band *in situ*.

The ornamentation of the bucket is bold and striking. Two pairs of large bronze plates (a larger and a smaller), in shape like a broad shield with a square top, were fixed across two of the bands on opposite sides of the bucket; the larger pair (length 4·2", breadth 4·5") pointing downwards across the upper band (Pl. XII. fig. 2a), and the smaller pair (length a fraction

¹ One of the four shields, one (the only one recovered) of the pair of ornamental devices attached to the central band (Pl. XII. fig. 3), one of the two ornamental bands, one of the long stud-rivets, &c.

over 4", breadth 4.3"), pointing upwards, across the lower band. Where these shields cross the bands there are traces that the moulding of the marginal filets has been reduced in order that the shields might fit closer. Each of the shields bears five circular bosses, in repoussé work, consisting of a bold inner ring, two narrow outer rings, and a central stud, formed by a neatly moulded rivet with a stout flat head and a milled edge (Ibid. fig. 5). A line of raised dots surrounds the lateral and lower margins of the shields, the square top being left plain. The upper pair of shields is quite intact: of the lower pair, a portion of one shield remains, showing the lower and two of the side bosses with two studs attached; the other shield, though perfect, has lost all but one side stud. The straight top of this shield shows signs of having been battered by coming in contact with the ground.

The studs in the four upper bosses were purely ornamental, being simply riveted at the back of the shield, but the fifth stud, the lowest, being placed in the point of the shield which projected beyond the bronze bands, was furnished with a shank of sufficient length to be driven through the boss into the wood of the bucket. In some instances the rivetted studs appear to have worked loose, and the perforations in the bosses to have become too large to hold them, and the studs to have been then refixed by some less skilled workman than the maker of the bucket. Whatever the reason, the two studs in the fragmentary shield are not so neatly clamped as the others (Ibid. fig. 6*a*), but are held in place by clumsy quadrangular collars, cut from a plate of bronze (Ibid. fig. 6*b*); moreover, as will be seen by comparing the two figures, to gain the necessary space at the back of the boss for these collars, the little cup-shaped hollow, in which the head of the stud rested, has been tampered with.

The edges of the shields are drilled with a number of small holes irregularly placed, and corresponding perforations occur in the underlying portions of the bands. Three additional perforations occur in the upper band near the outer margin of one of the shields.

The lugs or ears for the handle were fitted to the upper shields. They consist of cross-shaped pieces of solid bronze, on which a conventionalised head of an ox, with strongly curved horns, is moulded in bold relief (*Ibid.* figs. 2*a*, 2*b*). The two lugs vary somewhat in size and finish, the one figured measuring 2·7" in length, and nearly 2·4" in breadth; the other, somewhat smaller and relatively shorter, has the remaining horn (for one is broken off) considerably less curved than those in the figured example. The top of the plate, i.e. the forehead of the ox, is prolonged into a stout loop which projects above the horns so as to clear the rim of the bucket, and afford a secure hold for the handle. These lug-plates were not attached to the shield, but, for greater security, three nails, one passing through either arm, and one through the base, were driven into the wood of the bucket, the underlying shields and the hoops being neatly drilled for the purpose. Of these nails only the lower one has been preserved. It is 0·6" long, and both the flat head and the angular shank are poorly finished.

The ornamentation of the smaller pair of shields is identical with that of the larger. Their relative position on the bucket cannot with certainty be made out. That shown in the engraving seems the most probable, but it is possible that the upper and lower pair, instead of occupying the same sides of the bucket, were placed opposite to each other; though the decoration of the central band, yet to be described, and the general design of the bucket, make this arrangement appear extremely improbable.

The central band, unlike the upper and the lower, is composed of two pieces, and the joints were concealed by a small ornamental device consisting of a boss and stud (the latter missing), similar to those on the shields, but with a spreading flange above and below, the whole cut out of a stamped plate of bronze so as to fit in between the marginal fillets of the hoop (*Ibid.* fig. 3).

The curved handle (*Ibid.* figs. 2*a* and 2*b*) is of solid bronze, round in section, and tapers towards the gracefully moulded, hooked ends. Its upper surface is gently broken by thirty-six

annular double mouldings (its lower surface is plain), and there is a band of incised work above the recurved ends: these terminate in nicely modelled snakes' heads, and were hooked through the lugs above described. The two handle-ends vary slightly in their ornamental details, as will be seen by reference to the plate; the front view of one end being given in figure 2*a*, and the profile of the other end in figure 2*b*.

With the bucket were found two slim, tapering bands of bronze. They are round at their narrower ends, and their wider ends are cut on the bevel, and drilled with several small holes. They are stamped with a central sinuous line, which here and there is broken into by a scale-like pattern (figs. 7*a*, 7*b*, 7*c*).

It is worthy of note that both these patterns were produced with a small gouge-like tool. On one of the bands (fig. 7*b*), the zigzag is diversified by some small rings which are occasionally perforated. Along either edge of the bands is a line of raised dots. The bucket itself having been destroyed, I have no clue as to how these bands were fixed, but by their shape, the curve they have assumed, and the shape of their wide ends (fig. 7*c*), I think there is little doubt that they formed slanting, ornamental straps between two of the hoop bands¹.

The height of the bucket was approximately 13 inches, but this cannot be made out with certainty, as the encircling bands may possibly have been placed somewhat wider apart than is shown in the engraving. Its diameter at the rim was 11·3", and at the base about 9".

Fragments of other buckets, but of rough workmanship, and with plain iron handles and bands, were also found in the well, including portions of one that had been cut out of the solid, instead of being made up of staves.

The well, besides the above-mentioned antiquities, contained a number of animal bones. These included the pig, the sheep, the ox (one of them is a very large abnormally shaped head), the dog, and the red deer. All the skulls of cattle bear marks

¹ These bands are not shown in the woodcut, as their position is but problematical.

of having been pole-axed. Among the antlers of the deer (*Cervus elaphus*) there is one very large specimen, which must when intact have been a magnificent example, rivalling in size any of the large heads of the Hungarian deer, which are the largest existing representatives of their race. The circumference of this horn at the base, above the terminal whorl, is 6'2", and its weight, in its present somewhat mutilated condition, exceeds nine pounds.

I am informed that the pottery and other utensils were found together at the bottom of the well; above these lay the bones; and last, and topmost, brushwood and some large pieces of wood (? pine). The fact of these objects having been deposited in distinct layers seems to indicate that the water of the well, at the date when the bones were thrown into it, had by some means become polluted, or possibly, the supply having failed, it had been found a convenient refuse pit. The brushwood with earth, etc., may, after a time, have been thrown in to close the well, and to prevent unpleasant exhalations arising from the decaying refuse matter.

It should be mentioned that previous to the discovery of the well antiquities have from time to time been found by Mr Martin's quarrymen. The Earl of Lanesborough possesses a small bronze gouge, a stone quern, and various pieces of Roman pottery, which he kindly allowed me to see, all of which had been found on the Mount Sorrel hill in the course of the last twenty years.

In the summer of 1881 a curious little chamber was discovered in the southern slope of the hill, of which Mr W. H. Macaulay, of King's College, who fortunately was on the spot at the time of the discovery, has kindly sent me the following particulars.

The chamber was built of rough stone and mortar, surface granite and blue lias having been used for the purpose, the top of the wall being just below the surface soil and turf. It was of an irregular quadrilateral form, but having the S.W. corner cut off by an angle projecting inwards. The N.E. corner, where the entrance had presumably been, was broken away. There

was no roof remaining, but on the floor were many pieces of Swithland slate which may have formed part of one. The area of the room was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 7 feet. The walls, which were over a foot in thickness, and four feet high where they were least destroyed, had their inner surface coated with a yellow plaster, on which were painted in red a number of irregularly spaced vertical bands, some being much broader than others. A narrow horizontal band, or line, of the same colour united two of the vertical bands near the top of the wall, and was continued at a lower level as far as the wall was still standing. A similar line, but in black, ran along the bottom of the wall (about a foot from the floor) and appears to have been carried right round the chamber. The rest of the surface had been painted white with a design in red, but of this design (curved and branched red streaks and disconnected spots of irregular shape) only some patches remained, whereas both the vertical and the horizontal bands were well preserved. On the floor, which consisted of a layer of rude concrete made with Barrow lime, there were found, besides the pieces of Swithland slate mentioned above, a few oyster and other shells, small bones, and pieces of horn.

That so commanding a position as Mount Sorrel should have been occupied from remote ages by the Britons, and after them by the Romans and their successors, is but natural, and we have sufficient evidence to prove that such was the case; but the why and the wherefore of these occupations is beyond the scope of the present paper.

MONDAY, *December 5th*, 1892.

Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D., President, in the chair.

MR HENRY THOMSON exhibited a collection of Graeco-Buddhistic fragments found in 1891 by Surgeon-Captain Stoney at Takht-i-Bagh, near Mardan, in the Peshawur Valley, and made the following remarks on them.

Of the objects here exhibited the two chief are (1) a frieze, which evidently sets forth an initiatory ceremony. The central figure is Buddha sitting cross-legged under a lotus leaf. He is pouring oil out of a vessel over the head of a kneeling boy. An attendant priest has his hands extended over the boy's head. Around are standing figures with hands clasped in prayer. There is nothing Greek in this frieze, either in the draperies or in the faces of the figures, but the work is very beautifully finished. This and all the other fragments are in a very heavy dark-coloured stone, which must have been very hard to work, as it chips off in laminated fragments.

(2) An alms bowl, with a snake lying coiled up inside it. The bowl is clasped by a hand broken off at the wrist. The fingers are beautifully formed, and are webbed up to the middle joint, which we know from the Buddhistic writings Buddha's were said to have been.

Also several fragments found in 1891, at Rainghat, in the territory of the Khuda Kheyls, by H. C. Thomson. The principal are

(1) The torso of an archer, with quiver strung on his back.

(2) A small figure of an orator. The dress, as well as attitude, are purely Greek. Indeed, as Professor E. C. Clark has pointed out, the figure has so striking a resemblance to the statue of Demosthenes at Athens, that it would almost seem that the man who made it on the borders of Afghanistan must have been familiar with that statue in Athens, and have marched with Alexander across Persia, and remained behind in India when he left that country. If that were so, it would fix the date of the fragments at 331 B.C.

Professor MACALISTER made the following communication :

ON TWO UNPUBLISHED EGYPTIAN STELÆ.

The two casts which I exhibit to the Society were sent to me by the Director of the National Museum of Dublin, Valentine Ball, Esq., C.B., who obtained the originals from which they were taken in Egypt in the year 1892. The first is a large tablet 75 cm. wide by 36 cm. in height, a beautiful piece of work, probably dating from the 18th Dynasty, but the persons commemorated, Hetepneb and his wife Ari, are, so far as I know, unknown to history.

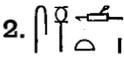
At the left-hand side are figures of these two persons. Hetepneb stands in front, with a long walking-staff in his left hand, and with a baton of office carried fess-wise in his right. Ari stands behind him with her left arm extended, and her left hand laid on her husband's left shoulder, while her right hand hangs by her side. There are eight lines of inscription.

The hieroglyphs are incuse, written from right to left, and they read as follows :

1. 					
<i>Suten</i>	<i>hetep</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>Anpu</i>	<i>khent</i>	<i>neter ha</i>
Royal	oblation	give	Anubis	dwelling	in the temple

			
<i>tep tuf</i>	<i>am ut</i>	<i>neb Taser</i>	<i>grastu</i>

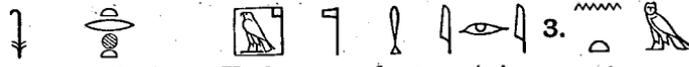
who is over his hill which is in Ut Lord of Taser sepulture

	2. 			
<i>nat</i>	<i>smer uat</i>	<i>khaz heb em</i>	<i>Per aa</i>	

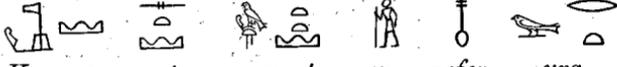
to the chancellor the chamberlain the priest in the great house



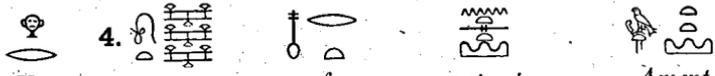
khent Hetep neb em as ef Hemet ef mert-ef
 garden. Hetep neb, in his tomb his wife his beloved



Suten recht Hathor neter hent Ari ent em
 The lady in waiting, Priestess of Hathor, Ari who is in



Kar neter set ament ur nefer ura
 Hades the land western. The good great one (princess)



Her uat nefer ent set Ament
 over the roads blessed in the land western may



khepep a makhu her sensen ba
 there be a passage worthy for him may the soul be united



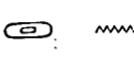
nef ta t'a nef ba
 to him on earth, a passage to him on the paved way

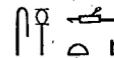


Ta set Ament tutu ser ef em
 may be given the land western. { His hands may he stretch forth } in



hetep kher neter aa Suten hetep ta Ausar
 peace before the great god. Give royal oblation Osiris

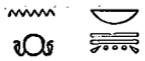
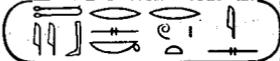
7.   
neb Tattu per er kheru ab arp sennu en
 Lord of Tattu funeral meats, bread, wine, cakes to

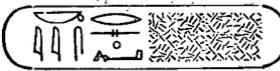
    
nat smer uat khar heb a makh kher
 the chancellor, the chamberlain the priest devoted before

      
neb resu neb tairu as renef nefer
 the Lord of the South the Lord of As his name blessed


Hetep neb.
 Hetep neb.

The second is evidently a fragment of a larger inscription found on a slab of sandstone at Kom Ombo, where it formed part of a temple which was erected by Ptolemy Philometor, and dedicated to Horus and Sebek. The slab however is of much later date, for the ovals upon it include the names of Claudius Cæsar. It is an uncommon form of orthography for his name. I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere with this spelling.

 
suten net neb tairu Tibares Krutas
 King of North and South, Tiberius Claudius
 Lord of two lands.

 
 Son of the Sun, *Kiseres netekh* —
 Lord of Diadems. Cæsar ruler * * * (probably
 autocrator).

A continuous translation of the first inscription is appended:

May Anubis, dwelling in the temple, who is ruler of his hill which is in Ut, give a royal oblation and sepulture in his tomb to Hetepneb the chancellor, the chamberlain, the Priest, in the garden of the Great House, and to his beloved wife Ari, the lady in waiting, the priestess of Hathor, who is in the land of the dead, in the western land, the good princess, over the blessed roads in the western land may there be a worthy passage. May his soul be united to him upon earth. May there be given a passage to him over the causeway of the western land. May he stretch forth his hands in peace before the great god. May Osiris, the Lord of Tattu, give royal oblations, funeral meats, bread, wine and cakes to the chancellor, the chamberlain, the priest devoted in the presence of the Lord of the South, the Lord of the land of As. In his blessed name Hetepneb.

Mr M. R. JAMES made the following communications :

I. ON A MS. PSALTER IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The MS. of which the full description is here printed is in the Library of the University of Cambridge. The class-mark is Ee. iv. 24; the size small folio; the date about 1300. The contents are:

1. Kalendar (three leaves only), containing the months of March and April, September and October, November and December (misbound).
2. Index of illustrations, on two leaves.
3. Psalter.
4. Cantica, ending with *Quicumque uult*, the end of which is lost.

In all, three leaves of the Kalendar, and the last leaf of the volume, are missing.

The MS. is interesting because of its illustrations. These fall into two classes; first, there are two pictures to each month in the Kalendar, one representing the occupation of the month, the other the signs of the zodiac. In this there is nothing unusual. Secondly, each Psalm (and Canticle) has a picture in its initial letter, the subject of each picture referring to the

contents of the Psalm. This rule is transgressed in the initials of the Psalms which begin the seven Nocturnes: these are larger than the rest, and illustrate a separate cycle, the Life of David. The bulk of the illustrations, as I have said, refer to some point in the text of the Psalm to which they are attached, and in this respect resemble the pictures in the Utrecht Psalter, of which I have had occasion to say something in a previous paper on illuminated MSS¹. The fact that our MS. is a late descendant of the Utrecht Psalter would alone suffice to make it interesting. But there is another feature which materially adds to the importance of it. This is an Index of the subjects of the illustrations, contemporary with the rest of the volume, and occurring on two leaves immediately after the Kalendar. It is in Norman French, and evidently did not originate with this Psalter, for in several instances the words of the description of the picture have been misunderstood by the artist. Now, we may be sure that the painter of the pictures is not responsible for the description of them, but that he was working on an earlier document which he only imperfectly comprehended. It is, however, unlikely that the descriptive Index is more than a hundred years older at most than the pictures. It will be convenient to proceed at once to the description of the MS.

Kalendar. I here give the more remarkable festivals which occur in each month.

f. 1a. *November.* SS. Leonard in red, Martin in blue, Edmund of Canterbury in blue, Hugo and Anianus in red, Edmund the King in blue, Clement in red, Katherine in blue, Andrew in blue.

Margin. (a) A man beating acorns from an oak, faces *R.*
(b) Sagittarius, a centaur riding to *R.* and shooting.

The miniatures in the Kalendar are enclosed in a quatrefoil with four acute angles projecting from the four points where the foils meet: this is surrounded by a square gold frame. The ground of the picture is gold, the spandrels pink or blue.

f. 1b. *December 17.* SS. Ignatius Ep. Conf. and Lazarus Ep. M. in black; 25. Nativ. Domini and S. Anastasia in black, S. Thomas of Canterbury, erased.

¹ *Proceedings of the Camb. Ant. Soc.* vol. vii. (New Series, vol. i.): 31—69.

- (a) A man killing a hog : on *L.* two beasts : on *R.* heads of two white oxen.
- (b) Capricornus, a goat ending in a serpent.
- f. 2a. *March.* SS. David and Chad in black, Geretrudis, Patricius in black, Cuthbert in black, Benedict in red. 30. Eularia V. in black.
- (a) A man in pointed hood, facing *R.*, prunes a vine.
- (b) Aries, head to *R.*, between two trees : on one is a bird.
- f. 2b. *April.* S. Aelphege. M. in black.
- (a) A man stands holding a flowering branch in his *R.* hand, a nest in his *L.* : a tree with squirrel on *L.* : a tree on *R.* with a rabbit by it.
- (b) Taurus, head to *R.*, between trees : on one is a bird.
- f. 3a. *September.* Transl. Cuthberti in black : 6. SS. Donatus et Presilius in black, Edith in black.
- (a) Two men carry 'hottes' of grapes to *R.*, to a man in a vat.
- (b) Libra : a man stands holding scales, between two trees : on each is a bird.
- f. 3b. *October 8.* S. Benedicta V. in black : SS. Denis et soc. in blue ; Paulinus in black, Wilfrid in red, Wulfrannus Ep. Conf. in black, Ded. S. Michaelis in monte tumba in red, Fredesuide in black, Austraberta in black, Romanus Archiep. et Severinus Ep. in black, Columbanus M. in black, Crispinus et Crispinianus 'et sci Johannis de beuerlaco' in black ; if the italicised words be an addition, they were added very shortly after the rest.
- (a) A man sowing : a tree on *L.*, a field on *R.* : he sows from his lap.
- (b) Scorpius, green, with six legs.

The initial KL to each month is full of little animals, etc., in a masterly style.

We now come to the descriptive Index, which I here reproduce in full, adding to each entry a short description of the actual picture found in the MS., and short explanations where they seem necessary.

f. 4a.
Ps. i. *Beatus vir.* Sera coment samuel li prophetes met sa mein su la tete dauid et elelist a estre roi et dauid sera en estant u mileu de ses freres et sera li plus petis. En cele meime letre par desous coment dauid ocit golie.

Above, three trefoil arches : on *L.* four brethren face *R.* : in *C.* Samuel stands over David, a small boy with crook : on *R.* the two parents face *L.*

Below, on *R.*, Goliath, with black and white shield, prostrate, not dead: on *L.* David with raised sword; three trees. For the next picture of this cycle see Ps. xxvi.

ii. *Quare fremuerunt.* Pilates et herodes sunt fet amis en la prise ihesu crist.

Two figures on a seat: he on *L.* has pointed cap and book, and points up to a face in the sky: he on *R.* is crowned. 'The rulers take counsel together against the Lord.'

iii. *Domine quid multi(plicati).* Absalon pent a .i. arbre par les cheuels, et a .ii. lances parmi le cors.

So in the picture: the title of the Psalm attributes it to David 'when he fled from Absalom his son.'

iv. *Cum inuocarem.* Uns-rois se dort en un lit.

'I will lay me down in peace and sleep.' Ps. iv. 8.

v. *Verba mea.* Abraham debout lancele et son filz.

A seated figure with staff thrusts away a woman (damaged).

vi. *Domine ne in furore.* Daud malades prie nostre seigneur.

David in bed, crowned, nude: Christ, half-length, with book in the sky.

vii. *Domine deus meus.* Vns homs giete les pierres dun mont en contre dauid.

Shimei on *L.* in tunic, with lap full of stones: David walking to *R.* Compare the title of the Psalm: 'because of the words of Cush the Benjamite.'

viii. *Domine dominus noster.* Vns homs dessce .i. pressoir.

A man on *L.* seems to fit something on to the screw of a press. Cf. title, 'upon Gittith.'

ix. *Confitebor tibi do(mine).* Vns prestre reuestuz se confesse devant .i. autel.

A server in white bows: a priest in red chasuble, with hands joined: the altar has chalice and corporal. Compare the first word of this psalm, 'Confitebor.'

x. *In domino confido.* Vns homs regarde .i. corbel.

A narrow upright picture, as are all the initial I's: a man looks up at a bird on a tree. xi. 1, 'that she should flee as a bird unto her hill.' Here the discrepancy in numbering between Hebrew and Latin Psalms begins.

xi. *Saluum me fac.* Vns angles busine et li mort resordent.

Two angels with trumpets: three shrouded dead rising.

xii. *Vsque quo domine.* Vns homs reuest .i. prouoire nu.

A man in red tunic on *L.* puts on (or takes off) a blue chasuble over the head of a priest in an alb, whose head and arms are concealed by the chasuble.

xiii. *Dixit insipiens.* Vns iuis regarde la terre qi pleure.

A tree on a mound: the Jew in pointed cap looks to *L.*, and points to *R.* Cp. 5, 'They were then in great fear': but the subject is not clear.

xiv. *Domine quis habitabit.* Sainte eglise tient .i. calice.

The Church, crowned, with banuer-cross, chalice and corporal. She symbolises the righteous described in the Psalm.

xv. *Conserua me domine.* Ihesu crist resort del sepulcre.

Christ rising, supported by two angels, holds a resurrection-cross. 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.'

xvi. *Exaudi domine.* Daudid est a genouz mains iointes et nostre seigneur le corone.

Christ, half-length, in a semicircle in the sky, crowns David kneeling. 'I will behold thy face in righteousness.'

xvii. *Diligam te domine.* Vns enfes port le corone a dauid.

A boy (the Amalekite) offers a crown to David, seated. Compare the title of the Psalm.

xviii. *Celi enarrant.* Li sains esprit descent as apostres.

Eleven (or twelve) apostles seated: the dove descends vertically: 'Their sound is gone out,' etc.

xix. *Exaudiat te.* Daudid est couuert de la main deieu.

Christ, half-length, in sphere: a kneeling *female* figure below. 'With the wholesome strength of his right hand.'

xx. *Domine in uirtute.* Daudid est en estant et dieu corone.

Christ, as above, crowns David standing: below Christ is an altar. 'Thou hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head.'

xxi. *Deus deus meus.* Ihesu crist en la croiz.

The Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John: the Sun and Moon above.

xxii. *Dominus regit me.* Li puples repaire de chaitiuoison de babyloine.

A Jew, a woman and a child and three others go to *R.* to the gate of a city. 'He shall convert my soul.'

xxiii. *Domini est terra.* Ihesu crist brise le portes deinfer.

Christ with resurrection-cross, kicks down the gate of Hell (a castle): three souls and three devils are seen. 'Lift up your heads,' etc.

xxiv. *Ad te domine leuavi.* Deus homes batent le tierche et il regarde uers le cel.

A man between two others, one with raised stick, the other with raised fist. 'Consider mine enemies how many they are.'

xxv. *Iudica me domine.* Li angle ist de fontaine renouelez.

An angel emerging from a well-head in a mound flies upwards: architecture above. There is a misunderstanding here: it is the eagle (aigle) which flies to a fountain to renew its youth, not the angel.

xxvi. *Dominus illuminatio.* Sera comment dauid porte le chief golie en ierusalem et desus coment le fames li uient e lencontre o tabors et autres estrumens et mainent les caroles e chantent Saul en ocis · mil · et · dauid · x · mile ·

Above, David, a boy, holding a head, walks *R.* to a gate: below, five women, one dancing, the rest playing. This is the David-series, continued from Ps. i. The descriptions seem to come from a different hand: they are much longer and more detailed.

xxvii. *Ad te domine.* Daud ueure el tabernacle.

David crowned kneels at an altar. 'When I lift up my hands toward thy holy temple.'

xxviii. *Afferte domino.* Li prestre sacrefie le moton deuant le autel.

A priest in chasuble holds a lamb and kneels at an altar: 'Bring young rams unto the Lord.'

xxix. *Exaltabo te domine.* Li prestres sacre le temple.

Acolyte: Priest at altar with chalice upon it.

xxx. *In te domine speraui.* Li oisiæx eschape de la pantier al home.

Man in blue holds a string with loops at intervals: two birds have their feet caught in it, a third flies away: 'Draw me out of the net,' etc.

xxx. *Beati quorum.* Vns prestres baptise ·i· enfant.

Acolyte: priest immerses a child in a large red pool: two women on *R.* 'Whose unrighteousness is forgiven.'

xxxii. *Exultate iusti.* Ihesu crist tient une corone et ·i· flael.

Christ seated full-face holds a crown and flail: 'The Lord looked down from heaven,' etc.

xxxiii. *Benedicam dominum.* Daudid se fet fol deuant abýmelech.

David crowned holds a club and a round cake, as the conventional fool: three men on *R.* watching him. Cf. Title of this Psalm.

xxxiv. *Iudica domine.* Ihesu crist tient la croiz et la lance.

Christ full-face, as described: 'Bring forth the spear,' etc.

xxxv. *Dixit iniustus.* Vns homs fiert un autre dun coutel en besant.

As described: it represents Joab and Amasa: 'The words of his mouth ...are full of deceit.'

xxxvi. *Noli emulari.* Vns homs quiett herbe.

A man stooping gathers grass sprinkled with gold and flowers, a tree behind: 'They shall soon be cut down like the grass.'

xxxvii. *Domine ne in furore.* Daudid regarde le cotel sanglant emplorant.

David crowned, seated, holds and looks at a knife or dagger: a Prophet (Gad) on *L.*, a mailed man (Joab) on *R.* David choosing the pestilence. 2 Sam. xxiv.

xxxviii. *Dixi custodiam.* Vn latre sera coment saul li rois se siet en sa chaise. E desous sera dauid harpant. et saul li getera ·i· glaiue por li ocire et dauid saclinera por echuer le cop.

Above, Saul crowned, seated under the central arch of three: he thrusts with a lance into the lower division of the letter, where David sits on a chair harping. The third of the David-cycle of pictures.

xxxix. *Expectans expectavi.* Dex tret dauid de labor a une main et a lautre tient la corone.

Christ holding a crown pulls up David (a boy in red) from a recumbent position: 'He brought me out of the horrible pit.'

xl. *Beatus qui intelligit.* Daudid done le pain au poure.

A man with a basket of loaves, which David stands and distributes to five poor people: 'Considereth the poor and needy.'

xli. *Quemadmodum desiderat.* Vns homs ocit un cerf qui boit.

A man shooting at a stag which is drinking from a stream. 'As the hart pants.'

xlii. *Iudica me deus.* Li prestres est a lautel.

Deacon in white with circular *flabellum*: priest in chasuble at altar: architecture above: 'Introibo ad altare dei.'

xliiii. *Deus auribus.* Li iuis busine de ioie que son anemi fuit.

A man in a tower blows a trumpet: below, two mailed men ride off to R. 'It is thou that savest us from our enemies,' etc.

xliv. *Erucauit.* Marie est saune par desus . les puceles tymbrent desoz.

Above, three arches: a woman sits full face in the centre one: below, three women hold square musical instruments. 'With joy and gladness shall they be brought.'

xlv. *Deus noster refugium.* La synagoge est auuglee . et saint eglise est tote droite.

The Church crowned with cross-banner and chalice: the Synagogue blue and gold with broken banner and tables of the Law: her crown falls.

xlvi. *Omnes gentes.* Lasscension de nostre seignor [le refuse].

The ascension; Christ's feet only seen: the Virgin present: 'God is gone up.'

xlvii. *Magnus dominus.* Herodes freit les nes.

Two ships: in one a king, in the other two men breaking the ships. 'Thou shalt break the ships of the sea.' Cf. the west portal of Amiens: *Legenda Aurea* on Innocents' Day, etc.

xlviii. *Audite hec.* Li riches muret et diables enportent lame.

A man in bed; two black-winged devils draw his soul from his mouth. 'Rich men also die.'

xlix. *Deus deorum.* Li iuis sacrefie et men seingnor le refuse.

A Jew with sheaf kneels at an altar: Christ half-length in sphere repulses him with the back of his hand: 'If I be hungry I will not tell thee,' etc.

i. *Miserere mei.* Nathan demostre le oeille a dauid et il sagenoille.

A man with book: Nathan in pointed cap points to the *eye* of David crowned: one man on *R.*: all standing. This is a misunderstanding: 'oeille' is for modern 'ouaille'=sheep, and refers to Nathan's parable of the ewe-lamb. The artist has taken it to mean 'eye.'

ii. *Quid gloriaris.* Vns homs ocit · i · prestre.

A man with raised sword (Doeg) about to smite a priest in chasuble (Ahimelech). The title refers to Doeg.

iii. *Dixit insipiens.* En la letre sera coment abymelech · i · prestres donne a dauid pains an un corbelon. desous cil prestres meimes balle a dauid la glaiue golie qil gardeit e doech · i · patres de saul sera deles eus qi les regardera.

Above, a boy with basket of bread: Ahimelech in hood and cape gives it to David: below, a youth (Doeg) seated with lance: Ahimelech points to him and to David. The fourth of the David-cycle.

iiii. *Deus in nomine tuo.* Dauid tranche a saul le orl de son mantel.

David crowned cuts the mantle of Saul in pointed cap: both stand. Cf. the title.

liv. *Exaudi deus.* Vn nes emperil et cil de dens crient merci a nostre seignor.

Two men in a ship pray: 'Because of the stormy wind and tempest' (?).

lv. *Miserere mei.* Saul dort et dauid tient le henap et la lance.

Saul in bed: David, crowned, at the foot holds a lance. Cf. title.

lvi. *Miserere mei.* Dauid ment en tapignathe et · i · message le conte a saul.

David crowned, with staff: on *R.* a man kneels to Saul seated, in cap. Cf. title.

lvii. *Si vere utique.* Vn enchanteur desus et · j · aspis desoz el tient sa que as dens.

Above, a man with a short stick balances a bowl on a stick (a conjuror). Below, a man seated between trees holds a bag in *R.* hand and a snake in *L.* 'The charmer.' The picture here does not quite answer to the description.

lviii. *Eripe me.* Michol met dauid hors par la fenestre.

David is *stepping* out of the window. Compare title.

lix. *Deus repulisti.* Daud embrase due cuntree.

David and another at the gate of a city: flames at the windows and door: David touches the gate with a rod.

lx. *Exaudi deus.* Daud corone foule le diable.

David crowned stands on a devil: 'A strong tower for me against the enemy.'

lxi. *Nonne deo.* La tor chiet sus les orgailleus.

Two men on *L.* of a tower, one on *R.*; two turrets fall: 'As a broken wall shall ye be.'

lxii. *Deus deus meus.* Daud est repost al desert.

David crowned sits under a tree on a seat. Compare title.

lxiii. *Exaudi deus.* Li archiers agait dauid.

Above, David sits between trees. Below, a man with bow: a tree on *L.* 'Have bent their bow.'

lxiv. *Te decet ymnus.* Li rois trait les iuis chaitis.

A king takes the hand of a Jew in a gateway: in a domed circular building above are seen three Jews. 'My iniquities prevail against me' (?).

lxv. *Jubilate.* Les lions resuscite ses filz.

The lions (three) are black and maneless. 'Who holdeth our soul in life.' (?)

lxvi. *Deus misereatur.* Aaron tient la uerge foillie et florie.

Aaron is in pointed cap. The Psalm resembles the priestly blessing in Num. vi.

lxvii. *Exurgat deus.* Moyses et Aaron descent larche.

A ship with towers in it (this is the ark, confused with that of Noah): in the towers are Moses and Aaron: in the body of the ship two men work with auger and axe. 'When thou wentest through the wilderness,' etc.

lxviii. *Saluum me fac.* En la letre sera larche nostre seigneur sus .i. char qe diec bof meneront et dauid harpera par deuant larche et sera uestus dun rochiet blanc. E par desus sera michol la fame dauid qui esgardera dauid par une fenestre e fera une contenance qele le despise.

Above, the ark and David as described : below, Michal stretches out of a window and gesticulates at David above. Fifth of the David-cycle.

lxix. *Deus in adiutorium.* .ij. larrons copient le chief y-boseth ella portent a dauid.

David sits crowned, with sword : one man kneels and holds a sword and the head of Ishbosheth, the other stands.

lxx. *In te domine.* Dauid est en la hautesce de la tor et son anemi desoz.

David with crown and sceptre in a high blue tower : three mailed men on horses below : 'Mine enemies speak against me,' etc.

lxxi. *Deus iudicium.* .ii. homs aorent les ydoles.

Three Jews kneel to two images, red and green, on slender columns. 'Prayer shall be made ever unto him.' (?)

lxxii. *Quam bonus.* Moyses depieche le tables.

Moses, horned : the tables fall, broken. 'I was envious at the wicked.'

lxxiii. *Vt quid deus.* Diex deboute la synagoge.

Christ, half-length, in sphere, pushes with a stick at the Synagoge, who appears as in xlv. 'Why hast thou cast us off for ever.'

lxxiv. *Confitebimur tibi.* Vns homs se confesse a .j. prestre.

A man kneels to a hooded monk. 'Confitebimur.'

lxxv. *Notus in iudea.* Diex oste la couerture de sus de la synagoge.

Christ (as in lxxiii.) lifts the quilt off a crowned king in bed.

lxxvi. *Voce mea.* Omitted in the index.

The picture shews David kneeling crowned by Christ in a cloud.

lxxvii. *Attendite popule.* Moyses fiert la pierre de la verge et le ewe en issi.

Moses, horned, with tables and rod ; water comes out of the ground : 'He clave the rocks in the wilderness.'

lxxviii. *Deus uenerunt.* Les bestes m^s iuent les cors de seins.

Two grey beasts eat two white corpses: a tree behind. 'The flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the land.'

lxxix. *Qui regis israel.* Diex plante la uigne.

Christ, between two vines with fruit, tends one on *L.* 'Thou hast brought a vine,' etc.

lxxx. *Exultate deo.* Vne chiuachie de gens qi entrent en une cite et fames pardesoz qui font [en une cite qi font *sic*] porter une chasse deuant eles.

Above, five men ride to *R.*: below, a gate: three women: two men carry a blue-roofed ark to *R.* Sixth of the David-cycle: illustrates the same event as lxxviii. or else illustrates the Psalm. I have a leaf of a xvth cent. Psalter (French) in which the same scene is given for *Exultate*.

lxxxii. *Deus stetit.* Les ydoles trubuchent deuant ihesu crist.

Christ: two figures on columns fall. 'A judge among gods.'

lxxxiii. *Deus quis similis.* Helbora fiche clous el temple a .j. martel.

Deborah with a hammer drives a nail into the front of a church, above a door. A misunderstanding of 'temple,' which should have been the temples of Sisera, who is mentioned in the Psalm.

lxxxiiii. *Quam dilecta.* Li prestres toz reuestus uient a lautel.

As ix.: 'Blessed are they that dwell in thy house.'

lxxxv. *Benedixisti.* Nostre dame qui gist et lenfant en la creche.

The Virgin in bed, with a book: Joseph, not nimbed, at the foot: above, the manger, on a thin shaft: the head of the Child is seen, and the head of the ox and the ass. 'Mercy and truth,' etc.: a Psalm interpreted to refer to the Nativity.

lxxxvi. *Inclina domine.* Vns oisix est sacrifiez son chiel (? chief) uers a son piez et le autre sen vole.

Under architecture: a dark bird flying upward: below, on an altar, lies a similar bird with head twisted upward.

lxxxvi. *Fundamenta*. Lascention nostre dame.

The Virgin in bed: ten heads of apostles seen over her: behind, Christ stands holding her soul. 'He was born in her,' etc.

lxxxvii. *Domine deus salutis*. Core art son fils.

A man in close cap stands blowing bellows: a youth with bound hands and feet lies in a fire on *R*. The Psalm is 'for the sons of Korah' and is of a penitential character.

lxxxviii. *Misericordias*. Li filz est a la destre son pere et a la lune et le solail soz ses piez.

As described: 'His seat as the sun before me,' etc.

lxxxix. *Domine refugium*. Vns homs depart le froment de la paille.

A man holds a long shallow elliptical winnowing-basket: 'In the evening it is cut down,' etc.

xc. *Qui habitat*. Ihesu crist a desuz ses piez le lion et le dragon.

Christ throned between two candlesticks: under his feet sit a black lion and a red, blue and white dragon: 'The young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.'

xc. *Bonum est confiteri*. Daudid est en la hautesce de la uictorie.

David sits crowned, with sword; on either side stands a mailed man: 'Mine horn shall be exalted,' etc.

xcii. *Dominus regnavit*. Ihesu crist est arme.

Christ seated with book: (*not* armed). 'Thy throne is established of old.'

xciii. *Deus ultionum*. Vns homs ocist .j. autre et il est enflambe de dieu.

A man with dagger in *R*. hand, his *L*. hand on the shoulder of a fleeing man on *R*.: a stream of fire falls on him: 'The Lord our God shall destroy them.'

xciv. *Venite exult(emus)*. Le verge fole de hors a qi crist dist ie ne vous sai pas.

L. a foolish virgin: *R*. under a trefoiled arch Christ seated, nimbed: a nimbed virgin on *R*.: Christ's face is meant to express surprise: 'Unto whom I sware in my wrath,' etc.

xcv. *Cantate domino.* Li prestres tient le crist el sacrement.

A layman, and deacon (?) in white, kneel: the priest at the altar holds the Host over the chalice: 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.'

xcvi. *Dominus regnavit.* Tot le peuple est encontre dauid qui uient.

David and another ride to *R.* and are met by three people in a gate.

xcvii. *Cantate.* Vns homs qi est pendu par les cheueus a un autre (= arbre) et son cheual sen fuit. et uns hom a cheual arme li vient par deiere et le fert parmi le cors de une lance. et par de soz ·i· massager qi uient a dauid et dit qe cil est morz et dauid desire (= déchire) ses cheueus.

As described. Death of Absalom. Seventh of the David-cycle.

xcviii. *Dominus regnavit.* Dex parole a moysen en la columbe de la nue.

Moses, horned, with the tables, sits: Christ on *R.*, half-length, in sphere, speaks: 'Moses and Aaron among his priests,' etc.

xcix. *Iubilate.* Crist pastor garde le oeilles.

Above, Christ sits full-face with book and long curved horn or club: below, three sheep, a goat and a dog, play about on a mound: 'The sheep of his pasture.'

c. *Misericordiam.* Vns homs est corone de dieu et ·i· autre embrases.

Divided by the shaft of the M: on *L.* Christ in a sphere crowns a seated man: on *R.*, under arches, a man in the midst of flames looks to *L.*: 'Mine eyes are upon the faithful...I shall soon destroy the wicked.'

ci. *Domine exaudi.* Li pellican suscite ses oisiax de son sanc.

As described: 'I am like a pelican.'

cii. *Benedic anima.* Li aigles fiert sa (? la) pierre de son bec sur la fontaine.

A tree on *L.*: an eagle strikes his beak on a white stone by a stream. He is renewing his youth by knocking off the curved upper mandible of his beak and subsequently bathing in the fountain of youth: 'Young and lusty as an eagle.'

ciii. *Benedic anima mea.* Li asnes muert de soi de les la fontaine.

A tree: a dead ass lies by a stream: 'The wild asses quench their thirst....When thou takest away their breath they die.'

civ. *Confitemini do(mino).* Pharaon li rois done ses clefs a ioseph.

Joseph kneels to Pharaoh, who gives him a key: 'He made him lord also of his house.'

cv. *Confitemini do(mino).* Li iuis aorent le ueel.

Three Jews kneel to a large red calf standing on the ground: 'They made a calf in Horeb.'

cv. *Confitemini do(mino).* Li angle announce as pastors.

The angel sits on the top of a mound with a scroll: in front, one shepherd on each side: two sheep and two goats in the centre: 'He sent his word and healed them.'

cvii. *Paratum cor.* Jacob benist ses filz.

Jacob has cross nimbus and sits full-face between looped-up curtains: a boy kneels on either side: Jacob crosses his arms and lays a hand on each head: 'Manasseh is mine: Ephraim also is the strength of my head.'

cviii. *Deus laudem.* Iudas pendu creue parmi.

The usual scheme: 'Let his days be few and let another take his office.'

cix. *Dixit dominus.* Vn rois qi se gist et un home parrole. et par desoz ·i· rois qi gist en son lit trespasse.

Above, as described: below, a king in bed, a cross at his head, two candles at his feet. The last of the David-cycle: it represents David's last words and death.

cx. *Confitebor tibi.* Abraham ueult sacrefier son filz. et li angle prent lespee et li monstre ·i· moton.

The angel and ram are on *L.*: 'He will ever be mindful of his covenant.'

cx. *Beatus uir.* Vns homs done as poures les asmones.

A servant with basket of bread: a man in the centre: three men on *L.*, one a cripple with 'trestles': 'He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor.'

cxii. *Laudate pueri.* Samuel oint dauid qui garde les oeilles.

Dark ground. Samuel, who is tall, anoints David, a boy with crook or horn. On *R.* a hill, on which are a dog, a tree, a sheep and a goat: 'That he may set him with the princes.'

cxiii (cxiv, cxv). *In exitu.* Li ydolatres aore lydre.

A man kneels to a figure on a column: 'Their idols are silver and gold.'

cxiv. *Dilexi quoniam.* Samson porte les portes.

The usual scheme: 'Thou hast delivered my soul from death.'

cxv. *Credidi propter.* Li prestres done a boiure a ·i· home au calice.

A kneeling layman: the priest holds the wafer in *R.* hand; with *L.* hand he holds the paten under the man's chin. Altar with chalice on *R.* Notice that the description implies that the cup was to be given; another mark that the index is earlier than the actual pictures. 'I will take the cup of salvation.'

cxvi: *Laudate dominum.* Deus homes portent une grape.

As described: the two spies. I do not see the reason for this picture.

cxvii. *Confitemini.* Vns home monte par une eschiele sus un tor.

As described: 'The stone which the builders refused,' etc.

cxviii. Aleph. *Beati immac(ulati).* Vns homs estudie sus ·i· liure.

A man in a chair, book on desk: 'Thou hast charged that we shall diligently keep thy commandments.'

Beth. *In quo corr(iget).* Vns home parole a deu.

A man stands; Christ speaks out of the sky: 'With my whole heart have I sought thee.'

Gimel. *Retribuere.* Vns homs qui a ·i· lien el col recoit loier de deu.

A man kneels; Christ in the sky: 'O turn from me shame and rebuke' (?).

Daleth. *Adhesit.* Daud dort, un orieller soz son chief.

As described; a lamp hangs above.

He. *Legem pone.* Vne pucele se sta et ·i· home li torne la face.

The man sits on *R.* and looks *R.*: the maid on *L.* 'Turn away mine eyes lest I behold vanity.'

Vau. *Et ueniet.* Daudid est come rois a genouz.
As described; Christ in the sky.

Zain. *Memor esto.* Vns homs qui uelt occire ·i· autre est enbrase par deriere.

A flame on *L.*, a man with raised club; a man flees to *R.*: 'I am horribly afraid, for the ungodly.'

Cheth. *Portio mea.* Vns sestudie ses mains lies deriere le dos.

He is seated in a chair, book on desk: 'The congregations of the proud have robbed me; but I have not forgotten thy law.'

Teth. *Bonitatem.* Vns bouchiers uelt occirre ·i· martir.

A man with raised sword; a nimbed man kneels: 'The proud have imagined a lie against me.'

Jod. *Manus tue.* Deu fait Adam.

Adam is a white figure lying on the ground: 'Thy hands have made me.'

Caph. *Defecit in sa(lutare).* La purification nostre dame.

Joseph with the doves; two women hold Christ over the altar: Simeon on *R.*: 'My soul hath longed for thy salvation': à propos of Simeon.

Lamed. *In eternum domine.* Deu fait le solail et la lune et les estoilles.

Christ, full-face, holds the sun and moon: 'They continue this day according unto thine ordinance.'

Mem. *Quomodo dilexi.* Vns enfes qui sciet en une chaire et ensaigne ·i· veillard.

The old man is also seated: 'I am wiser than the aged.'

Nun. *Lucerna pedibus.* Vns home porte une lanterne deuant un autre.

Both have staves and walk to *R.*: 'Thy word is a lamp.'

Samech. *Iniquos odio.* Les columbes regardent liaue.

Four narrow open arches. In front at bottom a battlement, behind which is water; the arches are topped by canopies and balls, on which sit two doves. ? Meaning.

Ain. *Feci iudicium.* Crist parole as iuis · et iuis tornent ses dos.

The Jews go to *R.* : Christ sits on *L.* with book : 'They have destroyed thy law.'

Pe. *Mirabilia.* Li angles salue la glorieuse vierge.
'When thy word goeth forth.'

Tsade. *Iustus es.* Li sains esperis decent sus les apostres.
The Virgin is absent. 'My zeal hath even eaten me.'

Koph. *Clamavi.* Vns iuens moins prie.
A black monk kneels at an altar on *R.* ; the Divine Hand in the sky :
'I call with my whole heart.'

Resh. *Vide humilitatem.* Vns home velt ocirre · i · serpent et li serpens repont son chief.

A man shoots with a bow at a dragon creeping into a hole in a mound.
? Meaning.

Shin. *Principes.* Vns martyrs est batuz tot nuz.
He kneels ; two men scourge him : 'Princes have persecuted me.'

Tau. *Appropinquet.* Vns home porte une oelle · sus les espales.

The sheep is blue : 'I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost.'

cxix. *Ad dominum cum trib[ularer].* Vns home prie el primer autel de · xv · degrees.

A man kneels at an altar on the top of xv steps, red, pink and blue.
The first Song of Degrees.

cxx. *Leuavi.* Vns home touche la busine en la hautesce de la tor.

The 'tower' is a large castle : 'The Lord is thy keeper' : meant for a watchman.

cxxi. *Letatus sum.* Vns home entre el temple.

A tree on *L.* ; a man stoops to enter the temple door : 'Let us go into the house of the Lord.'

cxixii. *Ad te leuavi.* Vne pucele regarde les mains sa dame.

The mistress is crowned : 'As the eyes of a maiden,' etc.

cxxiii. *Nisi quia dominus.* Vex (*l.* Dex) tret uns home de liawe par la main.

As described. 'The waters had drowned us.'

cxxiv. *Qui confidunt.* Vns home uelt toucher une pucele et dex la fiert sur la main de une verge.

Christ in the sky smites the hand of the maid: 'Lest the righteous put their hand unto wickedness.'

f. 5 b. cxxv. *In conuertendo.* Vns home porte a ioie les bles.

A man carrying a sack, under architecture: 'Shall doubtless come again with joy,' etc.

cxxvi. *Nisi dominus edifica(uerit).* Li apostres oste la poudre de ses piez deuant les iuis.

An apostle stoops and touches his foot: three Jews look at him: 'When they speak with their enemies in the gate.'

cxxvii. *Beati omnes.* Li iustes siet a table et sa feme et ces enfans.

Three (or four) children on *R.*: 'Thy wife shall be,' etc.

cxxviii. *Sepe expugnauerunt.* Vns home est a genouz et i. autre met pierres sor lui.

A man crouching; another puts stones on his back, which stones he takes out of his lap: 'The plowers plowed upon my back.'

cxxix. *De profundis cla(mauit).* Ionas ist del uentre del poisson.

Above, Nineveh: below, Jonah, nude, ejected by the whale: 'Out of the deep.'

cxxx. *Domine non est.* La feme alaite son enfant.

'Like as a child that is weaned from his mother.'

cxxx. *Memento do(mine).* Crist et sa mere sunt resuscites de sepucres.

Divided vertically: on *L.* Christ, half-length, stands in the tomb with cross and book: on *R.* the Virgin similarly represented, with book and palm: 'This shall be my rest for ever.'

cxxxii. *Ecce quam bonum.* Dieu oint aaron a prestre.

Aaron in bed in a conical mitre: Christ stands over him with a vessel and lays his hand on his breast: 'It is like the precious ointment,' etc.

cxxxiii. *Ecce nunc be(nedicite)*. Vns angles est sus une eschiele · et · i · autre luint a iacob.

On *L.* an angel on a ladder : on *R.* an angel wrestles with Jacob : 'Ye that by night stand,' etc.

cxxxiv. *Laudate nomen domini*. Vns home est en la hautesce des · xv · degreces.

A man sits on the top of xv steps ; a tree on each side. The last Song of Degrees.

cxxxv. *Confitemini*. Iosue pendi · v · rois.

Joshua stands on *L.* Three kings hang on a gibbet, with bound hands : 'And slew mighty kings.'

cxxxvi. *Super flumina*. Li iuis pleure soz · i · fleue ses orgnes penduz a · i · sauz.

A Jew sits dejected by a stream : a tree with *red robe* hanging on it : 'There we sat down,' etc.

cxxxvii. *Confitebor*. blank.

The picture shows a man in pointed cap and robes, face *R.*, holding a scroll. See *Cantic*. i.

cxxxviii. *Domine probasti me*. Li rois teint ses longues.

A king, tightening his belt, holds the loose end of it : 'My reins are thine.'

cxxxix. *Eripe me*. Deus champions se combattent.

They have shields and hammers : 'Stir up strife all the day long' (?).

cxli. *Domine clamaui*. Marie se sta au solail.

The Virgin stands holding the Child ; the sun on *R.* : 'Keep me from the snares' : cf. Rev. xii.

cxli. *Voce mea*. Crist est enseueli.

Christ in a shroud ; two Jews behind the tomb : 'Bring my soul out of prison.'

cxlii. *Domine exaudi*. Crist enseueli est garde des chivalers.

Angel on *L.* ; women above on *R.* ; the tomb empty ; three guards below : 'Quicken me, O Lord.'

cxliii. *Benedictus dominus deus*. Daudid se combat contre golie.

As usual : 'Which teacheth my hands to war.'

cxliv. *Exaltabo te.* Crist lieue dauid pluiant en eawe.
Christ washes David in a tub. ? Meaning.

cxlv. *Lauda anima.* Crist sane les clops.
Two cripples healed by Christ: 'The Lord raiseth them that are fallen.'

cxlvi. *Laudate dominum.* Li poretin uiuent de la rosee
del ciel.

Six birds in a nest; a stream descends on them: 'Feedeth the young
ravens.'

cxlvii (cxlvii. 12—end). *Lauda ierusalem.* Li sires est
sus la tor de iherusalem.

Christ stands in a tower and holds the globe ⊕: 'He hath blessed thy
children,' etc.

cxlviii. *Laudate dominum de celis.* Vns' home comande a
langle a loer dieu.

Christ, half-length, holds the globe; below are an angel and a man:
'Praise him, all ye angels of his.'

cxlix. *Cantate.* Pierres tient lempereur par la chaine.

S. Peter, with the keys, holds the end of a cord which is on the neck of
a seated king: 'To bind their kings in chains.'

cl. *Laudate.* Li angle loent dieu a cymbres et cymbales.

Three angels with cymbals: Christ in the sky on *L.*: 'Praise him upon
the loud cymbals.'

Cantica. (A line blank.)

i. *Confitebor.* Vns prophete tient .i. roule.

As cxxxvii. Isaiah xxv.

ii. *Ego dixi in dimidio.* Vns rois gist malades.

A king (Hezekiah) in a bed; looped-up white curtains.

iii. *Exultauit.* Vne feme teient un liure.

Hannah kneels at an altar with an open book, inscribed:

exu	cor
lta	in do
uit	min

iv. *Cantemus.* Vne feme chante.

Miriam with a book inscribed *cantemus dño.*

v. *Domine audiui.* Vns prophetes monstres ihesu crist au
doit en la cresse.

Habakkuk sits on *L.* and points to Christ in the manger, the ox and ass above: 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris.' Hab. iii. 2.

vi. *Audite celi.* Moyses de une part · et une pucele d'autre part.

Moses, horned, on *L.*, a maiden red on *R.*, both on one seat. ? Moses and Miriam.

vii. *Te deum L(audamus).* Li angle loent dieu.

Four coped clerks at a lectern: does not answer to the description.

viii. *Benedicite.* Troins enfans en une fornese.

The three children sit in an oven: below, a trefoiled arch; no fire.

ix. *Benedictus.* Zacharias et elyzabeth.

Zacharias with a book sits and talks to Elizabeth, nimbed, seated.

x. *Magnificat.* Elyzabeth et nostre dame.

The Visitation; two figures only.

xi. *Nunc dimittis.* Symeon qui tient nostre seigneur en ses bras.

Joseph on *L.* with doves. The Virgin supports Christ, who stands on the altar. Simeon on *R.*

xii. [*Gloria in excelsis.*] Omitted in index.

The picture has: above, Christ, half-length, in sphere, holding divided globe (see cxlvii.) and blessing; below, four angels in white stand praising.

xiii. *Quicumque uult.* Vne maieste.

Christ seated in a quatrefoil blessing; in the spandrels, the Evangelistic emblems, with the names on scrolls.

The last leaf of the MS. is gone, but no pictures are lost.

On f. 4b are scribbles in the margin. J. herdinges apvd..... and 'Wyllyam ffoolk.'

The line-fillings, mostly rabbits and dogs, are excellent throughout the volume; and, in spite of the large number of pictures, the execution nowhere falls off.

II. ON A GREEK PSALTER IN THE LIBRARY OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

THE Psalter in the Library of Emmanuel College which I am now about to describe may possibly be—in fact, in my opinion is—a very noteworthy piece of evidence in connexion with the study of Greek in England in the Middle Ages.

Its mark in the College Library is 3. 3. 22 (formerly 2. 2. 14). It is not one of Archbishop Sancroft's gifts to the College, nor is it known who was the donor; it is so fragmentary, moreover, that no notice of its medieval possessors survives in it. Lagarde calls it Codex P of the Psalms; in Holmes and Parsons' LXX it is No. 294. Holmes attributes it to cent. x. Astle in his *Progress of the art of writing* (p. 75 and Pl. 6) gives a short notice and a facsimile of a few lines. I have not found any other mention of it.

It consists of 26 leaves in small folio and contains parts of Pss. lxxi—lxxxī, cxxvii—cxxxix, cxxxv—cxxxvi, cxxxvii—cxliv.

f. 1 *a* begins *λυτρωσете τας ψυχας αυτων* lxxi. 14.

On f. 8 *b* is the signature of the quire, xi. So that ten quires of 8 leaves, 80 leaves in all, are wanting at the beginning.

f. 16 *b* ends with lxxxī. 7 *υμεις δε ως*, and has the signature xii. A late note (cent. xvii. or xviii.) says *Desunt multae paginae*.

f. 17 *a* begins *Υιοισισου (= υιοι σου) ως νεοφυτα ελεω* cxxvii. 3, and the hand from this point is larger and coarser, though not later in date.

f. 17 *b* ends *πρωιας με(χρι)* cxxxix. 6.

f. 18 *a* begins *κε εξαγαγωντι τον ιηλ* cxxxv. 11.

f. 18 *b* ends *Βαβι(λωνος)* cxxxvi. 1.

f. 19 *a* begins *στι ηκουσαν* cxxxvii. 4.

f. 26 *b* ends with *κε εις τον εωνα του εωρος* cxliv. 21 end, and has the signature xxi¹.

The interest of the book, briefly stated, lies in this: that it is at least as old as the twelfth century; that it was certainly not written by a Greek (or in Greece); and that it was probably

¹ The titles of the Psalms are in red, and so also is the initial of each verse.

ΔΙΕΡΟΪ ΘΙΣΑΥΡ ΛΙΞΩΜΑΥΡ
 ΕΡΘΟΗΡΙΑΥ: ΔΔΙΛΩΡΪΣΤΟ
 ΥΦΟΣΞΩΜΑΥΡ:
 ΕΘΕΡΤΟΪΣΟΥΡΟΡ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΡΩΩ
 ΤΩ: ΚΕΪΓΩΩΑΤΩΩΛΥΤΩΡ ΔΙ
 ΪΪΘΕ ΞΩΠΙΣΓΙΣ:
 ΔΙΩΤΟΥ ΤΩ ΞΩΠΙΣΤΕΪΧΙΟΞΩΟ-
 ΣΗΟΥ ΕΡΤΩΥΘΩ: ΚΕΪΜΕΡΕ
 ΠΑΡΙΣ Δ ΡΕΘΙΣΟΥΡ ΤΕ ΞΩΠΙΣΤΙΣ:
 ΚΕΪΤΩΡ ΜΤΩΪΣ ΕΡΓΩΩ Ο ΘΕ: ΚΕ
 Ϊ ΞΕΪΠΡΓΩΩΣ ΕΡΤΩ ΥΪΣΤΩ:
 Ϊ ΔΟΥ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΩΜΟΥΡ ΤΩ ΧΟΙ ΛΙ
 Δ ΘΗΡΩΩ ΤΕΣ ΪΣΤΟΡΕΩΡΟΥ
 ΛΩ ΤΕΣ ΧΩ ΠΥ ΟΥΤΟΥ:
 ΚΕΪΩΩΩΡΩ ΡΩ ΤΕΩΣ Ξ ΔΙ ΛΙ Ξ
 ΩΣΩ ΤΩ ΛΩ Ρ Δ Ι Ω Ρ ΜΟΥ:
 ΚΕ Ξ Ε Ρ Ι Ψ Ο Μ Η Ρ Ξ Ε Ρ Ω Θ Ω
 Ο Ϊ Σ Τ Ω Σ Χ Ϊ Ρ Ω Ϊ Σ Μ ΟΥ:
 ΚΕ Ξ Τ Ε Ρ Ο Η Ρ Ρ Ε Μ Ω Σ Π Γ Ω Ρ Ξ
 Ρ Ο Σ Ο Ϊ Ψ Π Ϊ Ϊ Ϊ Ρ Ε Ρ Ω Ρ: ΚΕ Ο
 Ξ Ξ Ε Γ Χ Ο Σ Μ ΟΥ Ϊ Σ Τ Ω Ϊ Σ Π Ρ Ο Ϊ Δ Ξ:
 Ϊ Ξ Ε Γ Ο Ρ Δ Ϊ Ϊ Γ Ι Σ Ο Μ Ε Ο Υ Τ Ω Σ:
 Ϊ Δ ΟΥ Π Ϊ Γ Ε Ρ Ε Ω Τ Ω Η Ϊ Ψ Ξ Δ:
 Ϊ Ϊ Θ Ε Π Ϊ Ω Λ Ι Ξ Ξ Ψ Ξ Ω Μ Ο Ρ Ϊ Ξ
 Γ Ρ Ω Ρ Ξ:

Ϊ Ξ Ω Ρ Ϊ
 ΟΥΤΙ

Ps. lxxii, (lxxiii.) 8-15.

FIG. 1.

written in England. Several points lead me to the belief in its non-Greek origin: first, the vellum, which is to my mind just like the vellum of Western MSS. and not like that of Greek MSS.; next, the writing, of which more anon; thirdly, certain glosses which I find in it; and fourthly, the signatures of the quires.

The writing is a principal point, naturally. The two pages, facsimiles of which accompany this paper (figs. 1, 2), amply suffice to show the remarkable aspect and character of the MS. They are taken from the two ends of the book; for, as has been already remarked, the writing, after f. 17, becomes larger and coarser than in the earlier leaves. The impression which one gathers at the first glance is that the scribe has been influenced by Russian or Slavonic writing; but a closer examination shows that what he has been doing is to copy painfully and exactly, letter by letter, from a manuscript written in early minuscules. The slow and laborious character of the work becomes more and more apparent as we look further into the MS.: and the conviction speedily arises that no Greek could possibly have written such a hand as this.

It will not be necessary to go into details about the script. I am merely desirous of laying the facsimile before my readers, and letting them draw their own conclusions from it. I will, however, just specify that certain *compendia scripturae* occur in the MS.: namely, the ordinary contractions of these words and letters: *καὶ, δέ, ἀρ, εἰ, ἐν, ὅς, οὐ, σσ, υν, ψα, ψι*. All of these are formed with the elaborate and painful care that characterises the rest of the writing.

Next let us speak of the glosses and signatures. Three signatures survive; xi, xii, xxi: and they are all in Roman figures which I attribute to the twelfth century, and in ink not distinguishable from that of the text. I conclude that they are original, and I ask if, in that case, their occurrence is compatible with the supposition of a Greek origin for the MS.

As for the glosses; there are only a few of them, but they are in two hands, one of the twelfth, the other of the fifteenth century. The first hand is not much later than the text; it has added a few explanations of words and contractions.

ΜΗ ΠΙΝΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΗΘΟΥΣ ΤΙΣ ΧΡΙ
 ΣΤΟΠΤΩΣΟΥ ΕΞΕΡΔΖΟΝΤΕ:
 ΚΕ ΠΩΛΙΕΘΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΟΥΛΟΥ
 ΗΝΩΣΟΝΤΕ:
 ΟΙ ΠΛΗΡΩΝ ΣΕ ΕΙΡΩΝΗ ΟΙΣ:
 ΜΑΤΡΟΘΥΡΟΣ ΣΤΩ ΟΥ ΕΜΕΘΣ:
 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΛΙΣΤΟΙ ΟΥ ΠΛΩΙΣΤΙ: ΚΕ
 ΟΙ ΟΙ ΠΛΗΡΟΙ ΟΥ ΠΛΩΙΣΤΩΝ
 ΤΩ ΠΛΩΙ ΕΡΓΩ ΟΥΛΟΥ:
 ΕΞΟΡΟ ΟΥ ΓΙΣΩΣΘΩ ΣΑΡΣ ΟΙΛΕ
 ΠΩ ΤΩ ΠΛΩΙ ΕΡΓΩ ΣΟΥ: ΚΕ ΟΙ
 ΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΔΥΟ ΓΙΣΩΣΤΩ ΣΑΡΣΕ:
 ΔΟΖΟΡΤΙΣ ΠΩΣΙ ΓΩΣ ΟΥ ΕΡΔ
 ΣΙ: ΣΤΗ ΔΥΝΩΣ ΤΩΡ ΣΟΥ
 ΖΩΗΣ ΟΥΣΙ:
 ΤΟΥ ΡΩΡΙΣΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΙΣ ΤΩ ΡΩ
 ΡΩ ΠΗ ΔΥΝΩΣ ΤΩΡ ΣΟΥ: ΚΕ
 ΠΗ ΔΟΖΟΡΤΙΣ ΡΕΓΑ ΟΥ ΠΡΕΠ
 ΩΣ ΤΙΣ ΠΩΣΙ ΓΩΣ ΟΥ ΣΟΥ:
 Η ΠΩΣΙ ΓΩΣ ΟΥ ΠΩΣΙ ΓΩΣ ΠΗ
 ΤΩ ΤΩ ΝΕΩΝ ΟΥΝ: ΚΕ ΕΣΩ
 ΤΩΣ ΔΕ ΡΩΣ ΠΕ ΝΕΑΣ ΤΕΡΕΑ:
 » ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΛΙΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΠΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΟΥ
 » ΟΥΛΟΥ: ΚΕ ΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΠΟΙΣ
 ΕΡΓΩΙΣ ΟΥΤΩ:

Ps. cxliv. (cxlv.) 7—17.

FIG. 2.

- lxxii. 28. ^{·i· glutinare} προσκολλασθε
 lxxvii. 46. ^{erisiue} ερυσιβη
 lxxiii. 1. ^{legis} νομης (a wrong explanation). ^{altare} αγιαστιριον
 cxlvii. 3. ^{adipe frumenti} στεατος πυρου

also χειρ *manus*, ωπον *dorsum*.

The contractions explained are :

$\overline{\pi\rho\omega\nu}$ *pateron* $\overline{\upsilon\nu}$ *filium*.

The second hand, writing late in the fifteenth century, has added the opening words of the Psalms in Latin: (e.g. lxxii. *Quam bonus*), and a few explanations of words.

Now it seems to me that both of these hands are English; about the second hand in particular I feel little doubt.

This second annotator may quite possibly have been the Franciscan Richard Brinkley¹, who 'at one time owned the Greek Psalter now at Gonville and Caius College, and also the famous Codex Leicestrensis of the New Testament. He was a student of Hebrew as well as of Greek; for a Hebrew Psalter which belonged to Bury Abbey was lent to him by that house in the year 1502. It is now in the Bodleian Library (Laud. Orient. 174), and contains Latin annotations of a character very similar to those in the Emmanuel Psalter.

According to my theory, then, this Psalter was written in an English monastery in the twelfth century, and was studied as late as the fifteenth century. Had it not been for the cruel mutilations which the volume has undergone, we should probably have known for certain whether I am right; and in that case the book would have been a document of primary importance—as I hope it may be in the future—to the historian of Greek learning in the west during the Middle Ages.

¹ For an account of Brinkley see Rendel Harris, *The Leicester Codex*, 17 sqq., where, however, the Hebrew Psalter is not mentioned.

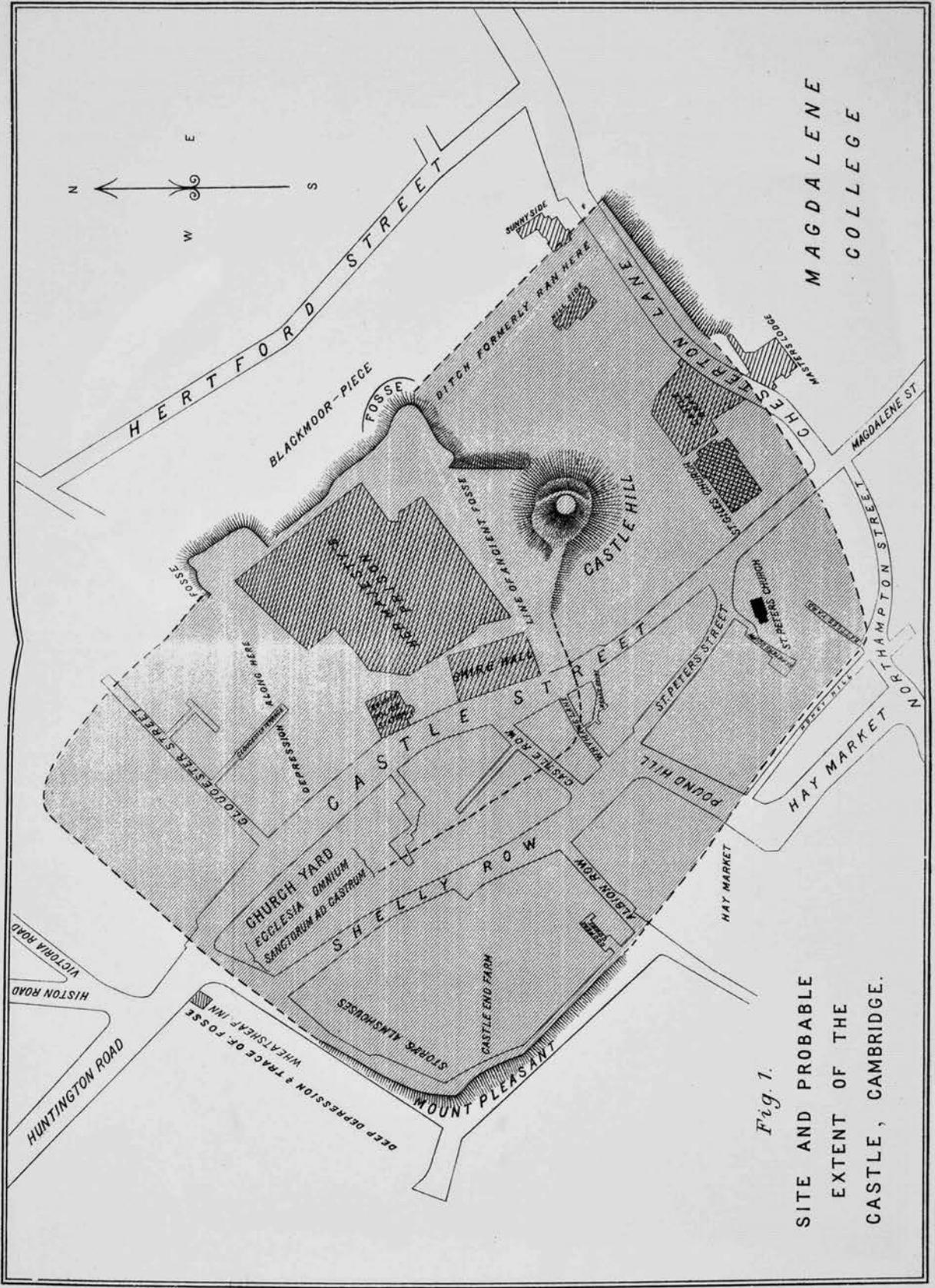


Fig. 1.

SITE AND PROBABLE
EXTENT OF THE
CASTLE, CAMBRIDGE.

Professor HUGHES and Mr T. D. ATKINSON gave some account of the remains of a Roman House, lately discovered at Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire. Mr Atkinson exhibited a plan of the foundations which had been laid bare, and suggested their probable use. Professor Hughes explained the bearing which this discovery has on our knowledge of the Devil's Ditch, and of the occupation of the neighbourhood by the Romans.

MONDAY, *January 23rd*, 1893.

Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

Professor HUGHES made the following communication :

ON THE CASTLE HILL, CAMBRIDGE¹.

Natural Features.

A short sketch of the natural features of the site and its geology may be of use at the beginning of this enquiry, as many apparent difficulties are explained away at once by reference to the subsoil and underlying strata. The Castle and all the earthworks immediately about it were constructed on a natural promontory which forms the end of a terrace running by Girton, the Observatory, the Grove, and abuts on the river at its bend near Magdalene College. This promontory (see section, fig. 2) has the Gault at its base, a stiff impervious clay, here about 125 feet in thickness, and, therefore, extending far

¹ See also *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* May 26, 1884; *Reporter*, 3 June 1884, p. 808; *Cambridge Review*, Vol. vi, 20 May 1885, p. 322. The probable extent of the Castle has been laid down on the plan (fig. 1), based on the Ordnance Survey (10·56 feet=1 inch), which has been drawn to illustrate this paper. Modern streets and houses are indicated by red lines. I will take this opportunity of thanking Mr Gibson, Governor of Her Majesty's Prison, for his unfailing courtesy on all occasions, and for the facilities for exploration with which he has favoured me.

below the river level. Above this comes the basement-bed of the Chalk, in which the phosphate nodules have been so largely dug in the neighbourhood of Cambridge. This was exposed during the excavations behind Clare Terrace, as the new brick houses above St Giles's Church are called. Above the

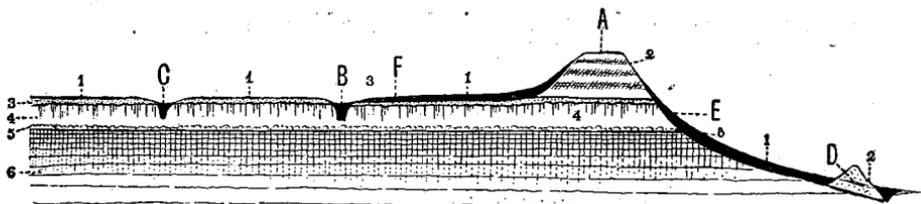


FIG. 2. Section N.E. and S.W. through the Burh. Length of section, 380 yards.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Talus and later made earth. | C. Second fosse of Burh. |
| 2. Earlier made earth of mound and rampart. | D. Bank in Magdalene College grounds. |
| 3. Pleistocene gravel. | E. Position of tunnel where solid chalk was pierced after passing through made earth. |
| 4. Chalk. | F. Position of excavation for new house, see p. 175. |
| 5. Phosphate bed at base of Chalk. | |
| 6. Gault. | |
| A. The mound. | |
| B. First fosse of Burh. | |

phosphate bed a solid mass of Chalk Marl forms the chief part of the promontory, covered only by an irregular bed of sand and gravel, and a still more irregular layer of made earth. Besides this, the steep slopes have crumbled down, and a mixed talus has gathered on the flank, and accumulated along the base, of the hill. This varies according to the strata that happened to be most exposed at any particular place and time in the long period during which the process of degradation has been going on. Thus we see that if the steep slope were scarped, and the material thrown together in a heap, the mound so formed would consist of clay, chalk, sand, gravel, and humus, in irregular layers; and, if we were to dig into the body of the hill through the talus, we should touch solid gault at the base, and chalk in the upper part of the slope, while near the top we should find irregular patches and pockets of sand and gravel, or of made earth.

The Mound.

At the end of this promontory there is a mound, rising from the level of the gravel-terrace on the side next the prison, but on the side next the river rising in one slope from the level of the Master's Lodge, Magdalene College. If we approach this mound from the side next the prison, we regard as belonging to it only the part which rises above the original natural surface of the promontory. In excavating for the new house at the north-east corner of the prison (fig. 2, F), the earth which forms the secondary slope up to the mound was seen to rest upon rusty sand and gravel; and this bed of sandy gravel was seen also at the same level under the mound itself in an excavation into the steep slope behind Clare Terrace. This is the Pleistocene gravel that occurs all over the terrace, consisting sometimes of a fine sand, sometimes of gravel, sometimes composed so largely of the underlying marl as to be useless for economic purposes. All below this is chalk and gault. But, if we approach the mound from the side next Magdalene College, where the bottom of the slope is at a much lower level, the base of what we should, from that point of view, regard as the mound, consists of these solid beds, and it is only the upper half that corresponds to the mound as seen from the prison. So that if the Fellows of Magdalene College really ran a tunnel from their side through the talus that hangs on the slope into the lower part of the mound, as rumour says they did, they found of course undisturbed strata when they got a little way in (fig. 2, E).

In enquiring whether the mound is natural or artificial we have to consider only that part of it which rises above the level of the ground on which the prison stands. The idea that it was a natural feature seems to have arisen from the occurrence of so much clean chalk in the mound itself; but this is easily explained on the supposition that the chalk which crops out at the end of the promontory was cut away to form a steeper scarp, and that the material was thrown up on top to form a mound, and was probably pounded down to make it compact,

and capable of bearing a heavy superstructure. Whether or not that was the exact way in which it was formed, undisturbed chalk cannot in this district naturally occur above Pleistocene gravel, and, explain the origin of the mound as we will, it must be artificial.

The Ramparts.

From this mound, strongly scarped on the south and east, earthworks expand to the north-west (see plan, fig. 1). At the north-east corner a bastion still remains, and at the south corner there is room for a symmetrical development near Bell's Court. Along the north-east side of the prison a strong earthwork carries us to another bastion, which Cromwell has the credit of throwing up or modifying. The upper part of this, however, seems to be composed of surface-soil of all ages down to quite late times, and I am inclined to think that some of it may have been wheeled out during comparatively recent excavations within the walls.

A fosse starts from this north-east corner and runs south-west for a short distance, when it dies away in the gardens. This may be "the valley beyond the Castle Hill," one of the places where it is recorded that permission was given to shoot rubbish in 1575, or it may have been filled at the beginning of this century¹. That would account for its being levelled, for it does not appear that there was any extension of the town in that direction to call for such a labour.

The ground beyond this earthwork on the north-east has been so extensively dug over for brick-clay and phosphate nodules, that it is impossible now to trace any of the ancient features.

The Castle is usually drawn as bounded on the S.W. by Castle Street. The form of the ground would suggest a search for its outer works further to the south-west, at the back of Shelly Row, the houses of which stand on a considerable bank; while somewhere just beyond this a deep ditch may have run

¹ See below, p. 208.

along the depression which passes through Gloucester Terrace, and runs N.W. of the bastion known as Cromwell's; and it is probable that a fosse was carried along the south-west side of the works, at any rate as far as the steep scarp of the mound. Here, however, as in the case of the street in front of the Shire Hall, we must be careful not to infer too much from the existing form of the ground without making allowance for the levelling of the ramparts, the alteration of the roadway at various later dates, and the easing of the gradient by cutting away the brow of the hill.

Outside all of these there are still traces of other earthworks. A deep fosse and vallum run in front of Story's Almshouses, and turning past their S.W. gable form a conspicuous feature as far as the Haymarket. The lie of the ground would suggest that this earthwork must have originally included S. Peter's Church; and, making another corner just outside the Churchyard, have crossed Castle Street between the end of Northampton Street and S. Giles's new Church. Further, on the assumption that the terrace in Magdalene College grounds was the continuation of it, it must have been returned to the bastion at the E. corner. Along the N.E. side of the Castle it must have nearly coincided with the existing earthworks. The only pieces of this work remaining are therefore the corner by Story's Almshouses, and the bank in Magdalene College grounds; but even these two have so little connection with one another that it has been suggested that the banks near the School of Pythagoras may have belonged to the same system. There was probably more to be seen in Stukeley's time, and writing in or about 1746 he says:

"I have, in company with Mr Roger Gale, trac'd out the vestiges of that city [the *Roman city Granta*], without any difficulty; being an oblong square, which was wall'd about and ditch'd, the *Roman* road which comes in a strait line from *Huntington* hither, runs thro' the midst of it, and so in a strait line thro' the town, by *Christ's* college and *Emanuel*, to *Gogmagog* hills, where it passes by *Bartlow* and *Haveril*, into *Essex*, probably to *Colchester*...In the garden of *Pythagoras's* school, south and west of that building, the trace of the ditch of the *Roman Granta* may easily be discovered, and the turn or angle of it, to which the angle of that building

corresponds. Then the west side of the ditch runs on the outside of the late Mr *Ketil's* house, and turns quite on the outside of the town, on the north; so round the outside of the castle, through *Magdalen* college close, which is the south side of it. The terrace walk in that close, is the *vallum* wherein the *Roman* wall stood. Then it runs by the south side of *S. Giles'* church yard, to the garden of *Pythagoras's* school. The longest side of this city from east to west was 2500 *Roman* feet, the shortest side from north to south was 2000, so that the road cuts it in the middle¹.

Stukeley has evidently not distinguished the moat and fish-ponds of that medieval dwelling-house from the outer earth-works of the Castle Hill.

Objects found.

We may safely infer that such a site as that on which Cambridge Castle stood was occupied from the very earliest times. Around Cambridge we have abundant traces of palaeolithic man. Forms of implement intermediate between palaeolithic and neolithic occur in this flint-producing country under and along the borders of the Fens. Men of the Bronze Age buried their dead on the hills around. Some ancient race, who they were nobody knows, threw up a succession of great dykes across the open ground between the woodlands and the fenlands at intervals all the way from Pampisford to Newmarket. The Romans advanced and took possession, and lived in security along both banks of the Granta; and at this date, as far as regards the Castle Hill, our evidence from *remains* begins. I am not aware that any objects which could be referred to a pre-Roman date have been found within the area now occupied by the town; but that negative evidence is worth very little when applied to pre-Roman times. Dr Mason² thought that some of the works on the Castle Hill might be British, especially the mound, "though the latter has been usually supposed to be Danish." He suggested that the castle was on the site of the *prætorium* of the Roman station³.

¹ *Palaeographia Britannica*, by Wm. Stukeley. Number II. 4to., Stamford, 1746, p. 36.

² For an account of Dr Charles Mason, see *Architectural History*, etc., Willis and Clark, ii. 674—677.

³ Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 130.

The tradition of a British town called *Caer Grawnt* is recorded. But there were several important seats of learning in Wales in the early middle ages in which geographical information was probably collected, systematised, and reconciled, so that we must not lay much stress on a point of this kind; and *Caer Grawnt*, like *Rhydychan* the Ford of the river *Ock*, may be only one of that numerous class of words which we may refer to a pedantic source.

There certainly is no British camp here such as we see commonly on the hills of the south and west of England, nor, if we may from the existing earthworks draw any conclusion as to the original form, are we justified in inferring that there was a Roman camp here. But there may well have been a post-Roman town, the outline of which was approximately rectangular, though not as symmetrical as a Roman camp. According to Mr Clark there is no evidence that the Romanized Britons constructed any new defensive works, or even repaired those left by the Romans¹.

Nor does it appear probable that Roman camps would be common in this neighbourhood. The legionaries defeated the natives in a few sanguinary engagements, and there was an end of it. Then came the introduction of Roman municipal and domestic life; all along both sides of the river we find remains, not of camps, not of cemeteries only, but of household rubbish. Along the rising ground between Trumpington and Chaucer Road; through Cambridge, under the Arts' School, under Trinity Hall, under the Union, by the Station; through Barnwell, Horningsea, Clayhithe, and so on. On the other side of the river they are numerous at Grantchester, along the higher ground between Grantchester and the Barton Road, in the cemetery behind St John's College, all over the Grove, the Castle Hill, Chesterton, and here and there at intervals right out into the Fens by Willingham and Cottenham². The people who lived on these farms were not all Roman soldiers, and if

¹ *Medieval Military Architecture in England*. By G. T. Clark, i. 12.

² See the specimens from these localities which I have placed in the Archaeological Museum.

they had been they would not have been all Italians. They were the Romanized British, and carried on the Roman municipal system and Roman crafts till they were driven away or merged with the Saxon or other early settlers. The mixed race which was the result of all these movements afterwards contested the possession of East Anglia with the Danes. It is probable that we separate the Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans from one another by too hard a line, and that more careful observations will teach us that extermination of previous occupiers and destruction of their objects of domestic use were the exception rather than the rule.

Having more than once carried on excavations with General Pitt-Rivers, and having thus had opportunities of learning the value of his methods, I must quote some passages from the magnificent volumes which he has recently printed, and of which, thanks to his favour and liberality, I am the happy possessor.

Of the importance of fragments of pottery to an archæologist he speaks as follows :

“Tedious as it may appear to some, to dwell on the discovery of odds and ends, that have no doubt been thrown away by their owners as rubbish ...yet it is on the study of such trivial details that archæology is mainly dependent for determining the date of earthworks, because the chance of finding objects of rarity in the body of a rampart is very remote....It will probably strike future archæologists as remarkable, that we should have arrived at the state of knowledge we now possess about ancient works of high art and yet have paid so little attention to such questions as...what kind and quality of pottery was in use at different periods....If the forms and quality of these common things at different periods can be determined, they form reliable, and constantly recurring, evidence of the age of the works with which they afterwards become associated. Next to coins fragments of pottery afford the most reliable of all evidence...and when the kilns are discovered, the distribution of their products will be a means of tracing the trade routes....In my judgement, a fragment of pottery, if it throws light on the history of our own country and people, is of more interest to the scientific collector of evidence in England, than even a work of art and merit that is associated only with races that we are remotely connected with¹.”

¹ Pitt-Rivers : *Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke*, vol. iii. pp. ix—30. (Privately printed.)

In another place he emphasises the impossibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to the history of earthworks without systematic excavations in the following words:

“ We shall then hear less, probably, of the date of fortified places which though called camps, are in reality permanent fortifications, being judged by their external appearance. There are distinctions, no doubt, which may be drawn between the general outline of camps, as between Roman, British, and Norman, for example, but as a rule, the art of castrametation has been very much the same in all ages, early ages more particularly, and the same necessities in the Art of War have led to the construction of like defences. I have been greatly deceived at times by the external appearance of earthworks, as, for example, in the case of Cæsar’s Camp, near Folkestone, named after Cæsar, in the days of our greatest ignorance of the subject, supposed to be British at a more advanced period of our knowledge, and since found to be entirely Norman, by sections cut through the ramparts in several places, in all of which Norman pottery and objects were found, and scarcely anything British. Also in the case of the Danes’ Dyke at Flamborough, assumed to be Danish by popular tradition, but proved by a section cut through the rampart to be much earlier¹.”

When systematic explorations cannot be carried on, or can be conducted on a very limited scale only, the next best thing to do is to watch such excavations as are made for various economic purposes, and record the observations made. With a view to this I have collected together such scattered notices as I have come across of discoveries of interest on or near the Castle Hill, and have added such observations as I have been able to make myself.

Objects of Roman workmanship, such as coins, urns, and fragments of pottery, on the Castle Hill or in its immediate neighbourhood, are recorded by the Rev. Wm. Stukeley (1687–1765), Dr Charles Mason (1718–1770), Richard Gough (1735–1809), James Essex (1722–1784), and the local antiquary, John Bowtell (1753–1813), who has preserved detailed descriptions of many of them².

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.* p. xi.

² For a full account of these discoveries see Camden’s *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 130; Professor Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, 1883 (Camb. Ant. Soc. Octavo Publications, No. XX.), pp. 3–8; Cooper, *Annals*, i. 5, 6. Bowtell’s MSS. are in the library of Downing College.

A good deal of Roman pottery was found during the excavations for clay along the north-east side of the hill. There were obviously many interments of Roman, or Romano-British, age, on that area. A new house was recently erected between the Prison and the Mound. The soil had evidently been gathered from an area full of Roman remains, and heaped up to form the gradual slope which now leads to the foot of the mound (fig. 2, F.). There were numerous fragments of pottery, bits of bronze and iron, and scattered fragments of the bones of man and other animals. Besides the mass of household refuse and the earth from disturbed graves, there appeared to have been interments of later date in this made ground—and some so deep that the skeletons lay in the sand below. I was not able to make out that any of these burials were earlier than the slope up to the mound. The pottery consisted of ordinary Roman or Romano-British ollas and other urns, and medieval ware down to at least the 15th century; but I was not able to distinguish different periods represented in the different layers of the soil.

Some years ago, when the large well within the prison had to be re-excavated, I was allowed to go down and examine the section as far as I could through the timbered shoring. I found fragments of Roman pottery in made earth 12 feet below the present surface of the ground. In fact the whole of this ground, as far as we can learn anything about it, seems to have been deeply trenched. Old ditches have been filled, and new systems of defence constructed, but it seems clear that there were Roman fragments in the soil which filled these old ditches and was heaped up to form the existing mound and earth works.

The Burh.

Let us now consider the probable history of the mound. It is not sepulchral, because, if the object had been merely to raise a tumulus, the earth would have been taken from the most convenient adjoining area, but we know from the material of which it is composed that it was procured from the end of the

hill when it was scarped, and from the fosse on the north-west of it. It is therefore a mound of defence. But all such mounds, as far as can be ascertained, are of medieval date. The mounds in Wales are not British, but Welsh. They are the substructures on which the wooden forts, and stronger residences of chieftains, were raised. Viollet-Le-Duc describes them in his story of the evolution of a fortress¹. Turning to our highest authority on military architecture we read:

“The works thrown up in England in the 9th and 10th centuries are seldom if ever rectangular, nor are they governed to any great extent by the characters of the ground. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope, from 12 to even 50 or 60 feet in height. This mound, Motte, or Burh, the *mota* of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch...Though usually artificial these mounds are not always so...Some are natural hills, some partly so. At Sherborne and Hedingham the ground is a natural platform scarped by art. At other places...the natural platform.....has been scarped and a mound thrown up upon it².”

This exactly describes our Cambridge mound. I have explained that it is not natural, and shown reasons for believing that it cannot have been sepulchral. It stands on the edge of a natural platform, scarped to give greater strength to the position. Now if we have regard to the history of this part of England in early medieval times, we shall see how probable it is that the age and origin suggested by an examination of the mound itself and its surroundings is correct. The legionaries were withdrawn A.D. 411. Roman municipal government, mode of life, arts, and manufactures, were still carried on. Northmen began to arrive some 30 or 40 years later, and settled where they could. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes came in the 5th century; the Danes in the 8th century; but it was in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries that the Danes were the terror of England, and that was the time when it would be likely that the pre-Danish English would construct fortresses, in which they could hold out and protect their valuables whenever

¹ *Annals of a Fortress*. By E. Viollet-Le-Duc. Translated by Benj. Bucknall. 8vo. Lond. 1875.

² *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, by G. T. Clark, i. 36.

there was an incursion of the enemy. It was not a Danish stronghold, for they, when they left their ships, made camps tending to the circular form, or fortified headlands by segmental lines of bank and ditch¹.

In 870 the Danes ravaged the county and the adjacent parts of England, if we may believe tradition; and they are further said to have destroyed the town of Cambridge. This destruction, however, must have been incomplete, or easily repaired, for in 875 three Danish kings are said to have come to Cambridge with a vast army which continued there for a year; and in 921 a Danish army was again quartered here. In 1010 the Danes again burnt the town, probably in revenge for the active part taken by the men of Cambridgeshire in resisting their incursions².

From these accounts we gather: (1) that Cambridge was a place of some importance and strength; (2) that its destruction did not leave it uninhabitable for long. It is therefore extremely probable that the Cambridge which was attacked, taken, and destroyed, and then retaken and restored, was the wooden castle and its surrounding buildings and palisades, within which a considerable number of troops—what perhaps would be called a large army in those days—might be lodged, even for a whole year.

With regard to the surroundings of the Burh I again quote Mr Clark :

“Connected with the mound is usually a base court or enclosure, sometimes circular, more commonly oval, or horse-shoe shaped, but, if of the age of the mound, always more or less rounded. This enclosure had also its bank and ditch on its outward faces, its rear resting on the ditch of the mound, and the area was often further strengthened by a bank along the crest of the scarp of the ditch. Now and then...there is an additional but slighter bank placed outside the outer ditch, i.e. on the crest of the counter-scarp...Where the base court is of moderate area...its platform is often slightly elevated by the addition of a part of the contents of the ditch, which is rarely the case in British camps...Where the mound stands on the edge of a natural steep, the ditch is there discontinued...The base court is

¹ *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, i. 14.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i. 13, 14; and the authorities there quoted.

usually two or three times the area of the mound, and sometimes...much more...Often there was on the outside of the court and applied to it...a second enclosure, also with its bank and ditch, frequently of larger area than the main court, though not so strongly defended...There are several cases in which the mound is placed within a rectangular enclosure, which has given rise to a notion that the whole was Roman. Tamworth is such a case, and there fortunately the mound is known historically to have been the work of Æthelæd¹."

He mentions other cases in which he considers that the mounds do stand in Roman camps, and seems to have accepted the evidence adduced in favour of there having been a Roman camp on the Castle Hill, for he says that at Cambridge and elsewhere: "English mounds and base-courts are placed within Roman enclosures which either are or were walled." This last remark leads me to think that he had not himself examined the evidence on the ground.

We may now perhaps hazard a conjecture as to the position of the earthworks enclosing the courts and fort of the Burh (see diagram, fig. 3). The wings expanding to the north-west on either side of the mound may not be very different from the original structures. If we carry the south-west earthwork further, say to nearly opposite Bell's Court, and cut off the mound by a straight or slightly curved fosse from the south corner to opposite the bastion nearly due north of the mound (almost exactly along the line of the ditch to the existence of which Mr Gibson bears testimony), we get a base line on which to construct a semicircular court, the far boundary of which should run somewhere through the Prison, and, perhaps, as more ground was taken in, might enclose all the space up to the depression running through Gloucester Terrace. The bastions and straight rampart on the north-east of the Prison are all of later date.

Thus it is most probable that the position was fortified in some part of those troublous times when the earlier invaders, who had conquered the Romanised British, and held this district, were in their turn attacked by new-comers from the

¹ *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, i. pp. 17, 18.

continent; but when or by whom the Burh was constructed there does not seem to be at present any evidence to show. The parts to be referred to this period have of course been much disguised by the modifications necessary to adapt them

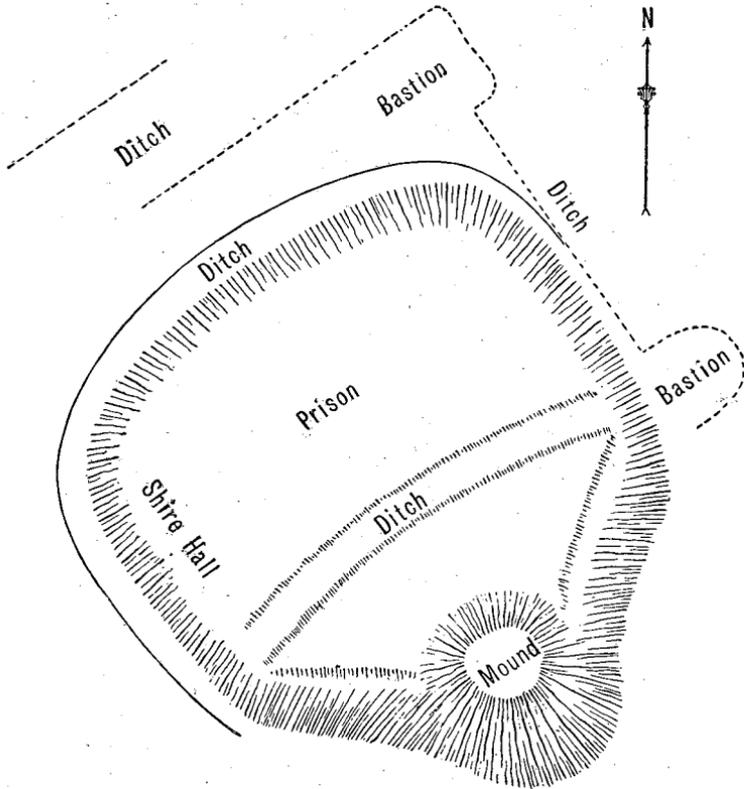


FIG. 3. Plan of Burh.

to the requirements of a Norman Castle. But there is still the mound sharply scarped on the south and east, and on the north side of it there was within the memory of man a hollow running on the south-east side of the prison across the promontory on which it stands, and in all probability indicating the position of the fosse which must have protected the mound on that, the

otherwise most accessible, side¹. The outline of the outer court of the Burh partly determined the limits of the first great court of the Norman Castle, which probably extended up to the depression running through Gloucester Terrace, and was further enlarged by the levelling forward of the south corner near Bell's Court.

A very strong argument against there having been any mound here in Roman or pre-Roman times is afforded by the absence of relics of Roman date under the house called Castlebrae, built by that keen collector, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, our late secretary, who would certainly have taken care to note the occurrence of any objects of interest which might have been found in digging the foundations.

Such remains might have been expected there at the bottom of the slope of a hill which we know was occupied by the Romans, and which is still covered with their remains. But, if this slope was cut back when the hill was scarped in early medieval times, it is clear that the whole of the soil and subsoil on the site of the house was then carried away, and the relics of Roman date which it contained should be sought in the earth of the Mound, and of the medieval embankment. This line of reasoning will be better understood by reference to the subjoined outline sketch (fig. 4). In this sketch the dotted

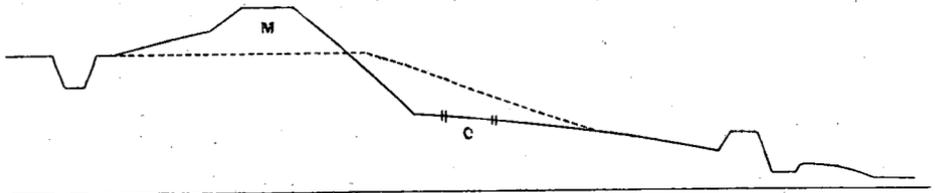


FIG. 4. Section of the Castle Hill from N. to S.

M. The Mound or Castle Hill. C. Foundations of Castlebrae.
 Probable original surface.

line represents the surface in Roman times, and the hard line the surface when the Burh had been constructed; C is the position of Mr Lewis' house. From this area all the ground was cut away and thrown up to form the mound (M), so that the

¹ See Bowtell's description of this fosse, given below, p. 198.

site of his house was not at the surface till long after Roman times.

I do not now go into the question of the probable alteration in the course of the river in Magdalene College grounds.

The argument from negative evidence does not apply in the case of medieval remains. Whether or not it is because so many of the vessels and other objects of every-day use were made of perishable material, such as leathern 'black jacks,' wooden platters, horn cups &c., it is a fact that very few household relics of any kind are found round old castles or early moated houses, and it is astonishing how few scientific observations have been recorded respecting the bones and shells of the animals used for food. Perhaps this may be largely due to the fact that attention has usually been directed to the acquisition of objects of interest, rather than to evidence bearing upon the history of the place.

Mr Bowtell has preserved a plan dated 1785, here reproduced (fig. 5), together with some valuable notes on the condition of the boundary ditches of the castle at the beginning of this century.

The plan is thus described¹ :

The ground-plot of the old Shire-hall is marked within dotted lines: it contained two courts; that of B was used in time of the assizes for the purpose of *common law*; the other at C was for *nisi prius*.

This was a timber fabric, erected upon a slender foundation of brick, and was taken down in the year 1747, when a more convenient and substantial building was completed at the south end of the market-hill.

The mutilated bastion at G was wholly destroyed in the year 1811. At D there appeared some remains of a very ancient foundation near to the edge of the Roman fosse, apparently one of the gateways of the Roman camp; the stone thereof, being very large, and set in strong cementing mortar, rendered it difficult to remove.

E, the barracks.

F, the remains of a tower belonging to the old castle.

The notes are as follows :

The encampment here, whether it be pronounced *British* or *Roman*, like most other ancient posts or strongholds, was fortified by a stanch vallum and deep fosse, nearly a mile in circumference, and embraced a

¹ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 134.

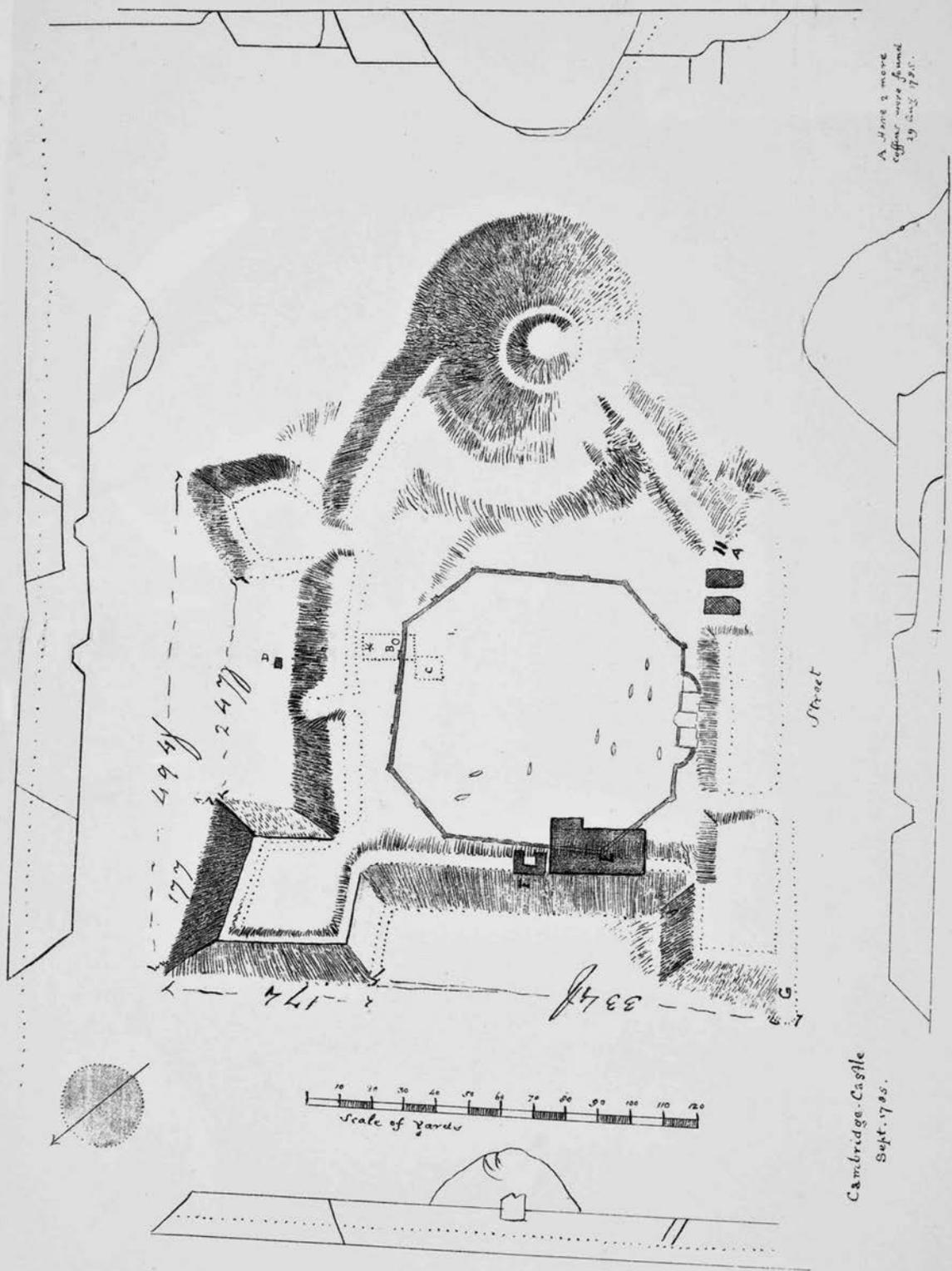


Fig. 5. PLAN of CAMBRIDGE CASTLE in 1785 From MSS. BOWTELL.

Cambridge. Castle
Sept. 1785.

portion of four parishes, viz. All Saints, St Peter's, St Giles, and Cherterton.

In 1802, by digging across a slip of land now called "Blackmoor-Piece," through which this ditch ran, it appeared to have been from 10 to 12 feet deep, and 39 feet broad; both sides having a *talus* or slope. Blackmoor-Piece is a slip of land skirting the east side of the Roman station, and was broken up in the year 1802, for making bricks to build the new prison; for which purpose bricks were first moulded there June 4th that year¹.

The fosse also was strengthened by a plentiful supply of water from several vicinal springs which flowed into the adjacent river: one of these springs (now called *Drake's*) near the north-west angle of the fortress, still furnishes the neighbourhood with water for domestic purposes.

On the interior edge of this fosse stood a very ancient wall, some remains thereof were discovered in March 1804 when "improvements" were making thereabouts by destroying a part of the vallum towards the N.W. end; which wall abutted eastwardly on the great road, near to the turnpike-gate leading to Huntingdon, and westwardly at a little distance from *Drake's spring*.

The materials in the foundation of this wall consisted of flinty pebbles, fragments of Roman bricks and ragstone, so firmly cemented that prodigious labour, with the help of pickaxes, etc. was required to separate them: a part of the wall was consequently left undisturbed, and the fosse-way which accompanied it was filled up with earth from the mutilated ramparts of the Castle-yard, raised in the time of *Cromwell's* usurpation.

Digging also about the middle of the east side of the Roman camp, there appeared the foundation of an ancient stone building, supposed to be the remains of the *Decuman gate*.

Directly opposite, or middle of the west side of this camp, a part of the vallum was cut away, thereon to lay the foundation of the *Lancastrian* free-school which was there erected in the year 1810; at a short distance from the north end thereof a similar foundation was discovered, and conjectured to have been part of another gate belonging to the Roman Station: much of the stone *agger*, or *bank* that encompassed this fortress, still lies concealed in the ground².

Unless it be contended that we have in these bits of masonry the remains of a Roman walled town, they must be referred to the outer works of the Norman castle, for we cannot assign them to any intermediate age. Mr Clark says:

¹ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 96. The original fosse was probably deeper and narrower. Part of this area was again dug over for phosphate nodules at a much more recent date.

² *Ibid.* pp. 98, 99.

That there existed in England, at the Conquest, no castles in masonry of English work it may be too much to assert; but it may safely be said that, save a fragment of wall at Corfe, no military masonry decidedly older than that event has as yet been discovered¹.

The Norman Castle.

Then came the Norman Conquest, and we learn that William, on his return from the reduction of York in 1068, erected a castle at Cambridge. Many houses had sprung up around the old fortress, and it is recorded in Domesday that twenty-seven were pulled down to make room for the larger fortifications now constructed. When Domesday was written, in 1086, there were 49 ruinous houses in Cambridge out of a total of 373, distributed among 9 of the 10 wards into which the town was then divided². It is not clear where the destroyed houses were situated. Whether the outer earthworks enclosed a town which grew up under the protection of the Burh, or whether the mound was thrown up at a later time within the entrenchments of a pre-existing town, I have no evidence to offer.

The curved ramparts of the pre-Norman fortress were now levelled, and the ditches filled. The mound with its timber fort was at first preserved, but soon the wooden structure was replaced by stone, and a "shell keep" frowned over the town below. A tower was erected at the east corner, and from it defensive works were carried in a straight line to another tower at the north corner, from which they returned south-west with a deep fosse outside on the north-west. What and where the south-west front of the original Norman castle was must now be only a matter of conjecture. The gatehouse, which was preserved down to the present century, stood on the north-east side of Castle Street, but it does not follow that that was the most prominent part of the fortifications. Indeed it is almost certain that there must have been a barbican, and there

¹ *Medieval Military Architecture*, ut supra, i. 37.

² At the end of the account of the first ward (*prima custodia*) these words occur: *Hec eadem una custodia pro duabus computabatur tempore regis Edwardi sed pro castro sunt destructe .xxvii. domus.*

were probably at least two lines of defence beyond it. It is not at all clear that the portion of Castle Street which curves to the north-west from near Bell's Court to the cross roads by the Wheat Sheaf Inn is not much newer than the straight part which runs from the bridge, and that St Peter's Street and Shelly Row are not older than Castle Street.

Before proceeding further I will quote Fuller's¹ account of what the Conqueror did. After mentioning the resistance offered by the Monks of Ely, he proceeds :

To the town of Cambridge he retired, and there for a season reposed himself, half dead with sorrow, that his design against the aforesaid monks took no effect. At what time he found in the town of Cambridge 387 houses, 18² whereof he caused then to be plucked down, to make room for the erecting of a Castle, which he there *re-edified*, that it might be a check-bit to curb this country, which otherwise was so hardmouthed to be ruled. This castle, here built by him, was strong for situation, stately for structure, large for extent, and pleasant for prospect; having in it, amongst other rooms, a most magnificent hall; the stones and timber whereof were afterwards begged by the Master and Fellows of King's Hall³, of King Henry the fourth, towards the building of their chapel. At this day the Castle may seem to have run out of the Gatehouse, which only is standing and employed for a prison: so that what was first intended to restrain rebels without it, is now only used to confine felons within it. There is still extant also an artificial high hill deeply entrenched about, steep in the ascent but level at the top, which endureth still in defiance of the teeth of time; as the most greedy glutton must leave those bones, not for manners, but necessity, which are too hard for him to devour.

It would seem probable from Fuller's using the word *re-edified* that he was aware that some fort had existed here before the Norman castle. He says nothing of the mound having been converted into a 'shell keep,' though the bird's-eye view given with the edition quoted would suggest that it was.

A castle like that of Cambridge is sure to have been modi-

¹ *History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 2.

² The figures given by Fuller differ from those in Domesday.

³ Dr Caius, *Hist. Cant. Acad.* ii. 117.: The story is, however, a mistake, for the hall in question was formally granted by Henry VI. to King's College in 1441 (*Arch. Hist.* i. 323), as Caius himself states in a subsequent passage, quoted below (p. 196).

fied as time went on, when repairs, restorations, and extensions were carried out; and it may help some who will hereafter watch the excavations made in that part of Cambridge, to collect together all the notices that have any bearing upon the structure. In this, as in all the historical part of my paper, I am much indebted to that most careful and accurate work, Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*.

The Castle at Cambridge was a royal castle, and sometimes the king's residence on the occasion of royal visits. Soon, however, the monastic establishment at Barnwell furnished better accommodation, just as in later times the Colleges became the recipients of royal favour, and provided lodging for the sovereign.

In 1088, Roger de Montgomery, who supported the pretensions of Robert Duke of Normandy against William Rufus, destroyed the town of Cambridge with fire and sword¹. The Castle is not mentioned, but it could hardly have escaped the general ruin.

After this event more than a century elapses before we find any further mention of the Castle; and with the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189) the principal castle-building period of English history may be said to close. We do not know what befel this castle in the interval, but it reappears in 1189, when Richard I. gave the custody of it to his Chancellor and favourite, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely².

In the third year of the reign of King John (1201—2) the sheriff of Cambridgeshire charges £4. 15s. 2d. for repairs to the Castle; and in 1204 (27 November) he is commanded by the King "to repair the houses and gate of his castle of Cambridge³." From this mention of "houses" in connexion with

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, i. 20. Dr Caius, the principal authority for Montgomery's raid, says (*Hist. Cantab. Acad.* i. 42): "nulla re relicta incolumi quæ ferro aut igne deuastari poterat."

² Cooper, *ut supra*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.* i. 33. The words are: "Precipimus tibi quod reparari facias domos et portam castelli nostri Cantebrigie, et id quod in eis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum posueris computabitur ad scaccarium." Rot. Claus. ed. Hardy, p. 15.

the Castle it would appear that there was accommodation for a considerable number of persons within its precincts.

In 1205 mention is made of the King's warren. This warren was made by King John¹. It extended north-west of the Castle, and for some distance along the Huntingdon road on the south, and the river on the north.

In 1208 John entrusted the custody of the Castle to Fulk the son of Theobald for 7 years; but in 1212 he was ordered to deliver it up to William Earl of Sarum. In 1214 the king sent special envoys to the constable of Cambridge "on matters relating to the king's castles and possessions." In 1215 or 1216 the king was at Cambridge, but he did not lodge in the Castle, for when Edward the First stayed there in 1293 it was remarked that no king had ever lodged there within the memory of man². In September of the same year John was again at Cambridge, and on his departure left the Castle in the custody of Fawkes de Breauté—"a rude heathenish baron that cared neither for God, man or the devil"—from whom it was presently taken by the confederated Barons, who made the garrison, consisting of twenty men only, prisoners³.

¹ Rot. Hundred. ii. 407. Dicunt quod dominus Rex habet warennum pertinentem ad Castellum Cantebrigie in manu sua quod warennum Rex Johannes primo precepit et incipit ad Castellum Cantebrigie et extendit per regalem viam Huntingdon usque Serebrige et de Serebrige usque Westwyche brige et de Westwyche brige per viam de Bompton usque Belasisse et de Belasisse usque ad magnam ripam et sic revertit per illam ripam usque Squasselode et de Squasselode per magnam ripam usque ad pontem Cantebrigie.

² *Barnwell Cartulary*, MSS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 3061, fol. 87. Eodem die scilicet die cene [26 March, 1293] hora nona, recessit dominus rex Eadwardus a Castello Cantebrigie in quo hospitabatur per duas noctes et totidem dies. A tempore quo non extat memoria nunquam prius Rex ibidem hospitabatur.

³ For these events in the reign of John see Cooper, *ut supra*, pp. 34—36. The capture of the castle is thus described: Math. Paris (Rolls Series) ii. 664. "Per idem tempus quedam pars baronum...deprædati sunt provinciam de Cantebruge totam et munitionem illam ceperunt atque viginti servientes, quos in ea invenerant, vinculis constrixerunt et secum abduxerunt."

In 1267 (7 April) Henry III., accompanied by his brother the King of Almaine, came to Cambridge with a large army. As it is specially mentioned that the King of Almaine lodged at Barnwell Priory, it may be assumed that the king lodged at the Castle. It was on this occasion that he took measures for fortifying the town, that is, according to tradition, the town on the right bank of the river, by causing the ditch to be made which was thenceforth known as the King's Ditch¹.

In the Inquisitions of 1278 it is stated that the castle belongs to the king, and to be in the custody of the sheriff. One messuage and three pieces of land are specified as held of the fee of the castle, at rents payable to the sheriff, amounting together to 2s. 6d. per annum². In 1299, when Edward I. married Margaret, sister to the king of France, he assigned to her in dower (among other possessions) the castle and town of Cambridge³.

In 1307 (19 December), Edward II. directed the keeper of the king's castle of Cambridge (among other officers entrusted with similar duties),

“to safely and securely keep and defend the said castle, so that no damage nor danger happen to the same; the king, who intends shortly to set out for parts beyond the sea, desiring that the castles of his kingdom should be diligently and safely guarded and defended for the greater security and tranquillity of his people⁴.”

In 1308 (6 April) a similar order is issued⁵. In 1310 (5 March) the sheriff is ordered “to repair the king's houses within the castle of Cambridge⁶”; in 1312 (28 January) “to provision the castle with victuals without delay, and cause it to be safely guarded⁷”; in 1317 (1 November) “to put 30 men in

¹ *Barnwell Cartulary*, ut supra, fol. 45b. Rex...venit cum magno exercitu ad villam Cantebrigie, et ibi hospitabatur. Rex uero Alemannie Ricardus scilicet frater Regis hospitabatur in Prioratu de Bernewelle. Rex uero fecit edificare portas et facere fossatas in circuitu ville cum magna diligencia nec permisit operarios diebus festiuis ab opere incepto cessare.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i. 59.

³ Close Roll, 1 Edward II.

⁴ Ibid. 3 Edward II.

⁵ Ibid. 69.

⁶ Ibid. 1 Edward II.

⁷ Ibid. 5 Edward II.

the castle of Cambridge, for the defence thereof¹; and in 1321 (29 December) to furnish it with victuals and other necessaries².

Edward III. appears to have been in Cambridge 27 September, 1328; but his place of lodging has not been recorded³. In 1367 (20 February), he commissioned certain specified persons to inquire into the numerous dilapidations of the walls, towers, houses, and other buildings in his castle of Cambridge, who was to blame for them, and how they could be repaired⁴. This language implies that there were extensive barracks, or soldiers' quarters of some kind, included within the castle walls.

Though Cambridge castle was technically a royal castle, as we have seen, it had hardly, so far, been a royal residence. An occasional visit of the king seems, however, to have been contemplated, for in 1352-53 we find an estate at Litlington held by the service of holding the king's stirrup, whenever he should mount his palfrey at Cambridge castle⁵.

When Richard II. came to Cambridge in 1388 he lodged at Barnwell Priory, where a parliament is said to have been held⁶.

In or about 1401 Henry IV. issued a commission concerning the free warren belonging to the castle of Cambridge in Chesterton, Milton, Histon, Cottenham, Girton, Landbeach, and Waterbeach⁷.

Henry VI. is said to have laid the first stone of the gateway of the old court of King's College 2 April, 1441. On this occasion he certainly did not occupy the castle, for he had

¹ Close Roll, 5 Edward II.

² Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, ed. 1769, i. 383, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 69.

³ Cooper, *ut supra*, 83.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 41 Edward III. MSS. Baker, xxv. 59. Quia in castro nostro de Canteb' ut in muris, turrellis, domibus, et aliis edificiiis quamplures sunt defectus, nos, volentes de statu castri predicti per vos plenius certiorari, assignamus vos ad supervidendum castrum predictum, et defectus in eodem...

⁵ Lyson's *Cambridgeshire*, 231. Rot. Pat. 26 Edw. III. p. 2.

⁶ Fuller, ed. Prickett and Wright, 119.

⁷ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. Cooper, *Annals*, i. 146.

already granted to the Rector and Scholars of his intended college (14 February, 1441), by way of assistance in building, "the old hall and a chamber next to it in the castle of Cambridge, then in a state of ruin and wholly unroofed¹." From this time forward therefore the castle ceases to be a royal residence, except in name; and it will not be necessary to recount the subsequent visits to Cambridge of either Henry VI., or his successors. He and they stayed at King's Hall, King's College, or Queens' College. Leave to use the castle as a quarry is stated by Dr Caius (writing in or about 1573) to have been first granted by Edward III. to King's Hall. Then, after mentioning the above grant by Henry VI., he relates how Mary Tudor made a similar grant to Sir John Huddleston, for the building of his house at Sawston². Lastly, Bowtell records that

More of the materials were probably employed in part of Great St Mary's Church, as it seemeth by an entry in that church-book, under the year 1557, where a charge is made for bringing a quantity of ragstone from the castle to that church³.

William Harrison, in his account of the two Universities which was published in 1577, says:

castels also they have both, and in my judgment is harde to be sayde, whither of them woulde be the stronger if both were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of buylding and situation of grounde, sith Oxforde castell standeth low, and is not so apparant in sight⁴.

If our castle was in 1577 a more imposing structure than

¹ *Arch. Hist.* i. 321, 323; ii. 450, for the story told by Dr Caius that this hall was granted by Henry IV. to King's Hall.

² *Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. 8. Castrum est ruinosum magnaue ex parte vetustate consumptum...et aliqua etiam ex parte ad ædificationem collegiorum et priuatarum ædium generosorum largitione principum immunitum. Nam et Edw. 3. ad ædificationem. Aulæ suæ regiæ...et Henricus sextus ad constructionem Collegii sui Regalis, et Regina Maria ad priuatas ædes reficiendas Iohan. Huddlestoni de Sauston militis aurati, inter alios plurimum imminuerunt, ablato quo construebatur extimè lapide quadrato, et intimè abrupto.

³ MS. ii. 108.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 350.

the noble Norman keep of Oxford, the buildings which had been used as quarries must have been the towers and curtain-walls, such as are shown on Braunius' plan¹; and, perhaps, a stone wall along the outer fosse.

In the account of the visit of Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, to England in 1592, we find the following description of our castle:

The following morning, the 29th of August, his Highness inspected... the old ruined and decayed palace or castle, which lies upon an eminence, or small mount, in a large open tract of country, outside the town; it has the appearance of having been in former times a very strong place of defence, but now it is only used for keeping prisoners in some of the vaults².

In August, 1642, Cromwell "seized the magazine in the castle³," an expression of which the meaning is doubtful. A few months later (in 1643) the town was fortified. The materials provided for rebuilding Clare Hall were confiscated, and made use of at the castle⁴, where additional works were erected, about fifteen houses being pulled down to make way for them⁵. On July 12, 1643, the governor of the castle reported to the Parliament: "our town and castle are now very strongly fortified, being encompassed with breastworks and bulwarks⁶."

Bowtell, whose plan of the castle is dated 1785, and who had therefore the good fortune to examine the ruins before any serious alteration had taken place in them, has left the following account of the works added in 1643⁷:

Here Oliver was employed in improving the Norman fortification by raising ramparts, and adding thereto three strong, though irregular, bastions, on the verge of the Norman ditch.

The height of these ramparts, as measured in the year 1802, from the bottom of the fosse, in a diagonal direction, was full sixteen yards.

The diameter of them, as measured on the base line from the start of the rise on both sides, was 70 feet.

¹ See below, p. 210.

² *England as seen by Foreigners*: ed. W. B. Rye, 4to. Lond. 1865, p. 43.

³ *Commons Journals*, ii. 720, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 329.

⁴ *Architectural History*, i. 100.

⁵ Cooper, *ut supra*, 340, 341.

⁶ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 135.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 126.

Their perpendicular height, from the level of the surface on which they were raised, was 17 feet 6 inches.

The whole of these earthworks had acquired great solidity, by means of strong courses of retentive gault and firm white clay, alternately laid in a chevronal position for the purpose of bracing them.

The south side of this intrenchment was strengthened by the great hill, above mentioned; on the north side thereof came a part of the Norman trench that surrounded the castle, and measured 16 feet in depth, beneath the surface of the castle-yard.

The remains of this ditch, on the south side of the works, formed an oblong cavity, about 120 yards in circuit; the centre of the bottom was for several ages furnished with a Gallows for the execution of criminals, on which account it was denominated the "Gallows-hole," and retained that name till the month of July, 1802, when it was filled up with the earth that was removed on sinking the castle-yard, previously to the building of a new prison for the county.

In Buck's view of the castle (fig. 7) the "gallows-hole" is fringed by a course of willow trees, and the gallows is shown in a plan of the town by Speed, A.D. 1610.

The brick buildings, on the north side of the intrenchment, which were erected in the year 1643 as Barracks for the soldiers, were afterwards occupied, partly as a Bridewell for petty offenders; and partly as a habitation for the keeper of the Castle, till the year 1806, when a new prison was finished, with a convenient residence for the use of the governour.

Such vigorous exertions were employed on this fortification that it was found to be in great forwardness in the beginning of April, 1643¹.

Two years later, in April, 1645, we read of "the train of artillery at Cambridge," and orders are given that the committee of the associated counties "take into their consideration the maintenance of the castle²." These intentions, however, if serious, were soon abandoned, for in 1647 (3 July) the House of Commons concurred with the House of Lords in voting "that the new Works raised about the Town and Castle of Cambridge sithence the Beginning of these late Troubles be slighted, and reduced to the same condition they were in before the War³." This was done so effectually that when a French gentleman, M. Jorevin de Rochefort, visited Cambridge in or shortly before 1672, he remarked that "here are no fortifications, nor is it

¹ *Certaine Informations*, etc., No. 35.

² *Commons Journals*, iv. 98, quoted by Cooper, *ut supra*, iii. 385

³ *Commons Journals*, v. 243.

enclosed by walls. One sees only, on that side through which I arrived, a castle somewhat elevated, having in the center a large dungeon commanding all its environs¹."

The gaol in the Castle.

It will appear from the following extracts that the gaol was a separate building in connection with the castle, and in that fact we shall find the explanation of the facility with which prisoners broke out or were rescued from prison, and the small damage done on the occasion of such forcible action. We shall also understand why the *castle* was still spoken of in connection with the custody of prisoners long after we read of the fortifications being dismantled, and the materials used for building-purposes.

The Castle was unquestionably used as a prison in the time of Edward II., for we find letters patent issued by him 3 June, 1317, in which he grants to the University during his pleasure that if a layman inflict a grievous hurt on a clerk, or a clerk on a layman, the offender should be immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Castle². Further, 6 August, 1323, he directs the constable of the castle to keep the prisoners in the castle in safe and sure custody³.

In 1337 the burgesses complained to Edward III. that the power of imprisoning laymen in the castle, given to the University by the above letters patent, was repugnant to the grant that burgesses should not be impleaded out of the borough, the castle being without the liberty of the town⁴. This petition is important, as shewing that the ancient town of Cambridge was on the right bank of the river, and had not grown round the castle. It is however clear that there was a part of the town on the left bank, for "the Ward beyond the Bridge" is mentioned. This is probably identical with the district elsewhere called

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 555.

² Rot. Pat. 10 Edw. II. p. 2, "statim capiatur, et in castro nostro Cantebri' imprisonetur."

³ Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 40. d., quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 80.

⁴ Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 90.

"parcelle," which appears to have been situated near the castle¹.

On the Wednesday after Midlent Sunday, 1339—40, Edward III. created William, Marquis of Juliers, Earl of Cambridge, and granted to him the castle and the reversion of the town, saving to the king the gaol and the escheats pertaining to the castle and town². From this time we hear of the castle as a prison rather than as a fortress, though it would appear from the next extract that the gaol was a distinct building at the gate of the castle.

On 15 December, 1341, Edward III. commanded the above earl of Cambridge to deliver up the gaol to the sheriff of the county, and to permit the said sheriff to have free ingress to and egress from the said gaol at the gate of the castle³.

In 1359 (24 September) the sheriff of Nottingham is required to remove Sir John de Molyns, knight, to the castle of Cambridge, there to be confined with Egida his wife, under the custody of the constable of the said castle. One would be inclined to think that compulsory residence within the castle walls in order to keep them out of mischief, and not confinement in the gaol by way of punishment, was all that was imposed on prisoners of this class⁴.

In a charter granted to the University by Richard II., 13 December, 1383, it is provided that the Chancellor and his successors or their vicegerents, may imprison all persons convicted before them in the castle of Cambridge, or elsewhere in the town at their discretion; and that the Sheriff of the county or the keeper of the castle, and the mayor and bailiffs

¹ Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 93, quoting a valuation of moveable property in the town made 1340.

² *Ibid.* i. 92.

³ Rot. Claus. 15 Edw. III. p. 3, m. 6. MSS. Baker xxv. 47. Vobis mandamus quod...Warrino de Bassingbourn...gaolam...liberari faciatis, et ipsum liberum ingressum et egressum ad eandem...habere, et quandam de suis pro quo respondere voluerit ad Portam eiusdem castri pro salva custodia Prison' ne exinde evadant ponere et illuc ea de causa morari absque impedimento aliquo permittatis.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, i. 105.

of the town, should be bound to receive, keep, and deliver, all such transgressors, at the command of the Chancellor and his successors or their vicegerents¹.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. the castle does not appear to have been a healthy residence, for the sudden death of a number of magistrates and others was attributed to their having attended the assizes in it :

“In thys yere (1521), at the Assise kept at the Castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices and al the gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke such an infeccion, whether it were of the savor of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that manye gentlemen, as Sir Ihon Cut, Sir Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof dyed, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sick and narrowly escaped with their lives².”

The Assizes held at the Castle, 18 March, 1540, are remarkable for the trial of a scholar of S. John's College for the murder of one of the burgesses, but there is no mention on this occasion of any malarious infection³.

In the reign of Edward VI. the castle was used as an ordinary prison. In 1547 the proctors carried their prisoners thither, where they left them in custody, when the mayor would not allow them to be committed to the Tolbooth, by which perhaps the Town gaol is meant, which had been, it was contended, granted to the burgesses in the reign of Henry III.⁴ In the same way, it is not quite clear which prison is referred to in the Treasurer's accounts for 1549, in which there is a charge for “mendinge of the prison after the prisoners brake out.” It could not have been very difficult to do this, as the expense was only xij d. for repairing the grate and the lock. With a view perhaps to the intimidation of evil-doers, they carried out, repaired, and restored the gallows at the same time, whence it is probable that the prison at the castle is referred to⁵.

¹ Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 127.

² Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 632, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 305.

³ Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 398.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 43, 44.

In 1614 a Senior Fellow of Trinity College was committed to the castle for clipping coin¹; and in 1615 certain Jesuits or priests, who were not allowed to pass through Cambridge, lodged there for one night².

In 1633 the castle was granted in fee farm to Henry Brown and John Cliffe, in trust, as it seems, for the Justices of the Peace for the county³. After the Restoration the castle was again used as a prison, and Francis Holdcroft, M.A., once Fellow of Clare Hall, a nonconformist preacher, was imprisoned there between 1663 and 1672⁴.

In 1802 the first stone of a new county gaol was laid in the Castle-yard⁵; and under the year 1842 we read:

A new and handsome Shire House within the precincts of the Castle was completed this year, and opened on the 21st of October, when the General Quarter Sessions for the County were held there. The Architects were Messrs Wyatt and Brandon. To the great regret of the lovers of antiquity, the spacious and massive Gatehouse, the sole relic of the Castle, was removed to make way for this Shire House⁶.

The Outer Earthworks.

The question of the age of the earthworks on the Castle Hill involves the necessity of weighing the evidence from the surrounding area, the direction of the roads, and the occurrence of Roman remains, and is further complicated by the fact that the earthworks themselves are of very different age, and that the ground has been repeatedly modified with a view to building. We may however feel pretty sure that the earthworks of which any remains still exist may be referred (1) to the Burh, viz. the mound and the curved banks flanking it; (2) to the Norman Castle, viz. the straight ramparts and the bases of the two towers on the north-east side on which Cromwell probably threw up his bastions. There remain (3) the corner of the great agger and fosse by Story's Almshouses, and the terrace in Magdalene College garden. These are the doubtful works

¹ Cooper, *ut supra*, iii. 72.

² *Ibid.* iii. 84.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 257.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 511.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 474.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 657.

which have been by some referred to the Romans. This determination has been founded chiefly on the occurrence of such large quantities of Roman remains on the area included within these banks, on the convergence of Roman roads on the site, and on the identification of Camboritum with Cambridge. As pointed out already the character of the Roman remains is in no ways different from that in a score of other places in the neighbourhood, where they occur in as large quantities, and are not associated with any earthworks of any kind. The convergence of Roman roads is mere conjecture. I have elsewhere shewn¹ that the so-called Roman road by Wandlebury is only one of the East Anglian dykes, although it is highly probable that it was used in Roman and later times as a convenient track, just as the Romans built behind the shelter of the Devil's Ditch near Reach. Moreover, it points straight for the top of the hill above Cherry Hinton where there are numerous Roman remains.

When a deep trench was cut from the Huntingdon road across the Grove, a clean section was exposed down to the undisturbed subsoil, but there was no trace of a made road, and during some recent excavations under the road itself near the Wheat Sheaf Inn the ancient fosse appears to have been found, running across the road, and full of black earth with bones, &c. It is clear therefore that the road cannot always have run where it is now, and that we cannot infer from it that there was a great highway running through the middle of the ancient town. The bridge would determine the other end of the road. A Roman road may have run along here, but, as these Roman roads were not paved, there was very little to ensure permanence of direction. Bowtell notices that "some remains of a very ancient trackway, supposed to be British, leading from the north-east angle of this fortress, towards Grantchester, were lately visible²"; but the north-east corner was not a likely point of departure for Grantchester. On the north and east also there is an idea that the raised line of the

¹ *Cambridge Review*, Vol. vi. 1885, p. 292.

² MSS. Bowtell, ii. 13.

Roman road can be traced. I accompanied the officers of the Ordnance Survey when they were surveying part of that area, and the difficulty was, not so much to find a raised bank running north, as to choose among the numerous raised banks the one that lent itself best to the hypothesis of a Roman road. All that district was unenclosed down to the early part of the present century, and the old system of agriculture has left long ridges, which can still be clearly traced, crossing the modern hedges, ditches, and roads. Some of these I take it have given rise to the story of a Roman road still visible in that direction.

The attempt to find a site for Camboritum has further helped to strengthen the view that there was a Roman camp, or fortified town here, but Cam and Cambridge are now known to be quite modern words, and with such place-names as Comberton and Grantchester and Chesterton close by, the determination of our Roman sites must be received with caution.

It is not at all clear that the bank in Magdalene College garden ever did join up with the work by Story's Almshouses. It is now quite cut off from everything else, and whether or not it was ever more than a first line of defence to guard the bridge we cannot now see, nor what became of it at either end. We must remember too that it may have been modified when the area adjoining the river was occupied by the Benedictine Monks¹, and afterwards by Magdalene College. Indeed it is difficult not to believe that when the earthwork was included in the grounds it was prolonged a little to the north in order to increase the length of the terrace.

Summary.

There is no evidence of a British camp, or even of any British settlement, nor are the outer earthworks those of a Roman camp. The supposed convergence of the Roman roads on Cambridge is founded almost entirely on the identification of our long straight roads with Roman roads, and, as there is no reason why our roads should run otherwise than straight in a flat unenclosed country, that argument is not worth much.

¹ *Architectural History*, ut supra, i. xlix.; ii. 359—361.

There is abundant proof that the site was occupied by Romans, or Romano-British, and probably continuously from that period to the present day. Similar settlements occur all over this part of England, but rarely are there any earthworks connected with them. In the long troublous period from the 5th century to the 8th, after the withdrawal of the Roman army, there may have been a small town here, and some earthworks may have been thrown up then, but of this there is no proof. About the 9th century the burh was constructed, consisting of a mound and two or more curvilinear earthworks in front on the area of the existing prison. Under the protection of this there was a town. This is another possible period to which we may assign the outer earthworks. Then the Norman castle was built, and we know from history that there was a town here, for many houses were destroyed to clear the site for the works then constructed. This seems the most probable period to which we can assign the outer ramparts which are still visible. The walls of which Bowtell records the discovery in the course of excavations made in or about 1802, connect these ramparts with the Norman castle. The north-east flanking earthworks, which were straight, and not curved like those of the Burh, were prolonged to the north-west, and carried across to the south-west, the corner being still seen by Story's Almshouses. In the other direction the ramparts were carried down to the river, and probably involved a strong position at the head of the bridge when that had been built.

Then follows the usual story of a second-rate fortress. It was given to one lord after another; it stood no great siege; it was modified, strengthened in time of danger, repaired, or allowed to go to decay. Its principal use was as a prison—and soon we find a gaol, mentioned as something separate from the castle, but *at the castle gate*. The castle itself then appears to have been allowed to go to ruin. From time to time portions of the materials were given away or sold, and at last the old gateway was pulled down, and the Shire Hall built on its site.

All we dig up fits in with this story. Coins, pottery, and other objects, tell us of the Roman occupation. Fragments of this

pottery in the earthworks tell us of subsequent trenching over the ground full of Roman waste. The Burh tells its own story, and the Norman Castle has but just disappeared. Skeletons of Romans, and urns with Roman ashes, were broken into here, or covered up deeper there. The soldier who fell in defence of the fort would have found a grave within the walls. The political agitator, or the brave opponent of abused power, would be darkly done away with, and placed underground at night, and the criminal on whom justice had been executed would be buried within the walls. It is not easy to work out from the objects that turn up from time to time the history of 2000 years on such a site.

The outer Bailey and the Great Bridge.

On the area included within the outer Bailey of the Castle there were two churches: S. Peter's, which, if the material was not taken from the Norman Castle, would seem to be of Norman date; and All Saints, of which very little is known. It is represented (fig. 6) in the bird's-eye view given in Fuller as

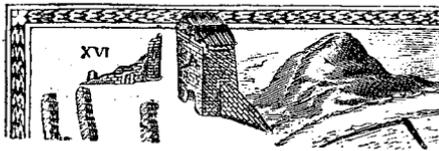


FIG. 6. The Castle and its surroundings, from the plan of Cambridge dated 1634, published with Fuller's History.

XVI. Ruinæ Eccl. Omnium Sanctorum ad Castrum.

running across the position of the existing street. A portion of the nave is shewn, having a small round-arch doorway on the south side, and a tower at the east end with a double loop-hole window above the level of the remaining wall of the nave. It is described as *Ruinæ Ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum ad Castrum*. Mr Hall, who now occupies the large garden between the Huntingdon road and Shelly Row (fig. 1), and therefore on the area adjoining the site of this church, informs me that

there is a great depth of made soil there, and that when he has occasion to dig to any considerable depth he generally finds human bones, but no traces of walls. It therefore seems probable that his garden is in the old churchyard, and that this was open ground within the precincts of the Castle, and never built over till the church was erected there.

The history of the Great Bridge is closely connected with that of the Castle. It seems to have been regarded as under the special protection of the Crown, and the question is whether that was because it was part of the king's highway, or because it was an essential part of the defensive system in connection with the Castle. It must have been a wooden bridge, from its requiring such frequent repair and renovation from ordinary decay and wear and tear, no mention being made of its wilful destruction in time of war. Some ancient piles which were found in the bed of the stream in 1754 were referred to the Romans, but this view seems to have been supported only by the finding of Roman remains in the bank of the river close by, an argument, as we have seen, of little value, because Roman remains have been turned up all along both sides of the river for miles above and below.

The Castle in ruins.

In conclusion I will gather together the various passages in which Bowtell describes the remains of the castle, as they stood in his time. In illustration of these I reproduce Buck's view, dated 1730 (fig. 7).

After mentioning the hall of the castle, Bowtell says:

This hall took up the whole of the second story of the principal gateway, the roof of which gateway is arched with stone. The entrance to it was on the south side, by means of an ancient stone staircase, something like that to the keep of Connisborough castle in Yorkshire, and which is shewn in a view by Buck in the year 1731.

At the head of this staircase was a doorway with a circular head of plain mouldings, on a spand of three yards four inches and a half: it was taken down with the staircase in the year 1809...¹.

¹ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 105.

THE NORTH-EAST VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE-CASTLE.

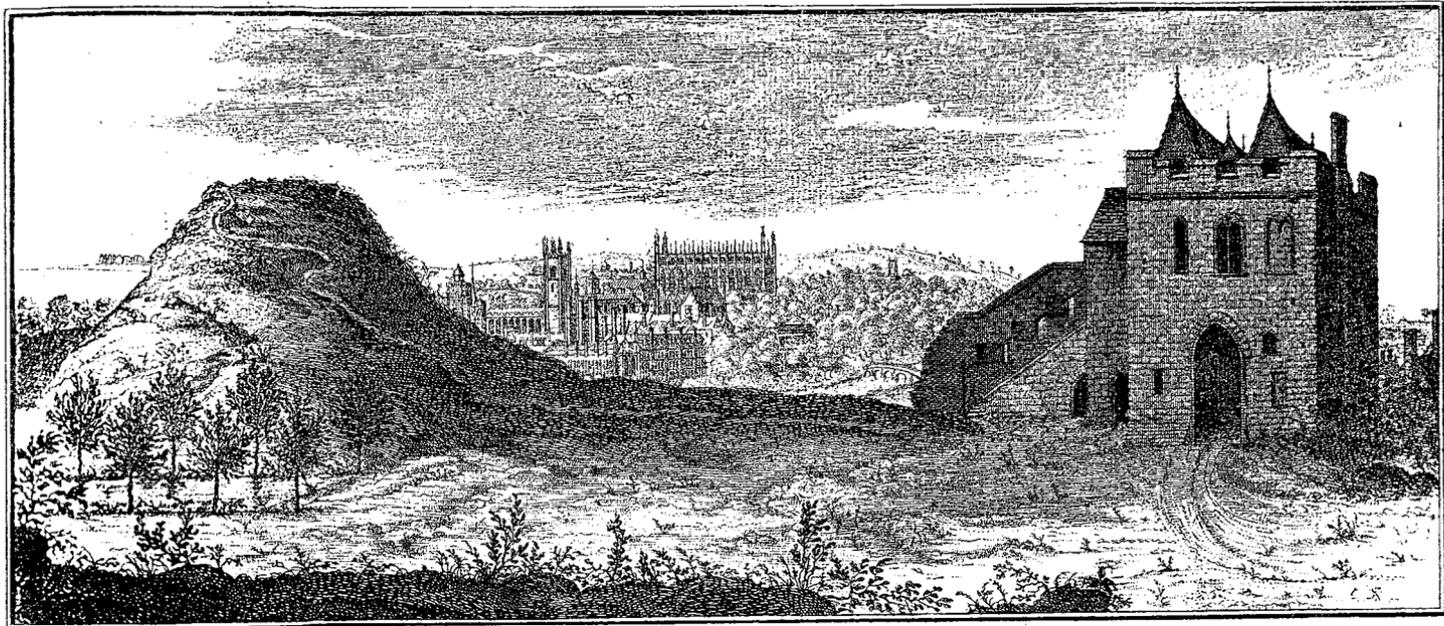


FIG. 7. Reproduction, on a reduced scale, of Buck's view of the Castle, dated 1730.

The manner in which the old castle was constructed appeared in a fragment of the north-east tower that was standing in the year 1807, being then 31 feet square, and 30 feet high, when great labour was required to demolish it. The extreme (*sic*) thick walls were composed of rag, clunch, and other stone firmly cemented...

In this fragment there were to be seen regular courses of large flag-stones which served as *foundations* to the several strata of cemented materials, similar to the *Roman* method, and appeared to be much older, and 3 feet deeper in the ground, than the other works here which are ascribed to the time of the Conqueror...

Part of the western gateway, now standing in a mutilated state, exhibits the features of architecture coeval with the reign of King Edward II.

The height of the front of this portal, from the ground to the top of the battlements, is 42 feet 3 inches; and it stands eastward of the line of the high street at the distance of¹

* * * *

Much of the stone occupied in the walls of the castle was of a calcareous nature, from quarries in Northamptonshire: three different kinds were dug out of the ruins in the castle-yard.

1. The common rag, of a grey complexion;
2. A stone of a ruddy colour, which, when reduced to small pieces, partakes of a friable nature, abounding with pellicles of the ova of fishes, and small testaceous bodies, with numerous micæ of silvery talc, mingled with anomixæ of various species.
3. Another kind of stone of a whitish colour, and of a more firm texture, with various shells incorporated; such as is found also in the walls of other ancient buildings in Cambridge².

* * * *

The western gateway... was fortified by double gates and a strong *pört-cullis*; the groove in which it moved still remains, and is 5 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ wide. A north-east view of this gateway was engraved by Buck in 1730, and another in 1772 for Grose's *Antiquities*³.

Bowtell further relates the discovery of numerous stone coffins and gravestones, all near the entrance gateway, and adds:

A great many other skeletons of late interment were dug up in all parts of the castle-yard from two to four feet deep, without the appearance

¹ The line is left unfinished in the MS.

² MSS. Bowtell, ii. 106, 107.

³ *Ibid.* p. 109.

of any coffin; some lying with their faces downwards, and most of them with their heads towards the north¹.

* * * *

The visible decay of the castle, and the frequent escape of prisoners from thence, at length induced the magistrates of the county to erect an entire new gaol, the plan of which being struck within the lines of the republican encampment, the mutilation, if not the total destruction of that fortification became inevitable.

* * * *

Preparatory to the erection of the said gaol in the castle-yard a prodigious quantity of the soil was cut away in 1802; as it also was afterwards occasionally continued to be done for many years. Some of the ramparts were thrown into the adjacent deep fosse out of which, from the nature of the earth, it is evident they had been principally taken. This vast removal of earth was occasioned by the contract requiring the foundation to be laid 3 feet deep.

The ground was accordingly examined, and found to have been much excavated by the sinking of wells and cellars in the tenements which formerly stood thereabouts; but afterwards filled up partly with the spoils of the old castle mingled with the rudera of houses destroyed there in the year 1643: it was determined to sink the whole of the castle-yard from four to ten feet.

In performing that work it appeared that the soil was a natural elevation, gradually rising from the circumjacent fields to the summit on which the gateway of the old castle still doth stand; and where the natural gravelly stratum lies within three feet of the vegetable surface.

On paring off this portion of the soil, there were discovered many bones of divers animals; tusks of boars, legs of cocks, and horns of stags, apparently of ancient interment. To these may be added a great number of stone-bullets, together with spoils of more modern times, such as shoes of horses, bits of harness, and currycombs in form of those peculiar to the reign of King Charles I. Tobacco-pipes of fine white clay, coeval with the introduction of the tobacco-plant into England about the year 1583, and others of subsequent times, down to the reign of King Charles I., were mingled with the martial spoils in this multifarious domain.

Among the *vestigia* of higher antiquity were fragments of Roman bricks found scattered along the edge of the fosse where the wall had anciently stood; but only one, completely whole, came into my possession; and that is of red earth, 16 inches long, by 12 inches at one end, and 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ at

¹ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 162. The lids of several of these coffins, found in 1810, were figured by the Rev. T. Kerrich in *Archæologia*, xvii. 228. His paper is dated 29 March, 1813.

the other: the thickness also is not less irregular, being from $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch, to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

* * * *

To these may be added several fragments of green and blue glass... together with a variety of *amphoræ* made for the purpose of serving up wine to guests; some with two ears and handles, some with one, and others without any. Here also were found many querns, with several lacrymatories, and a celt or spear-head, one foot in length... This lay about the middle of the castle-yard, at the depth of four feet. An *armilla* or bracelet of brass, encircling two small bones of the arm... evidently of a female adult, was found on the east side of the ancient fosse. The urns afford a great variety of clays, in colour and shape as well as in decorations. Some of the coarser kind have only zigzag scratches, others have fluted ornaments.... Amongst innumerable fragments of urns and other rarities are many beautiful specimens moulded of fine red earth, some of which, from the figures and ornaments upon them, become interesting.

In every part of this station, where the ground has been explored, Roman pottery of different kinds of earth has appeared in abundance; some urns quite entire, but most of them broken, and the pieces deranged, which shows the soil to have been disturbed in former times. There were, indeed, some occurrences of the fragments lying several yards asunder, but being applied to each other were found to belong to one and the same vessel¹.

* * * *

During the time of making havock of the soil, above described, hopes were indulged of being able to trace out the ground-plan of the old castle. This, by daily attending the site, was attempted, and marked as far as it could be ascertained from unequivocal remains of the subterraneous foundation; but, owing to the partial depredations of former times, the ichnography could be but imperfectly traced².

Views of the Castle.

The castle is figured at the top of the plan of Cambridge signed Ric. Lyne, 1574, which was engraved for Dr Caius' history. This figure is a conventional representation of a fortress, with a gate of entrance, a keep, a square tower, a wall connecting them together, and the tops of two smaller towers indicated behind the former. Above it is written the word "Castell."

¹ MSS. Bowtell, ii. 165—170.

² *Ibid.* p. 193.

A much more ambitious view of the castle occurs at the left-hand corner of the plan of Cambridge, published in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, at Cologne, between 1572 and 1606, by George Braun, or Braunius. This view shews a stately quadrangle with gate of entrance, keep, and towers. Above is the word "Castell." It has been shewn in the *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Vol. I. p. xcix.) that this plan is, in reality, a close copy of the one by Lyne. Both are bird's-eye views. In the former the spectator is supposed to be standing at the south end of the town, in the latter on the west side. The buildings are therefore slightly altered to suit the new point of view, north sides being given to them. For instance, King's College Chapel appears as the south side of an imaginary quadrangle. The castle has been modified in a similar way. The gate, keep, and tower shewn by Lyne reappear; but their arrangement has been changed, and they are now disposed round a quadrangle, with the addition of a second square tower, and some other structures which look like barracks.

This view was accepted in the last century as a serious representation of a building that had once existed; and it reappears in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1776, much improved and ornamented, and with the addition of a ground-plan, as *Plan and View of Cambridge Castle from an Ancient Drawing formerly belonging to General Armstrong, supposed to be Drawn about the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*.

The gateway and mound are figured by Buck (1730) in the view here reproduced (fig. 7); by Harraden in his *Cantabrigia Depicta* (1809); and by Ackermann in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1814), a view by Westall, which shews the gate-house, the hill, and the new gaol, finished 1810; the gateway only by Grose, a drawing said by him to have been executed in 1769; and by Cooper, *Memorials*, as it appeared in 1840, just before it was destroyed.

Mr M. R. JAMES made the following communications :

I. ON THE GLASS IN THE WINDOWS OF THE LIBRARY
AT ST ALBANS ABBEY.

On a former occasion, when treating of Biblical illustration in mediæval times, I referred to the verses inscribed in the cloister-windows at St Albans Abbey as affording an interesting sample of the typology of the fifteenth century, and, in an appendix to the paper I was then reading, I printed a revised text of those verses¹. In the same MS. which has preserved them for us there is a copy of the verses which were to be found in the windows of the Library at the same great monastery; and, at the suggestion of Mr J. W. Clark, I have done what I could towards elucidating these also, by way of supplementing my former attempt. Now the subject of Mediæval Libraries is one which, as we know, Mr Clark has made peculiarly his own, and I should hesitate, consequently, to bring forward any conclusions of my own on the architectural side of the question. But the document before me has to do not so much with the architecture or arrangement of the St Albans Library—though here too it helps us a little—as with its contents; and moreover illustrates especially what I suppose one ought to call secular iconography.

There are at least two series of stained glass windows in existence which belonged to mediæval libraries: one at Jesus College,—for an account of which we know where to turn²; and the other at Eton College, on which I hope Mr Clark will at some near date enlighten us. Both of these are constructed on the same principle. At Jesus College we have a number of inscribed scrolls whose legends have reference to the subject of the books contained in that division of the Library in which they were placed. Thus, in the windows which once lighted the Class of Theology, we have (or had) pictures of the four

¹ *Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc. and Comm.* vii. 64—69.

² *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, iii. 460.

Evangelists with appropriate texts; in that which lighted the Class of Canon Law are the texts: *Legem statuit ei in via quam elegit: Legem pone mihi domine viam iustificacionum tuarum.* At Eton College the series—sadly fragmentary as it is—shows the same leading idea. Here we find the Classes of Civil Law, Criminal and Canon Law, Medicine, etc., illustrated by medallions showing a church council, an execution, a physician and his patient, and the like.

At St Albans the plan was different only in detail from this last. In each window, save one, of the twelve which lighted the Library, were four figures of the men who in the estimation of fifteenth century scholars stood at the head of the various branches of science and literature. And no doubt the position which each figure occupied was influenced by the arrangement of the several classes of books. The designer of this scheme was, it seems probable, working upon very ancient lines; and, through the kindness of Mr J. W. Clark, I have recently—since this paper was originally written—come across the particular document which most likely determined the fashion in which the St Albans Library was dedicated. Mr Clark has pointed out to me in the works of S. Isidore of Seville¹ a set of verses (most likely printed from the Vatican MS. 1877) which decorated S. Isidore's Library. In all probability they were inscribed round medallion portraits of the men to whom they refer, which portraits would be painted on the doors or pediments of the *armaria*, or presses, in which the books were kept. The verses (they are elegiacs) consist of the following sections:

	1. Introductory.		10. Prudentius.
	2. Old and New Testaments.	POETS	11. Avitus.
	3. Origen.		12. Juvencus.
	4. Hilary.		13. Sedulius.
FATHERS	5. Ambrose.	HISTORIANS	14. Eusebius.
	6. Augustine.		15. Orosius.
	7. Jerome.		16. Gregory the Great.
	8. John Chrysostom.		17. Leander (of Seville).
	9. Cyprian.		

¹ *Works*, ed. Arevalus, 4to., Rome, 1703, vii. 179.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| JURISTS | { | 18. Theodosius. |
| | | 19. Paulus. |
| | | 20. Gaius. |
| MEDICAL WRITERS | { | 21. SS. Cósmas and Damianus (patrons of medicine). |
| | | 22. Hippocrates. |
| | | 23. Galen. |
| | | 24. On the place where the scribe's colours were kept. |
| | | 25. On the Scriptorium. |
| | | 26. To the talkative intruder. |

It will be seen at once that this idea of decorating a Library (which Isidore himself borrowed from classical sources) is only slightly modified at St Albans, where the portraits painted upon panel have been exchanged for effigies drawn upon glass.

The main value and interest of the verses as preserved to us lies assuredly not in their literary merit, but in the general idea which they enable us to form of the range of literature most esteemed by, and most accessible to, writers of the Middle Ages. We have in the series of names which we are to consider a sort of list of the Best Hundred Books, as they were conceived of in the year 1450. Before we set forth upon the consideration of them, I will just say in the fewest words possible what I have been able to ascertain as to the date and history of the Library from whose windows our verses were taken. We have, fortunately, fairly complete information on this head. In the sixth window of the Library was the founder's portrait; and the quatrain inscribed underneath it tells us certain particulars about him. He was, it seems, "a small teacher who taught, but himself needed teaching more, a shepherd of small account who ruled, but himself stood in need of ruling. He laid aside the mitre and devoted himself to his books and to study, and then resumed the mitre and prepared this place for books." Here we have, doubtless sketched by himself, a short biography of Abbot John Whethamstede or Johannes de loco Frumenti as he calls himself. He was twice Abbot of St Albans; once from 1420 to 1441, and then, on the death of John Stoke, from 1451 to 1465, when he died. Now we possess, in a MS. belonging to the College of Arms, and edited for the Master of the Rolls, a

Register of Whethamstede's second abbacy, compiled in great part by himself, and at the end of this is an account by a later contemporary of the benefactions conferred on the Abbey by Whethamstede. First among these stands the building of the Library¹, which, we are told, Whethamstede had long contemplated, and now brought to pass in the second year of his second abbacy (1452—3). The work of building, excluding the glazing, cresting, and fitting up with desks, cost him more than £150. A little later on we find that he provided new glass for the cloisters, illustrative of the Old and New Testament, and that he 'elucidavit eam metricè,' i.e. added explanations in metre. These explanations are the verses which I have already laid before this Society; and these and the Library verses we may safely attribute to the pen of John Whethamstede. Where the Library was, I cannot so far ascertain; but that a large portion of its contents exists everyone knows who possesses much acquaintance with our national collections of MSS.

Now to proceed with our document: the text is found in one MS., and I think only one, at Oxford². I have transcribed the verses from the MS., and compared them with the text given in the *Monasticon*³.

They are arranged in sets of four lines each in the windows; each line was most likely inscribed on a scroll held by or surrounding the figure of each worthy. In one case—that of Abbot Whethamstede, the founder of the Library—four lines are devoted to the description of one person: otherwise each is disposed of in a single line. The first window seems to have lighted the grammatical class of the Library. It contained figures of Donatus, Didymus, Priscian, and Hugutio. The first and third of these authors, Donatus and Priscian, furnished the commonest school-books of the Middle Ages; the second and fourth are less well-known. By Didymus is meant either the

¹ *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*. Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede; ed. Hen. Tho. Riley, Rolls Series i. 423.

² Bodl. MSS. Laud. 697, fol. 27, verso.

³ *Mon. Angl.* ii. 247.

Alexandrian contemporary of Cicero who was called χαλκέντερος, or a later grammarian of the same name known to us from Suidas. Hugutio was a Bishop of Ferrara, born at Pisa (d. 1212), who wrote a *Liber Derivationum*, an expansion of the *Elementarium* of Papias.

The second window represented Rhetoric and Poetry: Cicero, Sallust, Musaeus, Orpheus. Sallust figures here as the rival of Cicero. The *Declamatio in Ciceronem*—probably spurious—(as the corresponding *Declamatio in Sallustium*, attributed to Cicero, certainly is), was better known than anything that he really wrote. Musaeus is of course the mythical founder of poetry.

In the third window figured the representatives of Logic and Ethics: Aristotle and Porphyry, for the former; Plato and Pythagoras, for the latter.

The fourth window stood for Arithmetic and Music. Chrysippus and Nicomachus are the arithmeticians-chosen. The former is probably the great Stoic of the third cent. B.C. He is here said to have discovered the properties of cubic numbers; but Cicero says of him that the mathematics were among the few subjects which he did not touch. The latter is Nicomachus of Gerasa, a Pythagorean who lived not earlier than the second century A.D., and whose largest work on numbers was epitomised by Boethius. The musicians are: first, Guido of Arezzo (990—1050) who invented a musical stave with lines and spaces, and has left a good many musical writings, the best known of which is the *Micrologus*; and, secondly, a man whose name in the MS. reads *Vnchalus*. I have been fortunately able to emend it by the help of a passage in the *Anticlaudianus*, a long satirical poem written in the XIIIth century by Alanus de Insulis. Here, in Dist. iii. cap. v., we find the lines

Musica letatur Michalo doctore, suosque
Corrigit errores tali dictante magistro,

whence it is apparent that the musician represented in the St Albans window was Michalus. He seems to be a Greek writer, who is referred to by John Philoponus in his *Comm. in Analyt. Aristot.* LXXX.

The fifth window represented Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and Albumasar, who evidently stand for Geometry, Astronomy, and Astrology. Ptolemy is of course Claudius Ptolemaeus, the cosmographer and astronomer. Albumasar was an Arabian astrologer whose date is given as 844 A.D.

The sixth window contained only the portrait of Abbot Whethamstede, the founder. The verses I have already translated. Most likely this was the last window on one side of the Library.

The seventh and eighth windows are devoted to theologians, Jewish and Christian. The theological books in the Library probably far outnumbered the rest. Jewish theology is represented by Moses, Aaron, Rabbi Moses, and Rabbi Solomon. I know of no instance save this where a medieval artist condescended to make portraits of late Jewish scholars, and the fact seems to me interesting; it points to a catholicity of sympathy among the St Albans scholars for which we should look vainly in most of their contemporaries. Of the men here named, Rabbi Moses—the Sun of the Law—is usually known as Maimonides. He lived in the xiith century, and was probably the friend of Rabbi Solomon; for by Rabbi Solomon, the *Salt of the Law*, Solomon Jarchi is most likely meant, a writer born at Troyes early in cent. xii. The champions of Christian theology in the next window bear familiar names: S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Athanasius, and S. John Chrysostom.

The ninth and tenth windows give us legal authorities of different kinds. In the former we have writers on Civil and Canon Law, and in the latter, writers on Monastic Rule. Window ix. represented Justinian, Gratianus, the author of the *Decretum*, Accursius, the Bolognese professor, who died 1229, and Hugusius. This last worthy may be either a cardinal who wrote glosses on the *Decretum* and died 1213, or Francis Aguzoni or Hugutio, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who wrote similar works and died 1412. In the tenth window were S. Benedict, S. Augustine, Bernard of Monte Cassino, and Nicolas Trivet. Of these Bernard (called Ayglenus) died in 1282: he wrote a *Speculum Monachorum*; while Nicolas Trivet, annalist and commentator, died about 1328.

In the eleventh window were doctors and surgeons: Hippocrates, Galen, a certain William who invented plasters, and 'Rymius' (we should read Brunus), who compounded a potion useful in curing broken bones. This last is Brunus Lasca of Florence (*cir.* 1290), a friend of Petrarch; or Brunus Longoburgensis, a surgeon of cent. xiii. William is William de Saliceto of Piacenza, who flourished about 1240.

The twelfth and last window gives us the names of four writers on farming and agriculture. Palladius, author of a treatise *de Re Rustica*, and probably a Frenchman of the fourth century: Virgil, as author of the *Georgics*: Peter is P. de Crescentiis, of Bologna, who wrote xii books *ruralium commodorum* about 1285: and, lastly, Bartholomew Glanville, author of a treatise *De proprietatibus rerum*. He lived c. 1360.

VERSES IN THE WINDOWS OF THE LIBRARY¹.

Bodl. Laud. Misc. 697, f. 27 b. (saec. xv, xvi.)

hic subsequuntur metra illa omnia quae ponuntur in fenestris in domo
librarie monasterij predicti.

- i dicor² donatus sum radix grammaticatus:
ortographusque vocor dindimus hicque locor:
sum quantus dat opus minus et maius pricianus:
deriuans quis? ego: fert stilus hugucio.
- ii rethor magnus eram marcus cithero vocitatus:
alter ego dictus salustius emulus eius:
museus ipse poeta fui primusque poetica scripsi:
orpheus ipse secundus ei manes modulamine flexi.
- iii dicor aristotiles direxi philosophantes:
at³ ego porphyrius doctor monui logicantes:
nuncupor ipse plato: moralia ciuibus apto:
ipseque pictagoras do normas moribus aptas.
- iv crisippus dixi quis cubicus numerus sit quisque quadratus:
nicomacrus at⁴ ego cur impar numerus mas, femina sit par:

¹ In some cases the names of the persons represented are given in the MS. They stand at the beginning or the end of a line, as I have printed them.

² decor *cod.*

³ ac *Mon.*

⁴ ac *Mon.*

- dixi quot guido moduli sunt in monacordo :
 quotque tenet cithara <docui> michalus¹ ve viella.
 (i.e. 'and I Michalus taught how many sounds the harp or viol has.')
- v euclides vocitor, magnus fueram geometer :
 circi quadrator archimenes ego dicor :
 maximus astronomus reputatus eram tholomeus :
 maguus et albumasar introductor uocitabar.
- vi doctor eram minimus, docui magis ipse docendus ;
 pastor et exiguus rexi, magis ymo regendus ;
 mitram deposui, libro studioque uacau ;
 rursus² eam sumpsi, loca libris hecque parau.
- vii moyses lator eram veteris prime <u>us scribaque legis :
 aaron frater eramque suus primus legisque sacerdos :
 sol legis fueram rabi moyses mihi nomen :
 ipseque sal legis rabi salomon uocitatus.
- viii petrus clauiger ecclesie sera legis eramque nouelle :
 paulus legifer in gentes legem docuique salutis :
 athanasius alexander dixi simbolice que debet credere quisque :
 johannes constantinopolitanus scripsi rethorice quis quomodo cre-
 deret atque.
- f. 28 a.
- ix duximus in quinos duo legum millia libros : justinianus imperator.
 iunximus et sparsas multas in canone causas : gratianus.
 legum doctor eram, dubias patulas faciebam : accurtius.
 alter ego juris bonus enucleator et eius. hugusius.
- x regula claustralis per me uiget et monachalis : Benedictus.
 per me lata prius stat norma canonicatus : Augustinus
 illius dubia declarau quasi cuncta : bernardus cassinensis.
 istius obscura manifestaui quoque plura. nicholaus treuit.
- xi magnus eram medicus, hypocras sum nomine dictus :
 alter et egregius uocitatus eram galienus :
 emplastri cura sanau vulnera plura : Guilelmus Chirurgicus.
 ossaque confracta mea fecit pocio recta. Rymius Chirurgicus³.
- xii de agricultura dederam noua dogmata plura : palladius.
 arteque de simili post pascua rura retexi : virgilius.
 quomodo plantabis uites docuique putabis : petrus de⁴ crescentiis.
 quando seresque metes scripsi quoque florida carpes. bartholomeus
 de rerum naturis.

¹ Vnchalus *cod.*² Ruffus *Mon.*³ Brunus Chirurgicus *Mon.*⁴ Unintelligible in *Mon.*

II. ON A MANUSCRIPT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN LATIN IN THE LIBRARY OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

The copy of the New Testament which forms the subject of this paper is one of exceptional interest in respect of its pictorial decorations. It is in the Library of Pembroke College: and the kindness of Mr R. A. Neil, the Librarian, enables me to lay the actual volume before you to-night. As I said, it is a book of exceptional interest in itself; but in my eyes that interest is increased by the fact that it belonged to the Abbey of Bury S. Edmund's, to which it was presented in the XIVth century by Reginald de Denham, Sacrist. This is the person whose name is attached to the *Registrum Sacristæ* in the University Library (Ff. 2. 33): he was Sacrist in the time of Edward II. The volume has no press-mark, probably because it belonged to the Church and not to the Library. There is nothing to show whether it formed part of William Smart's bequest to Pembroke College or not; I have not found any mention of it in Wren's Register. Nor is it clear that it was executed at Bury: the fact that it is older than Denham's time makes it not unlikely that it was written somewhere else, and bought by Denham for his monastery. We have the name of the scribe who wrote the text; it does not tell us much, for it is given simply as William.

The book is of two dates, or rather, consists of two parts of different dates, namely, the first six leaves, which consist of pictures, and date from the latter part of the XIth century, and the text, which must have been written, I think, late in the XIIIth century. It may very well be the case that Denham found the pictured leaves attached to an early Gospel book or Psalter in bad condition, and that he united them with the somewhat later text, and presented the whole to S. Edmund. I can cite a somewhat similar case. At S. John's College there is a Psalter (K. 26) whose text is of the XVth century, while the 46 pictures which precede it are of the XIIIth. I will now proceed to describe the volume.

It is a large folio of 279 leaves, in gatherings of 8 leaves, one blank leaf being lost at the end.

f. 1a is blank.

f. 1b has scribbles of English verse (from Lydgate—monk of Bury) of cent. xv, xvi, and a map of cent. xiv, as it seems. In this map no outlines are given: only the coast of France is indicated by a vertical line, and some of the towns by a rude sketch of a fort. I give the names in the order in which they occur, beginning from the North.

frigia	herford
Norwegia	bristoue
tarenes	oxonia
Scocia	Vinthonia
S. Andreas	suthamton
struuelin	habia webey (? Haverfordwest)
Dacia terra	Cornubia
beryk	[an illegible name]
Insula Man	mons michael
Tessernon (W. of Man)	tintagel
Vaterford	dorneda
Dublinia	(In France)
Turnior	parisius [fort]
cestria	Carnotis
be[fort]ri	Neustria
Anglia	Depe[fort]
norhamtone	Britannia
Wallia	na[fort]untis
bangor	

Then follow six leaves of drawings of the xith century. The earlier ones are coloured with light washes of red, blue, green and pink: the back-grounds are plain: no gold is used. Each page is enclosed in a frame of varying pattern, and contains several pictures. They seem to me certainly English.

f. 2a. Border of triangles.

1. *The Wicked Husbandmen.* (a) A throned man with a staff speaks to a young man (the Heir): (b) Three husbandmen in a vineyard with wattled fence and tall tower, drag in the young man from *L.*: (c) he lies prostrate, and the three men attack him with ball-headed mace, axe and spear.

2. *Cleansing of the Temple.* Under three arches with turrets above them (a) a group of 12 Apostles (two have books), (b) a table with money falling: Christ going *R.* with scourge of 3 lashes, points to a table with doves on it: (c) a crowd going off to *R.*, with cattle.

3. *Feeding of the Five Thousand.* *L.* the Apostles: *C.* Christ seated on a mound faces *R.*: two Apostles offer to him (a) five round

cakes, (b) two fish in a boat-shaped dish: *R.* seven tiers of people sit facing *L.*

f. 2b. Border of lozenges.

4. *Healing of the Man born blind.* *L.* the Apostles: *C.* Christ with his fingers on the eyes of the blind man, who wears a rough cloak covered with spiky points, and blue trousers: *R.* blind man facing *R.*, his hands on his eyes. Water flows on his face from a green aperture in the upper corner.

5. *The Woman taken in adultery.* *L.* the Apostles: Christ stooping with *R.* hand writes on the ground, with *L.* hand points up at a shrinking woman. *R.* three Jews with their laps full of stones: the foremost (on *L.*) has a stone in his raised hand.

6. *Raising of Lazarus.* *L.* the Apostles. Christ facing *R.*: at his feet are Mary and Martha: one kneels to him, the other kisses his feet. *R.* a man, leaning on an upright tombstone, holds his hand with his sleeve drawn over it to his nose: an arched tomb with low brickwork in front: Lazarus, swathed, stands in it: one of a crowd on *R.* holds one end of the swathings, and holds his nose with the other hand.

f. 3a. Border.

7. *The Good Samaritan.* *L.* the traveller lies on the ground: he wears one loose garment: three men attack him with spear, sword and hands. *R.* he lies naked and bleeding, wounded in the stomach: a tonsured deacon in dalmatic looks back at him: a tonsured priest in a shorter garment with a staff, crutch-headed with volutes (a cambutta) walks to *R.*

8. (*continued*). *L.* the traveller lying on the ground: the Samaritan bending over him pours oil and wine into the wound. *R.* the Samaritan walks beside an ass led by a servant: on the ass is the traveller whom the Samaritan is supporting: his head and stomach are bandaged. A very clever picture.

9. *Zacchæus.* *L.* Apostles. Christ, holding a roll, talks to Zacchæus, who sits in a rich conventional tree.

f. 3b.

10. *Christ and the Jews* (John x.). Under four arches with tiled roofs above: the 1st and 3rd (from *L.*) are broad, the 2nd and 4th narrow. (a) *L.* Jews in short tunics, some in pointed caps, disputing with (b) Christ with book, facing *L.*: (c) Jews with stones in their raised hands walk towards (d) Christ walking to *R.* holding his garment up to his face with both hands.

11. *The Wedding Garment.* *L.* a man in pointed hat, bearded, stands at the end of a table at which are five guests: he is saying "amicæ quo modo huc intravisti." The guest nearest him has a tattered cloak and nothing else: *C.* the same guest in tattered cloak and trousers is led to *R.* with bound hands and feet by two men: one drags his hair, the

other holds a rope attached to his hands: *R.* he is seated with hands and feet bound and dishevelled hair: a man stands over him, with a hand on his shoulder.

12. *The Entry into Jerusalem.* *L.* the Apostles: Christ with a roll rides to *R.* on an ass: a man in a tree casts down branches, one of which the ass has in his mouth. Men in the gate of a city hold branches and face *L.* The foremost is spreading a green garment.

f. 4a.

13. *The Last Supper.* A table. Five Apostles: Christ blessing, with his *R.* hand: John (with slight beard) in his lap, with his *L.* hand Christ puts the sop into the mouth of Judas, who is light-haired, has no nimbus, and kneels on the near side of the table. Five Apostles sit on *R.* All save Judas are nimbed. On the table are three fishes in boat-shaped dishes, and three cakes marked with cross lines.

14. *Washing of Feet.* Under five arches. *L.* attendant with towel: Christ kneeling, holds Peter's foot in his *L.* hand: his *R.* hand is raised, and he is speaking. The foot is over a laver with globular bowl and ornamented base. Peter sits with his *R.* hand on his head. On *R.* sit eight Apostles in a row, some cross-legged, all barefoot: some of them wear hose with a band passing under the foot. They are not nimbed.

15. *Betrayal.* Peter with raised sword in *R.* hand, scabbard in *L.* Malchus carrying a lantern on a staff—the whole not unlike a *labarum*—shrinks away from him. Two attendants: one seizes the *R.* hand of Christ, whom Judas kisses. Eight attendants on *R.*, two in pointed hats or helmets: one seizes the *L.* hand of Christ. Their weapons are spears, halberts and maces.

f. 4b. This and the following leaves have hardly any colour—save occasionally in the hair and beards of the figures.

16. (a) *The Scourging.* Pilate throned. Christ full-face, is bound to a pillar: the tormentor on *L.* has a birch, the one on *R.* a scourge with three lashes and balls at their ends.

17. (b) *The Crowning with Thorns.* Christ seated full-face, with bandaged eyes: one mocker kneels on each side: three more press the crown of thorns on his head; one has his hand raised to strike. They have two long staves, but only one is being used to press down the crown.

18. *Simon bearing the Cross.* *L.* two soldiers: a Priest with mitre: two attendants: Christ half-nude is led by his bound hands by a third attendant. Simon preceded by another man bears the cross.

19. *The Crucifixion.* *L.* a Priest and four others point to *R.* A thief on the cross, his eyes bandaged, his arms bound over the beam, his feet bound to the upright. *C.* the Virgin facing *R.*: a man with lance and bucket: Christ crowned with thorns, nailed with four nails: the cross, especially the cross-beam, is of rough wood. The drapery is rather long: the title blank: Stepaton on *R.* with a vase on the end of a stick.

R. John, bearded, faces *L.* The second thief crucified like the first, and with eyes bandaged. A Priest and three Jews face *L.* and point.

f. 5a.

20. *The Deposition.* Three women face *R.* The Virgin kisses the *R.* hand of Christ which is detached from the cross. Joseph (?) supports the body. Nicodemus (?) engaged in detaching the feet, (one is already freed): another man draws the nail out of the *L.* hand with pincers. John, his head on his hand, faces *L.*: he has a book. Three men face *L.*

21. (a) *The Entombment.* Two women, one with a casket. Joseph supports the head, Nicodemus the feet of Christ, who is swathed in linen: his beard does not appear. They place him in a sarcophagus ornamented with ζ 's. Behind it are three trees: on *R.* two men face *L.*, one has a vessel.

22. (b) *The Jews ask Pilate for a guard.* A crowd of Jews face *R.*: two of them have mitres, most of them pointed hats. Pilate, throned and facing *L.*, talks to them.

23. *The Angel and the Women.* *L.* eight soldiers lie, foot to foot: their lances are above them: a bow, quiver, axe, sword and spear lie in front. They have circular shields with central spike, and pointed casques with nose-pieces. *R.* an angel with gold face (smeared: it was probably added later) sits on the tomb-slab: on *L.* of him is the sepulchre: this is a two-storied building, of which the lower story is square with four round-headed open arches: one only is seen; and displays curtains looped back and a lamp hanging in the midst above the tomb. It has a sloping tiled roof, out of which grows a hexagonal second story with small round-headed windows, surmounted by a tiled dome with a small ball at the top. The angel talks to three women facing *L.*, two of whom have caskets.

f. 5b.

24. (a) *The Harrowing of Hell.* *L.* an angel stands over two prostrate gates, crossed. Christ, half-nude, pierces with bannered Resurrection-cross a prostrate devil in Hell-mouth, whose hands, legs and feet are bound. Rows of devils are seated round. With his *L.* hand Christ takes the hand of the foremost of five nude saints who are advancing.

25. (b) *Noli me tangere.* *L.* two trees: Mary Magdalene kneeling: Christ standing cross-nimbed (as always), with book, speaks to her.

26. (a) *Journey to Emmaus.* *L.* a tower on a hill: over it "Sol" a grotesque face. Pointing to this stands one (on *L.*) of two pilgrims in rough cloaks and hats, with sticks. The one on *R.* takes hold of the cloak of Christ, who is similarly dressed, and has a long staff.

27. (b) *Supper at Emmaus.* Under three arches, the three are at table. Christ, bare-headed, gives an exact half of a round cake to each pilgrim; each of whom has a hand raised.

28. (a) *The Return from Emmaus.* The two pilgrims talking together: a closed city gate on *R.*

29. (b) *The Incredulity of Thomas.* Under five arches. Five Apostles: Thomas exploring the side of Christ, who is half-nude, with raised arms: five more Apostles on *R.*

f. 6a.

30. (a) *The Fish and Honeycomb.* Two Apostles: one presents a dish of honey (indicated by crossed lines): Christ seated alone at a table, full-face, his hands extended: on the table are two dishes and a round cross-marked cake: on *R.* two more Apostles, one presenting half a fish on a dish.

31. (b) *The Appearance at the Lake.* Four Apostles in a ship with a sail: a cross on the mast-head: one has a steering-paddle, one an oar. Peter, half-naked, steps on the water towards Christ, who stands on the shore.

32. (continued) (a) A dragon-headed boat, half seen: two Apostles in it hold one end of a net full of fish: two Apostles on the shore hold the other end.

33. (continued) (b) Six Apostles: a beaked fish lying on a red heap (of coals): above it (in air) a crossed cake with a small circle in each quarter: Christ facing *L.* invites the Apostles.

34. (a) *Christ on the Mountain.* Five Apostles, two standing, three kneeling: Christ, full-face, with book, stands on a mound, blessing: six more Apostles, three standing and three kneeling.

35. (b) *Christ and the Eleven.* (Mark xvi.) Under four arches. Christ facing *R.* speaks to eleven Apostles seated at a table, of which three legs are seen.

f. 6b.

36. *The Ascension.* *L.* six Apostles facing *R.* look up: above, an angel flying down points to *R.*: *C.* above, the feet and legs of Christ seen in a cloud: below, the Virgin (the only figure not barefoot) full-face, looks up: *R.* four Apostles facing *L.* look up: above, an angel flying down points to *L.*

37. *The Decollation of S. John Baptist.* *L.* a table: three guests and Herod, who is crowned: he speaks to Salome, a long-haired girl, who places on the table a dish with the head of the Baptist, very cleverly drawn. Below the table, Salome is again seen, her feet over her head, she resting on her elbows and on the hilts of two swords which she holds. *R.* an executioner sheathing his sword: the Baptist's head in front of him is falling to the ground: the body is leaning over the window-sill of an elaborate tower.

f. 7a.

38. *The Father and Son.* *L.* a six-winged seraph on a wheel. *C.* the Father and Son seated full-face in a Vesica, with moduled border. The arms of the Father clasp the Vesica: the Son has a cruciform nimbus and is blessing: he is on the *L.* The two bodies unite at the hips into one

lower half, seated on a cushioned seat. *R.* a six-winged seraph on a wheel. This picture is no doubt meant to be taken in connexion with the next.

39. *The Descent of the Holy Ghost.* Under three gables, above which are a tiled roof and turrets. Under the central gable, two hands hold the Dove, head downwards, with open beak, whence red rays diverge upon *L.* five Apostles seated: *C.* the Virgin seated, full-face, and *R.* six Apostles seated.

f. 7b. *The Last Judgment.* Full page. In the centre is a Vesica intersecting the Cross below. In the Vesica is Christ seated, his arms depressed, the palms of his hands shewn. On *R.* and *L.* of the Vesica stand at top three Angels in clouds (six in all): below sit two rows of Apostles (twelve, arranged in threes), with open books. On each of the transverse arms of the cross stand two nails: at the base two angels kneel and support it: on *L.* stands an angel with the lance: on *R.* one with the crown of thorns. Below the cross is a horizontal line across: below that, on *L.* an ornamented tower with six faces seen at the windows. An angel at the gate. Four ecclesiastics, and an Emperor: four of them have palms: *R.* an angel looking to *R.*: a devil: a crowd of naked souls (one is an Emperor) with chains round their necks: Devils drag them into Hell-mouth.

This is the last of the xith century drawings: the absence of any of the favourite Nativity subjects is remarkable: very likely they are lost. The treatment of the Ministry of our Lord is in accordance with the best traditions of early art, as exemplified for us at Cambridge by the Gregorian Gospels at Corpus Christi College. The reason of the special prominence given to the Decollation of S. John Baptist must be sought in the unknown individuality of the artist whose patron may have been the Baptist, or in the connexions of the Monastery where the drawings were done, supposing them not to be productions of Bury Abbey. In any case, they are the most important early Gospel-pictures in Cambridge, next to those in the Gregorian Gospels above mentioned.

f. 8a begins the Prologue of Jerome to Damasus in double columns, in a xith cent. hand. At the top, enclosed in a border, are the words: Reginaldus de Denham Sacrista Sancti Eadmundi dedit hunc librum Sancto Eadmundo: qui eum alienauerit anathema sit.

There is a fine decorative initial to the Prologue, and other fine ones on the following page.

f. 12a. *Initial to S. Matthew's Gospel*, occupying two-thirds of a column. The back-ground is of gold, and inside that, of blue, with white dots in threes. A winged man sits full-face on a cushioned seat, under an arch lettered MATHEVS: he has a book.

Initial to the Prologue to S. Mark. A figure seated in a chair with a small desk on his knee and a scroll thereon, is cutting off his *L.* thumb with a knife. He has four heads: of a lion in front, of an eagle behind, of

a bull on *R.* and of a man in *C.*, the last three have scrolls. A medallion below on *L.* contains a half-length bearded prophet (Ezekiel) with scroll, pointing up.

This mysterious figure is S. Mark, 'ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος' as S. Hippolytus calls him: the old Prologue to his Gospel gives the story of his having cut off his thumb in order to avoid being made a bishop: the story grows out of the epithet κολοβοδάκτυλος, which, again, is derived from Mark's desertion of Paul and Barnabas. In the Bedford Hours is a picture of S. Mark cutting off his thumb: see a photograph of the page in Falconer Madan's *Books in Manuscript*.

Initial to S. Mark's Gospel. Very fine, with dragon and blue stork.

Initial to S. Luke's Gospel. Fine decorative Q.

Initial to Prologue to S. John. Fine H.

Initial to S. John's Gospel. An I occupying three-quarters of a column and containing three medallions:

- (1) Christ seated with his feet on a rainbow, book in hand, blessing.
- (2) S. John, eagle-headed and winged, sits holding a scroll across him.
- (3) S. John Baptist standing, in mantle and blue robe, bare-legged, holding a scroll 'fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat io.'

Initial to Acts. A magnificent decorative P.

Initial to S. James's Epistle. Decorative.

Initial to 1 Peter. Peter, throned, full-face, bare-headed, with tonsure: two keys (very large) and book.

Initial to 2 Peter. A small S.

Initial to Prologue to 1 John. A grotesque man.

To 1 John. Two Dragons facing each other, by a tree.

To 2 and 3 John. Fine decorative S's.

To Jude. An I of plaited work.

Pauline Epistles. Colossians follows 2 Thess. Note the initial to 2 Tim., a dragon holding a man's head. All have magnificent decorative letters with grotesques.

The Apocalypse has a decorative A.

The Colophon is:

NOMEN Guillelmi cuius manus hoc scripsit volumen in libro vite asscribatur.

Some discussion followed, at the conclusion of which the President expressed the thanks of the Society to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College for their kindness in allowing their manuscript to be exhibited at the meeting.

WEDNESDAY, *February 8th*, 1893.

Professor E. C. CLARK, President, in the chair.

The President called attention to the appeal of Professor Hughes for funds to enable the Exploration Committee to carry on the necessary work at the Roman Villa lately discovered at Swaffham Prior.

Dr Taylor, Master of S. John's College, exhibited a copy of a portrait of Alan Percy, second Master (1516—1518), which had been made for him by Mr Charles Edmund Brock, of Cambridge. The original, dated 1549, is in the Guildhall at Norwich. Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk*, describes it, and commends it as "a good picture¹."

Mr T. D. ATKINSON made the following communications :

I. ON A ROMAN HOUSE AT SWAFFHAM PRIOR.

During some agricultural operations on the land adjoining the Reach and Swaffham road in November, 1892, some pieces of brick and stone were brought to the surface, and the brick was at once recognized by Mr C. P. Allix, who happened to be near, as Roman. Mr Allix having communicated with Professor Hughes and myself, we immediately visited the spot, and five minutes' digging brought to light unmistakable evidence of a hypocaust. A length of straight wall, part of an apse, and several pilæ were exposed before evening. The foundations promising to be extensive, Professor Hughes, in the course of the next few days, formed a committee to undertake the systematic excavation of this and similar remains in the county, and subscriptions were collected for that purpose. With the consent of the owners² of the land and their tenants, the work was

¹ See *Baker's History of S. John's College*, ed. Mayor, i. 75—84; *Cooper's Athene Cantabrigienses*, i. 206, and the authorities there quoted; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 8vo edition, iii. 208, 261; iv. 229, 231, 298.

² The house is situated on two properties, the south-east part lies on the land of Mr John Smith, of Cambridge, held by Mr C. C. Ambrose, of

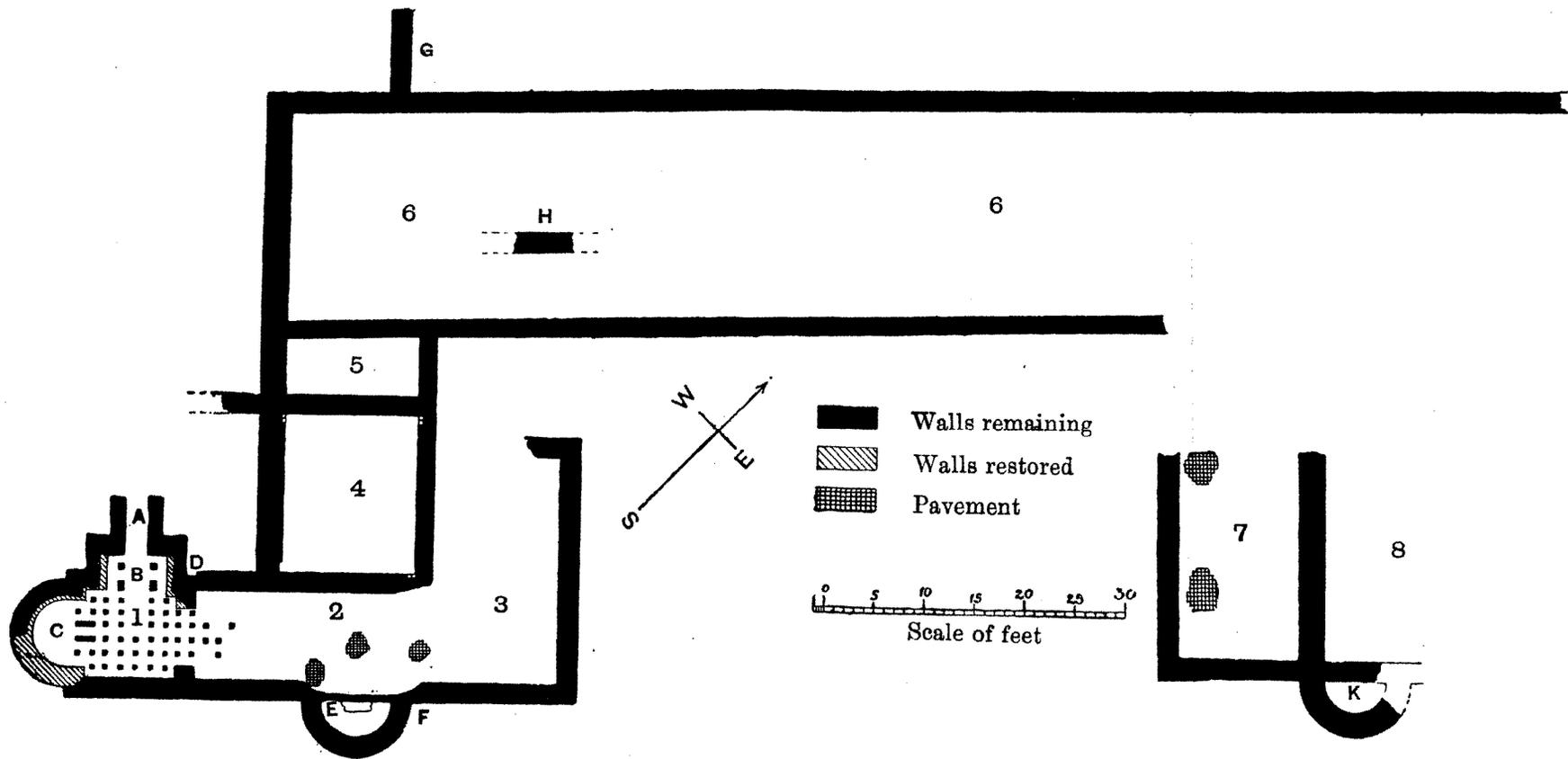


FIG. 1. Ground plan of Roman House at Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire, discovered in November, 1892.

continued during the mild weather, and finally covered up during the winter. It was proposed to resume work in the summer, but unexpected difficulties made this impossible. It is hoped that these will be eventually overcome, and that the unexplored part of the villa will be taken in hand next summer. In the meantime the stoppage of the work before any part was completely finished must be my excuse for the very incomplete character of this paper. The thanks of the committee are due to all who have subscribed towards the expense of the work, and more especially to Mr Allix and to Mr C. C. Ambrose for their liberal and kindly help.

The accompanying plan (fig. 1) shews the work exposed in 1892. It consists of three ranges or blocks of buildings nearly at right angles to one another, forming three sides of a court. A long range ran N.E. and S.W.; from the S.W. end of this range a building projected to the S.E.; and a similar building appears to have projected from the N.E. end. An apse projected from the S.E. face of each wing. So far as they were excavated, the two wings were found to be nearly symmetrical in other respects also. The foundations were covered by soil of an average depth of 6 inches.

The part examined in greatest detail was the S.W. wing. Of this the S.W. extremity contains a pillared hypocaust (1), the floor of which is 2ft. 6in. below the level of the ground floor in room 2. The stoke-hole (AB) was on the N.W. side. In the external angle formed by the projection of the stoke-hole and the main building there is a small recess (D) measuring 11in. wide and 5in. from back to front. Its object is uncertain. Perhaps it was carried to the top of the building, and received a pipe to carry the rain-water from the roof. The S.W. side terminated in an apse (C). The pilae filled an area measuring 9 ft. by 8 ft. 8 in. and extended into the wider part of the stoke-hole (B). Their arrangement in the apse (C) is not known, as this part had been destroyed by the workmen before Mr Allix saw it. The inner face of the remaining half of the apse was Swaffham Prior, and the north-west part on that of Mr Robert Pike, of Upware, held by Mr Robert Brown, of Reach.

also found to be ruined, but this destruction had taken place at some earlier time, and most probably from natural causes. How far the pilae originally extended to the N.E. does not appear, but before reaching the apse F some tessellated pavement was found without a hypocaust under it. The pillared hypocaust ended, probably, in horizontal flues which turned to the left and warmed room 4. The range of buildings figured 1, 2, 3 on the plan is about 9 ft. wide internally, and was probably divided by cross walls forming three separate rooms.

The apse F contained several large pieces of concrete, evidently part of a floor. None were in their original position, except, perhaps, that marked E. This may have been a step down to the apse, the floor of which appears to have been at a lower level than that of room 2.

Room 4 measures about 15 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 3 in. It was probably heated by a channel hypocaust, as mentioned above. The branches of these no doubt led to the small vertical flues in the angles of the room. Remains of the flue-pipes remain in three angles, and the recess in the fourth angle no doubt contained a similar flue. The wall between rooms 4 and 5 was continued further S.W., but was not followed.

The range figured 6 was not explored. A wall (G) projected a short distance from the back, and a fragment of wall (H) was found parallel with the side walls.

Rooms 7 and 8 were not examined. No. 7 contained patches of pavement similar to those in room 2. A small apse K projected from the S.E. side of room 8.

The uses to which the various rooms were put has not yet been made out. The S.W. wing (rooms 1—5) very likely contained the bath rooms, the apse F, with its sunk floor, suggesting a bath.

It remains to give some account of the construction and materials.

The walls were of flint and well built. All angles were formed with bricks 1 ft. 4 in. long, 10 in. wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. The walls vary in thickness from 1 ft. 9 in. to 2 ft. 6 in., those of the hypocaust being 2 ft. thick. They were covered with plaster

on the outside as well as the inside. The pilae of the hypocaust are about 9 in. apart, and are formed with bricks $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. square, and with an average thickness of $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. The lowest brick of each pillar is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, and thus forms a base. The bricks are bedded in clay, the beds being $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick on an average. The bricks of four of the pilae in the stoke-hole are rather larger, and on the chord of the apse C two pilae have been joined respectively with the two adjacent, by filling up the spaces between with bricks, thus forming two large piers. None of the floor above remained and none of the pillars were intact, the highest stump being 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. A considerable number of pieces of pottery, plaster, concrete, roofing tiles, and flue-pipes were found in the *débris* between the pilae.

Patches of tessellated pavement of the common roughly shaped red tesserae, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. square and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, were found in rooms 2 and 7. In room 2 one of the patches partly overlay the S. wall. This probably shews that the wall was thinner above the floor level, though an instance occurs at Silchester of a wall built on the pavement. The walls of apse F were lined internally with *opus signinum* about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and fallen, pieces of greater thickness were found among the *débris* in the apse.

The plaster found in the hypocaust was coloured yellow, black, and red, the latter being much the commonest. The roofing tiles were flat with flanges. They were about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick, and the flanges stood up about 1 in. They were about 18 in. long, and in width they tapered from about 13 in. to about 11 in. These tiles were so shaped that tiles of the same pattern could be used upside down as covering tiles over the joints. Some half-round tapering tiles for the same purpose were also found, so that it cannot be said which sort was used. A number of fragments of flue tiles were also found in the hypocaust. These were square, measuring 3 in. inside and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. outside. In room 4 these were placed in pairs side by side, in recesses in the wall made to receive them. Two or three iron cramps, probably to secure the flue-tiles, were also turned out. The pottery consisted of common black, brown,

and red ware and three small pieces of Samian. Oyster shells were found, and a considerable number of bones, including those of the horse, small ox allied to *Bos longifrons*, sheep, and pig.

II. ON THE HALL OF MICHAEL HOUSE.

Last summer, during some alterations in the buildings to the south of the hall of Trinity College, some foundations were exposed which were clearly those of the hall of Michael House, and two or three fragments of stone, easily recognizable as parts of the oriel, were found. These discoveries add something to our knowledge of the buildings of the second college founded in Cambridge.

Michael House was founded in 1324¹ in what is now the south-west corner of the great court of Trinity College. We do not know much about any of the buildings except those which survived the foundation of Trinity College, and which are shewn in some old views and plans. New buildings were erected in the middle of the 15th century, and again about fifty years later. It is probably to one of these occasions that the building of the hall may be attributed.

In 1546 Trinity College was founded by Henry VIII., and to make way for it King's Hall, Physwick Hostel, and Michael House were surrendered to the king. King's Hall provided the college with a chapel, and each of the three with a hall and chambers. In 1550-1 and 1551-2 some of the buildings of each of these older foundations were destroyed, including part of Michael House. The hall of the latter, however, was retained as the hall of the new college.

In 1554-5 a new buttery and kitchen were built, and it is possible that the hall was lengthened at the same time. Michael House contained only 21 persons, but its hall had now to receive in addition the scholars from King's Hall and Physwick Hostel—an increase, it would appear, of between 80

¹ The following facts relating to the history of Michael House and Trinity College are taken from Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*.

and 90 persons. If the hall was not enlarged, it must have been much too large for Michael House, or much too small for Trinity College.

The evidence for the reconstruction of the plan of the building is derived from the following sources. (1) Hamond's map of Cambridge, made in 1592; (2) a plan preserved in Trinity College Library, shewing a proposed re-arrangement of the buildings round the great court, probably made about 1595, and which I shall refer to as the Library plan; (3) a view by Loggan taken about 1688¹; (4) the foundations discovered in 1892. It is almost needless to say that none of the first three agree among themselves, or with the actual work discovered.

(1) Hamond's map shews a hall roofed with slate, and with the wall finished by a battlemented parapet instead of with overhanging eaves like most of the other buildings. There is an oriel and a range of four windows. The roof is surmounted by a louvre. The building to the south of the hall is in two storeys with attics in the roof, and two chimneys rise from the west wall. No buttresses are shewn. The building to the north of the screens, with a large chimney rising from its east wall, is evidently the kitchen.

(2) The Library plan is not dated, but it is believed by Mr Clark to have been made about 1595². I reproduce so much of it (fig. 1) as is required for the illustration of this paper. It was evidently intended to shew a scheme for completing the college buildings, but unfortunately it does not distinguish between the old buildings to be retained and those to be rebuilt or added. Nor is it known to what extent it was carried out. It differs from Hamond's map in shewing two windows to the south of the oriel where Hamond shews three, and two windows between the oriel and the door to the screens where Hamond shews four. The plan shews no windows in the west wall of the hall. This is probably an intentional omission,

¹ These are all reproduced by Willis and Clark, vol. ii. fig. 3, pp. 402, 403; fig. 10, pp. 464, 465; fig. 7, pp. 460, 461.

² Willis and Clark, vol. ii. pp. 464, 465.

as in all the other buildings—and notably in the chapel—the only windows shewn are those looking into the court, except when a room can only be lighted by a window in the external wall. There is a round hearth in the centre of the hall agreeing with the louvre shewn by Hamond. In the two rooms to the south of the hall no fireplaces are shewn, while Hamond makes it clear that they or the rooms above them had fireplaces, for he shews chimneys rising from the west wall. The northernmost of these two rooms opened out of the hall,

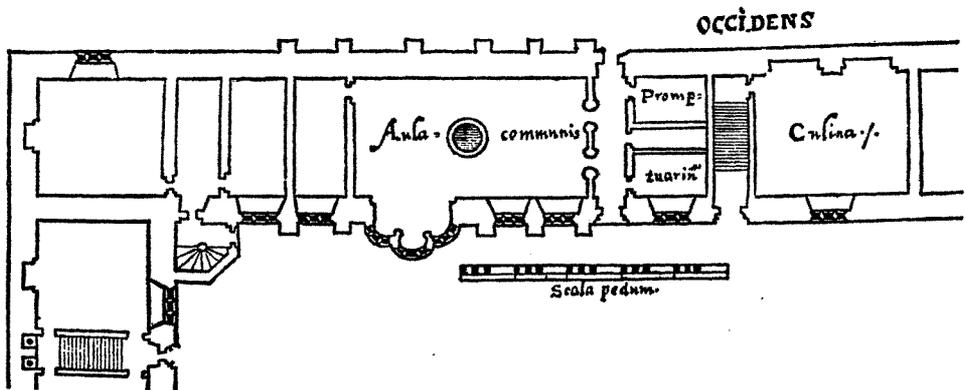


FIG. 1. South-west corner of the Great Court of Trinity College, reduced from a plan preserved in the College Library, probably made about 1595.

and was therefore probably the parlour, and no doubt had a fireplace. The kitchen, to the north of the hall, differs entirely from that shewn by Hamond. It has two large fireplaces in the west wall, and is lighted from the east, whereas Hamond shews a large chimney rising from the east wall. The means of communication between the hall and kitchen is not very clearly shewn on the plan, but must have been down the passage between the pantry and buttery, and then under the stairs which intervene between those offices and the kitchen. There is an error of 20 feet in the total length of the west side of the court, which is given as "225 pedes," whereas it really measured 245 feet before Nevile altered it. This is no doubt due to the surveyor having measured the east side of the court and made the west side equal to it. He shews the court as a parallelogram, whereas, actually, it is an irregular trapezium.

(3) Loggan's view was taken about 1688. Before that time the court had assumed its present shape and proportions. In 1604 the old butteries and kitchen had been removed, and the present hall built on their site. The old hall, on the other hand, had been converted into butteries. The passage between the new hall and butteries occupied—as I hope to shew—exactly the same position as that between the old hall and butteries. A new kitchen had been built on the west side of the old hall, a part of the west wall of which had been pulled down, and the kitchen intruded into the area of the hall. The buttresses of the hall had been pulled down and the interior divided into three storeys like the building to the south. New windows were of course necessary. But, strange to say, the old oriel was preserved. It would seem that this was due to admiration of its architecture, for it must have become useless, or at least inconvenient, after the building had been divided into several storeys. Whatever the cause, its preservation till Loggan's time was most fortunate, as that draughtsman's marvellous accuracy in points which can be tested leaves no doubt that in this case also he is perfectly exact¹.

The whole building between the present hall and the south-west corner of the court, including the oriel, was finally destroyed in 1772, and "an elegant building erected in its place by the ingenious Mr Essex." As cellars were formed under the new building, it was necessary to remove the foundations of the old walls. The rubble foundations, however, of the oriel and of four buttresses were left undisturbed (fig. 2, A, B, C, D, E), while two buttresses (*ibid.*, A, B) also retain the lowest course of dressed masonry. We must then take these foundations as our starting point in the reconstruction of the plan.

¹ Although it does not bear on the present subject, I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that the existence of this oriel influenced Dr Nevile (Master 1592—1615) in building the semicircular oriel to the Master's Lodge. These two windows and the doors of the hall and Lodge, balance about the oriel of the present hall, which is in the centre of this side of the court, with an exactness which can scarcely have been purely accidental at a period when symmetry was so much considered.

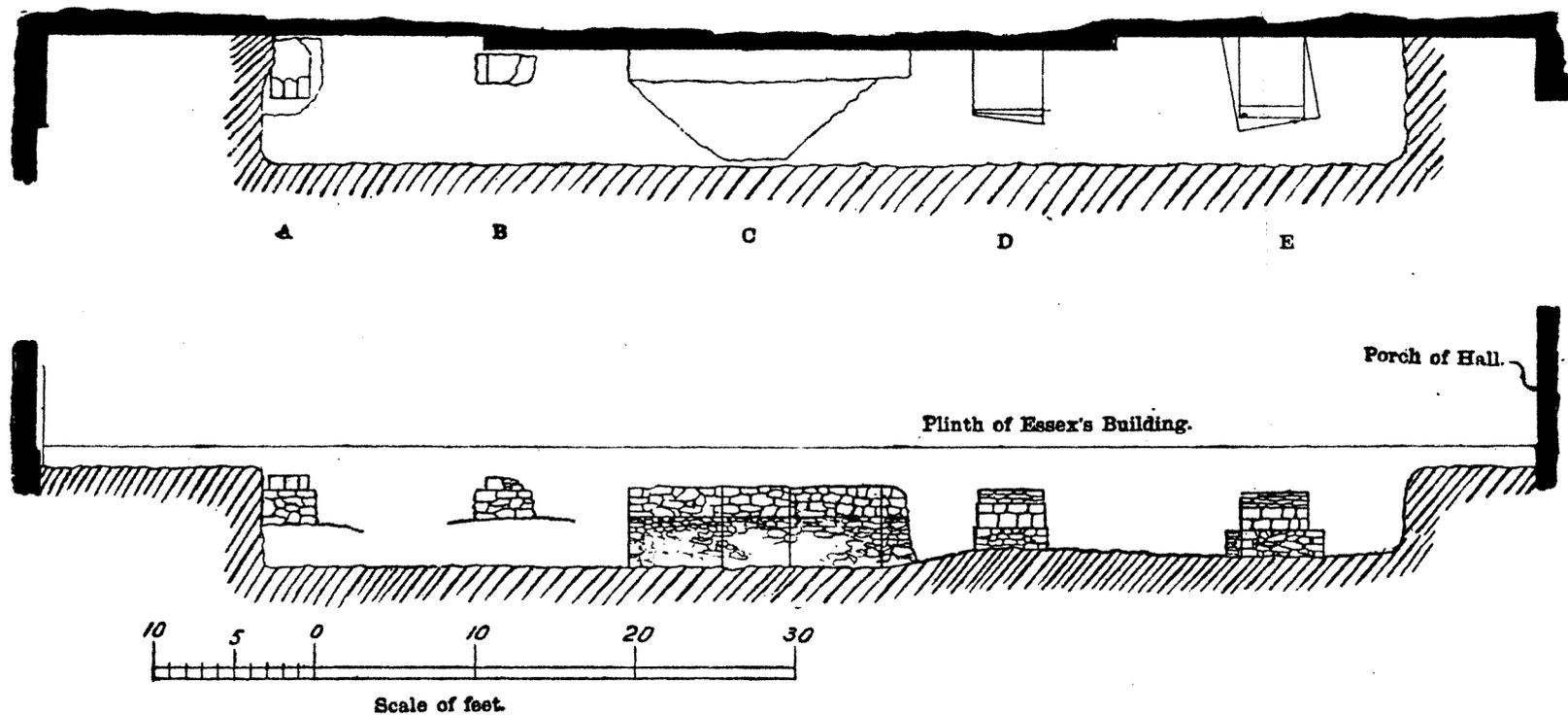


FIG. 2. Ground plan and elevation of the foundations of the oriel and buttresses of the hall of Michael House.

The two buttresses of the hall (D, E) are 16 ft. 9 in. apart, measuring from centre to centre, while the Library plan shews them 9 feet apart. The buttresses to the south of the oriel (A, B) are 13 ft. 6 in. apart, while the Library plan shews them to be 10 ft. apart. Again, the plan shews the oriel with an external width of 19 ft. while the foundation is only 18 ft. wide. It is clear, therefore, that if the plan represents the general arrangement of the hall, it certainly is not to be trusted in the matter of dimensions. If we take the plan to be right in making the south end of the hall opposite to the first buttress south of the oriel, and in shewing three buttresses to the hall, and if we make these buttresses 16 ft. 9 in. apart, as shewn by the foundations, we get a hall at least 70 feet long, including the screens, instead of 50 feet, as shewn in the Library plan. But it will be remembered that the Library plan shews the north side of the court 20 feet too short. This will account for the hall being shewn 50 feet long instead of 70 feet. These dimensions place the old screens passage in the position of the present one. The internal width of the hall, according to the Library plan, was 24 feet. But if it had been no more than this the kitchen of 1605 would not have projected into it, as we are expressly told it did¹. It is possible that an external width of 35 feet as shewn on the plan is approximately correct, and that the walls instead of being 5 feet thick as shewn, were about 3 ft. 6 in., leaving for the hall an internal width of 28 feet. The plan shews the hall of the same width as the Master's rooms, which form part of the present Lodge. These are 28 feet wide. The plan itself, therefore, proves its own inaccuracy. Seventy feet by twenty-eight would certainly have been a large hall for Michael House, the average dimensions of the Cambridge halls being about 57 feet long by 27 feet wide. The foundations of the most northerly of the buttresses shewn in the Library plan have not been exposed. If they should turn out to be of workmanship different to those of the two further south, there will be good

¹ *Arch. Hist.* ii. 467.

reason for assuming that the hall was lengthened after the foundation of Trinity College.

The fragments of the oriel referred to above consist of some pieces of a horizontal moulding, either a string-course or a hood-mould, some fragments of mullion, and one piece of a transom (fig. 3). It will be seen that the latter is par-

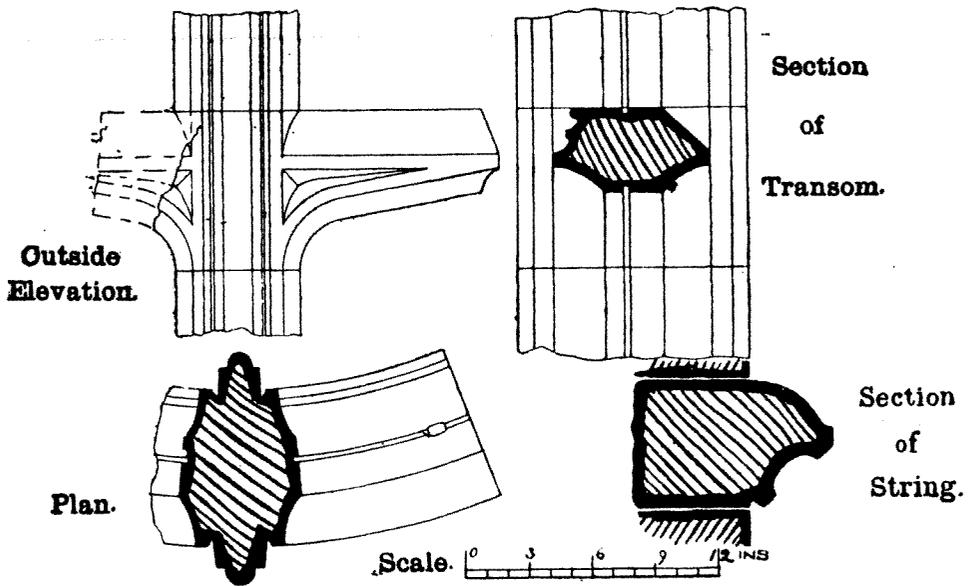


FIG. 3. Remains of the oriel in the hall of Michael House.

ticularly valuable as giving not only the radius of the circles forming the plan of the oriel, but also the mouldings of both the transom and the mullions, and the character of the window generally. It shews that the transoms were arched, but that the sub-arches were not cusped, and that the transom was of less depth, from inside to outside, than the mullion. It is also clear that the fragment forms half the arch, and we have therefore, the width of the light. This information enables us, with the assistance of the authorities already quoted, to reconstruct the general elevation and plan of the hall with some degree of certainty. The latter I have attempted (fig. 4). The use of the southernmost room (1) is not clear, possibly it is an ordinary chamber. The room next to it on the north (2) is evidently the parlour, entered from the high-table end of the hall (3), called *Aula communis* on the Library plan. At the

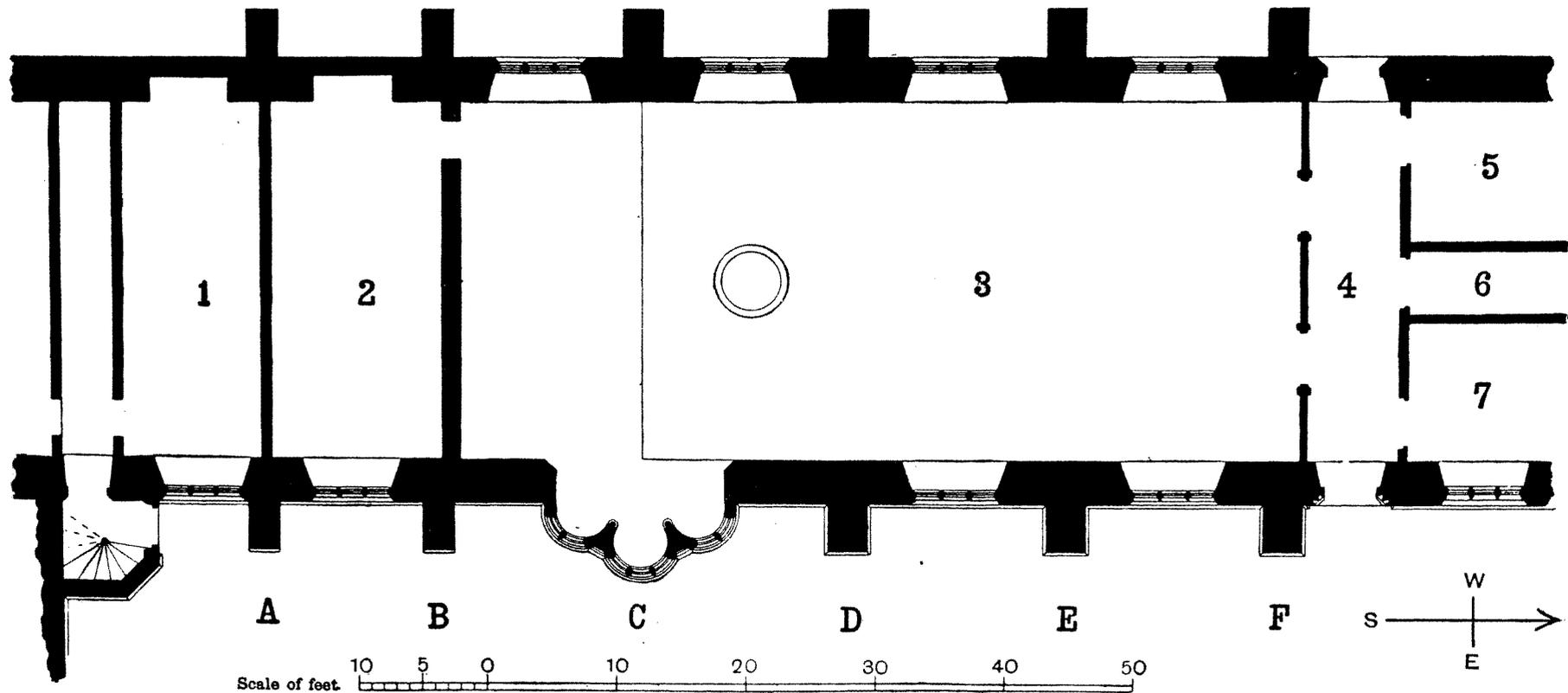


FIG. 4. Suggested restoration of the ground-plan of the hall of Michael House.

north end of the hall are the screens, and the thoroughfare from the court to the yard or garden on the west (4). It is known from an Inventory taken in 1560 that in this College there was a gallery over the screen¹. Beyond the thoroughfare again are two rooms (5), (7) lettered *Promptuarium* on the plan. They were probably used as buttery and pantry. Between them is the passage (6) to the kitchen (*Culina*).

III. ON EXCAVATIONS AT ELY CATHEDRAL.

By permission of the Dean and Chapter, some excavations were made during July 1892 in the open space to the south of the south transept of Ely Cathedral, with a view to finding the foundations of the Chapter House. Trial holes were dug in the positions shewn in the plan (fig. 1). Foundations were

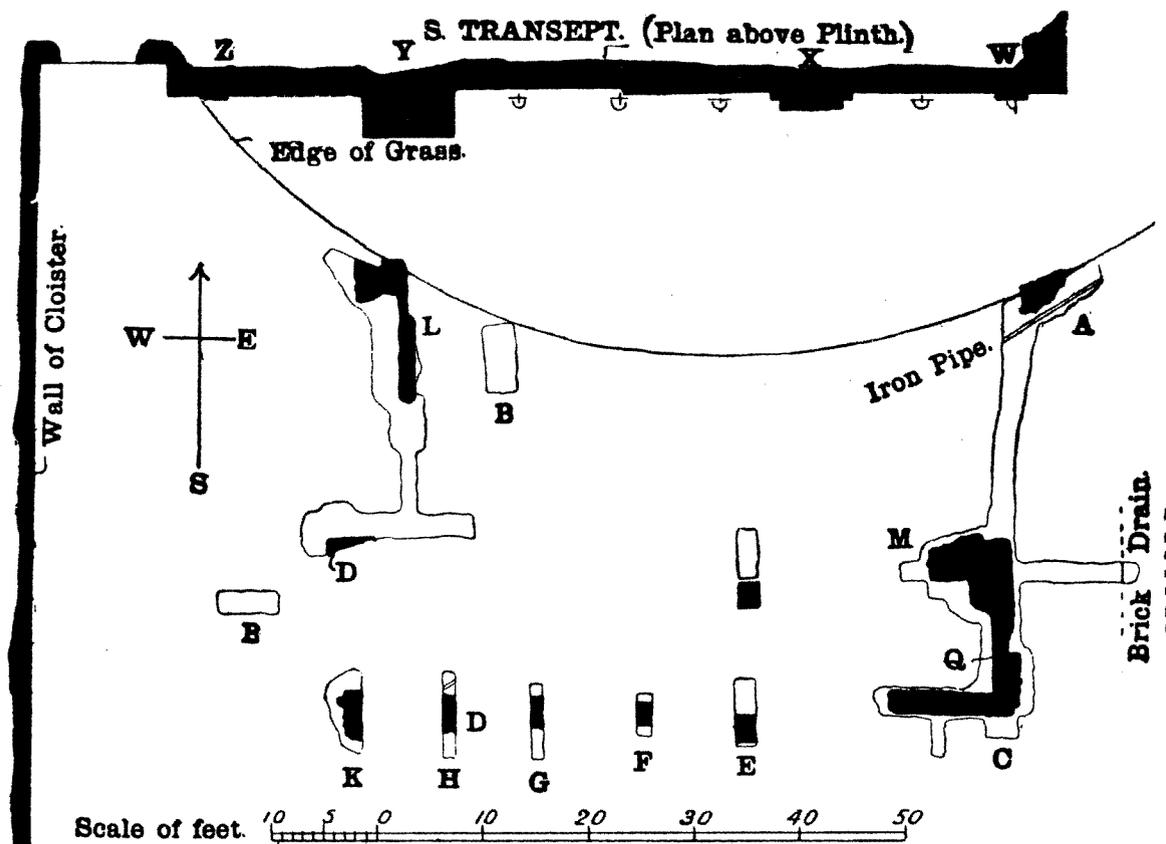


FIG. 1. Excavations on the site of the Chapter House at Ely Cathedral.

¹ *Arch. Hist.* iii. 361.

found in most of these holes, but they were in a very fragmentary condition, having apparently been long used as a quarry, and the work was not followed up. It is, however, thought to be worth while to record what was done. In hole C a piece of ashlar-facing (Q) two courses high was found. This probably indicated the east wall of the Chapter House, the work in the series of holes E to K being remains of the south wall. M is probably the foundation of the floor. In the holes marked B nothing was found.

By the kindness of the Dean, Archdeacon Chapman was able to make a similar series of trial holes on the west side of the cloister. Foundations were found which appeared to be those of the west wall of the west walk of the cloisters, after their enlargement in the fifteenth century. These foundations lie at a distance of 11 ft. west of the wall which separates the Deanery kitchen-garden from the flower-garden. Originally no doubt this walk of the cloisters was further to the east, and led directly to the remarkable door in the south aisle of the church.

MONDAY, *February 27th*, 1893.

Professor E. C. CLARK, President, in the chair.

W. H. St John HOPE, M.A., (Peterhouse), gave a lecture on *The Cluniac Priory at Castle Acre, Norfolk*, the remains of which he had recently excavated.

FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 17 *May*, 1893.

Professor E. C. CLARK, President, in the chair.

The President announced that the following new members had been elected :

Arthur Gray, M.A., Jesus College.

Edward Ernest Sikes, M.A., St John's College.

Alfred William Stephen Cross, Gonville and Caius College.

The following Officers were elected for 1893-94 :

President : F. J. H. Jenkinson, M.A.

Vice-President : Professor E. C. Clark.

Members of Council :

Professor Ridgeway.

Professor Macalister.

Professor Middleton.

Dr Glaisher.

Treasurer : W. M. Fawcett, M.A.

Secretary : M. R. James, M.A.

Assistant Secretary : T. D. Atkinson, Esq.

Auditors : W. W. Rouse Ball, M.A. R. Bowes, Esq.

The Annual Report was presented to the Society.

The President delivered an address on retiring from office¹.

Professor ALLBUTT gave a lecture on *The Trade in Amber in ancient times*.

Professor HUGHES, in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Allbutt, said that the best guide to the period of the formation of amber was the insects found preserved in it, which shewed it to be of late Tertiary age. The date at which the trade in amber began was full of difficulty. The relative positions in which objects of such different specific gravity as amber and stone or bronze were found in the Lake dwellings of Switzerland was of doubtful value as evidence. The amber found at Girton had been certainly associated with bronze, but it was with bronze of Roman and Saxon age, and, therefore, had no connection with the bronze period.

Professor SKEAT made some interesting remarks on the etymology of the word Amber, and said it was of Arabic origin.

Beautiful specimens of amber were exhibited by the Master of Corpus.

¹ Printed, with the Annual Report, in the *List of the Members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, May 17, 1893. 8vo. Camb. 1893.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 17, 1893.

A. From various Donors :

From the Author :

Index Armorial to an Emblazoned MS. of the surname of French. By
A. D. W. French.

From the Author :

The Prymer or Prayer Book of the lay people in the Middle Ages.
Pt. II.

From the Author :

The Underground Life. By David Macritchie.

From the Author :

Excavations in Bakerly and Wansdyke, 1888—91. By Lt.-General Pitt
Rivers, F.S.A. Vol. III.

From N. C. Hardcastle, LL.D. :

Archæologia. Vol. 53, No. 1.

From the Author :

Notes on Oxborough. By E. M. Beloe.

From the Author :

Latrines of the East. By E. S. Morse.

Natural Selection and Crime. By the same.

A Curious Aino Toy. By the same.

On the older forms of Roofing Tiles. By the same.

From the Author :

Theophrastus *περὶ νόμων*. By H. Hager.

C. A. S. Comm. Vol. VIII.

From the Author :

The "Ashwates" of William of Worcester. By H. B. S. Woodhouse.

From the Author :

The Antiquities of Pola and Aquileia (last part). By B. Lewis.

From the Author :

A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society. By E. J. Boyce.

From the Rev. J. W. Iliffe :

Science and Art Directory, 1890.

From the Canadian Institute :

Fasciculus I. No. 5.

„ II. Nos. 1—3.

From Kongl. Vitterhets Akademiens :

Handlingar. Part 13.

Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige. Pt. 8, Nos. 1, 2.

Månadsblad. Nos. 169—216 (1886—9).

Teckningar ur Svenska Statens Historiska. Första, Dundra, Treja.

From the Editor :

The Antiquary. Vol. 26, Nos. 152—157 ; Vol. 27, Nos. 158—161.

From the Editor :

The Reliquary. Vol. VI, Nos. 1, 3, 4 ; Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2.

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

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (W. H. ST J. HOPE, M.A., *Assistant Secretary*, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.):
Proceedings, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1, 2.
2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (MILL STEPHENSON, B.A., F.S.A., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, W.):
Nothing received this year.
3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (E. J. WELLS, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Sandown House, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
Transactions, Vol. III, Part 2.
4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (Rev. L. RAGG, M.A., *Hon. Librarian*, Christ Church, Oxford):
Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (Rev. C. R. MANNING, M.A., F.S.A., Diss, Norfolk; and Rev. W. HUDSON, M.A., 42, Prince of Wales Road, Norwich, *Hon. Secretaries*):
Nothing received this year.
6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. HASLEWOOD, F.S.A., St Matthew's Rectory, Ipswich):
Proceedings, Vol. VIII, Part 1.
7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex):
Nothing received this year.
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
Transactions, Vol. XIX, with general index.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
Collections, Vol. XXXVIII.
10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
Transactions, 2nd Series, Vol. v, Part 3, with index to 2nd Series.
11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stoneygate, Leicester):
Nothing received this year.
12. The Architectural Society of the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):
Reports and papers read during the year 1891.
13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Curator*, Rev. J. MANSELL, 12 Kremlin Drive, Liverpool):
Nothing received this year.
14. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Secretary*, R. BLAIR, Esq., The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):
Archaeologia Aeliana, Vol. XVI. No. 1. Part 42.
Proceedings, Vol. v, Nos. 21—32.
Index to Vol. v. Vol. VI, Nos. 1—4.
15. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Secretary*, Rev. R. TREVOR OWEN, M.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry):
Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), Nos. 35—37.

16. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. xxvi.
17. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
Journal of the Society, Vol. xv.
18. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, R. COCHRANE, Esq., F.S.A., 7 St Stephen's Green, Dublin):
Proceedings and papers, Fifth Series, Vol. II, Nos. 1—4.
19. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. POL NICARD, Musée du Louvre, Paris):
Mémoires, 1884—7.
Bulletin et Mémoires, 1890.
Bulletin, 1890.
20. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):
Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid. Parts VI—X.
21. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):
Nothing received this year.
22. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESENHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):
Nothing received this year.
23. 'H ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεὺς, Athens):
Nothing received this year.
24. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):
Reports 23rd and 24th years. Vol. IV, Nos. 3, 4.
Archaeological and Ethnographical Papers. Vol. I, No. 4.
25. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):
Annual Reports of the Board of Regents, 1889, 1890.
Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages. By J. C. Pilling.
Bibliography of the Athapascan Languages.
Bureau of Ethnology. 7th Report. 1890.
Volta Bureau. Report on the Education of the Deaf, 1892.
Bureau of Education. Circulars of Information. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11.

- Bureau of Education. Report, 1888—9. Vols. I, II.
 U. S. Survey. The Rocky Mountain Region. Vol. II, Parts 1, 2.
 Vol. IV.
 Contributions to North-American Ethnology.
 Dakota English Dictionary. By S. R. Riggs.
 Report on United States National Museum, 1890.
26. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHIL-
 LIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*,
 320 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
 Proceedings, 1890—1891.
27. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF,
 Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):
 Nothing received this year.
28. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq.,
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29. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGENE DUPREY, Queen Street,
 St Helier, Jersey):
 Bulletin Annuel, 1892.
30. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (JOHN E. PRICE,
 Esq., *Secretary*, 27 Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.):
 Transactions. New Series. Vol. I, Part 1.
31. The Surrey Archaeological Society (THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon.*
Sec., 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.):
 Collections of the Society, Vol. XI, Part 1.
32. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
 (J. A. TURNER, Esq., *Curator*, The Castle, Taunton):
 Proceedings. Vols. 37, 38.
33. Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Professor
 R. A. LIPSIVS, *Vorsitzender*, Jena):
 Zeitschrift der Vereins. Neue Folge. Band VII, Heft 3, 4.
 Band VIII, Heft 1, 2.
 Thüringische Geschichtsquellen. Neue Folge. Zweiter Band.
34. American Antiquarian Society (*Librarian*, E. M. BARTON, Esq.
 Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A.):
 Proceedings, Vol. VIII, Part 1.
35. The Johns Hopkins University (N. MURRAY, Esq., *Secretary of the*
Publication Agency, Baltimore, Maryland):
 University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Tenth
 Series, Parts 6—11; Eleventh Series, Part 1.

36. Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (Der Vorstand der historischen Gesellschaft, Posen, North Germany):
Die Historische Gesellschaft, 1892.
37. The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (E. J. MILES, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*, Via S. Basilio 20, Rome):
Journal, with list of members, Vol. II, No. 1.
38. The Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester (*Honorary Secretary*, T. HUGHES, Esq., F.S.A., The Groves, Chester):
Nothing received this year.
39. Clifton Antiquarian Club (*Honorary Secretary*, A. E. HUDD, Esq., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton):
Nothing received this year.
40. The British Archaeological Association (E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*):
Journal, Vol. XLVIII, Parts 2, 3, 4.
41. The Architectural and Archaeological Society of St Albans (The Rev. Canon DAVYS, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*):
Nothing received this year.
42. The Folk-lore Society (J. J. FOSTER, Esq., *Secretary*, 36 Alma Sq., St John's Wood, N.W.):
Nothing received this year.
43. The Société Archéologique de Constantine (Algeria) (*President*, M. A. POULLE, Maison des Domaines, Rue de France, Constantine, Algérie):
Recueil des Notices et Mémoires. 3rd Series. Vol. v.
44. The Société Française d'Archéologie (M. GAUGAIN, Rue Singer 18, Caen, Calvados, France):
Report of the *Congrès Archéologique de France*. Session LVI.
45. The Société Archéologique de Touraine (*Trésorier*, M. MARTIN, Quai S. Symphorien, Tours, Indre et Loire, France):
Bulletin, Vol. VIII, Trimestres 3, 4.
Mémoires. Tome xxxvii.
46. The Société Polymathique du Morbihan (M. le President, Vannes, Morbihan, France):
Nothing received this year.
47. Congress of Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries:
Classified Index of Archaeological Papers published in 1891.

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