Reviews.

THE HISTORY OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND: ITS CAUSES AND ITS RESULTS. By E. A. Freeman, M.A., D.C.L., etc. Vol. iv. 1871.

Objection has been taken to Mr. Freeman's fourth volume—the reign of the Conqueror,—on the ground that it contains too much local detail; is too topographical in its character for a general history. In this criticism we do not at all concur, though even did we think it well-founded from the historic point of view, we should still feel grateful for a work which does so much to raise and ennoble the study of English topography.

The fact really is, that what has been unadvisedly called a blemish may, with much greater justice, be regarded as the great merit and charm of Mr. Freeman's history. He has, in his three preceding volumes, and far more remarkably in the present one, of which the subject better bears it, worked up into the general narrative the leading, and oftentimes the minute features of its principal events, and has thus availed himself of the humble, and but little recognised labour of those whose studies have been confined to accurate and technical local descriptions. Such students—antiquarians rather than archæologists—have collected a vast mass of material, which Mr. Freeman, a great master builder in his art, well acquainted with these stores, employs largely in his structure, gives them by this means a place and value in historical composition to which they have not before attained, and thus elevates the mere topographer into the rank of a fellow-labourer in a great and complete work. A closer accuracy of description, a wider field of comparison, and a good deal more common sense in his conclusions, have in the past few years raised the virtuoso into the scientific antiquary. It is now for the historian to elevate the antiquary into the archæologist, by the conclusions which he draws from, and the charm and colouring which he shows to be closely connected with labours, which, regarded in themselves, are commonly dry, and of but little general interest.

Nor is the advantage thus obtained confined to one party: it applies, at least equally, to the historian. Historians, until recently, seemed to treat the more minute details of the country of which they wrote as beneath their notice, or worthy only of being handled in a very general way. Arnold was the first really great writer who paid minute attention to the topography of the scenes of such events as his history led him to describe. After him came Macaulay, whose topographical knowledge gives sharpness and accuracy to his descriptions, and invests them with a kind of charm unfound in Hume, and but little known to Gibbon. Freeman is, however, not only a topographer, but what these were not, a sound technical antiquary, able to read in the material features of a building or an earthwork, no less

than in a battle-field, evidence enabling him to correct or to confirm the written records. There are touches in his descriptions which descend almost to the minute accuracy of a photograph, without in the least impairing the broad and bold outlines of his general description.

This faculty, employed in his earlier volumes, finds more ample and appropriate scope in the present pages. Under the Saxon sway counties were named, cities founded, parochial divisions laid down, manorial estates created, and various other subdivisions of the soil, indicative of the prevalence of law, order, and the sacred rights of accumulated industry, were established, and still, almost unchanged, remain. But, while the Normans meddled but little with these distinctions, or rather employed and confirmed them, sitting, as far as possible in the Saxon seats, to their constructive skill and magnificence are due almost all the earliest material structures, whether cathedrals, castles, churches, monasteries, or even domestic buildings, that we possess. These rose for the most part, even the castles, on the old Saxon sites, and it was their association with these that invested them, even when new, with something of the respect which attaches to antiquity. Thus it came about that, after two or three generations, the Norman Baron became regarded as the representative of the Saxon Thane, his predecessor, and indeed, sometimes, in more than a legal sense, his ancestor.

It is to these footsteps of the Normans that the attention of the technical antiquary has been largely directed, for their masonry and the details of their architecture and decoration afford far more ample material for his critical acumen than the simpler earthworks, which are all, or nearly all, that remain to us of the works of Celt or Saxon; though these latter, rightly interrogated, can speak, and in skilful hands be made to throw light upon much that is recorded in contemporary story. Of all this technical knowledge Mr. Freeman is master; to its study he has himself largely contributed; and this it is which gives point and precision to much of the knowledge which he has acquired from his familiarity with English and Norman authors, whose discrepancies he is by this means often able to reconcile or to correct.

It is this combination of two very different kinds of research, not hitherto exhibited by any one historian, that has enabled Mr. Freeman to throw himself with so much reality into the details of his work. His thorough knowledge of Saxon and Norman England—of the history of every shire-town, every cathedral, every great castle, has made him able—his sympathy with bold and strong races of men has made him willing—to describe their customs, their conflicts, their religious feelings, the character of their aggressions and defences, the position of those fortresses by which they trusted to maintain their conquests, and the particulars of the churches and religious houses by which they hoped to confirm their sway, and at the same time to mitigate or conceal its harsher features.

Mr. Freeman is by no means an unprejudiced author, but his prejudices are all with the English people. He is neither Saxon nor Norman, and certainly never Celtic, but always English. His sympathies are ever with that remarkable race that arose out of the fusion of many Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes, deriving from one much of its speech, from another its love of law and order, from another its love of the sea, and which reached a great point in its history when it adopted

the English name and permitted its several kingdoms to be combined into one empire. There seemed some danger that this sympathy, which makes Harold the son of Godwin the author's idol, should lead him to be less than just towards his conqueror and successor. But this is not at all the case. Though, long after Harold has disappeared from the scene, his memory is revived and he is held up as the great patriot and chief of the English race, William is fairly and justly treated, and holds unchallenged the first place in the picture. Harold is ever depicted as the true and strong Englishman—the man who came of the race of the people, had his sympathies with the people, and from the people derived all his strength; while William, always a foreigner, always a Norman, exhibits ever the Norman contempt for all who are not noble, and derives his strength in part from his own indomitable character, in part from his craft in availing himself of the support of a rapacious and unprincipled military aristocracy.

Setting apart the question of the justice of William's claim to the English throne, about which, as men in those times counted justice, there were two well-balanced opinions, which question Mr. Freeman keeps well before his readers, his character is honestly drawn. If a legitimate king, dealing with rebellious subjects, he was probably not more severe than was necessary. Those who rose against him he put down promptly, and with great, and perhaps, under the circumstances, necessary severity. To those who obeyed him he was neither unjust nor severe, nor was he ever wantonly cruel.

Mention has been made of the use made by Mr. Freeman of his local knowledge. As examples of this knowledge may be cited his account of the siege and fall of Exeter, and William's memorable march into the midland and northern counties, in 1068, when he decided upon the foundation of castles at Oxford, Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; the siege of Chester in 1070; and the assault upon the Isle of Ely in 1071.

Of all these, perhaps the passage that best exemplifies the peculiarities of which we have spoken is that which relates to Lincoln. After a brief account of the lawmen, burghers, and local government of Lincoln, Mr. Freeman proceeds (p. 210):—

"No town in England occupied a prouder site, or might consider itself more safe against all assaults. Yet no town in England has more utterly changed its outward garb than the colony of Lindum has changed in every leading feature since the day when William came to demand its submission. Now, throughout a vast district around the city, the one great feature of the landscape is the mighty Minster, which, almost like that of Laon, crowns the end of the ridge, rising, with a steepness well nigh unknown in the streets of English towns, above the lower city and the plain at its feet. Next in importance to the Minster is the Castle, which, marred as it is by modern changes, still crowns the height as no unworthy yokefellow of its ecclesiastical neighbour. The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still groups well with the soaring towers, the sharp-pointed gables, the long continuous line of roof of the Church of Remigius and St. Hugh. The slope of the hill and the long line of road at its foot are covered by the buildings of the city, its houses, many of them presenting forms dear to the antiquary; the Guildhall over its southern gate, the dark arch which spans the polluted river, the tall square towers of those churches of the lower town, whose tale, we shall soon find, comes more deeply home to us than anything else in the local history. When William drew near, Minster, Castle, houses, churches, had not yet come into being; all alike are direct memorials of his coming. One alone among the many antiquities of the city was already there to meet the eye of the Conqueror, to remind him of conquerors as far removed from his age as he is himself now removed

from ours. The Danish borough had more than one predecessor. The height on which it stands, the promontory of Lincoln, is part of that long line of low hills, stretching through a large part of Central and Eastern England, which seems like a feeble rival of the loftier ranges of the West. At this point the range is broken by a depression which, if it were worthy of the name, might pass as the valley of the Witham. Thus is formed the promontory of Lincoln, looking down upon the river to the south of it. Vale and ridge alike are traversed by those great roads which abide as the noblest relics of the days of Roman dominion. The steep is climbed by the united line of the Ermine Street and the Fosse Way, which last again diverged from the eastern gate of the Roman city. But the Roman was not the first to occupy the spot. His road, after climbing the hill, cuts through an earlier town to the north of the present city, of which the dyke and foss are still easy to be seen. The road itself, the Ermine Street, notwithstanding all the centuries which have passed since it was first traced out and paved, is that distinguished from a yet older track by the name of the New Street. And the New Street leads to the New Port, the Roman arch of massive stones which still remains the entrance to the city from the north. The Roman town, the colony of Lindum, arose to the south of this more ancient site, on the very brow of the hill. Fragments of the wall still remain, and the site of the southern gate is still marked at a point but a little way down the steep descent. In the later days of Roman occupation a fortified suburb seems to have spread itself down the slopes of the hill from the southern gate to the banks of the Witham. The Danish town still occupied the Roman site, gathering round at least two churches whose names have been preserved. An earlier St. Mary's seems to have already occupied some small portion of the site of the present Minster, and the memory of Paulinus, the apostle of Lindesey no less than of Deira, was cherished in a church whose present mean representative preserves a trace of the ancient dedication in its corrupted name of St. Paul. Here then on its hill-top, with the Witham, then an important highway of merchandize, at its feet, dwelled the rich and proud commonwealth which, holding such a position, might have been expected to withstand the invader as manfully as Domfront, Le Mans, or Mayence."

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SHAKSPERE AND TYPOGRAPHY. By WILLIAM BLADES. Trübner, 1872.

MR. BLADES has served the cause of scientific bibliography so well by his volumes on Caxton that many of us were rather sorry to hear he had ventured into the interminable labyrinths of Shakspearian speculation. It would be a pity, we thought, that so clear a head and so unerring an eye should go the way which has led so many other enthusiastic spirits into obscure and aimless controversies. But a glance at "Shakspere and Typography" has dissipated our fears. Mr. Blades has not failed to bring something valuable before us—something which he only was likely to find. The book consists of three chapters and an Appendix. The first is devoted to a review of the various theories which have at different times been put forward as to Shakspeare's occupation, enumerating, among others, the authors who have endeavoured to make him a butcher, a skewer sharpener, a lawyer, a surgeon, a musician, a botanist, a sorcerer, and so on; and to prove that in religion he was a Romanist, Protestant, or an Atheist; and finally, that he was not himself, but Lord Bacon, or that he was nobody at all, but a myth. This chapter is exceedingly amusing, and merely as a piece of historical information well worth reading. Chapter II. contains Mr. Blades's own theory. He puts it forward so modestly, that although it is manifestly no more improbable than any of the others, we are hardly able to say whether it is seriously meant. Yet when we find that a certain Richard Field was Shakspeare's fellow-townsman and contemporary, that Field was a printer, and was married to the daughter of Vautrollier, the great printer, whom he succeeded; that Field actually was the first to print any work of Shakspeare's, we are obliged to allow the possibility that Shakspeare had some connection with the press, if not as a printer, as a corrector. And we find further that among the books published by Vautrollier were precisely those from which Shakspeare may, and probably must, have derived the knowledge he shows of certain branches of foreign literature; and finally, that many allusions occur throughout his works—Mr. Blades puts this information in his third chapter—to the press, titles, prefaces, punctuation, imprints, and so on, including Othello's

"Here's a young and sweating devil,"

which Mr. Blades ingeniously refers to the haste and heat of a printer's messenger.

But to our mind the most important part of the book is the Appendix. Here Mr. Blades appears to have made a real discovery. His suggestion that many of the typographical errors and various readings which so perplex the Shakspeare student are to be attributed to what printers call a "foul case," deserves more attention than any other so-called Shakspearian discovery that has been made for many years. By a diagram showing the old form of a case of type, he enables us to judge for ourselves of the probability of his suggestion. He gives only one or two examples, but they are, if not conclusive, at least very remarkable; and if we hesitate to follow him any further, it is because this is not the place for such a discussion as that we should entail. We have read Mr. Blades's little book with great pleasure, and while we hope he may not be drawn into the "great Shakspearian controversy," we cannot but acknowledge with thanks the work he has here given us.

W. J. L.

ARCHÆOLOGIA CANTIANA, Vol. VIII., 1872.

It is four years since the Kent society favoured its members with a volume. This is not from any want of activity on the part of the managers of a very flourishing community. It is the first maxim in the art of public speaking, "Do not speak unless you have something to say, and stop when you have said it;" a paradoxical sentence on which the Kent society seems to act in the publication of these volumes. In the fifteen years of its existence it has only put forth eight volumes, but these are of the highest antiquarian value, and contrast well with many publications of the kind, all the matter with which they are filled being of importance, there being no surplusage, and the illustrations being of a singularly clear, if not an *ad captandum* character. The present instalment brings the proceedings of the society down to the end of the thirteenth annual meeting, which was held at Sittingbourne on the 3rd and 4th of August, 1870. The chief papers it contains are on the Jute, Angle, and Saxon; Royal Pedigrees, by Mr. Haigh, who also contributes an article on Runic Monuments in Kent; some documents relating to a passage in the history of the Twysden Family, communicated originally by the lamented Mr. Larking, and illustrated by Canon Jenkins; some Parochial Inventories, taken in Kent in 1552, and annotated by Mr. Coates, Mr. Scott Robertson, and others; a further selection from the Charters of Cumbwell Priory; and an account of Mr. Dowker's Researches in the Roman Castrum at Richborough. There are also, in an appendix, some minor notes of great interest, including a fresh refutation of the "recurrent fiction" of the loss of the body of Henry IV. on its way to the tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. On the whole, an excellent volume has been added to the series which Mr. Godfrey Faussett and his coadjutors have presented to the antiquaries of their county.

W. J. L.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A CATALOGUE OF A SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, TAKEN BY S. THOMPSON. First Series. Catalogues of the seventh part by A. W. Franks, M.A., S. Birch, LL.D., G. Smith, and W. De G. Birch. Introduction by C. Harrison. 8vo. London: W. A. Mansell & Co.

THE value of photography to the study of archæology has long been known, but its application on an extended scale to the publication of the contents of public museums, is the most recent feature of the art. In the autumn of this year, Mr. C. Harrison published a series of photographs of the most remarkable objects of the archæological collections of the British Museum, with a catalogue of the whole, prefaced by an introduction from his own pen, giving a summary and general view of the entire subject of the study of antiquity. The catalogues of the various sections were prepared by officers of the different departments. Mr. A. W. Franks drew up that of the Præhistoric, Ethnographical, British and Mediæval; Dr. Birch, the Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and the Assyrian with the collaboration of Mr. G. Smith. The mediæval seals were catalogued by Mr. W. De Gray Birch. These catalogues, in seven divisions, comprise 1041 photographs, and since their publication others have been added, as the marble from the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, while others are about to appear of the collection of Cyprian antiquities, collected by General di Cesnola, and the celebrated Assyrian tablet recounting the Chaldæan account of the deluge. Next to seeing a monument itself the inspection of its impressions, cast, drawing, or photograph, is the most important to knowing its character. For smaller objects, impressions are alone portable, and for the purpose of publication or diffusion, drawings on engraved plates were required, but in the present day, photography eclipses the efforts of the best and most careful artist, and as absolute truth and accuracy is required by the student, whenever it can be obtained, the photograph is unrivalled; it neither distorts nor fails to give the details of objects of ancient art. The cases in which it is baffled are few. It cannot indeed reproduce colour, but its treatment is inexorable in giving form and outline. The price of each photograph of the series now under consideration is 2s. unmounted, when mounted, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d., and the whole series costs £128 to £140. Sets of the different sections can be procured from £6 10s. to £37 7s. 6d., according to their size and mounting. It is impossible in a short criticism to enter into details of so vast a subject, but in following the order of the catalogues, the importance of some of those of the principal divisions can be pointed out. In the first stone period, or the palæolithic, there are the most important of the numerous remains found at Bruniqeul, when France is supposed

to have been inhabited by tribes like the Eskimaux. These comprise the horn and bone implements and those of mammoth ivory, made at a period when the use of metal was unknown. The outlines and carvings of these tools exhibit the mammoth, the reindeer and the horse, drawn with a spirit and fidelity hardly to be reconciled with the primitive tools then in use (No. 10). Of the neolithic or polished stone period, are many interesting specimens from all quarters of the world, from England to Japan, comprising bone and stone instruments from the pile dwellings discovered in the Swiss lakes (No. 23), and others from the Genista caves at Gibraltar (No. 24); while the bronze period has the principal monuments of that class, the imperfectly baked terra cotta urns, celts, caldrons, trumpets, and bronze helmet from Saxony (No. 39). Excellent illustrations of these prehistoric remains are given in the threshing machine set with flint flakes from Aleppo, and another with lava from Teneriffe, showing one of the uses of the numerous flint flakes found with monuments of the period. The ethnographical section, one of the most important for the study of prehistoric art, is well illustrated by the photographs taken from the valuable collection formed by the late Mr. Christy, and deposited in Victoria Street. It is richest in specimens from Oceania, for China and India are represented in the collections of the India Office, more than by those of the British Museum, which contains only a nucleus of the civilization of the Eastern hemisphere. The stone coloni of Easter Island, called Hoa-haka-nana-Ia, and Tau-ta-re-gna, are the most remarkable, as they offer attempts at sculpture by a race whose arts were inferior to those of the primitive races of Europe; which race, however, never effected any sculpture more colossal than the monolithic beam of a cromlech. The Christy collection is exceedingly rich in American antiquities, and amongst the most remarkable photographs are the Mexican skull covered with mosaic of obsidian, turquoise, pyrites; the flat dagger with mosaic handle (No. 99); the Mexican sacrificial collar (No. 96), the stone seat from Hoja, Ecuador (No. 131); the bronze buckler from Ipijapa, in the same state (No. 132). The Egyptian collection has been extensively selected, and is illustrated by general views of the galleries. Objects of all ages have been photographed. In the sculpture, the red granite head of Thothmes III. (No. 203), that of Amenophis III. (No. 210), and the remarkably fine and characteristic lion of Amenophis III., from Mount Barkal in Nubia (No. 204), may be particularly cited, while amongst the smaller objects the inscribed board hung up in a school and giving directions in rhetoric and grammar (No. 280), and the glass vase with the name of Thothmes III. (No. 283), the oldest dated specimen of the semi-opaque material often found in the Isles of Greece, and the sepulchre of Etruria, is a remarkable specimen. There are also photographs of a papyrus (Nos. 264—271), celebrated as the best preserved in Europe; the ritual of the superintendent of the cattle of Seti I., of the 19th dynasty, about B.C. 1350, a very successful application of the art to the class of Egyptian antiquities and most acceptable to Egyptologists. Not less interesting than the Egyptian specimens, are the photographs of the Babylonian and Chaldæan antiquities of the Museum, also accompanied by general views of the galleries. Amongst them are the bricks which supplied the absence of stone in the alluvial plains of Chaldæa for public buildings, and are inscribed with the names of the monarchs in whose reigns they were made (No. 565*a*), the slabs of the palace of Assur-bani-

pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, representing his campaigns against Teumman, king of Susia, B.C. 650, and his lion hunts (No. 459), the wars of Sennacherib, B.C. 705 (No. 432), the black obelisk found at Nimrud recording the tributes rendered by Jehu and Hazael king of Syria, and the annals of the thirty-one campaigns of Shalmaneser II., B.C. 850. The number of clay tablets photographed is considerable, including the principal historical monuments of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser II., B.C. 538, Esarhaddon, B.C. 680, Assur-bani-pal, B.C. 664, and the later discovered tablet of the same reign, giving the Chaldean mythical account of the deluge lately translated by Mr. G. Smith, which will form a supplement to the original series. The Assyrian section is followed by the Greek antiquities, which commences with views of the galleries. The marbles of the Parthenon, so familiar in all respects, are already known, and have been engraved and even reproduced in small casts and models. The series comprises the whole. It is not necessary here to go into details of that great artistic epos the Parthenon. It is sufficient to state that all the remains of this edifice in the Museum have been photographed, and give a complete series, and would alone form an important contribution to the study of Greek art. It is in its Greek galleries that the Museum is principally rich, and the series gives some of the principal sculptures. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus is well represented both by a general view of the gallery and the photographs, of the colossal horse of the chariot on its apex, the statue of Artemisia, and a selection of the choicest and best preserved examples of the freize. The splendid collection of Lycian marbles discovered by the late Sir Charles Fellowes, are not so well given. This unrivalled collection from Xanthus and other sites, is perhaps more important for the history of art than the marbles of the Mausoleum. It exhibits in the Harpy tomb one of the oldest examples of Asiatic-Greek art, while the so-called Trophaic monument of Xanthus has a series of bas-reliefs representing the exploits of Harpagus and conquest of Lycia, in a way suggestive of the idea that the Roman triumphal columns were copied from these marbles, as the Xanthian frieze had itself copied Assyrian or Egyptian reliefs. These marbles are represented in a series of views of the gallery (Nos. 603—607), but special photographs of some of the best sculptures would have been preferable to render justice to these peculiar monuments of a mixed Asiatic-Greek race, who spoke another Aryan tongue. To this division will be added the principal objects of the Cypriote collection of General Cesnola, recently purchased for the United States. These monuments, also of Asiatic-Greek art, exhibit the influences of Egyptian and Phœnician art, owing to the mixed population and repeated subjections of the island to Egyptian and Asiatic rule. Some instructive examples of the art will be seen in a case containing Mr. Lang's collection from Dali, recently placed in the Assyrian transept. The Cypriote language was also of the Aryan family, but the strength of the Phœnician settlements is shown by the inscriptions of Melekialeen, a Phœnician monarch of Celtum and Idalium, about B.C. 370, found in that language. To Cyprus, Phœnicians or Egyptians brought the worship of the cow-headed Athor, subsequently modified to that of the Phœnician Astarte and the Greek Aphrodite in alliance with that of the god Reseph Mical, perhaps Ekatos, or Apollo, or Dionysos. With a view to render the series instructive, some of the best smaller objects, such as fictile vases, bronzes, engraved stone, glass, and the miscellaneous

paraphernalia of Greek art have been engraved. Unfortunately, some vases, owing to colour, are intractable to photography, and only offer hazy indications of their art. The Etruscan and Roman series has a similar series of views of galleries and principal objects, both of marble and other materials of the glyptic art. The antiquities of Britain of the historical period are well represented. The prehistoric have been already mentioned. Both Celtic and Anglo-Roman remains are so well known and studied that it is only necessary to point out a few of the principal examples, such as the British shield of a Celtic horseman (No. 901), the remarkable helmet like a jester cap (No. 903), the bronze statuette of the supposed Britannicus or the youthful Nero. In the mediæval part, the hill *Barnan Coulawn* of St. Culan, A.D. 908 (No. 922), the walrus ivory chessmen from the Hebrides (No. 924), and some fine examples of Arabic, Persian, Venetian, and German glass and majolica, complete this portion of the subject. There is also a sub-division of seals, or the sphragistic art. It is the most complete collection of great seals of England yet published. And as all classes, both foreign and English, are included, it is an important contribution to the study of this interesting and continuous sequence of mediæval art.

The photographs are the most remarkable and extensive contribution to the study of archæology as yet published in this form. The public spirit with which Mr. C. Harrison undertook and carried out his scheme, and the admirable way in which Mr. Stephen Thompson the photographer has executed them, cannot be adequately praised. Some branches are still wanting, as Numismatics, which can be admirably produced by photography, with a truth of detail impossible to convey by engraving, and Palæography, which, under certain conditions, is capable of being well shown by photography. This last division will, it is understood, appear in a continuation or supplement of the original designs of Mr. Harrison.

Of all substitutes for the object itself, photography is the most portable and most faithful in all cases where it can be advantageously used. It is nature-portrait, the object reflected on the larger retina of a lens, and permanently fixed. Hereafter, when it is more permanent, it may supersede all other methods of figuring objects of archæology.

STREAMS FROM HIDDEN SOURCES. By B. Montgomerie Ranking. London: H. S. King & Co., 1872.

It does not often happen that a book of research is interesting to the general reader. It is more usual to find work of the kind utilised by some writer who could not have made the investigations from which he derives his information. But in this book, Mr. Ranking has united the good offices of the bookworm and the storyteller. He has arranged in a readable form seven stories from the mediæval romancers, Caxton and the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Morte d' Arthur* and the *Legenda Sanctorum*, and has prefixed to each story some account of the accessible sources from which he has taken it. The title of the book is thus doubly unfortunate, for not only does it lead us to expect tales from Sanscrit or the Sagas; which to English readers, are more or less recondite, but it seems to assume that no one but the author is able to interpret the pages of crabbed black letter in which they are recorded. We would fain believe that not Mr. Ranking, but some editor, is responsible for this title.

The book is, however, of great value to the reader who desires to make himself acquainted with the legends and romances which form the subjects of so many ancient carvings, paintings, and pieces of tapestry. The author gives us the names of all the chief books in which versions of each story may be found, together, in some cases, with a brief reference to the Eastern or other origin of the "plot" of the story. In the course of his introductory remarks, he is thus able to indicate the place where many others may be found, besides those of which he has given a detailed account, and if only as a dictionary of this kind of information, his book, which is prettily printed and attractive outwardly, may be found very useful to the student.

One of the critics has blamed Mr. Ranking for not telling more of the origin of some of his tales in the prolific literature of the East, but he has gone far enough; and could only have done more by swelling his book to a size and price which would have wholly defeated its purpose.

We have been favoured with the perusal of a very interesting *Monographie* by the Abbé Martigny, in the form of a letter addressed by him to M. Edmond Le Blant, "Sur une Lampe Chretienne inedite," discovered at Saumur-en-Auxois (Côte-d'Or). On the disk is figured Jonas recumbent beneath a plant, in front of whom the marine monster, which, by its action, would seem to have deposited him beneath this umbrageous bower, is represented. Its shade is, however, diminishing, the worm having already sapped its root, and Jonas raises his hand over his head to protect it from the sun's rays. The writer refers to other lamps bearing this well-known type, and particularly to two, one figured by Bellori, having the Good Shepherd in the centre surrounded by the cycle of Jonas, Noah, the sun and moon, &c., the other in the Vatican. Also to a fragment of a terra cotta vessel in the Kircherian Museum. He further refers to a bronze lamp figured by Bellori, on which the Jonas is represented in high relief, beneath the large ring handle for suspension formed as a branch of gourd, encircling the early form of the ☧. The subject on the Saumur lamp differs, however, from the general type in the form and position of the marine monster and otherwise. The vagueness of the Biblical description of this monster has permitted the early Christian artists to vary its form in accordance with their own imagination; generally it is represented with an enormous head at the end of a long and slender neck, a huge body supported on two paws and prolonged in a spiral tail, terminating with a fan-shaped fin.

The tail of that under consideration is concealed beneath or behind Jonas, and the position of its body (differing from that generally depicted) is advanced in a direction away from, while the head is turned towards him, over its back. But the form of the body is more remarkable, in that its raised back approaches in outline to that of the dolphin or porpoise, or other species of that marine family, probably an intentional resemblance. This idea is supported by the character of the surrounding border, composed of small dolphins alternating with ivy leaves, a peculiarity unique on Christian lamps.

The learned Abbe writes: "On pourrait, je crois, avec toute vraisemblance, appliquer au sujet qui nous occupe quelqu'un des attributs que

les anciens, Aristote, Sénèque, Pline, Elien, et, après eux, les écrivains chrétiens ont assignés à ce poisson. Ils représentent le dauphin comme l'ami de l'homme, et lui attribuent une sollicitude toute particulière pour ses restes mortels. L'antiquité chrétienne se plait à enregistrer des faits qui viennent à l'appui de cette ingénieuse et touchante théorie. Pour m'en tenir à un seul, je cite les actes de S. Lucien où il est dit que le corps de ce martyr, précipité dans la mer, en fut retiré par un dauphin qui le transporta sur le rivage, afin qu'il pût recevoir les honneurs de la sépulture. Le poisson ou monstre quelconque qui accueillit Jonas au moment où il était sacrifié à la sécurité de l'equipage, le sauva des périls de la mer et, après une hospitalité de trois jours et de trois nuits, le déposa sur la plage, joue à son égard le rôle d'un affectueux dauphin, et c'est à quoi, si je ne m'abuse, l'artiste a voulu faire allusion."

Hence the adoption of the dolphin by Christians at an early period, as shown on the sarcophagus of Petronilla, on tombs in the cemetery of Domitella, and elsewhere. Lamps and coronas of gold, ornamented with that figure, were suspended in churches in the fourth century; Constantine gave such to his Basilica. Another curious and unique representation on the Saumur lamp is that of the worm sent by God to gnaw the root of the plant, and which is seen beneath the figure of Jonas.

The Abbé Martigny suggests that this lamp may be of the latter half of the fourth century of our era. The emblem of Jonas occurs on monuments from the second to the fourth century, as shown by De Rossi. The leafy shade is sometimes represented as a bower or cradle and sometimes as a branch of a fruit-bearing wild gourd, the *cucurbita* or *coloquinte* —Κολοχύνθη—probably the plant still to be seen growing upon the sandy hills of the Philistine shore. St. Jerome, on the contrary, in translating, defined it as the ivy, *hedera*, while St. Augustin maintained that it was the *cucurbita;* hence arose a discussion among the faithful in Africa.

On the lamp under consideration the latter plant is rudely represented as trained on a trellis, whence the Abbé Martigny infers that the lamp was made anterior to St. Jerome's version of the history, given in 384, which spread rapidly, and was more generally adopted by the Western Churches. The Western artists accordingly altered their representations of the subject, as may be seen on sarcophagi of the fifth and later centuries in Italy and Gaul, instance one in the museum at Arles, published by Millin; on the other hand the catacombs of Rome offer no example of the ivy-shaded bower, their painted and sculptural decoration being of an earlier period. It may, therefore, be surmised that the people of the locality in which this lamp was discovered had been converted to the faith as early as the fourth century, an inference supported by the fact that the material of the lamp is similar to that of other antique pottery found at Saumur, in the vicinity of which place a pottery would seem to have existed, and among the fragments of which coins of the sons of Constantine were found. We know that some part of Burgundy was converted to Christianity by S. Benignus and others in the second century, and it is not unreasonable to presume that Saumur was not isolated from their influence.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE ART TREASURES OF LAMBETH LIBRARY, a Description of the Illuminated Manuscripts, &c., including Notes on the Library, by S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., Librarian. 8vo. London: Pickering, 1873.

THAT good work which the late Dr. Maitland ably performed in regard to the "early printed books in Lambeth Library," Mr. Kershaw has done carefully and well for "the illuminated MSS., and some of the illustrated books which have never been *specially* described," in that famous collection. Mr. Kershaw's volume, however, contains more than a description of these rarities. Eighteen pages of it are occupied by "Notes on the Library," and by an "introductory" chapter on "the significance of illuminated MSS. in their relations to *history, symbolism,* and *practical uses.*" Then follows a concise explanation of the terms Missal, Breviary, Gradual, Psalter, and Hours, and allusions to certain examples of these classes of Service books now existing at Lambeth. The "Notes" afford some interesting details respecting, *e. g.* the foundation of the Archiepiscopal Library by Archbishop Bancroft, in 1610; its augmentation by his successor, Abbot; its loss, by plunder, of the books and MSS. of Archbishop Laud,[1] in 1644; the removal, after that Primate's impeachment, of its remaining volumes to Cambridge at the suggestion of Selden; their reclamation by Archbishop Juxon, in 1660–63; and their reinstatement at Lambeth by Archbishop Sheldon, in 1678. The Library, we are informed by Mr. Kershaw, has been subsequently increased by the bequests of Archbishops Sheldon, Tenison, Secker, Manners-Sutton, and Howley, and now comprises 1,300 volumes of MSS. (which are divided into seven sets or series, named after their respective donors) and, altogether, nearly 30,000 books which, in 1828, were deposited by Archbishop Howley in his Palatial Banqueting Hall, which was rebuilt by Archbishop Juxon soon after the Restoration. In addition to the above particulars, the "Notes" contain a graceful tribute to the ser-

[1] One of the mortal crimes alleged by Prynne against Laud, was the offence of having "twentie two small Popish Houres of our Lady, Breviaries, Manualls, Prayer bookes, standing altogether in a blinde corner of his study," and "severall loose pictures in fine vellum . . . . gloriously and curiosly guilded and set forth with most exquisite colours, some having one, others, two or three pictures apeece in them, of Christ and the Virgin Mary in severall shapes and formes, with glories about their heads, and sometimes crosses on their backs, and the Holy Ghost in form of a dove; pretty babies for young children to play with, but most insufferable puppets, for an old childish superstitious Archbishop seriously to dote on, if not to reverence, adore, and kindle his private devotions by." Canterburie's Doome, fol. 1645, p. 66.

vices of former eminent custodians of the collection,—Wharton, Gibson, Wilkins, Ducarel, Todd, Maitland (with whom when occupied by his duties as Librarian, we have often tarried, enjoying his shrewd wit, or profiting by his varied learning), and Stubbs, the present Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

Mr. Kershaw's "introductory" chapter, while perhaps presenting but little new to the student in that fascinating department of ancient art, "Illumination," and its distinctive schools, furnishes useful information to the general reader, who will learn from it that "illuminations, after a classical and oriental model" (of which the libraries of Rome, Florence, Milan, and Vienna possess splendid examples), were produced "during the early centuries of the Christian era;" that when the social and political convulsions of the Latin Empire constrained the "craft and mystery" of the scribe and the limner to seek "a new home and protection in the greater tranquillity of Western Europe," there arose the "celebrated and unique Anglo-Irish school of illumination, which flourished from the sixth to the tenth century, simultaneously with the (so called) Anglo-Saxon school, and, on the Continent, with that of Charlemagne; that "the characteristics of all these schools remained in greater or less force till the twelfth century, when their more special indications gradually disappeared, or were merged into the next succeeding style;" and that in the three following centuries the monasteries maintained a regular establishment, including at least a staff of artists, copyists, and binders,[2] for the production of illuminated books.[3]

[2] In the Middle Ages, books were generally bound by monks. Charlemagne, by charter, in 790, gave to the abbots and monks of Sithin an unlimited right of hunting, in order that the skins of the deer should be used in making covers for their books.

[3] There were no less than seventeen hundred MSS. in the Abbey of Peterborough previous to its dissolution. Frederick Schlegel (Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern) shows that from the age of Charlemagne, MSS. were multiplied in the West with more profusion than at any period in the most polished times of antiquity, so that the writings of Greece and Rome were now studied and commented upon in remote regions, which, had it not been for the vast society of the Church, by means of communication with Rome, and the intercourse which was carried on between monasteries, their fame would have never reached. The learned Mabillon, in his treatise on monastic studies, calls attention to the immense manual labour exercised by the Cistercians and Carthusians in producing MSS. for the public, and in revising, correcting and collating the works of the Fathers. In illustration of this fact may be mentioned the collection of the Latin Fathers on vellum, written in the most beautiful characters, and illuminated with exquisite paintings, which is, or was in the Libraria Medicea in the cloister of St. Lorenzo at Florence, and the splendid choral books and Bible, in twenty-two volumes, of the Carthusian Monastery of Ferrara. Of the Abbot, William of Hirschau, it is related that he procured copies of holy and profane books to be written out in beautiful letters, in which employment twelve monks of the house sat daily engaged (Chron. Hirsang. An. 1071). Estates and legacies were often bequeathed for the support of the "scriptorium" of Abbeys. *See* Arch. Jour. xx. p. 355. "The Gifts of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, to the Monastery of Peterborough," by Mr. Albert Way; in which, at p. 360, are many curious particulars about the books presented by the Bishop. In England, the library at Peterborough, above mentioned, was not alone. St. Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury in 1078, formed a library there, which he himself enriched with the works of his own hands, translating books for it, and even binding them himself. The libraries of the Grey Friars, London, the Abbey of Leicester, the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, the Priory, Dover, and those at Crowland and Wells, with many others, contained noble collections, to which all

Religious sentiment entered largely into the treatment of illuminated art. In the cloistral silence of many a sheltered abbey, secluded from the world and with minds at peace, patient monks delighted to embellish the pages of heavenly wisdom with the pure creations of their spiritual fancy; and some of the old illuminated tomes with their exquisite pictures, rich in colour as the tints of a summer's sunset, with figures drawn in the most graceful manner of the antique, with elaborate designs and gorgeous golden capitals and decorations, unite the perfection of the classic style and the devotional art of the recluses[4] who produced them. "It is interesting," writes Mr. Kershaw, "to observe how the chief incidents of Scripture and Catholic faith are rendered according to the spirit of the time. Thus, at the end of the thirteenth century, both at home and abroad, the reproduction of certain figurative representations was abandoned, and instead thereof, a vigorous transcription from actual life was developed."

To the communication of Great Britain with the French and Flemings, is mainly due, according to Mr. Kershaw, the origin of illuminations among those nations; and the improvements introduced by the Van Eycks, and their great pupil Hans Memlinc (who sometimes condescended to paint miniatures), into the Flemish School influenced to a great extent the illuminators of England and France, as is admirably exemplified by the celebrated Bedford Missal in the British Museum, and the Psalter and Devotional Books of the Duke de Berri, in the Imperial (now National) Library in Paris.

Although the invention of printing dealt a deadly blow to the calling of the caligrapher, printed books, both on vellum and paper, continued for some time after to be adorned with illuminated illustrations. Of these, the Mazarine New Testament at Lambeth, recently described by

persons had access. At Crowland it was ordained that the greater books, of which there were more than three hundred volumes, were never to be taken for the use of remote schools without licence of the Abbot; but smaller ones, of which there were more than four hundred, might be lent to boys and acquaintances of the monks, but only for one day (Hist. Ingulphi, 105). Some valuable and interesting "Notes upon Ancient Libraries," by the Hon. Secretary of the Institute, Mr. Burtt (see "Notes and Queries," vol. i. pp. 21–23), contain a description of a document, which is, in modern language, a Power of Attorney, executed by the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, appointing two of the monks of his church to be procurators for the purpose of receiving from the Convent of Anglesey in Cambridgeshire, a book which had been lent to the late Rector of Terrington. Its precise date is uncertain, but it must be about the middle of the thirteenth century. Mr. Burtt also alludes to an indenture executed in 1343, whereby the Priory of Henton lent no less than twenty books to another monastic establishment. These documents, as Mr. Burtt observes, "would seem to establish the existence of a system of exchanging the literary wealth of monastic establishments, and thereby greatly extending the advantages of their stores. Both are executed with all the legal forms used in the most important transactions, which would support the opinion of their not being special instances: but they are, in either case, curious and satisfactory evidence of the care and caution exercised by the monks in cases where their books were concerned; and one cannot but regret that when the time came that the monasteries were destined to be dissolved, and their books torn and scattered to the winds, no attention was paid to Pale's advice for the formation of 'one solemn library in every shire of England.'"

[4] Such, for example, as were DON SILVESTRO, a Camaldulan monk of the monastery of the Angeli, Florence, in the fourteenth century, who executed works (some of which still remain) so beautiful for their care and design, that they received the applause not only of monarchs, but even of professors in the best age of art; and the "Blessed" FRA ANGELICO DA FIESOLE, who, as Vasari relates, "it is

Mr. Loftie in this Journal,[5] is a magnificent specimen; and several, including an almost unique Parisian Missal, printed on vellum by Jean du Pre, in 1489, and a precious book of Hours printed by Pigouchet and Vostre in 1496, were exhibited at the rooms of the Institute in 1871.

Passing on from the *history* to the *symbolism* of illuminated MSS., Mr. Kershaw remarks that Christians at first "restricted their visible representations of sacred personages and actions to mystic emblems. Thus the Cross expressed Redemption; the Fish, Baptism; a Ship, the Church; the Serpent, Sin or the Spirit of Evil." The relation between Pagan and Christian art, he thinks, "holds a strong place in the history of symbolism, and shows that Pagan forms adapted to Christian meanings have been the great key to classic-Christian art." Of this connection, he observes, "the walls and ceilings of the catacombs in Rome offer many illustrations, in which almost the first outlines of sacred art" appear "clothed in the classic garb which continued to exist, possibly, till the twelfth century." The phases of symbolism are too numerous to allow more than the mention, on the part of Mr. Kershaw, of a few leading examples, as, *e. g.*, the palm branch, assigned to martyrs; the crown, to royal saints; the roll, to prophets; the book, to Apostles and Evangelists; the nimbus, aureole, triangle, circle, and square either accompanying or typifying events and persons.

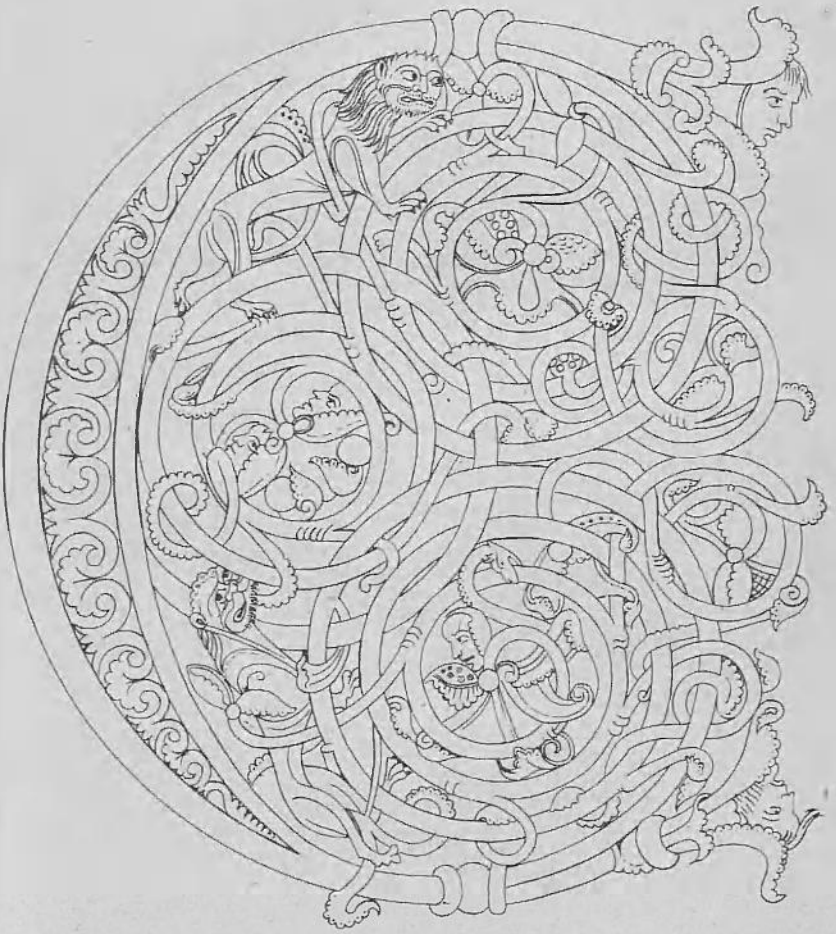
Mr. Kershaw's observations on the practical uses of illuminated MSS. are brief, but to the purpose, and we agree with his assertion that those precious monuments of mediæval piety and skill "are a key to interpret the phases of national character, costume, manners, life and thought of our ancestors." To adopt the words of Lady Eastlake, "through them history has been transmitted with a continuity and fulness not to be found in any other forms of art, or, it may be said, in any forms of literature."

There are about thirty illuminated MS. volumes in the Lambeth Library, and of these at least fourteen present superior specimens of art, from the eighth to the sixteenth century. These are arranged under *countries* and in *order* of date, and minutely described by Mr. Kershaw. In an Old Testament (S. Jerome's Latin version) beginning with Genesis and ending with the Book of Job, the Library possesses an unusually fine example of German art of the twelfth century. The huge folio contains six full or three-quarter page illuminations, and the embellished letters (a lithographed outline copy of one of which from Mr. Kershaw's Manual, by the kindness of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is here given), occupying a fourth of the page, are composed of branches interlacing each other in graceful symmetrical forms, combined with grotesques as dragons' heads, &c., a style of ornament characteristic of the illuminations of that period. Of portions of the New Testament, the Library has, among others, the venerable "Gospels of Mac Durnan," an exceedingly rare and interesting specimen of "Hiberno-Saxon art," practised in Ireland as early as the fifth century. Each Gospel is preceded by a seated figure of its author, "most grotesquely delineated," and is written in an exquisitely clear and sharp minuscule hand. This book appears

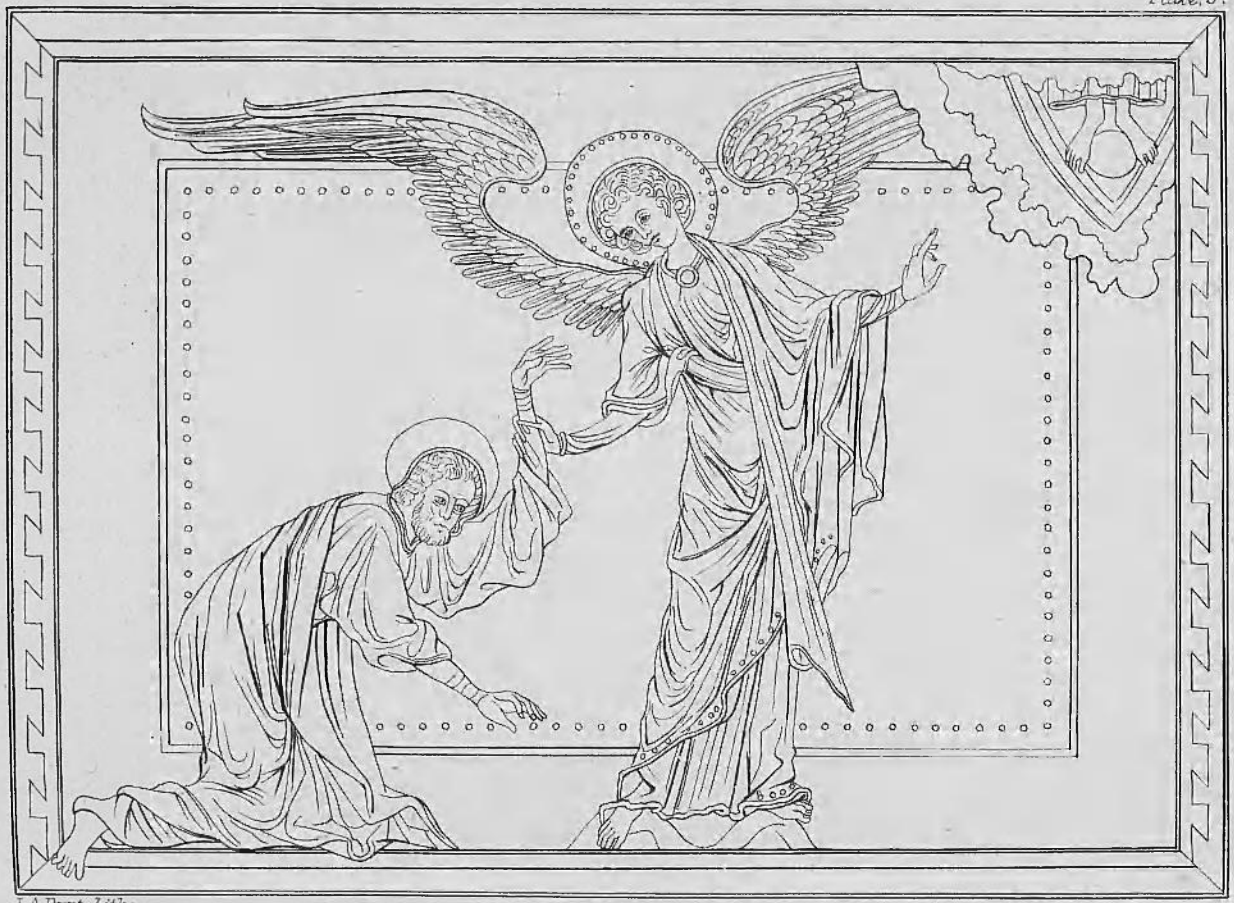
supposed never took up a brush without a previous prayer, never painted a crucifix without bathing his own cheeks with tears."

[5] *Ante*, pp. 242–8.

Plate 7.



J. A. Burt, Litho.



J. A. Burt. Litho.

to have been in the possession of Mælbrigid Mac Durnan, or Mælbrigid the son of Durnan, Abbot of Derry and Bishop of Armagh, who deceased about 927.[6] The Library also possesses a priceless copy of the Apocalypse, of the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and comprising seventy-eight delicately yet brilliantly coloured drawings of the principal scenes in the Revelation, heightened in many instances by resplendently gilded back-grounds. We have examined this wonderful MS., and admire especially the grandeur of its pictured angels. The courtesy of the Archbishop enables us to present the reader with a faithful reproduction of the design of one of the above series of paintings, which represents St. John falling down to worship the Angel, and has, in the original, a background of deep blue, and a broad border of burnished gold. At the end of the Apocalypse are twenty-eight pictures, inferior perhaps, in some respects, to those which precede them, and by a different hand, but singularly weird and striking; and at the beginning of the volume the archæologist will be delighted to find a full-length painting of an attenuated tonsured monk, vested in a black gown with hanging sleeves, who is busied in colouring a statue of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which stands on the sculptured capital of a short pillar or pedestal.

Of the *Missal*, the Lambeth collection contains but one (a French) copy worthy of special mention. It is of the use of the Church of Limoges, and of the second half of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Breviary*, the Library has a splendid example, which formerly belonged to Archbishop Chichele. It is a folio MS., adorned with numerous very delicate small miniatures, capital letters, and elegant borders, by an English artist early in the fifteenth century.

Of the *Gradual*[7] it possesses one fine specimen, well written, with

[6] A MS. note upon the fly-leaf, says Mr. Kershaw, further records, "This book was a present from King Athelstan to the City of Canterbury." In it are placed three entries in "Saxon." The first of these is very curious as being a letter from Wulfstan, Archbishop of York to King Canute, and perhaps the earliest one of the kind known. The translation of it is as follows: "Wulfstan, Archbishop, greets Cnut King his Lord, and Aelfgyfe the Queen humbly. And I make known to you two, liege, that we have done even as the certificate came to us from you with regard to Bishop Aetheluoth: that we have now consecrated him. Now pray I for God's love and for all God's Saints that ye show respect unto God and to the Holy Order. That he may be deemed worthy of those possessions that others were before him, namely Dunstan the Good and many another: that he may be also thought worthy of rights and honours. And thus it may be for both of you profitable before God and eke honourable before the world." Aethelnoth was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the 13th of November, 1020.

[7] The *Gradual* or *Gradale* (the Grayel, Graiel, Greyle, &c., of English Monastic Inventories, Wills, and other documents) "is so called," says Mr. Kershaw, "from the *degrees* contained in it." This definition is insufficient and obscure. The origin of the term Gradual in its relation to the class of Office book so named, is due to the circumstance that those volumes contain *inter alia*, the anthems sung after the Epistle in the Communion Service (when rendered chorally) of the Roman Church, which are called *gradalia* from an ancient custom which once prevailed of chanting them on the *Gradus, i.e.* steps of the Ambo, or pulpit, in which the Epistle used to be recited. Lyndwode's gloss upon the term is, "*Gradale*, sic dictum a Gradalibus in tali libro contentis. Stricte tamen ponitur *Gradale* pro eo quod gradatim ponitur post Epistolam: hic tamen ponitur pro Libro integro in quo contineri debent Officium aspersionis Aquæ benedictæ, Missarum inchoationes, sive officia, Kyrie, cum versibus, Gloria in excelsis, Gradalia, &c."

musical notes and rubrics, by an English scribe towards the close of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Hours*, the Library is rich in having five examples, of which two are of English, and two of French art, of unequal merit, and all of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Psalter*, the collection contains six copies, all more or less illuminated, and one of them,—a superb illustration of French art, about 1320,—is nobly embellished with eleven large initial letters, each occupying nearly half the page, and enclosing subjects of rare beauty both in design and execution.

In addition to the MSS. of the Holy Scriptures and the Services of the Church, Lambeth Library also includes some miscellaneous ones of considerable value. Amongst them are the "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers" (a work printed by Caxton in 1477), a small folio of the fifteenth century, affording the only portrait known to be extant of Edward V.;[8] a grand folio "Chronicle of St. Alban's," of the same period, stored with quaint paintings of historical events, evidently by a French pencil; a volume of Miscellaneous Treatises in Latin, ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century, and comprising an "Anglo-Saxon" illustrated transcript of the well-known treatise of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, "De Virginitate"; Genealogical and Heraldic Collections relating to the English and French nobility, many of them in the hand-writing of Cecil, lord Burleigh, and decorated with coloured coats of arms; an exceedingly valuable and interesting MS., consisting of copies of various Records relating to the rights and privileges of the clergy, collected and written on vellum at the expense of Archbishop Laud in 1637; and a very important series of Registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury from 1274 to 1744. The printed books in the Lambeth Library, possessing illustrations, are about eighty in number, and, in Mr. Kershaw's estimation, "display various degrees of excellence and interest, both as regards the style of the engravings, and the subjects illustrated." Our space only allows us to allude to them.

Liberty to examine the Lambeth MSS. has, up to a recent period, been "beset with unavoidable difficulties." These, however, exist no longer; and visitors to the Library will receive from its accomplished curator obliging attention. Literary men, art students, and art lovers, antiquaries, and ecclesiologists will be well rewarded by an inspection of the "Treasures," which Mr. Kershaw has done so much to bring to light; and with him we feel sincerely grateful to the present urbane and highly-gifted occupant of the Metropolitical throne, for allowing his Librarian to publish the able and useful Manual which has been the subject of this notice.

J. F. R.

[8] This MS. was exhibited in the temporary Museum of the Institute at Rochester in 1863.—Arch. Journ., vol. xx., p. 383.