

THE CHOIR STALLS OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. CANON WICKENDEN.

The carved wood-work, and hereof especially, the wood work of the choir, forms a notable feature of the "glorious church"¹ of St. Mary of Lincoln. Erected under the direction of a munificent member of the chapter, at a time of great political and artistic activity, they will bear comparison with the magnificent "silleria del coro" of some Spanish cathedral, and far surpass in effect, and in truthfulness of material, the wonderful 'intarsiaturas' of North Italy.

There are two rows of stalls, with returns: the one raised two steps from the floor, and the other four. The upper row contains 62 seats, (all having lofty canopies) 12 of them being 'returns' and facing east. The lower row contains but 46,² and eight of these face eastwards.

On the same level as these last, but with lower desks, provision is made for a large number of "children of the choir."

It must be premised that the throne is modern, having been erected by Essex³ in 1778: the five canopies opposite to it were executed at the same time to cover a residence pew, in accordance with the notions of symmetry which then prevailed. The pulpit is also modern, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott and presented to the Cathedral in 1866.⁴ All this work though modern is, in greater or less degree, good of its kind. Not so the box-like pews into which, until recently, the choir was divided—for which in many places, the old carving was barbarously hacked and

¹ "Cunctis ecclesiis gloriosius copiosiusque."—MS., Nov. Reg. iii., 8.

² Two additional seats have been made recently by sub-division.

³ Cathedral Architect.

⁴ A testimonial to the present Bishop of Nottingham.

destroyed, and by which some of the most characteristic work in the cathedral was entirely concealed. These have now been cleared away, and the new oak which has been introduced marks the extent of the damage they occasioned. This then premised, we note that the stall work is due to the Treasurer, John de Welburne, who is described (at the end of a volume relating to his Chantry and other foundations¹) as "inceptor et consultor inceptionis facture stallorum novorum in ecclesia Cathedrali Lincolniensi," and, the description adds, "The said John died in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty."

In order to receive this new furniture the vaulting shafts of the choir were cut away, and replaced by perpendicular corbels, while a piece of foliage was introduced into the capitals of the piers to conceal the alteration.

The open space from chorister's desk to chorister's desk is 18 feet; the width of choir from back of upper stalls on north to back of upper stalls on the south side 40½ ft.² The floor of the upper range is 2ft. 6in. above that of the choir, and the canopies over the stalls rise 22 feet more.

The panels which front the chorister's desk are each of them divided into three: of which the two outermost divisions are filled with tracery, while the middle one holds a sitting figure, alternately an angel with musical instrument and a king: some of these kings wear the long scalloped sleeve and pointed shoes of Welburne's period, while others have conventional robes. It seems probable that they represent the succession of kings after the Conquest, since the numbers very nearly correspond.

Fourteen figures of saints originally occupied the panels fronting the vicars' stalls on each side of the choir at its

¹ Volume 12½ by 9½ in. bound in vellum. Headed: 'Copie Cartarum contingentium cantarias fundatas in Ecclesia Cathedrali beate Marie Lincoln et apud Wellburne. Scriptura Anno Dni millmo cccmo octogesimo secundo.' The shields of Bishop Bokingham and Dean Stretely confirm this date. MS. notes of Precentor Venables.

² This is rather more than the width of the Norman choir; the northern arcades of the two churches coincide, but the southern arcade was set a few inches back on the Early English rebuilding. The

foundations of the apse exist underneath the pavement, the circle being struck from a centre covered by the ancient stone inscribed "Canite hic," on which no doubt the great choir lettern used to stand, and on which the Litany desk is placed nowadays. The seats are 1ft. 4½ in. from ground. Height to back of stall 3ft. 6in.; from base of shaft to capital 2ft. 7½ in.; from cap to bottom of canopy 2ft.; canopy itself 2ft. 10in.; open tracery and niche 2ft. 10in.; canopy to niche 5ft. 9in.; hinder of the flying buttresses 5ft. 9in. Width of seat very irregular.

west end. Three on the Decani side still remain. The boys' seats front the panels further on, and leave only a small portion visible; but in this case the panels are sub-divided into three quatrefoils, and in the centre of each of these is a small subject. Twelve of the original panels remain. Their subjects are:—A wyvern sleeping under an oak, oak leaves on one side, a rose tree on the other; the pelican in piety, a wyvern on one side, a siren on the other; the pelican in piety, a wyvern attacking the nest, between conventional foliage; the wyvern biting its own tail, doves on each side of it. This looks very much like an allegory? Another beautifully suggestive subject is the pelican preening herself, preening her young, and then feeding it with her blood. This is on a miserere. Again, there is a "wild man" in oak tree gathering acorns, a face in oak leaves on each side; lions fighting the man; two men with clubs fighting the lion; man in oak; lion sleeping under oak; man with club on shoulder riding the lion. Again, the fox preaching¹ to birds and beasts; the fox riding the cock and chasing the hen on one side; and the fox first carrying the goose on his back, then riding it on the other. The fox carrying the goose by the neck; and the fox riding on a griffin, a lion on each side. These remind us of the satire, the "Fox of the Rhine," which was so popular in the Middle Ages. There is also, and it is the only one besides which has a humorous aspect, a series in which the monkey figures. Monkeys at play; riding through a forest with mace on shoulder and baldrick at side, one mounted on a unicorn the other on a lion; a monkey being hanged, and being carried to his funeral.²

But this has already brought us into the subjects

¹ A common subject in conventual churches, and supposed to ridicule the greed of the preaching friars (whom Wyclif at this very time was denouncing). At Bristol the satire is pointed by the text "*Testis est mihi Deus, quam cupiam vos omnes visceribus meis.*" (How my bowels long for you all.) It is hardly likely that Wyclif himself who (both at Oxford and at Lutterworth) belonged to this diocese was at so early a date as this, the object of satire here. A MS. list of books in the Cathedral library (made in obedience to an order of Chapter, dated

Dec. 1364) has the entry: *Item in margine libri theologie cum diversis tractatibus Augustini et aliorum. . . . Wycliff in fine ejusdem cujus 2^m fo. incipit. . . .* As if a writing of his were considered matter of value. And he was at this time protected by John of Gaunt, the great patron of the Church of Lincoln.

² This looks like an allusion to some contemporary historical incident: the death of the Earl of Athole or of the Despencers. The same bearded ape appears in several subjects.

represented on the miserere seats (with which both upper and lower stalls are furnished), and those on their elbows, and the finials of their desks.

Now in the upper stalls there are several sacred subjects, the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, appearance of our Blessed Lord to the Magdalene, the Assumption, and the Coronation of the Virgin. All these appear in misereres, while the pelican, pope, bishop, seraphs, and angels appear on elbows. One subject representing a castle gate and two men piling and blowing a fire, (in which a third figure now destroyed is standing) has been explained most happily by Mr. St. John Hope as "S. John at the Latin gate"; it was doubtless introduced as representing the patron saint of John de Welburne, as well as of the Bishop and the Dean, for all of them had the same Christian name, and John of Gaunt likewise.

A very large number of the carvings however represent foliage of different types, and monstrous animals mostly in combat with each other or with men. It is like reading chapter after chapter of the 'Mort d'Arthur,' to go through these carvings in order; there are suggestions of political allusions and illustrations of manners, beside the veins of satire and religion which have been spoken of, and all wrapped up in a story of adventure and romance, in which woodland and castle, and savage life and civilised, and creatures real and fantastical follow without apparent order or succession. But it seems to me that there was a serious purpose in it all, which preserves it from any savour of irreverence. And though we may not always be able to read the meaning of the carver in a particular incident, we may at least regard the entire work as a faithful picture of the wonders and the dangers and complexities of life.

We may remember that these combinations of man, animal and bird, which to us are monstrous deformities, were supposed to represent real creatures; they may have had a definite symbolical meaning besides, as the emblems of particular qualities or persons, but they were intended for actual beings. Natural History in England in 1362 said nothing else; there was no comparative anatomy to correct it. The grave writings of early travellers

show this. The Hereford map, itself the production of a¹ Prebendary of Lincoln, and a work of extraordinary learning for its time (less than a century before Welburne), shows this; many others show it; the very language of our English Bible shows it; "dragon," "cockatrice," and "satyr" were words unhesitatingly used by our translators (so late as 1611!) without suspicion of unreality.

Perhaps, too, the visions of Daniel and S. John (which are represented round the Chapter House at Westminster, not to speak of more distant instances), may have suggested some of these strange forms. And what are mere quaint conceits to us, may have been the fruit of devout, though mistaken study of the Bible.

In attempting to find out the purpose of the mediæval artist, it seems necessary first of all to take down *all the subjects* in case that their position or their number may provide a clue; and then to make sure of our *nomenclature*, to call the same creature by the same name always, in case that the connection between them be one of purpose and independent of locality. We find in the religious scenes that the three subjects represented on a "Miserere" are closely connected with each other, though not forming of necessity a single subject. We may presume, therefore, that there is a designed connection in the non-religious scenes. We find that a subject begun in one stall is continued in a second, or a third, and this without distinction of upper or lower rank, of north or south side, of finial, or miserere, or elbow. And also we find, that when there is apparently a series, the various parts of it are never made contiguous.²

There are men, both savage and armed, fighting with wild animals; men taming animals;³ men beating down acorns and hogs feeding;⁴ a lion preying on a hog in a beech wood, an owl looking on;⁵ and the lion asleep in the beech wood after his meal.⁶ There are lions alone⁷

¹ Ricardus de Bello Preb. of Lafford, Treasurer.

² There seems to be design in appropriating the subject of the Resurrection to the Miserere of the Dean's stall (the Dean always preaching on Easter Day), and an angel bearing a crown to that of his vicar. The Precentor's miserere is the Christian knight among the deadly sins, his vicar's the virtue of Holy Baptism. The Chancellor's is the Christian

knight fighting a griffin: his vicar's is destroyed. The Treasurer's is the Ascension of our Lord; that of his vicar also destroyed. No obvious connection elsewhere exists.

³ Miserere, Leighton Eccl.: Finial, Dean.

⁴ Mis. Arch. Hunts.

⁵ Fin. Bedf. manor.

⁶ Mis. of Vicar of Arch. of Bedf.

⁷ Mis. S. Botolph, &c.

and wyverns alone ;¹ a lion fighting with a wyvern ;² lion in a pine wood overcoming the wyvern ;³ lion in an oak tree, the wyvern dead at its foot.⁴ We find ploughing, harrowing and sowing represented in one miserere,⁵ the ploughman having a yoke of oxen and horses for leaders.

Bird tending is represented in another ;⁶ a crane in a field eating fruit out of a sack ; boy astride upon the young crane and attacked by the parent birds ; boy in field with a sling, the crane dead. There are knights on horseback, the horse falling, dragons near⁷ : or the horse held by a lady, the knight fallen, his squire on one side in the wood, his helmet and crest upon the other⁸ ; or the horse safe within the castle gate, the warders with their pointed helms and camails of mail at their post.⁹ There are heads of barbarian kings and chiefs¹ : and there is a king seated cross legged, sceptre in hand, his throne slung on the necks of two griffins,² the boldly carved fleurs-de-lys upon each side of him make one think of King John of France, taken captive by the Black Prince and brought to England in 1356.³ The meaning of the two griffins is not very plain ; elsewhere we find the griffin alone, among birds in foliage,⁴ in combat with a wild man, wild men seated on each side,⁵ and in combat with a man in armour.⁶

Another miserere represents a lady forcing down the horn of a unicorn, a man somewhat damaged in the background.⁷ I do not know whether the unicorn occurs so early as this among the heraldic insignia of Scotland (it certainly did soon after, and does so to the present day,) but the subject very aptly represents the abasement of David Bruce of Scotland captured by Queen Philippa at Neville's Cross, in 1346. A goat footed harper on one

¹ Mis. Arch. of Nottm. and Vic. of Sub-dean, &c.

² Mis. Corringham.

³ Mis. Gretton.

⁴ Mis. Brampton.

⁵ Mis. Biggleswade.

⁶ Mis. Welton Beckhall.

⁷ Mis. Subdean (sometimes described as "Balaam" but Quere.) The only subjects besides which could be taken from the Old Testament are Mis. of Vic. of Langford Ecclesia "Samson and Lion," and Mis. Welton Westhall "Judith and Holofernes" All three seem doubtful.

⁸ Mis. Welton Brinkhall.

⁹ Mis. Milton Manor.

¹ Mis. Centum Solidorum, and St. Mary Crackpole.

² Mis. Sutton.

³ Or, else perhaps Edward as King of France, the crossed legs being symbols of kingly rule.

⁴ Mis. Nassington.

⁵ Mis. Stoke.

⁶ Mis. Chancellor.

⁷ Mis. Liddington. The unicorn was always entrapped by a maiden, according to the legend. Isidore, quoted by Bevan and Phillott, *Mediæval Geography*, 1874.

side, and a man-lion with a grotesque shield (a symbol which occurs in connection with wyverns on another seat) on the other: these might indicate Welsh or Highland foes.

A knight and lady with dog at their feet support a human head,¹ a page with sword under arm on one side, a lady in wimple carrying a pet dog on the other. It seems reasonable to interpret this of the devotion paid by the court to the head of our own S. Hugh.

At the risk of wearying I will mention the subject so well-known in the Catacombs and earliest Christian art, of peacocks feeding on fruit, and birds drinking at a fountain.² And another scarcely less obvious in its meaning, of children rising out of whelk shells³ armed with tridents, a dragon attacking one of them, and the child fearless thrusting his trident into the dragon's mouth. The whelk shell occurs once again,⁴ and then a vine is springing from it; surely a symbol of the two sacraments! The knight fully armed, surrounded by seven dragons, cannot be any other than the Christian soldier and the deadly sins.⁵

The words of William Caxton's prologue to "King Arthur," suit well enough to the subject of these carvings. "For to pass the time," he says, "this book shall be pleasant to read in. But for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained in it, ye be at your own liberty. But all is written for our doctrine, and for to beware that we fall not to vice, nor sin; but to exercise and follow virtue, by the which we may come and attain unto good fame and renown in this life, and after this short and transitory life, to come unto everlasting bliss in Heaven. The which He grant us, that reigneth in Heaven, the blessed Trinity. Amen. . . . In this present volume may be seen chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardness, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin!"

But this is sufficient on the subjects of the carvings. The canopies are hexagonal, supported on shafts, which have clustered niches above their proper capitals; and it

¹ Mis. Clifton.

² Mis. Stow Longa.

³ Mis. of Vic. of Precentor. Child rising from a whelk shell, found also on

Font at S. Peter's, Sandwich, as I am told.

⁴ Mis. of Vic. of St. Mary, Crackpole.

⁵ Mis. Precentor.

is noteworthy that the stall at the extreme east on both sides of the choir (the stalls that were appropriated to the Chancellor and Treasurer respectively) are both distinguished from all others, by winged seraphs in their capitals. The canopies have ogee gables bowing forwards in front of their true gables with various small heads and faces on the hip-knobs. A second story of the canopy contains a niche, square in plan, but set lozenge wise, covered with a lofty pinnacle, and flanked by open screen work with high flying-buttresses. The niches are all emptied of the statues which they once contained, to the great damage of the general effect; the various light and shadow, and the play of line, and the added mass, were essential features in the great design. It is only by supplying these figures in imagination that we see the exceeding beauty of the proportions of the stalls—the balance of simplicity and richness, of regularity and variety—the subordination and yet fulness of detail which answer to what we call “breadth” in painting.

All this wood work was grey with age,¹ looking like decayed stone, until on the enlargement of the organ in 1851, it was repaired and oiled and consequently darkened. The flying buttresses were crocketed originally,² but they have been replaced by plainer work, and the oak by poorer wood, in many places.

After so much upon the architectural aspect of the choir stalls it may be well to add a little upon their uses and appropriation.

In the “Black Book” or “Consuetudinary” of the Cathedral (of which several copies are preserved in the Muniment Room) the following notice occurs:—“It is an ancient usage of the church of Lincoln to say one mass, and the whole psalter daily, on behalf of the living and deceased benefactors of the church.” The psalter was for this purpose divided into portions, and for the daily repetition of one of them the Bishop and each member of the Chapter became responsible. Tablets still hang at the back of most of the stalls in the choir, containing the

¹ Mr. Logsdail, the Verger, remembers it.

² See those in the neighbourhood of

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the Chancellor's stall, and one on the Cantoris side.

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name of a prebend, and the title of the psalms assigned to it; and on the installation of each prebendary the Dean, or his representative, still calls the attention of the newly installed to the titles of the psalms hanging over his head, and reminds him of his obligation to repeat them "daily if nothing hinders." The recital of the psalter therefore still survives, at least in theory, though the daily commemoration of benefactors in the Holy Communion is disused, as well as the short office¹ connected with it, which is also given in the Black Book. We have the means of tracing this observance for more than 650 years, and since it was considered an ancient custom, and requiring readjustment in the time of Bishop Hugh the saint, (that is in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion) it is probable that it dates from the transfer of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln by Remigius, and the endowment and building of the first cathedral of St. Mary, soon after the Norman Conquest.

In a blank leaf of a MS. Vulgate preserved in the Chapter library is a list of 43 persons headed by the Bishop and the Dean; the remainder being christian proper names, as "Gaufridus, Robertus, . . . Sampson," to each of which one or more psalms is attached, the whole 150 Psalms being pretty equally divided between them. This list evidently relates to our "ancient usage." The style of writing fixes it as before 1200; the occurrence in it of the uncommon name of Jordan, which was that of the Treasurer from 1190—1205, seems to confirm this.² The agreement between many of the names and those given by Henry of Huntingdon³ as belonging to members of the original chapter, "men whom he had known," suggests

¹ The office is as follows :—

Kyrie eleison; Christe eleison; Kyrie Eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas. Salvos fac servos et ancillas tuas.

Anime famulorum famularumque tuarum requiescant in pace.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus Vobiscum. Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum, omniumque misereris quos tuos fide et opere futuros esse prenoscis, te supplices exoramus; ut pro quibus effundere preces

decrevimus quosque vel præsens seculum adhuc in carne retinet vel futurum jam exutos corpore suscepit, pietatis tue clemencia omnium delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia consequi mereantur eterna per Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum. Dominus Vobiscum. Benedicamus Domino.

² The name Jordan is found in several title deeds of the period in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter.

³ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 694.

an even earlier date. While the inconvenient method of denominating the prebendaries by their christian names only (there being in the list no fewer than eight "Williams") looks as if it were the product of the first days of the institution. The list too is continuous without distinction of Decani and Cantoris side: the portions of the Psalter follow in regular sequence, without the dislocation and disturbance which are observable later on; and lastly the number of portions as compared with the 62 stalls now existing, indicates that it is the arrangement which obtained in the Norman choir which began to be removed for the building of the present one about 1190. It is somewhat of a digression, but it will be pardoned, to read part of Henry of Huntingdon's account. It is pleasant to see again these stalls filled with their first occupants, and to think of the long lines of their successors who have preserved a continuous unbroken history. I will take the Bishop of Truro's¹ beautiful translation:

"The founder *Remigius* I never saw, but of the venerable clergy to whom first he gave places in his church, I have seen every one. *Ralph*, the first dean, a venerable priest. *Reyner*, first treasurer, full of religion: had prepared a tomb against the day of his death and oft sate by it singing of Psalms, and praying long whiles, to use himself to his eternal home. *Hugh*, the chancellor, worthy of all memory, the mainstay, and as it were the foundation of the church. *Osbert*, archdeacon of Bedford, afterwards chancellor, a man wholly sweet and loveable. *William*, a young canon of great genius. *Albin*, (my own tutor). *Albin's brothers*, most honourable men, my dearest friends, men of profoundest science, brightest purity, utter innocence, yet by God's inscrutable judgement they were smitten with leprosy,—but 'death hath made them clean.' *Walter*, prince of orators. *Eislebert*, elegant in prose, in verse, in dress. With so many other most honoured names I may not tax your patience. Amabant quæ amamus; optabant quæ optamus; sperabant quæ speramus."

We are justified then in thinking that we possess in that old list the very earliest form of the yet existing usage.

¹ Cathedral, p. 12.

The notice in the Black Book goes on to say that the appropriation of the Psalms to the individual Canons had been forgotten; that each Canon had sworn to observe the reasonable customs of the Church, and therefore incurred peril from omitting to recite them; and that therefore "R. the Dean," and select members of the Chapter associated with him, had provided, the whole Chapter had instituted, and the Lord Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, being present, had confirmed a list which follows, as the order in which Bishop, Dean, and Canons were from henceforth to say their Psalms. The Dean, whose initial alone is given, was doubtless Roger de Rolveston, whose rule lasted from the time of S. Hugh, through that of his successor and far on into that of Bishop Hugh de Welles. We may note also, that, the express mention of him notwithstanding, there are no Psalms in the list which follows, assigned to him for recitation, nor to the four dignitaries, those which belonged to him in the first list being otherwise appropriated.

The reason of this, however, is not far to seek, since in early days an endowment was provided for each of the great functionaries of the Cathedral by the concurrent holding of some prebend together with his office. Aylesbury for one hundred and fifty years was held by the Dean, who was thus responsible for the Aylesbury psalms; Welton Westhall by the sub-Dean, who had not even a stall distinct from the prebend, and of course repeated the Welton psalms. There were also seven, if not eight, archdeaconries from the first in this enormous diocese, which extended from the Humber to the Thames. Seats in the choir were given them, but unless they held prebends they seem to have been outside the cathedral body,¹ and unaffected by its special institution. Now the endowments of the stalls are some of them as old as the time of Remigius. So Aylesbury, Caistor, Lafford, S. Martin, Buckingham, and Welton "*cum appendiciis suis*" are mentioned in the Conqueror's grant. Others as Asgarby and Biggleswade date from Henry I;

¹ This was the general rule, except in "Cathedral," p. 57n.
Italian Chapters. Bishop of Truro,

Brampton and Langford from Henry II; Marston from Richard I; and Decem librarum seems to represent a payment originally made to the crown from the Wapentake of Stow, which was remitted in 1215 by King John, and then appropriated by the Dean and Chapter to the endowment of a stall. Yet, though the still existing names of the stalls at Lincoln represent endowments of this great antiquity, it does not appear that they were appropriated each to each much before the year 1200, and the great majority of them not till seventy years later. Before that time witnesses to deeds are mentioned simply as "canons," while after that time, a specific designation is always given, so that continuous lists can be constructed, as Le Neve and Browne Willis have, of the successive occupants of every stall.¹

It has been said, that there are several copies of the Black Book extant. MSS. on vellum of different dates, all of them earlier, apparently, than 1383,² but a modern transcript in the Muniment room represents what seems an earlier text than any one of them, for it gives the titles of fifty-six prebends, with their Psalms attached, consecutive in order, and complete,—the Bishop repeating the three first Psalms, and the last prebendary in the list the Litany, as he is presumed to do at the present day. In all these ancient lists, as in the choir-tablets, the Psalms are designated by their opening words in Latin, according to the division adopted in the Vulgate, so that a little care is necessary in identifying the various portions: Ps. x belongs to Corringham, and Ps. cxv to Nassington, though neither of their titles are given in the tablets, because they formed part of the psalms whose titles *are* given, at the time when those Psalms were assigned.

¹ One prebend, that of Kilsby, is of yet more recent creation, having been formed by the Bishop and annexed to the Precentory, (as that of Sutton-in-the-Marsh was to the Chancellorship) with consent of the Dean and Chapter, on May 24, 1383. No *stalls* could be assigned to them, nor were they needed; and all the *Psalms* had been given away long before, so that Kilsby and Sutton-in-the-Marsh never had any. It is not easy to conjecture why the Prebendary of Decem

Lib. should also have been excepted from the Psalm singers; if he could be connected with the Treasurer, the thing would be simpler, but no trace of a connection has been found.

² This appears from their all omitting Kilsby and Sutton-in-the-Marsh in their list of prebends. So also do three other ancient lists. One copy of the Black Book (x) inserts them in a later hand.

Now the first thing that strikes us on comparing these many lists is, that the great majority of prebends have retained the Psalms that were originally given to them, and the holders of many occupy the same stalls as they did from the first: the dislocations which have been alluded to being confined very much to the stalls adjacent to the throne on the Decani side, and to those at the western end on the Cantoris side. What was the rule which guided their first appropriation it is perhaps impossible to discover; the stalls were not assigned alphabetically, nor according to the money value of the prebends, nor their date of foundation, nor according to the local contiguity of their farms. May it not have been according to the age or standing of the first occupants, of *William* and *Albin*, of *Walter* and *Gislebert*, whom Henry of Huntingdon speaks of? or the *Williams* and *Odos* and *Roberts* whose names appear in the Library Vulgate?

On the south side of the choir the Dean's stall occupies the western, as the Bishop's throne does the eastern end, the Chancellor sitting next the throne. On the north side of the choir the Precentor's stall occupies the western and the Treasurer's used to occupy the eastern end, corresponding to the Chancellor's on the other side. The Archdeacon of Oxford was placed next to the Chancellor; of Northampton next to the Dean; of Lincoln next to the Precentor; of Huntingdon next to the Treasurer. Other archdeacons sat next to the Archdeacon of Lincoln. Now six of these archdeaconries have ceased to belong to Lincoln in consequence of the formation of the new sees of Peterborough and Oxford in 1542, and other alterations in the Diocese effected in the year 1837. This naturally has been an element of disturbance in the choir, but the legislation of Henry VIII. did still more to upset the old arrangement, by suppressing five prebends; Leighton Manor and Sutton-cum-Bucks, which had stalls on the Dean's side, and Croperdy, Banbury, and Thame with stalls on the Precentor's side. It would be tedious to narrate the changes of order which these two causes have occasioned, and the way in which the vacancies have been supplied. But thirteen Psalms are

unappropriated now ; the perfect Psalter now is never said, a matter for immense regret.

“The whole round table is dissolved.
The sequel of to-day unsolders all
The goodliest fellowships . . .
Whereof this world holds record !”

Can they be soldered up again ? Who knows ?

APPENDIX I.

Original sub-division of the Psalter as found in MS. Vulgate in the Chapter Library.

Episcopus i-iv.

Decanus	v-viii
Gaufridus	ix-xiii
Robertus	xiv-xvii
Willielmus	xviii-xix
Ricardus	xx-xxiii
Sampson	xxiv-xxvii
Walter	xxviii-xxxii
Radulf	xxxiii-xxxv
Gaufridus	xxxvi-xxxviii
David	xxxix-xliii
Odo	xliv-xlviii
Philip	xliv-xli
Gislebert	lii-lvi
R.....	lvii-lx
Walter	lxi-lxv
Wido	lxvi-lxviii
Willielmus	lxix-lxx
Godefridus	lxxi-lxxiii
Walter	lxxiv-lxxvii
Henricus	lxxviii
Willielmus	lxxix-lxxx

Elias	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Willielmus	lxxxv-lxxxviii
Willielmus	lxxxix
Osbertus	xc-xcii
Hugo	xciii-xcvii
Ab.....	xcviii-cl
Jordan	clii-civ
Odo	cv
Tomasin	cvi
Alexander	cvii
Umfridus	cviii, cix
Ranulfus	cx-cxv
Gislebert	cxvi-cxix, 32
Rob. de Colin	cxix, 33-80
R.....	cxix, 81-128
Radulf	cxix, 129-176
Willielmus	cxix-cxxvi
Willielmus	cxxvii-cxxxi
Maurice	cxxxii-cxxxviii
Ranulf	cxxxix-cliii
Willielmus	cliv-cl

APPENDIX II.

Complete (and presumably earliest) list of Stalls and Psalms taken from Transcript of the Black Book in the Muniment Room compared with the order given on the Choir Tablets (October, 1879).

ORDER OF STALLS, DECANI SIDE.

	<i>Liber Niger.</i>
Bishop	i-iii
Aylesbury	iv, v
Milton Eccl.	vi, vii
Corringham	viii-x
Heydown	xi-xiv
Asgarby	xv-xvii
Farrendon	xviii
Thorngate	xix-xxi
Leighton M.	xxii, xxiii
Leighton Bos.	xxiv-xxvi
S. Botolph	xxvii, xxviii
All Saints	xxix, xxx
Leighton Eccl.	xxxi, xxxii
S. Martin	xxxiii, xxxiv
Thurlby	xxxv, xxxvi
Stow longa	xxxvii, xxxviii
Ketton	xxxix, xl
Bedford Mi.	xli, xlii
Welton Banaster	xlili, xlv
Langford	xlvi-xlviii
Brampton	xlix, l
Welton Subd.	li, lii
Stoke	liii, lv
Leicester	lvi-lviii
Centum Sol.	lix-lxi
Sutton	lxii-lxv
Clifton	lxvi-lxviii
Liddington	lxix, lxx
Norton Ep.	lxxi, lxxii
Decem lib.	

	<i>Present Tablets.</i>
Bishop	
Chancellor	
Aylesbury	ii, iii
Heydour	iv, v
Corringham	viii, ix
Milton Eccl.	vi, vii
Asgarby	xv-xvii
Farrendon	xviii
Thorngate	xix-xxi
Leighton Bos.	xxiv-xxvi
S. Botolph	xxvii, xxviii
All Saints	xxix, xxx
Leighton Eccl.	xxxi, xxxii
S. Martins	xxxiii, xxxiv
Thurlby	xxxv, xxxvi
Stow longa	xxxvii, xxxviii
Ketton	xxxix, xl
Bedford Mi.	xli, xlii
Welton Brinkh.	xlili, xlv
Langford Eccl.	xlvi-xlviii
Brampton	xlix, l
Welton Westh.	li, lii
Stoke	liii-lv
Leicester	lvi-lviii
Centum Sol.	lix-lxi
Sutton	lxii-lxiv
Clifton	lxvi-lxviii
Liddington	lxix, lxx
Norton Ep.	lxxi, lxxii
Archd. of Stowe	
Subdean	
Dean	

ORDER OF STALLS, CANTORIS SIDE.

Liber Niger.

Carlton	Litany
Marston	cxlvii-cl
Stow	cxliv-cxlv
Properdy	cxl-cxlii
Sexag. Sol	cxxxvii-cxxxix
Langford	cxxxii-cxxxvi
Scamblesby	cxxii-cxxxi
Caistor	cxix, 129-cxxi
Lafford	cxix, 81-128
Dunholm	cxix, 17-80
Biggleswade	cxvi-cxix, 16
Nassington	cx-cxiv
Gretton	cviii, cix
Empingham	cvii
Welton Dormall	cvi
Lowth	civ, cv
Buckden	c-ciii
South Searle	xcvi-xcix
S. Mary Crackp.	xciii-xcv
Sancta Crux	xc-xcii
Welton Heming.	lxxxix
„ Askeby	lxxxv-lxxxviii
Banbury	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Bedford	lxxix-lxxx
Kelsey	lxxviii
Thame	lxxv-lxxvii
Milton	Manor lxxiii, lxxiv

Present Tablets.

Carlton	Litany
Marston	cxlvii-cl
Stow	cxliv-cxlv
Sexag. sol.	cxxxvii-cxxxix
Langford M.	cxxxii-cxxxvi
Scamblesby	cxxii-cxxxi
Caistor	cxix, 129-cxxi
Lafford	cxix, 80-129
Dunholm	cxix, 16-80
Biggleswade	cxvi-cxix, 16
Nassington	cx-cxiv
Gretton	cviii, cix
Empingham	cvii
Welton Riv.	cvi
Lowth	civ, cv
Buckden	c-ciii
South Searle	xcvi-xcix
S. Mary Crack.	xciii, xciv
Sancta Crux	xc-xcii
Welton Beck.	lxxxix
„ Paynsh.	lxxxv-lxxxvii
Bedford Ma.	lxxix, lxxx
Kelsey	lxxviii
Milton Man.	lxxiii, lxxiv
Decem lib.	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Kilsby	
Arch. of Hunts	
„ Bedford	
„ Nottingham	
„ Lincoln	
Trecenter	

SUBJECTS CARVED ON THE CHOIR STALLS OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY OF LINCOLN.

(Cantor's Side.)

<i>Stall (as now ap- propriated).</i>	<i>Miserere (to Canon's Stalls.</i>			<i>Elbow.</i>	<i>Finial.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Vicars' Stalls).</i>	<i>Elbow.</i>	<i>Finial.</i>	<i>Buttress (Chorister's seats).</i>	<i>Finial.</i>
Carlton	Angel w. censer	Ascension, four app.	Angel w. censer	foliage	dragons and alerion					
Marstor.	S. Gabriel	B. V. M. supported by Angels (Assumption)	S. Mary	head of bishop	—					
Stow	foliage	foliage	foliage	birds roost- ing	—					
Sexag. Sol.	leaves	dragon	leaves	foliage	winged lions, birds					
Langford m.	rose	two roses	rose	head w. circlet	foliage					
Scamblesby	oak leaves	head with oak foliage	oak leaves	winged lion	—	Miserere (to Vicar's stalls)				
Caistor	trefoil leaves	foliage	trefoil leaves	lion	—	oak biciporate oak leaf lion leaf				
Lafford	lion-headed monster	man-faced bull w. oak leaves	man-headed monster with cloven feet	swan	—	tudor tudor fol. fol.				
Dunholm	oak leaf	lion's head w. oak foliage	oak leaf	foliage	—	do. square boss of fol.				
Biggleswade	harrowing	two men ploughing	sowing	head w. wreath	—					
Nassington	oak foliage and bird	griffin	oak foliage and bird	dragon				parsley foliage	lion sejant	crouching lions ?
Gretton	wyvern sej.	lion in pine wood conquering wyvern	lion sejant	roses	oak foliage : swans					
Empingham	oak fol.	oak foliage	oak fol.	lion head	sirens			lions sej. tudor fol.	modern	parsley fol.

Welton Riv.	lion sej.	mermaid in water	lion sej	bird	—	<i>foliage modern</i>					Angel with crown King
Lowth	lion face	lion's head with oak leaves	lion face	foliage	—						Angel with trumpet King
Buckden	wyvern	S. John at the Latin Gate	griffin	head	—						Angel with rone? King
South Searle	do.	square boss of foliage	do.	foliage	—	thorn	thorn	thorn	oak?		Angel with trumpet? King
S. Mary Crackp.	chief's head	king's head	chief's head	head with foliage	—	vine	vine growing	vine	rose		Angel with trumpet? King
Sancta Cruz	do.	vine foliage	do.	head with circlet	—	leaf	out of whelk	leaf	man-faced dragon		Angel with scroll
Welton Beck	crane in field eating fruit	boy astride on young crane—pecked by parent cranes	boy in field with sling—crane killed	foliage	foliage	pelican	pel. in preening	pelican preening	fighting lions and wyverns	dog sejant	wild men with dragons
„ Paynsh.	fol.	fol.	fol.	wyvern	lion in beech-wood preying on hog—owl looking on		oak fol.	young	seraphs, parsley fol.	2 lionels	
Bedford Ma.	wyvern	grotesque head, claws holding a scroll	wyvern	head with circlet and cross	—	fol.	lion head in oak fol.	fol.	nettle flower		
Kelsey	do.	oak foliage	do.	foliage	—	fol.	dragons fighting	fol.	fol. <i>modern</i>		
Milton Manor	head with pointed helmet	castle, portcullis falling, horse going in	head with pointed helmet	seraph	—						
Decem lib.	leaves	head and shoulders of a prince	leaves	king's head	—				crowned lion head		
Kilsby	sleeping lion	lion feeding under foliage	sleeping lion	foliage	—						
Arch. of Hunts	pigs	wild man in oak forest beating down acorns	pigs	man with mantle	—						
„ Bedford	feeding	foliage	feeding	lion head and paws	—	fol.	lion sleeping in beech-wood	fol.	fol. <i>modern</i>		
„ Notting-ham	do.		do.	seraph	—	rose		rose	thorn fol. <i>modern</i>		
„ Lincoln	wyvern sejant	wyvern	wyvern sejant	seraph	—	maple leaf	funeral of monkey	maple leaf	wyvern		
Precentor	rose	fine head	rose	winged lion	—	child	dragon pierced by child	child	roosting birds, tudor fol.	2 lion cubs	
	lion head	knight in armour fighting seven dragons	lion head	leaf	monkeys at play, one pulling tail of other—two monkeys hanging another on gallows, birds		whelk issuing from trident	whelk with wings			

SUBJECTS CARVED ON THE CHOIR STALLS OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY OF LINCOLN.

(Dean's Side.)

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<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Buttresses (Chorister's seats).</i>	<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Elbows.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Vicar's Stalls)</i>	<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Elbows.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Canon's Stall).</i>	<i>Stall (as now ap- propriated).</i>
			rose		wyverns fighting	wyvern		
					head w. oak	griffin	man in armour fighting w. griffin	Chancellor
					foliage (oak maple)	wyvern	man-lion w. lance, pennon, and shield of grotesque head	Aylesbury
			tudor leaf		wild men fighting w. dragon & 3 wyverns	bird with fol. (destroyed)	lion head	Heydour
					birds feeding on vine	head w. vine leaves foliage	fight of lion and wyvern	Corringham
						foliage	two leaves	Milton Ecc.
						fig. with book	eagle on globe	Asgarby
						lion head and quarters	king under canopy,	Farrendon
						lion-headed wyvern	head with foliage (thorn)	Thorngate
						lion sejant	Bears counter rampant cockatrice	Leighton Bos.
			foliage			leaf (maple)	siren ? bird body	S. Botolph
			rose		woman's head	figure (de- stroyed)	lions counter- rampant	All Saints
			sleeping wyvern		foliage (tudor)	oak fol.	oak foliage	Leighton Ecc.
human head	lion	crouching lions and foliage			wyverns and lions' head	? dragon (destroyed)	wild man riding on chained lion	S. Martin's
foliage	lion mod.	crouching dra- gons, foliag			head of bishop	thorn fol.	three roses	
						rose	rose	

THE CHOIR STALLS

Under restoration.

