

ON THE SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF SALISBURY—OPENING
ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT SALISBURY.

By the RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.¹

An asterisk (*) attached to the number or description of a seal, indicates that it is figured on one of the three plates.

When I first began to have a practical interest in the matter of Bishops' seals, some two years ago, I made enquiries whether anything had been written on the subject, and I learnt, somewhat to my surprise, that it was one which was almost wholly untouched. I was shown, indeed, an excellent book on Scottish seals, in two volumes quarto, by the late Henry Laing, of Edinburgh, published in 1850 and 1866, which contains a catalogue of 2608 seals in all, of which as many as 223 are seals of Scotch Bishops, with a fair number of excellent illustrations. But I could not learn that there was a similar book for England, even of this general character. One or two articles in encyclopedias, and a few notices in periodicals or special histories, seemed to exhaust the literature of the subject.² I was therefore led to examine such seals as were accessible in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library, and formed certain general conclusions, which were not difficult to gather, even from such a hurried and partial survey as I then had time to make. Now I am glad to find that my friend, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope,

¹ Read August 3rd, 1887.

² There is an excellent list of books and pamphlets in the *National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, illustrating Seals*, printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1886, by R. H. Soden-Smith. Of the books I have seen, the most generally useful, is G. Demay, *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les Sceaux*, Paris, Dumoulin et Cie, 1880 (esp pp. 267-307), which was recommended to me by Professor Churchill Babington, whose article in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* is full of interest. Illustrations of English Bishops' Seals will be found at the end of Dean Golburn's fine volume *The*

Ancient Sculptures on the Roof of Norwich Cathedral, &c. (London: Autotype Company, 1876), which contains a plate with 23 seals of the Bishops of Norwich; and in Rev. Geo. Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Roberts, Exeter, 1861, containing 13 seals of Bishops of that Diocese. A few others are specified in Soden-Smith's catalogue, pp. 16-17. Dodsworth's *Salisbury*, contains plates of the seals of Joceline and Ri. Poor, and Benson and Hatcher's *Salisbury*, pl. i, 1843, that of Bp. Neville. I have not yet seen Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, of which vol. i, has just been published (1888).

Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, has collected a much larger store of information, and drawn much more precise and practical conclusions from the fine series of seals in the possession of that Society, formed, I believe, by the late highly-esteemed Albert Way. Mr. Hope's paper was read in two divisions on February 3rd and 10th of this year, and has been recently printed in the Proceedings of the Society. To that paper all succeeding enquirers will naturally refer, and it has been of the greatest possible service to me in the memoir which I have the honour of reading before you to-night. I do not think that he makes any comparison between our seals and the corresponding Scottish series, but in most respects his work seems to be very complete.

The interest of the subject to which I desire to direct attention is in itself considerable. As works of art illustrating the improvement, the decay, and the caprices of public and private taste, seals yield to few of the smaller monuments of the class to which they belong, and they have the great merit of being subject to strict classification, in order of time, and of forming an almost continuous series if we examine a sufficient number of examples. Mr. Hope appears to have had before him 168 examples of pre-Reformation seals. His words are "From Osbern (Exeter 1072) to Stephen Gardiner (Winchester 1531) inclusive, there ought to be at least 872 seals, but we only possess casts of one-fourth of that number." How this calculation has been made I do not know, and much regret that Mr. Hope is not present to assist us by his criticism, and the illustrations which he is of course peculiarly qualified to offer. I have before me thirty-six seals, large and small, belonging to twenty-one individuals out of our thirty-four pre-Reformation Bishops, and thirty-three seals belonging to twenty-seven out of the thirty-four post-Reformation Bishops, making a total of sixty-nine seals — a very considerable number when we calculate the mis-chances which are apt to befall these objects. But I hope to render the series much more complete.

To the Church historian the subject is of some interest, especially in regard to the counter seals, as showing the types of devotion which were popular in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, and the

changes of feeling which succeeded it. To the ritualist (using the term in its proper sense) seals offer certain useful indications of ecclesiastical dress, ornament, and custom, but not, perhaps, as much as might be hoped, owing to the small size of the representations. To the local historian they should be naturally of very high value, especially as the arms figured do not always agree with those given in the books which deal with the subject, *e.g.*, Rev. W. K. Riland Bedford's very useful "Blazon of Episcopacy;" and in this field they raise many interesting and difficult questions. To the epigraphist the continuous series and development of the lettering ought to be very helpful in determining the epoch of other undated inscriptions. Mr. Hope divides the lettering of his seals as follows:—

1. 1072—1174. Roman capitals, which almost insensibly change into
2. 1174—1215. A kind of rude Lombardic.
3. 1206—1345. Good Lombardic.
4. 1345—1425. Bold black letter.
5. 1425—1500. Fine close black letter.
6. After 1500. Roman capitals.

English legends he dates from 1745. We have no seals of his first period, and I could hardly make such very strict divisions from the limited number of our seals, but no doubt they correspond generally to Mr. Hope's order.

Such being the different studies to which these objects minister, I have no need to apologise to you for the subject I have chosen, but only for the incompleteness of my treatment of it. I trust that before this paper is printed the interest which has clearly been aroused in this branch of antiquities will stimulate friends far and near to assist myself and other Bishops to complete their sets of seals. I believe that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham have, like myself, called in the aid of the veteran, Mr. Robert Ready, of the British Museum, to lay a foundation, and they will, I am sure, be grateful for any help that our members can give them in filling up gaps in that collection, and in the Way collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

Pre Reformation bishops' seals are divided by Mr. Hope into four main groups:—

- (1) Seals of dignity, or great seals, of an oval shape, more or less pointed at top and bottom, with
- (2) their counterseals ;¹
- (3) private seals, or secreta ; and
- (4) Seals *ad causas* for public instruments of a less important nature than those attested by Nos. 1 and 2.

Of these four kinds the second does not seem to have been by any means universal, the private seal being not unfrequently used in place of the counterseal ; but where counterseals exist they are often very interesting and beautiful. Bishops of Salisbury after 1375 seem comparatively rarely to have used counterseals at all, or, if they did so, used their private signets or the seals *ad causas*. The use of the seals *ad causas* for their proper purpose seems to have been pretty general since the Reformation, and they have come to be simply the seal of dignity without a legend. The pre-Reformation seals of Salisbury, which are our special subject, fall naturally into three classes, roughly corresponding to the three centuries with their three main orders of architecture, the 13th, 14th, and 15th. Of 12th century seals we have indeed three examples, which in character differ little from those of the 13th century. The first two classes are distinguished from the third by representing as the predominant figure a full-length portrait of a Bishop. Mr. Hope, indeed, classes together all the seals up to 1375, with subordinate divisions, but for our purpose it is better to discriminate them as follows :—(I.) from 1142—1289 ; (II.) 1291—1330 ; (III.) 1375—1524.

Class I. The seals of dignity known to me up to 1289 are nine in number, out of a total of 15, viz. :—

4.² Joceline, 1142—1184, with legend [*Jocelinu*]*s dei gra.*

5. Hubert Walter, 1189—95, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

6*. Herbert Poor, 1194—1217, previously Archdeacon of Canterbury

¹ Counterseals according to Demay, p. 45, have the Latin names *contrasigillum*, *antisigillum*, *subsigillum*, *clavis* or *custos secreti*, *clipeus*, *scutum*, *consilium*, *custodia veritatis*, *testis*, *fides*, *nuntius*. The counterseal of Richard Bp. of Winton, in 1174, contains the legend

"*Sum custos et testis sigilli*" ; *ib.*, p. 43. Bp. Joceline's (see below) has *munitio sigillum*.

² See Dodsworth's *Salisbury* p. 190. The numbers before each name are those of the order of succession since the Norman Conquest, counting Herman as No. 1.

7*. Richard Poor, 1217—1228, his brother, founder of the Cathedral of New Sarum, and one of the most famous Bishops of Durham.

8. Robert de Bingham, 1228—1246, founder of the Hospital of St. Nicholas.

9. Wm. of York, 1247—1256, Provost of Beverley and Chaplain to Henry III.

11*. Walter de la Wyle, 1263—1271, founder of St. Edmund's College.

12. Robert de Wykehampton, 1274—1284, and

15*. William de la Corner, 1289—1291,

the last is the first in my series in which a shield of arms appears, and the first with a canopy over the Bishop's head. The seals of this class represent a Bishop in full face—(some of the Scottish seals have rather beautiful designs of a three-quarter face, showing a somewhat greater artistic power, but these are apparently very rare in England¹)—with a mitre on his head, in the act of blessing with the right hand, the thumb and two fingers being upraised, and the third and fourth turned down. In his left hand, from which hangs the maniple, is a pastoral staff, the head of which in seven cases out of nine is turned inwards towards his own left cheek. The staff does not appear to have knobs upon it, and has a very plain head. The figure is vested in a chasuble with two vestments underneath—a dalmatic and an alb—between which the ends of the stole sometimes just appear. The vestments are generally very plain, though the dalmatic has some traces of embroidery in several cases, especially on the slits at the bottom of the skirts. Herbert Poor has a square brooch at the neck, which I suppose to be the "rationale" mentioned by Mr. Hope as in use for about a century—(1189, onwards)—that is just for the period covered by our first class of seals. Robert de Bingham has one of a different shape, which is more decided in Walter de la Wyle's. The word "rationale" is the vulgate rendering of the Greek *λογεῖον* in Exodus xxv, 7; xxviii, 4, &c., the high priest's breastplate, but writers do not seem clear as to what it exactly was as a Christian pontifical vestment, some identifying it with the pallium. This latter supposition, however, seems very improbable. I may mention that Mr. John David

¹ Richard of Bury, Bp. of Durham, is an exception. His beautiful seal is figured

in a slight article on Seals in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF SALISBURY.

PLATE I.



No. 6.
HERBERT POORE.
1194.



No. 6^B.
HERBERT POORE.
1194.



No. 7.
Rt. POOR.
1217.



No. 11.
WALTER DE LA WYLE.
1263.



No. 7^B.
Rt. POOR.
1217.



No. 15.
WM. DE LA CORNER.
1289.

Chambers, in his *Divine Worship in England*, published by B. M. Pickering in 1877, has two figures of bishops, which clearly exhibit the rationale (facing pp. 6 and 76). The first represents Thomas a'Becket in his vestments, still preserved at Sens, where it might be worth while to look for this ornament. The second is entitled "Benediction by an English Bishop, circa 1190," and is taken from Rock, and Raine's *St. Cuthbert*. Dr. J. C. Cox informs me that there is a very good example of one in the effigy of Bp. Hugo de Patteshull in Lichfield Cathedral, circa 1241, and I have recently noticed a very perfect one on the tomb of Bishop Richard of Kilkeny in Ely Cathedral, circa 1256. Four or five of the Norwich seals also seem to have it, and Demay gives three forms of it, though not under the name *rationale* (Figs. 350, 354, 355 cf. pp. 283, 284). Some Bishops also had the *pallium* (l.c. p. 291), but what looks like it is often only a pattern on the chasuble.

In all these the legend round the figure is of exactly the same type, (with slight differences of spelling in the words *Saresbiriensis*, and *gratia*), viz., *Hubertus* or *Herbertus*, or *Robertus dei gratia Saresbiriensis*, or *Saresbiriensis Episcopus*, always, that is to say, in the nominative case, and always with the formula *dei gratia*, which indeed is universal with us up to the Reformation, and all but universal in other English dioceses. In Scotland after 1450, the words begin to be dropped. In one of our seals, that of Robert de Wykehampton, the letters R. II. to right and left of the figure seem to represent Robert II. In seals of this class the name of the city seems to be spelt always with an "e" as the second vowel, and generally with an "i" as the third; that is, *Saresbiriensis* (once *Sarresbiriensis*, with two r's, and twice *Saresbiriensis*). This spelling is in fact the usual one up to the Reformation. *Sarum* is found from 1330 onwards, but not at all regularly. *Sarisburiensis* appears in 1428, as an isolated instance, and from Jewel onwards is the regular form.

The most distinctive and characteristic mark of the legends of our first class is the use of the nominative case, instead of *Sigillum* with the genitive. Mr. Hope does not very clearly discriminate the frequency of the use of the two legends *Ricardus* and *Sigillum Ricardi*, though the three earliest that he notices have *Sigillum*

with the genitive, and then follow two in the nominative. After 1305 he says the genitive form alone is used, and this agrees with the evidence of our series with one exception, one of those of Roger de Mortival, 1315. The Scottish seals have regularly *Sigillum* with the genitive, with three exceptions in the 12th and 13th centuries (Vol. I., 903; Vol. II., 1002, 1048), and one, remarkably enough, in the case of a post-Reformation bishop (William, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1677, *ib.* II. 1028).

The difference in idea between the two legends seems to be this. The nominative case accompanies an actual representation of the bishop himself blessing, to illustrate the introductory salutation of deeds and letters. It is not I suppose a portrait, but, at any rate shows such a dress as he would actually wear. The *Sigillum* with the genitive leaves greater play for the imagination and, in later days at least, accompanies a composite design, including coats of arms, saints, emblems, &c., &c.

The two seals in the first class which present the most peculiar features are those (9) of William of York (which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Osmond), and (15) that of William de la Corner, the last of the class. In (9) that of William of York (1247-56) there are two small heads in circular frames, or windows, one to the left, the other to the right, of the central figure, about half-way down, perhaps representing the Blessed Virgin and our Lord—perhaps St. Peter and St. Paul—and below them two small figures of saints, which appear to be St. John the Baptist, holding a lamb and flag in a circle, and St. Laurence, holding a gridiron. The mitre is jewelled and embroidered, and so are the sleeves of the dalmatic. In (15*) that of Wm. de la Corner, 1289-91, which in several ways marks a period of transition, the figure has a canopy above it, the first in the series, and the field is diapered and figured with lions, and there is a shield of arms at the base, the blazon of which I cannot make out, but it seems to be something within a bordure charged with some device, perhaps *fleur-de-lys*. This may be some form of the Royal arms, of which we shall see a specimen later on in the case of Lionel Wydeville. Mr. Hope's earliest shield of arms is almost exactly of the same date, viz., Wm. de Luda, Bishop of Ely in 1290. It may be noted

here that (11*) Walter de la Wyle (1263) stands on a base on which is figured a church. This, doubtless, refers to the completion of the Cathedral during the time that he was canon, it having been consecrated by his predecessor, Giles de Bridport, in 1257. The counterseal for the same reason represents the Virgin with the child in her arms, seated upon a church. The attitude is very like that of the 14th century seal of the chapter of Lichfield, which Dr. Cox rightly describes as "unusual but engaging." (*Catalogue of the Muniments of Lichfield, &c.*, p. xiv., 1881-6).

The counterseals of this period are, as is generally the case, although smaller, more beautiful than the seals themselves. They frequently represent the Blessed Virgin usually without crown or sceptre, and with some kind of graceful head-dress, with the child Jesus in her arms, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing, sometimes in a whole length, but more often in a half-length figure. Below, under an arch, or canopy, is the half-length figure of a Bishop in an attitude of prayer. The legend is generally *Ave maria gratia* (or *gracia*) *plena* (sit? in one case) *dominus tecum*. Sometimes it is a hexameter line, which may or may not refer to the Bishop whose seal it is, e.g., No. 6* (Bishop Herbert Poor), has *Nate regas mecum cuius signum rego tecum*. The Blessed Virgin has a head-dress, from which seems to rise a crown, and her right hand holds a sceptre ending in a *fleur-de-lys*. There is no figure of a bishop below.—No. 8* (De Bingham) has the legend, *salve sc'a parens enixa puerp(er)a regem*—"Hail, Holy Mother, whose pangs have born thy King." The exceptions to this general representation are four, attached to nos. 4, 5, 7 and 15, and which are all of interest:—(4) Bishop Joceline's a small gem representing a shepherd (?) leaning on his staff between a tree and a sheep and the legend + *munio sigillum*;—(5) Bishop Hubert Walter's, whose counter-seal is very like his seal, only on a smaller scale; (7*) Ri. Poor's, which has a beautiful group of the Annunciation, both figures standing. On his counterseal as Bp. of Durham we see the B.V.M. and Child between two churches with spires, suggesting how he intended to complete Salisbury and Durham. (15) William de la Corner's, which is the first to represent the

coronation of the Virgin. Unfortunately the upper part of the figures is broken in my example, but I believe that it represents the Blessed Virgin Mary seated at our Lord's right hand, while he is in the act of placing a crown upon her head. The feet of both figures rest upon the roof of a church, below which is the Bishop praying under a canopy. The feet of the Blessed Virgin are in pointed shoes, as usual; those of our Lord are sandalled. The date of this seal is 1289. It is therefore not so early an example, as we might have expected, in a cathedral dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, of what was clearly a popular form of devotion—however theologically indefensible—in the 13th as well as in the 14th century. It seems first to occur in England on the seal of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester in 1237, a cast of which lies before me, with the legend, *quem tenet hic tronus mihi sit cum matre patronus*. To what influence we are to assign the spread of this form of devotion in this country I do not exactly know, but I think we cannot go far wrong in ascribing it mainly to the Franciscans, who entered England about 1220, that is a few years before Cantilupe's seal. The oldest known representation of the kind is about a century earlier, and is found in the mosaics on the tribune of Sta. Maria in Trastevere at Rome, generally attributed to the years 1130—1143. It does not represent the moment of coronation which Fra Angelico's pictures have made so familiar to us. Our Saviour, with a cruciform nimbus, holds an open book, with the text, *Veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum* (no doubt for *ponam te in*). His right arm is round his mother's neck, and the hand rests lovingly on her right shoulder. She is crowned, and holds in her left hand (with the thumb and first and second fingers raised), a scroll with the text from the Canticles (viii. 3), somewhat barbarously transcribed—*leva eius sub capite meo et dextra illius amplexabit me*. The Worcester seal would seem to be a very early example, since it seems to represent the moment of coronation, as Mrs. Jameson puts next to the mosaic of St. Maria in Trastevere, another mosaic from the tribune of St. Maria Maggiore at Rome, of the date 1290, close upon the date of our own example, when painters had, I

suppose, already begun to make the subject popular. The mosaic in St. Maria Maggiore is ascribed to Jacopo della Turrita, a Franciscan friar, and this may, perhaps, in some measure confirm my suggestion that the subject was specially popularised by that order.

Class II. Seals from 1291—1330, answering roughly to the Decorated period of English architecture, since one bishop fills the long period from 1330 to 1375. This class contains the seals of the following four bishops :—

16. Nicholas Longespée, 1291—97, fourth son of William and Ela.
17. Simon de Gandavo, 1297—1315, Archdeacon of Oxford.
18. Roger De Mortival, 1315—30, Dean of Lincoln.
- 19*. Robert Wyville, 1330—75.

The Seals of this period still continue to represent a bishop vested as before, but more richly, standing either in a niche, or on a diapered and ornamented background into which arms in some form or other are introduced. The pastoral staff appears now to be regularly turned with the crook away from the bishop, holding it as is usual in modern times. The legend in contrast to the previous class is S', for *Sigillum*, followed by the genitive case, with the exception of the principal seal of Roger de Mortival, which has the legend—

ROGERUS : DEI : GRA : SARRESBIRIENSIS : EPS :

though his seal as bishop-elect (which I found in Mr. Osmond's collection uncatalogued) has apparently the legend—

S.' RŌgeri dei gra eLECTI SARESBIENSIS.

The latter represents the Blessed Virgin with the infant Saviour looking tenderly into her face. Beneath is a church, and again, beneath a canopy, is a priest in prayer, to show that he was not yet consecrated. (16) The seal of Nicholas Longespée has two shields of arms, one defaced ; but upon the sinister side are his own arms, six lioncels rampant in pile, as on the famous tomb of his father in our Cathedral. A long sword with point upwards stands between this shield and the pastoral staff, as a rebus upon his surname. He is described as "annosus," and must have been at least ninety-five years old at his death in 1297, if he visited his father in his last sickness as a priest, in 1226, according to the story which is found in Cassan and elsewhere. (17) The figure of

Simon de Gandavo stands in a beautiful crocketed niche, at the back of which are the sides of a gable end of a church. This shield has no arms. (18) That of Roger de Mortival, has a crescent and star at the beginning and end of the legend, and six cinquefoils pierced, three on each side of the field of the seal, which represent his own device. His arms are said by Riland Bedford, on the authority of Nichols' Leicestershire, to be Ar. a cinquefoil, sable, pierced of the field. (19*) The seals of Robert Wyvill, the recoverer of Sherborne Castle, who sat for perhaps the longest period of any of our bishops (1330-1375), *i.e.*, 45 years, represent three stages of his promotion. The first is his seal as official of the church, that is, I suppose, as appointed to administer its affairs, *sede vacante*. This is a round seal with the legend.

S' ROBI WYVILL PRESByTERI ET OFIC BEATE MARIE SARUM.

In the centre, which is made up of elaborate tracery, is a shield with the arms of Wyvill, as upon his well-known brass, *viz.*, a cross fretty between four mullets of six points. The appointment of such an official is directed by an ordinance of Archbishop Boniface, dated 1262, contained in our statutes. The canons present when the vacancy is known to have occurred are to nominate three or four of the canons of the Church of Sarum, out of whom the Archbishop or his officer (if he is absent) are to choose one. (See Rich Jones's edition, page 19, 1883). If this explanation of the legend is correct, we shall have to suppose either that Robert Wyvill held a canonry here, which is unknown to our annalists, since he is only set down as Canon of Lincoln and Lichfield; or that the ordinance of Archbishop Boniface was somehow or other superseded. Then comes his seal as "elect and confirmed," which is interesting as being the only one of our series which has any reference to the Papacy. It has the legend,

S' ROBERTI DEI GRA. ET *Sedis aplice ele*CTI ET CONFIRMATI SARUM.

It represents the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour on her left arm under an elaborately-canopied niche; below is a priest praying. This seal has a counterseal of the same character. The use of the word *Sarum* appears for the first time on these two seals, but it does not come into general use at any time in the series. Lastly he has a beautiful seal, apparently to be dated

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF SALISBURY.

PLATE II.



No. 8^B.
1228.
ROB. DE BINGHAM.



No. 19^C.
ROB. WYVILLE.
after 1339.



No. 19^A.
ROB. WYVILLE.
1330.



No. 19^B.
ROB. WYVILLE.
1330.



No. 20.
RALPH ERGHUM.
1375.



No. 39^B.
JOHN PIERS.
1577.



No. 27.
WM. AYSCOUGH.
1437.



No. 40^B.
JOHN COLDWELL.
1591.

some years after he had become fully Bishop, in which, having climbed to power by the aid of the Pope, he discards all mention of his aid, and simply writes :

S' ROBERTI DEI GRACIA EPI SARESBIENSIS.

In this the mitre is enriched, the staff crocketed, the hands gloved, the border of the chasuble embroidered, as also the sleeves and skirts of the dalmatic, and the niche and canopy work more elaborated than any that have preceded. On two of the pillars of the niche are hung shields, the dexter of the arms of England, the sinister the arms of England (1 and 4) and France (2 and 3) quartered. It is said that Edward III., who became king in 1327, first quartered the arms of France in 1339. If this be the case, this seal must have been a new one, made in compliment to the King, nine years or more after Wyvill became Bishop; and during his long episcopate it was natural that he should require more than one seal. This would be an admirable seal to engrave, but unfortunately, though I have two examples of it, they do not make up one complete specimen. Another imperfect copy of this seal is described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* vol iv., p. 13, 1859, attached to a deed dated 1355. It gives the owner's arms at the base, the cross fretty between four mullets, which are defaced in my examples. I have to thank Mr. J. E. Nightingale, of Wilton, for this reference. The only counter-seal of this class not mentioned is that of Roger de Mortival, representing the coronation of the Virgin. This must have been a very beautiful design, in the best style of art; but unfortunately it is broken, and the legend cannot be made out exactly. Mr. Nightingale has lent me the copy of a deed dated 1325, to which it was appended, but that impression too is imperfect. The letters that remain appear to be :—

DA.....AS REX REGINA ROGERE CORONA M.

I regret that I am unable to fill the vacant space to my satisfaction.

Class III., from 1375 up to the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., contains the seals of nine out of fifteen Bishops, viz. :

20*. Ralph Erghum, 1375—1388, afterwards Bishop of Wells.

21. John de Waltham, 1388—1396, Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of Richard II.

- 22. Richard Mitford, 1396—1407, previously Bishop of Chichester.
- 24. Robt. Hallam, 1408—16, appointed Cardinal, June 6, 1411.
- 26. Robt. Neville, 1427—37, son of the Earl of Westmoreland and nephew to Henry VI. ; made Bishop at twenty-two, afterwards Bishop of Durham.
- 27*. Wm. Ayscough, 1437—50, confessor to Henry VI.
- 28. Richard Beauchamp, 1450—82, Chancellor of the Garter.
- 29. Lionel Wydville, 1482-85, brother-in-law of Edward IV.
- 34. Lorenzo Campeggio, 1524-35, Cardinal, and Bishop together of Bologna and Salisbury.

These seals are distinguished from those that precede them by the legends being in black letter, and by the multiplication of niches and canopies, and of figures of the sacred persons and of saints in them. The Bishop entirely ceases to be the principal figure, and appears only in a subordinate position, as on the earlier counterseals, or not at all as on that of Robert Neville. The old counterseals in fact seem to be combined with the seals, and where counterseals are used they are small and of the character of gems.

Both art and sentiment are here seen in their gradual decadence, though great richness of design is often found. The materialised and anthropomorphic representations of the Blessed Trinity, and the exaggerated cultus of the Blessed Virgin, mark the century-and-a-half which preceded the Reformation. The principal subjects represented are the Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned and enthroned beside her Divine Son ; the Trinity, or at least the Eternal Father holding the crucifix, generally, if not always, with a dove to represent the Holy Spirit ; and the Blessed Virgin holding the infant Saviour, herself crowned and sceptred. The previous examples of this latter subject are (with one exception, that of Herbert Poor) not crowned or sceptred, and it is to be regretted, in my opinion, that the figures so treated have become almost stereotyped as the arms of the see. (20) * In the first of this class the Blessed Virgin is seated side by side with her Son on a throne. He is represented in the act of blessing, and she with hands joined in prayer. This is the seal of Ralph Erghum, 1375, with the legend *Sigillum radulphi dei gracia sarum episcopi*, and is the first in black letter, which continues to be the rule up to the Reformation. (21) A round seal of John de Waltham, 1388, with the central group of the Trinity—the Eternal Father sup-

porting the crucifix between his knees. The dove appears to be issuing from his mouth, and lighting upon the Saviour's head. The seal is a good deal worn and the legend is incomplete, so that it is not clear whether this was the Bishop's chief seal or only one *ad causas*, as seems most probable, since the seal of dignity is almost always of the pointed oval shape and of a larger size. (22) Richard Mitford's seal *ad causas* 1396 is so much like the seals of dignity of this date that it may be mentioned here. It has the Trinity above, the Blessed Virgin crowned with the infant Jesus in the centre, and the Bishop below ; on the dexter side the Royal Arms (France and England quarterly), and on the sinister those of Mitford, barry of four indented, as on his tomb. (24) Bishop Hallam's seal has a similar representation of the Trinity (much worn) at the top, under which is the Blessed Virgin crowned and sceptred, holding the infant Saviour, with rays proceeding from the two figures. Two saints, apparently St. Peter and St. Paul, stand one on each side. Below is a Bishop praying with, on one side, the fragment of a shield showing the head of a key saltire-wise ; on the other shield are his own arms, a cross engrailed (with crescent in the first quarter). Unfortunately the legend is wholly gone, and the seal of this most famous pre-Reformation Bishop is in bad condition. The cross-keys, if that was on the first shield, and the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, are noticeable. I had at first thought that there was an allusion in the keys to St. Peter's of York, to which he was nominated by the Pope, but not consecrated, owing to the King's objections. But I think the reference is to the more famous See of St. Peter's of Rome, under the special patronage of which he was. He was appointed Bishop of Salisbury, by Papal Bull, dated June 2, 1407, and consecrated by Pope Gregory XII. at Sienna in 1408, and appointed Cardinal by John XXIII., one of his two rivals, June 6, 1411. The seal was therefore not improbably cut in Italy, and this may account for the peculiarity of the rays issuing from the central group. It is much to be desired that a good example of the seal might be secured. His brass, I may mention, is in Constance Cathedral, where he died at the Council according to his epitaph, on the feast of the translation of St. Cuthbert, Sep. 4, 1416. This

brass, which is interesting on many accounts, exhibits a somewhat similar change of feeling to that which we have observed in Robert Wyvill, who first shows deference to the Pope, then to the King, though in this case the change is not so clearly in Hallam's own mind. The brass, it was said, was cut and sent out from England, of course some months after his death. The inscription is as follows¹:—

*Subiacet hic stratus Robert(us) Hallum vocitatus
Quondam prelatus Sarum sub honore creatus.
Hic decretorum doctor pacisque creator,
Nobilis anglorum Regis fuit ambaciator.
ffestum cuthberti septembris mense vigeat
In quo Roberti mortem Constantia flebat,
Anno Millesimo tricent(esimo) octuageno
Sex cum ter deno. cum Christo vivat ameno.*

The brass contains two shields, one the arms of France (three fleur-de-lys) and England quarterly surrounded with the garter, which seems to show that our Bishop was Chancellor of the order, though I do not find it anywhere noted; the other his own arms (the cross engrailed ermine with crescent in the first quarter) with the motto *Miseri-cordias domini in eternum cantabo*. There is no hint of his being a cardinal. The shield of the arms of England, like that on Wyvill's seal, marks a change which has just taken place, since it was only a few years before his death that Henry V. had substituted the three fleur-de-lys in the quarterings of France for the field semé de fleur-de-lys. I would notice also that while on Wyvill's seal in Edward III.'s reign the lions of England are in the first and fourth quarters, in this brass (as I believe is usually the case on other monuments) the fleur-de-lys occupy those places. I presume that this is no mere accident, but the hint of an ambition which was not unnatural in the descendant of a line of Norman and Plantagenet Kings. I am not aware what explanation is given by heralds of the fact that the arms of France are put in the principal place, and those of England in the subordinate one, on the shields of our monarchs. It may suggest, however, the reflection that it was fortunate for England that the title King of France which Henry V. was so nearly making a reality, gradually became less and less of a fact under his successor. Had

¹ I have taken it partly from E. Kite's *monumental brasses of Wiltshire*, Parkers

Lond. and Oxf. 1860, pl. 32, partly from a foreign print given me by my brother.

it been otherwise England might have become a province of a great monarchy—but a subordinate one like Scotland or Ireland. (26) The seal of Robert Neville (figured also in Benson and Hatcher's History of Salisbury, pl. 1, No. 8) has the Trinity above and the coronation of the Virgin in the centre, treated in an unusual way, our Lord being seated on the dexter side, blessing, whilst he crowns her with his left hand. On either side are saints. On the dexter side, I believe, St. Thomas of Canterbury; on the sinister, one who is supposed to be St. Osmund. Below are three niches, the centre an angel holding the arms of Neville, a saltire, with two annulets interlaced in fess as a difference. Angels also occupy the right and left niches, unless the sinister is the Blessed Virgin Mary receiving the annunciation. The legend is the first that has a surname—*Sigillum Roberti Neville dei gra Saresbiriensis epi.* Mr. Hope notices that in his collection William of Wykeham (1367) is the first bishop who has a surname on a seal, and the next Thomas Fitzalan of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1396. But *de Grandisano* runs across the Exeter seal of 1327, above the shield of arms. With us Beauchamp has a surname, but not Ayscough or Wydville. (27*) The seal of William Ayscough, chaplain and confessor of Henry VI., who was murdered at Edington in Jack Cade's rebellion, is one of those which represent the religious conceptions of the period in a remarkable form. Above is the Eternal Father, lifting both hands in blessing. On a central throne are the Blessed Virgin, crowned, with her hands in prayer, and our Lord blessing with his right hand and his left holding a cross, which rests apparently on a ball. Between their heads hovers the dove. To right and left are saints appearing behind the thin pillars of niches; below is the Bishop. On the dexter side the arms of France and England quarterly, and on the sinister side those of Ayscough a fess between three asses passant. (28) The seal of Richard Beauchamp (1450—82) represents the Blessed Virgin crowned and sceptred holding the infant Saviour, who is also crowned; to the right is St. Catharine with the wheel, to the left perhaps St. Catharine of Sienna, crowned holding a lily. Below is the Bishop. The dexter shield bears his own arms, as over the door of his chapel, now removed to the North Chapel (a fess

between six martlets), but with a bordure with fleur-de-lys. The sinister (as I learn from a learned correspondent Mr. J. Everitt of Portsmouth, who has kindly presented me this and some other seals) is that of his mother's family Delamere (two lions passant in pale), impaled with Roche (three roaches in pale), within a similar bordure. The legend is *Sigillu Ricardi beauchamp dei gracia sarum episcopi*. Bishop Beauchamp is memorable amongst us as the builder of the hall, and I suppose of the tower also, at the east end of the palace, and as the builder of the Chapel of St. George's, Windsor. In recognition, it is said, of the latter work, which was executed after he became Dean in 1477, he received the Chancellorship of the Garter from Edward IV. for himself and his successors, Bishops of Salisbury. This dignity was taken away by Henry VIII. in 1522, and restored by Charles II. to Seth Ward in 1669, the vacancy by which he obtained actual possession occurring in 1671. The office was (somewhat unjustly, perhaps) separated from the see during the vacancy after Bishop Burgess's death in 1837, in order, it is said, to induce Bishop Bagot, of Oxford, to take charge of the county of Berkshire.

(29) The seal of Lionel Wydville, 1482, shows a decided decay of art. It is interesting as having a curious form of the royal arms, three lions passant, turned the wrong way, within a bordure covered with fleurs-de-lys. Whether this has anything to do with his office as Chancellor of the Garter, or was a coat granted him as brother-in-law of Edward IV., who married his sister Elizabeth, I must leave it for more competent authorities to determine. Prince John of Eltham (I learn from my friend Mr. S. T. Aveling's very useful enlargement of Boutell's Manual) bore a similar coat as son of Edward II. The sinister shield is effaced.

(34) Lorenzo Campeggio in 1524 has a seal, which is unfortunately a good deal broken. The legend appears to contain reference to his being a cardinal presbyter of the Church of Rome. It may have been something of this form: *Sigillum [laurentii sce romane ecclie] pbri [cardinalis et epi bononiensis et saresbiriensis.]* Only two counterseals of this period have come into my hands both of Ralph Erghum, and both small gems. The first is the nativity. The Blessed

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF SALISBURY.

PLATE III.



No. 36.

JOHN CAPON.

1539.



No. 37.

JOHN JEWELL.

1560.



GILBERT BURNET.

1689.



GEO. MOBERLY.

1869.



JOHN WORDSWORTH.

1885.

Virgin is seated on the ground, at the side are the ox and the ass ; above is a star, and a legend which I cannot read. The document to which this is attached is dated 1381. The second represents a lion passant, with a legend round it, in which the words *de Forwood* occur. It is attached to a document dated 1384.

We now must give a short account of Post-Reformation seals up to that of the late Bishop. These seals differ naturally very much from those that precede them. They all agree (1) in having the legend in Roman characters (2), in containing the surname of the Bishop (3), in dropping the formula *Dei gratia*. They fall into two distinct classes. The first, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the end of James I. ; the second, from the time of Charles I. onward to the present day. In the first of these the seals have generally some central figure in a niche with a shield of arms beneath. In the second the shield of arms of the see, as now customary (*viz.* the Blessed Virgin, crowned and sceptred, standing and holding the infant Saviour on her right arm), impaling those borne privately by the Bishop, take the central place, and in fact become the sole figures upon the seal. In the first class we have examples of the following five Bishops :—

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 36.* John Capon or Salecot, 1539—57. | Of strange transitional character. | |
| 37*. John Jewel, 1560—71. | | |
| 39*. John Piers, 1577—91. | | } The Good Shepherd. |
| 40*. John Coldwell, 1591—96. | | |
| 42. Robert Abbot, 1615—18. | A Bishop seated, teaching. | |

The second class of seals consists of arms only with an inscription, which some time in the last century began to be in English.

Class I., 1539—1618. The seal of John Capon* has the peculiar legend SIGILLUM IOHIS CAPON DEI P(ER)MISSIONE SARUM EPISCOP, and represents the Blessed Virgin and child, the former crowned, under a canopy with small figures in niches to right and left in the upper half of the seal. Below is the legend COR DEO PATET, on a scroll, and underneath it a Bishop, vested in a rochet, bareheaded and kneeling between two shields, on one of which is the crucifixion, on the other the Blessed Virgin ; beneath the

first lies his mitre, beneath the second appears the head of his pastoral staff. As to the legend "by divine permission," so common in written episcopal documents, this is the only approach to it in our seals. Mr. Hope notices that Stephen Gardiner (1533) styles himself on his seal Bishop *permissione divina*. The next three (37, 39, 40) have the legend in this form :—

SIGILLUM . IOHANNIS . IEWEL . EPISCOPI . SARISBURIENSIS.

and the figure of the Good Shepherd under a classical or Elizabethan niche with pointed gable and the motto PERIT ET INVENTA EST ; a shield of arms appears below. In 37 and 39 they are the Bishop's own simply ; in 40 we have for the first time the arms of the see impaled with the Bishop's own coat. That of Robert Abbot (42) has a Bishop seated, vested in a cope, with a peculiar cap on his head (as Mr. E. C. Clark, of Cambridge, informs me, something like one on the tomb of Guido d'Arezzo, at Arezzo), and in his hands a closed book. The legend round is wholly lost ; the letters GE/VA appear below, and may be the remains of a motto containing the words *in lege* or *ex lege tua* (e.g. Ps. 93, 12). A counterseal which Mr. Ready attributes to Abbot must be really that of John Piers, a pelican in piety, with the initials I.S., possibly used by his successor. John Coldwell's counterseal gives his own arms (checky and in chief three quivers, quartered with a fess), and the initials I.C. He was the first married Bishop.

Class II, 1621—1869, contains the seals of twenty-three bishops, of many of whom I only possess seals of the second size without the legend. They all belong to what may fairly be called the Laudian type. That of Bishop Davenant (1621—41) appears to have had only the Blessed Virgin Mary crowned with the Infant Saviour on a shield, but it is much defaced. That of Brian Duppa (1641) is the first of the modern type with the date at the end of the legend, and the two coats impaled filling the field of the seal. The only seal that I possess of Humphrey Henchman, who consecrated the chapel of the palace, August 28, 1662, is merely a round seal with a shield of his own arms well cut. Seth Ward (1667—1689) apparently introduced the mitre as a crest, but it is found on the monuments of Davenant (ob. 1641)

and Hyde (1667). His own tomb has a quaint little bust with a mitre above a wig. In 1674, some years after he had recovered the garter, and when he had finished the repairs of the palace, as evidenced by the date on the chequered front, he had a new seal cut very like the former, but rather larger, and with the garter round the shield, and, of course, a new date. Of Burnet's* (1689—1715) I am able to exhibit a very fine example through the kindness of the Rev. Edward Duke, of Lake House. Unfortunately the art is not first rate, the figure of the Blessed Virgin being like that of a doll. That of Hoadley (1723—1734) is like Seth Ward's, and is unfortunately the last of the seals of dignity of the eighteenth century which I have been able to procure. Sherlock's (1734-1748) coat is the first with the tinctures clearly noted by lines, &c., as in modern heraldry. The arms of Robert Hay Drummond, who was only Bishop for four months in 1761, differ from those given by Riland Bedford. They are Drummond (1 and 4) or three bars wavy gules with a scimitar in pale, quartering the coat of augmentation (see Papworth and Morant, p. 920) or a lion's head erased within a double tressure. Those of his brother-in-law, Bishop Hume (1766), quarter his own with those of Roberts or Robarts, azure on a chevron three mullets, no doubt those of his mother. I have fairly good examples of the seals of Bishops Douglas and Hamilton, and a good one of Bishop Moberly's,* in the last of which there is a return to the ancient form of mitre, and apparently deeper cutting, and the Blessed Virgin, though sceptred, is no longer crowned or rayed.

My own seal,* which is peculiar, was kindly drawn for me by my friend Mr. Stephen Aveling, of the Restoration House, Rochester, and cut by Mr. Soane. It is a representation of Raphael's Madonna di San Sisto, with my own arms on a small shield in the base, and the legend:—

S' IOHANNIS DEI GRA EP'I SARISBERIENSIS A.D. 1885.

It was a mistake on my part to write *Sarisberiensis*. It should have been *Saresbiriensis* as on the old seals, or *Sarisburiensis*, as on the modern, and the lettering, though extremely well cut, is not, perhaps, of a sufficiently distinct period. The legend also begins in the wrong place and should have been preceded with a cross not

a sort of star. I venture, however, to think that in some respects it is an improvement on the more recent seals, and I hope that my successors will not revert to the Laudian type, but will improve upon my example. I have also a beautiful private signet sapphire ring, given me by another friend, Mr. Alexander Mackay, of Trowbridge. This exhibits similar figures, only in half length, and below them my own arms, between the initials J. S., separated from the figures by a pastoral staff. The cutting of this seal is extremely delicate, but it is also remarkably deep for a modern work. It has on the inside :—

VERITAS . IN . CARITATE ALEX . MACKAY . 1887.

I may add a list of the seals of the Bishops of Salisbury still wanted to complete our series :—

Herman	1075	John Blythe	1493
Osmund	1078	Henry Dean	1500
Roger	1107	Edmund Audley.....	1502
Joceline ¹	1142	Nicholas Shaxton	1535
Giles de Bridport	1256	Edmund Guest	1571
Walter Scammel.....	1284	Henry Colton.....	1598
Henry Braundeston	1287	Martin Fotherby	1618
Nicholas Bubwith	1407	Robert Townson.....	1620
John Chandler	1417	John Earle	1663
Thomas Langton.....	1485	Alexander Hyde.....	1665

I also desire to have examples of the seals of dignity of all bishops from Sherlock (1734) to Denison (1837) inclusive, with the exception of that of Bishop Douglas, “the scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks,” which I possess. The legend is :—

THE . SEAL . OF . JOHN . DOUGLAS . D.D . BISHOP . OF . SARUM . 1791.

May I conclude this paper in its amended form by thanking very heartily all who have helped to make it as full as it is, whether their names are mentioned or not, while at the same time I express regret that it is still very incomplete?

J. S., *March 5th*, 1888.

¹ Figured however in Dodsworth's *Salisbury*, 1814, pl. i, opposite p. 190.