

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

17 OCTOBER—5 DECEMBER 1910.

WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY

MICHAELMAS TERM 1910.

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Stokes, Rev. H. P., LL.D., Old Mills of Cambridge.
Walker, Rev. F. G., Notes on two bronze pins recently found in and near Cambridge.
Seventieth Annual General Meeting. General Index to Vol. XIV.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,
WITH
COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

17 October—5 December, 1910.

Monday, 17 October 1910.

Professor RIDGEWAY, F.B.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Report for the year 1909-10 was presented to the Society and passed.

REPORT.

AGAIN the Society may be congratulated upon its vigorous condition.

Ninety-six new members have been elected during the year; twenty-five resignations have been sent in and four members have been lost to us by death. The Council desire to commemorate especially Dr John Peile who died on October 9, 1910 and Mr John Willis Clark who passed away on the following day. Dr Peile, the Master of Christ's College during the last twenty-three years, is regretted by all who knew him. Apart from his University work as Reader in Comparative Philology his best contribution to Antiquarian

lore is the history of his own College published in 1900, a further volume of which is in the Press. The loss of Mr J. W. Clark, the Registry of the University, is a severe one. To say that he had been a member of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for fifty-one years and a member of its Council during the last forty-nine, that he had filled the offices of President and Editor and had read more than fifty papers at the meetings of the Society, is to give but a scanty outline of the work he did for it, and for the cause of Archaeology in general.

On October 1, 1909 there were 372 names on the roll of the Society, now the number of its ordinary members is 439. There are also 13 Honorary members.

For the purpose of aiding the well-working of the Society on its financial side an alteration has been made in Law V. Already good results have been produced.

Twenty-two meetings were arranged to take place last Session, but in consequence of the lamented death of King Edward VII. and the illness of two lecturers only nineteen were held.

Owing to the wide interest taken by members in the lectures the average attendance has reached 136.

One Honorary member has passed away. His Excellency Hamdy Bey, who did so much towards preserving classical and other antiquities in the Turkish Empire, died last February. Two Honorary members were elected at the Annual meeting in May, namely, Francis John Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., F.Brit. Acad., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford, who is noted for his knowledge of the Roman age in Britain, and Sir Gaston Camille Maspero, K.C.M.G., Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, who is well-known for his work and writings on the antiquities of Egypt.

The following communications were made :

Prof. Sir R. S. Ball: *The work of early Astronomers.*

May 23, 1910.

F. Bligh Bond: *Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey.*

Oct. 25, 1909.

- H. H. Brindley and Alan H. Moore: *The Ship in King's College Window.* Nov. 29, 1909.
- Rev. J. G. Cheshire: *William Dowsing's destructions in Cambridgeshire.* Nov. 22, 1909.
- F. W. Christian: *Antiquities in the Western and Eastern Caroline Islands.* Jan. 17, 1910.
- Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., F.Brit.Acad.: *The problem as to the changes in the course of the Cam since Roman times.* Nov. 8, 1909.
- W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D.: *Skeletons from the site of the Austin Friary, Cambridge.* Oct. 18, 1909.
- Miss M. E. Durham: *Old Customs in High Albania.* March 7, 1910.
- Miss L. Eckenstein: *Comparative Study of some Nursery Rhymes.* Jan. 24, 1910.
- Sir H. G. Fordham: (a) *An Itinerary of the 16th Century "Guide des chemins d'Angleterre," Jean Bernard, Paris, 1579.* (b) *John Cary, Engraver and Mapseller, 1779-1836.* Dec. 6, 1909.
- Arthur Gray: *Ford and Bridge of Cambridge.* Jan. 31, 1910.
- F. W. Green: *Western Oases in Egypt and their Antiquities.* Nov. 15, 1909.
- H. A. Grueber: *The Coinage of Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius B.C. 43-31.* Feb. 28, 1910.
- A. C. Haddon, Sc.D.: *The Piegan Blackfoot Indians of Montana.* April 25, 1910.
- Prof. Haverfield, F.Brit.Acad.: *British Universities and British Antiquities.* Feb. 8, 1910.
- Miss N. F. Layard: *The comparative sizes of some Pleistocene Mammals recently found at Ipswich.* May 2, 1910.
- Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, F.Brit.Acad.: *The Palace of Apries, Memphis.* Nov. 2, 1909.
- W. B. Redfern: *Hair and Wig Powdering from early days.* Oct. 18, 1909.
- Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D.: *The Old Mills of Cambridge.* Dec. 6, 1909.
- R. Vaughan-Williams, Mus.D.: *Folk Songs of East Anglia.* Feb. 14, 1910.

Rev. F. G. Walker: *Roman Roads into Cambridge.*

Feb. 21, 1910.

To the great satisfaction of all interested in antiquarian matters the foundation stone of the first block of the New Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology was laid by the Baroness von Hügel on Saturday, 14 May, 1910. Owing to the universal mourning for the late King, the ceremony was of a private nature.

When finished this block will permit of the display of more of the specimens than can be seen in the present building, but until the whole three blocks are completed very many of the treasures of the Museum must necessarily remain in obscurity and archaeological interests in Cambridge continue to suffer.

It is hoped that the funds for the erection of the other two blocks will be quickly contributed.

In response to the Excavation Fund appeal, issued by the Council last June asking members and others interested in such work for small extra subscriptions, an annual sum of £12 to £15 has been provided, and £15 have been contributed by two members to the Excavation capital account.

Though this is far short of the £100 per annum which ought to be spent on original research by our Society, still it is a beginning. The attention of members to this important branch of the Society's activity is earnestly desired.

Two excavations have been carried out during the Long Vacation.

During June, by the courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, some work was done in their grounds.

Two trenches were dug through the grass terrace which backs on to Chesterton Lane. The many Roman remains found in it suggest a Roman origin for this terrace, though the object sought for—the foundation of the Roman wall—was not discovered. The construction of this terrace pointed to the probability of the wall (that is, if ever there was one on this southern side of the castle site) being found either under the roadway of Chesterton Lane, or below the northern side of it, if that particular line of ground could ever be opened.

During August the College authorities also allowed a

trench to be dug across their meadow from the foot of the grass terrace mentioned above almost to the edge of the river. In this instance the search was for traces of the watercourse which is referred to in the *Liber Memorandum* of Barnwell Priory. The writer of this part of the book, which dates approximately from the time of Edward I., quotes the statement of "a very aged palmer-pilgrim, who says that he had seen ships come almost up to the door of S. Giles' church."

This watercourse the excavators were fortunate enough to find. It evidently ran in a slanting course from the direction of the Master's Lodge, going under the extreme north-east corner of the block of buildings containing the Pepysian Library and emptying itself into the present river stream opposite the Electric Light works.

While digging trenches for the foundations of a house near River Farm, at the end of the Latham Road, the workmen cut across numerous Roman rubbish pits. By the courtesy of Mr S. W. Cole, the owner of the new house, the contents of these pits were handed over to the Society. The line of what seemed to be a Roman road was also found. The Rev. Canon Pemberton, of Trumpington, the owner, and Mr A. Towler, the tenant, of River Farm, kindly permitted a trench to be dug further down the field in order to test whether this supposed road continued. The whole investigation promises interesting results.

An account of these excavations will be laid before the Society during the coming Session.

The publications this year have been four in number :

The three terminal parts of the fourteenth volume of Proceedings, containing the Transactions and Communications for the Session 1909-10, and the List of Members, Rules, Report, etc. for 1910.

Considerable progress has been made towards the publication of the MS. book in Caius College Library, which is commonly called the "Archdeacon's Book of Ely."

Five excursions have been made during the past year.

On 9 December, 1909 56 members paid a very pleasant visit to Queens' College, where the Rev. Professor Kennett

before conducting the party over the College, related the history of the buildings. Afterwards he and Mrs Kennett generously provided refreshment in the College Hall.

On 17 February, 1910 an exceedingly interesting visit was made to Corpus Christi College by 82 members of the Society.

Our President, the Rev. Dr Stokes, gave a short account of the College buildings, which were afterwards inspected.

The Librarian and Bursar were so good as to arrange that the famous MSS. and College plate should be on view.

The Master and Fellows kindly entertained the party to tea at the close of the proceedings.

On 17 March, 1910 40 members went to Isleham, under the guidance of Mr T. D. Atkinson, to examine the fine church and the interesting chapel of the Norman priory. This chapel owes its preservation in such good condition to the fact that it has been used for many years as a barn and therefore has not been allowed to fall into decay.

On 23 June, 1910 an excursion was made by motor cars to Thaxted, where the Vicar, the Rev. L. S. Westall, gave a succinct account of the history of the church and parish.

The party, which numbered 42, then went on to Horham Hall, where Mr A. P. Humphry related the story of the house which was then inspected. After partaking of the hospitality which Mr and Mrs Humphry kindly provided, the bed of an ancient lake and a tumulus both situated on the estate were visited by the members present. It is hoped that some time this mound will be excavated.

On 13 and 14 July an excursion was made to Colchester and Bradwell.

The success of this visit was due in great measure to the fact that Dr Laver, F.S.A., of Colchester very kindly undertook the part of cicerone. Under his guidance the morning of 13 July was spent in Colchester Museum and Castle, while the remains of St John's Abbey, St Botolph's Church, the Church of the Holy Trinity with its Saxon tower built of Roman material, and the Roman walls, were visited during the afternoon.

Early on 14 July the party proceeded by motor cars some 35 miles to Bradwell, the site of the Roman station, *Othóna*.

Here Dr Laver again acted as guide and gave a history of the chapel of *St Peter ad murum*, a Saxon building which was erected by St Cedd, A.D. 653, out of materials taken from the Roman town. The parts of the Roman walls still standing were then traced out.

On the way back the old whipping stocks outside the churchyard at Bradwell were examined with interest.

The balance sheet, showing the Society's financial position to 31st December, 1909, is published with this report.

The Secretary attended the Congress of Archaeological Societies held at Burlington House on 6 July. An account of the Proceedings will be circulated.

The thanks of the Society are presented to Mr Elliot Stock for the gift of the *Antiquary*.

During the year several changes have taken place in the Council.

The Rev. W. G. Searle has retired in accordance with Rule XII. Professor Rapson and Mr T. D. Atkinson have resigned through pressure of other work.

Their places have been filled by Mr F. W. Green, Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr W. L. H. Duckworth and Mr Robert Bowes.

The Society owes much gratitude to Mr Bowes for his valued services as Treasurer during the long period of sixteen years.

He has been succeeded by Mr H. F. Bird.

The Council wish to express their sense of the very valuable services rendered to the Society by the Secretary, the Rev. F. G. Walker. The great increase in membership and the keener interest taken in its work are chiefly due to his action.

APPENDIX I.

EXCAVATION FUND APPEAL.

The Council, after due consideration of the matter, believe the best interests of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society will be served by conducting each year some excavations upon the many relics of bygone ages to be found in the County.

It has, therefore, determined to appeal to members, and to others interested in original research, for support in raising a fund for carrying out this most valuable work.

It is impossible to meet the cost of such investigations out of current income, since the scope of the Society's undertakings is widening, causing thereby greater demands upon its ordinary resources.

During the past year over 100 members have been added to the Society's roll, a goodly proportion of whom have joined in consequence of the interest aroused by the recent excavations at Barton, Lord's Bridge, Cherryhinton and elsewhere.

This fact shows that the Society, as well as archæological research, will benefit by the adoption of this course of action.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the value of excavations in elucidating the past history of the County.

The exploration of the various tumuli scattered over Newmarket Heath, and elsewhere within our borders, will help to fix the boundaries of the ancient peoples who inhabited this part of East Anglia, and to mark the limits reached by earlier invasions, before the Roman conquest ended those incursions for some 200 or 300 years.

The War Ditches near Cherryhinton have been explored only partially; at least two-thirds of the circle of the camp remains untouched, as well as the cemetery belonging to this

pre-Roman settlement. Rich finds ought to be the reward of patient investigation on this site.

The ford way at Hauxton Mill of the ancient road, which ran from the Ermine Street near Old North Road Station, along the ridge of Chapel Hill, through Hauxton to Red Cross, should yield to the careful digger many objects of the Celtic, Roman, and Saxon ages.

Two tumuli, and what appears to be an early fortification near Fen Drayton, await the explorer's hands.

Caxton Moats, with ditches 60 feet wide, are an unexplained puzzle to antiquaries.

The curious earthmarks at the field called 'Bullocks Haste' near Cottenham, undisturbed grassland since Roman times, and other sites near by, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received, for this is a most important centre for study of the Roman occupation.

For the investigation of these, and many other such places and for excavation work on localities, which though undiscovered as yet, become known as year by year goes by, funds are imperatively needed.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, holding such a position as it does, and numbering now more than 450 members, ought to spend at least £100 each year on original research.

In order to do this a sum of money should be raised, the interest arising from it to be spent yearly.

The Council makes this appeal in the confident hope that a generous response on the part of its members and others will enable it to do its share in solving the many archaeological problems remaining in Cambridgeshire.

APPENDIX II.

PURCHASES BY THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM OF
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY WITH GRANTS
FROM THE COUNCIL.

PREHISTORIC.

STONE.

RIVER-DRIFT:

- 1—21. Twenty-one roughly fashioned of various forms and sizes, Three Hills, Mildenhall, S.*

CELTS:

22. One partially ground: flat, tongue shaped, with convex faces, sharp sides, and rounded cutting-edge (3''·4 × 1''·6), Lakenheath, S.
23. One stone, elongate triangular, with sharp sides, rounded butt and wide, broadly bevelled, cutting-edge (4'' × 1''·9);
24. One chipped and partially ground: stone, oblong, with sharp sides (5''·3 × 2''·2); *and*
25. One ground of greenstone: short, stout (cutting-edge damaged), Cranwich, Norfolk, 1909.
26. One polished, very finely finished, elongate with straight, flat sides, convex faces and rounded butt and cutting-edge, the latter ground to a sharp edge (5''·1 × 1''·7), Reach, Cambridge, 1909.
27. One polished, flat, pear-shaped with flat sides (3''·6 × 2''·1), Bottisham, Cambridge, 1909; *and*
28. One large, ground: elongate with convex faces tapering towards the butt and rounded sides and cutting-edge (7'' × 2''·4), Lakenheath, S., 1909.

ADZES:

29. One large, carefully chipped and partially ground: broad, flat, with sharp sides and rounded cutting-edge (butt-end damaged), Cranwich, N., 1909.

CHISELS:

- 30, 31. Two finely finished examples: one spindle-shaped with rounded ends, ridged faces and sharp sides (5''·1 × 1''·1), Teklingham, S., 1909; and one smaller, slim, with rounded faces and sides, bearing one pointed and one rounded end (shewing wear) (3''·7 × 0''·6), West Wretham, N., 1909.

* The letters C., N., and S., printed after the names of places, indicate the counties of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

FABRICATORS:

- 32—40. Nine of various sizes and forms, with ridged backs, including some nicely chipped examples, Suffolk and Norfolk.

BORERS:

- 41—45. Four: one larger of elongate form, and two smaller with expanding bases; and one large with boldly chipped back and stone oval pointed base chipped along the entire edge, Suffolk and Norfolk.

KNIVES:

46. One large, oblong, with convex back (3''·4 × 2''·1), West Tofts, N., 1909.
47. One stout oval, of translucent flint, boldly chipped shewing irregularly indented edges (2''·7 × 1''·6), Munford, N., 1909.

DAGGERS:

48. One very fine, large, broad, blade with flat, boldly chipped faces and pointed tang, the sides bearing four notches (7''·3 × 2''·7), Prickwillow, near Ely, 1907.

JAVELIN-HEADS:

49. One leaf-shaped, pointed, with one side chipped so as to form a shoulder (2'' × 1''), Copolow, S.
50—52. Three triangular: one boldly chipped, elongate with square base (2''·6 × 1''·5), Lakenheath, S.; one roughly chipped, broad with cusped base (1''·6 × 1''·5), Tuddenham, S.; and one similar but slimmer, Santon Downham, S.

ARROW-HEADS:

- 53—56. Four tanged and barbed: three triangular, two with convex faces and flat backs, and one symmetrical, with convex face and back (1''·1 × 0''·9); and one barred, of curved outline, with long barbs and tang (imperfect), Suffolk and Norfolk.
57. One tanged: stout, elongate, with convex faces, sloping shoulders and long tang (1''·5 × 0''·5), Eriswell, S.
58, 59. Two leaf-shaped: one thin, finely chipped, with a sharp point and a rounded base (1''·7 × 0''·7), Eriswell, S.; and one stouter with square base (roughly chipped), Tuddenham, S.
60. One lozènge-shaped: large with rounded shoulders (1''·4 × 0''·9), Lakenheath, S., 1909.

BRONZE.

- 61—65. Five socketed celts with single loops, square sides and slightly expanding cutting-edges: three plain with heavily moulded rims and single neck beads; one flatter shewing only a small rim-bead; and one decorated on both faces with a single beaded 'wing design' and a pair of bold beads round the long neck (3''·8 × 1''·7); and
66. The base of a straight bladed knife, consisting of a plain oval socket with a large drill hole with a small portion of the blade attached, Lakenheath, S., 1909.

ROMAN.

- 67, 68. A square bronze buckle with a long, flat, chape, shewing incised decoration and battlemented edges (2''·5); and a ring (? buckle) of bronze, with a flat cross-bar, shewing in relief an animal's mask (0''·9 × 0''·7). From a field adjacent to the site of the Roman villa, Icklingham, S., 1909.

MEDIAEVAL AND LATER.

- 69, 70. Two pairs of calipers: one of bronze with straight arms nicked along the edges (one arm missing), l. 2''·6; and one ornate, of brass with curved moulded arms, inscribed "Andr Elton," l. 3''·4, 16th and 17th centuries, London and Bury St Edmunds.
71. A finely moulded brass spoon with fig-shaped bowl, stamped inside with a rose and a flat stem with bevelled sides, and ornate seal top (l. 6''·7), 17th century, Saffron Walden.
72. A leather-worker's "race" of iron, with a double beaded square-sided neck (l. 5''·4), 17th century, London, 1909.
73. A double key in bronze: the short cylindrical moulded stem bears at either end a large square web in ornate open work of dissimilar design, both webs springing from the same side of the stem (l. 4''·5), 17th century, Cambridge.
- 74, 75. Two ornate window-fasteners with perforated plates and moulded catches: one larger shewing ornate open-work, 16th century, Saffron Walden (the first from Audley End House).
76. A poppy-head terminal from an oak stall, finely carved in oak with foliate fleur de lys pattern (15''·5 × 12''·2), 16 century, from a church near Bury St Edmunds.
77. Two sections of a carved oak panel-framing, one bearing the date 1657 (21''·5 × 4''·6), Herringswell Church, N.
78. An annular bronze brooch, the moulded face decorated with alternate plain and incised sections (d. 1''·1), 17th century, Bury St Edmunds.

Professor W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., F.B.A., delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on

DISCOVERIES AT MEYDUM AND MEMPHIS.

Monday, 24 October, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

The President referred in feeling terms to the recent death of Mr John Willis Clark, F.S.A., who had been an active member of the Society during fifty-one years.

Dr M. R. James, F.B.A., Provost of King's College, and Mr Arthur Gray, Vice-Master of Jesus College, delivered speeches in appreciation of Mr Clark's work as an Antiquary, and gave expression to the great sense of loss the Society has sustained by his decease.

Dr M. R. JAMES, F.B.A., Provost of King's College:

In undertaking to say something in commemoration of Mr J. W. Clark, I have accepted a very responsible task, and I ask in advance for your indulgence if I should err either by excess or defect. The latter is more probable than the former, for the amount of work which he did for this Society was so great, and touched so many sides of antiquarian knowledge, that one may very easily fail to do justice to one or other aspect of it. Not that I shall attempt to go through his antiquarian work in detail. I would rather try to pick out its salient qualities; but even so there is great risk of failure. It is due, however, to the memory of one of the most untiring and effective workers whom the Society has known, that some attempt of the kind should be made.

Mr Henry Bradshaw was never tired of impressing upon us the immense boon which the advance of scientific studies in this University (as distinguished from literary and humanistic) had conferred upon students of the human past, whether historians, bibliographers, or archæologists, in setting them a standard of method. Mr Clark's training had enabled him to appreciate this to the full, and, in addition to his directly scientific studies, he had the advantage of a close connection with the man who was, I think, the first in this country to

apply what I may call the anatomical method to the investigation of a certain branch of antiquarian studies, namely, the life history of buildings. That man was, of course, Prof. Willis, Mr Clark's uncle. His studies of the history and development of our cathedrals and abbey churches mark an epoch in the writing of architectural history. I think I am right in saying that no one before him had brought the evidence derivable from written documents—chronicles and account-rolls—into connection with the existing features of buildings. At least I may claim this for him, that he speedily became the recognised authority in that department of study. As we all know, Prof. Willis had written large portions of a work on the lines I have indicated, relating to the history of the University and colleges, and at his death in 1875 he bequeathed the materials to Mr Clark. As the latter tells us in the preface to the finished work, he found it necessary to start from the beginning and to go over the whole ground which Prof. Willis had traversed in order to put himself into the proper position and equip himself with the necessary knowledge for completing the task entrusted to him. This work of verification, together with the work of filling up the very numerous gaps and re-writing much that had to be discarded, occupied him just eleven years. As to the extraordinary value and, if I may so call it, the satisfactoriness, of the book as we now have it there can be no two opinions. That it contains no incorrect assertion, or that it solves all problems, Mr Clark himself would have been the last to imagine. Many of us will remember how, if we were engaged in an investigation which touched his province, he would beg us to be good enough to correct the 'grosser blunders' of his own book. Nevertheless, in the whole of the five massive volumes, I believe that there are singularly few pages, or even paragraphs, which after the lapse of twenty-four years can be criticised as unfaithful to the facts of history: while on the positive side, the light thrown on the inception and growth of every one of our then extant buildings: light which has been elicited from the patient perusal of the account books of every college, and the careful scrutiny and measurement of every court, chapel, hall, library,

and lodge is simply amazing in amount. The book is irreplaceable and indispensable.

I have dwelt thus long upon it because it was for so considerable a period the centre of Mr Clark's antiquarian studies. A very large proportion of the papers which he read before this Society were the outcome of his investigations towards the production of it; and others read since its publication were directed to the supplementing of the information it contains. It displays, too, the qualities which appeal to one in all of Mr Clark's work, namely, the gift of knowing what he wanted to say (for I think that must rank as a gift) and the power of saying it with clearness. You will not find many passages in his books which leave you in doubt as to his meaning. And the form, I think you will agree with me, is always excellent. There is behind it an imaginative quality which, though it does not lead him into the dangerous regions of word-painting, is sufficiently obvious to show his consciousness of the vivid human interest which permeates the history of buildings and institutions, and which also makes that history worth writing.

In later years a particular side of the history of books came to be the centre of Mr Clark's researches: I mean, of course, that aspect which he called the *Care of Books*. Besides the excellent monograph which bears that name, and which sprang directly out of the architectural history (its first beginnings may be seen in the Essay on College Libraries), there are a number of papers in the transactions of this Society in which he chronicles various stages of his investigation. Some of those here have been his companions, as I have myself at times, when he was carrying on researches in this field in England or abroad. Among much else that makes the memory of such expeditions delightful we like to recall how he would spare no pains and be defeated by no difficulties if there were a building to be measured, a site explored, or a library or muniment room laid open.

There are only two other points on which I will say a word. The first is the amount of Mr Clark's work. In a place where we have so often had to lament that great investigators have

carried their knowledge to the grave with them, it is worth much, I think, to have had one among us who not only recorded with admirable clearness the results of his own work, but was always extracting work from others, and urging upon beginners the duty of getting something done. There is another side to this, I know: the advance of knowledge may be retarded by the production of hasty and ill-considered work. But I feel that the atmosphere of a University is but too likely to foster the growth of the opposite fault.

I have mentioned the beginner, and that brings me to my last point, namely, the helpfulness which Mr Clark always showed towards the young. I recollect how when I was an undergraduate in my first or second year he put into my hands the proofs of a volume of his *Architectural History*, and with the pleasantry which I quoted just now—a request that I would correct the grosser blunders in it. This attention to a young man from one in his position was typical of what I want to commemorate. I believe and hope that there is a great deal of such attention and encouragement now given to young people here who show interest in learned pursuits. What I wish to show is that Mr Clark was a very principal source of such help and encouragement himself, and was the cause and promoter of it in many other people. The range of his influence in this matter, and the amount that he achieved directly or indirectly there are no means of measuring, but there are many of us here who will most gratefully acknowledge how effective it has been in their own case.

My object to-night has been to give such expression as I could to my own sense of the value of Mr Clark's work for this Society and for the department of study which this Society represents. That my task might have been much better carried out I know, but I believe that what I have said is no more than the truth: and, if that be so, my words will have this amount of value, that they will help towards an appreciation of the greatness of the loss which we have sustained.

MR ARTHUR GRAY, Vice-Master of Jesus College :

In speaking to-night of one who was so long and so worthily connected with our Society, and whose principal title to be remembered when his personality is forgotten will be the splendid work which he did for Cambridge antiquities, I should very imperfectly express my own feelings, and the feelings of all of you who were privileged to know him, if I dwelt exclusively on those topics which brought him and us especially together in this Society. If my interest and yours in Clark were limited to our common study of Archaeology there would be nothing for me to say that might not better appear in cold print. Many of you will share the feeling that comes home most warmly to me—a feeling admirably expressed by others who are more competent to estimate his many-sided genius than I can be—the feeling of personal loss. In the poverty of language to measure that feeling we who have known him may take refuge in the words of Mark Antony :

“ He was my friend, faithful and just to me.”

Which of us can affix a value to his friendship with Clark? I do not refer only to that inspiration which he breathed on every subject which he had made his own, though I would make the confession that what interest I have in one of his many spheres of knowledge came first and altogether from his kind and generous sympathy in long-past days. But the privilege of looking into his broad and friendly mind was not limited to the subjects with which our Society is concerned. How large his friendship was those whose claim to it was the study of antiquity will be the first to attest.

It was from the quality of interest in the present and the passing, from his warm feeling for what was new and young that Clark drew his sympathy with the past. If old Cambridge lived and breathed in his work it was because Clark's own life was cast heartily into the Cambridge that he saw in the

actuality of to-day or in vision of the future. In the tracing-linen plans of the Colleges which he put in the last volume of his *Architectural History* there is a parable. Under the old he saw the new—not different, but adapted. The *Care of Books* in mediæval times was mirrored in his care for the University Library in the present, and his picture of the social life of the University in old times was coloured by the warm tints of the living Cambridge that he knew so well and so delightfully portrayed in his recent "Reminiscences" in the *Cambridge Review*. Beyond even friends he loved Cambridge. It was fit that he, a native of our town and a lifelong resident in the University, should be the historian of material and social Cambridge.

Perhaps we stand too near to Clark to estimate the value of his *Architectural History*. There is, in my estimation, only one English book which is fit to stand on the same shelves with it—Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Other books may be described as exhaustive, in so far as they comprise all that is known of a given subject at the time of writing. Clark's book is more. Twenty-four years—years in which his work has invited the incessant research of other labourers in the same field—separate us from the date of its publication. Anyone who has devoted time and study to Clark's book will not limit himself to saying that it is exhaustive; it has absolutely exhausted the soil. It defies time both by its scope and accuracy. And if I may add one quality of the book which deserves to be mentioned with these, it is the writer's restraint and modesty. He, who never shrank from the freest expression of his views in practical matters of to-day, never obtrudes his opinions where he has to record facts. The book is described on its title-page as "by the late Professor Willis, edited by John Willis Clark." The incompleteness of the Professor's manuscript left many entire chapters to be written by Clark, and the verifying and arrangement of his uncle's materials was a prodigious labour. Yet he rigidly limited himself to the plan left to him by the Professor without altering a line, except by further illustration in a footnote, or as an addition marked as such by brackets. You must remember how often, standing before us, he appealed to "my

uncle Willis" as authority for a fact which yet came within his independent knowledge. And there is the same restraint in the style which he used throughout his own contributions to the work. How he could charm in description we know from his *Brief Notes on Cambridge* and his *Old Friends at Cambridge*. But in the *Architectural History*, there is no phrasing or picturesque colouring.

In that modesty lay Clark's strength as an exponent. No one was afraid of his learning. As he was ready to impart generously from his stores to all who sought his counsel, so he was always learning—from the old and, more particularly, from the young. The splendid tribute that Chaucer gave to the Clerk of Oxenford is the last and best word that can be said of his Cambridge namesake:

"Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche."

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, M.D., Sc.D., then read the two following papers, illustrated with lantern slides, on

1. ÖLAND, A SWEDISH ISLAND.

Öland is a narrow limestone bank about sixty miles in length, placed nearly north and south in its long axis, and forming a natural breakwater for the eastern Swedish coast near Kalmar. The narrow Kalmar Sound separates Öland from the mainland.

Not only is this a long and narrow island, but in its whole length, its greatest elevation above sea-level barely surpasses 150 feet. Geologists assign the limestone rock to the lowest series of the Silurian period, and the evidence of adjacent areas, as well as the local fossil fauna (abounding in Trilobites and the cephalopod *Orthoceras*) is so clear, that no doubt remains on this subject. The strata are inclined, dipping slightly to the east. As a result of this, the western side of Öland presents a landscape differing very greatly from that of the eastern shore. For on the west, a distinctive feature is the low escarpment of the limestone, rising often at some little distance from the actual shore, separated from it by a boulder-strewn tract, but following the general trend of the coast from north to south. On the east the whole island slopes very gradually into a shallow sea.

From the time of Murchison, British geologists seem to have paid special attention to Öland and its associate, Gothland. The flora of Öland is said to be remarkable in many ways, and even an unskilled observer can see that the conditions are likely to make a considerable demand upon the adaptive capabilities of the vegetation. For large tracts of Öland consist of broad tabular slabs of limestone which are almost denuded in autumn. Such tracts face the east and must be greatly exposed to wind and weather. But again we may see beneath the low escarpment just mentioned, a very different environ-

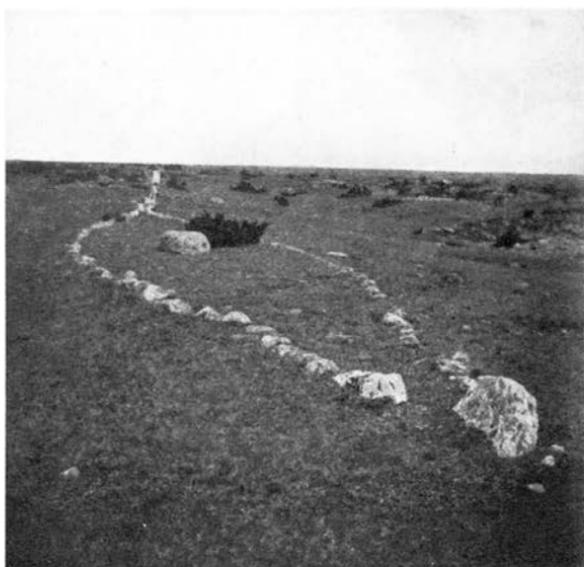


Fig. 1. "Noah's Ark," the representation of a Viking ship, near Borgholm, Öland, Sweden



Fig. 2. Part of a stone circle near Köping Church, Öland, Sweden. Each stone in the circle is supported by three or four smaller ones

ment, where soil derived from the disintegration of the solid rocks provides roothold protected from the colder winds, and in virtue of its western aspect designed to catch the maxima of heat and light.

In regard to Archaeology, the interests connected with Öland are no less definite. It must be noticed at once, however, that palæolithic objects do not occur, and that there is a paucity even of neolithic representatives. The reason for this is to be found in the geological history of this part of Sweden, for it is now held that as recently as 7000 years ago, large tracts in this region were still submerged. But from the Bronze Age onwards to the period of the Vikings, the materials for reconstructing the history of man occur in such abundance as is hardly to be equalled elsewhere in Northern Europe. In particular, Öland has yielded an example¹ of the early goldsmith's art, remarkable even among the magnificent specimens obtained in Scandinavian lands: while the number of gold "solidi" (Roman or Byzantine coins of the 5th century A.D.) found in this seemingly barren isle is quite extraordinary.

Although most of the archaeological treasures of Öland have been transferred to the National Museum at Stockholm, numerous monuments of antiquity still remain *in situ*, and this communication deals with three examples which appear to me worthy of special note.

The first of these is the so-called "Noah's Ark" of the local peasantry. On an extensive moorland near Borgholm (the largest village of Öland), a number of large stones will be found grouped so as to form a spindle-shaped figure (Fig. 1) measuring about 100 feet in length with a maximum width of some 18 feet. A great boulder occupies a central position, and more or less perfect rows of smaller stones are arranged transversely within the figure just described. The illustration (Plate I, Fig. 1) is from my own photograph. A diagram of the monument is given by Professor Montelius in his volume on the early civilization of Sweden (p. 332).

The antiquary will at once assign this monument to the well-known class known as the "ship-form." Yet it may be

¹ The splendid gold collar from Torslunda, Öland, now in the National Museum at Stockholm.

doubted whether an equally perfect example exists elsewhere. By means of a comparison with the prehistoric ships preserved in the various northern museums, it is seen that the central boulder indicates a mast, and the transverse rows of stones are the cross-benches or thwarts for the oarsmen. Evidently the monument belongs to the Viking period, and it is a matter for speculation whether beneath it the ship of a dead hero exists, containing his body with arms and armour as well as his horse.

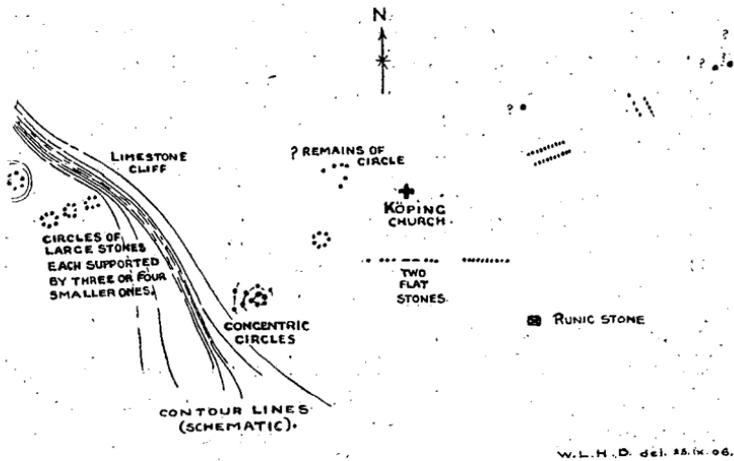


Fig. 1. Sketch-plan of the megalithic remains grouped around Köping Church, Öland.

and hound and the remains of animals slaughtered on the occasion of the interment. The discoveries at Wendel¹ brought all these objects to light. In this connexion, it is not out of place to remark that the helmet of the warrior of Wendel was adorned with metal plaques with designs, which can be exactly matched among the prehistoric finds at Torslunda in Öland.

From "Noah's Ark," we pass to the consideration of a curious variant in the construction of stone circles. Near Köping Church (about four miles N. of Borgholm), several stone circles are disposed in systematic fashion on the elevated plateau overlooking a sea-beach and the lower ground on which the church stands. The disposition and orientation of these circles are given in my sketch (Fig. 1 in the text); together

¹ Cf. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, p. 243.

with indications of other megalithic monuments so grouped around the modern church as to shew that the latter still occupies ground which from an early period has been regarded as sanctified. The photograph (Plate I, Fig. 2) exhibits the peculiarity just mentioned, and this consists in the fact that in the circles, each large stone rests upon three or four smaller ones. Such a detail in the rude architecture of stone circles is uncommon, and therefore I wish to place it on record, though I am unable to offer any explanation of this unusual feature.

My last note deals with an object of much later date, viz. the early mediaeval font at Alböke. This village church was restored or rather rebuilt about 1830, like so many of the churches of Öland¹.

From my notes², the small amount of interest possessed by the actual church can be quickly gleaned. But in the church-yard stands a gnomon or sundial, in the construction of which the old font of the church has been employed. The decoration of this font is romanesque or possibly byzantine; the animals here represented correspond closely with those to be seen on stone panels now inserted in the south wall of the church at Bro in Gothland. It is interesting to find that this artistic influence should have penetrated so far north without substantial modification. As a pendant to this font at Alböke, I have submitted a note upon the old font at Skanör in Skåne, but it seems appropriate to make the latter the subject of a special communication. What I have described in these notes may however serve to shew that wind-swept Öland can yet provide the antiquary with ample materials for study.

¹ It is a matter of satisfaction that the churches of Gothland escaped the hands of the "restorers," for the latter have made sad havoc with the old churches of Öland.

² Alböke church, Öland. The church is built N. and S. (not E. and W.). The tower is square, with a turret, and like most of the rest of the present fabric, is of modern date. The roof is red-tiled and uninterrupted from end to end. The chancel (at the southern end) is square-faced not apsidal. Doors: none on the W. side: but on N., S. and E. Vestry at the N. end. Windows both E. and W. Inside the church is an ancient hour-glass as at Gardslösa in Öland. The old lych-gates remain but are roofless.

These notes were made for comparison with others relating to a large number of the churches in Gothland and Öland.

2. AN ANCIENT FONT AT SKANÖR, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

The special points of interest can be easily seen in the photograph of the font reproduced herewith (Plate II). The figures stand out in fairly high relief and, speaking generally, the character of the work may be described as romanesque. Three features appear to me deserving of special mention.

In the first place, the central figure of the Deity is represented holding an axe. The axe as an emblem of power and majesty is unfamiliar to us, but doubtless it owes its presence here to the fact that it was the most suggestive object wherewith the imagination of the early Swedish people might be impressed by the pioneers of Christianity. We may note that according to Montelius¹ the axe is the special symbol of a Sun-God worshipped in the Bronze-Age of Sweden.

In the second place, we see on the breast of the same figure, two wheels of primitive form. Wheels such as these appear in connection with representations of gods and heroes in many lands, and in periods both before and after the Christian era. Indeed the wheels as decorations are almost as certainly borrowed from pagan art as is the axe, and at least one Bronze-Age grave in Skåne (at Kivik : cf. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte*, &c., Figs. 230 and 231) bears on one stone the wheels and upon the other two axes (and they all agree closely in form with those on the font at Skanör).

Thirdly, the Deity holds an orb surmounted by a cross, while a cross appears again in the adjoining panel, where it is the subject of adoration by two individuals wearing crowns. In form the cross approaches those known as the Maltese or the Greek cross, or the *croix pâté*. And in the side panel, the cross is supported on a staff. This particular mode of representing the cross seems to have been usual in the early days of Scandinavian Christianity. But as regards the figure holding

¹ *Kulturgeschichte*, &c., p. 135.



Ancient Font at Skanör, Skåne, Sweden

the cross, we have the best authority for saying that this is a very exceptional combination, so far as the decoration of fonts is concerned. Through the kindness of Mr Cranage, of King's College, the photographs were submitted to Mr Bond. As a result I am advised that the font might date from about 1150 A.D., but Mr Bond added that he had never previously seen a figure holding a cross.

Upon such considerations, I venture to bring these photographs to the notice of members of the Cambridge-Antiquarian Society. The inferences touch the fringe of a number of subjects of great interest, but of such extent that I shall not attempt to compile a bibliography in this case. I must, however, refer to certain articles of recent date, which I believe to be indispensable to the student of comparative iconography of this kind. This reference will be found in the footnote¹.

¹ Montelius in *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1904: "Solens Hjul och det Kristna Korset."

„ *ibidem*, 1907: "Det Latinska Korset."

„ in *Prometheus*, 1904/05, No. 16-18: "Das Rad als religiöses Sinnbild in vorechristlicher und christlicher Zeit."

Mr S. GASELEE made a communication on

THE CULT OF THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS IN EGYPT.

Mr H. H. BRINDLEY read a paper, illustrated with lantern-slides, on

THE SHIP IN THE ST CHRISTOPHER WINDOW IN
THAXTED CHURCH, WITH REMARKS ON EARLY
METHODS OF REEFING SAILS.

Members of the Society who made the excursion to Thaxted in August will recollect the mutilated painting of St Christopher in one of the eastern windows of the north aisle of the Parish Church. The windows of this aisle have four lights and the figure of the saint occupies the light nearest to the transept. The north aisle and transept are believed to have been commenced about 1380 by Edward Mortimer, the last Earl of March and great uncle of King Edward IV. The Rev. L. S. Westall of Queens' College, the late vicar of Thaxted, informs me that Mr C. E. Kempe expressed to him the belief that the very beautiful glass of the north aisle windows dates from 1465. The lower third of the lights of these windows contains a shield of arms; that below the painting of St Christopher is, like the others, now imperfect and without a name. This shield is of so much interest both in the admirable painting of what remains of it and in its associations that I may venture to describe it in detail. I am indebted to much kind assistance from Mr Westall in writing the following account of it. It is a coat of arms of King Edward IV, in whom the honours of the Mortimers merged in the Crown, and who there is much reason to believe gave the window. There is in the British Museum an old description of the shield before it was mutilated, the blazon being: *quarterly; 1st, England (this is now plain glass); 2nd, Mortimer, barry of six or and az., on a chief of the first two pallets between two base esquierres of the second, over all an inescutcheon ar. (this is in good condition); 3rd, de Burgh, or a cross gu. (some fragments of both field and cross remain);*



Thaxted church, Essex

4th, Genevill, az., three horses' bits or, on a chief erm. a demi-lion issuant gu. (the field and its charges are fragmentary, but the lion's head and tail form a beautiful piece of heraldic painting, while the ermine spots are noticeable for their unusual form). It has been conjectured that the King quartered the Genevill arms at his marriage with Elizabeth Woodville to show that, like the Queen, he had commoners' blood in his veins. The Mortimer coat as in this shield and one of an earlier date appear in the east window of the church, as does also the Genevill coat. In the window containing the picture of St Christopher King Edward's arms, *quarterly, France modern and England*, are in the second light from the Saint, while the figure of the King appears (now incompletely) in the intermediate light.

In the picture above the shield St Christopher is gigantic compared with all other objects shown; the figure from the waist upwards has vanished, we see nothing of the saint's head or of the Child though his staff and portions of his robe towards the right shoulder remain. He walks through a stream with his left hand resting on the hip. Just in front of his right foot is a water-wheel beside a tiled mill-house, further away is a small vessel under sail and manned by one sailor, and about to pass him on the further side is a large sea-monster which is partially hidden by the saint's staff. Beyond the stream we see a bank bearing a tree with large roots and other herbage, and further back still, on a level with the plain glass replacing the head of St Christopher, is a stone arch surmounted by a steepled belfry. Like the garments of the saint, the whole of this charming landscape is painted very carefully. Its prevailing colours are black, brown, yellow and white. It is thought that the scene may have been taken from the mill-stream of Tilty Abbey, about three miles from Thaxted.

The small "ship" in the river beyond the mill-house is as if it were sailing into the picture, for her stern is cut off by the mullion. From the set of her sail the wind is over the star-board quarter. To what class we should assign this vessel it is impossible to say, for in several respects she has the lines and fittings of a much larger vessel than the relative sizes of the

sailor who is working her and of his oar permit her to be. The artist may have intended her for a "crayer," "lodeship," "hocboat," "pessonner," "pikard," or some other of the various smaller craft of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries concerning whose distinguishing characters we know so little. The great sheer forward (and we may imagine a similar sheer aft would be seen if the whole vessel were in view), the "fore-



Ship in St Christopher Window in Thaxted Church

stage" and its bowsprit over the cut-water, the fighting top bristling with spears and the heavy shrouds with ratlines all point to the artist having a comparatively large craft and possibly a man-of-war in his mind. Fittings such as those mentioned above would not be found in a craft small enough for navigating a mill-stream, so we may conclude that who-

ever painted the window was not disposed to be consistent about nautical matters, especially as he fitted her with a thwart and depicted the nails of her planking of such large size in proportion that, even disregarding the single mariner and his oar, we feel we are looking at an open boat. In other respects the work is that of an artist not familiar with nautical matters; thus the far side of the fore-stage leads into space, for it is quite out of drawing with the gunwale, the bowsprit is much too large, the starboard shrouds are connected or rather not connected with the mast in an impossible manner, and the sail is not bent to the yard uniformly on the two sides of the mast. Nor are we convinced by the way in which the sailor is handling his oar. But such technical inaccuracies are not uncommon in drawings of other things than ships in the age when this picture was painted, and the faults of the artist do not diminish the interest his picture has in its representation of the reef points on the sail, which render this little vessel of some historical value. Taken altogether, the sail and its fittings are the best part of the picture from the technical standpoint. This sail is the square sail universal in northern waters at the time, and almost the only form of sail employed. Fore-and-aft sails in the form of lateens or settees were still confined to the Mediterranean and appear in English and other northern craft on mizen and bonaventure masts only in the later decades of the fifteenth century. The yard of the Thaxted ship is fitted with a parrell or band to keep the yard to the mast. The parrell is rarely omitted in pictures of mediæval ships which go into details, and here we see it of the usual type, a necklace of "trucks"—balls of wood strung on a rope. The artist has omitted the lifts and halyard, but has depicted one piece of running rigging, the starboard brace. That of the other side is omitted, as the port yard arm is cut off by the mullion.

The sail is supplied with numerous tags of rope, which I think must be reef-points depicted in a conventional or heraldic manner.

When reef-points were first introduced we do not know. There is in Montelius' *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens* (Leipzig, 1906, p. 261) a restoration of the Gokstad "Viking ship." She

is represented under way and the artist has inserted two rows of quite modern looking reef-points in her sail. There is no evidence justifying this, and the ships under way in the Bayeux tapestry have no reef-points. That sails of mediæval times could be reefed in some fashion or another we know, but no "Seaman's Grammars" were written in that age to tell us how it was done or what the usual fittings of a sail were. We have to gather what we can from contemporary pictures, inventories and general literature. Representations of ships having reef-points in their sails appear to be few. One of the earliest is the seal of Hastings, which is of the thirteenth century. The one-masted vessel in this seal carries a sail fitted with three bands and from these depend at regular intervals what can hardly be anything else than short pieces of rope, for in spite of the stiffness of design characteristic of the age, the rope ends do not hang in the same way and some are more bent than others. These fittings of the sail are much more like reef-points inserted into reef-bands (doublings of the canvas to take the strain of the reef-points when in use) than anything else. The three bands occupy the lower half of the sail. The seal of La Rochelle dates from the twelfth century (*Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Seals*, 1898, v. p. 455), and Jal (*Glossaire Nautique*, Paris, 1848, p. 483) quotes a description of it written in 1232. Like the Hastings seal, it bears a one-masted ship whose sail is fitted with three reef-bands and rows of points. They are in the lower part of the sail. This appears to be the earliest representation of permanent reefing gear. The seal of Rye, which is of the fifteenth century, also shows what we may fairly regard as reef-points. But the arrangement of them is different from the earlier examples quoted above. We again have a one-masted ship with her sail spread, but the reef-points are distributed all over the sail and, though no reef-bands are shown, the ends of rope are inserted in three even rows, equidistant from each other and at equal intervals from the head and foot of the sail. They all hang in the same way or very nearly so, and thus are different from those in the Hastings and Thaxted vessels. In the absence of reef-bands and in the points being inserted over the whole sail there is

agreement with the Thaxted ship, though in the latter the reef-points are scattered about with only a suggestion of rows near the upper part of the sail. The impression which the Thaxted example gives is, however, that the artist began with rows and that in the lower part of the sail he put the reef-points in irregularly so that none of them might be hidden by the mast and other gear. Jal (*Glossaire*, p. 280) illustrates the seal of John Holland, second Earl of Huntingdon, as Lieutenant-General of John Duke of Bedford, Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine, from his commission dated 1417. This seal is also illustrated by Pettigrew, *Collectanea Archaeologica*, 1862, pl. xv, no. 3, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 549, pl. ii. This seal, and two later ones of the same John Holland as Admiral of England, are in the British Museum. All three have the ship's sail ornamented with the Holland arms, *England, within a bordure of France*. The coat occupies the whole sail, so the *fleurs-de-lys* of the upper part of the bordure are in a row just under the yard. On page 234 of the *Glossaire* Jal gives a sketch of the upper part of the Holland seal which shows only the mast head, fighting-top and head of the sail. In this sketch he names "garcettes de ris" (reef-points) three sets of short lines which form a row on the sail just under the yard. Reference to his drawing of the whole seal on p. 280 shows that these supposed reef-points are really the *fleurs-de-lys* sketched very badly. At the same time it seems probable that the artist did not know exactly what he was copying, as the seal illustrated by Jal was evidently a very poor impression, for the *fleurs-de-lys* are shown only in the upper part of the bordure and could be recognised as such only by one who knew the Holland arms. It seems certain that Jal had never seen the actual seals or good drawings of them, and was led into error by a bad impression and want of knowledge of the Holland coat-of-arms.

Taking the pictures known to us in chronological order, we turn from seals to the Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS. Julius E iv. Art. 6), which was formerly attributed to John Rous, the author of the Warwick Roll, but is now thought to be the work of a Flemish

artist. This MS. was possibly written between 1485 and 1493. It has many careful drawings of ships. Most of the sails have certainly no reef-points, but in one or two cases they may be represented, though it is possible that what is depicted is the lacing of a bonnet, an additional piece of canvas added to the foot of the sail in light winds. I shall have to speak of the bonnet later.

Villequier and Vatteville are villages on either side of the Seine about two miles below Caudebec-en-Caux. They are decayed ports, for from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries sea-going vessels sailed from them, and, like Poole in England, at least Vatteville fitted out craft for the Newfoundland voyage. In the churches of both villages there are *ex voto* windows containing paintings of ships. That at Villequier is a very beautiful work and displays in much detail a naval combat between ships of Francis I and Charles V. The identification of this fight remains uncertain; M. Charles de la Roncière (*Histoire de la Marine Française*, iii. p. 250, Paris, 1906) is inclined to regard it as the capture of a treasure ship of Cortes by the fleet of Francis I, commanded by Jean Fleury, which occurred in 1523. I hope to attempt a description of this most interesting window in the future: it suffices here to say that the inscription at the base of the painting tells us that it was given to the church in 1523 by the mariners Jehan Busquet, Robert Busquet, Jacques Renault and Jehan Breton. The present importance of the painting is that, among the many matters of interest to the nautical archaeologist it contains, one of the vessels appears to carry reef-points. She is a large ship and evidently a three-master, but her foremast does not come into the picture. The rope-ends which look like reef-points are on her mainsail and inserted in a regular row almost half way up from the foot of the sail. They are peculiar in being placed in pairs, but there is also a single one. The pairs are equidistant, and the appearance of the whole fitting is rather that of reef-points than of a bonnet lacing. Moreover the row is improbably high up the sail to have anything to do with a bonnet. The sails of the other craft are either furled or are in too much confusion of battle to show any details such

as reefing gear. In the church at Vatteville there are two windows which contain paintings of ships. One of these is in the south transept and the vessel is a somewhat conventional representation of *La Roumaine* commanded by Delille (or possibly Silvestre) Billes, who was a fellow-privateer with the Busquets and other Vatteville seamen. The window containing this painting has undergone much alteration, and the glass in it is of more than one period. The Abbé Cochet (*Les Églises de l'Arrondissement d'Yvetot*, éd. 2, Paris, 1853, i. p. 132) states that the painting of *La Roumaine* was originally in another part of the church. The pieces of glass bearing the dedication are now out of order and there is some little doubt as to whether the year given is 1528. Cochet read it as 1525, but close examination of the glass makes it most likely that 1528 is the year. In this opinion I have confirmation from the Abbé A. Anthiaume, Aumônier Catholique du Lycée du Havre, who has kindly been to Vatteville to assist my enquiry since my own visit, and to whom I am indebted for much other information on naval windows in the churches of Normandy. Cochet's inspection of the church in 1844 appears to have been somewhat hurried and there are several inaccuracies in his account of the south transept window. *La Roumaine* is represented somewhat conventionally; for instance, on her poop stands the figure of St Clement, gigantic in proportion to all else, as was then the fashion where the patron saint is shown in a ship, but much of the ship and rigging is drawn with care and technical accuracy. Incidentally it is of interest to note that the rocks and vegetation in the painting are in both design and colouring exceedingly like those in the foreground of the window painting of St Paul's ship in King's College Chapel (about 1530): the two pictures are almost identical in this feature. The mainsail of *La Roumaine* bears what I think must be reef-points: they are six altogether, or really three double ones, for the rope ends are in pairs, each pair coming from a knot or what seems meant for a knot in the canvas. Two pairs are on a level near the head of the sail and the other pair is about half-way down the sail near its edge. These ends of rope hang in different ways and do not look conven-

tional. They are not inserted in reef-bands, but across the sail just above them are lines which suggest reef-bands. In the rest of the sail there are no reef-points: we may conclude that the artist, as not infrequently in paintings of that age, inserted details where there was most room for them; in this case they appear where the sail is least obscured by mast and rigging. This painting of *La Roumaine* is the latest known to me which shows reef-points before they fell into disuse. It is true that the ship in the seal of Lord Howard of Effingham, 1585, may have reef-points on her main course, but examination of the Greenwich example of this seal with a glass brings the conclusion that the short ropes shown are the lacing of the bonnet.

A summary of the pictorial examples of early reef-points described above is

Date	Nature of picture	Position on sail	Number of rows	Reef-bands
XII century	La Rochelle seal	lower half	three	present
XIII century	Hastings seal	middle to foot	three	present
XV century	Rye seal	all over	three	none
1485-1493 (possibly)	Cott. MS. Julius. E. iv. Art. 6	doubtful if reef-points are present		
1465	Thaxted church window	all over	roughly, six	none
1523	Villequier church window	middle	one, reef- points in pairs	none
1528	Vatteville church window	upper half	two, reef- points in pairs	probably present

No doubt this list is incomplete—perhaps it is very incomplete—but as far as it goes it is evidence that reef-points were very often fitted up to the earlier part of the sixteenth century, and, making allowance for the licence and conventions of an artist, they were sewn into the sail sometimes near the head and sometimes near the foot.

From the early middle of the sixteenth century, reef-points are absent in pictures of ships for more than a hundred years: they reappear at the time of the Second Dutch War and then continue till the present day. Pictures of ships made in the sixteenth century are many more than those of preceding ages, and it seems most unlikely that we should not see reef-points if they were fitted to sails from 1530 to 1665. All that we find is representations of bonnets. The apparent disappearance and revival of reef-points form one of the puzzles of nautical archæology. The evidence as to their earlier use is all from northern sources; it may be that there are pictures of Mediterranean vessels showing them in the sixteenth and earlier part of the seventeenth century, but in all that I know the bonnet only is seen.

Probably, almost the earliest craft propelled by wind had some device or other for reducing sail area in strong winds. One can imagine that a portion of the sail was bundled up roughly and made fast with temporary lashings. This might have been done at the foot of the sail or at its head; if the latter, the lashings would have kept the furled portion to the yard. The operation of partial furling would be rendered easier by permanent holes in the sail through which a lashing might be passed. This arrangement would be a simple form of definite reefing gear. To say it was the first form would be pure surmise: no pictures of Greek or Roman vessels or of later ones show such a fitting. But whatever was the usual method of reefing by temporary lashings, it is easy to understand that short pieces of rope permanently sewn into the sail would occur to someone as a speedier and less cumbrous method of reducing canvas. Gaskets, the lashings by which the whole of a sail when furled is made fast to its yard, may have suggested reef-points. In France reef-points are "garcettes de ris" and it is possible that "gasket" may be connected with "garcette." The etymology of "gasket" is obscure; "garcette" may be from old Spanish *garceta*, meaning a lock of hair on the forehead. Reference to Jal's *Glossaire*, Littré, Hatzfeld and the *New English Dictionary* shows that the possible relationship between "gasket" and "garcette"

is too difficult for me to make any attempt to discuss the matter.

An early method of reducing or adding sail was the bonnet, a strip of canvas which could be laced to the foot of a sail. In Tudor ships it was common to have two bonnets, the lower one being known as a "drabber" (A.S. *drabble*, "to trail in the water"). There seems to be no real ground for the statement in the *New English Dictionary*, Art. "Bonnet," "It appears to have been formerly laced to the top of the sail, or to have been itself a topsail." If a bonnet was ever added to the top of a sail, one wonders what was happening to the sail itself while the manœuvre was in progress, neither does there appear to be any record of topsails being called bonnets: in fact there were no topsails long after bonnets were in regular use.

The earliest mention of the bonnet known to me is in the MSS. temp. Edw. III in the Record Office giving the accounts and inventories of certain ships either constructed or taken over for naval purposes. Thus in 1338 the "ship" *Bernard de la Tour* had "un trief (sail) ove un bonnet," the "barge" *La Marie de la Tour* "un trief ove iiij bonetz" (probably at least two were reserve bonnets or of different sizes from the others), the *X'tofre (Christopher) de la Tour* had "un bon corps (the sail itself) ove un bonet bon et ij bonetz febles (worn)." These and other references show that the bonnet was a regular fitting at the time. In 1399, Langland (*Richard Redeless*, iv. 72) wrote

"They bente on a bonet, and bare a topte saile
Affor the wynde fireshely to make a good flare."

"Topte" means mast-headed.

In *Morte Arthur*, c. 1400, there is (line 3657)

"They.....trussene up sailes,
Bet bonnetez one brede."

The second line means that they "made good the bonnets on broad," i.e. set them to advantage. This is inconsistent with the shortening of canvas clearly indicated by "trussene up," but the context shows that we are listening to a conversation among sailors on sea terms, no definite manœuvre is described.

The anonymous *Tale of Beryn*, c. 1430, gives an instance of a sail with more than one bonnet, the earliest certain mention of this usage, for the two or more bonnets of Edward III's ships may have been for use singly.

“Wherefor, sir lodisman,
 Stere onys in-to the costis, as wel as evir thowe can.
 When our Shippis been I-com, that we may pas in-fere,
 Lace on a bonet or tweyn, that wee mowe saille nere.”
 (ll. 1601—4. Ed. Furnivall and Scot. *E. E. T. S.* 1910.)

In later fifteenth and in sixteenth century literature there are several mentions of bonnets, and we find in Capt. John Smith's *Seaman's Grammar*, 1627 (vii. 31), “We say, lash on the bonet to the course, because it is made fast with Latchets into the eyelot holes of the saile, as the Drabler is to it, and used as the wind permits.” In the Royal Navy in 1720, the topsails had reefs and the courses bonnets, as we find from “A Proportion of rigging for His Ma'tie's ships of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd rates,” 1720 (British Museum). By the middle of the eighteenth century bonnets had passed away, though they were occasionally fitted to fore-and-aft sails in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and survive here and there in certain cases, as in the mizens of Boulogne luggers, the stay-sails of Essex hay barges and the sails of Norfolk wherries.

Now in a reef and in a bonnet we have two devices for the same purpose, the only difference being that the reef is a permanent part of a sail while the bonnet is detachable. Thus it is not surprising that sometimes the same word should have come to indicate both fittings. In fact, “bonnet” seems to have been borrowed for the purpose of distinguishing the detachable piece of canvas, which was at a certain time called a “reef.” Professor Skeat (*Etym. Dict.* 1910, p. 505) gives L. German *reff* and *riff*, E. Friesian *ref* and *rēf*, and Pomeranian *rāff* as meaning a piece which can be added to a sail, and refers us to L. German *reffen* “to reeve,” which suggests the idea of lacing something on to the sail. I am indebted to Professor Skeat himself for the information that though the origin of the word “reef” is somewhat uncertain, it probably comes from a Scandinavian word something like the Swedish *rif*

and Danish *riv*, with the original meaning of "snip" or "strip," and through the Dutch *reef* English acquired *riff* which passed into *reef*. Following this, "reef" would seem at first to have meant something detachable, viz. the bonnet. At the same time we must remember that the Icelandic *reifa* and Anglo-Saxon *rēfan* means "to swaddle" or "wrap up." If "reef" is connected with either of these words, we are carried to the idea of a permanent part of a sail which could be furled by itself. As regards the French "ris," it is quite possible that Hatzfeld (*Dict. génér. de la langue française*, Paris, 1898, ii. p. 1968) is right in regarding it as derived from the same Scandinavian source as "reef." Professor Skeat tells me that this suggestion is sound, as in Norman making the plural by adding *s* would eliminate a palatal or labial before it, so *rifs* would become *ris*, the latter in course of time being used for the singular also. *Jolif*, pl. *jolis*, whence the new singular *joli*, is a parallel case. The French word is important, for "ris" appears earlier than "reef" as a nautical term. Wace in "Li Romans de Brut," written c. 1170, uses it. Le Roux de Lincy's edition (Rouen, 1838, ii. pp. 141, 142 and f.n.) gives three versions of one line:—

"A tous ris curent u a treis."

"A deus ris corent et à trois."

"A deus rams orent ou à trois."

In the third we must give up "rams" as unexplainable: very likely it is a copyist's error. Jal, in the *Glossaire*, art. "Ris," gives a free translation "Courent avec deux ou trois ris dans leurs voiles." The lines certainly suggest that there were definite means of taking in more than one reef in a sail; they cannot be read in the sense of two or three reefs distributed singly among several sails in one ship, for we know that vessels of the twelfth century carried one mast and one sail. Wace obviously uses "ris" for a "reef" in the modern sense and not for a bonnet, for as well as the line quoted the context suggests that there was a fair amount of wind.

Nicholas (*History of the Royal Navy*, 1848, ii. p. 472) gives extracts from the MS. in the Record Office (Exchequer K. R.

bund. 19, no. 31) of the expenses of building the "galley" *La Philipe* at Lynn in 1336. One item is quoted as 8 stone of hempen cordage for "8 rifropes." Mr Alan Moore and myself have recently examined the original, and Professor Skeat, who has very kindly compared our copy of the writing with others of the age, is of opinion that "wipropes" is the word in the MS.; in any case it is not "rifropes." It may be said also that "whip-ropes" is from the context much more probable than "reef-ropes."

The earliest certain mention of "reef" in English appears to be in 1393 by Gower, in *Confessio Amantis*, who wrote

"The wynd was good, the se was plein,
Hem nedeth nought a riff to slake."

(Ed. Pauli, 1857, III, p. 341.)

Professor Skeat, to whom I am indebted for a modern rendering of other quotations also, tells me that "plein" means "smooth," so I think that here the "riff" is the bonnet, which the lightness of the wind allowed the sail to carry. Pauli, *l. c.*, p. 402, is mistaken in rendering "to slake riff" as "to let out a reef of a sail." To "slake" the bonnet appears to mean to take it off or "stow" it. This is not however what "slake" suggests at first sight. It is possible that Gower's seamanship was faulty, and so he used a verb more appropriate with "reef" in our modern sense, which seems to have been, as stated above, the alternative sense in his time.

The fragment *Cocke Lorell's Boat*, 1515 (MS. in British Museum), mentions reefing among its other very interesting items of seamanship, thus

"Some ye longe boat dyde launce,
Mayne corse took in a refe byforce."

(Roxburghe Club, 1817, p. 12.)

Then we have reefs in a poem written at a time when so far as we can gather reef-points and any other similar devices for reefing in the modern sense seem to have vanished, and the bonnet alone remained as the means for altering the size of a sail. This is in the Earl of Surrey's *Praise of mean and constant estate*, 1557:

"And so wisely, when lucky gale of winde,
 All thy puft sailes shall fil, loke well about:
 Take in a ryft."

(Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1870, p. 27.)

The "taking in" in the two last quotations suggests reefing more than stripping off a bonnet. It is of course possible enough that the seamanship of the authors lagged behind the practice of the age.

But when all is said, there remain several questions undecided. From what has been set forth above, it must be confessed that we do not know enough to say whether the earliest definite method of altering the size of a sail was some kind of bonnet or the reef in our modern sense, when reef-points were first fitted to sails and why they disappeared for more than a century. With regard to the last matter it is just possible to make a suggestion, but nothing more. All the early reef-points are shown on the lowest sail, *i.e.* the "course," if the ship carried a topsail. But these reef-points were fitted long before topsails came in, though they survived at least into the early days of topsails, for by King Henry VII's time a main topsail was common for large craft and the largest ships had also a fore-topsail. But we know from inventories and from the drawings on which reliance may be placed that these early topsails were quite small, and as it were mere "kites." Such topsails would hardly have reefing gear, they would be taken in altogether in strong winds. For the large sails below there were nearly always bonnets and, though probably less frequently, reef-points. Perhaps the two were sometimes fitted to the same sail. We may imagine that improvements were made in the bonnet which rendered it more in favour than reefs. Mr L. G. Carr Laughton has reminded us ("The Evolution of the Ship," *United Service Magazine*, Feb. 1908, p. 464) that probably bonnets were sometimes used with topsails. This would be as the latter increased in size. By the time of the Second Dutch War, when we see the revival of reef-points, topsails were at least as large in proportion to the courses as in the first half of the nineteenth century. Now a bonnet would be more difficult to handle with a topsail than

with a course, especially if the topsail were large; so reef-points may have found favour again as a speedier and handier method of altering the size of upper sails, bonnets being retained for the courses, and we know they were still thus in use in 1720. But we have no contemporary statements; Smith, Boteler and other writers do not tell us anything, indeed, they omit any mention of reefing. Thus far we have negative evidence that only bonnets were employed and that is all. In the period of early reef-points there was no technical literature: Wagenhaer's *Speculum Nauticum* did not appear till 1584. A few inventories and accounts, poems describing doings at sea, paintings and prints by monks or heralds and the work of seal engravers are our only sources of information for the previous ages, and thus it comes to us from those who were for the most part ignorant of nautical matters. There is but little sure ground. The subject of early methods of reefing illustrates very well the difficulties which confront a nautical archæologist.

Monday, 31 October, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

The Very Rev. Monsignor BARNES read a paper on

THE TOMBS OF SS. PETER AND PAUL.

Monday, 7 November, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Mr ARTHUR GRAY read the two following papers.

I. ON THE LATE SURVIVAL OF A CELTIC POPULATION
IN EAST ANGLIA.

It was once an axiomatic belief of historians of the English Conquest of Britain that that conquest resulted in the practical extirpation of the Celtic peoples whom the invaders found in occupation of the island, at least in its southern and eastern parts. For such a belief there are many natural grounds. Not least is that national pride in the name of Englishman, and that consequent conviction of the purity of English blood and the masterful qualities of the English race which very noticeably colour the writings of such otherwise trustworthy historians as Freeman and Green. And in this belief that the British race was practically exterminated throughout wide stretches of once British ground historians were supported by sounder and less sentimental considerations. On that race, if it survived under English dominion, a silence descended which is broken by no reference in the pages of that history which is most nearly contemporary with the age immediately succeeding the conquest. The wrecks of the material civilisation of Rome, the waste "chesters" and abandoned walls of its legionaries, were a perpetual reminder to Baeda and the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers that in the land which they called by their name and recognised as their own by conquest the English had been preceded by a race mightier in war and more skilled in the arts of peace than themselves. But of British arts, of British law, of British Christianity in the conquered lands they either know nothing or have nothing that they deem worth telling. The impression left by the silence of antiquity seemed to the historian to be confirmed by the lack of any evidence pointing to the

perpetuation of the Celtic language or Celtic civilisation in the English area after the English conquest. Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship owed something to ancient Rome, nothing to the Briton. The dialects of Eastern England have borrowed much from the Dane: the language of Wales has left them hardly a recognisable word. And the most overwhelming evidence of the practical obliteration of the Celt throughout Eastern England is to be found in its place names. The map shows an almost unbroken expanse of Teutonic names. Here and there an important Roman centre survived as a "chester" or a "coln" into Saxon times. Here and there a "vicus" passed on its name, as a "wick," to the isolated home of an English settler. The rivers and the wastes, the deserted hill-fort and the burial mound of the earlier race might keep the name by which they were known to the Briton, and perhaps to the Briton's predecessor in the land, but from the habitations of man the British name might seem wholly to have passed away.

Yet for evidence of such complete extirpation of the conquered we shall search in vain the records of those writers whose day most nearly approached the English invasions. Once only do we hear of the wholesale massacre of Britons. It was when, in the words of the Chronicle, "Aelle and Cissa beset Andredesceaster and slew all that dwelt therein: there was not one Briton left." The horror of the event stands out of its bald context as something unique. What was possible within the walls of a captured stronghold was not possible in the field, the fen or the forest. Gildas the Wise, from whom alone we draw our knowledge of the fate of the Welsh people after the English conquest—for Baeda merely echoes his words—gives us indeed a grim picture of the savagery of the English, but he lays no such unredeemed blood-guiltiness to their charge. He says:

"Of the wretched survivors some were caught in mountains and butchered in heaps. Others, famine-stricken, came and gave themselves up to their enemies to be their slaves for ever: to be spared from slaughter was matter to them of deepest gratitude. Some, with loud laments, sought homes beyond the sea. Others in mountains and hills,

amid beetling crags or entrenched in deep forests and rocky isles, beset with terror and suspicion, yet persisted in their faith (*credentes perstabant*) in the land of their fathers."

The picture is drawn in lurid colours, yet I hope to show that it accurately portrays the lot of the British survivors in our own East Anglia and its adjacent shires, and that not only in the times of which Gildas writes but for some five centuries afterwards. The materials which I have to offer you are necessarily slight, but the facts, such as they are, give us a definite and consistent picture. In that picture the Welshman, as he was called by his East Anglian or Mercian conqueror, appears as the prædial serf whose life is almost inestimably cheap in the sight of the thane who is his proprietor, as the brigand of the forest or the squalid savage of the fen. And, far down into the Saxon age, we shall find him retaining his Welsh speech, and, more wonderful still, retaining, as Gildas tells us, relics of British Christian faith, though that faith seemed to his converted conquerors little better than the heathenry from which they had themselves been redeemed by Augustine and his followers. And in legend and tradition I shall endeavour to show that he still joined hands with his brethren in Wales and Cornwall and even in distant Brittany. I need not tell you that I shall not find the evidence of this in record that deserves the name of History. The scattered fragments of the Welsh people in Eastern England have no place in History; politically they do not exist. The Christianised Saxon regarded his British co-religionist with simple abhorrence. His creed to Baeda¹ was "impiety," and, as missionary effort was wasted on the Welsh survivors in English lands, he drops out of Ecclesiastical History. Nor will Welshmen be mentioned as owners or witnesses in land charters, for the essential condition of their survival was that they were landless and negligible. The witness to their existence as serfs or outlaws in the Eastern lands which had once been their own is to be gathered mainly from monkish story, from romance or the mythical borderland of History. I do not think that the value of the evidence is much diminished by the

¹ See his account of the battle of Carlegion, *Eccl. Hist.* II. 2.

circumstance that for the most part it is embedded in fiction. The gleeman and the monastic *raconteur* were bound by the same conditions as a modern novelist. They will not, as Horace says, paint a dolphin in the woods, nor will they introduce Welshmen into their tale in places and at times which their hearers cannot credit.

The first evidence which I shall offer you of this survival of a Welsh-speaking population in Eastern England relates to Crowland, which is in the Lincolnshire fens, and it comes from the life of Saint Guthlac, told by Felix of Crowland, who lived in the first quarter of the eighth century¹. Felix tells us that Guthlac retired to an anchorite's hold at Crowland soon after the year 700, and there made his abode in a tumulus which had been excavated by treasure-seekers. His settlement in the heart of the Fens was much resented by the indigenous population, who happened to be devils, and, to show their displeasure, they practised on him such practical jokes as suggested themselves to their devilish natures. To a saintly man, who knew both and liked neither, the distinction between a Welshman and a devil was not very appreciable. Even to less pious characters such as Dame Quickly and Sir John Falstaff the affinity was obvious: a "Welsh devil" was an expression familiar to the one, and the other thought it the most natural thing in the world for a fairy to talk in the dialect of Sir Hugh Evans. But the devils of Crowland had none of the usual characteristics of devils—horns, tails, talons and goat-feet. On the contrary, they had all the appearance of degraded savages—great heads, lean necks, blubber lips,

¹ Felix says that Guthlac was descended from the ancient stock of the Icelings, the royal family of Mercia. But he also tells us that his father's name was Penwall, or Penwalh, which looks like Welsh. Sir John Rhys (*Celtic Folklore*, p. 676) takes it to mean "Wall's End," *i.e.* a man who lived at a place called Wall's End, and he surmises that the royal Mercian race, with its un-English names, Pybba, Penda, Peada, was of Brythonic or Welsh origin. Baeda mentions a place Pean-fahel, which he says was at the western end of the last-built of the Roman walls in Britain. Mr Chadwick, however, regards the first element as Saxon and identical with the name Penda; the second being the same as in Cenwalh, the name of a Wessex king: but even so "walh" can hardly be other than *Wealth*, a Briton. If Guthlac's father was Welsh we can the better understand how he came to be acquainted with the Welsh tongue.

ragged hair and beards, bow legs and teeth like horses' teeth. One of the exploits of these devil-savages is told thus by Felix :

"Now it happened in the days of Coenred, king of Mercia, when the Britons, the deadly foes of the Saxon race, were disturbing the English people by their raids and widespread devastations, that one night, about cock-crow, Guthlac of blessed memory was applying himself to prayers and vigils, and was overcome by a dreamy slumber, when he fancied that he heard cries of some disorderly mob. In a moment he awoke from his light sleep, and went out of the cell where he was sitting. There he stood listening intently and caught words of the common people, and saw some bands of Britons approaching his dwelling. For in the course of his former life he had been in exile among the Britons so long that he was able to understand their strident speech. He hastened over the marshes towards his abode, and almost at the same instant saw all his house enveloped in flames, and the Britons, intercepting his approach, began to poise in the air their sharp-pointed darts. Then the man of God, perceiving the craft of the Fiend in assuming a thousand artful shapes, as with a prophetic voice struck up the first verse of the sixty-seventh psalm, 'Let God arise.' On hearing which in a moment the troops of demons vanished from his face like smoke¹."

From saintly legend I pass to the gleeman's Lay of Havelok, and again the scene is in Lincolnshire. Professor Skeat, in the preface to his edition of the English poem on the subject (published by the Early English Text Society) remarks that there can be little doubt that the story of Havelok has come down from Anglo-Saxon times. It exists in various versions, French and English, which differ in respect of the names and incidents introduced in them. All are unhistoric but introduce personages purporting to be historical, and in all the scene is laid in Anglo-Saxon England. Professor Skeat says (Preface, p. xxxiv.) "My theory is that the Lay of Havelok is the general result of various narratives connected with the history of Northumbria and Lindsey (Lincs.) at the close, or possibly at the beginning, of the sixth century, gathered round some favourite Lincolnshire tradition as a nucleus." According to a French version of the tale, told by Gaimar about the year 1135, Havelok was son of Gunter, king of Denmark, who was slain by his rival, Hodulf. Hodulf then usurped the throne and ordered a fisherman, named Grim, to murder Havelok.

¹ p. 29, ed. Birch.

Instead of obeying his orders Grim escaped with Havelok, sailed to England, and landed at the place called after him Grimsby. There Havelok was brought up in the belief that he was Grim's son, and together they followed the calling of fishermen. After twelve years Havelok goes out to seek his fortune and becomes a scullion in the kitchen of king Alsi, who held his court at Lincoln and ruled over Lincoln, Lindsey, Rutland and Stamford. King Alsi, though his name is unquestionably Saxon, is represented as a Briton by race¹. Havelok was treated with derision by his fellow servants. As Gaimar says:

"For a fool they all took him,
And sport they made of him.
Cuaran they called him;
For thus call the Britons
A cook in their language."

And so it happens that in some versions the Havelok story became the Lay of Curan, and from the 16th century English ballad of Curan and Argentille the name descended to Curan whom Shakespeare introduces as a servant about the court of the British king Lear. I am not concerned with the derivation of the name, which Professor Skeat regards as genuinely Celtic. I may note however that Chaucer in *The House of Fame* (1208) introduces "the Bret (*i.e.* Welsh) Glascurion," as a harper, in the distinguished company of Orpheus and Arion; also that a Danish chief, Anlaf Cwiran, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *anno* 949, and is probably identical with the Northman Anlaf who fought against king Athelstan at Brunanburh and then returned to Dublin. The whole tale of Havelok from the historical standpoint is a welter of confusion, but the names which it brings in are Anglo-Saxon or Danish, not British, and historical fact is so far respected that a Dane is found at Grimsby and a Danish king in Norfolk. So there may be a genuine historical significance in the appearance at Lincoln among Teutonic surroundings of a British speaking people and a British king.

¹ In the English Lay instead of king Alsi it is an earl Godrich who rules at Lincoln. In this version the name Cuaran does not occur.

My next evidence is from a story which is most familiar to us in the version of it which Chaucer makes his *Man of Lawes Tale*. Chaucer drew the story from the French chronicle of Nicholas Trivet¹, written about 1384, and Trivet says that he got it from "the ancient chronicles of the Saxons." Of course there is nothing about it in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but I take it that Trivet's source, so far as the story connects itself with England, is not the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but some old tale dating from Anglo-Saxon times: indeed there is hardly equivocal evidence in his story that such was the fact². The scene of the English part of Trivet's tale is laid on the shore of the Humber—whether on the Yorkshire or Lincolnshire side does not appear—where Elda, a Saxon, is warder of a castle belonging to Alle, the king of Northumberland. King Alle is evidently to be identified with Aelle, who, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, was king of Northumbria from 560 to 588, and is familiar to us in Baeda's story of St Gregory and the English slaves in the market-place of Rome. According to the story of Trivet and Chaucer, Constance, daughter of the Emperor of Rome, is set afloat by herself in a ship which at last is driven ashore close to Elda's castle. There she converts to the Christian faith Hermengild, wife of Elda. By her prayers Hermengild is enabled to restore sight to a blind Christian Briton, who lives near the castle among pagan Saxons. Chaucer's development of the story is interesting. He says that "the christianitee" of the old Britons had taken refuge from the heathen conquerors in Wales, but that some still remained who privily honoured Christ, and three of these dwelt near the castle, the blind man being one

¹ Edited and translated by Mr Brock in *Originals and Analogues* (Chaucer Society, 1888).

² The fact that the names in Trivet's story, Alle, Elda, Hermengild, Domild, are purely Anglo-Saxon points to the antiquity of his story. There are other indications that it is old and indigenous to England. He calls his heroine, Constance: but he says the Saxons called her Couste. The part of the story which brings in Domild, the mother of Alle, is identical with the tale told by Matthew Paris about the queen of Offa the First, which is unquestionably an Anglo-Saxon tale of a very primitive origin. Clearly Trivet did not draw upon the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which places the death of Alle in 588, whereas he precisely informs us that Constance survived her husband, Alle, and died in 584.

of them. In the sequel the blind man brings a Welsh bishop, Lucius, from Bangor, who converts the Saxons.

My next tale takes us to the Huntingdonshire border of the Fens. In the year 1002 a peasant belonging to the town of Slepe discovered a buried chest. It was revealed to the abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Ramsey that it contained the bones of St Ivo, a Persian bishop, who, with three companions, had wandered to Britain, and there had died "in a muddy province." Slepe, as Professor Skeat¹ informs us, is the A.S. *slæp*, a slippery or miry place. The abbot transported the bones to Ramsey, where they proved as efficacious as was to be expected in producing miracles and money. Of the miracles an ample advertisement was written, about the year 1090, by a certain Ramsey monk, named Goscelin. The story which I quote from him relates to the town of Slepe, or, as it was afterwards called, St Ivo's².

"Once upon a time, when the savage and untamable race of the Britons was ravaging far and wide in the province of Huntingdon, the country-folk of Slepe took their property to the church of St Ivo, and committed it to his keeping. When the aforesaid wolfish people learnt this they hastened thither with truculent intent, burst open the church doors, and carried off everything deposited within. One of them, looking up, saw two bells hanging from beams, and, coveting them, climbed up to take them away. But just as he was setting hands on them, in order to lower them, he suddenly fell to the ground, broke all his bones, and was killed. The rest, when they saw this, were horribly afraid that a like fate would befall them. So, seeing that the place was sacred and rendering honour to God and St Ivo, they humbly restored all that they had so haughtily carried off."

The pious chronicler proceeds to compare the fate of the sacrilegious Briton with the punishment of Heliodorus, recorded in the second book of Maccabees, but adds that the Briton, as a nominal Christian, was the worse offender. The incident belongs to the years between 1002 and 1090. It is likely that the raiders were emboldened by a time of national disorder, such as the Danish wars of Aethelred II or the troubles in the Isle of Ely after the Norman Conquest. That there were

¹ *Place Names of Huntingdonshire, C.A.S. Proceedings*, XLIV. p. 338.

² *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* (ed. W. D. Macray), p. lxxii.

Welsh brigands in England who availed themselves of the license of such times is shown by the terms of the treaty which Aethelred made with the Danes in 991, in which each party undertook not to abet the Welshmen, thieves or foes of the other¹. We gather from the story that the Fen outlaws of the eleventh century still professed the ancient British type of Christianity, and their actions fully bear out the description given of the Britons four centuries earlier by Baeda, that, though they bore the name and professed the faith of Christians, it was their custom in his day not to pay any respect to the faith and religion of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with pagans.

Here is another story from a Ramsey source, a story which takes us from the Fen to the Forest². On the high Royston downs, looking down on Icknield Way, lies the little Hertfordshire village of Therfield. The Ramsey monks had an estate there, and the Abbey Chronicler tells us how they became possessed of it. Aetheric, bishop of Dorchester, in his boyhood had been a novice of the Abbey. Once a week the novices had a holiday, and were allowed to play outside the cloister, and, on one such occasion, he and three other lads amused themselves by ringing the bells, which hung in the western tower of the church: and they rang them with such vigour that they cracked one of the bells, thereby incurring the grave displeasure of the abbot and brethren. When he became a bishop he set himself seriously to make amends for his youthful misdemeanour by procuring endowments in land for the Abbey, which was in his diocese. Among the properties so acquired was that at Therfield, and it was on this wise that he obtained it. King Cnut had bestowed it on a certain Danish follower, who was so unpopular with his English neighbours that he lived in daily fear of being murdered. Every night his house was guarded by four villagers in turn. One night the Dane lay awake, and heard the four watchers talking outside, and what they said was this: "What's the good of this? How long are we going to put up with this tiresome job? How long are we going to

¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. p. 306, note.

² *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, p. 140.

keep nightly watch for this foreign fellow, who deserves to be handed over to the Britons to murder? We are wretchedly poor, and he has piles of money, and bothers us to protect his abominable existence. Let's take heart of grace and stick a knife in his bowels. The village shan't be troubled with him any more." The Dane was so much frightened that he went off to consult his nearest friends before daybreak. They told him that it was out of the question to evict the whole village, and that it was not safe to punish the guilty four, for fear of retaliation. So the Dane went off to London, and, happening to find the bishop talking with King Cnut, sold him the property on easy terms, and returned to Denmark. From the story we gather that there were British bandits not far from Royston in the tenth century.

Next we come to our own county of Cambridge and to the famous Gild of the Thanes at Grantabrycge¹. The terms of the Gild regulations show that the members were country-gentlemen, who probably met at Cambridge but did not reside there. The Gild and its rules probably belong to the tenth century. It was a friendly society the aim of which was mutual support and assistance. One of the regulations relates to the contributions of the members in aid of a gild-brother who has rendered himself liable to a *wergild*, or compensation to the relatives of a man whom he has slain. It runs thus:

"If any of the gild slay a man, and he be an avenger by compulsion (*neadwraca*) and compensate for his violence, and the slain man be a *twelfhynde* man, let each of the gild give half a mark for his aid: if the slain man be a *ceorl*, two oras: if he be Welsh (*Wylisc*) one ora."

Now I think that there can be no doubt that a *Wylisc* man was a Briton, not a Saxon *theow*; the name was exclusively applied to men of Celtic race. The Welshman for whom compensation was paid was of course not an outlaw, but a serf attached to a lord. It is noticeable that the *wergild* for a Welshman in Wessex law varied from one-tenth to one-fifth of the compensation for a *twelfhynde* man, the man whose *wergild* value was highest, viz. 1200 shillings: in the Cambridge

¹ The Anglo-Saxon version is in *The Memorials of Cambridge* (Wright and Longueville Jones), Vol. II., Parish of Great St Mary's, pp. 3, 4.

scale it is one-fourth. The higher relative value attached to the life of the lowest class in Cambridgeshire corresponds with the fact revealed by Domesday that the proportion of serfs to the whole population was lowest in East Anglia and increased steadily in a westerly direction, becoming highest in Cornwall and the counties near the Welsh border. We may infer that, though a Welsh servile population existed in Cambridgeshire in the tenth century, it was not so numerous as elsewhere, and that there the Welshman's life was more respected.

II. ON THE WANDLEBURY LEGEND.

The legend of Wandlebury has this connection with the subject of a Celtic population in Eastern England that it is apparently drawn from a Celtic source. But it does not support the conclusion that Britons survived in the land in some sort of independence after the Saxons occupied it. We cannot say when the story became incorporated in the folk-lore of the English-speaking inhabitants of the country. They may have learnt it from British lips in the first days of the conquest: they may have acquired it at a later date from British survivors in Cambridgeshire. And there is a feature in the story which should teach us some caution in our inferences. Not indeed in its original version, but in later times, the legend has become connected with the name of Gogmagog. The tale, as first told by Gervase of Tilbury at the beginning of the thirteenth century, has clear relation to the immemorial traditions of Wales and Armorica; but in its later association with the giant Gogmagog it betrays its affinity to the literary fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and, through him, with the Graeco-Persian romance of Alexander the Great, the mountains of the Caucasus, the prophecy of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation.

The story has always been popular. It forms a chapter in the *Gesta Romanorum*. It was retold by William Harrison, in his *Description of England*, in the sixteenth century. In its most familiar form it is told by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to *Marmion*. As all these versions contain divergences from the original, I will translate the tale from the words of Gervase in his *Otia Imperialia*, written about the year 1211.

“In England, at the boundary of the diocese of Ely, there is a town named Cantabrica, in the neighbourhood of which there is a place called Wandlebiria, from the fact that the Wandali, when ravaging Britain and savagely murdering the Christians, placed their camp there. Now, where they pitched their tents

on the hill-top, there is a level space surrounded with entrenchments and with a single entrance, like a gate. There is a very ancient tradition, attested by popular report, that if a warrior enters this level space at the dead of night, when the moon is shining, and cries 'Knight to knight, come forth,' immediately he will be confronted by a warrior, armed for fight, who, charging horse to horse, either dismounts his adversary or is dismounted. But I should state that the warrior must enter the enclosure alone, though his companions may look on from outside. As proof of the truth of this I quote a story told to me by the country people of the neighbourhood. There was in Greater Britain, not many days ago, a knight redoubtable in arms and possessed of every noble quality, among the barons second in power to few, to none in worth. His name was Osbert, son of Hugh. One day he came as a guest to the town I have mentioned, and, it being winter time, after supper, as is the fashion with great folk, he was sitting in the evening by the fireside in the family of his wealthy host, and listening to tales of exploits of ancient days; and while he gave ear to them it chanced that one of the people of the country mentioned the wondrous legend aforesaid. The brave man resolved to make personal trial of the truth of what he was told. So he selected one of his noble squires, and, attended by him, went to the place. In complete armour he came to the appointed spot, mounted his steed, and, dismissing his attendant, entered the camp alone. He cried aloud to discover his opponent, and in response a knight, or what looked like a knight, came forth to meet him, similarly armed, as it seemed. Well, with shields advanced and levelled lances they charged, and each horseman sustained his opponent's shock. But Osbert parried the spear-thrust of his antagonist, and with a powerful blow struck him to the ground. He was on his feet again in an instant, and, seeing that Osbert was leading off his horse by the bridle, as the spoils of conquest, he poised his lance and, hurling it like a javelin, with a violent effort he pierced Osbert's thigh. Our knight however in the exultation of his victory either did not feel or did not regard the wound, and his adversary having disappeared, he came out of the camp victorious, and gave the

horse which he had won to his squire. It was tall, active and beautiful to behold. He was met on his return by a number of the family, who marvelled at the tale, were delighted at the overthrow of the knight, and loudly applauded the bravery of this illustrious baron. When Osbert took off his arms and discarded his iron greaves he saw one of them filled with clotted blood. The family were amazed at the wound, but the knight scorned fear. The neighbours, aroused from slumber, came thronging together, and their growing marvel induced them to keep watch. As evidence of the victory the horse was kept, still tethered. It was displayed to public view with its fierce eyes, erect neck and black mane; its knightly saddle and all its trappings were likewise black. At cockcrow the horse, prancing, snorting and pawing the earth, suddenly burst the reins that held it and regained its native liberty. It fled, vanished, and none could trace it. And our noble knight had a perpetual reminder of the wound which he had sustained, in that each year, as the same night returned, the wound, though apparently cured and closed, opened again. So it came about that the famous warrior, some years later, went over sea, and, after performing many deeds of valour against the heathen, by God's will ended his days."

Gervase is a born romancer. In his rambling book it is his constant and delightful hint to speak of giants and necromancers, of werwolves and lamias. But he is also an inveterate plagiarist, and the suspicion might naturally arise that he stole the story from Geoffrey of Monmouth or some other literary source. But we may fairly acquit him in this case. Geoffrey has no story at all resembling the Wandlebury legend. The story of the giant Gogmagog is written large in his *History of the Britons*, but in the tale of Gervase there is nothing about Gogmagog, and nothing about a giant. We may take his word for it that his story is, what he affirms it to be, "a very old tradition, attested by popular report, told to me by the country folk of the neighbourhood." As an eastern-county man he may very well have heard the story, as Osbert heard it, at a fireside in Cambridge. His description of the camp is accurate enough to prove his local knowledge. The name, Wandlebury, which he

gives it is an older name than that of Gogmagog Hills, for which I find no authority older than 1574¹. On the other hand Wendlesbiri is mentioned in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey² as the place of a hundred meeting in the tenth century, when the title of the Abbey to land at Swaffham was debated. As Wyndilbyry it is again mentioned in the *Historia Eliensis*³ as the meeting place of nine hundreds in the time of King Stephen. I see no reason to quarrel with the derivation of the name given by Gervase. Colonies of Vandals were brought to Britain by the emperor Probus⁴. There is a village called Wendlebury in Oxfordshire, and it is significant that the parish contains the Roman camp of Alchester, and immediately adjoining are the Roman sites of Chesterton and Bicester. It looks as though the story of Gervase was referable to a people who knew the Vandals, or to a time when the memory of them was recent. At the time of the Saxon invasions of the middle of the fifth century the Vandal power was at its height. Genseric sacked Rome in 455, six years after the coming of the Jutes, and his fleets commanded the Mediterranean, which to the Anglo-Saxon chronicler was known as the Wendelsae.

Gervase does not say that the demonic antagonist of Osbert was a Vandal, but I think that that is his suggestion. This too gives a hint that the legend is Celtic, not English. Had it sprung from an English source the conquered warrior would almost certainly have been a Briton. The common feature of the tales to which the Wandlebury legend is related is the victory of the civilised invader over the representative of a vanished, inhuman race, primitive inhabitants of the land, and the scene is some monumental work of prehistoric man. This is clearly brought out in the wonderful legend told in the French romance of Fulk Fitzwarin, which was written in the early part of the reign of Edward I—two generations after

¹ Cooper, *Annals*. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges issued an edict prohibiting scholars from attending any "play or game" there.

² Page 79 (Rolls series).

³ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 619.

⁴ Gibbon, chap. XII.

Gervase of Tilbury¹. The part of the legend which I quote has for its hero a certain Payn Peverel, who accompanied William the Conqueror in an unhistorical invasion of Wales.

“As King William the Bastard drew near the mountains and valleys of Wales he saw a large town, formerly enclosed within high walls, which was entirely pillaged and burnt. Underneath the town, in a plain, he caused his tents to be pitched, and there he remained that night. Then the king enquired of a Briton what the town was called, and how it was thus destroyed. ‘Sire,’ said the Briton, ‘I will tell you. The castle was formerly called Castle Bran, but now it is called the Old March. There formerly came into this country Brutus, a very brave knight, and Coryneus, from whom Cornwall had its name, and many others derived from the lineage of Troy. No one inhabited these regions excepting very vile people, great giants, whose king was named Geomagog. They heard of the arrival of Brutus, and marched against him; but in the end all the giants were killed except Geomagog, who was wonderfully tall. The valiant Coryneus said that he would like to wrestle with Geomagog to try his strength. At the first bout the giant hugged Coryneus so tight that he broke three of his ribs. Coryneus grew angry; he gave Geomagog such a kick that he fell from a great rock into the sea, and then was Geomagog drowned. A spirit from the devil forthwith entered into Geomagog’s body, and he came into these parts, and defended the country for a long time, so that no Briton dared inhabit it. A long time after this King Bran, the son of Donwal, rebuilt the town, repaired the walls, and cleared out the great ditches, and made a fortress and a great market-place. And the devil came by night, and carried off all that was within; since which time no one has dwelt there.’”

Then follows the nocturnal visit of Payn Peverel to the ghostly city, his combat with Geomagog and his victory, all told in much the same way as the story of Osbert at Wandlebury.

The whole story of Fulk Fitzwarin makes no pretence of being historical. Yet curiously the Payn Peverel who is the

¹ The romance of Fulk Fitzwarin is printed in the Rolls series in the volume containing the Chronicle of Ralf of Coggeshall.

hero in this part of it and the counterpart of Osbert in the tale of Gervase is an actual personage and famous in Cambridge history as the benefactor of Barnwell Priory, who gave the Austin canons the site of their house by Barnwell springs. Both the Fitzwarin story and the Barnwell *Memoranda* mention that his son and heir was named William, and William died, like Osbert, while on a crusade. It is true that Payn died in England—at the Peak in Derbyshire according to the romance, in London according to the *Memoranda*—but the Barnwell chronicler says that he was standard-bearer of the Conqueror's son, Robert Curthose, in the crusades. But the coincidence of his connection with the Welsh legend and with Cambridge may be dismissed as fortuitous.

In the tale of Fulk Fitzwarin, which presents such unmistakable features of affinity with the Wandlebury legend, the defeated warrior is the giant Geomagog. A tradition later than the times of Gervase of Tilbury undoubtedly connected the Wandlebury camp with Gogmagog. Layer says that formerly there was a gigantic figure cut in the turf on the Gogmagog Hills, similar to the Long Man of Willington in Sussex. In the name of Gogmagog we light on a tradition not indigenous to Cambridgeshire, nor of an origin ultimately Celtic. Though the tale of the haunted town and the fight with its ghostly warder seems to be genuinely British and ancient, the writer borrowed the name of Geomagog and the wrestling with Coryneus from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his *Historia Britonum* at some time before 1147. While there is no doubt that Geoffrey incorporated in his book much genuine British tradition it is equally certain that he "contaminated" his story with audacious fictions drawn largely from literary sources; and the name of Geomagog, or Goemagot, as he spells it, is unquestionably a foreign interpolation in a tale which may otherwise be genuinely Celtic. The traditional scene of the combat of Coryneus with Goemagot is the Hoe at Plymouth. I do not know what credit to attach to Geoffrey's statement that in his day it was still called Lamgoemagot, or Goemagot's Leap¹.

¹ In Geoffrey's story Coryneus becomes duke of Cornwall, which, of course,

But if the name of Gogmagog is foreign to Celtic lands it must have taken early root in them, for name and legend are found on both sides of the English Channel. In the Breton-French chronicle of John de Wavrin, written in the fifteenth century, he is called Gomago or Geomagon¹. Geomagon appears in a modern Breton folk-tale as Gourmalon or Gurmailhon. From the *Traditions de la Haute Bretagne* of M. Sébillot I learn that, near a place called Goven in the department of Ile et Vilaine, there is a circular rampart which is called the Butte or the Tombeau of Gurmailhon. Gurmailhon is locally said to have been an earl of Cornwall and also chief of the Bretons at the time of their wars with the Normans in the tenth century, and he had the same impious character there as in Cornwall and in Wales. Formerly, the story goes, there was a large and fine castle on the spot, and the place was fertile and populous; now it is arid and desolate and lies under a curse. There is a tradition that it conceals a buried treasure, and an old woman informed M. Sébillot that her father once went there at night to dig it up; but at the first stroke of his pickaxe he was confronted by an ugly old goat with long horns, and, recognising it as the embodiment of the former owner of the place, he took to his heels. In the tale of Jack the Giant-Killer we may suspect that Gurmailhon survives as the giant Cormoran, far famed through the distich embroidered on Jack's girdle,

"This is the valiant Cornishman
Who slew the giant Cormoran."

Incidentally I may remark that learned editors of Shakespeare have been at pains to show that in *King Lear*, for reasons of his own, he wilfully corrupted the text of the nursery rhyme,

"Fee, fie, foh fum,
I smell the blood of an English man,"

derives its name from him. He is the Trojan companion of Brutus, as Corynaeus is a Trojan follower of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. In the *Faerie Queene* (book II., canto x.) Goemagot is shortened into Goemot:

"mighty Goemot, whom in stout fray
Corineus conquered and cruelly did slay."

Rabelais makes Gemmagot one of the gigantic ancestors of Pantagruel.

¹ Rolls series, ed. Hardy, p. 60.

by substituting "British" for "English" man; but I submit that his version is the older and more accurate. Jack the Giant-Killer was a Briton, not an Englishman.

The legend of the haunted camp which we have discovered in Wales and Brittany, so far as I am aware is connected with no place in England except Wandlebury. If it had existed in the counties intermediate between Cambridgeshire and Wales or Cornwall we might suspect that it had percolated through them from West Britain to East Anglia. As it does not exist it is at least a reasonable surmise that it has been rooted in Cambridgeshire from the days of the Celtic occupation of the country.

But the name Gogmagog has another pedigree, which is literary. Geoffrey of Monmouth borrowed it from the mediæval cycle of Alexander romances. The original in Europe of all these romances was the *Life and Acts of Alexander the Macedonian*, translated from Persian into Greek about the year 1070 by Simon Seth, keeper of the imperial wardrobe at Constantinople. Translations into Latin, French and other languages soon followed, and Alexander's mythical adventures became one of the commonest subjects of mediæval romance. As an English specimen of the type we may take the thirteenth century lay of *Kyng Alisaunder* (edited by Professor Skeat for the E.E.T.S., 1877). There it is recorded that, when the king was in India, he was informed that, far in the north, there dwelt a monstrous people, of unnatural savagery, the godless sons of Nebrot (i.e. Nimrod), builder of the town of Babylon. He thereupon levied a host and sailed to Taracun, the capital of the land of Magog. At first he was unable to overcome the sons of Nebrot, but presently he bethought him that, in a certain land called Meopante, between Egypt and India, which was half water and half land, the amphibious natives built walls of bitumen which became as hard as iron and was impervious to water. He loaded many thousand ships with this substance, and, while part of his army was engaged with the monsters, he stopped the passage from Magog to the sea of Calpias (i.e. the Caspian)—a passage between two rocks—by a wall of bitumen. Thereby he confined within the mountains thirty of these

savage tribes, among which are enumerated the Magogecas and the Gogas; and there they will remain until Antichrist comes to set them free, when they will waste the world and tear with their teeth all who will not serve him.

As Warton says in his *History of English Poetry*¹, the books of the Arabians and Persians are full of stories of Gog and Magog. They are called Jagiougé and Magiougé, and the wall between the Caspian and Black Seas, which in portions still exists and is traditionally said to have been built by Alexander, is called the wall of Jagiougé and Magiougé.² Once a week, the story goes, it was the practice for the governor of a neighbouring castle to ride with attendants to a gate in the wall. He struck the gate three times with a hammer, and in response, from within, was heard a murmuring noise which was supposed to proceed from Jagiougé and Magiougé, confined within the wall.

In Jagiougé and Magiougé it is not difficult to recognise the Calmucks or Tartars of southern Russia and Asia, to prevent whose incursions into Asia Minor the wall was built at some time long before Alexander's. Attila is said to have been a descendant of Magog, and contemporary Christianity recognised in the incursion of the Huns the fulfilment of the prophecies of St John the Divine. Magog according to Genesis (x. 2) was a son of Japhet and brother of Gomer. In Ezekiel (chapters xxxviii., xxxix.) Gog is a prince of the land of Magog and allied with Gomer. He comes from "the north parts" and is the leader of a great invasion of Asia, and his defeat and ruin are foretold by the prophet. He and his host will be buried under a great cairn called Hamon-gog. In Revelation (xx. 8) Gog and Magog typify the host of Satan, gathered after the millennium for the conquest of the world, their number as the sands of the sea. The interpretation of the names Gog, Magog, Gomer is fairly certain. The Gomer of Genesis and Ezekiel represents the Cimmerii who dwelt north of the Black Sea. Professor Sayce³ identifies Gog with Gyges, the first king of

¹ Vol. i. p. xiv. edition 1824.

² See also Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 535, edition 1846. The wall was visited by Peter the Great.

³ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Western Asia Minor known to the Assyrians, whose name, like that of Pharaoh, probably became a dynastic title. In Herodotus (i. 16) the Cimmerii are associated with the son of Gyges, as Gomer with Gog in Ezekiel. In Hesiod (*Theogony*, 149) Gyges is a giant. Magog probably means "land of Gog": Josephus identified it with Scythia.

Finally I may observe that in all versions of the Gogmagog legend Gogmagog is a single giant, not two. The names Gog and Magog given to the Guildhall pair are recent. In the sixteenth century they were known as Coryneus and Gogmagog.

Monday, 14 November, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Professor RIDGEWAY, F.B.A., made two communications, illustrated with lantern slides, on

1. AN ANCIENT IRISH DUG-OUT CANOE.
2. A CIST GRAVE IN COUNTY WEXFORD.

Monday, 21 November, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Dr M. R. JAMES, F.B.A., read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on the

- HORTUS DELICARUM OF HERRADE OF LANSBERG, A
PICTURE-BOOK OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.
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Monday, 28 November, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Captain A. J. N. TREMEARNE gave a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, native dresses and other objects, on

SOME NIGERIAN HEAD-HUNTERS.

Thursday, 1 December, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Mr T. G. JACKSON, R.A., delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Monday, 5 December, 1910.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President, in the Chair.

Two communications, illustrated with lantern slides, were made.

The Rev. F. G. WALKER on

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED NEOLITHIC SITE AT
GAMLINGAY, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

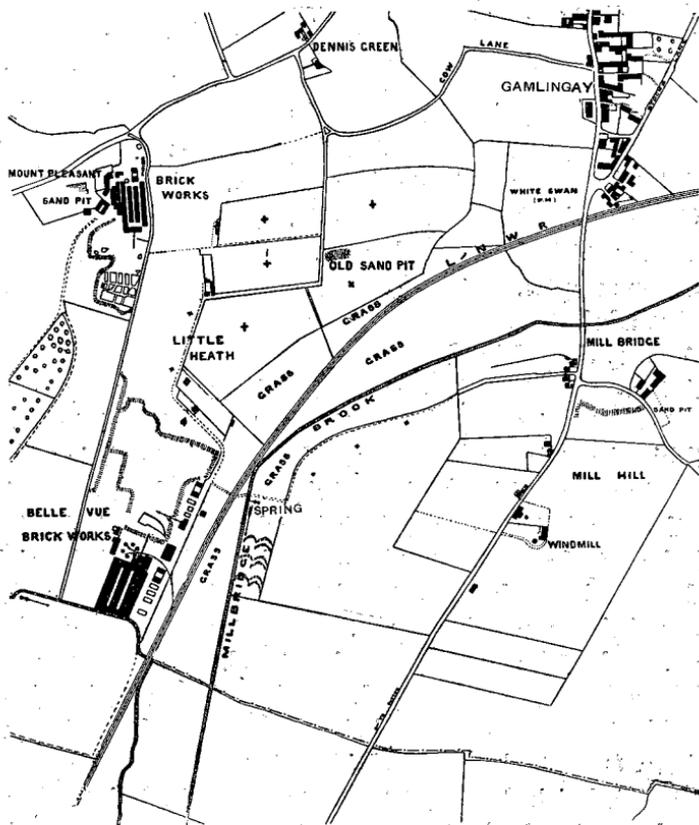
Four years ago Professor Hughes was kind enough to let me join one of his Geological Field Lectures, the scene of which was the disused Brick Pit known as the Belle Vue Brick Works at Gamlingay.

While scrambling along the slope of a small sandy cliff formed by the operations in digging for clay, and while studying the formation of the ground and looking for fossils, I picked up a pigmy flint implement together with several flint flakes. I showed them to the Professor, remarking that the lie of the land near by looked as if it might be the site of a neolithic settlement, and determined when opportunity came to examine the spot carefully.

Until last month other matters have fully occupied my spare time, but during November, when returning from clerical duty in a neighbouring parish, I was able to spend a couple of hours or so each Monday morning in investigating the fields within a radius of half to three quarters of a mile from the Belle Vue Brick Works.

By this means one was able to fix more or less definitely the site of this neolithic settlement. Each field where implements occurred is marked on the plan by a black cross.

These fields, which are of a sandy nature, make up a tongue of land having its broad end lying towards the village of Gamlingay, while two small valleys, which bound this tongue, meet just to the north-east of the brick works. Near this point is a spring of good water running into the Millbridge Brook which flows down the south-eastern valley.



Neolithic site at Gamlingay.

The spot chosen by these early people for their habitation is very like other small sites of the neolithic age that one knows well in Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire. A site with a warm sandy soil, facing south and so getting all the sunshine.

our climate affords, well out of reach of floods, but yet with a good water supply close at hand, protected, as it once was, on the north by abundant trees, seems an ideal spot for the needs of those early folk. It will be noticed that the boundary of the counties of Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire runs just to the south of the place we are discussing, while Huntingdonshire, noted in bygone times for its forest-land, is but a mile or so to the north.

After spending some time in wandering about in order to locate the site, there was not too much time for finding flint implements. Still, in addition to the four or five pigmy flints, one was fortunate enough to find the following:

A barbed arrowhead—one barb broken.

One arrowhead or small spear-tip.

Three flint knives—one broken.

Seven scrapers.

Two fabricators.

A finely shaped borer.

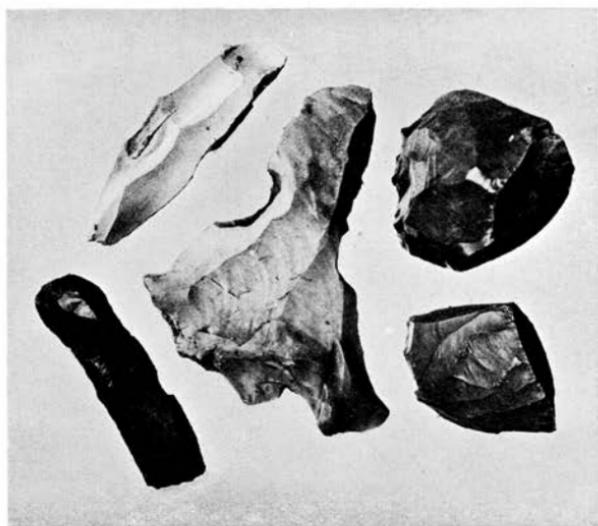
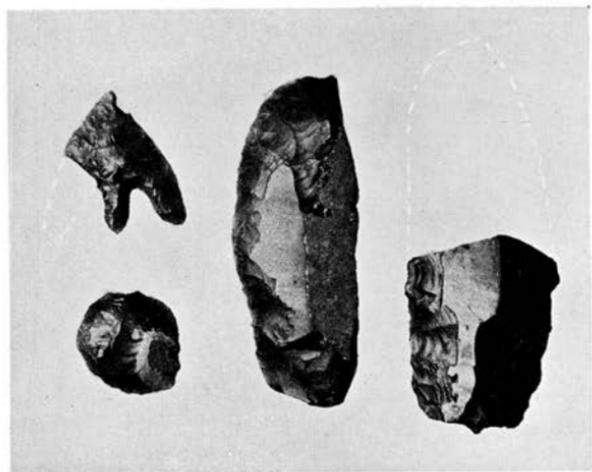
A two-grooved implement for smoothing arrowshafts.

I have found too many of this last-named tool in every neolithic site I know to have much doubt as to their former use. If any one will experiment with them and scrape a stick smooth enough for an arrowshaft, he will find, practically, how well these tools fit the fingers—sometimes those of the right hand, sometimes those of the left—and how perfectly they answer their supposed purpose. Cores, potboilers and sling-stones, made from cores, were also found.

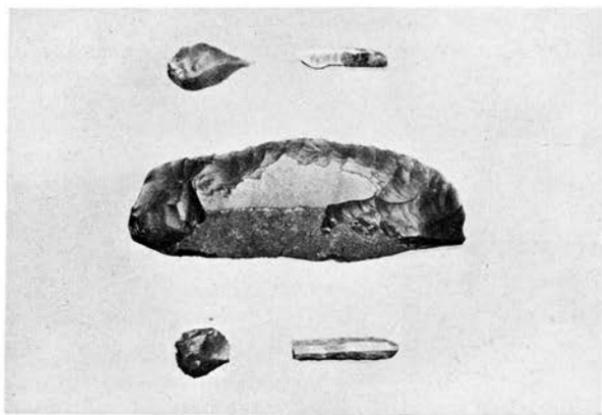
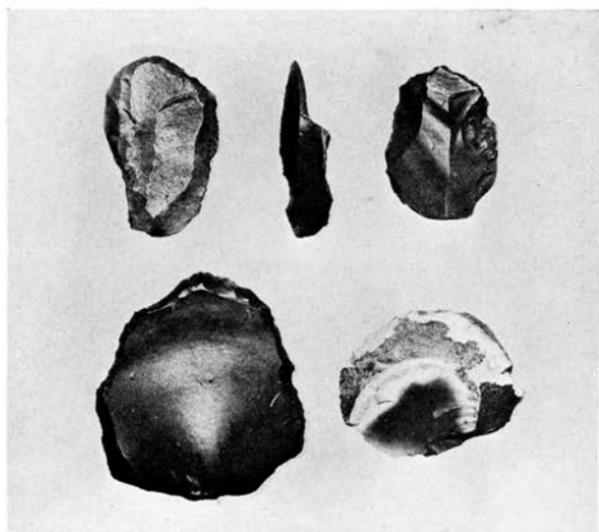
These latter one can match any day along the downlands from Kent to Dorset, especially near camps like those at Cissbury, Chanctonbury and Maiden Castle.

Finally, I picked up some two or three hundred flint flakes—more than a hundred of them are shown on the table. These were of all kinds, and prove that the implements found on this site were made on the spot.

By examining the edges of the sand pits in and round these fields, it would seem as if the natural layer (if one may use the term) of these implements and flakes is about one foot beneath the surface.



Flint Implements from Neolithic site, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire



Flint Implements from Neolithic site, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire

I must not forget to express my thanks to Mr Henry Dew, the farmer occupying the land, who kindly gave me leave to go where I pleased over his fields.

Mr F. W. GREEN, Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, on

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