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reply that I do not know. An ancient catalogue would give us some information, but, until one is found, we can only conjecture. I am inclined to think that the lectern-system would be adopted; and that the MSS reposed on sloping desks—to which they were probably chained.

Dr MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Provost of King's College, read the following paper:

THE TAPESTRIES AT AIX-EN-PROVENCE AND AT LA CHAISE DIEU.

1. *Aix-en-Provence.*

All the guide-books make mention of certain tapestries which are preserved partly in the choir of the Cathedral, and partly in the Archbishop's palace, at Aix-en-Provence. The French guide-books and monographs (such as that of Jubainville) tell the same story of their origin. They were purchased, it is said, in Paris, in the year 1656, by a Canon of the Cathedral, named De Mimata, for the sum of 1200 crowns; they came from St Paul's Cathedral, and were sold by order of the Commonwealth authorities.

It is always interesting to trace portions of the furniture of our cathedrals which have made their way abroad; but our chances of doing this are few. Most of us know the great copper candlesticks in the church of St Bavon at Ghent, which were presented to St Paul's Cathedral by Henry VIII. Others have seen the Paschal candlestick of the thirteenth century at Milan, which is very probably of English make, and perhaps came from Durham. Many foreign treasuries preserve vestments of *opus Anglicanum*, some of which, very likely, were taken across the water at the Dissolution, though doubtless most were exported at the time of their manufacture. But the list of English church furniture now to be seen in continental churches is not a long one.

The existence, and reputed history, of the Aix tapestries were important factors in inducing me to visit the old capital of Provence two years ago, and on that occasion I was able to

examine the series, and establish its true origin quite definitely. I will set it forth as shortly as may be.

Along the upper edge of the tapestries runs a band of ornament diversified with shields of arms and other devices. This band has suffered, I may say, by wear more than any other part of the tapestry. Now at one place it bears an inscription. The beginning of this is gone, and only the following words remain: *cellarius me fieri fecit anno domini millesimo quingentesimo undecimo*;...the cellarer had me made A.D. 1511.

The occurrence of the word *cellarer* made it at once apparent that the tapestries could not have belonged to a Cathedral of the old foundation, such as was St Paul's. Only a monastery would have a cellarer amongst its officers. To some abbey, therefore, or monastic cathedral, we must look for the home of our tapestries. Such was my conclusion. For a moment I hoped that Westminster Abbey might prove to be the right place. But we have copies of certain inscriptions which were on tapestries at Westminster, and these inscriptions are not at Aix. The shields on the border were several of them those of Archbishops of Canterbury; so to Canterbury one must turn next. Shortly after my visit to Aix, I looked into the *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*, published in 1902 by Messrs Wickham Legg and W. H. St John Hope. One of the numerous documents brought to light in that most interesting volume is the Inventory taken 10 April 1540, after the suppression of the monastery. Here (on p. 192) is an entry:

Item one faire new hanging of riche tapestrie con(taining) vj peces of the story of Christ and our Lady.

Upon this Mr Hope (p. 173) comments as follows:

Three of these (pieces) were clearly the *tres pannos pulcherrimos opere de arysse subtiliter intextos ortum virginis cum vita et obitu eiusdem clare et splendide configurantes* (these words are from a Canterbury obituary) given by prior Thomas Goldston to hang on the south side of the choir. The other three no doubt shewed forth the story of Christ and were the gift of Richard Dering, cellarer, in 1511, as we learn from the description of them given by Somner, in whose time (1640) all six pieces of tapestry were still in use.

Somner describes them as follows :

To begin with the Hangings setting forth the whole story both of our Saviour's Life and Death. They were given, one part of them by Prior *Goldstone*, and the other by *Richard Dering* the Church-cellarer, in *Henry VIII.* days. Witness these several Memorials legible in the bordure of the Hangings¹.

On the South-side, *Thomas Goldstone huius ecclesiae Prior sacraeque Theologiae Professor me fieri fecit Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo undecimo.* On the North-side, *Richardus Dering huius ecclesiae Commonachus et Celerarius me fieri fecit, anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo undecimo*².

So far Hope and Somner. I need hardly point out that the last words of Somner's second inscription are identical with those now on the Aix tapestries. The subject of these tapestries agrees with the Canterbury *data*, and, to be short, there is really no room for doubt that the Aix hangings are those which, from 1511 until after 1640, adorned the choir of Canterbury Cathedral.

The last mention of them *in situ* which I find is in the Inventory of 1634 (l. c. p. 255), where "six pieces of aras hanging" are entered. Probably some trace of the order for their sale might be discovered in the Record Office, but I have made no search for it. It would add little to our knowledge save a precise date. Battely (p. 29) "cannot tell what is become of them."

Since I made my own investigations—in fact no longer ago than to-day—I learned through Mr Lionel Cust that the connexion with Canterbury was already dimly known. In a *Handbook on Tapestry* by Champeaux, 1878, it is said "the monks of Canterbury manufactured in 1595 a hanging in tapestry for the walls of the cathedral. These hangings are now at Aix in Provence." The statement is incorrect, but Mr Kershaw, the Lambeth Librarian, based upon it a more correct conjecture, though he had no details to give.

You will be interested to know something of the subjects and character of these Canterbury hangings, as I will take

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, ed. Battely, Part 1, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93, note (a).

leave to call them. The unwearied exertions of the Secretary, Mr J. E. Foster, for which I beg to thank him most sincerely, have resulted in my being able to show you a complete set of photographs of the series. These were taken in 1895. They vary very much in quality. This is because the larger portion of the tapestries, which hang behind the stalls in the dark Cathedral choir, get barely sufficient light. Those, on the other hand, which are in a room at the Archbishop's palace are some of them more conveniently situated both for inspection and reproduction.

The present order of the hangings is as follows :

1. South side of the Choir :

1. Birth and Presentation of the Virgin.
2. Annunciation. Visitation. Angel and Shepherds.
3. Nativity. Baptism of Christ.
4. Preaching of Christ. Raising of Lazarus.

2. North side of the Choir :

5. Scourging of Christ. Crowning with thorns.
6. Crucifixion. Deposition.
7. Descent into Hell. Resurrection. Ascension. Pentecost.

3. In the Archbishop's Palace :

- 4^a. Entry into Jerusalem. Washing of Feet.
- 4^b. Betrayal. Christ before Pilate.
- 8, 9, 10. The Apostles assembling before the Virgin's death. Death of the Virgin. Funeral. Assumption.
11. Last Judgment.

In all there are 26 scenes. As we know, there were originally six pieces of tapestry, three devoted to the Life of the Virgin, and three to that of our Lord.

The distribution of the series, as at present arranged, is not very easy. Only three of the original ends of the separate pieces remain, and there has been a good deal of cutting up and re-arranging. As far as I can judge, there must originally have been about five scenes to a piece, so that the six pieces should have comprised thirty scenes in all instead of twenty-six. It is not difficult to reconstruct the three pieces relating to the Life of Christ. They would run as follows :

- I. Baptism. Preaching. Raising of Lazarus. Entry. Washing of Feet.
- II. Betrayal. Before Pilate. Scourging. Crowning with thorns. Crucifixion. Deposition.
- III. Descent into Hell. Resurrection. Ascension. Pentecost and perhaps the Last Judgment.

This leaves only 10 or 11 scenes for the Life of the Virgin. The beginning of that series is obvious :

- I. Birth. Presentation. Annunciation. Visitation. Angel and Shepherds.
- II. Nativity. At this point there is a join in the tapestry: and there is also a noteworthy absence of the following scenes, some of which at least I guess to be missing at this point. Adoration of the Magi. Presentation. Flight into Egypt. Christ and the Doctors. These would fill the second piece.
- III. Apostles and Virgin. Death. Funeral. Assumption. Here again the border seems clumsily sewn on, and the picture not complete. Either the Last Judgment, or, more probably, the Coronation of the Virgin, would end the series properly.

The following devices and shields occur in the borders :

1. In the upper border, impaled with Canterbury: three birds; probably Abp Henry Deane's arms, who bore three choughs proper; but also three pastoral staves and a chevron, which I do not see here. The motto surmounting it I cannot read.
In the lower border a P transfixd by an i. This will recur in plainer form.
2. Upper border: a shield with three roundels. In the two above are lions (?); in the lower, a bust of a king with sword and sceptre. Motto illegible.
3. Upper border, England and France.
Lower. P and i as in no. 7, and below traces of T.G. This device therefore stands for Thomas Goldstone, Prior. It is under the picture of the Nativity, and shows that that belongs to Goldstone's three pieces of the Life of the Virgin.
4. Upper border, a deer couchant with an R on his body. Motto, *Soli deo gloria*. This may very well be the device of Richard Dering. That he had one we know. It occurred in the windows of a portion of the monastic buildings now destroyed.
- 4^a. Shield with cross at the intersection of which is a letter which may be xp with an i above. These are the arms of the Deanery of Canterbury and were those of the Priory.
- 4^b. England and France, as no. 3.

5. Deer with R, as no. 4. Inscription with date.
6. Shield with three roundels, as no. 2.
7. Deer with R, as nos. 4, 5.
8. Arms of Archbishop Deane, as no. 1.
9. Arms impaled with Canterbury: quarterly 1 and 4, goat's head erased: 2, 3 ermine. This is the shield of Abp Morton. Motto, *Deo sit gloria...*
Lower border. Device of Prior Goldstone as in 1 and 3.
10. Arms impaled with Canterbury. The chief has a fess. In base are three escallops. This agrees with the arms of Abp Warham, who bore in chief also a goat's head and neck *or attired argent*. This is not now visible.

The motto seems to begin with *Aue*.

In the lower border is Goldstone's device.

To sum up, we have: on Goldstone's pieces his device four times in the lower border; the shields of Abps Deane, Morton, Warham; the shield with three roundels; and the shield of England and France. On Dering's pieces, the deer with R thrice, the shields of the Priory, and of Abp Deane, England and France, and the roundels.

There can be little doubt that these tapestries are of true arras work and essentially Flemish, not English. But into the questions of technique which would prove this to demonstration I am not qualified to enter. The point is not questioned, nor need I occupy time in dilating upon the excellence of the drawing and execution. These are sufficiently obvious. We have at hand in the windows of King's College Chapel a series of scenes which may be most usefully compared with these, as being nearly of the same date, and owing much to Flemish influence.

I may add at this point that the tapestries are partially figured in outline engraving in Jubinal's *Tapisseries historiées*: that they have been at various times exhibited at Paris, and that last year (as I learn from Mr Lionel Cust) they were shown at Brussels: reproductions of them are to appear in the forthcoming work on *Tapisseries et sculptures Bruxelloises* by M. Destrée.

2. *La Chaise Dieu.*

In the matter of the tapestries at La Chaise Dieu I feel somewhat of an impostor. I have no series of illustrations to show, and I have little, if anything, that is new to offer in the way of information about them. There is no question here of the spoliation of an English Church to adorn a French one. The tapestries were presented to La Chaise Dieu by its last regular abbat Jacques de Sénectaire, who presided from 1492 to 1528, and his arms appear on them in many places.

The bulk of them form a narrow band which hangs above the stalls on either side. But there are besides three larger square pieces which may once have hung together at the end of the church. They bear the same arms as the rest, and one of them falls into the regular series. The other two differ in system, and repeat some of the subjects which occur in the larger series.

These three form together an epitome of the Life of Christ, and so indeed do the rest. But these latter are accompanied by a series of types which are of considerable interest: and are also provided with elaborate explanatory legends, and illustrative prophecies. In general character they resemble very closely the Aix tapestries, and I have no doubt that they are Flemish.

Twenty-seven subjects from the Life of Christ are treated in these tapestries; and with three exceptions, each of these is accompanied by two typical scenes. The exceptions (due I imagine to mutilation) have each one typical scene instead of two.

It is always interesting to study a series of types, but those of the Chaise Dieu tapestries, belonging as they do to the latest period of the production of such cycles, are in respect of their source and treatment less instructive than the similar works of earlier date. They show no originality in selection, and they depend almost wholly upon the two famous compilations, the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. In this respect they resemble the cycle in the windows of King's College Chapel. The amount of agreement

may be thus expressed: that out of some 78 subjects all but 8 are found in the *Biblia Pauperum*. Of these 8 five are found in the *Speculum Salvationis*; the remaining three do not occur in either, but are not distinguished by originality or novelty.

The agreement extends to the larger number of the illustrative prophecies: and the arrangement of the figures of prophets is clearly suggested by the *Biblia Pauperum*, which, in short, may be confidently put down as the artist's main source.

By way of illustrating the similarity of the cycles which were in use at this period I will compare the amount of agreement between the Chaise Dieu tapestries and the windows of King's College Chapel. These, it must be remembered, have only one illustrative type to each scene.

Of the 27 scenes of our Lord's Life at La Chaise Dieu, 25 occur in our windows, and in twenty cases the type at King's College agrees with one of the types at Chaise Dieu. Three scenes occur in our East window without types. In two cases only does the type actually differ.

I have prepared a table which shows the subjects and sources of the Chaise Dieu cycle, and marks its agreements with that of our windows.

LIST OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE TAPESTRIES AT LA CHAISE DIEU.

B. P. = *Biblia Pauperum*. Spec. = *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. K. C. = *King's College Chapel*. Subjects marked with an asterisk have no parallel in the authorities quoted.

1. Eve and the Serpent B. P. K. C.	The Annunciation B. P. K. C.	Gideon's fleece B. P.
2. Burning Bush B. P. K. C.	Nativity B. P. K. C.	Aaron's rod B. P.
3. David's mighty men B. P.	Adoration of Magi B. P. K. C.	Queen of Sheba B. P. K. C.
4. David's escape B. P.	Flight into Egypt B. P. K. C.	Dagon falls B. P.
5. Massacre of Priests at Nob B. P.	Massacre of Innocents B. P. K. C.	Athaliah massacres the seed royal K. C.
6. Red Sea crossed B. P.	Baptism B. P. K. C.	Naaman cleansed Spec. K. C.
7. Fall B. P.	Temptation of Christ B. P. K. C.	Esau sells birthright B. P. K. C.

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|---|--|--|
| 8. Widow's son raised
B. P. K. C. | Lazarus raised
B. P. K. C. | Shunamite's son raised
B. P. |
| 9. Triumph of David
B. P. K. C. | Entry into Jerusalem
B. P. K. C. | Elisha met by the sons
of the prophets
B. P. |
| 10. Joseph sold
B. P. | Judas receives money
B. P. | Delilah bribed * |
| 11. Melchizedek and
Abraham
B. P. | Last Supper
B. P. K. C. | Manna
B. P. K. C. |
| 12. Death of Abner
B. P. | Betrayal
B. P. K. C. | Fall of the Angels
B. P. K. C. |
| 13. Achior mocked
Spec. | Scourging
Spec. K. C. | Job
Spec. K. C. |
| 14. Shame of Noah
B. P. K. C. | Crowning with Thorns
B. P. K. C. | David's envoys mocked
Spec. |
| 15. Daniel accused
B. P. | Pilate washes his hands
B. P. K. C. | Susanna accused * |
| 16. Isaac bears wood
B. P. | Bearing the Cross
B. P. K. C. | Widow of Zarephath
B. P. |
| 17. Sacrifice of Isaac
B. P. | Crucifixion
B. P. K. C. | Brazen Serpent
B. P. |
| 18. Joseph in the pit
B. P. K. C. | Entombment
B. P. K. C. | Jonah cast into the sea
B. P. |
| 19. Lot's escape
Spec. | Harrowing of Hell
B. P. K. C. | Fiery Furnace * |
| 20. Samson and the gates
B. P. | Resurrection
B. P. K. C. | Jonah cast up
B. P. K. C. |
| 21. Reuben at the pit
B. P. K. C. | Angel and Maries
B. P. K. C. | |
| 22. — | <i>Noli me tangere</i>
B. P. K. C. | Daniel in the den
B. P. K. C. |
| 23. Joseph made known
to his brethren
B. P. K. C. | Incredulity of Thomas
B. P. K. C. | Balaam and the Angel * |
| 24. Enoch translated
B. P. | Ascension
B. P. K. C. | Elijah taken up
B. P. K. C. |
| 25. Giving of the Law
B. P. K. C. | Pentecost
B. P. K. C. | Elijah's sacrifice
B. P. |
| 26. Solomon and Bathsheba
B. P. K. C. | Coronation of the
Virgin
B. P. K. C. | Esther and Ahasuerus
B. P. |
| 27. Judgment of Solomon
B. P. | Last Judgment
B. P. | |
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