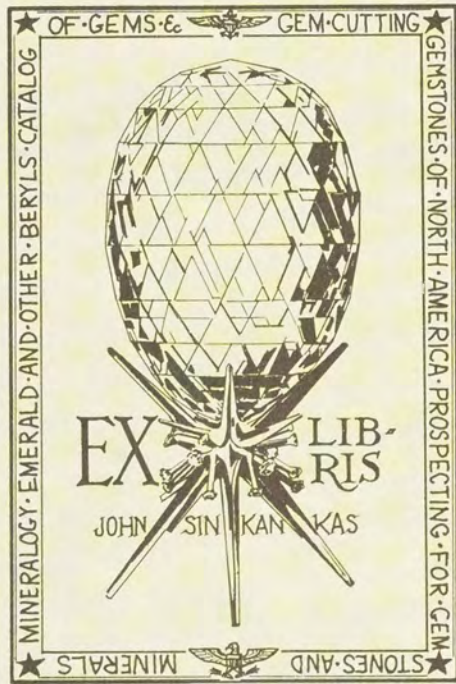
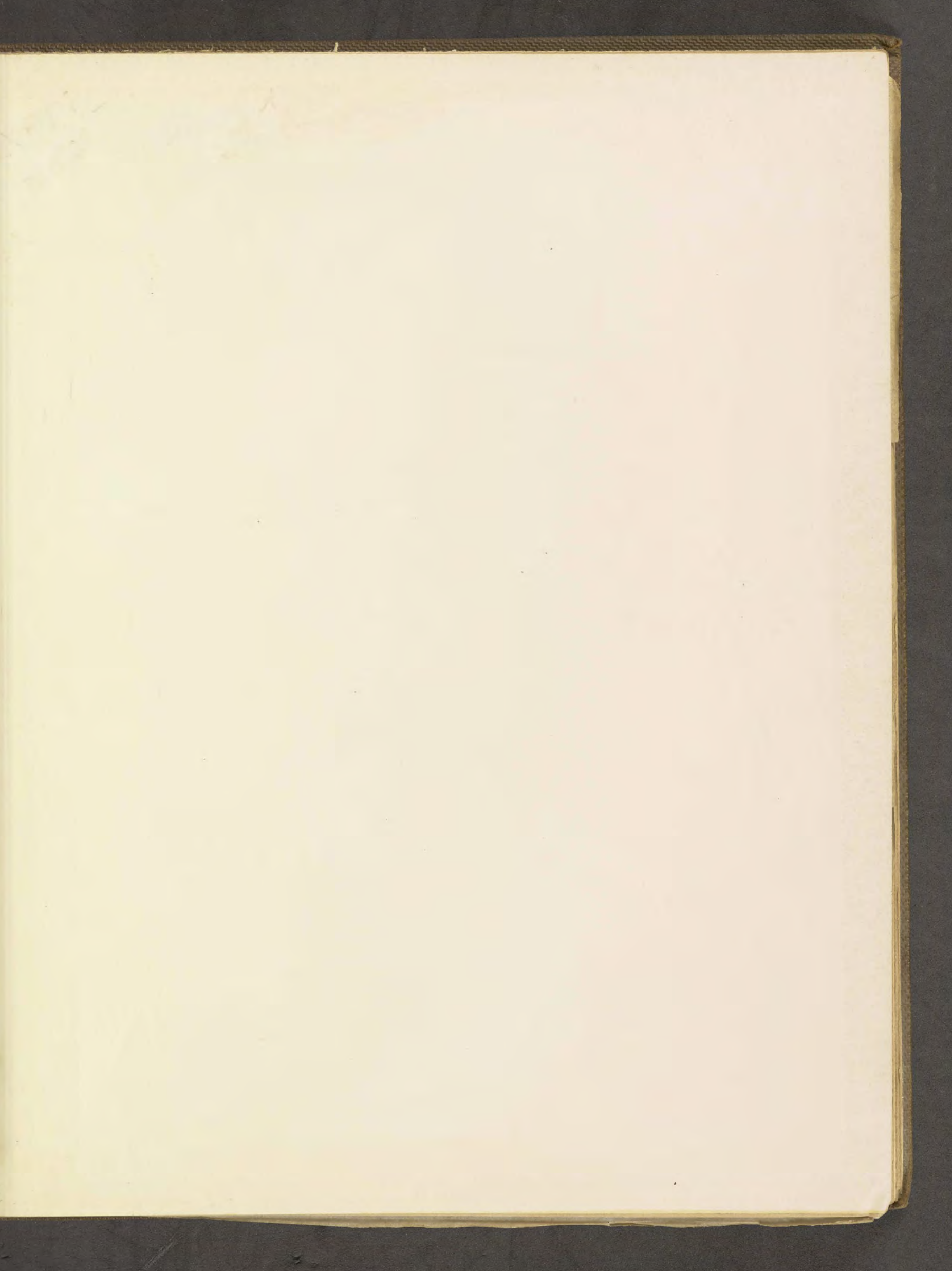


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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.



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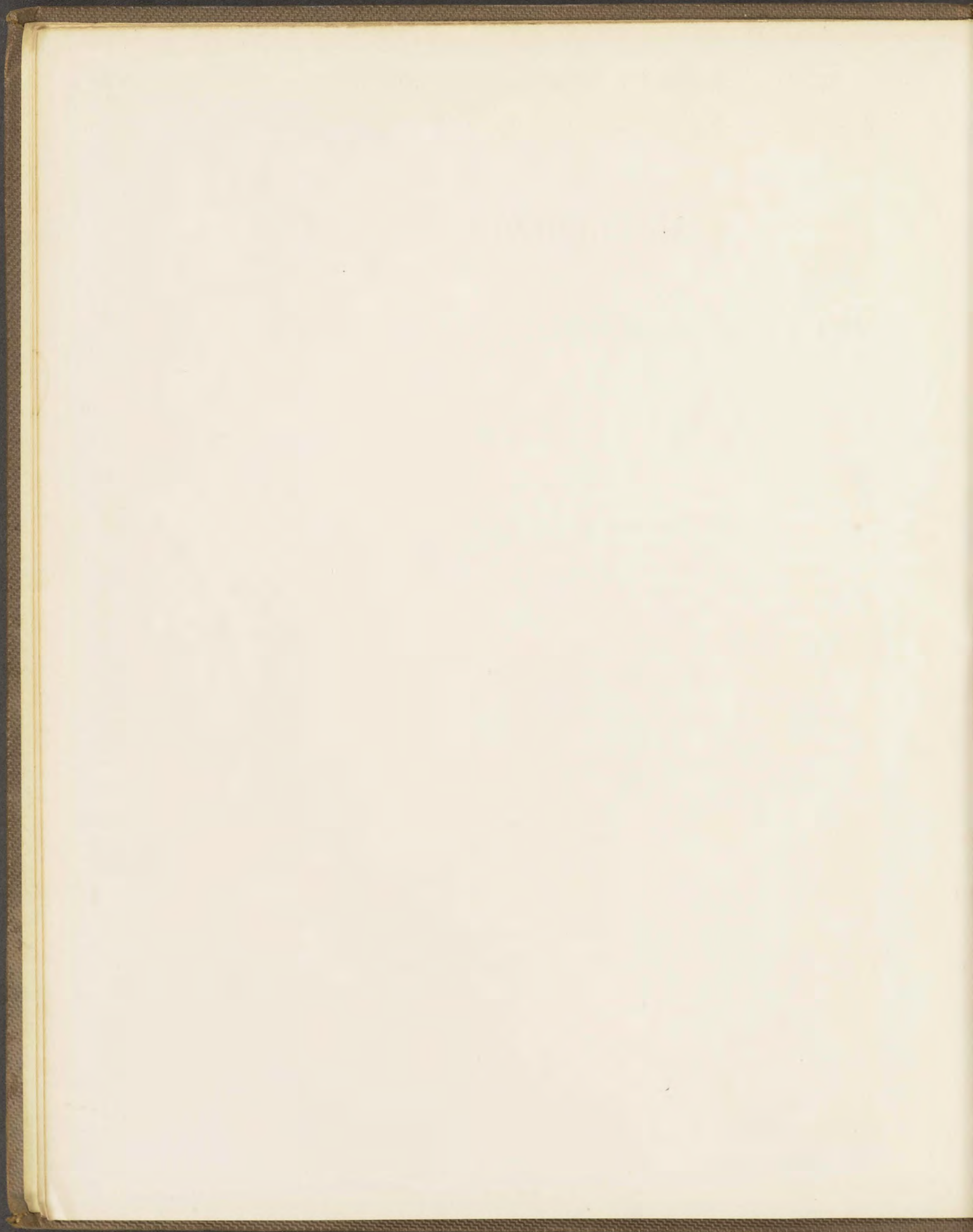


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Notes on some of the Antique and Renaissance Gems and Jewels in Her Majesty's Collection at Windsor Castle. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, Esq. F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	1—28
II.— <i>On the Site of the Homeric Troy. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN</i>	29—52
III.— <i>An Account of Discoveries made in Celtic Tumuli near Dover, Kent. By CUMBERLAND HENRY WOODRUFF, Esq. F.S.A.</i>	53—56
IV.— <i>On the Parish Books of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopherle-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, in the City of London. By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq. M.A. F.S.A.</i> -	57—123
V.— <i>An Holograph Will of Edward Grimston, Esquire, made in 1449 Communicated by JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, Esq. LL.D. F.S.A.; with some Remarks by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq. LL.D. Vice-President</i> - - - - -	124—126
VI.— <i>On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus. By THOMAS B. SANDWITH, Esq. H.B.M. Vice-Consul</i> - - - - -	127—142
VII.— <i>The Early Statutes of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, with Observations on its Constitution and History. By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D. F.S.A. Præcentor of Chichester</i> - - - - -	143—234



LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE	PAGE
I. Cameo, the Emperor Claudius, from the Royal Coll. Windsor Castle	6
II. Cameos	12
III. Cameos, and enamelled Gold Ornaments	14
IV. Cameos	16
V. The Plain of Troy - - - - -	29
VI. Pottery from Hissarlik - - - - -	41
VII. Silver Vessels from Hissarlik - - - - -	44
VIII. Urns found in a Barrow, Ringwould, Kent - - - - -	54
IX.)	129
X.)	130
XI.) Pottery from Cyprus - - - - -	132
XII.)	133
XIII.)	134
XIV. Ancient Iconography of Chichester Cathedral - - - - -	234
XV. The Close, Winchester Cathedral - - - - -	234



ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Notes on some of the Antique and Renaissance Gems and Jewels in Her Majesty's Collection at Windsor Castle.* By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 12 February, 1874.

The collection of antique and other engraved stones, of jewels of the period of the Renaissance, and objects of like class but more recent workmanship, belonging to Her Majesty the Queen, is comparatively little known, although containing several objects of high importance.

On the occasion of a special exhibition of objects of "glyptic art" brought together by the Royal Archæological Institute, and held at the rooms then occupied by that Society in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, in the month of June 1861, the larger portion of this Royal Collection was graciously contributed, but could only be seen through the glass case which necessarily protected the precious objects it contained.

The series as then shown was examined, as I believe under these disadvantages, by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A. who embodied his observations in a paper published in the eighteenth volume of the Archæological Journal, page 307.

The Royal Collection was also in part exhibited at the South Kensington Museum in 1862, when some of the more remarkable pieces were specially but briefly noted by Mr. J. C. Robinson, in the catalogue of that Loan Collection at page 559, *et seq.*

A more advantageous opportunity of closely examining these valuable objects has been recently afforded to myself, in company with two gentlemen who combine the highest archæological erudition with a profound and accurate technical knowledge of engraved stones and jewels, both of antique and more recent workmanship. This examination was made with a view to reporting on the collection for Her Majesty's private information.^a

Availing myself of this privilege to make a preliminary descriptive list of the whole series, I was the more strongly impressed with the great excellence of some of these examples of antique and Renaissance art, and suggested that application might be made for permission to take photographs or drawings of the principal specimens.

That permission has been most liberally accorded, and the accompanying illustrations exhibit some of the more remarkable objects in the Royal Cabinet.

The Collection is, at present, arranged in two glazed tabular cases, that occupy corresponding places on either side of a door of entrance to the elegantly decorated room known as the "Private Audience Chamber" in Windsor Castle. It numbers in all 292 objects of a somewhat heterogeneous character, for among them are works representing the most developed period of the Greco-Roman sculptor's art, others descending through the Byzantine to the period of the Renaissance, and many by the more imitative artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era. Among the latter not a few are portraits, the majority of which, although not at present recognised, are of considerable interest, and might afford profitable study in tracing, and as far as possible verifying, their likeness to the originals whom they may represent.

My present purpose is not, however, to undertake a work of this nature, but merely to draw attention to, and put more distinctly on record, some of the more important objects of the cabinet, considered from an artistic and archæological point of view; commencing with those of earlier date.

The autotypes obtained by Her Majesty's gracious permission will greatly enhance the interest of their description, and assist us in appreciating the beauty of the objects which they so accurately portray.

Of those that I have selected as being of more importance than the remainder, the number amounts to 68, viz. antique gems, 16; recent gems and enamelled jewels, 52. Of these autotypes of 25 have been taken, and wood engravings of two rings and one gem.

^a Report furnished to Her Majesty, 1872.

Some few antique and modern gems, of minor relative value as to subject or artistic merit, have been included in the following descriptive list, for, although secondary, they are perhaps worthy of being recorded.

No definite history of the formation of this collection can be referred to. The various pieces have been drawn together from time to time, not so much by that peculiar force (shall I borrow a modern term, differently applied, and call it *psychic*?) which gathers objects of a like nature under the directing medium of the amateur, as from an attractive power attaching to royalty, which, acting through numerous family and other connections, induces gifts of portraits, and presents of greater or less artistic and antiquarian merit, in addition to many purchases of objects to which Royal attention has been directed from time to time.

That some of the choicer portraits, as those of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, have been in the royal cabinet from the period of their production there can be little doubt, notwithstanding any temporary dispersion that may have occurred under the Commonwealth.

They are not, however, mentioned in Van der Doort's catalogue of the objects belonging to Charles I. although he records the large antique cameo and some others.

At the latter end of the last century, when *dilettantiism* was in high feather, and works of the antique sculptor's art were sought for and purchased with more avidity than discretion, a premium was offered to the cunning hand that could best imitate the works of classic times; not however without encouraging, to a degree that has never before or since been equalled, those fine artists who, catching much of the antique spirit, produced authentic works of a very high order; the names of Natter, Rega, Pichler, and Pistrucci are representative. Collections of a mixed character were formed accordingly; some from pure love, some from vanity, and some, alas, with a view to dishonest gain. Among these collectors, deceiver or deceived, or both, was Consul Smith, long resident at Venice, who eventually sold the collection he had formed to H.M. George III. The King was further induced to patronise, and in the main pay for, the publication of two folio volumes entitled *Dactyliotheca Smithiana*, Venice, 1767; in which the Consul's cabinet is described by A. F. Gori, and illustrated by 100 well-executed copper-plate engravings. The fact that only three of the specimens that I have deemed worthy of selection and am about to describe, are to be recognised as having formed portions of the Consul's series, will suffice to indicate the inferiority of its contents. The addition of the Smith collection to the other comparatively few but far choicer specimens, and acquisitions since and

variously made, have swelled the royal cabinet to its present extent, while, as in like case with the miniatures, drawings, prints, and other rich artistic treasures contained in the apartments of Windsor Castle, their systematic gathering together and arrangement in one place is due to the directing energy and judgment of the late Prince Consort.

I will now proceed to describe separately those objects which I have selected as more important, and in doing so have attempted an approximate chronological order, dividing the antique from the Renaissance and modern gems.^a

Differing in opinion, as I am forced to do on more than one specimen, from our erudite modern authority on antique gems, I feel convinced that such an opportunity as I have had of careful and individual inspection, assisted by minute examination with the lens, would have induced a different *dictum* on his part, had Mr. King enjoyed a similar advantage.

But I am further fortified in advancing my own humble opinion by its agreement with that of Mr. Newton, of Signor Castellani, and, as far as expressed by him in the catalogue of the Loan Collection, with that of Mr. J. C. Robinson.

The measurement is given in inches and lines, one-twelfth of an inch.

CAMEOS AND INTAGLIOS OF ANTIQUE WORKMANSHIP.

193. Intaglio on red or "male" sard; set in a ring, oval. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Width $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Cupid bending his bow. Fine Italo-Greek work, probably of about 200 B.C., after the well-known statue.

218. Sunk cameo; *intaglio rilievato*; oval. Height 1 inch 10 lines; width 1 inch 5 lines. (Plate II.)

A Roman male portrait, head in profile, facing to the right of the spectator.

This is a noble work of the best period of Romano-Greek art. The hair, closely cut, is indicated by minutely executed stippling; the brow wrinkled; the ear admirably treated; he is beardless, and bald on the forehead. The general appearance is that of a man between fifty and sixty years of age.

The stone, cracked at the lower end, is backed with glass to strengthen it, and set in a modern gold edging, with loop for suspension.

The art displayed on this gem is of the highest order and the manipulative skill equally excellent; in no place does the *rilievo* exceed half a line in depth, while the indications of the muscles of the head and neck are delineated with singular truth and delicacy. This style of antique gem engraving, the "*incavo*

^a The numbers are those now attached to the objects, corresponding with the list in the Royal Library.

rilievo" of Mr. King, termed also "Egyptian relief," is but seldom found even in works of smaller size; the present exceptional example is perhaps the finest that has descended to our days. It is by no means improbable that the study of antique gems of this character may have contributed to form the style of sculpture in low relief, on marble and other material, adopted by Donatello and other contemporary Italian sculptors of the fifteenth century. Mr. King does not appear to have noticed this gem in his cursory examination of the Royal Collection, as described by his paper in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 309. It did not however escape Mr. Robinson's eye, who refers to it in the catalogue of the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington in 1862 (page 560) as being "perhaps a portrait of one of the Scipios;" in which observation I am inclined to agree. The idea that it may represent Cicero is much more doubtful, neither does it resemble Metellus or Marcellus. The features differ considerably from those of the bust of Cicero, the nose of which is more aquiline and pointed, while the chin is less forward; on that, the treatment of the hair, in short locks, is entirely different; the wart, if it existed, was upon the left cheek and therefore not shown upon the gem. Neither does it correspond with the head of Cicero upon the coins of Magnesia and Lydia, the works of Greek artists.

On the other hand it has considerable affinity to the head of Scipio on the well-known bust in the Capitoline Museum. The closely-cropped hair denotes the warrior, and we learn from Pliny and Gellius that in Scipio's time to shave the beard and hair was fashionable among men of forty and upwards. The scar upon the left forehead could not be shown upon the gem, and it may be objected that, if intended to portray the elder Scipio, so characteristic a mark would not have been neglected by the artist, who might have chosen the other side of his subject; but we know that the head of Scipio (greatly resembling this gem) is similarly placed in the wall-painting representing the marriage of Sophonisba and Massinissa, or rather the surrender of the former to Scipio and her death by poison, found at Pompeii, and which is figured in the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. i. pl. 34, and in the *Iconographie Grecque*, pl. 56.

To assume, however, that this fine intaglio (which cannot be favourably rendered by photography) is a contemporary portrait either of Scipio Africanus the elder, or of the younger, might perhaps be too hasty a conclusion; but that it may represent some member of that family is presumable, from the similarity in general character of the features to the only portraits with which we are acquainted.

180. Cameo, on a fine oriental onyx of three strata, clear white, opaque white, and brown. Height 2 inches 5 lines; width 1 inch 11 lines.

Fragment of a head of Jupiter, looking to the right of the spectator. (Plate II.)

A magnificent work of the Augustan age: the beard admirably treated; the wing of the *ægis* is in the brown stratum, the feathers minutely executed. One of the few choice gems from Consul Smith's Collection, and figured in the *Dactylitheca Smithiana*, pl. 1. When perfect this fine cameo must have been $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide.

32. Cameo, oblong oval, onyx of two strata, white on brown. Height 7 lines; width 9 lines. Psyche, or more probably a bacchante, lying, with a vase under her right arm and partly covered by an animal's skin; the left arm is raised, the hand behind her head; the hair falling loosely.

Very fine antique work on a beautiful stone. It is set in a ring.

242. Cameo, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $5\frac{7}{8}$ wide, of upright oval form, cut upon a rich oriental sardonyx of four or perhaps five strata. (Plate I.)

An imperial male head and bust in profile, facing to the left of the spectator, laurel wreathed and armed with a cuirass fronted by the *ægis*, a sword with eagle-headed hilt at his left side, and the shaft of a spear or sceptre passing over the right shoulder. The rivets with which the cuirass is fastened on either side are concealed by thunderbolts, and the leather straps, issuing from beneath, hang over the arms. Below the *ægis* is a belt or sash, tied round the waist. The grounding is of the dark brown stratum, the head and hair worked in the white, as is also the lance; the wreath in that of honey-brown colour, some of the leaves showing patches of another white stratum. The front of the cuirass is also brown, as are the highly finished feathers which surround the white Gorgon's head: the execution of these is almost equal in careful elaboration to those upon the Jupiter (No. 180); the thunderbolts are white. A raised border cut in the white stratum and capped with brown encircles the portrait, sloping on the inner and enriched with egg-and-dart moulding on the outer side. The portrait conveys the idea of a person more youthful than the original may have been at the period of its execution, the face being well filled out and devoid of lines; its expression sensual, and wanting in mental or physical activity.

The workmanship of this noble cameo is of a very high order, exhibiting a largeness and breadth of style, combined with the highest finish and accuracy in the most minute details. In these qualities it perhaps rivals the well-known Strozzi-Blacas cameo of Augustus now in the British Museum.



182.

SCULPTURE

288. Cameo, in a hexagonal eye of three strata, clear white, ring-shaped, and convex. Height 1.2 lines, 1 line, width 1 inch 11 lines.

The subject of a head of Augustus, facing to the right of the spectator, with the hair arranged in the Augustan age; the beard somewhat pointed, the wings of the eagle to the large stream, the feathers neatly arranged. One of the best pieces from General Smith's Collection, and found in the *Antiquarian Magazine*, p. 1. When perfect this gem would have been 1/2 inch high by 1/4 wide.

289. Cameo, oblong oval, opyx of two strata, white on the top, and brown with 2 lines. Deities, or more probably a bacchante, lying, with her right arm and partly covered by an animal's skin, the left arm raised, the head behind her head; the hair falling loosely.

Very fine antique work on a beautiful stone. It is set in a ring.

290. Cameo, 7 1/2 inches high by 5 1/2 wide, of upright oval form, set upon a rich oriental carnelian of four or perhaps five strata. (Plate L.)

An imperial male head and bust in profile, facing to the left of the spectator, laurel wreathed and armed with a cuirass fronted by the apex, a sword with eagle-headed hilt at his left side, and the shaft of a spear or scepter passing over the right shoulder. The rivets with which the cuirass is fastened on either side are concealed by thunderbolts, and the leather straps, issuing from beneath, hang over the arms. Below the *agis* is a belt or sash, tied round the waist. The grounding is of the dark brown stratum, the head and hair worked in the white, as is also the lance; the wreath in that of honey-brown colour, some of the leaves showing patches of another white stratum. The front of the cuirass is also brown, as are the highly finished feathers which surround the white George's head: the execution of these is almost equal in careful elaboration to those upon the Jupiter (No. 189); the thunderbolts are white. A raised border cut in the white stratum and capped with brown encircles the portrait, sloping on the inner and enriched with egg-and-dart moulding on the outer side. The portrait conveys the idea of a person more youthful than the original may have been at the period of its execution, the face being well filled out and devoid of lines; its expression sensual, and wanting in mental or physical activity.

The workmanship of this noble cameo is of a very high order, exhibiting a largeness and breadth of style, combined with the highest finish and accuracy in the most minute details. In these qualities it perhaps rivals the well-known Strozzi-Blacas cameo of Augustus now in the British Museum.



242.

SAWYER'S GULLOTYPE.



That it is a portrait of the Emperor Claudius, and that the execution is contemporary, I have no doubt, notwithstanding that a different judgment has been pronounced and repeated by so learned an authority as the Rev. Mr. King, but under circumstances which probably rendered its close and careful examination by him somewhat difficult.

Compared with the portraits of that emperor in the Vienna and other cameos, &c., figured by Visconti in the *Iconographie Romaine*, vol. ii. pl. 29, and elsewhere, the features would appear to be of an earlier period of life, indeed we can hardly imagine Claudius to have had so youthful an aspect when he had imperial "honours thrust upon him" at the age of 51. But the same allowance must be made for artistic flattery, and we know the effeminate and voluptuous nature of his life and pusillanimous character, which would tend to mollify rather than harden features not otherwise wanting in regularity and beauty. Moreover we may gather from the description by Suetonius,^a that he was moderately stout, having a thick neck, his complexion and his hair pallid or colourless; but that he was not wanting in some dignity of bearing when standing or seated. These characteristics are admirably rendered in this cameo.

Mr. King in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 312, states it to be "an easily recognised portrait of Constantius II."^b He notices that the *ægis* is covered with eagle's feathers in lieu of scales, and the delicate execution of the Gorgon's head; but he writes, "the face is without much character, and may belong to any of the sons of Constantine;" and, "here, as in all works of the far-advanced decline, the artist has expended his chief pains upon the accessories," &c.

In venturing to differ from so erudite a writer on antique gems, I would suggest that some of his remarks would seem to be contradictory in themselves; no such important work of the "lower imperial period," with which I am acquainted, exhibits, as this does, that large character and breadth of treatment combined with so careful a finish and highly artistic management of the hair and other details, among which the Medusa's head is, as Mr. King writes, "in itself a perfect gem for delicate execution." If so, it can hardly be "of the far advanced decline," such as the well-known and comparatively barbarous works of the period of the sons of Constantine, nor this grand cameo "an easily recognised portrait of Constantius II." Mr. Robinson, on the other hand, remarks, "The admirable style of art displayed in the noble cameo renders it one of the most important works of the kind now extant;" an opinion in which I fully agree.

^a Suet. cap. xxx.

^b An opinion repeated by Mr. King in the second edition of his *Antique Gems and Rings*, 1872.

Being therefore accepted upon its own evidence as without doubt a work of the first century, we need not look for the original among Constantine's sons, but rather to the members of the family of Augustus, whose features it, in a weak degree, recalls. A glance over their portraits fixes attention only to that of the grand nephew to Augustus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of the elder Drusus by Antonia, and brother of Germanicus.

Compared with the heads upon the coins of Claudius, there is a similarity, but with some difference, the nose being more aquiline upon the gem; but we must bear in mind that upon the coins of that period the heads were more or less idealized, and modelled after a Greek type of the features of Augustus, a habit which prevailed to a greater or less extent even to the time of Vitellius. The cameo, however, greatly resembles the laureated head upon the medal figured by Mongez in the *Iconog. Rom.* pl. xxvii. No. 5, around which is the legend *Tiberius CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVGVstus Pontifex Maximus TRibunitia Potestate IMPerator.*

The bronze bust in the Louvre, figured on the same plate in that work, differs from the cameo in the more pointed extremity of the nose; the unfortunate fracture of the latter has slightly chipped that feature, enough perhaps to have rendered this difference more apparent. The bust is that of an older man. The cameo occupies an intermediate place in point of resemblance between this bronze and the colossal head of the deified Claudius in Spain, and figured in the same plate; both differ from and both resemble it. The statue in the Lateran is also of his more advanced period in life, but not without considerable resemblance to the head upon the cameo. There is also a bust of Claudius in the British Museum.

We next turn to the cameos which are figured on plate 29 of the work of Mongez. The first of these is believed to represent Claudius and Messalina, with their two children Octavia and Britannicus, drawn in a triumphal car by two centaurs, and believed by the Chevalier Mongez to figure the triumph of Claudius over the Britons. It is a work of inferior merit, perhaps of local origin, but ascribed to a period shortly after the event represented. In this the features of Claudius more nearly approach in character to those of Augustus. We can gather but little from the portion of a second cameo figured on the same plate, the heads being all in full face; but on the third there delineated, the well-known gem in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, we have on its right side the profile bust of Claudius (about which most antiquaries are agreed) accompanied by Messalina or Agrippina, and facing those of two younger persons, variously described as Britannicus and Octavia, or Germanicus and the elder Agrippina, and by Eckhel as the elder

Drusus and Antonia. In this cameo the head of Claudius faces to the right of the spectator, and is crowned with a chaplet of oak; the features are less plump; lines upon the cheek and around the mouth denote a more advanced age than on the Queen's gem. The general character of the face is however very similar, and the style of the hair round the back of the neck, &c. quite agrees.

Other gems of less importance, believed to represent Claudius, exist in cabinets. Three are in the Marlborough (Arundel) Collection. Perhaps the most important of these is that numbered 422; on a fine sardonyx the bust of Claudius, oak-wreathed and wearing the *agis*, looking to the left of the spectator. This portrait bears a strong affinity to that on the Queen's gem, but represents the Emperor at a later period of his life, in this respect approaching more nearly to the cameo at Vienna. A photograph of it may be seen on pl. xiv. of Mr. Soden Smith's catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Jewellery in 1872 at the South Kensington Museum.

Bearing more or less a general resemblance to each of these various portraits, we can come to no other conclusion than that this grand cameo must represent Claudius, either at the period when, associated with Caligula in the consulate (A.U. 793), he was nominated to the office of *sacerdos*, and may be here portrayed in the assumed quality of the Latin Jupiter; or shortly after the time when, thrust trembling into power by the pretorians, he became Emperor in the forty-first year of our era.

This cameo came into the Royal Collection in the time of King Charles I. but whence we know not. It is entered in Van der Doort's catalogue of that unfortunate monarch's collection as, "Imprimis, a large oval cracked and mended agate stone of four colours, one on the top of another, first brown and then white and brown again and then white; wherein is cut an emperor's head in a laurel, side-faced; kept in a leather case; which agate the King had when he was prince."

There is a note on the margin which further states, "This was cracked and broken in former time by the Lady Somerset, when her husband was Lord Chamberlain."^a Except for the effects of this unhappy accident, by which it was broken into eleven pieces, the work is in a perfectly genuine and original condition. A small piece is wanting from behind the neck, as are also the bows of the ribbon which secures the laurel chaplet, and some other less important fragments, together with a portion of the surrounding raised edge. It is now cemented together and framed in a gilt metal cording and edge.

^a Robert Earl of Somerset was Lord Chamberlain from 1613 to 1615.

279. Intaglio on a circular and convex oriental onyx of brown and white strata. Total diameter 11 lines. One of the Dioscuri; the star on the head, a spear in the left hand, the horse at his side. Good antique work, in the original gold mounting as a circular pendant, with loop for suspension to a neck-chain; it is backed with gold, and has a beaded edging.

This is another interesting instance of the use to which some of the larger antique intaglios were applied by the Roman jewellers.

30. Cameo; oval; onyx of four strata, red, white, red, and white. Height 7 lines; width $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines. A warrior kneeling, with lance over the right shoulder; the Gorgon on his shield; probably antique work of the latter end of the third century.

16. Cameo; upright oval; sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, greyish white, and rich brown; a fine stone. Height $17\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $14\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Female portrait in low relief to the left; probably antique Roman work of the third century, and perhaps the portrait of a queen.

It is mounted in enamelled gold-work of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century; a white corded framing with ring above for suspension and another below for a pendant drop, attached to the framing by shoulder-plates enamelled with colour.

This mounting is precisely similar to that on No. 131 of this list, and on two cameos in the Marlborough Collection, Nos. 571-8. (Maskelyne Cat.)

24. Cameo; circular; onyx of two strata, white and brown. Diameter 14 lines. (Plate III.)

A naked female seated, towards whom a small figure of a faun or satyr approaches holding a wreath in the left hand, surrounded by a raised border reserved in the stone, probably antique Roman work of the third century A.D. The setting may be English and of the seventeenth century. It consists of a gold border of embossed work enamelled with flowers; the back is decorated with double hearts surrounded by a wreath of laurel, and an unintelligible inscription: the whole forming a pretty ornament.

224. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata, white on grey. Height 7 lines; width 9 lines.

A man and a boy gathering fruit (grapes?). Mr. King, referring to this gem, considers that the subject represents Bacchus and Ampelus. (Plate II.) Late Roman work in enamelled setting of the seventeenth century, with vine-leaves at the back.

2. Cameo; upright; oval onyx of three strata, dark brown, opaque white, and honey brown. Height 1 inch; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Head of Isis looking to the

left of the spectator. Of antique Roman art, but somewhat coarse in the execution.

15. Cameo; upright oval; sardonyx of two strata set in a ring. Height 10 lines; width 7 lines. Female bust to the left, holding ears of corn on a branch. Antique Roman, of good style, but rather coarsely executed.

234. Cameo; oval; sardonyx of two strata, white on brown. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Portrait head, to the left, laureated; perhaps of Commodus. Coarse late Roman work, not improbably colonial, in enamelled setting of the seventeenth century.

250. Cameo; oval, on *onice zaffarina* of two strata, white on blue. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 10 lines. A lion couchant to the right. A work of the later Roman period set in a ring. Mr. King refers to this gem as antique.

240. Cameo; onyx of three strata, red, white, and red. Length 9 lines; height $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines. A man in a *biga* driving to the right of the spectator.

A very spirited work, which, although not without a suspicion of Odelli, may be of the later Roman Imperial period.

34. Cameo; oblong oval; on a fine sardonyx of three strata, black, blue, and brown. Height 17 lines; width 2 inches. (Plate II.)

Two helmeted male heads facing each other, inclosed in a raised rim or border reserved in the blue stratum, in which the heads also are worked, the helmets being in the brown. The cutting is in low relief, probably colonial, of the third or may be early in the fourth century, on a magnificent *sardonico oniciato*. I agree with Mr. King in thinking it to be a work of the decadence; but whether portraits of some of the sons of Constantine is less certain. That on the left would seem to be the elder; on the helmet of the other a lion is represented in relief. At the back an *anubis-abraxas* is engraved in intaglio, surrounded by a Gnostic inscription; probably work of a later period, and very coarsely executed.

BYZANTINE, RENAISSANCE, AND MODERN WORKS.

43. Large pendent ornament (*piccia petto*) of enamelled gold, of the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is set with cameos of various periods, and is probably of Venetian workmanship. (Plate II.)

In the centre is an oblong square cameo, on onyx of two strata, white and grey in very high relief. Height 13 lines; width 20 lines.

The subject is Joseph receiving his brethren on their second visit to Egypt. It is a composition of many figures. Joseph is seated on a sort of throne; to the right before him, one kneels, holding the cup which had been found in his sack. Of the remainder, four stand surrounding; one holds the sack; the others are merely indicated by their heads seen behind the group.

The figures are cut in the white stratum of the stone, leaving the ground of a grey colour. The artistic workmanship is of a very peculiar character, having an antique sentiment, but of the late decline. It is much undercut, and is probably Byzantine of the sixth or seventh century, and, if so, a most rare and interesting example of the sculptor's art of that period.

Surrounding the central and more important stone, the enamelled gold framing is further enriched with several smaller cameos in *pietra dura*, for the most part of Venetian workmanship and of the period of the ornament. They represent negroes' heads, in some cases relieved on the white ground; three are arranged above the centre, and are surmounted by one immediately beneath the ring for suspension. Three other cameos are similarly placed on the lower side; of these the central one is of oblong oval form and probably antique workmanship, representing a Pan regarding a recumbent Venus, cut in the black stratum, whom a Cupid reveals; it is of good art, and on an onyx of three strata: on the left of this (as seen by the spectator) is a helmeted male head to the left, and on the right an imperial head to the right, while another negro is suspended from beneath. On the left side of the central piece another cameo is set, a negro—black on grey—from which again another is suspended as a drop; and on the right, to correspond, is an imperial head to the left, which may be an antique retouched, and from which another drop is hanging, set with a negro's head, as on the other side. The back is enamelled in the centre with foliated sprays in black upon the gold, while on either side a dragon is emerging from a cornucopia; strap-work and other ornaments cover the remainder of the framing.

This noble jewel, remarkable in itself from its unusual size, being $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, is still more so from the rare cameo which forms its central enrichment.

210. Cameo; oriental onyx of two strata, black and white; St. George and the Dragon, riding to the right, with his name in Greek letters. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $7\frac{1}{4}$ lines. (Plate II.)

Byzantine work of the tenth or eleventh century.

241. Cameo; on a ruby of pale colour and clear lustre. About 8 lines high by 6 lines wide. Portrait of Louis XII of France, crowned, head to the right.



The subject is Joseph receiving his brethren on their second visit to Egypt. It is a composition of many figures. Joseph is seated on a throne; to the right before him, one kneels, holding the cup which had been found in his sack. Of the remainder, four stand surrounding; one holds the sack; the others are merely indicated by their heads seen behind the group.

The figures are cut in the white stratum of the stone, having the ground of a grey colour. The artistic workmanship is of a very peculiar character, having an antique sentiment, but of the late decline. It is much undercut, and is probably Byzantine of the sixth or seventh century, and, if so, a most rare and interesting example of the sculptor's art of that period.

Surrounding the central and inner imperial heads the enamelled gold framing is further enriched with several smaller figures or *chiffons durs*, for the most part of Venetian workmanship and of the style of the sixteenth century. They represent negroes' heads, in some cases attached to the ring, and some are arranged above the centre, and are arranged in pairs or quadruples between the ring for suspension. Three other figures are attached to the lower side; of these the central one is of old Egyptian style and of antique workmanship, representing a Pantheon or a similar figure, set in the black stratum, whom a figure encircles; it is of good work, and is set with three stones: on the left of the ring is set by the same figure a figure whose head is to the left, and on the right is a figure whose head is to the right, whose another negro is suspended from the ring. On the left side of the central figure another cameo is set, a negro—black or grey—whose head again encircles a suspended as a drop; and on the right, corresponding to an imperial head to the left, which may be an antique emperor, is set another drop in which another negro is working, set with a negro's head, as on the other side. The back is enriched in the centre with filigree sprays in which are set the same work on either side, a figure is emerging from a cornucopia; and small and other ornaments cover the openings of the framing.

The ring itself, remarkable in itself from its unusual size, being $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, is still more so from the rare cameos which form its central ornament.

210. Cameo, oval, edge of two stones, black and white; St. George and the Dragon, riding to the right, with his spear on which letters. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. (Plate 11.)

Byzantine work of the sixth or seventh century.

211. Cameo; on a ruby of pale colour and clear facets. About 8 lines high by 6 lines wide. Possess of Louis XII of France, crowned, head to the right.



229.



222.



210.



224.



218.



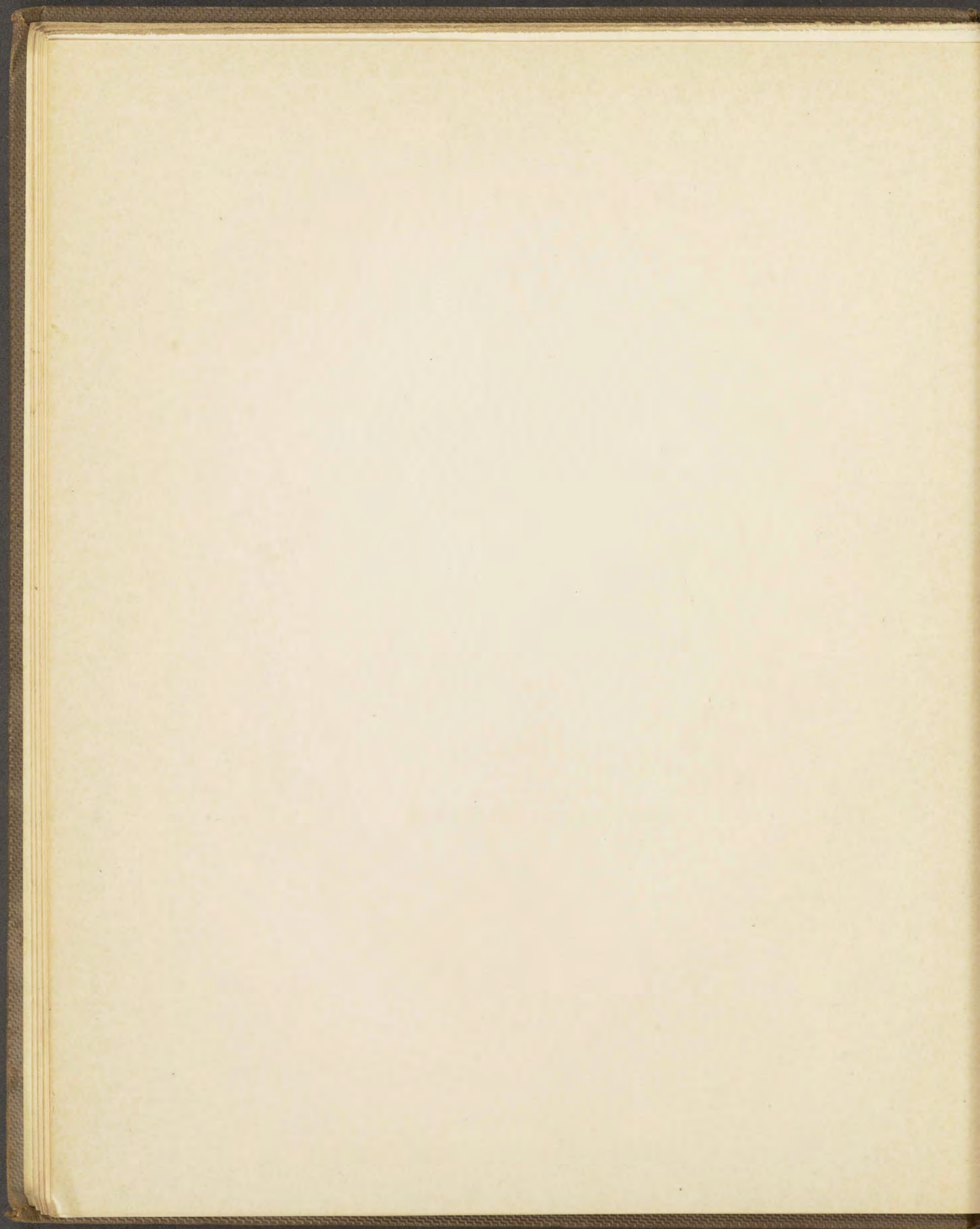
43.



180.



34.



This is a remarkable and rare work of the latter end of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century. Mr. King considers it may be the earliest known Renaissance portrait in cameo on so hard a stone, and with considerable probability ascribes it to Domenico dei Camei, who executed the portrait of Ludovico il Moro on the same material.

It is mounted in a modern setting of gold as a ring, enamelled with *fleurs-de-lis* on the shoulders; on the gold plate at the back of the bezel is engraven the inscription "*Loys XII^{me} Roy de France décéda 1 Janvier, 1515.*"



CAMEO. LOUIS XII.
Double size linear.

The gold casing or rim, with claws holding the stone, is old, and it would seem that a more ancient mounting, made however subsequently to a chip on the edge of the stone, had been injured or altered and in part grafted upon an enamelled setting, that is manifestly of modern workmanship and in very bad taste.

46. A fine Italian pendent ornament (*piccia petto*) of the best artistic period of the sixteenth century, and probably of Florentine workmanship. (Plate III.)

It consists of an enamelled gold framing to a central oval medallion. The original of this has been replaced by a male head in cameo, looking to the right of the beholder, on an onyx of two strata, clear and opaque brown; it is of more recent workmanship, the setting of which appears to be of the latter end of the eighteenth century or even later.

This cameo, in the mock classic style, without head covering, but with drapery fastened on the shoulder, bears no sort of resemblance to the well-known portrait of Francis I. as has been suggested.

The three pendent gems beneath are also, unfortunately, additions of the same period to replace others. That in the middle is a modern cameo of the Blessed Virgin, on turquoise, on each side of which is an inferior one of the eighteenth century, set round respectively with rubies and emeralds, and which have been the bezels or tables cut from finger-rings of that period.

It is desirable that these unsightly hangers should be removed, retaining, perhaps, the central medallion, as also the pendent pearls.

On the enamelled gold framing, at the sides, are figures of Cupid and Mars; another cupid or *amorino* is flying above the central medallion, and beneath is a sea-monster. Pendent pearls, table diamonds, and rubies enrich other parts, while at the back, occupying the whole of the centre, are enamelled figures in bold relief of Apollo and Daphne, having a *cartouche* inscribed DAPHNEM. PHEBUS. AMAT; on other labels are names of the figures on the front, CVPID. FEBVS. &c.

In respect to workmanship this is one of the finest ornamental jewels of the

best period of the *cinque-cento* (unfortunately not intact), and is an admirable example of the goldsmith's and enameller's skill and of artistic design at that period.

Mr. King refers to this pendant in his paper in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xviii. p. 309),^a and singularly enough concluded that the central cameo and those hanging from beneath are of the same period as the ornament itself. He considers the first to be "an excellent profile head of Francis I." of France, and strangely confirms that idea by describing the sea-monster beneath as a "salamander." He overlooked the fact that this cameo is in a recent "casing" or mounting, and is an addition of the last century, or even of more modern time, and that the creature is an imaginary marine and not an igneous monster. He also speaks of the pendent cameos beneath as "works of the same age" (as the ornament), "the best a veiled head of Ceres on a large and fine turquoise."

These errors in Mr. King's judgment could only have arisen from the disadvantageous circumstances under which he must have examined the jewel.

Its total length is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, width about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

74. A "George." The group of St. George and the Dragon riding to the right is in *ronde bosse*, and formed of finely chased and enamelled gold in a circular surrounding; the figure of the princess is seen kneeling in the background. On the back is green enamel. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. (Plate III.)

Probably German work of the early half of the sixteenth century.

It is now inclosed under glass in a gilt and enamelled box framing of the period of George IV., which is made to open, and is surrounded by the garter and motto in blue enamel.

131. Double cameo, on an oriental onyx of three strata, dark brown, blue, and rich golden brown; oval. Height of stone 2 inches. Width $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. On the dark stratum a negro's head, three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator. It is worked in a sort of *intaglio rilievo*, a surrounding rim being left of the same depth as the most prominent part of the head. The flesh is without, but the eyes are strongly marked by having a high, polish. He wears a cuirass, and ear-rings are in the ears.

On the other side is a female bust in profile, also looking to the right, carved in the blue layer on the darker ground; she wears a wreath of vine-leaves, which, together with the more prominent portion of the dress, is executed in the rich honey-brown stratum of the stone. There is something in the execution of this head that gives rise to the suspicion that it may have been an antique, injured and again worked over. It is mounted as a pendant in white enamelled and gold framing with loop attachments picked out in red, that above having a ring for

^a See also "Antique Gems and Rings," 2d ed. 1872, p. 323.



best period of the *cinquième siècle* (unfortunately not intact), and is an admirable example of the goldsmith's and enameller's skill and of artistic design at that period.

Mr. King refers to this pendant in his paper in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xiv, p. 200), and singularly enough concluded that the central cameo and those rising from beneath are of the same period as the ornament itself. He was the first to be "an excellent profile head of *Frédéric I.*" of France, and happily confirms that idea by describing the sea-monster beneath as a "salomon." He overlooked the fact that this cameo is in a recess "rising" or "sweeping," and is an addition of the last century, or even of more modern time, and that the creature is an imaginary marine and not an igneous monster. He also speaks of the pendent cameos beneath as "works of the same age" (as the ornament), "the best a veiled head of Ceres on a large and fine turquoise."

These errors in Mr. King's judgment could only have arisen from the disadvantageous circumstances under which he must have examined the jewel.

Its total length is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width about 3 inches.

74. A "George." The group of St. George and the Dragon rising to the right is in *ronde bosse*, and formed of finely chased and enamelled gold in a circular surrounding; the figure of the princess is now fading in the background. On the back is green enamel. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. (Plate III.)

Probably German work of the early half of the sixteenth century.

It is now inclosed under glass in a gilt and enamelled box framing of the period of George IV., which is made to open, and is surrounded by the garter and motto in blue enamel.

131. Double cameo, on an oriental onyx of three colors, red, brown, blue, and rich golden brown; oval. Height of stone 2 inches. Width $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. On the dark stratum a negro's head, three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator. It is worked in a sort of *intaglio rilevato*, a surrounding rim being left of the same depth as the most prominent part of the head. The flesh is without, but the eyes are strongly marked by having a high polish. He wears a cuirass, and ear-rings are in the ears.

On the other side is a female bust in profile, also looking to the right, carved in the blue layer on the darker ground; she wears a wreath of vine-leaves, which, together with the more prominent portion of the dress, is executed in the rich brown stratum of the stone. There is something in the execution of this bust that gives rise to the suspicion that it may have been an antique, injured and afterwards worked over. It is mounted as a pendant in white enamelled and gilt metal with loop attachments picked out in red, that above having a ring for

* See also "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. xv, p. 222.



24.



130.



134.



46.



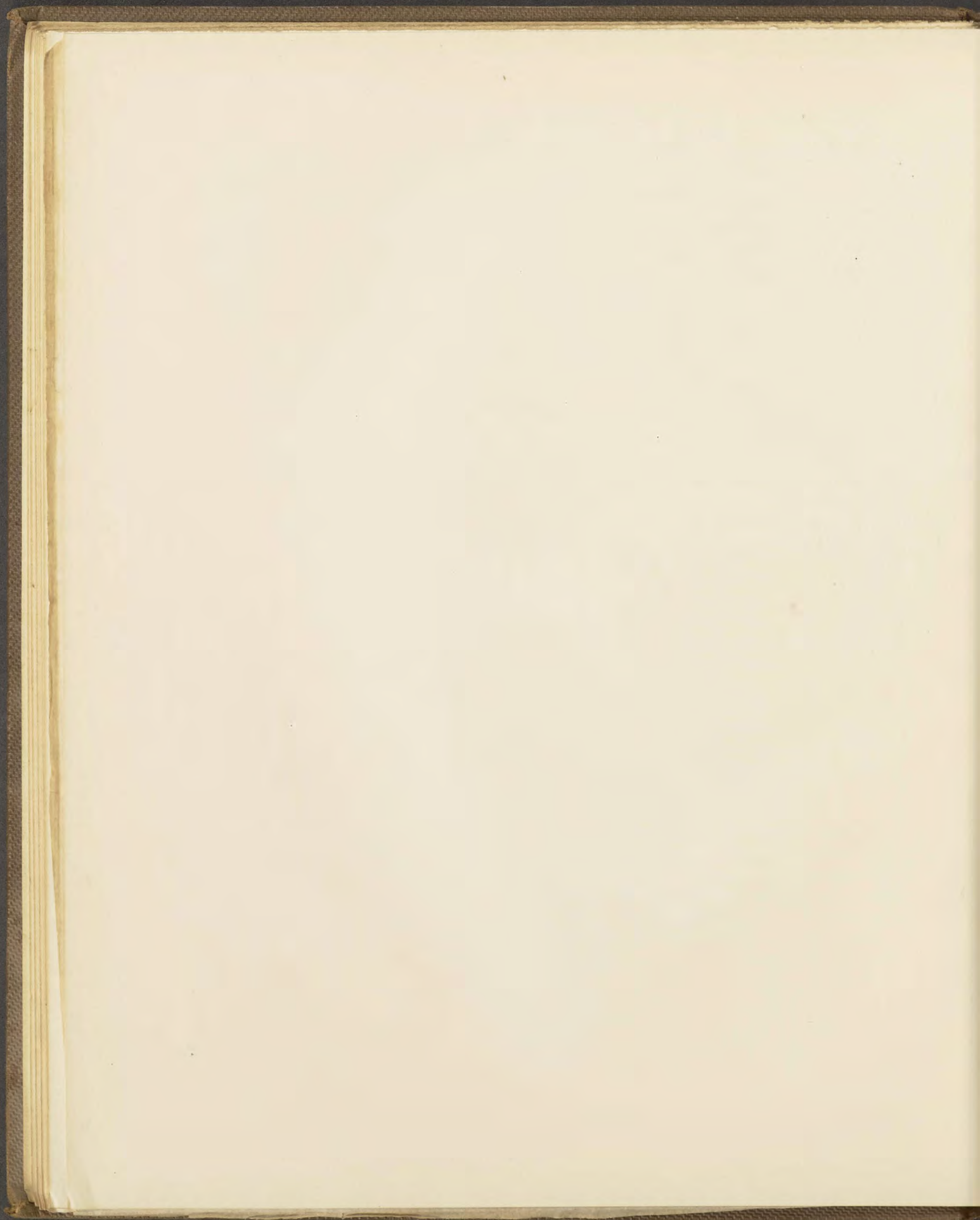
74.



73.



94.



suspension, the lower one probably for a hanging pearl, which has been removed. This mounting is precisely similar to that of No. 16 of this collection, and to that of Nos. 578 (Arundel) and 571 (Besborough) in the Marlborough Cabinet (Maskelyne Cat.), and in all probability of about the same period as the negro cameo which it surrounds. The gem is of admirable execution, and might with reasonable probability be ascribed to the same period, and perhaps to the same artist, as the fine portrait of Elizabeth.

73. Pendant, in enamelled gold; setting a *baroque* or monster pearl, which forms the body of a mermaid. She holds a mirror in the left hand and is dressing her hair with a comb held in the right. The tail is set with rubies on green enamel.

The figure is suspended by two chains to an ornamental flower with ring above. A mother-o'-pearl mask hanging over the figure and three pendent pearls below having diamond shoulders are modern additions. The former ought to be removed. (Plate III.)

This is a fine Italian jewel of the sixteenth century.

158. Ring of enamelled gold set with a cameo on garnet, a mask or bacchic head of fine contemporary work.

The enamelling and goldsmith's work are also of great excellence. A hole at the base of the hoop, with internal screw-worm, was probably fitted with a squirt by which liquids could be projected through another hole in the mouth of the mask. This might have been a toy used by bluff King Hal in his merry mood.

91. Cameo; oriental onyx of brown on a clear stratum. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. Head of the Saviour in full face.

A "Veronica" or "Volto Santo." Fine work of the sixteenth century.

94. Cameo; large oblong oval agate of three strata, brown, opaque white, and clear brown. Height 1 inch 4 lines; width $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Adoration of the Magi. (Plate III.)

A minutely executed work of high finish, of the earlier half or middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps the work of Matteo del Nazzaro; or possibly of Dominicus Romanus, who executed the cameo in the Florentine collection, representing the entrance into Siena of Cosimo I. The elaboration of the figures, which are deeply undercut, and the adaptation to the strata of the stone, are worthy of note.

265. Cameo; on a fine, nearly circular, sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, white, and golden brown. Height 1 inch $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines. (Plate IV.)

A portrait of Henry VIII. in cap and feather, within a raised border; three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator. He wears a slashed doublet. It is in the original simple gold setting as a pendant, and was probably cut by the same hand as No. 285.

285. Cameo; long oval. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width 3 inches 1 line. (Plate IV.) On a splendid oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, bluish white, and clear honey brown. Portraits of Henry VIII. and of his child Edward VI.; the former three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator and towards the young Edward, on whose left shoulder his right hand is placed; the latter, in full face, wears a baby's cap, holding a flower in his right hand. Henry is richly dressed in slashed doublet, cap, and feather; these, except the feather, which is in the white, are worked in the honey-brown stratum, as also the beard, the child's hair, and a ring upon Henry's first finger. The faces and hands are in the white, as also the slashes of the doublet. The grounding is on the dark stratum, and a raised surrounding border is reserved in the stone capped with the upper brown layer.

On the reverse is an unfinished intaglio following the outlines of the cameo, except that the child's cap is similar in form to that of the father, but without feather, and the boy's head looks older.

Mr. King suggests that the intaglio at the back may have been cut in order to give light through the stone, but it does not render the stone translucent, and it is remarkable that the child's cap should differ in form from that in the cameo. He refers to a similar example in the portrait of Edward VI., which is one among the Devonshire gems (in the necklace, No. 48), and suggests that these and other similar works may have been executed from portraits by Holbein, &c., sent to Italy, and there worked in cameo by "the Vincentino, or Nazaro, then in the height of his reputation" (*Archæological Journal*, xviii. p. 309).

There can be no doubt that it is by the same artist as No. 265.

251. Cameo; onyx of dark brown and blue-white strata; a portrait on nicolo of a man, three-quarter face, wearing a high conical hat with feather in front, turn-down collar, and a circular pendent jewel or medal. Height 8 lines; width 7 lines. (Plate IV.)

The execution of this portrait (which may be intended for Sydney or Essex), although differing from the singularly low-relief of those of Henry VIII., has much about it that would lead to the supposition that it may be a later work by the same hand.



281.



282.



283.



285.



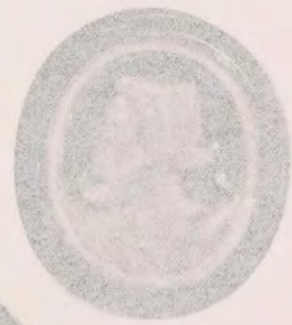
285.



287.



288.



284.



286.

A portrait of Henry VIII in deep red, with a gold border; three-quarter view, looking to the right of the spectator. The face is shaded darkish brown on the original simple gold surface of a gemstone, and probably cut by the same hand as No. 255.

254. Cameo; long oval. Height 2½ lines; width 1 line. (Plate IV.) On a splendid oriental sardonyx of three shades, from brown, bluish white, and clear honey brown. Portraits of Henry VIII and of his child Edward VI.; the former three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator and towards the young Edward, as whose left shoulder the latter hand is placed; the latter, in full face, wears a boy's cap, and holds a spear in his right hand. Henry is richly dressed in slashed doublet, hose, and tassets' hose, except the feather, which is in the white, and is visible in the last-mentioned tatum, as also the beard, the child's hair, and a deep red tippet. The faces and hands are in the white, as also the spaces of the doublet. The grounding is on the dark stratum, and a nearly corresponding white is worked in the stone capped with the upper brown layer.

On the reverse of the sardonyx is a faint relief of the outlines of the cameo, except that the child's cap is visible in white, that of the father, but without feathers and the tippet being in shadow.

Mr. King remarks that the reverse of the back may have been cut in order to give light to the cameo, which would render the stone translucent, and it is remarkable that the relief of the father differs in form from that in the cameo. He refers to the relief of the child as the portrait of Edward VI., which is one among the Elizabethan gems in the collection of the British Museum and suggests that these and other similar works may have been executed by portraits by Holbein, &c., sent to Italy, and there worked in stone by the Florentines, or Nazareo, then in the height of his reputation. (See *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, xviii, p. 300).

There can be no doubt that it is the work of the same artist as No. 265.

251. Cameo, oval. Height 8 lines; width 7 lines. (Plate IV.) A portrait on nicolo of a man, three-quarter view, looking to the right of the spectator, with feather in front, turn-down collar, and a deep red tippet. Height 8 lines; width 7 lines. (Plate IV.)

The execution of this portrait, which may be intended for Sydney or Essex), although differing from the Elizabethan work of those of Henry VIII., has much about it that seems to suggest that it may be a later work by the same hand.



251.



263.



205.



266.



287.



255.



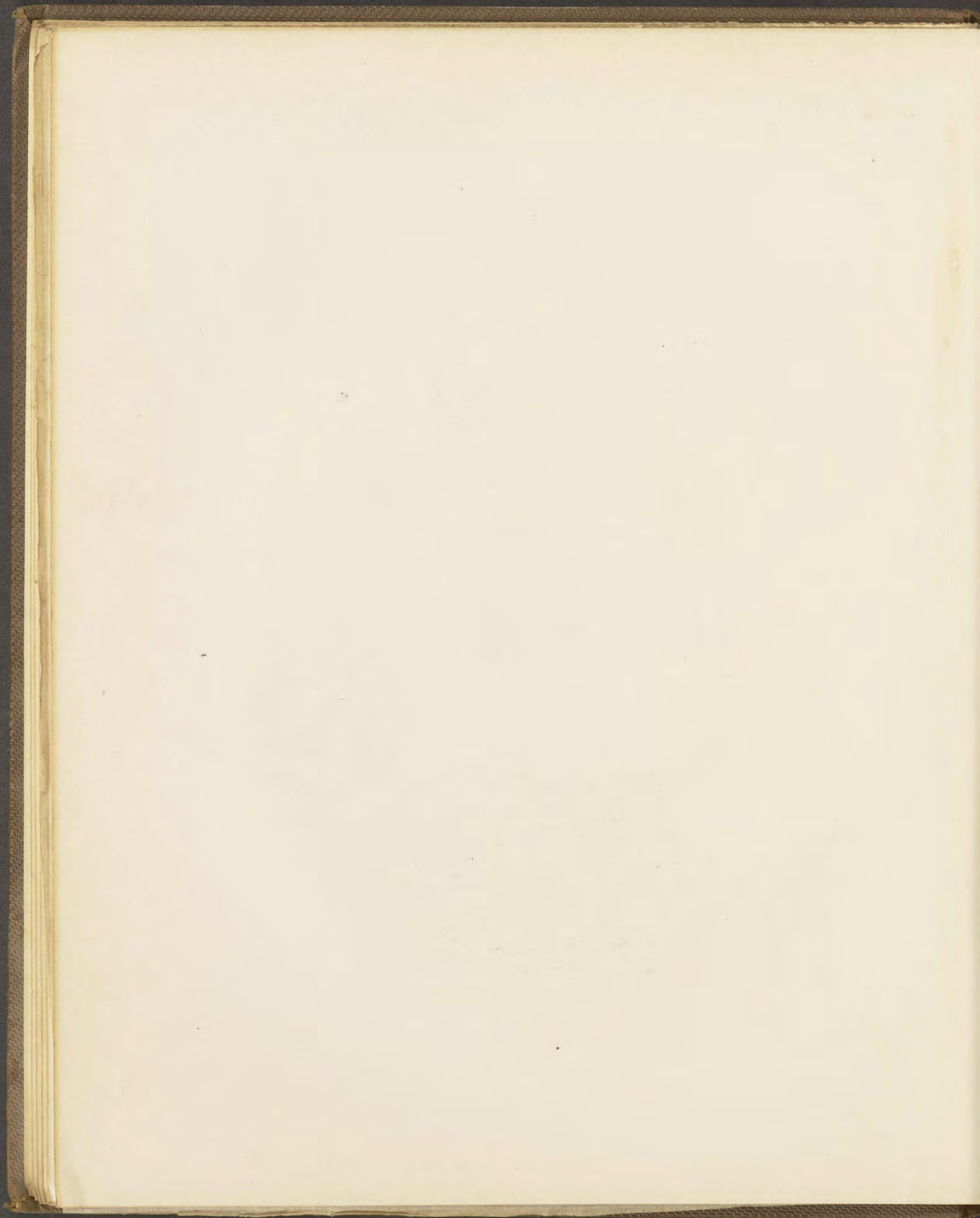
265.



284.



285.



255. Cameo, on a fine oval oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, white, and brown. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; width 1 inch $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines. (Plate IV.)

Portrait bust of Queen Elizabeth looking to the left of the spectator, surrounded by a raised border; the hair and part of the dress in the upper brown layer, the flesh in the white. It is mounted in a thin enamelled gold edging.

A fine work of the time of Elizabeth, and probably by the same hand as Nos. 263 and 284.

284. Cameo on oriental onyx of two strata, oval. Height 1 inch 7 lines; width 1 inch 5 lines. (Plate IV.)

Portrait of Queen Elizabeth(?), also looking to the left, in a raised border; the dress is diapered. An unfinished work.

The outline of the features and the expression of this head differ considerably from those of the other portrait cameos of Elizabeth, as far as one can judge from so unfinished a work. The question has indeed arisen as to whether this may not have been commenced as a portrait of Mary, and perhaps left incomplete by the artist, who, from circumstances political or religious, may have absented himself from the country, or lost court patronage. His work is lost sight of during that Queen's reign, to be again resumed under Elizabeth.

263. Cameo; oval, on a superb oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, grey, and honey brown. Height 2 inches $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 2 inches. (Plate IV.)

Bust portrait of Queen Elizabeth looking to the left of the beholder, within a raised border.

The ground is of the dark layer; the flesh, portion of the head-dress, the frill, and bodice, in the white; the hair, edge of the frill, ornaments, puffed sleeves, and stomacher, in the upper brown. It is mounted in a simple gold edging with claws.

This admirable work is in a large style, combined with most minute execution of the details, and is probably by the same hand as the two preceding cameos.

Unfortunately we are left without any positive information as to the name and country of this excellent artist, no signed specimen or sufficiently definite historical record being known to us.

A comparison of all the cameos represented on Plate IV. leads, as I think, to the following inference: First, that the portraits of Philip and Magarita are certainly not by the same hand as those of Henry or Elizabeth; if therefore the former (as is not improbable) are the work of Jacopo da Trezzo, the latter are certainly not by him.

There is considerable difference in the treatment of the portraits of Henry VIII.

and those of Elizabeth, enough to give rise to the suspicion of another hand, may be master and pupil—if so, the latter the more able; or the difference may, as I suspect, only arise from a modification and improvement in manner consequent upon longer practice of his art. We must, moreover, bear in mind that the earlier works are nearly in full face, those of Elizabeth in profile, which would permit of a more ready exhibition of a higher relief.

Walpole's idea that Valerio Belli (Vicentino) was their author is refuted by the difference of his manner, and the fact that he died in 1546, twelve years before Elizabeth's accession. The same reasons apply to Giovanni del Castel Bolognese. Mr. King suggests that the Henry VIII. may be by Luca Penni. Why not, with equal probability, Jacobus Thronus, who, Gori tells us, cut the arms of Mary of England upon a diamond about 1557? (*Hist. Dact.* p. 180.)

But Coldoré is supposed to have a stronger claim, although I fear he lived too late to have executed the portraits of Henry and Edward, assuming them to be contemporary. The latter was born in 1537, and is represented upon our cameo at somewhat under three years old; Coldoré's head of Henry IV. on ruby is dated 1590, half a century later; the sapphire in the Leturecq Collection (recently dispersed by public sale at Messrs. Sotheby's), engraved by him with portraits of Henry IV. and Marie di Médicis, face to face, is signed "Coldoré," and dated "1605;" and Mariette tells us that he worked for Louis XIII., who did not reign till 1610. Assuming, therefore, that Coldoré cut the gem of Henry and Edward when twenty years of age, he would have been ninety when Louis XIII. came to the throne of France.

It is believed that he was invited to England by Elizabeth, and Mariette ascribes to him, without doubt, the portrait of that Queen in the Orleans Collection. It is moreover possible that the portraits of Henry and his children may have been executed from designs taken at an earlier period, and that this, and the fact of his being a younger artist, may account for their differing in manner from those of Elizabeth, which he could have modelled from the life at a later date. We may however, as I believe, look nearer home for the engraver of the portraits of Henry VIII. and of Edward. At page 108 of the first volume of Mr. Wornum's edition of "*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England*" (Lond. 1849), we read: "John Mustyan, born at Enguien, is recorded as Henry's arras-maker; John de Mayne as his seal graver; and *Richard Atsyll as his graver of stones;*" while a note at the foot of the page tells us that "Hillyard (the same person, probably, of whom more hereafter) cut the images of Henry VIII. and his children on a sardonyx, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The

Earl of Exeter has such another. Lady Mary Wortley had the head of the same king on a little stone in a ring; cameo on one side, and intaglio on the other." A second note to Atsyll states, "with a fee of 20*l.* a-year."

There must however be some confusion here, for Nicholas Hilliard, the limner, the person "probably" referred to, was not born until the year 1547, in which year Henry VIII. died. Nor have we any record of engraved stones or cameos worked by that able miniature painter and goldsmith. I suspect therefore that this statement of Walpole's must have been in error, and that the real author of these portraits of Henry and of Edward was no other than Richard Atsyll, the King's graver of stones. Walpole's inaccuracy is further shown when writing of Valerio Vicentino, at pages 188-9 of the same volume, to whose hand he ascribes some of the portraits in cameo of Elizabeth; and where he states that "The Duke of Devonshire has several of his works, two profiles in cameo of Queen Elizabeth, another gem with the head of Edward VI., cameo on one side and intaglio on the other," a characteristic which at once points to the same artist as he who cut the Henry and Edward in Her Majesty's collection. I have already shown that *il Vicentino* could not have engraved the cameos of Elizabeth, having died twelve years before that Queen's accession.

Of Atsyll we hear further that he was continued in the royal service under Edward VI., for, among the accounts of the Royal Household in the Trevelyan Papers, published by the Camden Society in 1857, in vol. i. p. 195, we read, "Item to Richard Atzell, graver of stones, C^s," or five pounds, a quarter's salary; and similar payments are entered in December of the second year of Edward VI., and in March and Midsummer of the third year of Edward VI. (Vol. ii. pp. 18, 25, 31.)

From this time to the accession of Elizabeth a period of only eight years passes, but during which I have been unable to find any further note of Atsyll or Atzell, nor am I aware of any royal portraits attributable to the same hand.^a It is not unreasonable to suppose that during this interval, if still living, he may willingly or otherwise have retired from office under the Crown, and developed his artistic style into that shown in such perfection on the larger portrait of Elizabeth in the Royal Collection. May he not have taken refuge abroad from the persecutions and troubles of Mary's reign, improving his art under the guidance of some Italian or French engraver?

All these cameos represent Elizabeth when young and within a few years after

^a His name is not referred to among the new year's gifts offered to Philip and Mary in 1556.

her accession. Some fifteen or more are known; but an interesting entry, which would account for their being so numerous, is to be found in Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth* (i. 282), where, accompanying the description of her visit to Hunsdon House in 1571, is an engraving, copied from Vertue, showing the Queen in procession surrounded by her Knights of the Garter. Conspicuous among these, according to Vertue, are Dudley Earl of Leicester, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Burghley, Charles Howard, Admiral (afterwards Lord) Nottingham, Lord Clinton, Lord Russell, and Lord Sussex—seven in all then present—"each of them having a ribband about his neck with a small gem or intaglio^a appended to it; thereon a profile of her Majesty's countenance; which additional ornament, it is conjectured, was designed to represent these noblemen to be the Queen's favourites." It is probably one of such that is noticeable on the cameo portrait No. 251.

In an interesting paper by Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., published in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 131, it is shown that the painting referred to as representing Queen Elizabeth's visit to Hunsdon House in 1571, according to the statement of Vertue, is wrongly so described; the occasion depicted being her Majesty's procession to Blackfriars, to celebrate the marriage of Anne daughter of John Lord Russell with Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, on the 16th June, 1600. And further, that six of the noblemen represented as being Knights of the Garter, and who are also decorated with a medallion of the Queen, are Edward fourth Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom; the Lord High Admiral, Charles Earl of Nottingham; George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; Henry Brooke, sixth Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports; George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; and Thomas, first Lord Howard of Walden, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, Constable of the Tower; and not those named by Vertue, as above. The seventh Garter is not noticed by Mr. Scharf: he is seen in the picture behind, and between Nottingham and Cobham. I have not however been able to discover any entries of payments made to any "graver of stones," neither to Atsill nor Coldoré, nor to her jewellers, John Spilman nor Peter Trender, for any of these portrait gems, nor are they recorded among presents made by her Majesty.

Among gifts offered to her Majesty, may be noted in 1581, "By eight maskers in Christmas weeke;" "A flower of golde garnished with sparcks of diamonds, rubyes, and ophales, with an agate of her Majestis phisnamy, and a perle pendante, with devices painted in it."^b And in the list of the Queen's wardrobe in

^a I suspect this word has been somewhat inaccurately applied.

^b Nichols's *Progresses*, vol. ii. p. 389.

1600 we find, among objects received by Sir Thos. Gorges, Knight, of Mrs. Mary Radcliffe, "Item, one jewele of golde like a dasye, and small flowers aboute it, garnished with sparks of diamondes and rubies, with her Majesties picture graven within a garnet, and a sprigge of three branches, garnished with sparks of rubies, one perle in the topp, and a small pendaunte of sparks of diamondes."^a

This fine series of royal cameos in Her Majesty's cabinet is unrivalled, the four gems of like character in the Devonshire *parure* being relatively of minor importance; two of these portray Elizabeth, another the young Edward, already referred to, and the fourth a group of Henry VIII., with Mary, Edward, and Elizabeth. A similar quadruple cameo is, as I learn, in the possession of Captain Peel. The Hawkins collection contains one of Elizabeth; one belonged to Mr. Webb. The fine cameo of Elizabeth (ascribed by Gori to Coldoré) of the Orleans collection^b is now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, where, as I am informed, are also some other cameo portraits of that Queen. One is in the Royal Collection at the Hague;^c this, like all the rest, in showing the left side of the face, has the hair and head-dress, as also the ruff, in very high relief; and another, a three-quarter length figure, is in the South Kensington Museum. I am disposed to regard these two last as of later date than those in the Royal and Devonshire collections.

Three are in the Bibliothèque at Paris, thus described by Chabouillet:^d "No. 371. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx à 3 couches. H. 55 mill. L. 40 mill. Monture en or. Nous attribuons ce beau camée à Julien de Fontenay, dit Coldoré, graveur sur pierres fines et valet de chambre de Henri IV." He then repeats, and accepts as probable, Mariette's tradition, that Coldoré had been invited to England to take the Queen's portrait in cameo, he being then unrivalled in that art. "No. 372. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx 3 couches; monture en or émaille, ornée de rubis;" and "No. 373. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx à 3 couches."

Two are at Vienna, described by Arneth,^e p. 102, taf. ii. 22, and taf. v. One of these, which I well recollect as a magnificent work, he considers finer than that in the Bibliothèque at Paris, or the Orleans gem.

He also repeats the story that Coldoré was sent to England by Henri IV. to

^a Nichols's Progresses, vol. iii. p. 512.

^b Vol. ii. pl. 74, p. 139.

^c For a cast of this gem, and for other valuable information, I am indebted to our Director, Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S.

^d Cat. des Camées, &c. de la Bib. Imp. Paris.

^e Arneth, Joseph von, die Cinque Cento Cameen, &c. im K. K. Münz und Antiken Cabinet zu Wien.

take the Queen's portrait. The fatal ring given by Elizabeth to Essex, now belonging to Lord John Thynne, is set with a cameo of that Queen, not on onyx, but cut upon a garnet. Another portrait in cameo on turquoise is set in a pendant belonging to Miss Elizabeth Wild, in whose family it has been preserved since its gift by Elizabeth, as a christening present to its first owner.

Another portrait cameo of Queen Elizabeth, on an onyx of opaque white and brownish yellow, of similar general character, but rather coarse workmanship, was recently sold at Messrs. Christie and Manson's. It was mounted as a pendant in enamelled gold set with stones and of modern French workmanship. (May, 1874.)

205. Cameo on white and clear grey agate. Height 9 lines; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (Plate IV.)

Portrait bust of Philip II., looking to the left. A fine work of his time, perhaps by the same hand as No. 266, but not so highly elaborated.

266. Cameo; oval: oriental onyx of three layers; clear, opaque white, and brown. Height 1 inch $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. (Plate IV.)

Bust of Philip II. looking to the left of the spectator, in armour and with a mantle, which, falling from the shoulder, is worked in the brown stratum. The head is bare, the flesh in the white stratum, and polished. Van der Doort, in his catalogue, describes what is in all likelihood the same stone as having been given to Charles I. in 1637.^a

This is clearly by another hand than that which worked the portraits of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth. Mr. King ascribes it, and not without probability, to Jacopo da Trezzo, and as by the same as "the more important one, No. 200 Besborough gems." He also refers another cameo on yellow crystal (No. 366 Arundel) to that artist, a portrait of Philip, or of his son Don Carlos. In the South Kensington Museum is a fine cameo of Philip II. seemingly by the same hand. Another is in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna;^b and another in the Bibliothèque at Paris.^c There are three in the Florentine Collection.

287. Cameo; oval; white on grey onyx. Height 1 inch 5 lines; width 1 inch 1 line. (Plate IV.)

^a "Item: Another agate stone of King Philip of Spain, the head being white, the breast brownish, and the ground transparent like to a glass; delivered to me by the King." "Given to the King, 1637."

^b Arneth, *die Cinque Cento Cameen*, &c. taf. 1, 82, p. 60.

^c Chabouillet, *Cat.* p. 71. No. 370. Philippe II. Roi d'Espagne. Buste. Onyx à 2 couches. H. 36 mill.; L. 25.

Female portrait looking to the left of the beholder; a highly elaborated and beautiful work of the sixteenth century, ascribed by Gori to Giovanni Bernardi, "Jo: del Castro Bononiensis," and to be the portrait of Margarita of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V., the wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Governor of the Netherlands. She is young and beautiful; her hair in plaited bands crossing each other and intertwined with strings of pearls. She wears a dress with a high collar, turned back, and puffed sleeves; a frill is about her neck, and a double row of pearls over her dress, which is richly braided. This cameo is engraved in the *Dactyliothecca Smithiana*, under No. C., and may probably be the stone referred to by Vasari, in his notice of Giovanni di Castel Bolognese, stating that he executed this work in competition with Valerio Vicentino.

58. Cameo; oval; onyx of three strata, grey and brown. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; width 11 lines. Bust of Pallas to the right.

Good work of the sixteenth century; in enamelled setting of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

236. Cameo; onyx of two strata, clear grey and white. Height 1 inch $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch. Two portraits (?), that of a man on the white stratum, and of a negress on the grey.

Good work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, probably Venetian.

47. Cameo; oval; white opaque agate on a clear stratum. Height 7 lines; width $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Cupid, Amphitrite, and a dolphin.

Fine work of the later years of the sixteenth century.

41. Cameo; oval; portrait; female bust, to the right; the head in carnelian with drapery of amethyst. Total height 1 inch $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines. The crown jewelled and with black enamelling; the framing of gold, with black enamel; at the back strap-work ornamentation in coloured translucent enamel; sixteenth century.

45. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata, white and grey. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. The full face of a bacchic boy.

Fine work of the sixteenth century.

36. Cameo; agate of three strata, red, yellow, and brown. Height 14 lines; width 11 lines. The Virgin and Child, with St. Anna: mounted in an enamelled gold setting of the latter end of the sixteenth century, and forming a pretty ornament.

226. Double cameo; oriental onyx of three strata. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. A very fine stone.

On one side the head of Otho, to the right; on the other, in the white stratum, Vespasian, also to the right.

Good work of the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, in enamelled mounting.

231. Intaglio on oriental agate. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; width 1 inch. Head of Massinissa (?), to the left, wearing a helmet, which is ornamented with a *biga* and a hound. Behind the head is a figure of Venus. A copy from the Barberini gem, of Carthaginian Greek work, known as Massinissa, but which Mr. King suggests may represent Hamilcar Barcas.

Fine work, of the latter end of the sixteenth or earlier years of the seventeenth century, after the antique. It is mounted in a silver setting of the eighteenth century, enriched with emeralds, pearls, and rose diamonds.

288. Cameo; white and grey agate. A crowned male head to the right, probably a portrait, in a pretty enamelled gold setting of the same period as the cameo, viz., the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

199. Cameo; fine oriental onyx, brown and white. Height 13 lines; width $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines. An Imperial bust in armour, to the left.

Good work of the later sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century.

56. Cameo; opaque white and clear grey agate. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 13 lines. The triumph of Ariadne.

Fine work of the end of the sixteenth or earlier years of the seventeenth century, in a neat gold setting of the eighteenth.

169. Cameo, on white and grey agate; oval. Height 13 lines; width 11 lines. Head of Antoninus Pius, to the left.

Early and fine work of the seventeenth century.

222. Cameo, on a long oval white and grey agate. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 13 lines. Set in a ring. Neptune in a car drawn by sea-horses. (Plate II.)

Admirable highly-finished work of the seventeenth century, in the spirit and after the manner of Bernini.

235. Cameo; white and grey agate. Height half an inch; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Set in a ring. Jupiter on an eagle.

In the manner of, and perhaps by the same hand as, No. 222, after the school of Bernini, and of the seventeenth century. I cannot agree with Mr. King, who considers this to be an antique work.

96. Cameo; opaque white and clear agate. Head of a man crying or gaping; of irregular form, about 1 inch in average diameter.

A highly-finished work, probably of the earlier half of the seventeenth century.

This is one of Consul Smith's series, and figured in the *Dactyliotheca*, plate xiii., where it is stated to represent a Typhon, and similar to one on heliotrope in the Medici Cabinet.

148. Cameo, on a white and clear grey agate. Height 1 inch 2 lines; width $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Venus, Adonis, and Cupid.

A fine work of the seventeenth century in very high relief.

155. Cameo; agate; white stratum on black. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 6 lines. Female head, to the right. Set as a pendant.

Pretty work of the seventeenth century. From Consul Smith's Collection, figured on plate xix. It is described by him as a "Baccha."

26. A badge or order of the Knights of Malta (?), or more probably of Mount Carmel or St. Lazarus, formed of a plate of gold shaped and enamelled. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On the convex face is the Maltese cross in white enamel on a blue ground, with a border of flowers. On the reverse, which is concave, is a central sunk medallion of the Holy Family, surrounded by a border of flowers, in scale-shaped sunken panels edged with gold.

The painting is carefully executed, and may, perhaps, be Spanish work of the seventeenth century.

Two similar badges in the South Kensington Museum have for subject, on one St. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness; on the other, the Holy Family with Joseph and the infant St. John. They are by the same hand.

Another, belonging to the Countess Somers, has St. Peter and other saints.

And again another was in the possession of Signor Castellani, with the subject of St. Francis, with views of buildings, &c., at the back.

134. Pendent ornament of enamelled gold, enriched with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, and formed as a pelican "in her piety" in front of a cross set with diamonds. It is suspended by two chains from a jewelled top, to which the ring is attached. Total length about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width 1 inch 4 lines. (Plate III.)

Probably Spanish or Portuguese work of the seventeenth century.

98. The Seal of King Charles I. when Prince of Wales, cut on a crystal and set in pale blue enamelled gold, diapered with delicate black ornaments. The quarterings are those of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, with a label surmounted by the princely crown, with the letters C. R.

141. The Signet Ring of King Charles I. when Prince of Wales.

A large shield-shaped diamond of fine lustre, engraved in intaglio with the Prince of Wales's feathers between the letters C. P., and issuing from a coronet;



SIGNET.
Double size linear.

beneath is a ribbon which bears the motto *ICH . DIEN.* It is set as a ring in enamelled gold, painted behind the bezel with a bow and quiver crossed saltirewise on the dark blue ground. The hoop has a simple edging. (See woodcut)

This is an extremely elegant and remarkable ring. The engraving on the diamond is executed with great precision, and is deeply cut.

Following the accepted opinion, which was confirmed by Mr. King, I had assumed that this ring was the signet of Charles the Second when Prince of Wales. A little reflection and comparison of dates might, however, have raised some doubt, for when we recollect that the Prince was only nineteen at the date of his father's execution, and the troubled times and impoverished circumstances of the King for years before, it would hardly seem probable that so costly a gem would have been cut for the young Prince's use. That it was the signet used by Charles I. when Prince of Wales is proved by the fact that it seals an autograph letter of his in the possession of the late Mr. Labouchere of Paris. A cast from this was given by Dr. Kendrick of Warrington to the late Mr. Albert Way, and is now in the possession of Mr. Franks.

The art of engraving on the diamond has been ascribed to more than one of the *Renaissance* sculptors, Jacopo da Trezzo, or "Treccia," being, according to Gorlæus, the discoverer. Clemente Birago, of Milan, is another claimant; he engraved a portrait of Don Carlos, and the Spanish arms on a diamond, as a seal. The former is said to have cut the arms of Philip II. on the same hard material. In England,

about 1557, Jacobus Thronus is said by Gori to have engraved Queen Mary's arms. I should have, however, little hesitation in ascribing Prince Charles's ring to Francis Walwyn, who, in 1628 or 1629, engraved a diamond for King Charles I.*

132. The Signet Ring of King Charles I.

A richly ornamented gold hoop, on the shoulders of which are a lion and unicorn of carved steel chiselled in high relief. The bezel is faced with steel and engraved with the Royal arms; quartering, first and fourth, France and England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; encircled by the garter, and surmounted by the crown between the letters C. R.

On the gold sides of the bezel the motto *DIEV . ET . MON . DROIT .* is inserted in letters of steel. (See woodcuts).

An exquisite piece of metal-work, and of admirable



IMPRESSION OF SIGNET.
Double size linear.



SIGNET RING, CHARLES I.
Double size linear.

* Vide Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (edited by Wornum, 1849), vol. i. p. 286, note.

design, of the history of which we know nothing. Mr. King inclines to recognise in the engraving the manner of the celebrated Simon, afterwards medallist to the Protector; or, he thinks, it may have been the work of Vanderdoort, who was commanded, on 2nd April, 1625, to make patterns for His Majesty's coins. ("Gems and Rings," p. 406.)

138. An Indian Seal, the handle formed of calcedony, mounted in gold and set with rubies. The seal is an intaglio on glass, and represents a monster, with the sun, moon, &c. Said to have belonged to Tippoo Sahib.

229. Cameo; grey and opaque white agate. Height 11 lines; width 9 lines. Set in a gold ring. A portrait, which may possibly be that of Louis XIV., looking to the right of the spectator, in a raised border. Signed NATTER. (Plate II.)

The hair, long behind, is dressed in a peak over the forehead. Mr. King refers to this cameo as probably a portrait of William III.

71. Intaglio on a large oval cornelian. Height 2 inches 2 lines; width 1 inch 8 lines. St. George and the Dragon, to the left. Signed BERINI. F.

Mounted in gold with the garter and motto.

223. Cameo; cornelian. Height 1 inch; width $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch. A male *portrait* head to the right, with long hair.

A fine and probably English work of the early part of the eighteenth century

140. Intaglio on a fine brown sard. Set in a ring. Ariadne, from the antique statue in the Vatican.

A very fine work. Signed MARCHANT. F. ROMA.

181. Intaglio on a choice oriental onyx, cut through the brown to the white layer. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; width 1 inch $\frac{1}{2}$ line. Head of Bacchus. Set in a ring. Signed BVRCH. R.A.

A remarkably fine work.

102. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Head of Antinous (?), to the left. Signed PICLER. Set in a gold ring.

118. Cameo; oval; red and white agate. A lion *couchant*. Signed BVRCH. Set in a gold ring.

130. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata. Height 1 inch $1\frac{1}{2}$ line; width 1 inch. Three-quarter bust portrait of a lady, to the right, in a costume of the time of Louis XV. (Plate III.)

In an elegant mounting of silver, as a medallion, set with diamonds and rubies: workmanship of the eighteenth century. Probably the portrait of Clementina

Sobieski, wife of the first Pretender. It has, however, been suggested that this cameo may be a portrait of one of the daughters of George II.

200. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Set in a gold ring.

Portrait of King George III. when a young man; a work of that period.

202. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 6 lines. Set in a gold ring.

Portrait of King George III. in middle age; a work of that period, of able execution, and signed KIRK . F.





THE PLAIN OF TROY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1876.

II.—*On the Site of the Homeric Troy.* By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

Read June 24th, 1875.

THE traveller who sails from the Piraeus for the Hellespont sees, after having passed the western shore of Lesbos, the Cape Lectum, which forms the western extremity of the Ida range of mountains. This cape is the southern extremity of the land, which from Homeric times until now, and probably for many centuries before Homer, has borne the famous, the immortal, name of Troas. In sailing thence along its western shore, which extends almost in a straight line to the north, and ends in Cape Sigeum, the traveller distinguishes there, in the midst of a dense forest of oak-trees, the gigantic ruins of the once flourishing city of Alexandria-Troas, which, by its immense extent, seems to have had at least 500,000 inhabitants.^a

The traveller then passes on the left the beautiful island of Tenedos, behind which (Odys. iii. 159) the Greeks hid their ships after having erected the wooden horse. A little further on the traveller passes Bashika Bay, and sees on the high and steep shore, which forms a kind of spur of the Ida range, three conical hills, which are said to be heroic tombs, and of which the largest, called "Udjek-Tepe," is 83 feet high, and is visible at a great distance at sea. Afterwards the traveller sails around the aforesaid Cape Sigeum, which has a height of 300 feet. Here begins the famous Hellespont, which is formed by the Troad and the Thracian peninsula. The cape is crowned by the Christian village Ieni-sahir, which occupies the very site of the

^a In opposition to the common belief, I think that this city was not founded by Antigonus, but that it was only enlarged by him, for Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 47) expressly states "that its site was formerly called 'Sigia,' and that Antigonus, having colonised it with the inhabitants of Scepsis, Larissa, Colonae, Hamaxitus, and other cities, named it Antigonion-Troas." He further states (ibid. § 27), that this city was afterwards embellished by Lysimachus, who named it, in honour of Alexander the Great, "Alexandria-Troas." Julius Caesar was so much pleased with its site, that, according to Suetonius (Jul. Caes. 79), he intended to make it the capital of the Roman Empire. According to Zosimus (ii. 30) and Zonaras (xiii. 3), Constantine the Great had the same plan before he chose Byzantium. Under Hadrian, the celebrated orator Herodes Atticus was governor of this city. There are still preserved several parts of the gigantic aqueduct which he built, and to the cost of which his father Atticus contributed three millions of drachms of his own fortune. Alexandria-Troas is also mentioned in Holy Scripture as one of the cities which were visited by St. Paul. Its extensive Byzantine ruins leave no doubt that it has been inhabited till the end of the Middle Ages. It is now called "Eskistambul."

ancient town of Sigeum, the ruins of which are covered by a layer of rubbish $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. At the foot of the cape, on its north-east side, are two more conical heroic tombs, of which one is attributed to Patroklos, whilst the other, which is situated close to the shore, is identified with the tumulus of Achilles. The site certainly answers the description which Homer gives (*Odyss.* xxiv. 75) of this hero's sepulchre:—"In this (golden urn) lie (thy) white bones, O illustrious Achilles, mixed together with those of dead Patroklos, son of Menoetius; but separately those of Antilochus, whom thou hast honoured most of all other companions after the death of Patroklos. And around them, we, the sacred army of the warlike Argives, heaped up a large and blameless tomb, on the projecting shore of the wide Hellespont, so that it might be seen far off from the sea by those men who are now born, and by those who shall hereafter be born."

Here, at length, we are in the celebrated Plain of Troy, which is $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 miles broad, and is bounded on the north side by the Hellespont, and on all other sides by continuous heights, which gradually descend from the Ida mountains. On the east side the line of elevations is interrupted by another valley, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile broad. It joins the Great Plain, and is bordered to the north and east by hills, and to the south by an uninterrupted mountainous chain, of from 100 to 333 feet high, which extends far into the Great Plain and terminates in the famous mount Hissarlik. A second, but much smaller valley, extends at the extremity of the Great Plain to the east. The shore of the Plain of Troy is bounded as aforesaid, on the west by Cape Sigeum, on the east by the hills of Intepe or Rhoeteum. The plain is at first so low that there are in the beach large and deep tanks, whose waters are always at the same level, because what is lost by evaporation is supplied by infiltration from the sea. Thence the surface of the plain rises gradually, but its whole rise is only $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet in $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It is of exuberant fertility, but one half of it consists of marshes, most of which have certainly originated from neglected cultivation. There is however no doubt that there were already marshes here in the time of Homer, and that some of them were close to the city, for, according to the poet (*Odyss.* xiv. 472-475), Ulysses says to Eumaeus:—"but, when we reached the city and the lofty wall, we lay down, crouching under our arms, near the town, in the thick bushes, the reeds, and the marsh."

The Plain is traversed in all its length from south to north by the Scamander, the name of which can still be recognised in its modern form "Mendere." This river rises from a cold and a hot spring in a valley near the summit of Ida, and, after a course of thirty-six miles, it issues near the small town of Kum-kale into

the Hellespont. Its generally steep banks, which are often 20 feet deep, are for the most part planted with trees, as in the time of Homer, for the poet says (Il. xxi. 350-352): "The elms burned, and the willows and the tamarisks; the lotus was also burnt and the rushes and the cyprus, which grew in abundance along the beautiful streams of the river." Although the breadth of the Scamander is from 330 to 660 feet, it frequently overflows from the winter rains, and inundates a large part of the plain. The Homeric epithets of the river are, *ἐὺρρῶος* (fair-flowing), *δινήεις* (eddying), *μέγας* (great), *βαθυδίνης* (deep-eddying), *βαθύρρῶος* (deep-flowing), *ἀργυροδίνης* (silver-eddied), *ἠϊόεις* (with mountainous shores). According to Homer, the Greek camp occupied the whole shore between the Cape Sigeum and the Heights of Intepe or Rhoeteum, for the poet says in the Iliad (xiv. 31-36), "for they had drawn the first (ships) on the plain, and afterwards built a wall at their sterns; because, though the shore was broad, it could not contain all the ships, and the peoples were jammed together; they therefore drew (the ships) up in rows, and filled the wide mouth of the whole shore as much as the promontories inclosed." If the Scamander had already then had its present bed, it would have run right through the Greek camp, and Homer would not have omitted to mention this important fact. Thus there is no doubt that the river occupied at the time of the poet the broad bed of the little rivulet called Intepe-Asmak, which flows close to the heights of Intepe, and runs into the Hellespont near the conical tomb of Ajax. Three broad and dry river-beds, the traces of which are visible between the Intepe-Asmak and the Scamander, prove that the latter has changed its bed gradually in the course of many centuries. In following up the Intepe-Asmak as far as the village Kum-koï, we see that it is the continuation of the rivulet Kalifatli-Asmak, which has likewise an immense bed, and sends off, from this village, the larger portion of its waters in a north-west direction to the Hellespont. It is however easy to see that this river arm is not ancient, but of a comparatively recent formation. Thus in former times the Scamander flowed, as far as the village Kum-koï, in the bed of the Intepe-Asmak, and thence in that of the Kalifatli-Asmak, which is now only fed by the many springs at the southern extremity of the plain. The identity of the Kalifatli-Asmak with the ancient bed of the Scamander is further proved by the Simois, now called Dumbrek-Su, which still joins the former at a right angle, about a mile to the north of Hissarlik. The Simois rises at a distance of 15 miles in the lower range of the Ida mountains, and flows through the eastern plain, in which it forms very large and always impassable marshes. Its breadth is 66 to 100 feet. Homer confirms the junction of the two rivers, and the short distance of this

junction from Ilium, for he says (Il. v. 773-774) :—“ But when they reached Troy, and the two flowing rivers where Simois and Scamander join their streams.”

I have still to mention the river Kamar-Tsaï, which falls into the Scamander near the southern extremity of the plain, and which is justly identified with the Homeric Thymbrius. Lastly I have to record the rivulet called Bunarbashi-Su, which originates from forty springs at the southern end of the plain, at the foot of the heights of Bunarbashi. The greater part of its waters flows by an artificial channel into Bashika Bay, whilst the remainder forms enormous swamps. The many marshes of the Plain of Troy exhale pestilential miasmas, which infect the air and cause a great deal of fever. For this reason one sees in the plain only the three poor villages Halil-koï, Kalifatli, and Kum-koï, the latter of which is altogether uninhabitable in summer.

It has not yet been decided whether the Plain of Troy has once been a deep gulf and has been formed, in the course of ages, by the alluvia of the Scamander and the Simois. But it might easily be decided by sinking shafts; for below the alluvial soil, which must abound with freshwater snails and shells, must be found sea-cockles, sea-sand, and stones. However that may be, those who assume from the Iliad the existence of a deep gulf at the time of Homer do not, in my opinion, rightly interpret the verses (Il. ii. 92) ἡϊόνος προπάρουθε βαθείης ἐστιχώωντο, “ they marched in front of the deep shore;” and (Il. xiv. 35-36) καὶ πλῆσαν ἀπάσης ἡϊόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνέεργαθον ἄκραι, “ and filled the wide mouth of the whole shore, as much as the promontories inclosed,” for the poet merely intends to describe here the Hellespont’s low shore, encompassed as it is by the Cape Sigeum and the heights of Intepe. It has been asserted^a that the gradual elevation of the latter, as well as the high and steep banks of the rivulets Intepe-Asmak and Kalifatli-Asmak, near their mouths, in a swampy soil, make it impossible that a gulf should ever have existed there; and that, if the soil of the plain had been produced by the alluvium of the rivers and rivulets, their banks could not have a perpendicular height of 6 to 20 feet in places where the ground is marshy and loose; that, besides, the large and deep tanks on the shore of the plain make it impossible that the Plain of Troy can have been formed by alluvium. I think this theory is perfectly correct if applied to alluvia of comparatively recent formation, and that *e.g.* in the Plain of Ephesus, the nature of the soil permits neither deep tanks on the seashore, nor perpendicular banks 6 to 20 feet high in the rivers; but I believe that in the course of ages

^a Forchhammer, *Observations on the Topography of Troy*, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1842, xii. p. 34.

the alluvial soil may offer as tough resistance as any other soil. Thus I am ready to admit that even the whole Plain of Troy has once been a deep gulf, but I feel confident that the latter has been filled up by the alluvium of the rivers ages before sacred Ilium was built by the Trojans. I am also ready to admit, that, were it not for the current of the Hellespont, which runs at the rate of three miles an hour and carries away the alluvial matter of the rivers, the latter would long since completely have shut up the Hellespont, and joined Asia and Europe by a new isthmus.

The theory that a gulf has once existed in the Plain of Troy is confirmed by the tradition of all antiquity. In speaking of some rivers, which, similar to the Nile, have extended by their deposits the land into the sea, Herodotus (ii. 10) mentions, as a well-known fact, the alluvia "of the vicinity of Ilium." He makes, however, no allusion to the chronology of these alluvia. Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 36) gives us, for the former existence of a gulf in the plain, and its filling up after the war of Troy, the authority of Hestiaea of Alexandria-Troas and Demetrius of Scepsis, but he does not tell us on what proofs or testimony their assertions were based. I trust, however, I can prove that the filling up of the Trojan gulf must have been accomplished long before Homer; and that the Plain of Troy extended at the time of the poet just as far into the sea as it does now, for the small town of Kum-kalé is situated on the point of the plain which projects the furthest into the Hellespont, and on the site of an ancient city, which can be no other than Achilleum. This city was built, according to Herodotus (v. 94), by the Mitylenians. But, according to the same historian, it had been in the 43rd Olympiad (viz. in 607 B.C.) for a long time at war with Sigeum, and we may therefore with certainty presume that its foundation reaches back to the beginning of the eighth or the end of the ninth century B.C.

Since I am describing the topography of the Plain of Troy, I may add that the common translation of the Homeric words *θρωσμός πεδίοιο* by "hill in the plain" is, in my opinion, altogether wrong; firstly, because there is no separate elevation in the Plain of Troy, and secondly, because the sense of the three Homeric passages in which these words occur does not admit of such a translation. We read in the Iliad (x. 159-161), "Awake, O son of Tydeus, why dost thou indulge in sleep all night? Hearest thou not how the Trojans are encamped *ἐπὶ θρωσμῶ πεδίοιο*, near the ships, and that now but a small space keeps them off?" In Book xi. 56, on the other hand, we find "The Trojans drew up *ἐπὶ θρωσμῶ πεδίοιο*, around the great Hector and blameless Polydamas." In both these passages, *θρωσμός πεδίοιο* is spoken of as the site of the Trojan camp, on the right bank of the

Scamander, already referred to in the eighth Book (vss. 489-492), where we read as follows: "Illustrious Hector then made a council of the Trojans, having conducted them far from the ships on (the bank of) the eddying river, in a clear space, where the ground was free from dead bodies. But, alighting from the horses, they listened to the speech." In these verses no suggestion is made that the bank of the Scamander, the site of the Trojan camp, was higher than the plain. We find the words *θρωσμός πεδίοιο* a third time in the Iliad (xx. 1-3), "Thus, O son of Peleus, around thee were armed the Achaeans, insatiable in battle, beside their crooked ships, and the Trojans on the other hand *ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο*." Here also is indicated by these latter words the site of the Trojan camp, which had been previously described in Il. xviii. 256: "In the plain near the ships, for we are far away from the wall," showing that the site of the camp was in the level plain near the ships. I call your particular attention to the fact, that in these three cases the poet mentions the site of the Trojan camp in opposition to the site of the Greek camp, which latter was situated on the shore of the Hellespont. Consequently, the only possible translation of the *θρωσμός πεδίοιο* would be "the Upper Plain," which, as I have said, ascends a little, but has no elevations in the shape of hills.

I have still to speak of the conical hills of the Troad, which are called "heroic tombs." Several of them, doubtless, existed already in the time of Homer, for he mentions the sepulchres of Achilles, Myrina, Aesyetes, and Ilus. The two latter, which the poet describes as situated between Ilium and the Hellespont, and thus in the low Plain, have altogether disappeared. Consequently, according to Homer, those conical hillocks were tombs, and this opinion is confirmed by the tradition of all antiquity, for according to Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 32) the Ilians offered funeral sacrifices, not only on the tombs of Achilles, Patroklos, and Antilochus, but also on that of Ajax. According to Plutarch, Cicero, and Aelian, Alexander the Great sacrificed on the tumulus of Achilles. According to Philostratus (Heroica, i.) Hadrian restored the temple on the tumulus of Ajax, of which large ruins still remain. According to Dion Cassius, the Emperor Caracalla offered funeral sacrifices and games at the tomb of Achilles. According to Herodian (iv.) it appeared that Caracalla wished to have his Patroklos, in order to be able to imitate the funeral which Achilles made to his friend. The sudden death of his most faithful friend Festus, (who, Herodian insinuates, was poisoned, for he says "as some say, he was killed by poison," *ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθεὶς*), induced Caracalla to celebrate his funeral in a most magnificent manner, minutely imitating the funeral with which Achilles honoured his friend Patroklos, and of which

Homer gives both a splendid and a detailed account in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*. Afterwards Caracalla raised over the ashes of his friend a large conical tomb. Probably this is the tumulus called "Agius Demetrios Tepe," situated on the high shore of the Aegean Sea, two miles south of Sigeion. However, all we know as yet is that this one tumulus, which covers the ashes of Festus, served as a tomb, for in no one of the six tumuli which have until now been excavated has the tradition been confirmed by the criticism of the pickaxe. The tumulus near the village of Renkoï, which was excavated by Mr. Frederick Calvert, as well as the tumulus of Patroklos, which was excavated by his brother, contained no trace of either ashes, or charcoal, or bones. One of the three conical tumuli on the Balidagh, behind Bunarbashi, which was in modern times universally considered as the tomb of Hector, and which was in October 1872 excavated by the celebrated anthropologist Sir John Lubbock, likewise contained neither charcoal, nor ashes, nor bones, but there were found in it numerous fragments of painted Greek vases of the third century B.C. Thus it is utterly impossible that the chronology of this Hector's tomb should go further back than the third century B.C. In April 1873 Mrs. Schliemann excavated the conical tumulus now called "Pasha Tepe," whose site accurately answers the indications which Homer gives us (*Il. ii.* 811—815) of the site of the tomb of Batieia, who, according to Apollodorus, was the Queen of Dardanus. "There is a certain lofty tumulus before the city sideways of the plain, which may be run round; men indeed call it Batieia, but the immortals call it the tomb of the nimbly springing Myrena." From the summit of this tumulus Mrs. Schliemann sunk a quadrangular shaft, 15 feet long and 13½ feet broad, and reached at a depth of 14 feet the virgin rock, into which she penetrated more than 1 foot deep. She only found about fifty fragments of hand-made pre-historic vases and pots, but no trace of either ashes or charcoal. I have still to mention the researches which the French Ambassador at Constantinople, Choiseul Gouffier, caused to be made in 1788 by a Jew, in the tumuli attributed to Achilles and Ajax. In the latter were only found the ruins of the sanctuary, which had been restored by Hadrian, whereas in the former were brought to light comparatively modern painted Greek vases and a bronze figure of the Roman period, which objects had probably been hidden there by the Jew to obtain a large reward. Consequently the use of the artificial conical hills in the Troad—the so-called heroic tombs—remains still a mystery.

In the Plain of Troy, of which I have thus far endeavoured to describe the topography, must be sought the site of the Homeric Ilium.

In all antiquity, until the time of the Diadochi, it was considered as a certainty

that the Ilium of the Greek colony occupied the very site of the Homeric Ilium, and until the second century B. C. nobody ever doubted the identity of the two cities.

This Greek Ilium was situated on the high plateau of a mountainous chain which extends far into the Plain of Troy, and its acropolis was close by, on the famous mount Hissarlik, which forms the extremity of the mountain ridge to the north and west, and descends at an angle of fifty degrees to the plain. To this acropolis Xerxes ascended on his expedition to Greece (in 480 B.C.). Herodotus relates this event as follows (vii. c. 43) :— “The army having reached the Scamander, the first river they encountered since they left Sardis, its waters were run dry, and proved insufficient to satisfy the thirst of the men and animals. When Xerxes reached this river he ascended Priam’s Pergamus, for he had a desire to see it; and having seen it, and having inquired into its fate, he sacrificed to the Ilian Minerva a thousand oxen, and the magicians poured libations to the heroes. When they had done this, terror spread in the night in the army, and at day-break they departed, leaving to the left the cities Rhoeteum, Ophrynium, and Dardania, which borders on Abydos, and to the right the Teucrians of Gergis.”

This statement of Herodotus shows that there was at that time a city called Ilium, with an acropolis called Pergamus, which had a temple consecrated to Ilium’s patron deity Minerva; further, that the identity of this city with the Homeric Ilium, or Priam’s Pergamus, as Herodotus calls it, was universally acknowledged. According to Strabo (xiii. 1) Ilium and its sanctuary were built under the Lydian dominion, and thus about 700 years B.C. Already, before Herodotus, the identity of this Ilium with the Homeric Troy was acknowledged by Hellanikus of Lesbos. Besides,^a we find in the Iliad (xx. 215), “The cloud-gatherer Jove first begat Dardanus, who built Dardania, because sacred Ilium, the city of speaking men, had not yet been built in the plain, and they still dwelt on the lower ridges of Ida abounding in springs.” These verses, which Plato mentions in the third book of the Laws, are of great assistance to us in identifying the site of Troy. Homer asserts that Dardanus built Dardania on the lower ridges of Ida, when Ilium (whose founder, according to Apollodorus, was Ilus) had not yet been built in the plain. Plato says that “the first men, from fear of a second deluge, inhabited the summits of the mountains; when they began to take courage, they built their cities on the slopes; and to this period belongs the founding of Dardania. In the third period,” continues Plato, “(the Trojans) left the mountains and built Ilium in a large and

^a W. E. Gladstone, “Homer’s place in History” (*Contemporary Review*, 1874).

fine plain, on a hill of inconsiderable height, having near it many rivers which flow from the Ida mountains." The hill Hissarlik, in the Plain of Troy, answers exactly to the site which both Homer and Plato assign to Ilium. To these two great classics we may doubtless add Aristotle. Certainly, when Alexander the Great visited Hissarlik to see the remains of ancient Troy, and to sacrifice there to the Trojan Pallas-Athene, he perfectly agreed, not only with the tradition which identified the site of the two Iliums, but also with the opinion of the most learned Greek, Aristotle, who was both his friend and his teacher. Aristotle had studied Homer a great deal, and no doubt had discussed over and over again the site of Troy with Alexander the Great, who was a great admirer of Homer, and made, together with Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, a new edition of the Homeric poems, which was called *ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος*.^a

According to Livy, Antiochus the Great and Publius Scipio likewise sacrificed at Hissarlik. The identity of the two Iliums is also certified by Justin, Appian, Ovid, Suetonius, Pliny, Tacitus, and many other ancient authors.

By order of Alexander the Great, Lysimachus bestowed great care on the town, surrounded it by a wall 40 stadia long, and built a magnificent theatre.

The first who wrote against the identity of the two Iliums was Demetrius of Scepsis (180 B.C.). He maintained that the whole space of ground which separated Ilium from the sea was alluvial, and had been formed after the destruction of Troy; that consequently there was not room enough near Ilium for the great events of the Iliad. For this reason Demetrius advocated the identity of ancient Troy with the village *Ἰλιέων κόμη*, thirty stadia to the south of Ilium; he confessed however that no trace of the former was left. According to Strabo (xiii. 1) Demetrius pretended that after the destruction of Troy his native city Scepsis had become the capital of Aeneias, and it is evident that he was jealous of Ilium for this honour. Strabo adopted his theory, though he never visited the Plain of Troy. My excavations on the site of *Ἰλιέων κόμη* have, however, shown that the artificial accumulation is there next to nothing, and that consequently no town has ever existed on the site.

The problem of the real site of the Homeric Ilium slept during the Middle Ages, and passed unobserved in modern times, until in 1787 the Frenchmen Lechevalier and Choiseul Gouffier visited the Troad and recognised the site of ancient Ilium on the heights of Bunarbashi, at the southern extremity of the Plain of Troy, but they made there no excavations, and did not even sound the ground. They also identified the forty cold springs at the foot of those heights

^a F. Ravaisson de Mollien, in the *Révue Archéologique* of December, 1874.

with the two Homeric springs of cold and hot water, near which Hector was killed. This theory has been adopted by nearly all the archæologists who have visited Troy since that time, until in 1864 the late Consul G. von Hahn, the architect Ziller, and the astronomer Schmidt excavated, at the extremity of those heights, the site of a very small town surrounded by cyclopean walls, which archæologists had considered as the Pergamus of Ilium. But those excavations did not bring to light a single fragment of archaic pottery; they produced nothing but fragments of painted Greek vases of the second to the fifth century, and eighteen coins of the second and third century B.C. Thus it is evident that the cyclopean walls cannot be of an earlier date than the fifth century B.C., and that consequently the town cannot be the Homeric Pergamus. It should be remembered that there are three or four different ages in the history of cyclopean walls, and, whilst the walls of Tiryns belong to the very first age, those laid bare on the heights of Bunarbashi belong to the very last age. Several examples of this last age in Greece we can date with certainty as of the fourth or fifth century, and to this same age belong the remains now under discussion. Besides, the accumulation of rubbish is there most insignificant; in many places the levelled rock protrudes, and only at one spot the depth of the ruins reaches 6 feet. Finally, an inscription I found in 1873, and which is published in my "Troy and its Remains,"^a pp. 240-246, shows that this little town was Gergis. Just before it are the above-mentioned three conical tombs, one of which was excavated by Sir John Lubbock. Between the latter and the forty springs, at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, I have made researches in more than a thousand places, but nowhere have I found anything but the purest virgin soil; no trace of broken pottery or bricks; everywhere the pointed, or steep, and always unequal, natural rock, which had evidently never been touched by the hand of man. Thus it is evident that this whole space of ground has never been inhabited. Besides, Gergis, at the extremity of the heights, is at a distance of 10, the springs at the foot of Bunarbashi are at a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$, miles from the Hellespont, whilst the whole Iliad proves that the distance between Ilium and the Hellespont was very short, and could not possibly exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and this is precisely the distance between Hissarlik and the Hellespont.

After having obtained on the heights of Bunarbashi many negative proofs, I minutely examined the whole Plain of Troy, and became convinced that the site of

^a The references to this work belong, throughout, to Mr. John Murray's splendid English edition, translated by Miss Dora Schmitz, and edited by Dr. Philip Smith. London, 8vo. 1875. To Mr. John Murray's courtesy the Society is indebted for the map and woodcuts which illustrate this paper.

the Homeric Ilium could not possibly be anywhere else than on the Ilium of the Greek colony, and this in accordance with the common opinion in all antiquity. To my mind, Priam's Pergamus was hidden in the depths of Mount Hissarlik, which served as an acropolis to the later Ilium, and I therefore made there in April 1870 small excavations, the result of which was so encouraging, that, having obtained the necessary permission, I made there in 1871 larger excavations, which I continued for three years with 100 to 160 workmen. I found everywhere on the plateau of Hissarlik, just below the surface, the foundations and masses of ruins of Hellenic edifices, of which some are built of hewn chalk-stone joined with cement, and others of hewn stones joined without cement. In general, I found cement or chalk as a binding medium only used in the ruins to a depth of 3 feet below the surface, and the oldest archaic remains not deeper than 6 feet below the ground. But on the edge of the slope, where the natural soil has once been lower, I found the Hellenic ruins proportionately at a greater depth. The most important edifices which I found in this stratum of Hellenic ruins are the temples of Apollo and Minerva. The former is completely destroyed and not one stone of it is in its place; it was a fine building of the Doric order, as is shown by the remarkable Doric triglyph-block, which I discovered among its ruins. It has a metope, which represents in high relief Phœbus-Apollo with the quadriga of the sun, and is a masterpiece of the first time of the Diadochi. A cast of this I presented to the British Museum. We may therefore presume that the temple of Apollo was built by Lysimachus, about 300 years before Christ. Since not even one single stone of the foundations is in its place, I am at a loss to determine the dimensions of this temple.

Of the temple of Minerva are preserved all the foundations and portions of the walls, which consist partly of large hewn stones, and partly of small unhewn stones joined with cement. This makes me think that this temple was also built under Lysimachus, was destroyed by Fimbria in 85 B.C., and rebuilt by Sylla; it is 317 feet long by 73 broad. Among the many inscriptions which I discovered there, I mention only the most important, which is well preserved, and contains three letters of Antiochus I. (281-260 B.C.) to Meleager, the Satrap of the satrapy of the Hellespont, and one of Meleager to the Ilians. Altogether erroneous is the opinion of several German archæologists, that the oldest remains of this Greek Ilium do not reach further back than the time of Alexander the Great. Visitors will have no difficulty in extracting from my trenches at Hissarlik, at about 6 feet below the surface, thousands of archaic potsherds, to which no archæologist will

hesitate to attribute an age of 600 and 700 years B.C., and many of them must be still older; such as the fragment of a painted vase ("Troy," &c., p. 55), representing a winged figure with an immense nose and a Phrygian cap with a huge tail, which may be of the ninth or the tenth century B.C.

At an average depth of 6 to 7 feet, I gathered seventy brilliant red or black terra-cottas of various shapes with or without incised ornaments, also a large number of round terra-cottas in form of cakes, with two perforations near the rim and a beautiful stamp in the midst; three of the former are represented at pp. 172, 229 of my work (Nos. 138, 139, 160), and four of the latter at p. 65. This pottery is, most decidedly, neither Greek nor pre-historic. Many of the black cups with two large and high handles have, both in shape and colour, a great resemblance to the terra-cottas found in ancient Albano, near Rome, of which the British Museum has several specimens.

Underneath the ruins of the Greek city, viz., at from 6½ to 13 feet below the surface, I found the remains of a pre-historic city, of which the houses had been of wood. The calcined rubbish, and the absence of stones, do not leave any doubt in that respect. All the pots and vases I gathered there are handmade, that is to say, they are made without the use of the potters' wheel; the terra-cotta is either red, black, green, or grey, but there is no trace of real colour. I found there also thousands of terra-cotta whorls, which are perforated through the centre, and ornamented on one side, or on both sides, with engraved religious symbols, which are filled with white clay so as to strike the eye. Doubtless these whorls have been used as offerings or *ex-votos* to the gods, and particularly to the patron deity Minerva, the Homeric θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, of whom I found there a great many images. Most of these images are modelled on the vases, which show all the characteristics of the goddess, two wings, an owl's face, and a kind of helmet, on which is indicated the female hair. (See Plate VI. figs. 1a, 1b, and 4.) But many vases have only the characteristics of the woman, two wings and a straight neck, on which fits the cover with an owl's face and with a helmet. I found there also a great many thin and flat idols of bone or marble with an engraved owl's face and with or without a female girdle. On many idols the owl's face was merely painted with red or black clay. I did not find any stone implements in this upper pre-historic stratum, and only a few hand-millstones of trachite, 12 to 16 inches long and 6 to 7 inches broad, of which one side is flat. I call here particular attention to these handmills, which have exactly the same form in all the subsequent pre-historic strata, and which cannot



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2.

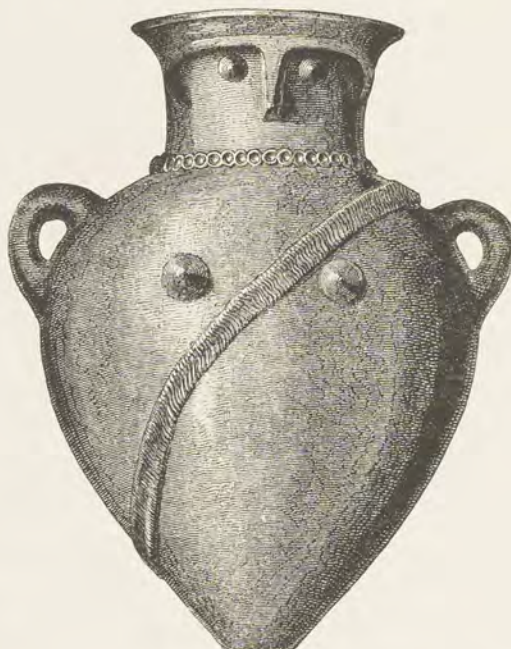


Fig. 1a.

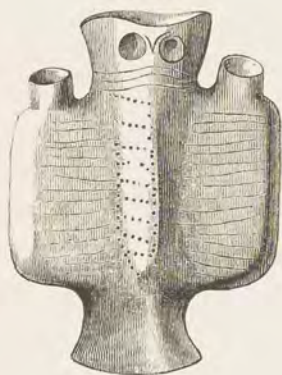


Fig. 1b.

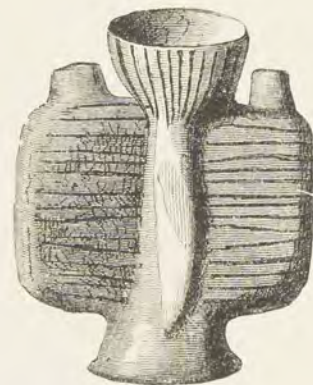


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



have been used to make flour, but merely to crush the grain rudely. Thus, these Trojan handmills belong to a time in which bread was still unknown, and they are therefore considerably more ancient than Homer, who knew only larger handmills turned by horizontal crowbars, grinding the grain to flour, from which bread was made. I found in the same stratum some saw-knives of flint. Of metal I found there only straight or crooked knives, some arrows and battle-axes with two edges, as well as many hair-pins in form of long and thin nails—all of bronze.

At a depth of from 13 to 23 feet I found the ruins of another more ancient pre-historic city, built of small stones joined with earth. There remain part of the carcasses of all the houses, so that it may be dug up like Pompeii. I found in the strata of ruins of this city an enormous mass of stone hammers, celts, axes, battle-axes, hand-millstones, weights, saw-knives, &c.; but along with these the same implements and weapons of bronze, and innumerable differently shaped ornamented perforated whorls, as also masses of hand-made fantastically shaped pots, and vases of terra-cotta, the fabrication of which shows a greater civilisation; also masses of cockle-shells, as well as vertebræ of sharks, which leave no doubt that these monsters once abounded in these seas, whereas they have now entirely disappeared. I also found there numerous boars' tusks.

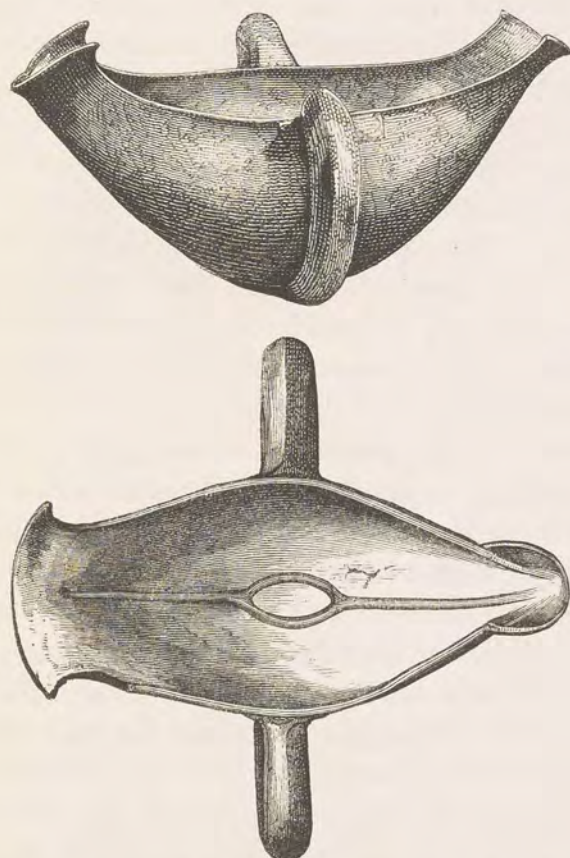
Below this city I discovered, at a depth of from 23 to 33 feet, a still much older pre-historic city, which had evidently been destroyed in a fearful catastrophe by the hand of the enemy; the calcined ruins of all the houses, the stratum of scoriae of melted lead and copper, which extends through the whole town, the treasures of objects of gold and silver which were found in various places, and finally the skeletons of men with arms—all this variety of circumstances can leave no doubt whatever in this respect. The numerous fantastically shaped vases and pots I gathered in this stratum show the very same kind of fabrication as those of the preceding stratum, but they exhibit much more art and beauty, as well as many new types, as for example a curious double vase, united at the base. (See Plate VI. fig 3.) Whilst all the thousands of terra-cotta vases, pots, basins, and other objects found in this stratum are hand-made, I found here more than a hundred very rude terra-cotta plates, like the five lower ones on page 215 and the eight on page 114 of my work, which have been made on the potter's wheel.

These plates are the only pre-historic productions of the potter's wheel at Hissarlik, for neither of the two subsequent nations whose ruins I have described has used the potter's wheel; all their terra-cotta vases are hand-made. I must not forget to mention that it is a characteristic of Trojan vases to have on each side a tubular vertical loop, and in the same direction a hole on each side of the

rim, in order to be suspended and carried by a string; most of them have three feet; many others have a hemispherical base.

The importance of the city represented by the ruins at 23 to 33 feet below the surface is particularly attested by its mighty circuit wall, by its great tower, by the large double gate, and by the mansion of the last chief or king, which is situated just before the gate. All these monuments are built of unhewn stones joined with earth, whilst all the other houses of the town consist of unburnt bricks, which have in many places been converted by the conflagration into real burnt bricks. In this town I discovered, at a depth of 28 to 31½ feet, three treasures, of which the two smaller ones were stolen and hidden by my workmen, afterwards seized by the Ottoman Government, and now exhibited in the museum at Constantinople. One of these, according to the *Levant Herald*, December, 1873, consisted of a large lump of pure gold mixed with charcoal, evidently derived from melted ornaments. It was stated to weigh several "okes," each "oke" being about 2½ pounds. The third large treasure, which is now in my possession, I discovered myself on the great wall, close to the chief's or king's mansion. It consists of a large copper boss-shield, a large copper *casserole* with a horizontal handle on each side, a large flat piece of copper with two immoveable wheels, which must have served as hasps, and on which a silver vase had been soldered by the fire, two copper vases, a large golden bottle in form of a globe, a golden goblet, whose form I identify with that of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*; it has a large and a small mouth and two great handles. (See woodcut on the next page.) I think Aristotle (in his *History of Animals*, ix. 40) is wrong in his theory that the *ἀμφικύπελλον* of Homer had the shape of a bee's cell. The best judge of, nay the highest authority for, the form of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* must necessarily be Homer himself, and with him the *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* is always synonymous with *ἄλεισον ἄμφωτον* (see *Od.* iii. 41, 46, 50, and 63, and xxii. 9, 10, and 86), which latter cannot possibly mean anything else than a simple goblet with a large handle on each side. In speaking of the shape of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*, Athenaeus (*Δειπνοσοφισταί*, 783) does not even mention the opinion of Aristotle, but he mentions the opinion of Asklepiades of Myrleia, who says that *ἀμφικύπελλον* does not mean anything else than that the goblet is *ἀμφίκυρτον*. But the following phrase leaves no doubt that the latter word signifies "with two handles," and this is confirmed by Passow's *Greek Lexicon* (ed. Rost and Palm). Similarly shaped *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* of terra-cotta I found in all the three upper pre-historic strata, and collected more than a hundred of them. (See Nos. 111 and 112, p. 158, and No. 52, p. 86, of "Troy, &c.") Owing to their pointed

foot they cannot be put down except on the mouth. Their form is highly practical, for he who holds such a *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* is forced to empty it, and, since it can only be put down on the mouth, it remains always clean. (See Plate VI. fig. 5.)



TWO VIEWS OF TWO-HANDLED CUP OF GOLD, FROM HISSARLIK.

I found, besides, in the treasure six flat blades, or slabs, of purest silver, one end of which is round, whilst the other is cut out in the form of a half-moon. In all probability these are the talents, so often mentioned by Homer, and which must have been but small, for Achilles puts (Il. xvii. 262—270) as the price of the first game a woman, of the second a horse, of the third a *casserole* or kettle, of the fourth two talents, and of the fifth a *φιάλη ἀμφίθετος*, that is to say, a cup with two handles. I further found in the treasure four large silver vases with a hemispheric base; on one of them is soldered the upper part of another silver vase. The largest vase contained two magnificent golden diadems, which Mr. Gladstone identifies with the *πλεκταὶ ἀναδέσμαι* of Homer; they are adorned

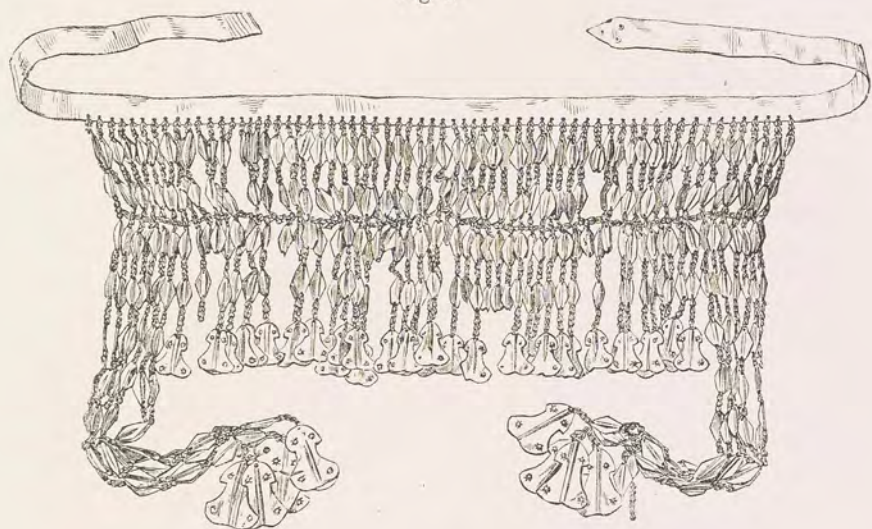
with 100 idols of the owl-faced Minerva. (See Plate VII. fig. 1.) The vase further contained a golden *ἀμπυξ*, called now "belle Helène," four most artistically made golden long earrings, fifty-six golden earrings of most fantastical shape, six golden bracelets, 8,750 small perforated objects of gold, in form of prisms, cubes, chariot-axles, etc., of which the larger part are ornamented with eight or sixteen engraved lines; the silver vase contained, besides, two goblets, one of which is of gold, the other of electron. I further found in the treasure two beautiful small silver vases, with cylindrical loops placed vertically on each side for suspension by a string, a goblet and shallow cup of the same metal (see Plate VII. fig. 2), and thirteen bronze lances, fourteen bronze battle-axes, seven bronze daggers, a large bronze knife, some fragments of a bronze sword, and another bronze weapon of unknown use. All these objects were once contained in a quadrangular wooden box, of which they had preserved the shape. The large copper key which I found there proves that the wooden box once existed. It appears that in the catastrophe of the city one or other of the chief's or king's family tried to escape with the treasure, but being prevented on the wall, either by the fire or by the enemy, he was forced to abandon it there.

I further found in the rooms of the last chief's or king's palace a large number of beautiful vases; one of them two feet high, representing the owl-faced Minerva, ornamented with a large necklace and a broad engraved girdle. (See Plate VI. fig. 2.)

And here I must pause to inquire what is the meaning of the Homeric epithet *γλαυκῶπις*. It has been said by a great scholar,^a that, whatever else it may mean, it cannot mean owl-headed, unless we suppose that Hera *βοῶπις* was represented as a cow-headed monster. But it is not difficult to prove that this goddess had originally a cow's face, from which her Homeric epithet *βοῶπις* was derived. When in the battle between the gods and the giants the former took the shape of animals, Hera took the form of a white cow, "nivea Saturnia vacca" (Ovid, *Metam.* v. 330). We find a cow's head on the coins of the Island of Samos, which contained the most ancient temple of Hera, and was celebrated for its worship of this goddess (Mionnet, *Descr. des Méd. Ant.* pl. lxi. 6). We further find the cow's head on the coins of Messene, a Samian colony in Sicily (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Greek Cities*, tab. ii. 12). The relation of Hera to the cow is further proved by the name *Εὔβοια*, which was at once her epithet (Pausanias, ii. 22), the name of one of her nurses (Plut. *Quæst. Conviv.* 3, 9, 2; *Et. M.* 388, 56), and the name of the island in which she was brought up (Plut. *fr. Daedal.* 3). But in the name of *Εὔβοια* is contained the

^a Professor Max Müller.—*Academy*, January 10, 1874.

Fig. 1.

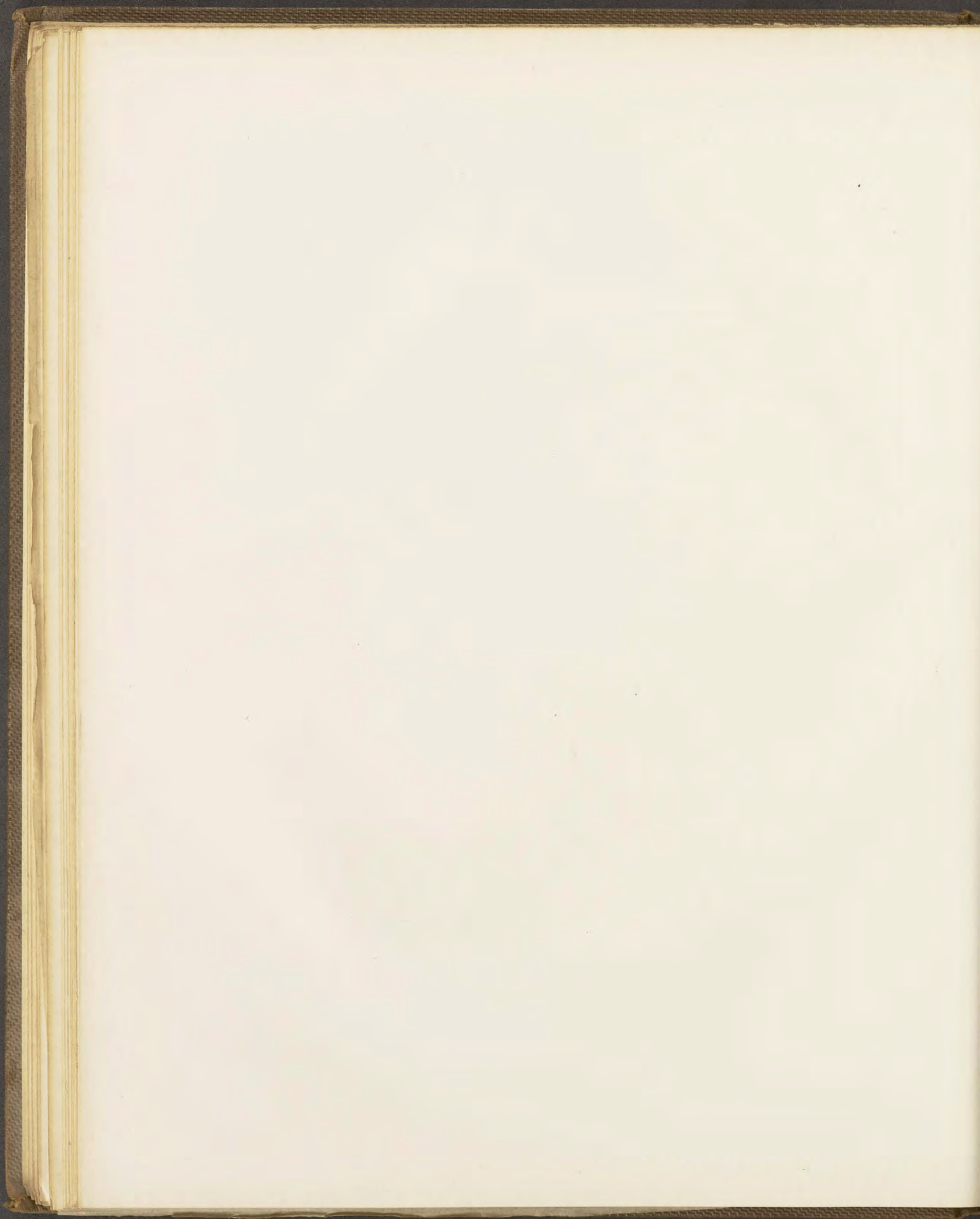


GOLD DIADEM FROM HISSARLIK.

Fig. 2.



SILVER VESSELS FROM HISSARLIK.



word *βοῦς*. Hera had in Corinth the epithet *βουναία* (Paus. ii. 4, 7), in which the word *βοῦς* is likewise contained. White cows were sacrificed to Hera (Paus. ix. 3, 4) (Hesych. ἄγαν χαλκεῖος). The priestess rode on a team of white bulls to the temple of the Argive Hera (Herod. i. 31). Io, the daughter of Inachus, was changed by Hera into a cow (Lucian, Θεῶν Διαλ. 3; Diod. Sic. i. 24, 25; Herod. ii. 41). Io was priestess of Hera (Aesch. Suppl. 299; Apollod. ii. 1, 3), and is represented as the cow-goddess Hera (Creuzer, Symbolik, ii. 576). The Egyptian goddess Isis was born in Argos, and was identified with the cow-shaped Io (Diod. Sic. i. 24, 25; Apollod. ii. 1, 3; Hygin. 145); she (Isis) was represented in Egypt as a female with cow-horns, like Io in Greece (Herod. ii. 41). The Pelasgian moon-goddess Io continued to be the old name of the moon at the religious mysteries at Argos (Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg, 94; Jablonsky, Panth. ii. p. 4 ff.) The cow-horns of the Pelasgian moon-goddess Io, which became later the Argive Hera, and is perfectly identical with her, as well as the cow-horns of Isis, were derived from the symbolic horns of the crescent (Diod. Sic. i. 11; Plut. de Is. et Os. 52; compare Plut. ibid. c. 39; Macrob. Sat. i. 19; Aelian, Anim. x. 27). No doubt Io, the later Hera, had at an earlier age, besides her cow-horns, a cow-face. Hera, with her old moon-name Io, had a celebrated temple on the site of Byzantium, which city was founded by her daughter Keroessa —*i.e.* “the horned” (O. Müller, Dorier, i. p. 121; Steph. Byz. Βυζάντιον). Is not, perhaps, the crescent, as the symbol of the Turkish empire, an inheritance from Byzantium’s foundress Keroessa, the daughter of the moon-goddes Io (Hera)? Hera, Io, and Isis must at all events be identical also with Demeter Mykalessia, who derived her epithet, “the lowing,” from her cow-shape, and had her temple at Mykalessus in Boeotia; she had as doorkeeper Hercules, whose office it was to shut her sanctuary in the evening, and to open it again in the morning (Paus. ix. 19, 4). Thus his service is identical with that of Argos, who in the morning unfastens the cow-shaped Io, and fastens her again in the evening to the olive-tree (Ovid, Metam. i. 630), which was in the sacred grove of Mykenae, close to the Ἡραῖον (Appollod. ii. 1, 3). The Argive Hera had, as a symbol of fertility, a pomegranate, which, as well as the flowers with which her crown was ornamented, gave her a telluric character (Panofka, Argos Panoptes, tab. ii. 4; Cadalvène, Recueil de Med. Gr. pl. iii. 1; Müller, Denkm. xxx. 132; Duc de Luynes, Etudes Numismat. pp. 22-25).

In the same way as in Boeotia the epithet Mykalessia, “the lowing” (a derivation from *μυκάω*), was given to Demeter on account of her cow-form, in the plain of Argos the name of *Μυκῆναι* (a derivation from the same


verb) was given to the city most celebrated for the *cultus* of Hera, and this can only be explained by her cow-form.

In consideration of this long series of proofs, certainly no one will for a moment doubt that Hera's Homeric epithet *βοῶπις* shows her to have once been represented with a cow-face, in the same way as Athene's Homeric epithet *γλαυκῶπις* shows this goddess to have once been represented with an owl-face. But in the history of these two epithets are evidently three stages. In the first stage, the ideal conception and the naming of the goddesses took place, and in that name, as Professor Max Müller rightly observed to me, the epithets were figurative or ideal, *i. e.*, natural. Hera (Io), as deity of the moon, will have received her epithet, *βοῶπις*, from the symbolic horns of the crescent and its dark spots, which resemble a face with large eyes; whilst Athene, as goddess of the Aurora, received, no doubt, the epithet *γλαυκῶπις* to indicate the light of the morning dawn. I call here particular attention to the terra-cotta ball in "Troy, &c." plate lii. N. 497, a. b. c. This ball alone is a complete demonstration of the reality of the owl-face, and it gives at the same time the key to these symbolic representations, for we see there, in the midst, the owl almost in the shape of a monogram, having nevertheless the female hair distinctly indicated, and two extended arms, of which the left one has even its hand. To the right of the figure is the sun, to the left the moon, below is the morning star. Thus the representation is complete, and it most distinctly shows that this celestial owl is the Aurora, which rises to Heaven between the sun and the moon.

In the second stage of these epithets the deities were represented by idols, in which the former figurative intention was forgotten, and the epithets were materialised into an owl-face for Athene and into a cow-face for Hera, and I make bold to assert that it is not possible to describe such an owl-faced female figure by any other epithet than by *γλαυκῶπις*. The word *πρόσωπον* for face, which is so often used in Homer, and is probably thousands of years older than the poet, is never found in compounds, whilst words with the suffix *ειδης* refer to expression or likeness in general. Thus, if Athene had the epithet *γλαυκοειδής*, we should understand nothing else but that the goddess had the shape and form of an owl. To this second age belong all the pre-historic cities at Hissarlik.

The third stage in the history of the two epithets is when, after Hera and Athene had been stripped of their cow and owl faces, and received faces of women, and after the cow and the owl had become the attributes of these deities, and had, as such, been placed at their side, *βοῶπις* and *γλαυκῶπις* continued to be used as epithets consecrated by the use of ages, and probably with the meaning

“large-eyed” and “owl-eyed.” To this third age belong the Homeric rhapsodies. It has been repeatedly asserted that the owl-faced Trojan vases and idols cannot represent the *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*, since similar owl-faced vases and idols have been found in Germany. But I never intended to maintain that the owl-faced female deity was worshipped exclusively at Ilium, and I have no objection whatever to admit that the former figurative and ideal conception may already have been materialised into an owl-faced female deity, with wings and helmet, before the separation of the Aryan races took place, or that it may have been imported, together with bronze, from Asia Minor into Germany. But I must confess that all the drawings I have as yet seen of the pretended owl-faced idols found in Germany represent human figures with mouths, and that not even one of them has the slightest resemblance to the winged Trojan idols, in which the owl-face is conspicuous, and which have no mouth.

In confirmation of what I have said about the symbolic character of the engraved ornaments on the Trojan terra-cottas, I will here point only to the figure No. 379, pl. xxix. of “Troy and its Remains.” We distinctly see there the constellation of the Great Bear on the back of an animal with open mouth and protruding tongue; there are besides two other celestial animals, an altar, a lightning, and four *suastikas*  .

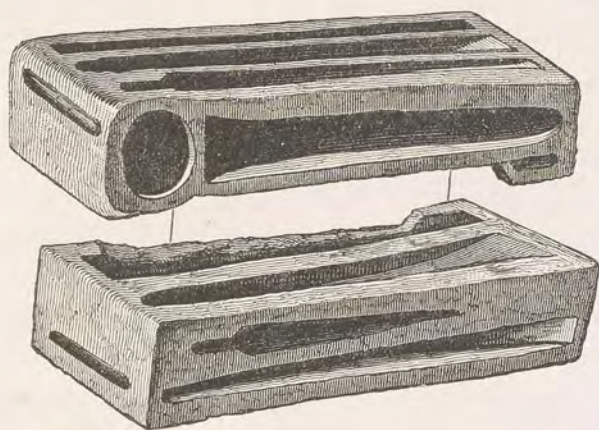
But to return from this digression. After the enumeration which has been made of the antiquities discovered, the question now arises, to what city and to what period do they belong? Inasmuch as I discovered the city on the very site which the tradition of all antiquity identifies with the site of Troy; inasmuch as the city was evidently rich, and destroyed in a fearful catastrophe by the hands of the enemy; since, moreover, I find in it the great circuit-wall, and the great tower with the double gate, whose situation answers the position of the Homeric Scæan gates—there can remain no doubt whatever that this is the very city sung by Homer, that this is the very city destroyed by the Greeks, that this is the Ilium of eternal glory. But all the thousands and thousands of objects I discovered there belong to such a remote antiquity, that the siege and catastrophe sung by Homer probably happened more than 1,500 years before his time. Homer cannot possibly have seen a trace of Troy, because at his epoch the ruins of the Trojan houses, the great circuit-wall, and the tower, were covered by a layer of rubbish 20 to 27 feet thick. Homer made no excavations to bring those monuments to light. Thus his description of Ilium is vague and obscure. He knew all the events of the city's tragic fate solely

from tradition, for those events had been sung before his time by numerous rhapsodists. If the Homeric rhapsodies alone have been preserved, it is because they were the most sublime of all. The twenty shafts I have sunk on the plateau around Hissarlik show that the Homeric Ilium was limited to that very mount.

But Ilium was not the first city built on the site. In fact there exists below Ilium, at a depth of from 33 to 53 feet, the gigantic ruins of another much older city, whose pottery is also handmade, viz., without the potter's wheel, but shows much more perfection and many new types. The most perfect and most beautiful terra-cottas I found there on the virgin soil at 47 to 53 feet below the surface. Most of them have, outside and inside, incised ornaments. The most interesting terra-cottas of this primitive city are the glazed black, red, or brown basins, which have on two sides of the rim a long ornamented tube for suspension with a string. Among the most interesting objects discovered in this city, I may mention a small interment formed of three flat stones, containing two terra-cotta tripods filled with human ashes. In one of these tripods, which is represented on page 153 of my work, I found the bones of an embryo of six months, with which the learned physician Aretaeos in Athens has recomposed the whole skeleton. (See Plate VI. fig. 6). Besides I found there the skeleton of a woman with her golden ornaments; it was in an oblique position in the charred ruins of a house which had evidently been destroyed by fire, and thus there can be no doubt that the woman was burnt alive. This is also proved by the fact that all the pre-historic nations which inhabited the mount had the custom of burning the dead human bodies, and depositing their ashes in funeral urns, of which I found hundreds.

Among the Trojan vases I have still to mention those in form of hogs, hedgehogs, moles, bears, and hippopotami, provided at the place of the tail with funnel-like openings, which are joined by a large handle with the neck. Very interesting are also the innumerable objects of ivory or bone for the use of women, the very heavy sling-shots of hematite, the copper arrows in the primitive form of small headless nails, and finally the beautiful moulds of mica-slate in form of parallelopipeda, having on each of their six sides moulds for casting manifold arms, of which the greater part are now altogether unknown to us. (See woodcut on the next page.) I may also mention the many interesting small vases with a handle above the opening and a small pipe in the middle, which have probably served as babies' feeding bottles. Besides the large *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* with two immense handles, I found more than twenty differently shaped goblets. I also

found twelve inscriptions, ten of which are published in the English edition of my work, with a translation by Professor Martin Haug of Munich and Theod. Gompertz of Vienna. They are in pure Greek, but in very ancient Cypriote



STONE MOULD FOR CASTING BRONZE IMPLEMENTS, FROM HISSARLIK.

characters, and they render it a certainty that the language of the Trojans was Greek. This is further proved by the fact that, after the primitive figurative or ideal conception of Minerva's epithet *γλαυκῶπις* had been forgotten, they understood that *γλαῦξ* means the owl, and *ὄψ* the face, and materialised thus *γλαυκῶπις* into the owl-face, which they gave to Ilium's patron deity. One of the inscriptions is translated by Professor Haug *δίω Σίγω* or *Σίκω* (to the divine Sigo or Siko), and, since I found a great many terra-cottas on which only the first syllable of this name "Si" was incised, Professor Haug supposes that the Trojans worshipped amongst others a god or hero named Sigo or Siko, whose name we find in the name of the Trojan city Sigeum, in the name of Sigia, the site of Alexandria-Troas, in the name of Sikyon in the Peloponnesus, which had indeed for king the Trojan Echeplus, the son of Anchises, the brother of Aeneias (Il. xxiii. 296.) Professor Haug recognises also in the name of the Scæan gates, and in that of the Scamander, the etymology of Sigo or Siko.

Any doubt regarding the very remote antiquity of the Trojan collection must disappear when we examine the objects gathered in my thirty-four shafts sunk in the acropolis of Mykenae, for all the pottery found there has been made on the potter's wheel, and has painted ornaments. The most ancient piece I found there, at a depth of 20 feet, on the virgin rock, represents a horse, perfectly similar to the horses on the most ancient vases of Attica, of which several are in the Museum of the Warvakeion and in the Ministry of Public Instruction at

Athens, and to which an age of 1,400 years B.C. is generally attributed. But these vases appear quite modern when compared with the hand-made Trojan pottery, which has only incised ornaments, and shows no trace of painting. Thus there can be no doubt that the mighty cyclopean walls of Mykenae, and this city itself—which, according to Homer, plays such a prominent part in the war of Troy—were built ages after that war, and that, in singing the events of the Trojan siege, which were known to him as a Saga, the poet illustrates the personages who lived at his time, or shortly preceded him, and describes to us the world and its civilization just as he saw it. Since I speak of Mykenae, I may add that I found there a number of idols of Hera, with a very compressed face, and a *polos* on the head; further, four small cows of terra-cotta. Thus it is certain that the metamorphosis of Hera's cow-head into a woman's head took place long before the foundation of Mykenae.

The only Greek pottery which resembles the Trojan pottery are the terra-cottas dug up by the director of the French School of Athens, M. Emile Burnouf, in the ruins of a pre-historic city on the island of Santorin, below three strata of pumicestone and volcanic ashes, 40 to 80 feet in thickness, thrown out by that immense central volcano, which, according to the French geologists, must have sunk and disappeared about 2000 B.C. Only a small portion of this Santorin pottery is hand-made; by far the larger part has been turned on the potter's wheel; and, with but a few exceptions, all the terra-cottas have painted ornaments, which are in general but rudely made, but show in some instances a great deal of art. A few of the vases have, like the Trojan vases, a perpendicular tubular loop on each side, and in the same direction perforations in the rim for suspension with a string. The Santorin vases, with a long backward-bent neck, are undoubtedly intended to represent a woman, for they have two female breasts in high relief, and painted earrings, but no face. The Santorin houses are, like those of the larger monuments of Troy, built of small stones joined with earth; but they have 2 and 2½ inch thick coatings of chalk and wall paintings, whilst at Troy I never found a trace of either chalk or colour in the ruins of any of the four pre-historic nations. Only one whorl with incised ornaments was found there, and a small saw, which had for years been considered to be of pure copper, but which now turns out to be of bronze. There were found no implements or weapons of stone, and only some stone weights, which show a decimal system, besides a very small perforated bead of gold. On the whole, therefore, the antiquities of Santorin appear to be by many centuries posterior to Troy.

In the small collection of pre-historic antiquities in the University at Naples

are a few black glazed fragments of vases, and amongst them one with two tubular loops, perfectly agreeing with the quality and form of the vases I found in Troy in the virgin soil, at a depth of 50 to 53 feet below the surface. These fragments came from an excavation made in the Abruzzi.

The museum of St. Germain-en-Laye contains the casts of two such double tubular loops of vases of the very same quality and form; the originals are in the museum at Vannes, in Brittany. It further contains a couple of hand-made pre-historic vases, said to have been found in Normandy, with only one perpendicular tubular loop on each side, and perfectly similar in form to the vases of the second pre-historic nation at Hissarlik. The museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer contains amongst its Roman vases, under No. 326, a hand-made vase with a backward-bent neck of a remote antiquity, and perfectly resembling the vases of the second Trojan period.

Some of the Cypriote vases of the Cesnola collection resemble a little the Trojan vases, inasmuch as they have on each side small rings, which can only have served for suspension by strings; but they have no real tubular loops, and are, without any exception, made on the potter's wheel; besides, their painted ornaments do not at all denote a high antiquity.

In the British Museum I find in the Assyrian collection two beautiful vases found at Nimrud, with a pointed base, incised ornaments, and a vertical cylindrical loop for suspension on each side; thus they perfectly resemble the Trojan vases, but both are made on the potter's wheel, and thus, probably, not of a remote antiquity. Since I speak of the Assyrian collection, I call your attention to the perfect similarity of the Trojan bronze battle-axes to the Assyrian. The latter are, in my opinion, erroneously called here "chisels;" for, since seventeen of these objects were found, together with lances and daggers, in the Trojan treasure, they can hardly be anything else than battle-axes. I further mention the Assyrian cylindroids of hematite, with two pointed ends, which are thought here to be weights, but which can hardly be anything else than sling-bullets. I found a large number of the same description at Troy. Further, the very coarse Assyrian terra-cotta plates perfectly resemble those found at Hissarlik at 23 to 33 feet below the surface.

Among objects in the collection of Cypriote terra-cottas of the British Museum which resemble those of the same form found at Troy, I may mention five vessels with perforations on all sides, like sieves; a vase with a convex base and two long backward-bent necks; vases in form of animals, with a funnel-like opening in the place of the tail; and babies' feeding-bottles with a handle above the mouth.

For objects in other collections in the British Museum which resemble those found at Troy, it will be sufficient to notice the flint saw-knives, stone weights, axes, hammers, celts, wedges, and whetstones of slate with a hole at one end. Further, I may mention the whorls, discs of terra-cotta, awls, pins and needles of bone, from the Swiss lakes; the handmill-stones from Anglesea; the Egyptian hunting-bottles of terra-cotta; the ancient Peruvian vases with an animal's head, and a sort of a funnel at the place of the tail; nine small vases with horizontal rings for suspension, from Germany; and, I may add, some of the ornamental ancient Peruvian whorls.

Though it has now been ascertained that the small collection of hand-made archaic terra-cottas from Marino, near Castel Gandolfo, has not been found below, but above, the stratum of peperino, still I continue to consider it by far the most ancient in the British Museum, but it is too artistically made to approach the age of the Trojan collection. The cross, and the cross with the marks of its four nails, which have been carved into the four sides of the base of two vessels of the Marino collection, deserve particular attention.

I may likewise add, that not the slightest trace either of glass or of iron has been found in the strata of ruins of any one of the different pre-historic nations which inhabited Hissarlik.

Gentlemen, I have given you a summary account of the thousands of relics which from pure love for science, by three years' excavations in a most pestilential climate, it has been my good fortune to rescue from the depths of the earth, where they had been buried for more than forty-two centuries. This my work has called forth many different and often contradictory opinions; it has caused many to cover my name with praise, whilst others have thought proper to indulge in unmeasured abuse. But I shall feel safe in confiding my character and enterprise to the candid judgment of this assembly of Englishmen and of Antiquaries; I shall feel satisfied if it be admitted that I have thrown some light on the dark pre-historic times of Greece, and contributed something towards the solution of the great problem of the real site of the Homeric Troy—a city which is indissolubly bound up with the most celebrated masterpiece of Greek poetry, and with one of the most glorious legends of Greek history.

III.—*An account of Discoveries made in Celtic Tumuli near Dover, Kent.* By
CUMBERLAND HENRY WOODRUFF, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read December 12, 1872.

THE rarity of Celtic tumuli in the eastern part of Kent contrasts strongly with the comparative abundance of Anglo-Saxon sepulchral remains which have been discovered in that part of the county. One of the former, explored by Douglas,^a and a large and interesting barrow in Iffins Wood, near Canterbury,^b opened about thirty years ago by Mr. Bell, are, as far as I know, the only recorded instances of Celtic tumuli in East Kent.

The two barrows, from one of which the urns and vessels now exhibited were taken, are situated nearly half-way between Dover and Deal, in the parish of Ringwould, on the ridge of a high down within a mile of the sea, and command a view of the coast from the North to the South Foreland. They are 80 yards apart, 24 yards in diameter, slightly oval in form, and 4 feet 6 inches at their highest point above the natural soil.

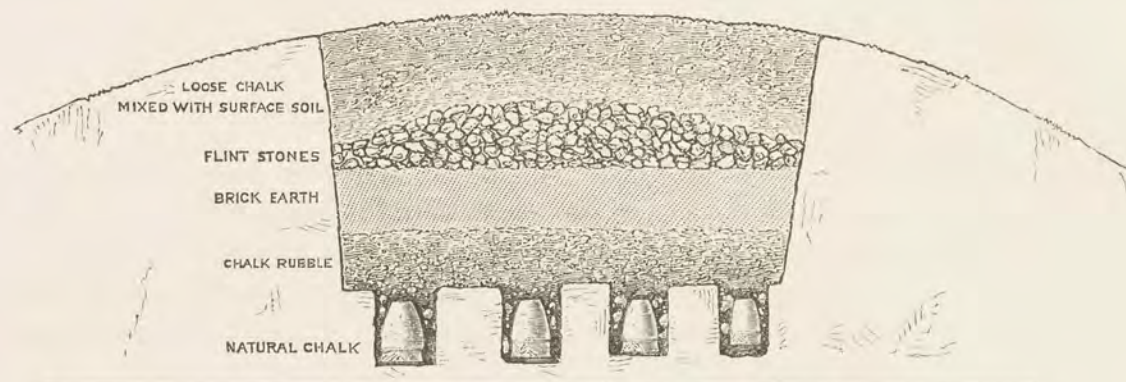
Excavations were commenced by digging a trench in the western mound from the north-west side, through loose chalk mixed with surface mould. About the centre, at a depth of three feet, we came upon a deposit of human bones bearing traces of having been burnt on the spot, without pottery or other remains. Continuing our researches to the east we removed a heap of flint-stones, which extended laterally for about ten feet each way; below the stones was a layer of brick-earth, amongst which fragments of charcoal occurred, and beneath the brick-earth chalk rubble covered the natural chalk to the depth of one foot. Amongst the flints and above them were some bones and teeth of a horse.

The accompanying section of the centre of the barrow will give an idea of its construction. On coming to the natural chalk we discovered the primary interments. Cylindrical cists had, in three instances, been dug to the depth of

^a *Nenia Britannica*, p. 158.

^b *Archæologia*, xxx. 57.

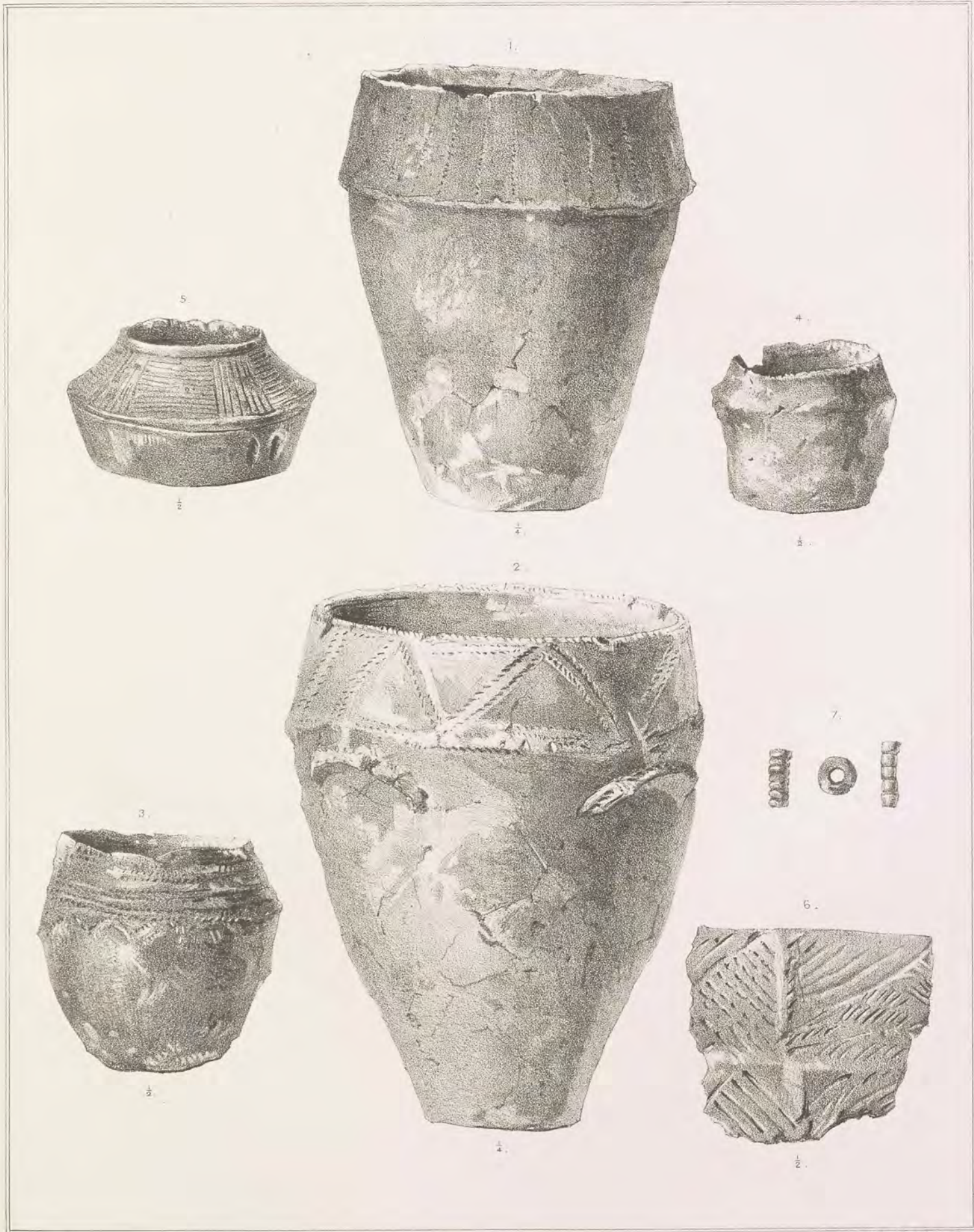
eighteen inches; in the fourth the chalk had been slightly undermined on one side of the cist, and a neatly arched niche formed for the reception of the urn; in each case the bottom of the cavity had been levelled with great care and precision, so that no interstices should intervene between the rim of the inverted urn and the soil below. The first which we uncovered contained the fragments of a large urn ornamented with a chevron pattern, the lines of which had been



SECTION OF CENTRE OF WEST TUMULUS, RINGWOULD, KENT.

produced by impressing a twisted thong in the soft clay. No bones were found with this deposit. The second urn (No. 1 in the annexed plate), which stood inverted in the above-mentioned niche, was extracted nearly perfect; it is slightly ornamented with vertical lines on the overhanging portion of the top and is thirteen inches in height. It covered a heap of calcined bones. The next urn had been completely crushed by the superincumbent soil; it appeared to have been about sixteen inches in height and had handles, and an impressed pattern similar to No. 2. Within this crushed urn was lying a small cup (No. 4) of the rudest workmanship, the mouth of which was stopped with a lump of half-baked clay. A somewhat similar cup was found in Dorsetshire filled with small birds' bones. (See *Barrow-diggers, a Dialogue*, pl. ix.) A few fragments of bones, apparently those of an infant, accompanied this interment.

The fourth and principal interment in the tumulus consisted of a large urn (No. 2), which fell to pieces on being moved, and revealed a heap of burnt bones, very white and dry, and two small vessels (Nos. 3 and 5), the larger of which (No. 3) is four inches in height, and ornamented with horizontal lines round the top, and an indistinct chevron pattern. The smaller, the mouth of which was covered by the bottom of the other, is two inches in height, and has an alternate



C. F. Keil Lith. London.

URNS FOUND IN A BARROW, RINGWOULD, KENT.

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arrangement of vertical and horizontal lines round the upper portion. Near the bottom it is perforated by two small holes. It contained the remains of some burnt substance. Vessels of this class are illustrated in Bateman's "Ten Years' Diggings," pp. 281 and 283, as well as in Dr. Thurnam's elaborate memoir printed in the *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 357. Of the specimens figured by the latter our example comes nearest in form to fig. 53 from Clayton Hill, Sussex (p. 367), in which, however, the holes are replaced by slashes in the sides. The holes, which often occur in these cups, have been conjectured to be for suspension, but it seems more probable in this case, from the ashes inside, and from the fact that the top was closed, that they were formed to allow the escape of smoke.

The large urn (No. 2), which has been imperfectly restored, is sixteen inches in height, and ornamented with lines and the chevron pattern on the upper part. It had originally four projecting handles, or rather representations of handles, and may be compared with one figured on plate xxix. fig. 7, of Kemble's "*Horæ Ferales*," from Fifeshire. The projecting handles occur in the larger urns of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. We may mention, for instance, the urn found in a tumulus at Dewlish, Dorsetshire, engraved in Warne, *Celtic Tumuli of Dorsetshire*, plate iv. fig. 13; another from Roke Down, Dorset, in Mr. Durden's Collection, *Archæologia*, xliii. plate xxx.; and the fragments of urns from Duloe Circle and Morvah Hill, Cornwall, fig. 5, published in Borlase, *Nænia Cornubiæ*, pp. 128, 248. Amongst the ashes covered by this urn were four small beads of light green vitreous paste. (Plate VIII. No. 7.) (See Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plate v. 56 and 64, and also *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 495.)

All the pottery in the barrow was of very soft and imperfectly baked clay, which hardened on exposure to the atmosphere. Between the urns and the sides of the cists large surface flints had been wedged, together with chalk rubble. The western part of the barrow was next explored, but nothing was discovered on this side.

In comparing this tumulus with the one opened in Iffins Wood, of which an account appeared in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 57, it is remarkable that in neither was anything found in the western half of the mound; in both, brick-earth occurred, which at Iffins Wood furnished the entire material of which the barrow was constructed, without any heap of flints, so usual a feature in Celtic grave-mounds.

The eastern barrow, on being opened, presented a very different appearance from its companion; chalk, unmixed, except near the surface, with any other

substance, formed the material of its construction, and the barrow seemed to have been prepared but never used for sepulture, prepared perhaps at the time when the interments were made in the western tumulus. At a depth of one foot from the surface was found a fragment of the rim of an urn, ornamented with irregular incised lines. (Plate VIII. No. 6.)^a

I think I may be justified in inferring that these remains belong to a late rather than an early Celtic period. Burial by cremation, and the form of two of the smaller vessels, seem to point to Roman influences.

There are still, I believe, a few undisturbed Celtic tumuli in Kent, and I hope by a future exploration of some of these to gain more knowledge of their comparative antiquity.

^a The material of this fragment is thinner, harder, and more thoroughly baked than that of the larger urns from the other barrow ; and from the position in which it was found it seems probable that it formed part of a domestic and not of a sepulchral vessel.

IV.—*On the Parish Books of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, in the City of London.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 26, 1874.

THE parishes of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, form an irregular quadrilateral figure, of which the northern side is bounded by a line a few yards north of Lothbury and Throgmorton Street; the two other principal sides are roughly formed by Prince's Street, Threadneedle Street, and a line west of Old Broad Street.

The parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks was so called from the church having been not far from the City stocks, the name of which was perpetuated in a market which was called the Stocks Market, on the site of which the Mansion House now stands.

The church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks had been damaged by the fire of 1666, but the tower remained. It consisted of a nave and two aisles. It was rebuilt after the fire by Sir Christopher Wren, and was pulled down in the year 1780.

The parish of St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, or, as it was called originally, St. Bartholomew-the-Little, and afterwards St. Bartholomew-the-Little-behind-the-Royal-Exchange, was so called to distinguish it from the two other parishes of St. Bartholomew in the City. The church consisted of a nave, two aisles, and a transept, with a tower at the south-west of the south aisle. There was a lanthorn on the tower. This church, except the tower, was burnt at the great fire, and was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. The second church was pulled down in the year 1840. It stood at the corner of Bartholomew Lane and Threadneedle Street, and has been rebuilt near the Moorgate Street Railway Station. The new church is in part a copy of Wren's church.

The parish of St. Margaret-Lothbury is so called from the church of St. Margaret being situate in the street called "Lothbury."

I believe that antiquaries have expended some time in trying to discover the meaning of the word "Lothbury." Stow says that the street was called Lotesbury. Some have said that the name is derived from the word "lead," because the dealers in lead lived there, but I can find no trace of this, although brass-founders seem to have lived there. Founders' Hall was in the parish and Founders' Court is still there, but these were brass-founders. Others have said that the place, from its joining the poor district which lay north of Lothbury towards the London Wall, was so low a neighbourhood that it was called "Loath," from people *loathing* to have to do with it. But neither of these derivations approves itself to my mind; nor yet a third, which connects it, in common with Ludgate, with the fabulous King Lud. If I might venture upon a suggestion it would be that both Lothbury and Ludgate are derived from the word *lode*, which, in some parts of England, still means a cut or drain leading into a larger stream. In both these cases the name would be appropriate, for Ludgate leads to the Fleet Ditch or River, and Lothbury runs over the course of the Wall brook.

The church of St. Margaret appears to have been a small building, with a nave, two aisles, and a tower at the west end of the south aisle.

The Wall brook ran under the rectory-house, through the churchyard, and under the altar of the church.

The church was entirely destroyed at the fire, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. It stands substantially as it was built.

Almost the whole of the parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks is absorbed by the Bank of England, which also occupies a considerable portion of the two other parishes.

The private drawing-office of the Bank of England stands upon the site of the church of St. Christopher. The pretty garden in the centre of the building is the churchyard of St. Christopher. The courtyard of the Bank, entering from Threadneedle Street, is the courtyard of the house of the parish squire, and the office for changing bank-notes occupies the site of his house. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there was a large garden adjoining the churchyard, and the Wall brook, after passing under Lothbury, ran as an open stream, with a little waterfall, through the garden and part of the churchyard.

The parishes have been much altered since Queen Elizabeth's time, although the alterations are really modern. Moorgate Street has been cut through the poorest and the densest part of the parish of St. Margaret. Princes Street, formerly a small narrow crooked alley, leading along the course of the Wall brook, from the Poultry to the church of St. Margaret-Lothbury, has been deviated and widened,

and has absorbed that portion of the parish of St. Christopher which was not contained in the Bank of England or in the open space in front of the Royal Exchange. The open space in front of the Royal Exchange was covered with houses; and Bartholomew Lane was no more than half its present width. Most of these alterations have been made within my memory.

There is not much difference in the area of the three parishes; St. Christopher's is rather the smallest. The two other parishes are about the same size. But while there were very few poor in the parish of St. Christopher there were a great many in the parish of St. Margaret, and a considerable number in the parish of St. Bartholomew.

In the reign of King Charles I. there were about seventy houses in St. Christopher's, about 115 in St. Bartholomew's, and rather more in St. Margaret's.

In an account of the parishes, given after the fire, it is stated that there were five people who kept carriages in St. Christopher's and St. Margaret's, and six in St. Bartholomew's. Any guess at the number of inhabitants would be merely hazardous, but I should fancy that there were not so many as 500 in St. Christopher's, and not more than 600 in either of the other two parishes. The best houses in St. Christopher's were along Threadneedle Street; in St. Bartholomew's, in Throgmorton Street; and in St. Margaret's, round about Founders' Hall, in Lothbury.

The livings of St. Margaret's and St. Bartholomew's were in the gift of the Lord Keeper. That of St. Christopher's was in the gift of the Bishop of London.

The parish books of the three parishes have been more or less well preserved, those of St. Margaret's less than the others. Those of St. Bartholomew are the most interesting, and those of St. Christopher-le-Stocks are perhaps the most complete.

The books of St. Bartholomew consist of the vestry minute-books, the churchwardens' account-books, and the register of births, marriages, and deaths.

The books of St. Margaret-Lothbury consist of the same, but the earlier account-books have been altogether lost.

The books of St. Christopher consist of the same, with the addition of a book called the Book of Records, which has also been used as a vestry minute-book, and this book is curious because it contains copies of all sorts of miscellaneous parish documents, including a list, made in the year 1488 by the churchwardens, of all the ornaments of the church in the year 1483, with notes made opposite some of them in the reign of King Henry VIII., of the sale of them, and the price they fetched. (See Appendix No. I.)

This list occupies thirty-five pages of the book, and gives an idea of the richness of a parish church neither large nor important. Among the remarkable

ornaments are a complete set of white vestments for Lent, dresses for a boy bishop, and a mitre and pastoral staff for the bishop. The list was exhibited in 1518 to John Bishop of Gallipoli, Archdeacon of London, and bears his signature. This bishop was Rector of St. Martin's, Oxford, and afterwards rector of Allhallows, Hony Lane, and Dean of Chichester; his name was John Young, and he subsequently became Warden of New College, Oxford, where there is a monumental brass to his memory.

The book also contains various other lists of the ornaments in the church made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (see Appendix Nos. IV. and V.), and there is also a list of things saved from the fire in 1666. Several of the lists may be interesting to an ecclesiastical lawyer, as showing the vestments that were preserved, apparently for use, in St. Christopher's church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I infer from them that the vestments and tunicles were used in the church until the third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, being worn out, the material was sold, and they were not replaced, there being no parish funds applicable to the purpose of purchasing new articles, and this I believe to be the real reason of the discontinuance of the use of vestments in churches. They were not necessary for the services of the church; they were expensive to buy; the faithful did not present them; and the parish authorities had enough to do with the parish money in providing for the hospitals and their own sick and poor.

Several of the writings in the book are ornamented with pen-and-ink designs in a spirited manner, and one of them contains the names of the churchwardens, and also a name in Greek characters, *φελοβε*, which I take to be that of the scribe, and the price he was paid for the writing—3*s.* 4*d.*

When I first became churchwarden and found this book it was in the most ruinous condition, but it has been beautifully repaired, as have also all the other parish books, by the kindness of the Bank of England, at the instance of Mr. Robert Crawford, late Member for the City, who was governor at the time when I first became churchwarden and discovered them. I say, discovered them, advisedly, because several were little better than a heap of rubbish, and might just as soon have been swept away as restored.

There are many other matters in the book of records of more or less interest, but there are only two or three worthy of mention here. It seems that in the year 1488 there were in the church twelve tables hung on the wall with different prayers upon them, and one of these was the Ten Commandments. This is put first in the list of tables. The other eleven are apparently prayers to the Virgin, St. Gregory, St. Christopher, and other saints. I mention this

because the more one looks into the matter the more does one see the conservative manner in which our first Reformers reformed the Church, and it is not unlikely that an investigation would show that in ordering the Ten Commandments to be hung up in churches they were perpetuating an existing custom.

The other two are entries in the years 1501 and 1523.

The first of these is a series of regulations respecting the churchyard, and the reading of mass, and other services in the church, and particularly the services to be conducted by the chauntry priests.

The churchyard was to be closed with a door with a latch and key, and was to be locked in winter at curfew, viz., at eight, and in summer at nine o'clock.

Mass was to be said in winter at seven and in summer at six, and it is specially provided that two masses shall not be said at the same time.

This memorandum is drawn up by the parishioners, and shows an amount of liberty and interference on the part of the parishioners that we would hardly have expected.

Twenty-two years later elaborate regulations were made by the parish respecting the pricing of pews. The pews are all properly numbered and priced, and pews are appropriated in the body of the church for women; one is said to be near the Shriving House. I do not see that any pews were reserved for men. The most select pews were in the north and south aisles of the chancel.

There is the following regulation touching the penalty of not paying for a pew:—

If any person be rebell so that he will not sit or pay according as he is now appointed by the same cessors, or as hereafter he shall be appointed by the churchwardens then being, that then the churchwardens shall first show his rebellion to the parishioners in the vestry, where, if he will not be reformed by the first monition given unto him openly in the vestry by the parishioners there assembled, or if he refuse to come afore the parishioners there assembled when he is wanted by the churchwardens, that then the churchwardens for that time being shall complain of him that so rebelled unto the ordinary, they to sue him at the church costs until such time as he be reduced unto a good order and hath paid both the costs of the suit and the charge that he oweth unto the church.

This book is therefore one more evidence if any such were needed of the fact that pews and the letting of them are not the inventions of our Reformers, as it was for many years erroneously and even maliciously stated. The prices of the pews vary—according to the number of people they will hold and according to their nearness to the east end—from 22*d.* down to 2*d.* a quarter.

In addition to these entries there are copies of wills concerning the parish,

of which one, that of Lady Margery Nerford, a relation of Sir John Oldecastle, Baron Cobham, is interesting. There are also some early vestry minutes. One in 1567 is curious, as it shows the vestry prescribing how often the sacrament shall be administered—once in six weeks, and another as showing the area of the parish taken for the Royal Exchange.

There is not much more to which I can refer in the other books of St. Christopher's.

The vestry minutes seem to have been kept in a very regular but very meagre manner. Year after year passes with nothing more than a notice of the appointment of the different parish officers and a calculation of the various assessments from time to time.

The troublous times of King Charles I. and the Commonwealth, which, as we shall presently see, afford many items of interest in the books of St. Bartholomew and St. Margaret, are hardly at all noticed in the books of St. Christopher. There are one or two entries to which I shall draw attention, but as a rule they are merely of the nature I mention. Even a change of parson is hardly noticed.

I attribute this to the smallness of the parish, and to the fact that there were living in it two or three very influential people, who most probably kept the parish affairs in their own hands.

The first entry among the vestry minutes of St. Bartholomew is dated 1567, and in St. Margaret-Lothbury, 1571.

The books of St. Bartholomew begin with copies of various wills affecting the parish and then with an account of a parish meeting. Those of St. Margaret begin with a series of ordinances made by the parishioners for the management of the affairs of the parish. These ordinances are not unusual in the City parishes, and are apparently only a reducing into writing of existing customs. They relate principally to the appointment and duties of the parish officers, and are merely of local interest.

There are two which I think worth quoting, viz.: the seventh and the eleventh. They are as follows:—

Item.—If anie man's children or servantes shalbe found to breake the glas windowes of the churche, the same parents or masters shall repare and amend the same by any of his owen proper costs and charges.

Item.—It is ordained that whose son or servant shall be found to missfease Iohn a wood, sexton, in word or deed, whereby he may not quietly execute and accomplish all such service as the parish hath appointed him to do, the parents or masters of such son or servant shall pay the churchwarden for the time being 12*d.* a piece to the use of the poor for every such default, and

if any such do deny to pay the same 12*d.*, being of them reasonably required, and complaint made thereof to the majority of the parish at a vestry, he or they shall be dismissed from his or their pew or pews in the church; and if yet he or they shall continue obstinate and not pay the same sum of 12*d.* as is aforesaid, then further complaint shall be made thereof to the Bishop or his Ordinary.

There is a similar penalty to any householder who will not contribute to the clerk's wages.

It will be seen by comparing these regulations with those of St. Christopher that the Reformers of the service made very little difference in the rules and regulations affecting the parish.

Incidentally the well-known custom of London with reference to the appointment of churchwardens is described, viz., that the parishioners shall appoint both, and each to remain in office for two years.

The matters dealt with in the books relate principally to the following heads:—

The appointment of parish officers and the assessments both for imperial and for local purposes.

Minutes of the steps taken to prevent the plague, which was a frequent visitant of the parishes, of the steps taken to relieve those who were visited, as it was termed, with it, and other sick and old folk; of the repairs and alterations in the church; the appointment of lecturers; and lastly in many instances the quarrels which from time to time took place between the clergy and the parishioners, generally owing to what the parishioners considered an encroachment upon their privileges; in short, an interesting history of the every-day parochial life of a period extending from the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's time to the end of the last century. The difficulty has been to know where to separate that which is merely of local interest from that which is, to a certain extent, historical.

I have been much struck with the completeness of the parochial system, and the admirable manner in which it worked. Imperial and local taxes were all collected according to a precept from the Lord Mayor. Streets, alleys, and sewers were cleansed. The sick were all known, watched, and doctored, and every case reported to the parish authorities. In the time of the plague the regulations extended to watching and marking visited houses, disinfecting houses, bedding, and effects, and the burial of the dead at seasonable hours; and all this, when done in a small community where everyone was known, seems to have worked well. The one point which has surprised me was, that with all the

care against infection it was customary to bury, not only in the churchyards, but in the churches themselves, those who died of plague, and this contrary to the Royal injunctions. I think it must have been because a portion of the parish revenue was derived from the burial fees, but it seems an extraordinary custom.

Among the earlier items I have selected one or two from each of the parishes, as showing the times of service. Thus, under date July 1573 and 1582, in St. Margaret-Lothbury, are the following items :

1573.—A vestry holden the 27th of July, 1573.

Agreed by the consent of Mr. Parson and the parishioners that upon every workeday we shall have morning prayer at five o'clock.

Also to have a lecture every Wednesday and Friday, beginning at five o'clock and ending at six o'clock, the bell to toll half an hour after five in the afternoon.

The 13th of January, 1581.

Item.—It is agreed at a vestry holden the day above said that John Briths shall be clerk during the pleasure of the worshipful, and others of the parish, and he is to ring the bell at five of the clock and to toll the bell at curfew.

Anyone who may have lived in the City will have heard the bells of several of the churches ring at five o'clock in the morning. The inhabitants in the City will tell you that the bell is what is called the apprentice bell, but it is indeed the only remnant of this early service at five o'clock. I remember three churches at least in which the bell was rung. In one the ringing has lately been discontinued by order of the rector, and the reason of its continuance up till now may, I think, be found in the fact that the sexton was paid in accordance with these old ordinances of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a portion of his pay was for ringing the bell for service at five o'clock in the morning.

The extracts from St. Bartholomew's are taken from the years 1567 and 1583.

At a vestry holden in the same parish the 23rd day of March, 1567, in the presence of Sir John White, knight, and the most part of the parishioners, a sexton was appointed, and it is agreed in the said vestry that from henceforth the sexton of the said parish shall toll the bell a short time to common prayer, and afterwards to toll two bells together, and to ring the sanctus bell and no more, except there be a sermon, then to toll one bell as hath been accustomed.

At a vestry holden the said 26th day of December, 1583, it was concluded and agreed as followeth for the order of ringing to service—that is to say, yearly from the Feast of St. Michael unto the Annunciation of Our Lady, to ring the first peal in the morning with one bell half an hour after seven, and the second peal with two bells at eight, and to toll all in with the bells half an hour after eight. And from the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady until the Feast of St.

Michael, to ring the first peal at seven of the clock, the second peal half an hour after seven, and all in at eight, and for the evening prayer to ring the first peal at one of the clock, and to observe as the time of year will permit.

The entries in the books during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James are of interest, but I shall only touch upon some of the points in them for fear of being tedious.

I have said that part of the Royal Exchange lay in the parish of St. Bartholomew, and among the items in the account-book there are from time to time charges for "clearing the Exchange." There is a well-known picture of the Exchange by Hollar, showing the parish officer of the time clearing the Exchange from a quantity of boys, who appear to have been playing at whipping-top in the middle.

Other items in the account-book are charges for whipping men and women, particularly women—and these, of course, appear at first sight harsh to us, but it must be remembered that the people who were so whipped were vagrants, and that experience showed that the plague was carried from parish to parish by these wandering, or, as we should now call them, casual, paupers. A visitation of the plague was, as we shall presently see, an awful affair.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the changes in the clergy in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James were very few; there were, in fact, only four rectors during that period, and there is not much said of them. We first find Mr. John Scarlett, who was rector from 1567 to 1590.

He was succeeded by Dr. John Dix, and it was during his time that the registers were copied from paper on to parchment. The parchment book cost 25*s.* 6*d.*, and writing up the back registers from the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign cost 20*s.* The account-book was also purchased at the same time, and cost 4*s.* 8*d.*

In the account-book are entries for "holly and ivy" at Christmas, and occasionally for "rosemary, bay, and strawings" at Easter.

I cannot find that Dr. Dix died in the parish. The last vestry he attended was in November, 1613, and his successor, Dr. Robert Hill, became parson in July, 1614.

During his time Mr. Richard Crookman, a goldsmith of London, gave a pulpit cloth of green wrought velvet, ornamented with gold, and the letters I. H. S. embroidered in gold and silver upon it. I should not mention this but that it appears later.

Dr. Robert Hill appears to have been a liberal man, for there is entered in the accounts, "Given to two poor Turks, turned Christians, 2s."

This item, when it was audited, was questioned by the auditors, and was deducted by them with this remark, "Memorandum: And whereas there is a charge in this account given to two poor Turks, which he should not have done, 2s., which sum is deducted."

Possibly the auditors fancied they might be Greeks, who, though Turkish subjects, were always Christians.

In the year 1623 Dr. John Grant became a rector, and with him I will pause for a little.

During this interval there are many entries relating to the plague. The plague was in the parish from the year 1593 to the year 1603 almost incessantly.

In the year 1593 the disease, which was very deadly in most parishes in the City, was apparently of no strength in St. Bartholomew's; but in the year 1603, the annual death-rate being about 15, 92 persons died, and of these 80 died between the 1st of July and the 1st of January.

The plague in London appears to have commenced with the Spring, to have become fatal about the month of June, and continued until the month of December. In the Levant, on the contrary, the plague used to commence shortly after the beginning of January, and never extended beyond the latter end of June.

We will now turn to St. Margaret's books.

For some reason the most interesting items in these books between the dates I have before mentioned refer to the disputes which took place between the parish and the clergy.

In the autumn of 1574 the plague was in the parish with some severity, and in December Mr. James Style, who was then the rector (being the first rector of the parish after the Reformation) applied to the vestry for leave to go into the country for the benefit of his health. This is mentioned in a minute of the 2nd of December, as follows:—

At a vestry holden the 2nd day of December, 1574, it is agreed by the whole parish that the parson shall have licence to depart into the country for the recovery of his health for the space of one month or six weeks, and the parish is content to bear somewhat towards the charges of a minister to serve in his absence.

In two or three subsequent meetings his absence is referred to, and on the 8th of May in the following year he had not returned, and the vestry then deter-

mined that the churchwardens and sidesmen should go to the Bishop. The minute is as follows :—

The 8th day of May, 1575.—At a vestry then holden by those persons hereunder named, it was agreed that the churchwardens and sidesmen should go to the Bishop and complain of James Style for his absence, with request to take order that we may be used better.

On the 12th of June it was determined to send a deputation of the parishioners, with the churchwardens and sidesmen, to the Bishop of London and to the Lord Keeper. This appears by the following minute :—

The 12th day of June, 1575.—At a vestry by those names hereunder written, it was agreed that Mr. Beckitt, Mr. Ansell, and Mr. Bramley, Mr. George Smith, Mr. Kent, Mr. Doughtey, or three of them, with the churchwardens and sidesmen, shall go to the Lord of London, or to the Lord Keeper, and require that James Style may be deprived, and that the Lord of London may take some shorter way for such course than by the ordinary course of law, for avoiding the church and the parish.

About a month later there is a minute to the effect that the Bishop required the churchwardens to pay tithes and first-fruits due to James Style, and so it must be assumed the parish got the worst of it.

But if he continued rector his name never appears again in the books, although that of his successor does not occur till 1581.

In that year Mr. Alexander Shepherd became rector of the parish.

It is clear from the minutes that preaching or lecturing on Sundays was not practised in the church, for in the year 1583 Mr. Shepherd offered to preach a lecture upon Tuesdays and Thursdays ; but the parishioners preferred to have one on Sundays in the forenoon, and on Thursdays in the night.

The minute which records this fact is interesting, because it is signed by Sir Julius Cæsar, a well-known lawyer, who was Doctor of Laws and Judge of the Admiralty Court. He lived in a house adjoining Founders' Hall for several years, and then removed to the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where he died.

The last minute signed by Mr. Shepherd is in May 1588.

In June of 1588 the new rector, Mr. James Baxter, signs the minutes, and then, and in other cases after his signature, he writes the date in Greek, between two hieroglyphics, “*αφωθ.*”

Mr. Baxter found it difficult to live upon his income, and constantly appears applying to the parishioners for aid. Almost all the entries in his time refer to the situation, so to speak, between himself and the parishioners.

In December, 1588, there is a memorandum of a benevolence that Mr. Baxter

was to have from the parish, and also reference to a complaint made by him against the healthiness of the rectory-house. The complaint was likely to be well founded, as the house stood over the Wall brook.

In March 1589 there is another entry, showing how the benevolence was to be collected.

This minute is the first mention of the collection and distribution of money collected during the service :—

Also at this vestry, holden this 30th day of March, 1589, at the good motion of the worshipful doctor, Julius Cæsar, it is agreed that two housekeepers of this parish, being churchwardens, or such other as be well thought of, shall stand at both the church doors to collect the benevolence of the whole auditory that resort to the lectures or preachings in this parish, and the same shall be put into some convenient chest, or safe keeping, to be bestowed upon such relief as the whole vestry shall think expedient to have it disposed unto, provided that the collections that be collected upon the Sunday before noon shall be disbursed by the churchwardens for the time being.

This minute is signed Julius Cæsar and J. Baxter, with the date in Greek.

The subject of Mr. Baxter's poverty was renewed during the next month, and he asked for a further benevolence, but some misunderstanding appears to have grown up between him and the parish which developed later on.

The minute is as follows :—

A vestry warned at the request of Mr. Baxter, 10th of April, 1589, concerning his own cause: at this vestry, upon occasion of Mr. Baxter's complaint concerning the insufficiency of his tithes towards the maintenance of his family and charge, he demanded an increase of 14*l.* 15*l.* or 16*l.* the year, by way of benevolence, and it is agreed that the churchwardens and Mr. Bramley shall go personally to the inhabitants of the parish to understand their minds concerning the raising of this said sum, and to give report at the next vestry of the parishioners inclination to the same; the rather because Mr. Baxter hath declared that he is offered a living in the Court by some of her Majesty's Council, and is to give his answer upon ten days next, being the 15th of April.

Upon the 13th of April the churchwardens reported the result of these applications in the following minute :—

At a vestry holden this Sunday, the 13th of April, 1589, the parishioners being assembled in ample sort, the churchwardens have signified their pains taken personally with every one for the increase before-mentioned, and there signified to Mr. Baxter that the said parishioners are most unwilling to any further contribution because they understand he hath concluded with Mr. Wells an exchange of this parsonage for his room or office at the court in the chapel there, contrary to his often promises to the said parish and also to the tenor of his bond given to the churchwardens and other of the parishioners for his continuance here for six years, upon

consideration of his first-fruits, granted him by the said parishioners, and the charges thereunto belonging; and upon the occasion of Mr. Baxter's solemn declaration to the whole auditory, at the entrance into the pulpit to preach, that the report was false that was given out of his resignation, declaring by the credit of a minister that it was false, there was further report taken for the better satisfying of Mr. Baxter's requests now again made to the parish at this vestry till Tuesday next after the same lecture; in which time, enquiry being made diligently of his dealing with Mr. Wells, it is found that the same was fully concluded of between them, and before the Treasurer of the Queen's House, for Mr. Wells his room, and between him and the Lord Chancellor for consent of resignation, which was also prefixed, and yet upon the Tuesday following the said Mr. Baxter, notwithstanding the many further proofs, denied the same again, persuading the parish to continue their purpose of increase of his salary; and although he had, in his entrance into the pulpit that morning, most slanderously and untruly charged his parishioners with insufficiency of consideration for his living, declaring that he had but 28*l.* for his house-keeping for thirty-nine weeks, and therefore was compelled to leave the place, yet had he 34*l.* in income and 6*l.* to pay his debts, and 16*l.* to pay his first-fruits and the charges, besides a greater sum of those of other parishes by way of benevolence in the considering of his poverty, which, being compared with the sums of money which he hath taken upon credit in and about the parish, amounting to about 30*l.*, and his promises in the pulpit to pay divers of them, and yet no performance; they then on the Tuesday, seeing his dissembling dealing with them, and other charges, have with good consideration denied his request, and then be themselves discharged of burden by his exchange with Mr. Wells, it being evident that he practised this exchange within a month after his entrance into this parsonage, and in the meantime dissembled with the parish and his feigned residence for at least six years, at least, being but nine months, may be viewed of his ill-dealing; but this is so.

The rest is scratched out carefully with the pen.

I should judge from this last rather rambling statement that Mr. Baxter, having been in debt, was assisted by the parish to pay his debts upon an understanding that he was to continue their rector for six years, I suppose in order to enable them to repay themselves, for it is difficult to understand what other inducement they could have had for keeping such a man. In order apparently to get an advance from them he concealed the fact of his being about to leave, and seems to have been otherwise economical of the truth in his dealings with the parishioners.

This is apparent, especially in his declaration about Mr. Wells, because that gentleman attends as his successor at the next meeting of the vestry, and upon that occasion he was told "that if he pleased to lecture upon the good hope he hath of the parish's good consideration he may do as God shall move him." The good hope does not seem to have been profitable, for in the year 1592 Mr. Wells announced that he would read them no more lectures, and moreover he com-

plained of their not coming to church. This appears from two minutes of the 23rd September and the 30th November, 1592.

24 Sept., 1592.

At this vestry Mr. Bowding, at the request of Mr. Wells, our parson, did speak to the whole parish that the said Mr. Wells would read no more lectures, and that, if the parishioners would provide one to read a lecture in this our church, our said parson would and did by this his deputy give leave for another to read or preach any day or days that they would appoint.

On the 30th Nov^r. there was moved by the churchwarden at the desire of the parson that the inhabitors of this parish would come better or to say oftener to the church on Sundaie, and then the parson himself moved the s^d parishioners in the same matter at large, and shewed the small appearance the Sunday before, and such like, &c.

The first of these minutes marks an important epoch in the history of the parish, viz., the voluntary surrender by the rector to the parishioners of the selection of a lecturer. When the parson of the parish permitted the parishioners to select for themselves a lecturer independent of and irresponsible to him, he virtually surrendered his charge. Archbishop Laud, whilst Bishop of London, in vain attempted to abolish these lectureships. It was then too late, and when the great rebellion broke over the city the lecturers supplanted the parsons.

In the year 1593 there was a dreadful attack of the plague in the parish, and ninety-two people died, the average yearly number of deaths during the preceding ten years being about sixteen.

The minutes show the particular provisions made upon that occasion for viewers and searchers. The process of searching produced an unexpected result in one case, as appears from a minute in August:—

On the 26th August, at a vestry, Mr. Welles, the parson, moved the parishioners about the woman which Mr. Cox kept in his chambers to serve him, for it is very suspicious for him to keep her so, it is agreed that the churchwardens shall admonish him to put her away before Sunday next, which shall be the 2nd day of Sept^r., or else to complain of him to the aldermen and to the wardmote inquest.

Then follows a note:—

Y^e 27th daie the churchwardens gave warning to Mr. Cox to put away his woman as it was agreed at the vestry y^e 26 day.

Mr. Wells died in 1596, and was buried on the 16th of August in the parish. He was succeeded by Mr. George Downham. In his time the registers were copied on to parchment.

Mr. Downham and his son continued as parsons of the parish till the year 1619, when Dr. Brooke became rector, and he remained rector till the year 1627.

In the year 1625 the celebrated plague of that year commenced in the parish in the month of April, and I make no apology for setting out the minutes referring to it:—

At a vestry holden and lawfully warned on the 24th day of April, 1625: at this vestry it was declared that a child of William Miller's was found by the searchers to die of the plague, and therefore there was order given to the churchwardens and constables that they should take order for watchmen, searchers, and all things necessary to be done for the stay of the infection, if it may please God, and also that they shall take order for the indicting of those that do keep any inmates in their houses.

At a vestry called and holden the 1st of May, 1625, William Miller, brazier, having his house shut up, being infected with the sickness, petitioned to the parish for relief and maintenance, he being at that present destitute of all means, whereupon it was agreed, by the consent of the whole vestry, that he should have 3*l.* in money lent him, and to be paid back again when it pleases God to restore him to his former health and make him able.

There were present as follows:

Here follow the names.

At a vestry holden and lawfully warned the 9th of May, 1625, it was declared he, the said William Miller, made suit again for more means, which was very strange to the whole parish, having spent so much money in so short a time. They, therefore, seeing it to be both chargeable and dangerous, it was agreed upon that, if he were willing, he and his whole household, being eight persons, should be removed to the pest house, to the which he agreed unto, and there to be kept at the charges of the parish, paying for every particular person 7*s.* per week, which did amount to 11*l.* odd money, and there to continue for a month. The parish did undertake this charge to prevent a further danger in spreading of it at the first, for many did venture and hazard themselves, both strangers and others, to see them, to the great danger of their neighbours, notwithstanding there was a warder.

This money was levied upon every person according to that proportion they pay to the poor for six months. There were present, &c.

Here follow the names.

The attempts to stop the spreading of the disease were unavailing, and before it left the parish 103 persons had died. If, as I calculate, the population was under 600, the severity of the attack may be understood.

In the following year the parish entered upon a contest with Dr. Brooke upon the subject of the offertory money. The question has something of an historical

interest about it, and so I mention it. In the reign of King Edward VI. and during the greater portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were no compulsory poor rates, but the poor were maintained by the parish to which they belonged by the voluntary contributions of the parishioners. These contributions were collected in church, and the Rubrics of the Prayer Books both of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth are framed with this object. The Rubric in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, which continued unaltered in the Prayer Book of King James, is as follows :—

After the sermon, homily, or exhortation the curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy dayes or fasting days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poore, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

These are the usual offertory sentences. The rubric then proceeds :—

Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the same into the poor man's box.

In the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth the compulsory Poor Rate Act was passed, and therefore the voluntary contributions in church became inapplicable; but it seems clear that the churchwardens were in the habit of appropriating the offertory in aid of the rate, and hence the question which arose between the clerygyman and the parish upon the subject. It is told in the following minutes :—

St. Margaret's, the 2nd day of July, 1626, at a vestry lawfully called, it was declared and debated on concerning Dr. Brooke his promise of money unto the clerk and the sexton out of the poor's money every Communion day collected, and being put to hand, whether he could do it by a custom, privilege, or power, which he challenged to have of himself, it was concluded by a full consent by those parties whose names were underwritten that he could find none at all.

The next meeting upon the subject was on the 21st October in the same year :—

At a meeting of the vestry the 21st October, lawfully called, it was declared that the churchwardens and sidesmen had had conference with Dr. Brooke, minister of the parish, concerning the moneys that was given at the Communion table, which it could not totally be put into the poor's box, in respect the churchwardens conceived they were exactly bound by oath so to see it done, according to the true meaning of the canons. Whereupon the doctor replied it touched not the oath of the churchwardens; in regard it being money given in that place and at that time, it was in his full power to dispose of it how and upon whom he pleased, without the consent of the churchwardens. Nevertheless, he, being present at this meeting, was content to refer himself unto the report of Dr. Ducke; but the churchwardens, not contented with that reference, desired Dr. Brooke to show one precedent in any one parish in London where any parson in his parish took

the poor upon him, and prevailed thereon against the good will and likings of the churchwardens. Upon this demand he referred the churchwardens unto Dr. Whitt, parson of St. Peter's Church in Cornhill.

Dr. Ducke was the Chancellor of the Bishop of London, and it may be presumed that before entering into the contest Dr. Brooke had satisfied himself of his view upon the question.

The churchwardens declined to consult Dr. Ducke, but, having made their own inquiries, proceeded as they considered themselves legally entitled to do. This resulted in the rector filing articles against them in the Ecclesiastical Court; the churchwardens then reported the matter to the vestry.

At a meeting of the vestry lawfully called, the 19th Novr, 1626, the churchwarden declared that, whereas Dr. Brooke had referred the difference depending between the parish and himself for the disposing of the money received at the communion table unto the determination of Dr. Ducke, the Bishop's Chancellor, the churchwarden thought it not equal that he, who was afterwards to become his judge, in case he did not allow of his determination, therefore went not to him at all, but made inquiry of the president at St. Peter's Church, in Cornhill, and found it lean contrary to that which Dr. Brooke had delivered. The churchwarden before the next communion following delivered so much unto him, and desired peace, and with all he would no more give any money of that kind as formerly he had done; but Dr. Brooke replied that the next communion he would give away all that was offered, and the churchwardens should have nothing to do with it. Whereupon the churchwarden at the next communion, having collected the devotion of the people after the Dr. had given the blessing, went and put the money totally into the poore's box, as by the orders of the Church, confirmed by Act of Parliament, he ought to do. Hereupon Dr. Brooke caused the churchwarden to be cited before the Chancellor. The churchwarden thereupon maketh it the parish case, and craved their help and advice. They all approved of his precedent course, and Mr. Wm. Middleton pronounced that if there were nothing depending in the Court against him, but that only the parish was to beare him out, and that before the next Court day some of the parishioners would join together to confer with the Dr. about peace.

Then follow the names.

The next week the churchwarden reported the result of his appearance in Court, which was not satisfactory.

The 26th of November, 1626.

At a meeting of vestry, lawfully called, the churchwarden declared to the parishioners that at his appearance in the Arches ye second court day, about the precedent business, Dr. Brooke had exhibited articles against him for infringing of the orders of the Church of England, whereupon the churchwarden required of the Judge in Court that he might have a legal proceeding, according to his promise, in suffering him to have a copy of the articles exhibited, that he might advise to

give answer unto them, but was utterly denied them, but was willed by the judge to give attendance the next court day following. At this vestry the neighbours did once more resolve to join to go to Dr. Brooke to make peace.

It does not appear what became of the peacemaking, but Dr. Brooke left the parish in May 1627, having been appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr. Humphry Tabor took his place.

The question was set at rest by the alteration in the rubric after the Restoration.

Dr. Brooke was a high churchman, and wrote a tract on Predestination for Archbishop Laud; he died the following year.

It will thus be seen that, while in the parish of St. Bartholomew there was little or no question with the clergy, in the parish of St. Margaret the clergy and the parishioners were almost constantly in discussion.

I have drawn a line at the appointment of Dr. Grant and Mr. Humphry Tabor as rectors of the two parishes, because they were the last of the rectors before the Commonwealth. Up to this point I have kept the history of the parishes separate. I shall now, with a view to shortening the matter, blend them into one.

It must be remembered that in the year 1627 Dr. William Laud was appointed Bishop of London, and whatever opinions may be held of him it is certain that he found the Church, particularly in London, in considerable disorder, nor was this disorder lightened by the fact that the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop Abbott, was not only not a person with whom Bishop Laud would have much in common, but that having accidentally committed homicide he was in a measure incapacitated from taking any prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs, and in fact did not. It is clear that everything was conducted in a very slovenly manner, and in many of the minutes there appear indications of Laud's efforts to induce a better order.

In the year 1629 there is an interesting entry in St. Margaret's:—

The 15th of January, 1629.—At a meeting or vestry lawfully called of the parishioners, at the order of Mr. Humphrey Tabor, our minister, he acquainted the assembly then met that he had been at the Lord Bishop of London's, where were also divers other ministers of his Lordship's diocese, by his Lordship's order, and it was by him declared to the said ministers present certain instructions which the King's Majesty hath enjoined the lecturers which in London touching catechising by way of question and answer, and the dress fit to be used therein by the minister, *videlicet* in wearing of a hood according to his degree; and forasmuch as we have no such hood in the parish, it was debated by the said assembly whether the minister, at his proper charge, or the parish at their cost and charges, should provide the same, and by free consent of the most of the

assembly it was ordered that the churchwardens of this parish should provide the said hood at the cost and charges of the parish. Witness our hands.

The subject was renewed at the next vestry :—

Also at this vestry the former meeting of this parish, and their order of the 15th predict' to the churchwardens, touching providing of a hood at the cost and charges of the parish, was now again confirmed.

In 1630 Dr. Grant came to a question with the parish of St. Bartholomew's respecting the appointment of parish clerk, in which he got the worst of it. It is told in such quaint language that I am sorry not to give it, but there is not space for everything.

In the same year there are several interesting items pointing to the condition of the Church discipline in the same parish ; the first of these was in the month of December.

12th December, 1630.

At a vestry holden upon the day and year above written, there being present, &c.

Fourthly, I certified unto them that we, the churchwardens and sidesmen, had lately met to read over our book of articles according as we were enjoined, and, amongst many things to be presented within there, we found there were three especially which did concern this present vestry, which we desired might be performed. The first was concerning the communicants, for their not giving or sending in their names in time before the communion, which in our parish was grown to a great neglect, which they all there promised should be amended.

The second was concerning our decayed and ruinous church wall, about which at this vestry there was nothing concluded or agreed upon for want of money.

The third was concerning our church stock, which was withholden and detained, and converted, contrary to the will of the dead, to another use than that it was given for, as we conceived.

After much speech had concerning this business, it was referred unto another time to be further spoken of and discoursed upon, against which time we were further to inform ourselves concerning the same.

I do not find that this time ever came.

In the year 1633 there was a very particular churchwarden, named Jeremy Jones, in St. Bartholomew's, who put the parish to some trouble. This is detailed in the following extracts.

June the 2nd day, 1633.

At a vestry holden in the parish of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange, the day and year above written, there being present Dr. Grant, our parson, the two churchwardens, Captain Millward Debity, Mr. Bostock, and others, I certified unto them of divers things which did nearly concern my oath which I took at my admittance, namely :—

First, that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that one of every house

throughout our parish should repair to our parish church one every Wednesday, Friday, and holyday, to morning prayer, according to statute, upon pain of punishment by the censure of the church, the which was assented unto, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed, to the end that I might be discharged of this article.

Secondly, that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that all our parishioners should send to our church their children, being of age, and their apprentices, to be catechised every Sunday in the afternoon before evening prayer, at the tolling of the first bell, according to the canons. The which was assented unto, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed.

Thirdly, I made known unto the vestry that the battlements of the church were much decayed, and that it needed great reparations, the which was taken into consideration, and it was agreed that twelve men of our parish should view the decayed places of the church, namely, Dr. Grant, two churchwardens, and others.

Fourthly, I made known unto the vestry that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that our communicants which were to receive the Holy Communion that they did receive it reverently kneeling on their knees, according to the canons. And whereas it hath been heretofore propounded to make a decent frame about the Communion table, as in divers churches in this city, to the end that the communicants might come to the table and receive the Holy Sacrament kneeling, that the churchwardens might take the better notice of it for the discharge of their oaths, Some thought it good and fit that such a frame should be made, and some were against it, but it was ordered by the present vestry that the place where the Communion table stands should be viewed by the twelve men nominated before to see if it could be conveniently made and set up in that place to give up their opinions concerning it at the next vestry.

Fifthly, I made known unto the vestry that I was enjoined by my oath, according to the Book of Articles, to give notice to all our parishioners which doth desire to receive the Holy Communion that they should bring in their names to our church on the Saturday in the afternoon, or on the Sunday in the morning before the second peal, to the end that our doctor and the churchwardens should know who did receive the Holy Communion, and also the better to know how to provide the bread and the wine, and also to keep a book of the names of all the communicants that are to receive every Communion day, the which was assented to, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed.

Mr. Jones did not wait for the next vestry, but put up the altar-rails upon his own order, and the following extracts from the account-book show the cost of them:—

Paid Thomas Ogle, the joiner, for making the frame about the Communion table, and all things belonging to it, as per his bill and quittance, 15*l*.

Paid for three forms for the youth of the parish to sit on in the church, 12*s*. 4*d*.

Paid to Mr. Dawson, register of the Archdeacon's Court, for drawing out the order of the Court for the setting up the frame about the Communion table, 2*s*. 6*d*.

Paid to Mr. Dawson more for the fees of the court for summoning the churchwardens and

sidesmen into the court, with the proofs for setting up of the frame, and to return that it was done, 2*s.* 8*d.*

Given to the master of the ship carpenters of the East India Company, and to his men, for viewing, keeping up the roof of our church, and searching it all over to see if it were sound or not, and to give their opinions of it, which was that it must be new built, 1*l.*

Paid Mr. Edward Spooner, upholsterer, for lining the four kneelers belonging to the Communion table, for some tacks and nails, &c., as per his bill, 1*l.* 16*s.*

Paid for five yards of green kersey to line the kneelers for the frame which is for the Communion table, 15*s.*

Paid to the smith for the two iron bars and other fastenings of iron to fasten the frame, 6*s.*

Paid the mason for cutting holes in the stones, and the plumbers for leads to fasten the iron in the ground, and also for mending a shovel, 2*s.*

Paid for seven ells and a quarter of coarse canvas to make a covering for the kneelers for the frame which is for the Communion table, 6*s.*

As might not unreasonably be expected, these items came into question at the parish audit at the end of Mr. Jeremy Jones's year of office.

At a vestry held the 23rd day of June, 1634, there being present Dr. Grant, our pastor, the auditors, &c., the auditors appointed for auditing the account of Mr. Jeremy Jones, late churchwarden, having had the same in examination, thought good for some reasons not to pass the same, whereof they desired to make the parish acquainted, for which cause this vestry was purposely called, where it was alleged by some of the said auditors that there were divers reasons why the said accounts should not be allowed, but there was only named two, which were the charging of the locks and keys upon the pew doors, and the expense, extraordinary as they conceived, in the setting up the frame about the Communion table, both which being thoroughly debated and considered by this vestry, although they did deem the said charges in themselves not allowable, yet for quietness' sake, and to avoid suits in law, but chiefly to the end the said Mr. Jones should presently pay to the parish the moneys remaining upon the foot of his said account, that the carpenters and plumber, who had now well nigh finished their work on the middle roof of the church, might be therewith paid, the major part thought it fit to allow thereof, and did pass it, as appears under some of their hands upon this day in the book of the churchwardens' account belonging to the said parish, which book the said Mr. Jones brought with him to this vestry and carried it again away with him, and, notwithstanding the passing of his account as aforesaid, yet he refused to part with the money unless he might have four of the auditors' hands for allowance of the account.

Mr. Jones, however, having got the money in hand, was on the right side, and eventually got his account receipted in the proper form by all the auditors, and the books show that, on the 28th of June, 1634, the bills were paid "out of the moneys which the upper churchwarden had the instant received of Mr. Jeremy Jones."

Mr. Jones's successor, just as he was going out of office, also applied to the vestry upon the several heads touched upon by his predecessor, probably to enable him to make his return to the Articles :—

At a vestry held the 1st of March, 1634, the two last vestries of the 28th and 30th of December was read and approved of.

I desired the parishioners then present that they would send in the names of their communicants in tickets in due time before the Communion, and that they would be constant in sending their prentices and youth to be catechised, also that they would come or send one of a house to the morning prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and also to hear divine service on Saturday in the afternoon.

On the 17th May, 1635, a hard case was brought before the parish :—

At a vestry held the 17th of May, 1635.

Fourthly, there was a complaint made against Goodwife Empsen for unruliness in the street, which was by reason of her trade she kept in selling apples, which the parish, to avoid the like occasion, promised her to pay her rent, so that she would give over her trade and live peaceably, which she there promised to do. I was ordered to pay her rent upon that condition, else not.

I hope I shall be excused for mentioning an entry in the year 1637, which announces how the parish had a vane placed upon the top of their church tower made in the shape of a ship, as large as the ship in the Poultry, which cost 3*l.* 10*s.* for making, and 1*l.* 15*s.* for gilding. Most visitors to, or inhabitants of, the City will remember the ship on St. Mildred's in the Poultry, which now stands as a vane to St. Olave's, Jewry.

In the year 1638-39, under the head of Payment of the poore's account, there are the following :—

Paid to Millington to take off an excommunication ag ⁿ the widow Warnham for abusing her daughter, I say paid it by the consent of Dr. Grant, our parson, and Deputy Woodward	0 8 0
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Under the head of parish accounts there are these :—

Paid to my Lord of London's officer for bringing a prayer for the King his Majesty's journey to York	0 1 0
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In the next year there is this entry :—

Paid for ringing when the King came out of Scotland	0 3 0
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In the following year comes an entry of ominous import :—

1640.

16 Feb ^y .—P ^d the ringers for joy of the tryannual Parliament	0 2 6
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In the following year the plague was in the parish, and there are two items relating to it :—

1641.			
P ^d for sending Griffin's maid and child to the pest house . . .	4	5	0
P ^d the pest house man for searching	4	10	0

In the same year—1641—the parishioners of St. Bartholomew applied to Dr. Grant for permission to choose a lecturer on the Sunday afternoon. In these days troubles were coming in the church, and Dr. Grant, who, it will be seen, took a very practical view of the case, gave them permission to do so upon being paid 20*l*. The parishioners chose a gentleman of the name of Lightfoot, a well-known Puritan and attached to the Parliament, and who will be mentioned again very shortly.

We now come to the year 1642. In the autumn of that year the battle of Edgehill, as we call it, or, as it was then called, Kineton Field, was fought. Upon the 26th of November, rather better than a month after the battle, a Gravesend boat was caught shooting London Bridge by the Parliament pinnaces that lay above Bridge for the guard of the City and Parliament. Gravesend boats usually stopped at Billingsgate, but this boat shooting the bridge attracted the attention of the pinnaces, who pursued it and caught it up, and found on board a gentleman. Upon searching him they found upon him a letter supposed to be written by Colonel Goring, giving a detailed account of the supplies of men and money expected by the King from Holland and Denmark. This letter was submitted to Parliament the same day, and was ordered to be read the next day—Sunday—in all the churches in the City; and Isaac Pennington, the well-known Lord Mayor, at the direction of the Committee of both Houses, proceeded to raise 30,000*l*. for the pressing wants of the army. So very pressing were the wants that the money was to be raised by the following Monday afternoon. The letter was read in both the churches of St. Bartholomew's and St. Margaret's, and a collection was made in each of them. The minute concerning this in the parish of St. Bartholomew's is as follows :—

A particular of such moneys as were received the 29th day of November, 1642, by Mr. John Oakes and Mr. Richard Rooch, churchwardens, of such persons of this parish as did lend towards the raising of 30,000*l*. to supply the urgent occasions of the army, according to the desire of the Committee of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for advancing money, and according to a precept of the Lord Mayor of London of the 26th of this instant.

Then follow twenty-seven names of parties subscribing various sums from 50*l*. to 1*l*. amounting to about 290*l*.

The entry relating to the same subject in St. Margaret's is as follows :—

November 27th, 1642.

At a general meeting at the parish church of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, the parishioners of the same parish did there agree and lend for a present supply for the use of the King and Parliament, upon the Parliament's proposition, as followeth.

Then follow the subscriptions of sixty-three people for about 350*l*.

Among these,

Peter Pheasant gave 25*l*.

Stephen Pheasant, 10*l*.

Peter Pheasant was a serjeant-at-law, and was at this time Recorder of London, and lived in the house formerly occupied by Sir Julius Cæsar.

After some hesitation I have come to the determination that the story of the Gravesend boat was an entire fabrication, and I conceive the whole thing to have been a mere trick on the part of Lord Mayor Pennington, who had thrown in his lot with the war party, to do two things—first, to frighten the citizens out of their money for the purposes of the war; and secondly, to compromise them, by making them by their subscriptions parties to the rebellion. His plan succeeded admirably; and, in my judgment, it was the turning-point between peace and war, and the turn was towards the latter.

The appointment of lecturer was again considered in 1642, and Mr. Lightfoot was again appointed. The minute is as follows :—

At a meeting called the 22nd of January, 1642, Dr. Grant being present, Mr. Lightfoot was chosen lecturer for the Sabbath, to preach forenoon and afternoon, and to make choice of a reader whom he should think fit. Three score pounds a year is promised for the lecturer and 10*l*. a year for the reader.

Mr. Lightfoot was a great Rabbinical scholar, and afterwards master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge; he was one of the Assembly of Divines appointed by an Ordinance of Parliament, dated 12th June, 1643, to consider the ritual of the Church of England, and the best method for its government. He was a supporter of the Parliament, and received preferment from them.

And here it may not be out of place to describe who were the principal inhabitants in the parishes at this critical time, and I think the recital will account in a great measure for the line taken by these parishes.

In the parish of St. Margaret-Lothbury the principal inhabitant was Mr. Serjeant Pheasant.

Mr. Serjeant Pheasant was, as I have said, Recorder of London, and apparently a Presbyterian. He very early sided with the Parliament. After residing some time in St. Margaret's he removed to St. Bartholomew's, and was while there created a Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and his name is among those who were presented to the King at Oxford to be recognised as one of the justices of that Court, but not accepted by the King. He was afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and one of those to whom the privilege of printing law books was granted by Parliament.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the principal inhabitant was Mr. Harbottle Grimston, a lawyer even then of considerable eminence, and a member of Parliament and a Presbyterian. He was, moreover, a violent opponent of Archbishop Laud.

There were two gentlemen of the name of Harbottle Grimston in Parliament at the same time—father and son. The father was a baronet, and his son succeeded him at his death in 1647. The son was member for Colchester, and during his residence in St. Bartholomew's he had a son born, who was also christened Harbottle. He was one of the secluded members, and returned to Parliament after the Protector Oliver's death. He was Speaker of the House of Commons at the Restoration, and subsequently made Master of the Rolls. As a fact, he pronounced his name Herbottle, and his name is so written in the roll of Parliament; in the rate-books it is written Hurbottle.

Of Mr. Lightfoot I have already given an account.

Sir Thomas Middleton, the major-general of the six counties of North Wales, and his wife, also lived in the parish, and also their son-in-law, Sir William Wittewronge, who was in the Parliament service.

Sir Thomas Middleton's name is sufficiently well known not to make it unnecessary to say anything about him here. Having served the Parliament with great distinction he, after the execution of King Charles I., sided with his son, King Charles II., and during the whole time of the Commonwealth, and afterwards of the Protectorate, he was in arms in Scotland for King Charles; in fact, he was the last person who laid down his arms before the Restoration.

Mr. Samuel Harsnet, who was also a colonel in the Parliamentary army, was a member of the Permanent Court Martial of the City, and held other appointments under Parliament.

Mr. Lamott was one of the Commissioners for Excise, and was a man of great consideration in the City. His daughter married Sir James Honeywood, one of the Upper House summoned by the Protector Oliver.

Captain Richard Venner, an officer in the Parliament service, was one of the Commissioners for administering the estates of the archbishops and bishops.

Besides these, there were at least two more officers in the Parliamentary army resident in the parish. All these were Parliamentarians. On the other hand, there were in the parish Dr. Zouch, a doctor of civil laws, also a lawyer, and Mr. Savage,—both of considerable position and wealth, and both Royalists.

It is difficult to say who were the prominent Presbyterians in the parish. I should say probably Mr. Grimston and Colonel Harsnet. The latter was one of the tryers appointed to select the elders for the seventh *classis*, in which all the three parishes were situated.

I do not believe that the parishioners in general cared at all for the change of service. Evidence of this will appear shortly. I doubt even if the leaders did. Mr. Lamott, one of the most influential merchants, certainly did not.

It is very remarkable that I have not been able to find a single notable among the inhabitants of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, with the exception of the parson, Mr. Cranford, who was one of the divines specially authorised to print theological works in the City of London.

Thus much for the inhabitants. The next entry from St. Bartholomew's relates to the altar-rails erected by Mr. Jeremy Jones, the expense of which had nine years before caused so much discussion.

In the previous November a Bill had passed the Houses of Lords and Commons for the suppression of divers innovations in churches and chapels, &c., and enacted that before the 1st April, 1643, all altars and tables of stone be destroyed, and that all Communion tables be removed from the east end, and that all rails whatsoever which had been erected near or about any altar or Communion table should be taken away and the east end levelled.

This Bill was sent to Oxford for the Royal Assent, but never received it, and was afterwards passed as an ordinance.

The minute in St. Bartholomew's about the rails is as follows :—

At a meeting called the 26th February, 1642, present Dr. Zouch and others, it was agreed upon that the rails in the chancel should be made into pews, and the chancel should be made wider, and for the overseers of it Mr. Burton, Mr. Harsnett, and other gentlemen were chosen.

This Mr. Harsnett I have already mentioned as a leading Presbyterian.

Dr. Zouch, on the contrary, will presently be heard of at Oxford with the King. In the account-book are these entries :

P^d. for making new pews and setting up the rails £10 0 0
P^d the mason for cutting the grave stones and other work 0 6 0

I suppose it was considered proper to get Dr. Grant's concurrence in this change, and the parishioners of St. Bartholomew had, as I have before hinted, by this time learnt the way, as will appear from the next minute:—

April 30th, 1643.—At a vestry, there being present these Parishioners following, it was agreed to give Dr. Grant a gratuity for giving leave to the parish to make a free choice of Mr. Lightfoot for the lecturer, as also for permitting the parishioners to make new pews in the chancel, this gift following, which was collected by me, according to their order, and paid to the doctor, as by his hands to the bill doth appear.

The gratuity amounted to 13*l.* 4*s.*

This finishes the first volume of the vestry book of St. Bartholomew. At the end there is a list of churchwardens.

A second book was commenced, and in the accounts it is thus mentioned:—

P^d for a new vestry book £0 6 6

In the same year an ordinance was passed for the utter demolition and removal, before the 1st November, 1643, of all monuments of superstitious idolatry.

This set the people of St. Bartholomew's considering, and the result of their reflections will be seen in the next minute:—

18th June, 1643.

At a vestry I read an ordinance from a Committee of the House of Commons for the demolishing of superstitious and idolatrous things, both within the church and without, where it was ordered that the three letters in the pulpit cloth, I.H.S. should be put out, and some words rased out of the monuments in the church, as, "Pray for the soul of such a one," and the like.

Dr. Grant and Mr. Lightfoot were both present at this vestry.

In the churchwardens' accounts for the year is this entry:—

P^d to the imbroderer for taking I.H.S. out of the pulpit-cloth, and imbrodering the same again with other work, twenty shillings, besides five shillings he allowed me for the old stuff £1 0 0

This seems to have been the pulpit-cloth before mentioned as the gift of Mr. Crookman.

In the next year there is the following item :—

Pa^d for taking out the brass inscription in the church . . . 0 7 0

On the 7th October, 1643, an ordinance was passed in the Houses of Lords and Commons for raising 100,000*l.* for the Scots. This, and the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, were the inducements which were to bring them to England to aid the Parliament.

The money was collected from parish to parish in the City, and the following is a copy of an original receipt given to the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, and which is still pinned into the book with the pins of the period :—

“The 16th day of October, 1643, Received the day and year above written, by us, whose names are subscribed, being treasurers appointed by the Committee of the House of Commons, sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall, for raising of money towards the payment of the 100,000*l.*, agreed to be forthwith advanced for our brethren of Scotland towards payment of their army, raised for our assistance, the sum of 3*l.* 1*s.* of William Burrows, churchwarden, of Lothbury, which is to be repaid to the said Burrows for several persons or assigns, with interest after the rate of 8*l.* per cent.; for the speedy repayment whereof the public faith of both nations is engaged. We say received

£3 1 0

ROBERT
and MICHAEL HEWING.

There is an entry of this loan also in the books as follows :—

Received the sum of 3*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* for the advance of the Scots, of these whose names are hereunder written, which is to be repaid according to the order hereunto annexed.

The account of this transaction in St. Bartholomew's book is as follows :—

A particular of all such moneys as are collected this 13th of October by Lieut.-Col. Sam Harsnett, Captain Richard Venners, Nicholas Gould, Richard Peaps, William Webb, John Jones, and the two churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London, by virtue of an ordinance from the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall for the payment of 100,000*l.* agreed to be forthwith lent to our brethren of Scotland towards payment of their army raised for our defence.

There is also a list of the parishioners who refused to contribute.

Of those who contributed—

Nicholas Gould gave	£60 0 0
Lady Middleton	20 0 0
Col. Harsnett	20 0 0
Mr. John Lamott	25 0 0

Among the parishioners that refused to contribute were—

William Savage (one of the most respectable inhabitants in the parish).

Mr. Barcroft, summoned for Alderman.

Mr. Barlimack for Master Prichaux his two officers.

A great house where Alderman Tary lived.

There is also a list headed Parishioners out of town.

Amongst these are—

William Danvers Robert Hurlin, summoned for Alderman.

Dr. Zouch at Oxford.

In St. Margaret's books, immediately after the receipt, follows a document of considerable interest ; it is headed as follows :—

Margaret Lothbury, A.D. 1643.

Here follows a true copy of the first covenant commended by the Parliament, and required to be taken after the protestation which was taken before A.D. 1641.

The history of this document appears to be this :—

Among the ordinances and other documents, published by Husband, the first covenant appears under date 17th June, 1643 ; it is entitled :—

The vow and covenant appointed by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament to be taken by every man in the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs and liberties thereof, and throughout the whole kingdom.

The ordinance begins by a declaration that there was a popish and traitorous plot, and that a treacherous and horrid design had been lately discovered to join the King's armies and surprise the cities of London and Westminster, and to subvert the Protestant religion, and that the Parliament had thought fit that all who are true-hearted and lovers of their country should bind themselves in a sacred vow and covenant in manner and form as followeth accordingly.

Then follows the document, which is identical with that in St. Margaret's books.

The first covenant set out in St. Margaret's book is the original document, with the signature of the majority of the ratepayers. It is signed by Leonard Cook, minister, and about 260 names, including Peter Pheasant and Mr. Cox, who, if he was the same as before mentioned, it is hoped had reformed his ways with age. A good many of the signatures are obviously in the same handwriting. Who Leonard Cook the minister was, and how he came to supplant Humphry Tabor,

I do not know; there is no notice of it in the parish books; but as a fact Mr. Humphry Tabor refused to sign the covenant and was imprisoned in the King's Bench. At the time of his arrest his wife and children were turned out of St. Margaret's rectory-house with circumstances of great brutality.

Immediately following the above-named document is another of considerable interest, viz., an original copy of the Solemn League and Covenant for reformation, defence of religion, &c., sworn by the parishioners of St. Margaret Lothbury, London. This document also is signed by the majority of the ratepayers. Like the former it is signed by Leonard Cook, minister, and by Mr. Pheasant.

With one or two verbal differences the document is the same as that usually appearing in print, and set out in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. It was to be taken as a fit and excellent means to acquire the favour of Almighty God towards the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and likewise to unite them, and by uniting them to strengthen and fortify them against the common enemy of the true reformed religion.

The manner of taking the covenant was thus:—The minister read the whole covenant distinctly and audibly in the pulpit, and during the time of the reading thereof the whole congregation were to be uncovered, and at the end of his reading thereof all to take it standing, lifting up their right hands bare, and then afterwards to subscribe it severally by writing their names or their marks (to which their names were to be added) in a parchment roll as a book, whereunto the covenant was to be inscribed, purposely provided for that end, and kept as a record in the parish.

If a minister refused or neglected to take it, he was to be turned out of his church.

In St. Margaret's the covenant, having been written in the vestry-book and bound up, has been preserved.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the covenant was copied on parchment, and was after the Restoration burnt by the hangman.

There is a minute in the Saint Bartholomew vestry-book about it, however, as follows:—

1643.

A Solemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, taken at several times by these parishioners following: John Lightfoot, lecturer, and forty-one others and divers servants, as by the accompanying in parchment doth appear.

In the account-book there is this entry about it:—

P^d for engrossing the sacred covenant into parchment 0 8 0

Dr. Grant did not sign the covenant.

The next series of documents is taken from St. Margaret's book, and appears to have been the result of a device of Mr. Leonard Cook. He seems to have improvised a covenant of his own.

It is headed thus:—

The names of such householders of the parish of Lothbury who solemnly renewed their covenant on the 22nd of September, 1644, and particular have engaged themselves by lifting up of their hands—

First: To walk in all the ways of God according to His Word.

Secondly: To be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to go astray.

Whereunto they subscribed with their own hands.

Here follow the names, beginning with Leonard Cook, pastor.

After this there is another copy of the same document, signed by some other householders.

Then there is a further document, described as—

The names of some other householders in this parish, which could not be contained in the former list, who also upon the 29th September, after the forenoon sermon, with their hands lifted up to the Most High God, did declare and engage themselves from henceforth—

1. To walk in all the ways of God according to His Word.

2. To be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found blameworthy by sinning against God.

Here follow the names.

Next there follows a similar document, headed—

The names of such women that are wives or widows dwelling in the parish of Lothbury, who upon the 29th September, 1644, did also solemnly and publicly, in the body of the church, with their hands lifted, declare themselves heartily sorry for their sins that are past, and withal engage themselves from henceforth—

First: to walk in all the ways of God, according to His Word.

Second: to be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to go astray.

Whereunto such as could either write or make their mark subscribed with their hands and marks as follows.

Here follow the names.

There is next another copy of the same document, signed by other women, and then the following:—

The names of such maidens that are either daughters or servants to the inhabitants of Lothbury London, who, after they had been catechised some weeks before they were admitted to the sacrament, did also upon the 29th of September, 1644—which was the Sabbath before the sacrament—solemnly declare themselves heartily sorry for their sins passed, and that all did engage themselves from henceforth, &c.

First, To walk in all the ways of God according to his word.

Secondly, To be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to do amiss.

Lastly, there is a document described as—

The names of such young men that are either sons or servants to the inhabitants of St. Margaret-Lothbury, who, having been catechised on the grounds and principles of religion before their anticipation of the Lord's Supper, upon the 2nd of October, 1644, did solemnly declare and engage themselves as follows: &c.—

First. That they were heartily sorry, and desired to be humbled for their sins past.

Second. That they would earnestly endeavour to walk in all the ways of God, according to the rule of the word of God.

Third. That they would take it well to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found faulty and sinning against God.

Peter Pheasant, now Mr. Serjeant Pheasant, did not sign any of these covenants; he had just moved into St. Bartholomew's parish, where we shall find him.

The next minute is from St. Bartholomew's, and refers to Mr. Lightfoot's departure:—

The 16th of January, 1643.—Mr. Lightfoot called the parishioners together to the vestry house after sermon, and told them that the Parliament had conferred upon him a living in Hertfordshire, desired to depart with their consent, and said he was much obliged to them for their free choice of him when he came to them.

This living was that of Great Munden, Herts.

In the same year there are several very curious entries relating to the price of coals and the provisions for fuel, which, owing to the occupation of Newcastle by the Royalists, had reached almost fabulous prices.

On the 20th of February, 1643, an additional ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament was passed, "To enable Sir Thomas Middleton, Serjeant-Major-General for the six counties of North Wales, to take subscriptions for the raising of forces for reducing of the said counties to their due obedience, and

prevention of the access of Irish peasants into these parts." It was not unnatural that this cause should be advocated in the parish, where Lady Middleton lived, and this was done on the 16th of March, 1643. A special vestry meeting was held in the church, at which Mr. Lightfoot, the late lecturer, presided in the pulpit. The account of this meeting is as follows:—

16th March, 1643.—At a vestry Mr. Lightfoot preached in the pulpit for a liberal contribution from the parishioners of this parish for Sir Thomas Middleton, according to an ordinance of Parliament, to enable him, being Serjeant-Major-General for the six counties of North Wales, to take subscriptions for the raising of forces for the subduing of the said counties to their due obedience, and preventing the access of the Irish forces in those parts.

The appeal was not at all successful; only 59*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was collected, of which Lady Middleton subscribed 50*l.*

Mr. William James underwrit to send a horse.

Lady Middleton's subscription is thus entered:—

The Lady Middleton, by the hand of her son-in-law, Sir W^m Wittewronge, underwritt 50*l.*

The family of Wittewronge had long lived in the parish; their names can be traced as far back as the registers.

During the same month the Parliament passed a further "Ordinance for the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, and an exhortation touching the taking of it," and an intimation that ministers who would not take it should be put out of their livings.

At the same time the Parliament took it, and, among other members, Mr. Harbottle Grimston.

I presume, Mr. Grimston living in the parish, it was felt necessary to do something with Dr. Grant, who had clearly come within the law by not taking the covenant, and this was done on the 18th April, 1644.

The vestry minute of the transaction is as follows:—

At a meeting held the 18th April, 1644, there being present Mr. Grimston, Mr. Lamott, Mr. Gould, and others, I made a motion for that the Dr. (Dr. Grant) was to preach on Good Friday, and twice on Sunday, and on thanksgiving and fast day on Tuesday and Wednesday next, did desire them that they would be pleased to allow him one to help him. Captain Robinson, churchwarden, was sent for him; when he came they desired an answer of a motion was made to him by the vestry before concerning the resignation of his living. He told them if they would be pleased to let him have the propositions in writing, that he might know upon what terms they would have him resign, he would soon give them an answer, and so quit the vestry.

There is no entry of the motion here referred to, but it ended in Dr. Grant being arranged with.

The arrangement appears in an agreement set out *in extenso* in the minute-book, and from one or two vestry minutes; the substance of the agreement was, that John Grant (doctor of divinity) leased and demised unto John Lamott and others all that the rectory and parsonage of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange, in London, and all messuages, tenements, glebe lands, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said rectory or parsonage belonging or in any way appertaining, for the term of twenty-one years, if the said John Grant should so long live, at the rent of 50*l.* per annum, payable quarterly during his life, which said lease had, made, and taken in the names of the lessees before-named, was so had, made, and taken in trust only for the use and behoof of the parishioners of the said parish, nor otherwise, nor to any other use or uses, and by his said lease the parishioners of this parish had power to nominate and elect such able and godly ministers as they, or the major part of them, should choose, to preach the Word of God unto them there, and to do and perform all such offices and such services as both belong to the rector there, without the interruption by him or others by his agreement or consent.

The document is signed by Mr. Harbottle Grimston, and Mr. Pheasant, and twenty-two other parishioners.

There is this minute in the account-book :—

Paid Mr. Allestrye for the writings concerning Dr. Grant's business	£1 10 0
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This was probably a much better fate than awaited most of the clergy, for evil days were coming, and had come, upon the Church of England. Archbishop Laud was executed on the 10th January, 1644, and the Prayer Book was perscribed, but I suppose that his long service in the parish entitled Dr. Grant to some consideration :—

The next matter was to fill up Dr. Grant's place :—

At a vestry held January 26th, 1644.—At a vestry held the day and year above written, there being present those of the parish whose names are in the margin, it was put to hand concerning the choosing of a minister in the room of Dr. John Grant, and there was nominated one Mr. Thomas Cawton, who was chosen to be the minister by a free consent, and it was then agreed that he should have for his pains 100*l.* per annum, to be paid him quarterly by even and equal portions, until such time as the parsonage itself should come into his own hands, which will be at the time of Dr. John Grant his decease. The churchwardens for the time being are to receive the money for him and to repay it to him until such time as the said Thomas

Cawton shall be fully invested in the parsonage, and then, and not before, the said 100*l.* per annum is to cease. And further it was then agreed upon that the said Thomas Cawton should have the parsonage wherein Dr. Grant now liveth for his dwelling-house at Lady Day next following, at which time, or before if it be required, Dr. Grant is to leave the house.

On the 24th May, 1645, an ordinance was passed by Parliament for collecting money for the relief of the town of Taunton, which describes in very clear language the miserable state to which the town was reduced.

These moneys were collected in June, and the minute in St. Bartholomew's book is as follows:—

Moneys received on the 10th of June, 1645, of the parishioners of Bartholomew-the-Exchange, the upper precinct, for the relief of Taunton for raising of 500 dragoons. Received by Richard Venner, their names as follows.

Then follow sixteen names, which contributed 50*l.*, of which Mr. Lamott gave 20*l.*, and a Mr. Ralph Collins gave 1*l.*

Then follow these items:—

Received of Mr. Bratten, a nag, at 5*l.*

Ralph Collins, who contributed a pound, has this addition:—

Received more of Ralph Collins, a saddle.

Received of Mr. John Webb, six belts.

October 19th, 1645, it is accidentally mentioned under this date that Mr. Serjeant Pheasant was made a judge, and that he was about to quit the parish.

In the month of December, in the same year, a collection of old clothes was made in St. Bartholomew's parish for maimed soldiers. Mr. Grimston contributed a bundle of linen. The contributions consisted of shoes and boots and linen, some good and some bad. Mrs. Lay, a widow, contributed a good suit. Mr. William Webb a black suit.

There were sixteen contributions in all.

At the end of the list is written:—

All these were carried in unto Chandlers' Hall by Dowgate. Witness the clerk which went with me.

At the same time Mr. Cawton took his seat at the vestry of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1646 Mr. Leonard Cook left St. Margaret's, and Mr. Watson was appointed as his successor. I have been unable to find anything of these worthies, except three sermons of the latter, and his picture. Both of them were Presbyterians.

Mr. Watson's appointment appeared in the following minute:—

At a vestry lawfully called, the 26th of July, 1646, for the election of a minister in Mr. Leonard Cook's place, there were these gentlemen put to in election—Dr. Mayer, Mr. Constable, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Watson, and the choice fell on Mr. Watson with unanimous consent.

Also it was put to the vote that Mr. Watson should be intreated to come to lecture on the Lord's Day in the afternoon, as Mr. Cook had it.

It was also voted that he was to have his dues paid.

The Mr. Gibbon here mentioned was the gentleman of that name who was afterwards executed with Mr. Love for praying for King Charles II.

King Charles I. was executed upon the 30th January, 1648, and by this time the Church government of the City of London was purely Presbyterian.

It was divided into twelve unions of parishes called *classes*, each *classis* being ruled over by elders.

The parishes of St. Margaret's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Christopher's, St. Benet-Fink, St. Peter-le-poor, St. Botolph-Bishopsgate, Allhallows-in-the-Wall, St. Stephen-Coleman-Street, and St. Michael-Bassinghall, formed the seventh *classis*. As far as I can ascertain, Captain Venner and Colonel Harsnett were two of the elders selected from St. Bartholomew's. I almost doubt if there were any chosen from St. Margaret's; a Mr. Wilkinson represented St. Christopher's.

In 1648 there is this entry:—

Paid Captain Venner for the classis	0 10 9
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In the next year there are these entries:—

Paid for wine, bread, and ale at the morning exercise	1 9 0
Paid Colonel Harsnett for the classis	1 0 0

The regulations for the admission to the Holy Communion were very stringent, and a power was given to the elders, by an ordinance of Parliament, which very much exceeded anything Archbishop Laud would have ventured to propose. No person could receive the Holy Communion who was not approved of by the elders of the *classis*, whose power of inquisition exceeded even that of the School Board. The little finger of the presbyter was thicker than the loins of the archbishop. Not only could the elders refuse to admit a person who was ignorant of the necessary doctrines of which they were the judges, but they had the power of summoning any parishioner before them, and of requiring him to confess or be put on trial of all sorts of things which they conceived scandal—from murder down to travelling on Sunday.

The *ultima ratio* was, of course, excommunication, but there were censures and suspension from the sacrament. The only redeeming feature was, that, by a special clause in the ordinance, no use could be made of any confession or proof made before the eldership at any trial at law of any person for any offence. The whole of these regulations are set out in an ordinance ordered to be printed by the Parliament, on the 29th August, 1648. I may mention the following heads as showing pretty plainly the nature of them: "Rules and regulations concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," "In cases of ignorance," "The same in cases of scandal;" "of excommunication," "of the course of proceedings therein;" "the order of proceeding with offenders who manifest repentance;" "the order of proceeding to excommunication;" "the sentence;" "the order of proceeding to absolution;" "the sentence of absolution."

The next minute from St. Bartholomew's book is, I think, of considerable interest; it will show how little these strict regulations were to the liking of the parishioners:—

August 27th, 1649.—At a vestry then holden it was taken into consideration that, in respect of the parish grievances, and especially through want of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, duly administered formerly in this parish, that for the time to come Mr. Cawton be desired to administer the same without coming before the elders, whereupon it was ordered that Mr. Cawton should be sent for, which was done. When he came into the vestry Mr. Lamott told him the sense of the parish, and desired him to deliver the sacrament to all his parish, to beget love one with another. His answer was he would take it into consideration, and satisfy the parish in a short time what did lie in him to do should not be wanting.

In the same year John Evelyn makes allusion to this. He says, under date 18th March, "Mr. Owen, a sequestered and learned minister, preached in my parlour, and gave us the blessed sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had usurped."

The following are the only items in this year from the account book worthy of remark. The first item usually comes in another and less polite form:—

Paid John Holmes for his paynes getting poor women out of the parish	
big with child and ready to lie down	0 5 6
Paid for bread and ale for the ministers at the morning service	1 8 0
Paid for three men watching Mrs. Spencer's house	0 1 6

In the year 1650 there is the following entry in St. Margaret's book:—

At a vestry holden the 29th December, 1650, the churchwardens acquainted the vestry with a

precept from the Lord Mayor, by order of the Council of State, for the having down the king's arms from the east window.

In the same year there are the following entries in St. Bartholomew's account book :—

Paid Mr. Clark for taking down the King's arms and for putting in the letter I	0	10	0
Paid for ministers that taught at our church	1	8	0
Paid to my Lord Mayor's officers for not taking down the King's arms	0	3	6

This latter item implies a fine upon the parish for not having sooner removed the objectionable emblems.

In the same year, 1650, there are several entries relating to the payment of Mr. Cawton; the last is as follows :—

February 9th, 1650.—At this vestry, the day and year above written, it is unanimously concluded and agreed, none dissenting, that henceforth the churchwardens of this parish do gather all the rents, tithes, and other profits of the glebe lands of this parish, and the lecture money; and that the same be kept in the hands of the same churchwardens, and not paid forth, either to Dr. Grant or to Mr. Thomas Cawton, but by especial order of a vestry, to be from time to time called; and that the same be paid forth by the churchwardens from time to time, in such manner and by such proportions as the vestry shall appoint in that behalf.

Confirmed by a vestry the 23rd of March, 1650.

The next entry is worthy of remark :—

The 30th of March, 1651.—At a vestry holden the day and year first above written it was ordered that, whereas I moved for 8*l.* 14*s.*, which I did lay out for moneys to preach when Mr. Cawton was in prison, that it should be allowed me out of the tithes, or whether I should put it to the parish account, it was denied to vote for the present. When Mr. Cawton was in a way to have his arrears paid then I should be paid my 8*l.* 14*s.*, which I consented to it for them to be allowed me.

This entry puzzled me a good deal, and I at one time reluctantly came to the determination that Mr. Cawton had followed the steps of his predecessor in St. Margaret-Lothbury, Mr. Baxter, had got into debt, and was for that reason in prison. But accidentally in buying some tracts of the Commonwealth I came across one which put an entirely different complexion upon the story. This is a printed letter from King Charles II. to Mr. Cawton, described as late minister of the English Church at Rotterdam, and in a note at the end it says that Mr. Cawton, being the pastor of the parish church of St. Bartholomew-behind-the-Exchange, was for several months imprisoned in the Gate House (meaning the Westminster Gate House, a prison for clerks), within a few days after the

beheading of the late King for praying openly for his son as King of Great Britain, &c., and, being afterwards again in great danger about the time of Mr. Love's suffering, he was forced, for the safeguard of his life, to flee into Holland, and was there preacher to the English Church at Rotterdam. The memorandum proceeds to say that King Charles II. wrote to him there a letter that he might show it to the Dutch and French Protestant ministers.

This was of course quite a different matter. You will remember that the King was executed on the 30th of January, 1648, which, as the year then commenced on the 25th of March, would in truth be the 30th of January, 1649, in our style.

Under date the 6th of March, 1649, Whitelock, in his Memoirs, mentions that Mr. Cawton, the London Minister, in his prayer before the Lord Mayor, having prayed for Charles II. as lawful king, referred to Mr. Steele and Mr. Cox to prosecute him in the Upper Bench for treason upon the late declaration.

Whitelock does not say what happened to him, but it is clear that he was imprisoned in the Gate House.

You will observe that the parish minute is dated the 30th March, 1651. Mr. Love was the minister of the adjoining parish of St. Lawrence-Jewry, and was an energetic young man of thirty-five years of age. During the year 1651 he carried on a correspondence with the Scotch with a view apparently to aid them in supporting King Charles II. For this he was apprehended, and, after having had his case investigated by the committee of Plundered Ministers, was tried before the High Court of Justice at Westminster, in June 1651, for high treason, and in his examination he denounced, among other friends, Mr. Cawton, as having been one with whom he was in communication. Mr. Cawton seems to have thought, with reason, that after his former trouble with respect to King Charles II. discretion was the better part of valour, and so he made his escape.

Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were both convicted and beheaded at Tower Hill, on the 22nd of August, 1651, and Mr. Love's last speech in the shape of a long sermon exists. One has no right to judge a man in such circumstances hardly, but he made a very sorry figure.

I think we may deduce from these facts that the people at St. Bartholomew's, and they may also be taken to represent pretty fairly the City, were neither Presbyterian nor were they indisposed towards the King.

It must, I think, be assumed that it would have been easy for them to have got rid of Mr. Cawton, as he only held his position on sufferance, if his praying for King Charles II. had displeased them, and their remonstrance with him about the Holy Communion shows they were not disposed to the tyranny of the Presby-

terians. That Presbyterianism was on the wane may, I think, be gathered from a passage in Mr. Love's last speech, which I cannot help quoting. He says, "I would beg the ministers to keep up Church government; that they would not let their elderships fall; that they would take heed of too general admissions to the Lord's Supper; that they be not too prodigal of the blood of Christ by too general admissions of men to partake of the supper, that sealing ordinance." The fact no doubt was, the eldership which was at first a toy afterwards became a bore, and already in 1651 it was difficult to keep up a practice instituted in 1648.

About the same date Mr. Watson left St. Margaret's. He was, I think, implicated with Mr. Love. He is last mentioned in September 1651:—

At a vestry lawfully called by the churchwardens this 25th of September, 1651, it was then voted, after a long debate, that the 16*l.* 13*s.* yet uncollected, to make up the 40*l.* which is for the full discharge of Mr. Watson, their late minister, and all his family related to him, if the parish house standing in the church yard shall be repaired and let by the present churchwardens till the sum aforesaid be received, together with the repairs, either by that or some other way by the parish.

Mr. Watson's place was filled by Mr. Christopher Flower, who conformed in 1660, and lived many years afterwards.

There are one or two more entries in St. Bartholomew's relating to Mr. Cawton:—

19th September, 1651.—At a vestry then holden, Mr. Cawton, Mr. Cranford, Mr. Harding, Mr. Clarke were nominated for the Friday lecture. At the same time Mr. Cawton was chosen to begin it from Michaelmas next, but, if he should not return to the parish, that then for a short time Mr. Cawton procure able men to perform it.

This Mr. Cranford was the rector of the adjoining parish of St. Christopher, of whom I have before spoken.

In the month of October, however, it became plain that there was no hope of Mr. Cawton's return, and the parish proceeded to choose a new minister. This will be found in the minutes of the 19th and the 23rd November and the 5th December:—

19th of November, 1651.—At this vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present (then follow the names). The chief occasion of this great meeting, thirty-six people being present, was for the choice of a minister to supply the place of Mr. Cawton, he being gone for Holland, but it being pretended by five or six among us that Mr. George Hall might be chosen, they left the vestry and sent to the Lord Mayor, Alderman Kendrick, who presently called for myself and brother churchwarden. With us went Mr. Brewer and Mr. Carlton. We were

desired to forbear going to choice of a minister till further enquiry were made of Mr. Hall, and my Lord Mayor would likewise have some others to preach, but consented we should go to choice the next Sunday but one. There tarried thirty in the vestry until we returned to them, who were made acquainted with the Lord Mayor's pleasure and his great courtesy to us, and so this vestry broke up.

This Lord Mayor, Alderman Kendrick, was a resident in the parish, and lived in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Grimston. He was related to John Evelyn, who, writing under date 25th April, 1652, says: "I went to visit Alderman Kendrick, a fanatic lord mayor, who had married a relation of ours." He was one of the Commissioners of Excise. On the 23rd Mr. Hall was finally elected.

23rd November, 1651.—At a vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present the forty members. At this vestry Mr. Coffland, Mr. Clark, jun., and Mr. George Hall were in nomination, one to be chosen by vote to be our minister, under Dr. Grant, in the place of Mr. Cawton, for one year following, at which time Mr. George Hall was chosen, by thirty-three holding up their hands in the affirmative, and being put in the negative (all that would not) not one hand was held up against him, and so by a free election he was chosen to be our minister, whom God continue amongst us and bless us in time.

"It was resolved that I and my partner should demand of Mr. Harsnett, or any other, the key of Mr. Cawton's house, to be disposed of by the vestry, it being put to all in the vestry whether they would make their exceptions against paying the old arrears for tithes and lecture money, and there was not one excepted against paying what they were behind."

The reference in the account-book to this is as follows :—

Paid several men for preaching before we came to choice of
our minister 5 10 0

The last minute relating to Mr. Cawton is in December 1651 :—

5th of December, 1651.—At a vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present [then follow the names.] It being put to the vote whether Mr. Cawton should have for his arrears the sum of 100*l.* or 135*l.*, it was voted that he should be paid 135*l.* At the same time Mr. Ashe, Mr. Smith, Colonel Harsnett, Captain Venner, and Mr. Newton promised to be helpful for the getting in of Mr. Cawton's arrears.

It being put to the vote whether Mr. Cawton should put in security for his children that were in the parish, and it was carried by vote that he should not.

It was voted that what could not be gathered of Mr. Cawton's arrears should be made up by a rate according to the poors rate.

These parishioners following have promised to lend the several sums towards the payment of Mr. Cawton's arrears, and it was voted that they should be repaid by the parish what they lent before Lady day next, and 115*l.* was collected.

At this vestry it was likewise voted that the parsonage-house be sufficiently repaired by tiling, plastering, glazing, and what else fitting to make the house convenient.

It was voted Mr. Spurlin should make a scaffold on the top of the church steeple to take down the ship to repair it.

This is the vane which I have spoken of.

The following is the entry in the account-book :—

Paid Mr. Greene, the smith, for repairing the ship 1 2 0

The next items relate to the well-known Act passed by the Little Parliament, enacting that marriages should be solemnised before a justice of the peace, and providing for the appointment of registrars.

There is no notice of this in St. Margaret's vestry-book, but in the register of marriages there is this entry :—

Be it remembered that whereas it appeareth unto me, Thomas Foot, one of the aldermen and one of the justices of the peace within the City of London, by a certificate under the hands of divers inhabitants of the parish of Margaret-Lothbury, London, that Valentine Cuerton, of the parish aforesaid, being an able and honest person, was on the 20th day of September, 1653, by the greater part of the inhabitants and householders of the said parish chargeable to the relief of the poor then present, made choice to be parish register there in the parish aforesaid according to a late Act of Parliament, made and intituled "An Act touching Marriages and the registering thereof, and also touching Births and Burials"—

I the said Thomas Foot, having sworn the said Valentine Cuerton well and truly to exercise the office of parish register within the said parish, do by these presents approve of the said Valentine Cuerton to be the parish register of the said parish, and to have the safe keeping of the books provided by the said parish for the registering of all marriages and of all births of children and burials of all sorts of people within the parish aforesaid according to the form of the Act aforesaid, which I do hereby signify under my hand this 28th day of October, 1653.

THO. FOOT.

I give one entry from the register of marriages :—

1654. Robert Robinson, Abigail Pinnock, both of this parish, was published three days, ye 2nd, ye 7th, and ye 14th of June in Cheapside, and married the 6th July by Alderman Andrewes.

There are no registers of baptisms between the 29th September, 1653, and September, 1660.

The following is the vestry minute of St. Bartholomew's appointing a registrar in compliance with the terms of the same Act :—

1653, 22nd September.

Ordered at this present vestry that Richard Jenkins, our parish clerk, be chosen Register for this

parish according to a branch of an Act of Parliament, bearing date the 24th of August last past, touching the registering of births, christenings, marriages, and burials.

In the register-book there is a note that the said Richard Jenkins appeared before Alderman Kendrick, and was sworn into his office as registrar.

The form of an entry of marriage in St. Bartholomew's is as follows :—

According to an Act of Parliament dated the 24th August, 1653, that there is a marriage between Thomas Chester, grocer, of this parish, son of Thomas Chester, merchant, of London, and Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of Roger Lewis, joyner, of London, of Stephen Coleman parish, publication was the 20th and 27th days of November and 4th of December, and there was no exception made. Witness my hand the 7th day of December, Richard Jenkins, the parish register.

The actual entry is short. It is as follows :—

Thomas Chester of this parish, and Elizabeth Lewis of Stephen Coleman Street, was married the 7th day of December, by Sir Jno. Woliston, knight, of the parish of John Zachary, London, 1653.

There are similar entries in the books of St. Christopher's parish.

In 1653 Dr. Grant died, and then, according to the terms of the agreement with the parish, Mr. Cawton should have been elected their rector, but Mr. Cawton was, as we have seen, in Rotterdam, and probably at that time he could not return to England.

A vestry minute at that date will show that the parishioners elected Mr. Hall, who had previously been acting as clergyman under Dr. Grant, and determined to petition the Keeper of the Seals for the appointment :—

1653.—At a vestry held the 5th of January, 1653, to advise about the funeral of Dr. John Grant, deceased, being then present these gentlemen of the parish as are nominated in the margin, ordered at this present vestry that Dr. John Grant be buried in the chancel according to his own desire, and that the parish shall rebate the church duties, and that there shall be allowed to his widow out of the parish stock 10*l.* ready money to bear the charges of his funeral costs.

Ordered also at this present vestry that two or three ministers shall be put in nomination who the parish will make choice of for their minister for the future. The parish promises to petition the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, under whom the gift or donation of this living belongeth, and it was put to vote between Mr. Bellows and Mr. George Hall, and Mr. George Hall was chosen by almost all the hands that were present.

In the parish account-book there is an entry as follows :—

Paid for the burial of Dr. Grant by order of the vestry . . . 10 0 0

At this time the Commissioners for the Great Seal were Sir Thomas Widdring-

ton, Whitelock, and Lisle, and, whether at the request of the Protector Oliver or not one cannot of course now tell, but the living was given to a person of the name of Sidrach Simpson, and the petition of the parish in favour of Mr. Hall was passed over.

Sidrach Simpson had been originally one of the divines selected for settling the new form of Church government and ritual in the Church of England, but he afterwards appears to have joined the Congregationalists or Independents, and to have been one of their principal men. I have a pamphlet signed by him, which is the Independents' Declaration delivered to the Assembly of Divines, showing their reasons for dissenting from the Presbyterian clergy.

Mr. Sidrach Simpson has left no trace of himself in the parish, and I should not have known that he had ever been a parson of it but that some years later the fact is mentioned in one of the minutes, when it is said that he died in the year 1655. That and the entry of his death in the register are the only two records that are left of him, but it is not the less a fact that he was rector of St. Bartholomew's. One of Mr Simpson's first acts upon being appointed to St. Bartholomew's was to preach a sermon against the government of the Protector Oliver, and for this he was apprehended on the 26th of January, and two days afterwards was committed to prison at Windsor Castle.

Mr. Simpson was kept in prison until the month of July, when he was enlarged, and liberty given him to preach anywhere ten miles from London, so that it is not much to be wondered at that he does not appear at all in the parish books of St. Bartholomew.

Shortly after Dr. Grant's death his wife became a pensioner of the parish, and continued so until her death. The first minute upon the subject is as follows:—

At a vestry held the 18th of March, 1653, Rumney's daughter, being distracted, ordered to be carried to Bedlam for her cure at the parish charge.

At this present vestry, a letter, or indeed rather a petition, was presented from the aged widow of Dr. John Grant, deceased, for some maintenance out of this parish, where her deceased husband had been so many years rector. The vestry wished this request carried out another way more fitting, that is, that every gentleman of the parish allow her yearly during her life what every man is pleased to spare towards such a good work, and the names of these benefactors, together with the sums that they please to allow her, are here written in the margin—viz. This pension written in the margin. These gentlemen have every one promised to pay unto Mr. Grant's widow quarterly during her life, and this pension before mentioned is to be given, the first payment at Midsummer, being the 24th day of June, in the year of our Lord God 1654.

There is an entry under date the 28th April, 1654, which showed how com-

pletely the Protector Oliver had assumed to himself personal government of every sort. It is an order from the Protector for choosing a scavenger for the parish.

Mr. Sidrach Simpson died on the 18th April, 1655, and was buried in the parish, and the living again became vacant, and the parishioners petitioned the Protector to appoint a successor.

At this time there was some trouble with reference to the Commissioners of the Great Seal. Major Lisle was no longer one, and Lenthal, the late Speaker of the Long Parliament, was appointed in his place; but the Commissioners had had a quarrel with the Protector about some proposed alterations in the Court of Chancery which ultimately led to the Protector requiring their dismissal; and upon the living falling vacant he did not offer it to them to fill up, but gave it himself to the congregation of Mr. Philip Nye, apparently by a document under his hand.

Philip Nye was another Independent, and was one of the Protector Oliver's chaplains.

He was with the English Commissioners who went to Scotland before the outbreak of the war, and his name appears constantly in the annals of that time as one of the principal preachers before Cromwell. The living appears to have been given to him and his congregation, and he put in as his *locum tenens* another Independent named John Loder.

Both of them after the Restoration published a declaration to the effect that it was a calumny against the Independent body to state that they were in any way abetting the late King's death. On the contrary, that the Independents were opposed to it. But, nevertheless, this Mr. Philip Nye was one of those especially excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and probably only escaped execution by his insignificance.

The following minutes relate to the application of the parish:—

April 27th, 1655.—This vestry was chiefly called for the parishioners to petition the second time in behalf of a minister, which was confirmed and presented to the Protector.

This petition seems to have produced no effect, for in the July following a further petition was presented.

July 29th, 1655.—At a vestry held it was then unanimously agreed that a petition should be forthwith drawn up and to be presently presented to the Lord Protector that he would be graciously pleased to give the parishioners an answer to their two last petitions which formerly were presented him, and the parties then nominated in the said vestry to consider upon the drawing up of the same were as in the margin.

In the account-book there is this entry :—

Paid on going to and fro to petition the Lord Protector for a minister . . . 2 4 0

The result of the petition was not favourable, for the Protector appointed Mr. Nye, and he delegated Mr. Loder as minister.

The following minutes will show that from the moment the new minister put his foot in the parish he was opposed by the parishioners, who did not like either him or his doings :—

January 19th, 1656.—At a vestry the day above said, there being present these persons whose names are written in the margin, Mr. John Loder desired this vestry to be called, and certify his presentation to this place as our minister, and offered to compound with such of the parish as should please for their tithes.

The parish took no notice of his application, and apparently considered his appointment illegal, and in July following he again called them together.

This is related in the following minute :—

At a vestry called upon the request of Mr. Loder this 23rd July, 1657, Mr. Loder did offer to the parish to set the tithes. He demanded 200*l.* per annum. Mr. Maslin asked him if he had a roll of the tithes; he answered he had. We: we are not willing to take the tithes, because he refused to administer the sacrament and to christen children except we would be joined in communion with his church; and he said that he had waited twelve months for us, but we do not comply with him. Mr. Lawson asked him how many souls he had gotten out of our parish into his congregation. Mr. Loder did not answer. I said, "None." Mr. Lawson much admired at it. Mr. Loder answered, he had gotten as many as he did expect. I asked him how he could answer so with a good conscience either to God or man to take tithes when he regarded not the good of our souls. He said he doubted not but that he would answer it to God and man with a good conscience. We told him we had no reason to pay tithes when our church was taken up and our pews filled with strange congregations. He said he could not help it; my Lord Protector gave the church to Mr. Nye and his congregation. Mrs. Grant's letter was read to the parish, and Mr. Flood promised me to assist me in the gathering of the money for Mrs. Grant.

At the same vestry it was voted that they should allow nothing towards the amending of the pews. It was further voted that, if the tenants of the new shops would pay me their rent upon my security, then the vestry promised me for to save me harmless.

It was voted that I should save the tenants harmless from any which should sue or molest them, if they would pay their rents unto me, which I did, and confirm unto them under my hands to Mr. Pollard, Mr. Pimm, and Mr. Hope.

Mr. Loder renewed his request on the 22nd of October, 1657, and the minute is as follows :—

At a vestry holden the 22nd of October, 1657, Mr. Loder desires to see the books of the particulars of his tithes. Ordered and voted that the books should not be shewed unto Mr. Loder,

and that they would save Mr. Savage, present churchwarden, harmless from any trouble that should ensure upon it. Mr. Loder desires me for to acquaint the parish that he hath forewarned the tenants from paying any rent of the new shops. Ordered, that I should demand the rent, and give security to the tenants for to save them harmless from Mr. Loder or any other, which is done accordingly.

Nothing of any importance in the matter took place during the year 1658. In the course of the year, viz., in the month of September, the Protector Oliver died.

The minutes show that the dispute between Mr. Loder and the parish continued during the following year. In September 1659 there is an interesting minute referring to the condition in which the City then was owing to the uncertainty after the Protector Oliver's death; there is also a Petition from poor Dr. Grant's widow complaining of her poverty. The minute is as follows:—

September 18th, 1659.—At a vestry then held in the parish church of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London, those persons being present who are recited in the margin, these subsequent businesses were agreed upon. First, that whereas I acquainted them that Mr. John Loder, who had then a grant of the living from the late Protector, and he, with Mr. Phillip Nye, did officiate in the parish church every Lord's day to a gathered congregation whom they brought thither, one taking possession of our pulpit and the other of our pews. The said Loder was content that, in case the parish would consider him in his tithes, they should choose a minister to officiate in the afternoons on the Lord's days and administer the sacraments to them, but the gentlemen of the parish refused to accept of his proffer, denying his title, and resolving to have the use of their church the whole day themselves.

Note.—The sance bell being fallen down, ordered it be amended and set up, and some small charge to be laid out about the rest.

At the same vestry, upon a motion made for repairs of the church and bells, and the pews miserably torn; and Mr. Nye's congregation who would have repaired them; but the parish would not admit them so to do, lest they should claim thereby an interest in the church and pews, but made choice of those gentlemen hereunder written to be overseers for repairs of the church, and at present not to disburse more than twenty and five pounds about it.

The names of the overseers are given.

Mr. Young, stonecutter, was nominated to the vestry to be employed in the work, and approved by them, and afterwards conferred with by the overseers and ordered to take down the battlements of the church, which he did accordingly. He was also desired to give an estimate of the whole charge for repair of the church and steeple, which he did. And it was declared at the next vestry, as you will find recited in folio 149 of the book forward.

I informed the gentlemen then present that the inhabitants in Sweeting's Alley had paid me the rates charged upon them for the poor of this parish, and for so doing they desired the parish to indemnify them. It was voted the parish will save them harmless for paying the said moneys and me

for receiving of it. The parish also saves the tenants of the shops under the church (naming them) harmless for paying their respective rents for their shops unto me, and do also indemnify me for the receiving of it.

At the same vestry I moved the gentlemen of the parish then present to dispose of some part of the monies in my hands that was resting upon the balances of the last churchwardens' account; it was voted that I should desire Mr. Wm. Webb to enquire if the Grocers who already were indebted to the parish in 150*l.* would take 150*l.* more upon interest, which then I should pay in unto them and get what interest we could; but after Mr. Webb and myself had several times spoken with the wardens and divers of the Company we could obtain but 5 per cent. interest, saying they were proffered 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* at same rate; so in regard of the exceeding great hazard and danger of the times, by reason of public differences and decay of trade in general, the money aforesaid, being 150*l.*, was paid in to them at 5 per cent., and the bond taken in the names of Mr. Edward Carlton and Robert Lloyd, of this parish, and now remains in Mr. John Rolfe his hands, scrivener.

At the same vestry I acquainted them also that Sir Thos. Honeywood and his lady was in the church, and sent for me desiring liberty to set up a monument in the chancel for Mr. John Lamott, deceased, my lady's father, and she would lay out some money in consideration thereof for mending the chancel.

At the same vestry, upon a letter read from Mrs. Grant, the rector's widow, declaring that what allowance the gentlemen of the parish were pleased to give her formerly was by some dead and gone out of the parish ceased, by others suspended, and so small a sum at any one time not exceeding 5*s.* or 10*s.* brought to her that she could not subsist, whereupon her condition was referred to the overseers of the poor to go about the parish for subscriptions, and to take care that what hereafter be received may be more orderly paid unto her.

The following minute refers to the choice of lecturer, and also to a gleam of hope that the parish could get rid of Mr. Loder:—

At a vestry the 18th November, 1659, called in regard to the late death of Mr. Croft, for the choice of a lecturer for Wednesday in the morning, the charitable gift of Mr. Croshawe, there was put in nomination only Mr. Thos. Henchman and Mr. Hopkins, and in regard of the very great appearance we came forth the vestry house, and my partner and self stood at the Communion table, and every one present subscribed to a paper wherein Mr. Henchman and Mr. Hopkins's names were written, and in the conclusion it appeared that Mr. Thomas Henchman had thirty hands to be lecturer and Mr. Hopkins had fourteen, so we judged Mr. Henchman was clearly chosen lecturer for the year ensuing.

I acquainted the gentlemen present that Mr. Young, the stonecutter, had given me an estimate of the charge the repairs of the church would amount to according to their desire at the last vestry, which they ordered me to read, and, after reading of it, it was agreed the said charge should be taken into consideration by the gentlemen chosen for repairs of the church against the spring, when the parish intend to proceed to the repairing of it in case they can prevail for a minister to their own liking. In order whereunto at the same vestry were chosen to treat with Mr. Loder and

know if he were leaving the parish, as it was rumoured he did intend suddenly to do, being chosen at Windsor, these gentlemen following :

Mr. Edward Carlton,		Mr. Thomas Netherway,
Mr. George Keate,		and
Mr. Thos. Bishop,		Myself,

who accordingly spake with Mr. Loder the 23rd day following, but he denied that he was chosen anywhere else, and that he never intended to leave the parish as yet, nor would not upon any terms condescend that the parish should choose any but himself, who he said was their lawful person. However, if they desired a person to preach with them on the Lord's day afternoon, they should find him very ingenuous, so parted.

A minute in the following February tells the climax of the story ; but in order to understand it it is necessary to recapitulate some facts. As previously mentioned, on the 3rd of September, 1658, the Protector Oliver died, and in the month of May 1659 the Protector Richard was deposed.

In the November following a Committee of Safety was formed, to be shortly afterwards dissolved by the resuscitated Long Parliament, including the secluded members. The Commissioners of the Great Seal under the Parliament were Sir Thomas Widdrington and Messrs. Tyrrell and Fountain.

In the month of February 1659 Lord General Monk came to London, and on the 16th of February an order was made for the Committee of Plundered Ministers to sit.

This was a committee formed in the year 1644, the day after the execution of Archbishop Laud, and it seems to have had a variety of matters referred to it.

From its name it will be seen that its object was to provide, out of the livings of sequestered clergy, provision for those ministers of the Presbyterian section who had been dispossessed by the Royal troops. Afterwards its object was extended so as to include the question of tithes, the question of sequestration of livings, and even to a certain extent questions of ecclesiastical government, because the case of Dr. Love was investigated by this committee before he was brought to trial before the legal tribunals.

The Parliament, in appearance a continuance of the Long Parliament dissolved by the Protector Oliver, was practically under the entire control of General Monk, who was now in the City with his army and lodged in the adjoining parish of St. Peter-le-Poor. The parish took advantage of the situation. The parishioners, exasperated against Mr. Loder, and feeling that the power of the Independents, who were as odious to the Presbyterians as to the parish, was now gone, made,

under the advice of counsel, an application to the Commissioners of the Great Seal to declare the living vacant. It is not unreasonable to think that in this they would receive the assistance of their old friend and fellow-parishioner Mr.—now Sir—Harbottle Grimston, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The ground of the petition was that Mr. Nye, never having been properly appointed, the living had remained vacant since the death of Mr. Simpson, and a request was made on the part of the parish that the Commissioners would appoint a parson. Mr. Loder, who was determined not to give up without a struggle, made interest with the Lord-General Monk for a letter from him to the Commissioners asking that the living might be given to him if they considered Mr. Nye's appointment by Oliver invalid. The parish, hearing that Mr. Loder had obtained this letter, also made interest to obtain a second letter from General Monk reversing the first. As will be seen from the minute these tactics prevailed, and neither Mr. Nye nor Mr. Loder was confirmed in the living.

The minute is as follows :—

At a vestry held the 4th of April, 1660, the gentlemen present as in margin.

This meeting being occasioned by a petition, presented to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, signed by above three score inhabitants of the parish, and in the name of the parish, shewing that the rectory of said parish had been void ever since the death of Sidrach Simpson, which was four years and upwards, and no person appointed to execute the cure that would perform the same, and in the meantime the parish church was become ruinous and would require a vast sum of money to repair the same: They humbly, therefore, prayed that their Lordships would give the petitioners leave to recommend a minister for their own parish, worthy of their Lordships' presentation, and that may administer the ordinances of Christ to your petitioners' comfort, and they should pray ever.

This petition being presented the 19th of March past, the Lords Commissioners appointed us to appear the 23rd day following, having formally ordered Mr. Zachariah Crofton, who petitioned for the place, and one Mr. John Loder, who had for four years past officiated in the said parish church, but to a gathered congregation, by virtue of a grant from Oliver, late Protector, under his manual seal, for the said living, albeit it was and ever continued in the gift of the Lord Keeper or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, to appear the same day, and all the said parties then appearing accordingly.

In the first place, Mr Crofton's petition was nonsuited. Then Mr. Loder was asked what title he had to the living, who (referring his grant by the Protector) answered he was settled by the Committee for Plundered Ministers. Then the Lord Witherington, chairman, demanded if the living was sequestered, and he being satisfied it was not, the Lords Commissioners agreed that title was invalid and out of doors in *illis verbis*. The Commissioners then demanded what other title he had for the living. Mr. Loder answered, "the Protector's grant."

Then Mr. Philip Nye produced a paper subscribed by Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux and

Mr. Solicitor-General Ellis, being their judgment in the case, that the Protector's grant, under his sign manual, was as authentic in law for any living as if it had been under the Great Seal of England ; but the Lords Commissioners denied it, and said that the Protector could not dispose of that which was their right to bestow, and that Mr. Loder's title which he pretended by that grant of the Protector was void, as well as the other which he had from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, notwithstanding he had obtained a letter from the Lord General to this effect.

That he being informed Mr. John Loder was settled by the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and yet, notwithstanding others were endeavouring for the seal for the said living, he made it his earnest request that they would not give any new title to any other parson.

Then Mr. Nye desired that he might have a trial at law to prove his title with whomsoever they should confer the living upon, and the Lords Commissioners bid him take his course.

Then was a letter delivered to the Lords Commissioners from the Lord General Monk to countermand his former letter to them in the behalf of Mr. Loder, which was to this effect,—

That, whereas he was bold to recommend one Mr. John Loder to them, and being informed that he is not a fit person, nor legally put in, he therefore desired he might not be continued.

The letter being read privately by each of the Lords Commissioners, without further inquisition, they desired us to withdraw, and, in a short time after, they called in Mr. Loder and Mr. Nye, and dispatched them quickly away, and, then calling in the parish, the Lord Witherington told them they had taken the petition of the parish into consideration, and, in regard they were so modest as only to desire liberty to present a person to them for their presentation, the Lords Commissioners did give them leave so to do, and that they should find them very civil to the parish, though they would not absolutely promise them to accept of him, but reserved that to themselves till they might know and judge of the person whom the parish should choose to present, and to that purpose gave us fourteen days' time to make choice of a person to present unto them. Some gentleman, then present at the vestry aforesaid, and I, having read the Lords Commissioners' order for making choice of one person to present unto them for our minister, did desire that two gentlemen may be presented, but, it being put to hands, it was carried in the negative—that we should present but one person. Whereupon about seven persons deserted the vestry and went away.

April 4th, 1660.

Whereupon the rest of the gentlemen left in the vestry being forty and odd, the number of thirteen being a complete court or vestry, and being desired to go on to election of one person according to the order aforesaid, these persons following were put in nomination: viz.—

Dr. Tristram Sugg.
Dr. William Grant.
Mr. Richard Stretton.
Mr. John Loder.
Mr. George Bowcher.
Mr. Nehemiah Rogers.

And all these gentlemen being put to hands, the election fell between Dr. Sugg and Mr. Richard Stretton, who being afterwards put to hands entirely, Dr. Sugg was very freely chosen to be

presented to the Lords Commissioners for minister; but before this last election Mr. George Smith did promise and oblige himself in a penalty of 500*l.* that Dr. Sugg should not meddle with the shops underneath the church, which were lately built, and in number four, if and in case the parish should now choose him, and he should be afterwards confirmed by the Lords Commissioners and settled in the living. The said Dr. Sugg being thus chosen, it was desired that every man that had given his hand for him would subscribe to a paper concerning the election, which they did, and the number of them were seven and thirty. After they had subscribed as aforesaid, I desired them to sit down again, and to think of some expedient to please the gentlemen that dissented, who, indeed, would have had Mr. Stretton to have him returned with Dr. Sugg for minister: whereupon they unanimously made choice of the said Mr. Stretton to be lecturer for the Lord's day in the afternoon, in case and during the time that Dr. Sugg have the living, and is continued in the parish, and for the unity of the parish, to contribute to a comfortable subsistence for him.

The minute reads plainly enough, but the parish account-book throws some more light upon the proceedings that led to the successful result, and these items must be read with the minute to understand how the business was brought about:—

To coachmen for the parish to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal Office, and for myself and others of the parish, to Whitehall and St. James's about evicting Mr. Loder and appointing a minister	£1 19 4
Spent at several meetings about the minister	0 9 5
To Mr. Pearce, the Lord Commissioners' Secretary, for entering a caveat and for an order to appear on Friday the 15 th following	1 5 0
To Lord General's Secretary for a letter to reverse a letter Mr. Loder had obtained from General Monk to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in his behalf	0 10 0
For a certificate from the First Fruits Office that our living was void since the death of Mr. Simpson	0 10 0
For a copy of the General's letter on behalf of Mr. Loder	0 5 0
For money spent at Pope's Head, in Chancery Lane, with counsel to draw up a petition to Genl. Monk	13 0 6
For money given to counsel at various times	3 10 0
For a reckoning at the Cock, Temple Bar, with the parish	0 5 6
To Mr. Pearce, for an order to appear 14 days hence	0 15 0
To the ushers and porters at the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal	0 7 6
To Mr. Pearce for an order to appear again	0 15 0
For moneys spent the night we came from the Lord General with Major Taylor, conferring together about what was further to be done	0 14 9

The minute and the accounts together show pretty clearly how the affair was managed.

Something had to be paid to Mr. Stretton, who failed to be elected, for there is the following entry in the accounts :—

To Mr. Stretton, who was sent for 40 miles to preach for approbation	
to the parish	£2 0 0
For a messenger for himself and horse	0 16 0

However, it was fated that neither Dr. Sugg nor Mr. Stretton was to have anything to do with the parish, for on the 29th May, King Charles II. came, and from a vestry held the 25th of June it appears that Dr. Brideoake was appointed rector :—

June 25th, 1660 :—The same day, the vestry understanding that there was a minister appointed for this parish, it was ordered, therefore, that the churchwardens and some gentlemen of the parish should give him a visit and to invite him amongst us to a meeting with the parish.

Steps were also taken to get rid of Mr. Loder, as appears by a meeting of the 6th of July :—

On July the 6th, 1660, at a vestry held, the gentlemen being present as in the margin, it was ordered and agreed that Mr. Loder, he that was the former parson, put in by the late Protector, should not preach any more in the said parish church, and to that end it was voted that I should, with the assistance of some gentlemen of the parish, keep him out, and that whatsoever charge or trouble might follow by so doing to me or them, that we should be kept harmless by the parish.

At the same vestry it was ordered that I should remove the pulpit door and stairs and to make the going up out of the north aisle into the said pulpit, and to have all the rubbish carried and cleared out of the churchyard, and that I and some gentlemen of the parish should treat with masons concerning the repairing of the church.

At this meeting the new parson was present, and is described in the minutes as Dr. Braddock.

The same day it was ordered that some gentlemen of the parish, with the churchwardens, should take into consideration Mrs. Grant's letter to the parish, and do something for her relief, and in order thereunto some gentlemen of the parish did subscribe, as by a roll made to that purpose doth appear, which is left in the under churchwarden's hand for him to collect to her, and so successively to the next under churchwarden to collect for her relief so long as the gentlemen of the parish shall continue their charity towards her.

This is a convenient resting-place. Dr. Brideoake's advent marks a new era in the Church of England and in the parish, and it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of him, condensed from the "Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense" of Richard Newcourt, published in 1707 :—

Ralph Brideoake was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and took his degree in 1630, and being ordained was made chaplain of New College. In

1636 he took his master's degree, and was appointed corrector of the press in Oxford; for his services in this department he was appointed master to the free school in Manchester, and afterwards he became chaplain to James Earl of Derby.

Mr. Brideoake was in Latham House all the while it was besieged, where he did good service. When the King's cause declined he stuck fast to the family of Derby, and became a diligent solicitor for his noble patron's life after he was taken prisoner in 1651. Mr. William Lenthal, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was so much entreated by him on behalf of the Earl of Derby, that when he saw nothing could save his lord's life Lenthal made him his chaplain, and soon after appointed him preacher of the Rolls in Chancery Lane.

By Lenthal's endeavours he became vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire and was appointed one of the commissioners of the approbation and admission of ministers. He was subsequently appointed rector of St. Bartholomew's at the Restoration, and immediately afterwards he was made chaplain to the King and canon of Windsor. In September 1667 he became Dean of Salisbury, and in 1675 Bishop of Chester, with liberty to retain his canonry at Windsor. At this time he resigned the living of St. Bartholomew's. He died in 1678, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Before quitting the subject altogether I would wish to say that I have given but a small and imperfect idea of the many items of interest that may be gathered from the books. There are many other most interesting subjects touched upon in them incidentally, such as the amount of contribution given by the English to the French in the latter period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and during the reign of King Henry IV. of France.

Besides these, there are many instructive details concerning the proceedings after the Restoration, of the Plague, and of the Great Fire, and, above all, the rebuilding of the churches and the reassessment of the parishes consequent upon the Fire. There are, in fact, abundant materials for a large volume; but I have said enough to show the interest attaching to these books.

APPENDIX.

I.

Ornaments of the Church of St. Christopher, 1488.

These both the psellis of the juellis, goodis, and ornamentis of the Church of Seynte Cristofre of London, founden in the same Church, the xxvj day of the monethe of Marche, the yere of the reigne of oure Lorde God MCCCCLXXXIIII, takyn into the warde and kepyng of William Brown and Rob^t Ezyk, Wardens of the same Church, the which juellis, goodis, and ornamentis that Richard Croke and John Jocoby have receyved into their warde and kepyng the xxvj day of the moneth of March, A^o Dⁿⁱ MCCCCLXXXVIII, as apperith by a Bille.

Inprimis.—A grete Crosse with Mari and John of silver and over-gilde weyenge iiij^{xxxi} uncis, of the gifte of William Gardyner, draper, and a foote therto of coper and gilt. [The bove Crosse havynge ij knopys laking.] [Sold.]^a

Itm.—another Crosse of silver and over-gilde, without Mari & John, havynge therein a plate of iron, the whiche Cross weyeth, with the iron, lxxix owncis.

Itm.—A Chales with a patent of silver and o^v-gilt, wth a Trinite weyng xxi owncs, wth the Crucifix in the fote and Mary and John.

Itm.—A Chaleys with the patent of silver and o^v-gilde, with a crusyfix & T. & S. therupon, & an hand upon the patent, the which Chaleys weyeth xvi owncs. [Sold 1534.]

Itm.—A Chaleys with a crucefix, and Mari & John uppon the foote and the coronation of Oure Lady uppon the patent, weyng xxv owncs.

Itm.—A Chaleys with a crucifix and too hartis hedis uppon the foote and the Jugement of God sitting uppon the patent, the which Chaleys weyeth xliij owncs. [Sold 1536.]

Itm.—A Chaleys with a vernacle uppon the patent, weyng vj owncis. [Sold 1534.]

[Itm.—A Chaleys off the gifte of Henry Walter, & the said name graved uppon the fote.] [Lost in the year . . .]

Itm.—A grete Mustraunce of silver & o^v-gilde, with the pixt of cristall, weyng lxxvij owncis [1548, sold.]

[Soulde to Thomas Mostyan by the consent of a Vestrie for to pay the nessesarye charge of the said Cherche as apereth by the Cherchwardyns' account.]

^a The portions in brackets are additions in later handwritings of various dates, as may generally be gathered from the context

- Iřm.—Too Senses of silver, pcell gilte, weyng bothe j^c and ij ounces. [Sold 1536.]
 [Bought by mister Jake, Cherchwardyn, in the yere of 6 Lord 1536. 1 Censer of selver, pcell gilt, weyng xxv oz, cost 3/8 the oz. wē Mr. Thomas Hylton was Cherchwardyn w̄ him. 4l. 11s. 8d.]
- ^aIřm.—ij Basons of Silver with Leggys Armes, weyeng lix ownčs. [Sold 1536.]
- ^aIřm.—Too Candelsticks of silver, with Leggis Armes uppon them, weyng both lxx ownčs.
- Iřm.—A Coupe of silver & oŵ-gilde, with a crucifix uppon the hed to put in the sacrement, weyng xxxj owncis. [Sold 1536.]
- Iřm.—A Crismatorie of silver and gilte w̄ ij imagis, oon of Oure Lady and the other of Seynt Cristofrer, the same Crismatorie weyng xxix ownčs.
 [The same Cresmetore, broken and conferted w^t a chales to make a comon comynyon cope, gilte, xl oz., by me, Thomas Groschampe, one of the Cherchwardenes, with the consent of the same parys.]
- Iřm.—A Shippe of silver pcell gilte, for the frankensence, that weyeth viij owncis. [Sold 1536.]
- Iřm.—A Mustraunce of silver & gilte w^t an image of Seynt Cristofre thereon, weyng the same Mustraunce vi owncis.
- Iřm.—A Petar of silver with a Cristall thereon, gilt, wt c̄tayne relikks, weyng all-to-gedir v ounces.
- Iřm.—A Sepulture of silver with ij crosses thereuppon, and with certayne relyquees therein, weyng all-togedir iiij owncis.
- Iřm.—A Sepulture of silver and oŵ-gilde, with the fleesshe of Seynt Cristofre therin, that weieth with the fleshe xi ounces. [1536 sold.]
 N.B.—Here is an addition made in 1518 which has been erased with the word “sold written at a subsequent date. It is illegible.
- Iřm.—A paire of silver Feete belongyng to the image of Seynt Cristofre, weyeng both xviiij ounces. [Sold 1534.]
- Iřm.—A Pax of silver and over-gilte weyeng vj ownčs lakking ij knop of a corner beneath. [and one knop more, laking 3 in all.]
- Iřm.—ij rownde Crewtts of silver pcell-gilte weyng both xij ownčs. [Sold 1536.]
- Iřm.—ij square Crewtts of silver pcell-gilte weyng bothe iiij ounces. [Sold 1536.]
- Iřm.—ij Shoue of silver, with a stone that s̄ved sometyme for an image of oure Lady, that weyed bothe with the stone an ounce.
 [The Sho w̄oute the stone lakking, and the Sho w̄ the stone sold by .]

^a Probably the gift of Thomas Legge, who, by his will dated 31 Edward the Third, gave various bequests to the Parish of St. Christopher. A copy of the will is in the Book of Records. He apparently increased the churchyard.

- Item.—A Crosse of silver, the foote and the hed cristall, that weyeth an ounce and a half.
- Item.—Ther is a Cross-Staffe of coper and gilte that is for the beste Crosse that cost the pisshoñs xvij s.
- Item.—A Sewte of crymysyn velvet, the orpharies of blewe cloth of tissew and flowres of gold, for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, w̄ stole and fanons, and iiij coopes of the same sewte. That sewte was bought of my Lady Stockton. [Whereof one w̄ cloth of golde blewe tyssewe; the orphers of the said coope was of redde golde, the whiche coope of red gold was of the gifte of my Lady Stockton abovesaid.] [Parfyt the 19 of May, 1550.] [Nota lacking orpharies.] [Sctr. ut supr.]
- Item.—A Coope of blewe clothe tyssewe, the orpharies of red cloth of golde of the gifte of my Lady Stockton.
- [Item.—A Coppe of clothe of golde, the orpharies with ymegery, all of Bruges werk, gyffe be Dame Thomassyn Peyvatt.] [Parfyt the 19 of Maye, 1550.]
- Item.—A Sewte of red velvet for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, browderid with griffons of golde with the armes of Legge, with too stoles & iij ffanons, and with iij coopes of the same sewte, and a cloth of the same to hange before the high altar, with a ffrontell of the same armes, and a cloth for the lectarn of the same sewte. [Parfyt.]
- [Lackyng a lectery cloth of this sewt whych Mr. Chambers hath in kepyng by the parson's request.]
- Item.—A Sewte of Vestements of red saten with orpharies of blewe bawdekyn, for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons, and a coope of the same sewte. [Parfyt.]
- [Item.—A Vestement of purpull velvet, w̄ orpharies of Brudges werke and said Vestment full of fleur-de-lys of gold, w̄ y^e albe and all thereto belongyng, gyvven by Mr. Roger Atcheley late Mayor of London, 1st day of Nov^{br}, 1513.^a]
- Item.—A Sewte of Vestements of blewe satyn, with birdes of goolde and lyons, and the orpharies of red bawdekyn, the grownde powdered with white flowres, for preist, dekyn and sub-deakyn, ij stooles and iij ffanons and a coope of the same w̄ sterres in the orpharies. [Parfet 19 May, 1550]. [Lackyng the coppe].
- Item.—A Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with libbards of gold crowned abought their nekkis and rooses of red silke, for preist, dekyn, and subdekyn, with ij stooles iij ffanons and a coope of the same suyte. [✕] & ij Alter Clothes for the high alter of white saten steyned w̄ the same libardis, and ij ridels of the same and a ffrontell of white bawdekyn, with iij platis of blewe bawdekyn and ij pendauntis thereto to hange at the ende of the cloth to eke hit for the cloth is ör shorte for the alter. [Parffyt to the crosse bencath.]^b

^a This was written in 1518. Sir Roger Achely (Draper) was Mayor of London 1511. Stowe says he was a careful Magistrate for corn, which he caused to be stowed up in Leaden Hall. He lived in Cornhill, and was buried in St. Christopher's church.

^b This memorandum was written by the Bishop of Gallipoli at the top of the entry, in the margin, and therefore refers to the cross inserted after "suyte," which would thus be beneath.

- Iĭm.—A nother Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with rooses of goolde and orpharies of red bawdekyn full of the same rooses, for preist, dekyn, and subdeakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons and iij coopes and a cloth of the sewte to lye uppon a forme uppon the high alter undre the juellis. [Parffyt all this.]
- Iĭm.—ij Coopes of white bawdekyn, & the grounde of the orpharies red, wĭ libardis of goolde havynge in their mouths rolles. [Parffyt the 19 of May 1550.]
- Iĭm.—A Sewte of Blak Vestements of damaske, and the orpharies browdred with imagis and trayfoyles of grene silke in the hed, and the growndes of silver with a scripture therein, and the armes with rynges of goolde, for preist, dekyn, and subdeakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons, and with iij coopis of the same sewte. [Parfyt the 19 of May 1550.]
- Iĭm.—A Sewte of blak bawdekyn, browderid with threid of goold and the armes whyte with mones of blewe, for preist, dekyn and subdeakyn, and a coope of the same sewte. [Parfytt.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, of worsted with crownes; ār with goolde the grounde of blak.
- Iĭm.—A Vestement of bawdekyn, white and red, with the orpharies of blewe, with crownes & sterris of golde.
- Iĭm.—A Vestement of red bawdekyn full of braunches of goolde and blewe sterris of silke the orpharies of blewe playne bawdekyn. [Parfyt 19 May.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement of whyte bawdekyn, and the orpharies of red, with lambes and rooses of goolde with stoole and fanon. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement of cloth of goolde ffebule full of floures de lyce, & the orpharies of blew, red, and grene with strypes of whyte, for preist, dekyn; with stoole and fanon, & a coope of the same. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, of clothe of goolde febull, wĭ stoole and fanon, & the orpharies of dyvs colours, and an egle splayed of blew. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, of red, and the orpharies of blewe worsted, with stoole and fanon. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, of silke, full of ray and of chekkis of dyvers coloures, and the orpharies of blew velvet. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, paled of purple and grene, and the orpharies of blewe with dyvers birdes of golde thereon. [Parfet.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, of whyte cloth, browderid w^t Jhesus. [Parfyt.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement, syngle, partie, oon side red and grene and the other side blewe and lyons of silver with longe tailes, and the orpharies of black, with crownes and sterrys. [Parfyt.]
- Iĭm.—A Vestement of grene and red, single, with whyte flowres, and the orpharies of blewe velvet w^t images and sterres of goolde. [Parfytt.]

- Iĥm.—A Cope feble of grene, the orpharies of red, w^t flowres of whyte and grene. [Parfit].
- Iĥm.—ij Coopis of blewe rayes. [Parfit].
- Iĥm.—A Cope of cloth of gold ffeble for a child Bissshop. [Parfyt].
- Iĥm.—A Vestement of blewe saten, the orpharies grene damaske, with blewe garters, stole and fanon. [Parfyt].
- Iĥm.—A Cope ffeble for a childe, of dyvers coloures, and iij copes of white bustyan, and the orpharies of grene, thise iij copes being small coopes for children. [Lacking this.]
- Iĥm.—A Cloth of blewe rayes, with a ffrontell thereon of blewe damasyne, with other pecys of the same rayes that belonged somtyme to the altars, and now been spente and made a curteyne for to close about the fonnte and another about our Lady of Pytie of the same rayes.
- Iĥm.—A Cloth of ffeble silke to serve at weddyngs for a care cloth.
- Iĥm.—A Cloth of gold, fyne bawdekyn, with a valance aboute of silke, called a Vertame, that serveth to bere over the sacrement, with iiij staves and iiij bellis longyng therto.
- Iĥm.—ij Awbes of ray for children of oon sewte.
- Iĥm.—Six spare Amytes, of the which oon is browdered with gold and iij images therynne, John, Kateryne and Anthony; a nother is of red velvet with sterres of goold; the third of white damask; the fourth of red velvet with letters T. and C. of golde; the fifth of green bawdekyn with white and red flowers; the sixth of divers colors rayes.
- Iĥm.—ij Clothis stained white for thappostelles altar, above with the Trinity, and beneath with Our Lady, and two riddells thereto.
- Iĥm.—ij Clothes for the high altar stayned with the xii Apostelles.
- Iĥm.—ij Alter Clothes of red and grene paled, and ij riddellis and a ffrontell of the same.
- Iĥm.—A Clothe of red damaske with armes at every ende and w^t flowres of golde to hange above the table o'r the alter, & ij clothes of the same to hange before the alter, and two riddels of red tarteron and an alter cloth of diaper with a frontell of the suete of the best cope of blewe cloth of gold of my Lady Stockton's gifte.
- Iĥm.—A Banner-cloth for the crosse of grene tarteron with the Trynyte theryn, of My Lady Stockton's geyfte. [Parfyt 19th May 1550].
- Iĥm.—ij Clothes for Oure Lady alter, oon to hange above the alter and a nother to hange before the alter, havyng the vij sacraments uppon them steyned & leid with golde, and ij curteyns of the same with shepe theryn that beth of Master White's gifte.
- Iĥm.—ij Riddelles of lawne that renne behynde in the quere that beth of Johnson's wiff's gifte.
- Iĥm.—ij longe and ij short Riddels of red silke with griffyons and T. of golde and crownes, that serve in the quere at tymes.
- Iĥm.—A Lectarne Cloth, grownde blewe, with red strypes outhwarte, that is but feble cloth.
- Iĥm.—ij Riddels for an alter, white stayned with roses of gold.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth viij Pillowes of dyvers coloures, beside other that beth suspent & dampned for bad, as appereth in the pcellis of the suspent wares.

- Iĥm.—A Gheton of silke betyn with golde and iiij baners with libert's hedis; ij baners with the armys of London, and vj small baners with dyvers armes, and iiij small baner clothes of Master Foster's gyfte, and a baner clothe for the crosse of our Lady of silke.
- Iĥm.—iiij long grene Banner Powles, and iiij shorte standarte staves.
- Iĥm.—xxiiij Aulter Clothes, good and badde, the most parte symple, and vj hussyllyng towellis, thereof oon playne feble, and the remeant diapre, of whiche is oon longe of my Lady Cooke's gyfte, & a letell oon that was gevyn in Lent A^o 85 by Reynold Rutter's wiffe. [Lacking vi.]
- [Iĥm.—Another Clothe of porpull velvet w^t flour-de-lys of gold, gyvyn by Master Roger Acheley, late Mayor of the Cete of London.^a]
- Iĥm.—A Sewdarie of grene tarterne ffringed with silke on bothe endis, and a canape of knyt warke, ij kerchiffs of silke, oon red and a nother whyte for the sacrament.
- Iĥm.—ij [large] paire of longe laton Candelstykk standards, oon paire to set before the high aulter, and the other paire to serve for obites to sett on the tapers, bothe the paire weyenge
- Iĥm.—[ij] Candelstykk of a sewte to sett on smaller tapers uppon the alters, and to bere tapers uppon, of laton, weyng all
- Iĥm.—iiij laton Candelstikks with ij noses to set inne talowe candell for the alters, and a candell braunche, w^t ij noses and a pyke set at the ffonte, of laton, weyng all
- Iĥm.—A payre of Candelstikks of coper gilte, of whiche oon is broken.
- Iĥm.—A payre of Candelstykkks, greate standards for grete tapers, of tynne, and a paire of lesse of tynne, that beth parte brent.
- Iĥm.—ij payre peautre Crewetts that serven daily the preists.
- Iĥm.—ij Crosses of tynne coper, on that hath had Marie and John that is gilte, and another without Marie and John that is blak.
- Iĥm.—ij coper Disshes to gedre offryng inne, and iiij sacryg bellys and an haly water stop, and a spryngell of laton therto.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth iiij Sup Altarees of the churches, a large and a middell, and a lytell oon that ben clothed in cloth.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth xx Corpores Cases that longe to the Churche, and iiij heeris to lay upon the alters, and iiij canvasse to cover the alters.

BRAUNCHES OF LATON LONGYNG TO THE CHURCHE.

- Iĥm.—Ther beth longyng to the Rode loft xxx Bolles of laton.
- Iĥm.—In the quire before Seynt James a Braunche with vij flowres, that weyeth
- Iĥm.—Before Oure Lady in the North Chapell a Braunche of vj flowres laton weyng

^a Written in 1518.

Iĥm.—Before Our Lady and Seynt Anne in the same Chapell is a Braunche of v flowres of laton, weyng

Iĥm.—In the South Chapell before the Trynyte is a Braunche of laton, with v flowres weyng

[Iĥm.—Before O^r Lady a Braunche of laton, w^t v braunchys.]

Iĥm.—Before Oure Lady of Pytie, in the body of the Churche, is a Braunche of iij flowres, of laton, weyng

Iĥm.—Before the pytie of Seynt Gregorie, in the body of the Churche, is a Braunch of iij flowres, weyng

Iĥm.—Ther is a Lavmpe hangyng before the Rode in a basyn of laton, and a basyn with cheynes and a sterre of laton for to hange in the Pascall at the season of Esterne.

Iĥm.—Ther beth ij olde grete Braunches of laton, that beth eche for oon taper that sved before Oure Lady & before Seynt Anne.

LENTE CLOTHES.

Iĥm.—For the high aulter ij Clothes of whyte stayned with the sonne upon them, and a crosse with storges upon the other.

Iĥm.—ij Clothes for the Postellys aulter, steyned with the crosse and storges, to hange oon above, and the other before the aulter.

Iĥm.—Ther beth for ij aulters of the same sewte both for above and beneth.

Iĥm.—Ther beth iiij Clothes of the same sewte that sve for riddellys in the quere in the Lentyn season.

VAILE CLOTHES.

Iĥm.—Ther is a Vaile Clothe to hange before the high aulter, and therto longeth ij weyghts of leed, eche of xxviiij lbs.

Iĥm.—A Cloth for the lettarne of the same sewte for Lente.

Iĥm.—A Cloth to hange before the Rode, with the passion stare.

Iĥm.—i Clothes with the image of Seynt Cristofre to cover Seynt Cristofre.

Iĥm.—ij Baners of Vexilla, and a cloth to co^v w^t Seynt John.

Iĥm.—viiij Clothes stayned to cover w^t other images, marked.

Iĥm.—iiij symple Vestements of whyte bustyan, and the orpharies of red velvet to sve in the Lente season.

Iĥm.—ij Clothes for the sepulchre, oon with the Passion and the other steyned full of whyte leves.

Iĥm.—Afore the Rode lofte beth ij Curteyns of lynnyn clothe, w^t ffrynges of grene upon hem of lynnyn syngle yaron.

Books.

- [Inprimis.—A grete Antifoner of Master Sedney's gyft, begynnyng in the seconnde leaf "Hoc modo dni."]
- [Iĥm.—An Antifoner beegynnyng in the seconnde leefe "Memorie que predict."]
- [Iĥm.—A nother Antifoner beegynnyng in the secownd lefe "Allia hec anĥ dicatur."]
- [Iĥm.—A nother Antifonyr that beegynnyng in the thyrd leefe "Campanis more debito."]
- Iĥm.—An olde Antifoner that beegynneth in the secunde lefe "pares quidem filii."
- Iĥm.—v mas Bokes, of the whiche one beegynneth in the secunde leeff "Et in ramys palmař."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leff "Et finiat hoc modo Artaculo."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leff "te pater supplices."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leffe "factoribus istius loci."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leffe "repimusq, inimici."
- Iĥm.—iiij Grailes, oon beegynneth in the secunde leeff "Per totũ adventũ."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leeff "Cumque dicat missa."
- Iĥm.—A nother in the secunde leeffe "In diebs illis."
- Iĥm.—The iiijth beegynneth in the secunde leeff "Spontanea grã."
- Iĥm.—v precessionaries, of the whiche oon beegynneth in the ii^{de} leeffe "In funde."
- Iĥm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff beegynneth "Graduare."
- Iĥm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff beegynneth "Propitius inuocatoribus."
- Iĥm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff beegynneth "Quem potestatem."
- Iĥm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff beegynneth "Paupũ suoř."
- Iĥm.—ij Manewells, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leaf "Inimici et ipm." a nother beegynneth in the secunde leeff, &c. "Mundi Spřus."
- Iĥm.—ij Bokes, one called a legende and a nother called a tempall, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "cecitatem quandã," and the other in the secunde leeff beegynneth, "in quã immaculatus."
- Iĥm.—ij Portewos, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Dei credim;" and the other with Briggitt's legent beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Ipo die et cotidie."
- Iĥm.—A Lectorarie w^t a martelage therein, beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Relacio pm."
- Iĥm.—A Collectori in the secunde leeff beegynnyng "sibi in noř."
- Iĥm.—A Primer and a Sequencer noted bothe in oon boke, beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Carnem qui vivis."
- Iĥm.—An Ordinall beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "festum sc̃i Marci."
- Iĥm.—ij Queyres, oon of Corpus Cristi, with legende therein "The of Seynt Cristofer."
- Iĥm.—A Pryk songe boke of paper royall with divers masses therein, beegynnyng in the first lyne of the secunde leeffe "Ne filii ṽm."

- Iĥm.—A Miter for a Bisshop, of the Lord Pygg's^a gifte of whyt damaske with Marie and Gabriell and Petyr and Poule thereon of golde image, and a case of leader thereto & a croyser staffe hed gilte thereto.
- Iĥm.—On the est side and on the west side in the vestrarie beth on eche an Alter joyned and undre theme they be full of closetts to lay inne vestments and surpleces that beth daily occupied to kepe them clene and close.
- Iĥm.—Ther stondesth the xxvi daie of Marche, Ao 88, in the churchyarde, a Desk joyned of Estryche burde, with an almery and ij dures and iiij pair of stronge garnetts and a lok therto.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth the same daie in the storehows xix Images of tymbre, and an image of Oure Lady in a tabernacle of tymbre, with many aungellis thereabought.
- Iĥm.—In the churchyarde ther beth ij longe Ladders lokked in a cheyne, oon of xxxi stares and a nother of xxv and anō of xxiiij.
- Iĥm.—Ther be in the Rode loft a paire of Orgons with the ij peire blowers. The orgons close, to be shitte with clos leffes.
- Iĥm.—Ther bith vi Judas Staves for torches peynted, havyng iche a castell gilded to set inne torchetts to bere with the Sacrement on Corpus Cristy daye and other tymes.
- Iĥm.—Ther be ii Letterns of tre stonyng in the Quere.
- Iĥm.—Ther is a standyng Letterne of yron and ii stonyng Letternes of tre in the Rode lofte, and a grete desk lettarne for the gret Boke, and ii smaller deske lettarns for the quere, and iiij letternes of tre for the ij alters.
- Iĥm.—Ther be xii Tables in the Churche the xxvi daie of the moneth of March, Ao 88; of the whiche is oon of the x comandements, a nother hanging undre Oure Lady of Pitie with dyvers good prayers of Oure Lady and the sauter of charite, and a nother of Seynt Gregorie's Pitie of James Wellis gifte, a nother of Seynt Crasynns, a nother of Seynt Kateryne of dyvers good prayers, a nother of Seynt Anne, a nother of Seynt Jamys, and ij of Seynt Cristofre, and ij of Seynt Sebestian.
- Iĥm.—A Censers of latton and a Ship of latton therto for thensense, and a fire shofell of yron for to sette with ffire to sense with.
- Iĥm.—Ther longeth to the Churche the same xxvi daie of March, Ao 88, a crowe of yron, a whele barowe, a shofull and a matok.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth longyng to the Churche ij Carpetts, a more and a lesse, of whiche the more longeth for the high aulter, and the lesse to the Trynyte aulter.
- Iĥm.—Ther beth longyng to the Churche the xxvi daie of March, Ao Dñi mcccclxxxviij, vij Chestis and a forcer, of the which stond in the Vestrarie iiij therof, oon is plated all over

^a Perhaps the gift of John Peche, Lord Mayor of London, 1361, or his predecessor Henry Pycard, 1356.

with platis and bondes of yron to kepe in the juellis, a nother that is playne chest boundyn with bandis of yron to put in necessaries, a nother litell chest to put inne evidences, and ther is a stronge bownden forcer with evidence; and in the Rode loft is a grete ship chest, and in the body of the Churche stond ij longe smale chestis, and in the Churcheyarde stondeth a longe deske chest for torches.

Iĥm.—In the Vestrarie stondeth on the north side a grete closet, wherein beth certayne frames to hange on copes, and in the same beth c̄tayne smale closetts, with lokkys and keyes, to shit inne the clerks chargs that beth daily occupied.

Iĥm.—On the south side of the Vestrarie standeth a grete library with ij longe lecturnalles theron to ley on the bokes.

Hoc inventar̄ q^d in p̄dis xxxiiij ffoliis exhibiĥ erat coram me Joĥne Calipoleñ eĥo Archno Londoñ p̄mo die m̄sis ffebruarii anno dñi m^l quingentesimo xvij.^a

✠ IO. CALIPOLEN.

II.

List of Documents relating to St. Christopher's, 1488.

MEMORANDUM. THESE BETH THE SPECIALITEIS that I, Rob^t Ezyk, delyvered unto Master Croke and John Jacoby, the Churchewardens, as appearith by a bille delyvered to me by Master Croke the xxvi daie of March, Anno Domini m^lcccc^olxxx^ovij^o.

Imprimis.—ij indentures of Leses, of the whiche oon was of the leese of the vernacle with the tenantry therby to William Browne, for the t̄me of xx yerys, begynnyng at Midsomer, Ao 84, by covenante to paie yerely to the Churche iijl. xiijs. iiijd. clere, he to bere all maner chargs and repations therof.

Iĥm.—A nother of the Cok and Sterre, leten to George Venables for xii yeris after iijl. xiijs. iiijd. by yere, begynnyng at Midsomer, Ao Dñi m^lcccc^olxxxv.

Iĥm.—The iij^{de} of the Aungell in Fletestrete, with the ij tēntries therby leten to John Cok for the terme of l yeris, begynnyng at Cristemas, Ao Dñi m^lcccc^olxxxvij, to paie yerely to the Churche iijl. xs., and bere all maner of repations of the houses and vessellys.

Iĥm.—v obligations therynne bownden John Wauton and Thomas Wayte in the sm of viijl. vis. viijd. wherof is paid, as appearith uppon the bak of oon of the obligations, xiijs. iiijd. rest.

^a This is a later addition to the older list, and was probably made on the occasion of an Archidiaconal visitation, at the time when the addition of the things given by Sir Roger Acheley was made.

III.

Properties of St. Christopher's Parish, 1488.

MEMORANDUM.—THESE BETHE THE PARCELLIS OF lyvelode pteynng to Seynt Cristofeer's Churche, showyng, at the xxvi daye of Marche Ao 88, howe they stond leten. Furst, the house that John Jacoby holdeth and dwellith inne, payeng by yere *vi^l*, and the tenements next hit on the west side, payeng by the yere *xl*. That is vacant from our Lady-daie in Lente last passid unto Midsomer, And the tenement next on the est side, that John a Ridis holdith for *xxviis. viii^d*. by yere, the whiche grete house and the ij tenements beth letyn unto John Jacoby, by endenture, for tme of his liff and a yere after, payng for theyme yerely *xv^l. vis. viij^d*. The whiche lyvelode is of the gifte of My Lady Nerford,^a for the whiche the Churchwardens beth bounden by her testament.

IV.

Church Ornaments of St. Christopher, 1559.

Thes be the pcellis of goodis and ornaments of the Church of St. Chrystopher's fownde in the same Churche the *xxiiij* day of Julye, A^o 1559, taken ynto the warde & keepyng of John Whithed & Gyles Event, Wardens at that tyme of the same Churche.

In pms a Chalyce & a patent weyng *viiij* oncs & a half, pt gult.

^bItm.—A Cross of coper & gylt w^t the foote allso gylt.

^bItm.—A payre of laten Candellstycks.

^bItm.—A Senser of laten.

^bItm.—*iiij* Bolls of laten to sett taps yn for the Rode lofte.

^bItm.—A holy wa^t stocke of pewter.

^bItm.—A Pyxe of pewter.

Itm.—A Chrismatory of pewter.

[The parcels are sold.]

^a Lady Margaret Nerford was a cousin of the rector of St. Christopher's in the year 1417, in the reign of King Henry V.; she lived in the Parish and gave bequests to it and to other Parishes in the city. She was buried in St. Christopher's, and a copy of her will, which is very curious, is among the Records. She was a friend of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.

^b These items are struck through with the pen at a subsequent date to the writing of the list.

Iĥm.—On Altare Clothe of nettyll clothe, & ij towells of nettyll clothe.

Iĥm.—ij playne Tabell Clothes & ij playne towells.

Iĥm.—On old Tabell Clothe of diaper.

Iĥm.—A Vestymēt w^t ij tunycles of clothe of gold, iĥ an albe.^a

Iĥm.—A red Vestymēt of saten of bruges, iĥ an alb brok.^a

Iĥm.—A Cope of blew vellvet with flowres of golde.

Iĥm.—i Herse Clothes of clothe of golde.

Iĥm.—An olde Herse Clothe with a red cross.

Iĥm.—Four Altare Clothes, on of them ys crymsyn vellvet, & an other of them red velvet, bothe besett w^t flowres of golde, & on of red damaske w^t flowres of golde, and on of them ys fustyan apes with flowres of golde.

^a Iĥm.—A Corporas Case and a corporas clothe.

Iĥm.—A Turkey Carpet to lay under foote before the alter.

^a Iĥm.—A Vayl of lynen to drawe athwarte the pyxe. [Sold.]

Iĥm.—vij Surplises for men and ij for childerne.

^a Iĥm.—ij Grayles & iiij antyphonayres, one of them yn prente.

^a Iĥm.—ij Masse Books and ij hympnalls and v pcessyon books and a manuell.

^a Iĥm.—ij grett Legends & ij psalters.

^a Iĥm.—A lynnē Clothe paynted with the takyng downe of Chryst fro y^e Cross. } [Brent.]

^a Iĥm.—iiij Baner Clothes for crosses paynted and gylded. }

^a Iĥm.—A Lampe of laten y^t hongē in the body of y^e Church. [Sold.]

Iĥm.—A desk of laten.

By me Gyles Evenet.

V.

Church Ornaments of St. Christopher's, 1561.

The second daye of Maye, 1561, and in the thirde yere of the Reign of O^r Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God Quene of Englonde, Fraunce, and Irelond, Defender of the Faythe, &c., hereafter ensueth a note of suche goods and ornaments as were in the Church of Saynt Xpofer at the Stocks in London at the tyme of the entraunce of John Jakes into the

^a These items are struck through with the pen at a subsequent date to the writing of the list.

Churchwardenshippe p̄ved in the presence of Thomas Lawrence, Wyffm Whynyat, Richard Meryt and Thames Curtys, parishioners of the same p̄rieshe, and lefte in the custody of John Mynte, Sexton then of the same Church, viz. :—

In primis a Table Cloth for the Comunion Table of nettell clothe, and two towells of the lyke clothe.

Īm.—One playne Table Clothe and two playne towells.

Īm.—One olde Table Clothe of dyaper.

Īm.—A Vestment w^t two tunecolls of clothe of gold, pte broken and ript.

Īm.—A red Vestment of satten of Brudges broken in peces.

Īm.—A Cope of blew velvet w^t fflowers of golde.

Īm.—A Hesse clothe of clothe of golde pte and olde velvet.

Īm.—An olde Hesse Clothe of olde sore worne silk.

Īm.—Thre Table Clothes narrowe, one of velvet tawney, a nother of fustayn a napes, and one of red velvet.

Īm.—A Polpit Clothe of red damask w^t flowers of golde.

Īm.—An olde Turque carpet.

Īm.—vij. olde broken Surpleses.

Īm.—A wrytinge indented upon John Younge, made for certayne money due longe past, the some of *iiii. vis. viii. d.*

Īm.—A desk of latten with a fawken.

Īm.—A Comunion Cuppe of sylver and gilte weighing xii ounces & half a quarter.

Īm.—Certayne peces of latten taken off graves.

V.—*An Holograph Will of Edward Grimston, Esquire, made in 1449. Communicated by JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, Esq. LL.D., F.S.A.; with some Remarks by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President.*

Read December 4th, 1873.

Some years have elapsed since the Earl of Verulam obliged the Society of Antiquaries by the exhibition of a remarkable portrait of Edward Grimston, an eminent English *diplomate* of the fifteenth century. A chromo-lithograph of this picture was subsequently published in the *Archæologia*,^a accompanied by a valuable biographical sketch of the person represented, from the pen of the Director, Mr. Augustus W. Franks, who there set down all the particulars of Grimston's life and connections which he had been able to collect.

We have now before us a will made by this personage in March 1449, in contemplation of immediate departure from England on a mission to the King of France and the Duchess of Burgundy. This document is entirely in Edward Grimston's own handwriting, and is interesting inasmuch as it supplies one or two additional facts in his private history.

The instrument, printed *in extenso* at the end of this paper, is in fact rather in the nature of what is now termed a "declaration of trust" than a will properly so called. It recites that the Manor of Elstanwick in Holderness had been conveyed by Sir Thomas Tudenham, knight, to Edward Grimston and his wife Alice jointly with Thomas Grimston, Piers Grimston (brother of Edward), and Sir William Lacy, in trust for Edward and Alice, and declares his intention that this manor, as well as all his land in Rishangles and Thorndon, in Suffolk (which estates we may presume were also vested in the same feoffees), should go to his wife for life, with remainder to the heirs of their bodies. In default

^a *Archæologia*, xl. p. 455.

of such issue, the reversion of Elstanwick was to go to Piers Grimston—if married to “a gentlewoman of name and ancestry”—and to the heirs of his body; otherwise Alice Grimston to have power to dispose of Elstanwick for pious uses, and similarly of Rishangles and Thorndon, in which, as it would seem, Piers, on fulfilling the above-specified condition, was also to take a life estate with remainder to him in tail.

Such is a brief abstract of the document communicated by Mr. Howard, but the whole is worth reading.

The first recital in this instrument furnishes additional evidence that Grimston had been accredited to the King of France prior to July 24, 1449.

Mr. Franks's supposition (*Archæologia*, xl. 465) that the first wife of Edward Grimston was named Alice is also confirmed by this document. As to her surname we are still in doubt.

The manor of Elstanwick (called Elstronwick on the Ordnance Map) is four miles south-east of Grimston Garth, the ancient seat of the family in Holderness. The Tudenham family had a manor here, as appears from Poulson's *History of Holderness*, ii. 72. On the death of Robert Todenham on St. John the Evangelist's Day, 7 Hen. IV., his son and heir of the same name succeeded to his lands in Elstanwyk, which were holden of Edmund Earl of Kent, as of his manor of Cottingham, by knight's service. The son, being a minor aged 14 at the date of the inquisition on his father's death,^a was in ward to Sir H. Tiptoft.

From the fact of the settlement of Elstanwick having been made by Sir Thomas Tudenham on Edward and Alice Grimston, it might be surmised that the lady was his daughter or other near relation. Had this however been the case, we should have expected to find the arms of Tudenham, Three bars lozengy, impaled with Grimston, instead of Three bars gemelles, on the tomb noticed by Mr. Franks. (*Archæologia*, xl. 470.)

WILL OF EDWARD GRIMSTON.

Be it knowen to all manere of men that yn as miche as I Edward Grymeston am commaunded and ordeigned by the kinge oure sovereign lord and by my lordes of his Councill at this tyme to go over the see on the Kinges Ambassade as well to his uncle of Fraunce as to the duchesse of Bourgne &c., considering the juperdie; and perilles that often tyme; falle to the unsuerte of mane; lyffe as well by see as by lande and specially yn suche viage;—I thereupon willing and desiring what so ever oure lord do with me that Alice my true and bestbeloved wiffe may by the grace of god stande suere of suche pouer lyvelode as she and I have truely boghte and

^a March 4, 8 Hen. IV. (1407).

purchaced:—Confesse therefore and knowlege that myn hole and full wille ys that whereas Sir Thomas Tudenham knight hath made a joint astate as well by deede as by fyne to me and to my seid wiffe to Thomas Grymeston, Piers Grymeston, and Sir William Lacy, of all the right title and clayme that he hadde or might have yn the maner and lordshipp of Elstanwik yn Holdrenes yn the Counte of Yorke, yn the whiche deede and fyne the seid Thomas Pers and William bene cofeffed with us of trust as well for hir suerte as for myn:—Where upon I pray exorte and require alle the seid feoffe3 as welle as alle juge3 and other executours of the lawe to whome yt shall belange that at all tyme3 when my seid wiffe willeth or desireth them or any of them to make a Release to hir use or to myn that yt be not failled nor refused to be done as ye will answer at the highe jugement: For what so ever falle of me my hole wille and entent ys that she rejoyssse the seid maner and lordshipp with thappertenaunces with alle that I have yn Rysangle3 and Thorndon yn the Counte of Suffolke for terme of hir lyffe and so to the heiers betwix us of our bodye3 begoten, yiff our Lorde like to sende us any, notwithstanding any feoffement or astate made to any creature. And if yt fortune me and my seid wiffe to deceesse withowten heiers betwix us lawfully begoten, yiff so be that my brother the seid Pers Grymeston will lawfully be maried to any gentilwoman of name and of Auncestrie, I will then that the Reversion or Remynder of the seid maner and lordship of Elstanwik after the deceese of me and my wiffe be unto my seid brothir and to the heiers of his body so yn gentille blode lawfully begoten. And elles my seid wiffe or elles suche as she wille ordeigne [may] selle and disspose the seid lyvelode of Elstanwik to the moste merites and weles of oure soules and of our progenitours specially to be yerely rememberid with the obsequies of dirige3 and messe3 to be songen and prayed for oure soules yn [the] Chirche of oure Lady Seint Marie at Beverley. And as for oure lyffelode yn Rysangles and Thorndon to do therewith as may be moste for our lyffes wele3 and moste merite afterwardes for oure soules. Provided allwey that principally I forbede and defende that any issue that ys proceded or procreate or shall procede or be gotyn by my seid brother Piers Grimeston yn any othir wise then of gentille blode and yn lawfulle matrimoigne shall enherite or possede any fote of my seid livelode, or that he or any of theme may otherwise make any title or clayme thereto but to be excluded by this my full wille and entent. Writen and signed with myn own hande and under the Seale of myn arme3 At London the xxvij day of March the yere of oure lord M^ccccc.xlix. and of Kinge Herry the vj^{te} ye xvij^{te}.^a E. GRYMESTON.

Endorsed in a somewhat later hand, "Edwarde Grymestones Wyff, Anno M^ccccc.xlix."

The seal is cut off. Parchment 12½ by 6½ inches.

The signature and paraphe at the end of the document agree exactly with the woodcut in the *Archæologia*, xl. 464. The seal originally affixed to the present document was probably identical with that of which the impression is given in the same cut.

^a Should be xxvjth

VI.—*On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus.* By THOMAS B. SANDWICH, ESQ., *H.B.M. Vice-Consul.*

Read May 4th, 1871.

Recent excavations in Cyprus have brought to light a vast number of tombs of the primitive inhabitants of the Island, and a careful examination of the contents of these will help us to understand something of the manners, ideas, and artistic character of the different peoples whose remains are there deposited.

The form of the tomb commonly prevailing resembles that of the circular oven in common use in the East at this day, varying in size from four to six feet high, and from six to ten feet across. These are hollowed out of the earth, or in some instances the rock, without any stones or plaster being used in their construction. A small door, closed by a rough slab, from two to four feet below the surface, furnished the means of ingress, in front of which was a pit, afterwards filled in with earth; but in some, indeed most, cemeteries the door was communicated with by a narrow sloping passage about fifteen or twenty feet long, which likewise was filled in with earth.

The position chosen for the cemeteries was nearly always a gentle slope a few hundred yards from the town or village where the community dwelt, which, as was to be expected, generally occupied the same or nearly the same site as the modern villages. Sometimes the burial-place selected was the abrupt face of a hill, where the door, though it might be more conveniently placed above the surface, is always found a little below, as if to conceal all trace of it. It is a proof of the greater prosperity and denser population of the land in the remote times now under consideration, that burial-places are frequently found in spots in the neighbourhood of which no villages now exist, while others again near little villages are so extensive as to have evidently belonged to large towns. This indeed we are prepared to expect from the ancient historical records of the island, which tell of naval and military contingents levied from the inhabitants by its Egyptian and Persian conquerors such as could only have been raised from

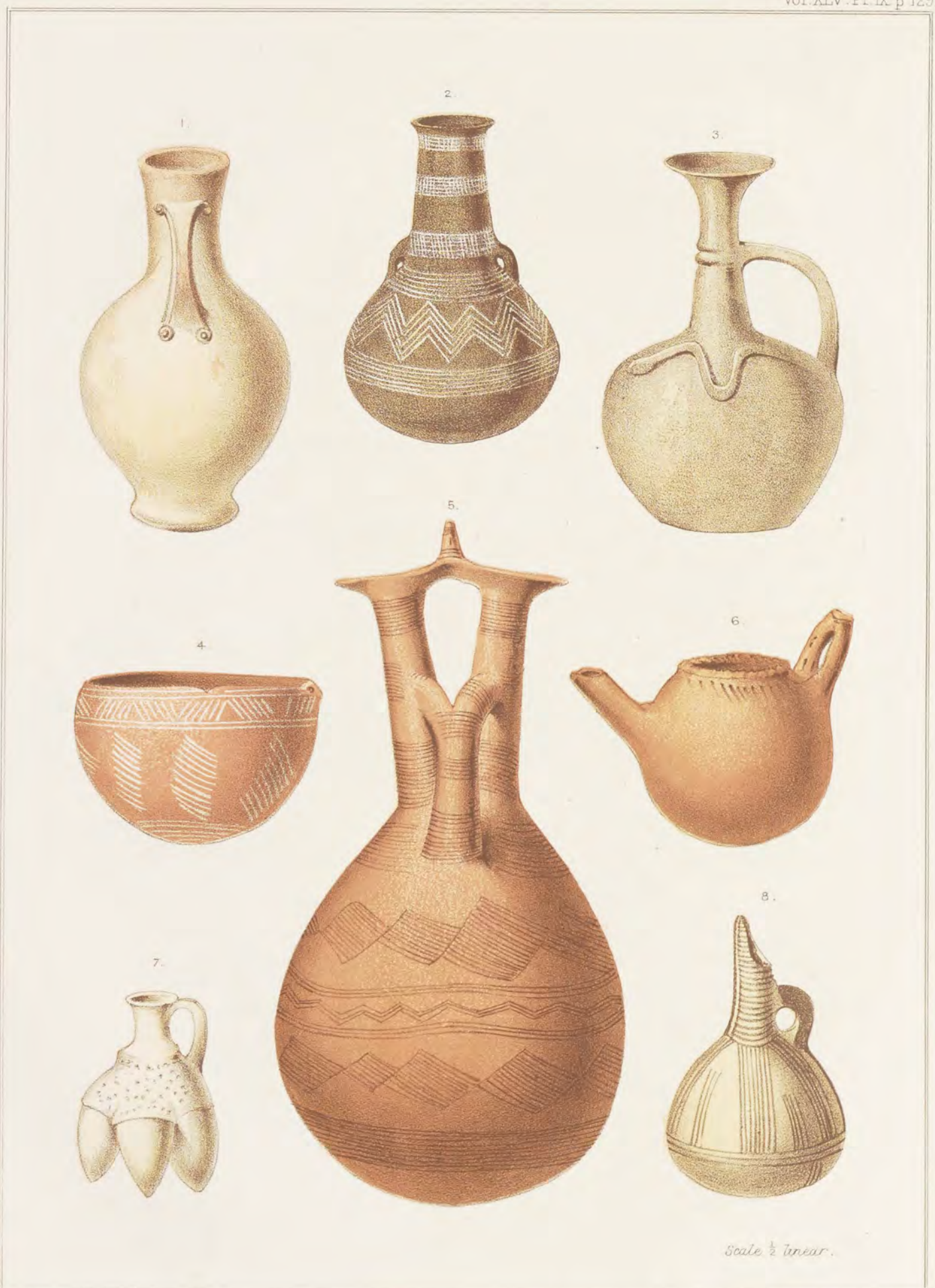
a population of over a million, and certainly not from the miserable remnant of 200,000 now existing.

In describing the contents of the graves, I will first speak of the human remains. No coffin was used, as no traces of wood are found. The number of bodies buried in one grave varies greatly, bones being sometimes massed together in quantities sufficient to have formed twenty corpses, whilst sometimes one or two bodies only occupy a grave, but on an average five or six would seem to have been buried together, probably members of the same family. Some difficulty is presented by the positions of the skeletons, which, though they are sometimes laid out at full length, are more frequently found lying confusedly in a heap, and in a space only three or four feet square. Such would have been the case had the bodies been buried in a sitting posture, a custom which obtained among the ancient Peruvians, as well as other races. In only one instance have bones been found calcined, showing that as a rule the bodies were not burnt.

It seems to have been the invariable custom in those ancient times to bury earthen vases with the deceased, containing, doubtless, drink and food, of which it was supposed they would stand in need. It may be observed, in passing, that a custom presenting some analogy to the above, and probably derived from heathen times, still exists in this island, both among Christians and Mussulmans, a custom which renders it incumbent on the nearest of kin to provide doles of food for the poor for a period of forty days on the occasion of a death. The breach of this custom is regarded as betraying a want of respect for the deceased, and its observance as more binding than the natural duty of providing for the wants of the widow and orphan children. The name by which this offering is called is "Food for the dead," and may well be a relic of the old custom, after the introduction of Christianity had destroyed the illusion that the dead themselves could ever stand in need of human food.

The pottery excavated comprises an immense variety of styles, both in form and ornamentation, the styles, moreover, being so distinct as to make it easy to separate the cemeteries into different classes, a careful examination of which leads to the conclusion that the various kinds of pottery are characteristic of distinct races. The ingenuity of the potters, or artists as they deserve to be called, of those remote times in devising new and singular shapes, and in adorning them with a variety of tasteful patterns, is certainly most remarkable, though the execution is not always equal to the conception. The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that Esar-haddon, who began his reign B.C. 681, received, as contributions from the subject nations of his empire, works of art for the decoration of the





Scale 1/2 linear.

C.H.R. del.

C.F. Kell Lith. London E.C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876.

palace he was building at Nineveh, and amongst the countries enumerated Cyprus is mentioned as contributing stone statues and *vases* for that object. As the empire over which that monarch ruled embraced most of the then civilised world, it would appear that the Cyprians had attained to the highest excellence in the fictile art.* The accompanying Plates will give the reader an idea of the more characteristic and interesting types of the vases brought to light, but they fall altogether in conveying an adequate notion of the variety of form and pattern devised by the ingenuity of the original artists.

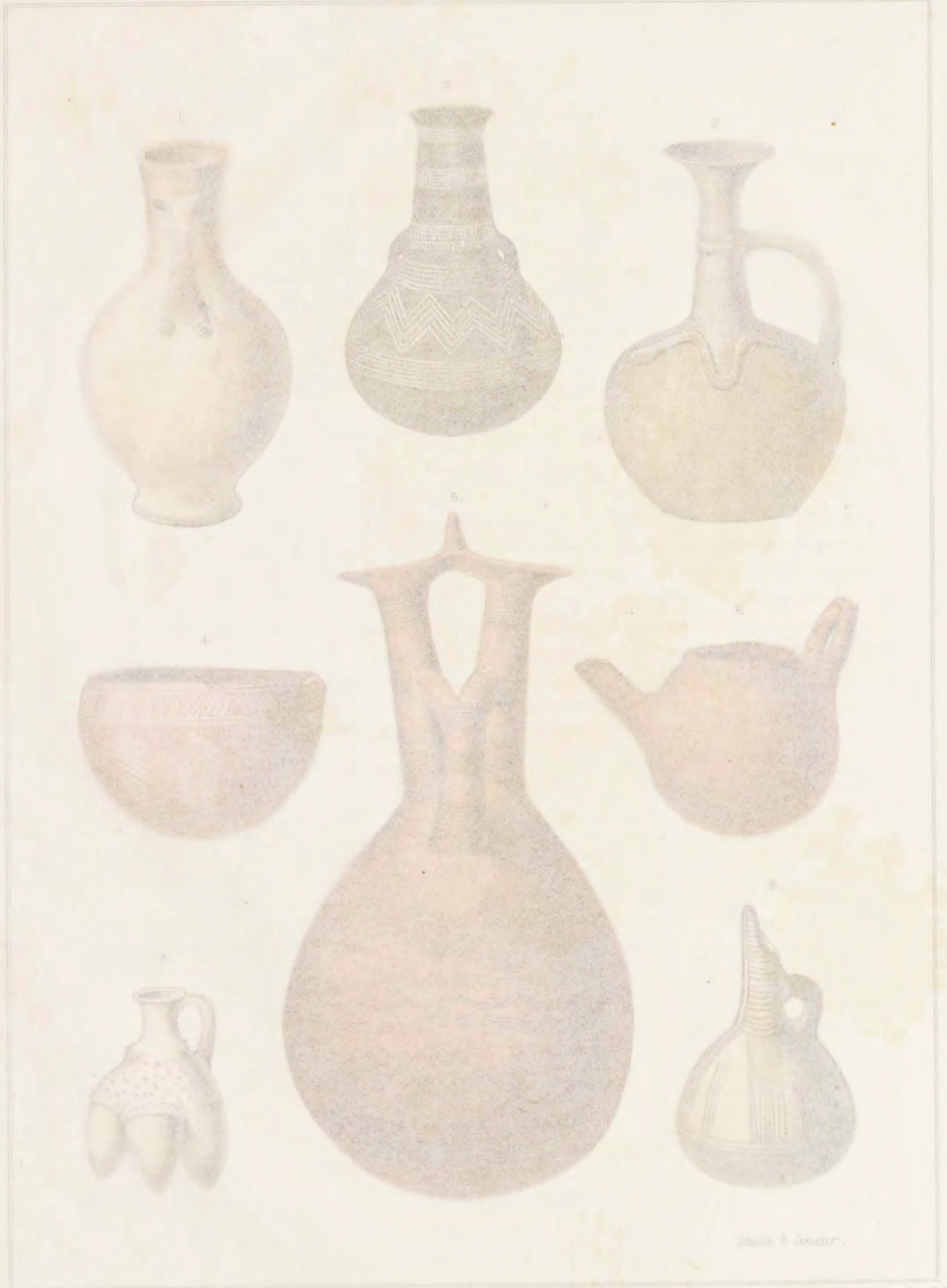
Proceeding now to the classification of the pottery, we may separate them as follows:—

I. A distinct and very remarkable style of pottery, consists of red vases, highly glazed, with lines incised in the clay when soft, the patterns being formed by a simple arrangement of lines both parallel and at various angles to each other (Pl. IX. figs. 4, 5, 6). The white colour of the incised lines in some of the specimens is simply due to lime contracted from the soil.

Much of this pottery is destitute of patterns, and is then much less highly glazed; a plain bowl without a handle being a frequent form, sometimes with holes pierced in the edge for the purpose of being suspended against the wall either by a string or nail. Some of the bowls are two feet in diameter, the clay being remarkably fine and thin, considering their size, and slightly porous. A few of the vases are black (Pl. IX. fig. 2), and sometimes the black and red are blended, as if produced in baking. Hitherto only three cemeteries containing this species of pottery have been discovered, one a few miles from Dali (Idalium), and the other two not far from Larnaka (Citium or Kittim), and I believe antiquaries are disposed to consider it as the product of very early Greek art. The presence of bronze or copper spear-heads in considerable abundance is a distinguishing feature of these tombs, as well as of those next to be described.

II. Another the most common form of vase found in the cemeteries of the second class is the *amphora*, Egyptian in character, of a delicate pale black pottery, generally without any pattern, but sometimes having incised lines in patterns similar to those of the preceding class, and often with raised lines winding snake-like round the body of the *amphora*; the lines in one instance terminate in what appears to be the head of a snake (Pl. IX. fig. 3). They are covered with a thin

* This ancient people was certainly singularly addicted, as we should infer from the above mentioned notice, to the arts of the sculptor and the potter, since the soil of the island literally teems with fragments of stone statues and of the products of the potter.



G. R. del.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

C. F. Todd Lith. London & C.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876.

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II. Perhaps the most common form of vase found in the cemeteries of the second class is the lecythus, Egyptian in character, of a delicate pale black pottery, generally without any pattern, but sometimes having incised lines in patterns similar to those of the preceding class, and often with raised lines winding snake-like round the body of the lecythus; the lines in one instance terminate in what appears to be the head of a snake (Pl. IX. fig. 3). They are covered with a thin

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siliceous glaze. Another characteristic form is a bowl, spherical in form, with a triangular handle (Pl. X. fig. 2), having a simple black pattern, painted on a light buff ground, running round the outer rim, from whence similar patterns join the centre. The inside is always destitute of pattern, and indeed in the bowls and platters of Cyprian pottery it is generally on the outside that the potter lavished his ornaments, the intention evidently being that they should be suspended against the walls of the domestic interiors, where they would show to greater advantage. In the tombs they are always placed on the ground, from the impossibility of hanging them against loose earthen walls. Sometimes the bowl occurs without a handle (Pl. X. fig. 1), in which case a hole is often pierced for it to hang by, the pattern in one example being coloured pink. A common bowl, without ornament, but with the same triangular handle, often twisted, is of frequent occurrence, the form suggesting the idea that they were imitations of metal, as do also certain vases with twisted rims; as well as a jug in which the nail-heads, as if for fastening on the handle, are very conspicuous (Pl. IX. fig. 1). A few other interesting types are added to illustrate the variety of shapes belonging to this class of cemeteries; the pattern of one vase (Pl. IX. fig. 5) has been pricked into the clay while moist. There are also some remarkable vases in imitation of animals, the bull being most commonly reproduced, but it is difficult to say what creature the vase shown in the annexed woodcut is intended to represent. Perhaps it will be considered rash to affirm that the



PAINTED VASE, CYPRUS.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

nude figure (Pl. X. fig. 4) was intended for Venus. There is little doubt, however, that such is the case, as it is exactly similar to representations which have come down to us of the Persian goddess Melitta, who in the Persian mythology held the place of Aphrodite and Venus of the Greeks and Romans. The fact of its being found in one of these tombs would lead to the inference that the people



Scale 1/2 linear.

C.R.R. del.

E. F. Kellogg, Lith. London E. C.

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EGYPTIAN VASE, OTTOMAN.
SCALE 1/2 ROMAN.

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C.F. Kell, Lith. London E.C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

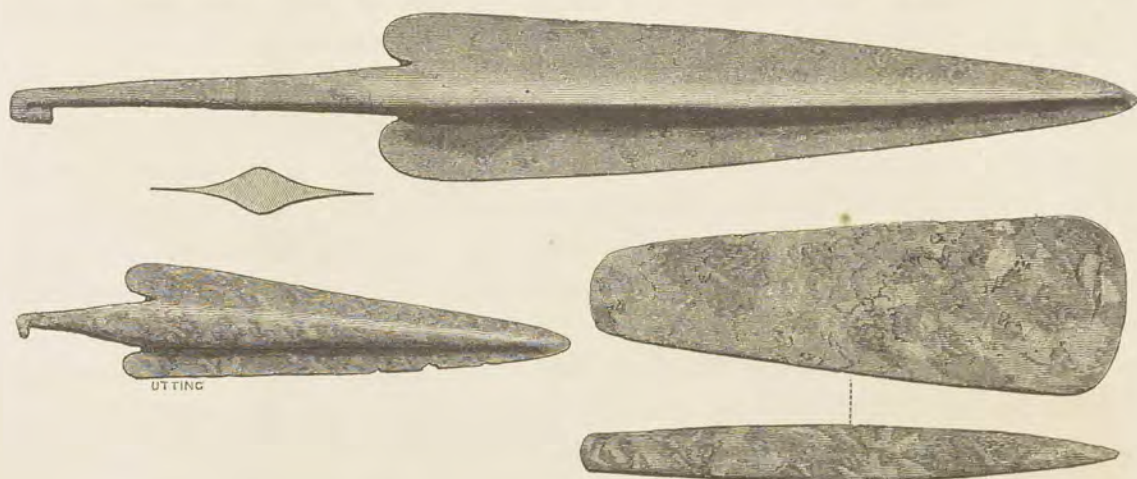
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whose remains they contain were of Asiatic origin; while, on the other hand, the character of the cylinders and scarabæi sometimes picked up by the workmen, and above all the circumstance, which I shall presently mention, of the identity of the pottery with that found in Saïs, plainly prove them to have been largely subjected to Egyptian influences. As stated before, bronze or copper spear-heads are frequently found in this class of tombs as well as in the preceding, but in no others, a distinction of no slight importance in any attempt to fix their age. These cemeteries are more commonly met with than those of the preceding class, the existence of eight or ten being already known, chiefly in the east and south-east of the island, one being in the neighbourhood of Dali, two more in the central plain of the island, and two a few miles from Larnaka.

An exactly similar kind of pottery to that just described may be seen in the Boulak Museum—familiar to Egyptian tourists, the specimens there collected having been exhumed at Saïs, in the delta of the Nile. Now Saïs, as is well known, was allotted by Psammetichus in the seventh century B.C. as the residence of the Greek colonists in Egypt, and was chiefly inhabited by them. Many of these Greeks accompanied Amasis as mercenary soldiers when that monarch achieved the conquest of Cyprus in B.C. 560. There is, however, an evident difficulty in assigning so late an epoch to this class of cemeteries, not to mention that their contents bear little resemblance to Greek fictile art. It is more probable, therefore, that the same people who colonised Saïs before the arrival of the Greek immigrants colonised also certain districts in Cyprus either on the first conquest of the Island, B.C. 1500, by Thothmes III., or on its second conquest a century later by Rameses II. or even at a period anterior to these events. In those early times bronze weapons were in common use, while the contemporaries of Amasis had adopted weapons of iron, a metal which, though known to have been discovered long before, being painted red in Egyptian sculptures, was probably not in common use. The pottery, therefore, exhibited in the Boulak Museum, near Cairo, as found at Saïs, can hardly have been the work of the Greek colony established there, but of its earlier inhabitants. There seems to be no other way of accounting for so complete an identity in the fictile ware of the two localities than by assigning a common origin to the peoples in whose tombs they are found. I think there can be little doubt that this remarkable people must have been Phœnician, for it is certain that the latter established extensive colonies in Cyprus in very ancient times, and, unless we assign to them the class of tombs now under consideration, there are none others which can so plausibly be attributed to them. Neither is there anything improbable in supposing that the

earlier inhabitants of Saïs were a Phœnician colony who were banished to make room for the Greek immigrants. It is certain, at any rate, that the localities where these cemeteries are found, viz. the eastern and south-eastern parts of Cyprus, are precisely those in which we know the Phœnicians to have established themselves. A striking point of resemblance between the race identified with these graves and that tenanted the first class of tombs lies in the practice of burying their weapons, bronze or copper spear-heads, with their dead, a practice which proves them to have been military peoples. Some specimens of these spear-heads and an axe-head are annexed.^a The presence of bronze, which is an alloy of



COPPER IMPLEMENTS FROM CYPRUS.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

copper and tin, is an additional argument in favour of identifying these tombs as Phœnician, and, in fact, history informs us that they founded a commercial colony in Citium as early as the twelfth century B.C. We know, moreover, that their commercial intercourse with Egypt was even anterior to this.

III. We now come to consider the third class of cemeteries, which the excavations hitherto made show to have covered a much wider area of the island than either of the preceding ones, and the progress of discovery tends to establish the probability of their range being co-extensive with the island itself, though different localities are distinguished by varieties of the same kind of pottery. The fact, then, of their extended range, and the further significant circumstance of their

^a The celt is in the collection of John Evans, Esq. F.S.A., the remainder of the objects in the British Museum; they are probably all of copper, nearly pure. For an analysis of Cyprian objects, see *Compte Rendu du Congrès Préhistorique de Stockholm*, p. 346.



C.H.R. del.

E.F. Hill Lith. London.

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Scale 1/2 inch.

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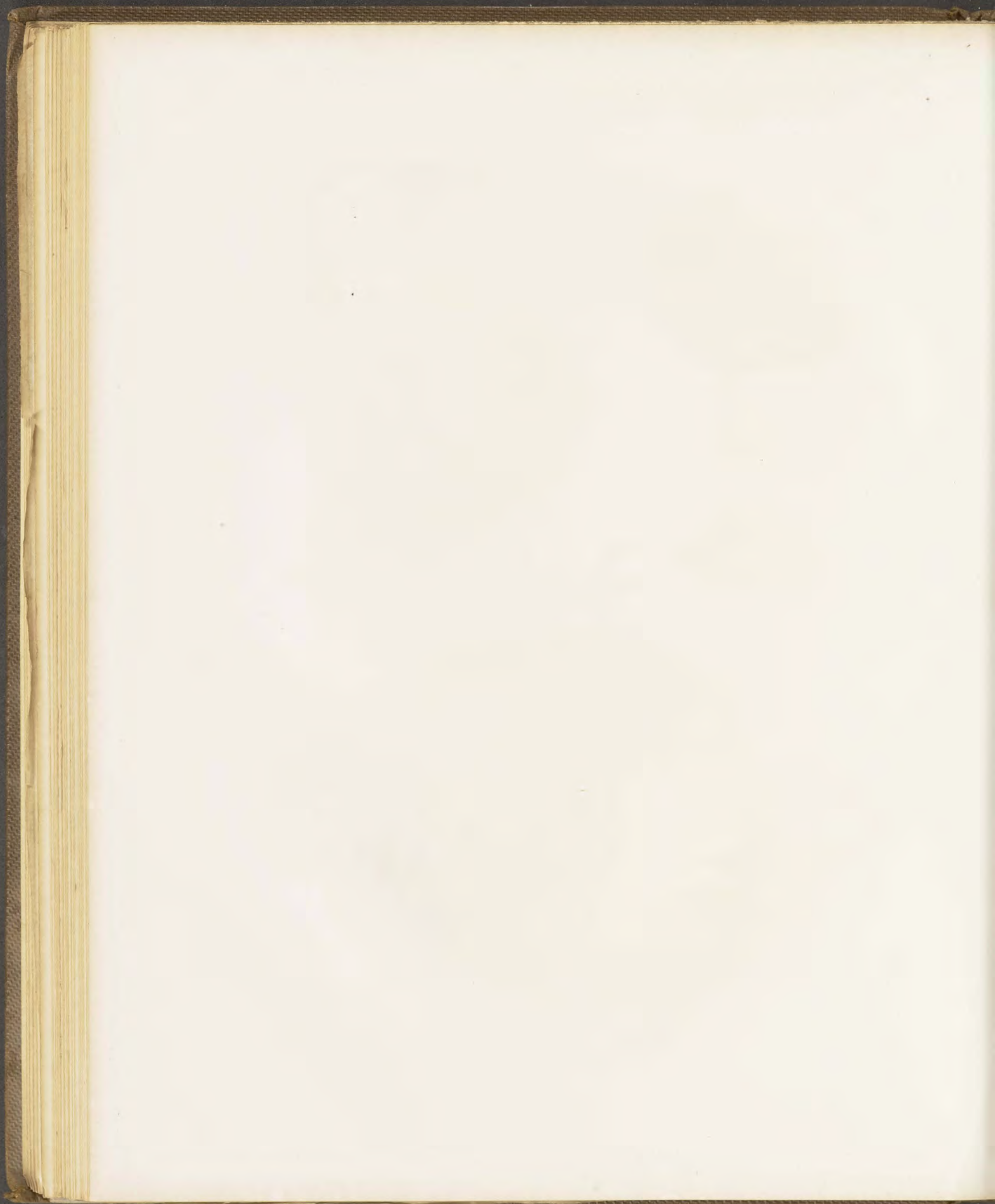
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C.H.R. del.

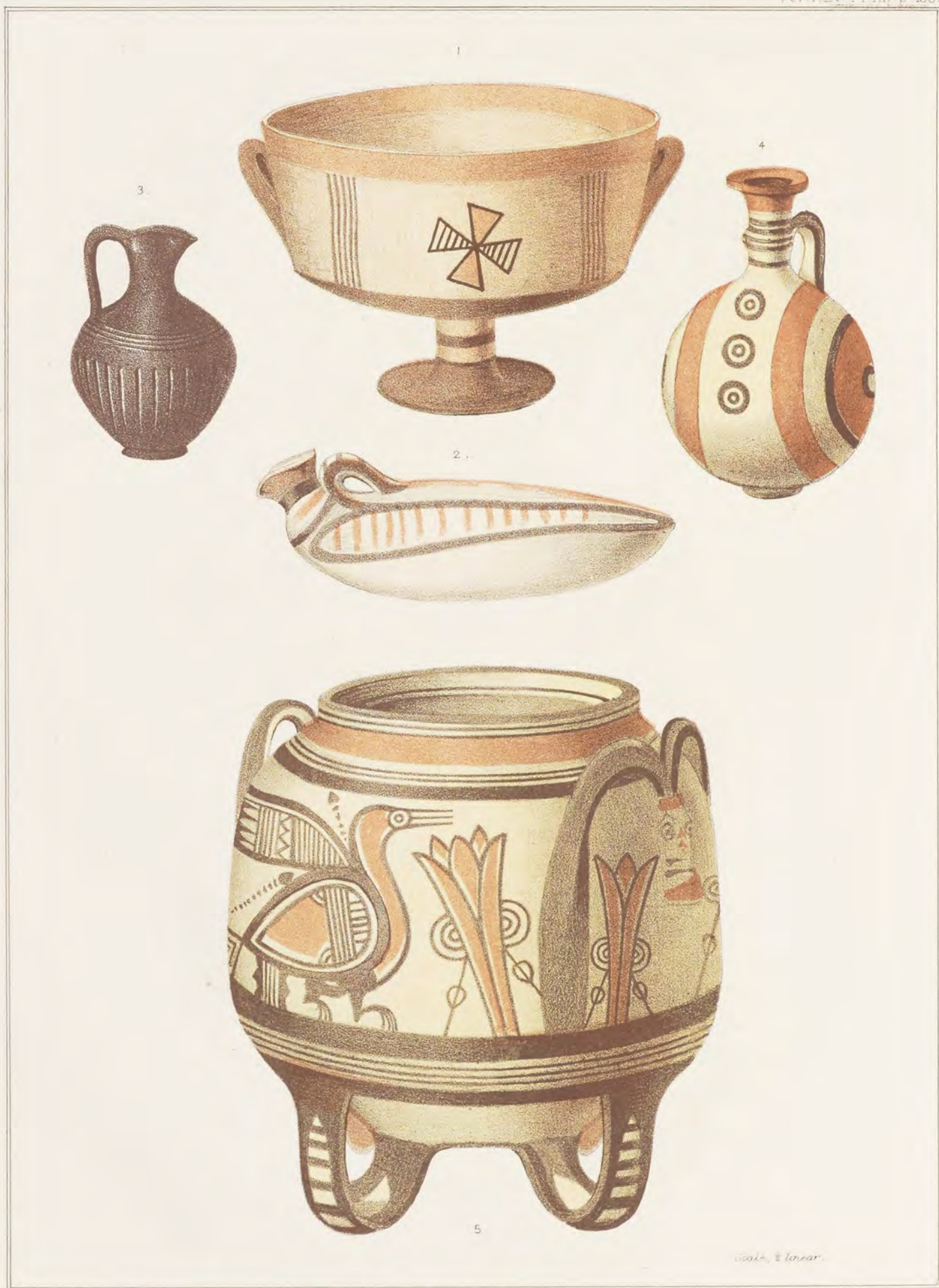
C.F. Kell Lith. London E.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876.







C.H.R. del.

C.F. Meil Lith. London, F.C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876

being found in the neighbourhood of three several temples, from which inscriptions in the Cyprian characters have been excavated, are tolerably convincing proofs that they were the last resting-places of the indigenous Cyprians. The theory that they were the tombs of the Phœnicians would seem to be untenable, as neither historical notices nor the occurrence of Phœnician inscriptions warrant the belief that that people ever held any territory, or any numbers beyond the comparatively narrow limits indicated by the territories of Idalion, Idalium, and Tamassus, and for a very brief period at Salamis. The earliest historical chronicle of the Book of Genesis, which dates from a time before the Phœnicians set foot in the island, informs us that a people known under the name of Kittim (Chitims), a son of Javan of the race of Japhet, first colonised Cyprus, Javan being the progenitor of the Yunán, or Ionians, Yunán being the word by which the Greek race are to this day designated amongst most Eastern nations. Evidence in support of this statement is supplied by the pottery found in great abundance in this class of cemeteries, the ornaments and emblems traced on which bear a striking analogy to primitive Ionic Greek art. I believe my friend Mr. R. H. Lang, whose long residence in Cyprus led him to give his special attention to this subject, was the first to establish, in an unpublished work on the ancient history of that island, that its primitive inhabitants were Aryan and not Semitic in race, according to the commonly received opinion of its being peopled by Phœnicians. This view I found subsequently confirmed by the independent researches of so great an authority as the Rev. Professor Rawlinson, who argues the question at length in an article in the January number of the *Sunday at Home* for 1869. I take the present opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to Mr. Lang for many valuable suggestions contained in this paper.

To return to our main subject. The pottery of this class of tombs is separated by a wide gulf from that previously described, all the characteristic forms of which now pass out of sight. The artists rely entirely on colour for ornamentation, the use of lines for that purpose scratched on the surface being abandoned. The colours employed are black, brown, yellow, red, and purple, the three last of which only are fast colours, the red being easily washed off with water. The ground is a pale fawn colour, except in certain vases specified hereafter when it is red, and the clay is neither so fine nor thin as in the pottery now described. The fawn-coloured ground, however, is produced, especially in the case of the large amphoræ, by dipping the vessel in a wash of that colour, the ground immediately beneath the surface being a brick red.

The characteristic forms adopted, the principal of which resulting from



C. B. 1861

C. B. 1861, London, J. C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

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being found in the neighbourhood of three several temples, from which inscriptions in the Cyprian characters have been excavated, are tolerably convincing proofs that they were the last resting-places of the indigenous Cyprians. The theory that they were the tombs of the Phœnicians would seem to be untenable, as neither historical notices nor the presence of Phœnician inscriptions warrant the belief that that people ever established themselves in any numbers beyond the comparatively narrow limits embraced by the territories of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus, and for a very brief period at Salamis. The valuable historical chronicle of the Book of Genesis, which dates from a time before the Phœnicians set foot in the island, informs us that a people known under the ethnic appellation of Kittim (Citium), a son of Javan of the race of Japhet, first colonised Cyprus, Javan being the progenitor of the Yunân, or Ionians, Yunân being the term by which the Greek race are to this day designated amongst most Eastern nations. Evidence in support of this statement is supplied by the pottery found in great abundance in this class of cemeteries, the ornaments and emblems traced on which bear a striking analogy to primitive Ionic Greek art. I believe my friend Mr. R. H. Lang, whose long residence in Cyprus led him to give his special attention to this subject, was the first to establish, in an unpublished work on the ancient history of that island, that its primitive inhabitants were Aryan and not Semitic in race, according to the commonly received opinion of its being peopled by Phœnicians. This view I found subsequently confirmed by the independent researches of so great an authority as the Rev. Professor Rawlinson, who argues the question at length in an article in the January number of the *Sunday at Home* for 1869. I take the present opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to Mr. Lang for many valuable suggestions contained in this paper.

To return to our main subject. The pottery of this class of tombs is separated by a wide gulf from that previously described, all the characteristic forms of which now pass out of sight. The artists rely entirely on colour for ornamentation, the use of lines for that purpose scratched on the surface being abandoned. The colours employed are black, brown, yellow, red, and purple, the three former of which only are fast colours, the red being easily washed off with water. The ground is a pale fawn colour, except in certain vases specified hereafter, where it is red, and the clay is neither so fine nor thin as in the pottery last described. The fawn-coloured ground, however, is produced, especially in the case of the large amphoræ, by dipping the vessel in a wash of that colour, the ground immediately beneath the surface being a brick red.

The characteristic forms are—1st. The amphora (Pl. XIII.), standing from

one to three feet high. 2nd. A barrel-shaped vase from ten to sixteen inches long, and about the same in height, though sometimes smaller (Pl. X. fig. 5). 3rd. A kind of tureen, from six to eight inches high (Pl. XII. fig. 1). 4th. Oinochoês, or wine-jars, sometimes spherical in the body, sometimes more or less elongated (Pl. X. fig. 7). 5th. Pinakes, or plates, painted chiefly on the under side, as if meant to be suspended against the wall with that side towards the spectator (Pl. XI. fig. 3). They are either furnished with handles or with one or two little holes near the rim. 6th. Coarse, very porous, oinochoês, of a black material, with ribbed vertical lines for their only ornament (Pl. XII. fig. 3). These are often of diminutive size. 7th. Elegant little red vases, highly glazed, embracing some of the previous forms, and ornamented with black horizontal lines and concentric circles (Pl. XI. fig. 2). A few of this class have a pale buff ground (Pl. XII. fig. 4). These are the most highly finished vases, and, being often very diminutive, and provided with an orifice so small as to allow a liquid put into them to come out only by drops, were probably meant to contain perfumes.

The designs on all the foregoing vases, which are somewhat less varied than the shapes, consist of a variety of geometrical patterns, the lozenge and concentric circle predominating, though these are seldom or never found together, waves and lines encircling the vase, chequers, stars, and other simple ornaments being often intermixed. The large amphoræ are almost always adorned with either lozenges or concentric circles, and the last-mentioned little red perfume vases are always painted with horizontal lines and concentric circles, or either separately, traced in black, the lozenge never figuring upon them. Both styles largely pervade this whole class of pottery, the concentric circles predominating in some cemeteries, the lozenge form of ornamentation in others. Black is the chief colour employed, occasionally relieved by red. Another favourite ornament, frequently repeated on little jars with a whitish ground, is what resembles a wheel with four spokes, generally joined with some other simple ornament, as a star or cross, and always with an eye on either side of the spout. Sometimes this wheel-ornament is found on larger vases, but always accompanied with two eyes (Pl. X. fig. 7).

Amongst elegant forms is an incense-holder (Pl. XI. fig. 1), fitting which is a lid perforated with holes for the perfume to escape from. It stands eight and a half inches high. Another one, more than two feet high, but without a lid, which may have been lost, is now in the British Museum. The only examples I have yet met with in this class of tombs of an attempt to mould animals in pottery seem to have been imitations of the duck. One, and the most elegant,



Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear

C.I.R. 361.

VASE FROM CYPRUS

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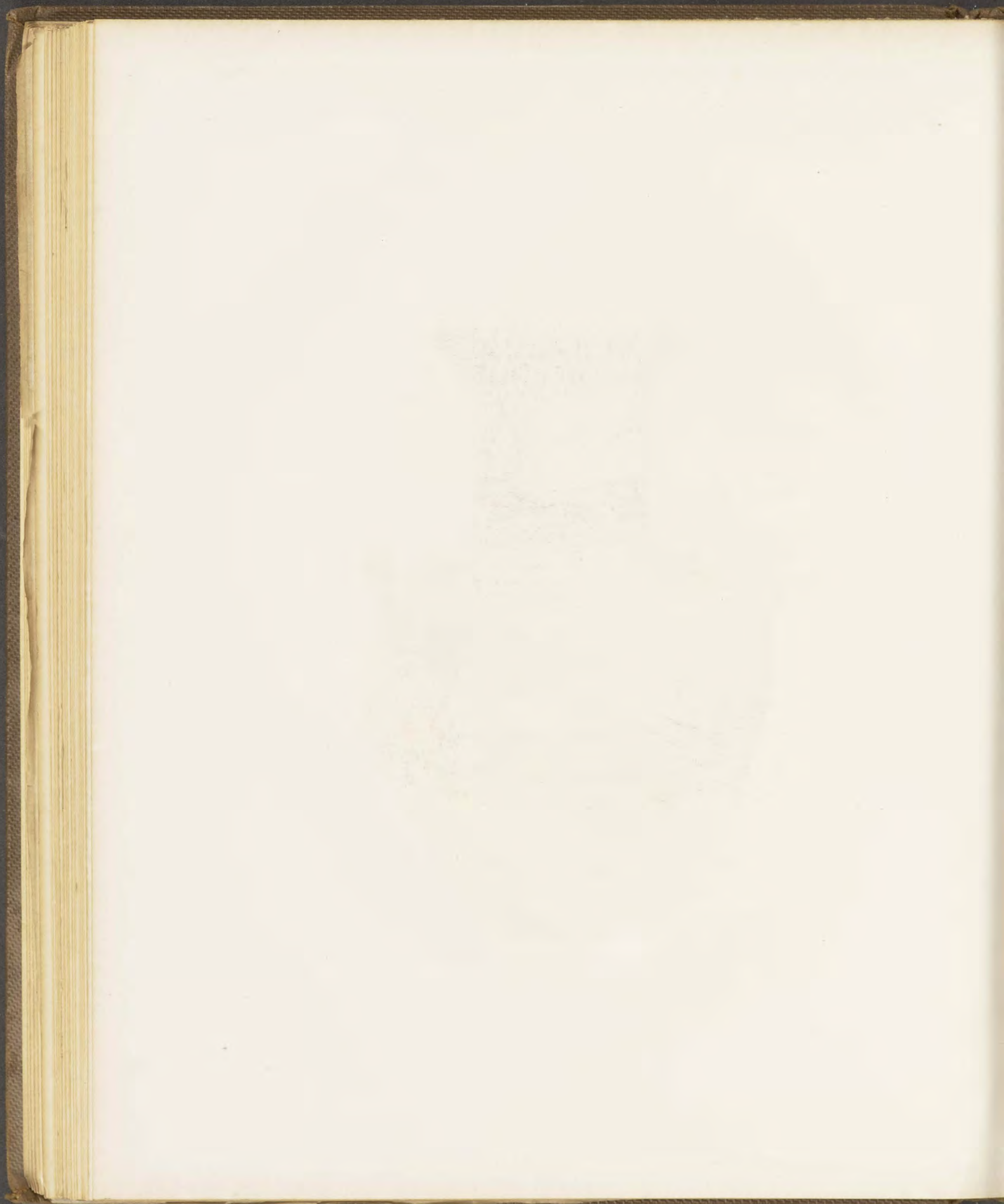
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

C.H.R. del.

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VASE FROM CYPRUS.

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is also in our national collection; the other, much ruder in character, is given in Pl. XII. fig. 2.

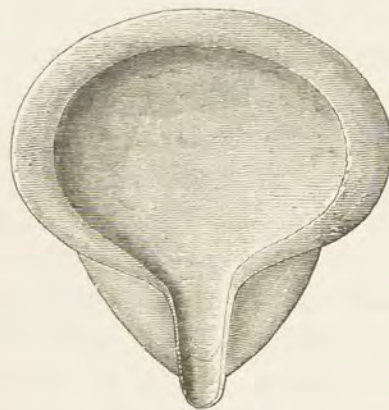
In many cemeteries, however, especially where they appear to have belonged to a village, the pottery discovered is of the commonest description, generally destitute of pattern, and sometimes with scarcely marks sufficient to identify it with the great class we are now describing. There is nothing surprising in this, as in poor communities no encouragement would have been given to merely ornamental art. It is enough for our purpose if we are satisfied that the types under consideration were so prevalent as to be entitled to the appellation of national, a term to which the pottery of neither of the previous categories can fairly lay claim.

The most interesting kind of ornament, however, has yet to be mentioned, and one which materially aids the antiquary in his endeavours to assign a probable age to these ancient tombs. In the pottery therein contained we meet with the first efforts of the inhabitants of Cyprus to draw animal forms. We have seen the rude representations of the bull moulded in clay by the occupants of the second class of cemeteries, but here, for the first time, the earliest attempts at portraying the outlines of animals and man in colours are seen. On one of these is a scene representing a goat carried to sacrifice, tied to a pole borne on men's shoulders, followed by a man with uplifted arms, and wearing a high-crowned cap. The scene covers two-thirds of the neck of an amphora (the only fragment remaining) discovered by Mr. Lang, while on the third side is the lozenge ornament divided into panels, and flanked by parallel vertical lines. This is perhaps the earliest, as it is certainly the rudest, specimen of the mimetic art yet discovered, and is all the more remarkable as delineating the human form, which on the earliest vases is so rarely met with. In another vase, in which the concentric circle appears, is a female figure standing out in relief, of a very interesting character, and in another, a similar head, more highly ornamented, serves as the mouth of the vase, a spout projecting from the side. They were found in the neighbourhood of Idalium. The two pendent locks falling over the shoulders in front is a common attribute of the early Cyprian race, and with the type of face itself serves to distinguish it from the Egyptian on the one hand and the Assyrian and its kindred Phœnician type on the other. The Cyprian face, with its large, prominent nose, strongly-marked eye-brows, and broad forehead, with single or double locks falling over the shoulders in front, has been so often reproduced in both stone and terra-cotta as to be a well-recognised type by those familiar with this branch of archaeology. The Biblical account in assigning an Aryan race to Cyprus as its earliest inhabitants is thus far borne out by the type

portrayed on the pottery being neither Semitic nor Hamitic in character, though on such an obscure subject I would express myself with diffidence.

Birds are a favourite subject with these primitive artists, though the treatment is sometimes so conventional that it is not always easy to see which of the feathered tribe were intended to be represented. We have already noticed a jug (Pl. X. fig. 7), on which is shown a stork in the act of seizing a snake, or as if the reptile had just dropped from its beak. Another vase of elegant form, resting on peculiar feet, seems to be ornamented with a swan (Pl. XII. fig. 5). In a third jar we see two vultures, represented probably as feeding on the body of the deceased, while between them, as if emblematic of immortality, the lotus-flower flourishes. The lotus-flower is a favourite ornament with these early artists, several jars having been found adorned with it. The bull, and more rarely the human form, are sometimes represented, but jars having for their subjects any form of animal life are comparatively rare, and do not amount to one in a thousand. The majority of such vases have been excavated from one burial-ground, which is of great extent, and at a distance from any town, about half-way between Larnaka and Famagousta, not far from a village called Makrasyka, in the south-east corner of the island. The neighbourhood of Idalium has also produced a few.

An idea has perhaps now been given by the aid of the annexed plates of the most interesting or commonest types of pottery brought to light in this class of



LAMP FROM CYPRUS.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

tombs. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the better kind of pottery is found in all the tombs. The contrary is the case. Most of the graves

contain but two or three common vases, either destitute of pattern or with the simplest designs. These were evidently the graves of the poorer people. A rich man would frequently have a large assortment of vases of all sizes, doubtless votive offerings of his nearest kindred. A common open lamp (see woodcut) of plain clay, on which no pattern or subject is ever represented, not unfrequently forms a part of the furniture of the deceased's abode. No lamp formed like the Greek has as yet been discovered in this class of cemeteries. Now and then little rude clay figures of men, and men on horseback, are found, coloured black and red, which it has been the fashion, perhaps without sufficient reason, to consider as toys. One of these was found with about sixty pieces of better pottery. Amongst them was a large amphora, which itself was filled with small vases, resembling diminutive oinochoês, and a few pinakes. The presence of so much superior pottery would indicate that the tomb belonged to a family of distinction. Another represents a man carrying in his arms a goat or sheep for sacrifice. The large clay pendent ornaments are pierced with holes, as is also his peaked cap, to which they would be attached by string or a piece of wood. This type of figure is illustrated by Pl. X. fig. 3.

It now remains to attempt to assign some date to the class of cemeteries we have been considering, and in doing so both to fix a limit to the time down to which they may have reached and to assign an epoch in the remote past when they had their origin. To attempt the first, it will be necessary to state that the class of tombs next to be described is characterised by the abundance of glass vessels found in them; and, though vases of pottery accompany the glass, they are never adorned with concentric circles, &c., but are mostly without ornament, as if the art had fallen into neglect. The native Cyprians seem not to have adopted the styles of which the progress is so well marked in Greece and her principal colonies in Italy and elsewhere.

A few specimens have been found near Salamis of cylices and lecythi, with a black ground covered with a very lustrous glaze, on which elegant patterns in orange colour are painted. But Salamis was a Greek colony, where the arts were introduced from Greece herself. Nearly all the tombs there seem to have been rifled in a previous age, and the only cemeteries of a later date which are found in abundance contain glass and gold ornaments. Now the glass epoch, so to speak, could not have commenced in all probability before the end of the fifth century B.C., so that pottery seems not to have advanced in Cyprus, except in a few communities colonised by Greece in a more recent age, beyond the old style with its monotonous designs which has just been described. It is not improbable

that glass, originally introduced by the Phœnicians, may have been early adopted by the Greek colonists, as well as by the Cyprians, numbers of whom were Phœnician subjects in the little kingdoms of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus. The neighbourhood of Idalium particularly contains several cemeteries where glass abounds. Inscriptions are wanting to aid us in the endeavour to fix the latest date of the old class of cemeteries. Some Phœnician letters in black paint were indeed found on a small unadorned vase obtained from the cemetery at Makrasyka, but the finder in attempting to clean the vase made them illegible. The fact of a solitary inscription in Phœnician being found there is not sufficient testimony in itself as to all the fictile ware of that place being Phœnician, when the general evidence is against such a theory, and we may well imagine that potters and other artizans of that nation were most likely scattered all over the island. One or two jars of coarse red ware with pointed bases, also bearing Phœnician characters, and which are supposed to be measures of capacity, have been excavated from the site of the old Phœnician port of Citium, but no pottery of the kind we have just been describing was found with them. Dr. Birch, in his *History of Pottery*, states, that vases very similar in character to those now under consideration have been found at Athens, Santorin, and a few other places, and he thinks that they cannot belong to a later age than the seventh century B.C. They will thus be found to immediately precede the vases known as Archaic Greek, which archæologists attribute to the following century, but the Cyprians seem not to have developed this higher style of art.

In seeking to determine the infancy of a mode of sepulture whose latest development does not reach beyond the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, general historical considerations are our best guide. Assuming then that the people tenanting these cemeteries were Cyprians, they may be as ancient at all events as the earliest records of that nation. Those records go back as far as 1500 B.C., and, though I would be far from attributing any of the elaborate patterns to this remote epoch, there is no improbability in supposing that the simple mode of sepulture obtained then, or that the fashion of burying pottery was as ancient, seeing that rude vases of a far more remote date have been exhumed from tombs in Egypt and Chaldæa. About the year 900 B.C. the Cyprians had become so powerful as for thirty years to have kept the command of the sea, and from that date until 707, when the Assyrians reduced them to allegiance, they were free from external aggression, their old enemies, Phœnicia and Egypt, having already succumbed to the Assyrian power. During this interval of prosperity and repose the arts would certainly make great progress, and Cyprus in all probability was

in every respect far in advance of Athens, which at that time was a poor and obscure community. The knowledge of art derived from its long intercourse with Egypt and Phœnicia would have had time to fructify, and gradually to produce a style of its own. During this period the art of pottery would naturally partake in the general advance, and it would be by no means surprising if the vases sent to adorn Esar-haddon's palace at Nineveh, about the year 680 B.C., comprised some of the most elaborate designs now brought to light. Traces of Assyrian influence in certain patterns sometimes occur, and they would naturally belong to the closing period of the art.

There is a striking difference in the style of art evinced by the pottery which has just occupied our attention and the little clay figures which are sometimes found with it. The latter are so rude as to appear to belong to an earlier epoch. In many of the old temples of Cyprus great quantities of these shapeless clay figures, painted in alternate lines of black and red, are found, representing persons in the attitude of prayer, men on horseback, and chariots, drawn generally by four horses, with the driver in front and the warrior behind. In a comparatively level country like Cyprus, chariots seem to have played an important part in war, as we find they did in the neighbouring country of Palestine as early as B.C. 1400. As art progressed, and perhaps in deference to innovations in religious belief, these rude figures seem to have been cast out of the temples, as many were found just outside the temple recently uncovered at Idalium, but none inside. The question as to what epoch they must be assigned is involved in much obscurity; but it seems scarcely possible to imagine that they were the product of the same age as some statues in stone and terra-cotta of considerable artistic merit discovered in the above-mentioned temple of Idalium, and to which competent critics assign an age as far back as 600 B.C. Lastly, the fact of the total absence of the Greek lamp in these cemeteries must not be lost sight of in our search for chronological data.

IV. I proceed now to pass rapidly in review the fourth class of cemeteries, in which glass vessels predominate. In these tombs, which are constructed exactly like those of the preceding class, the pottery is much less abundant and of coarser material and commoner design, evidently showing that the art had fallen into neglect. But, if we miss the variety of form and ornament distinguishing the ceramic art of more ancient times, we are more than compensated by the beautiful iridescence which the magic hand of time has wrought upon the vases. This seems to be caused by the slow decomposition of the glass through the action of moisture and carbonic acid, resulting in the scaling off of portions of

the glass in plates thin enough to give the play of colour seen in soap bubbles and in Newton's rings. Originally most of the glass was colourless or light green; a very few specimens of blue glass with white spiral lines, and of colourless glass with blue bosses, having been also found. A lamp, with simple ornaments, or with an animal or bird raised in relief, is not uncommon in these cemeteries, the maker's name in the genitive case occasionally occurring on the under surface—for example, *FAVSTI, CΦΤΡΙΑΩΝΟC*. The common open lamp formerly in use is found more frequently, but never in company with glass, inferior pottery taking its place. In the age we have now reached, such common lamps were only in use amongst the poor, as, indeed, they continue to be amongst their descendants at this day. A chemical analysis of the glass, lately made by Mr. John Thomson, son of Professor Thomson, of Glasgow, gives the following constituents and their proportions:—

	White Glass.
Silica	68·18
Alumina	2·70
Oxide of Iron	·82
Oxide of Manganese	·92
Lime	7·73
Soda	18·46
Magnesia	Slight trace.

Mr. Thomson remarks that the above analysis shows that other ancient glasses, such as Egyptian and old Roman, were similar in chemical composition, and that the ancients used the same materials and very nearly in the same proportions as we do at the present day.

Besides glass, these cemeteries contain gold ornaments, chiefly ear and finger rings, sometimes set with precious stones.

The ear does not appear to have been generally pierced to receive the earrings, which were attached by being pressed against the ear-lobe so as to grasp it; and, lest they should be lost by dropping off, they were sometimes attached to each other by a slender chain passing behind the neck.

From a few of these tombs sarcophagi have been unearthed, and now and then the tomb was built of solid masonry, and divided into three or five compartments at either side and at the end, capable each of containing one body. Stone circular columns, called *stelæ*, from two to four feet in height, and from six to eight inches in diameter, have also been met with in such tombs. Under the capital is

a band of pine-cones, lemons, or pomegranates. The two following legends are selected as specimens occurring on these stelæ:—

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΕ	ΑΠΟΛΩ
ΚΤΝΗΓΕ ΧΡΗCTΕ	ΝΙΑΗ
ΧΑΙΡΕ	ΧΡΗCTΕ
	ΧΑΙΡΕ

The character of the writing would lead one to assign a date as late as the Christian era to the former at least of these inscriptions.

Before closing this paper I am anxious to correct an impression which has obtained currency amongst several *savants* interested in Cyprian antiquities, owing to statements put forth by the present American Consul in Cyprus, General di Cesnola, who, more than any other person, has been instrumental in uncovering the archæological treasures of the island. In a biography of him, published in Italian, his native language, it is stated on his authority that the ancient tombs which I have placed in the third class, but which he supposes were Phœnician, were discovered by him as lying many feet underneath the more modern ones containing glass, and he adduces this as a proof of their great antiquity. This statement is repeated with fuller details in an introduction to a catalogue of antiquities belonging to M. di Cesnola, recently sold in Paris. The following is the passage:—

“D’après une observation fort curieuse de M. di Cesnola, les tombeaux Grecs étaient placés audessus de la nécropole phénicienne, car, en fouillant le sol, on trouvait, à deux ou trois mètres plus bas, des sépultures renfermant des objets de l’ancien style; puis d’autres, plus anciens encore, et ainsi de suite jusqu’à une profondeur de 42 pieds. Les générations successives avaient établi là leurs champs de repos, sans se douter peut-être que leurs ancêtres, que d’autres nations, bien des siècles auparavant, avaient déjà fait de même.”

This appears to be a mistake. In the first place the cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Idalium, to which the writer refers, are not in one spot, but in many, most of them separated from each other by intervals of 100 or 200 yards, a fact to which I can testify from having repeatedly gone over the ground and made excavations in these cemeteries myself. In one place a Cyprian burial-ground containing pottery classified under the third class of tombs lies on a hill-side close to a more modern one containing glass, and here a certain intermingling of tombs occurs on which the theory of the American Consul is founded. I went carefully over the ground in company with workmen who had excavated for

M. di Cesnola to see whether in any case the Greek tombs containing glass had been superimposed on the more ancient Cyprian. One was at last found lying some eight feet below another, but, in searching amongst its *débris*, broken fragments of glass were found and not pottery of the ancient kind, and one of the workmen remembered distinctly having uncovered this tomb and finding glass there. Had it, however, contained the old kind of pottery, the circumstance would have been quite immaterial when the manner in which these graves were originally hollowed out is once understood.

I have already stated that the means of communication with the door of the tombs was in some cemeteries by a narrow sloping passage, about twenty feet long, which was afterwards filled in with earth. On examining the hill where these cemeteries are intermingled, it turned out that the passage communicating with the tomb containing glass had entered the hill by the steeper side, while the tomb in the higher level had been entered by a shaft at right angles to it, from a different face of the hill, the passages in this manner nearly meeting each other. I learnt that in two other cases the same thing had occurred. Of course the workmen in making their excavations proceed by the quicker method of digging straight down on the tombs from above, so that a person unacquainted with the presence of the side-shafts would be not a little puzzled to account for their superposition. M. di Cesnola, we presume, shared this ignorance, and thus imagined successive generations burying their dead over each other, till a height of forty-two feet was reached. In giving the above simple explanation of a phenomenon by no means extraordinary, I hope to have disposed of an untenable theory.

NOTE.

The delay in publishing this memoir has arisen from the small size of the sketches that accompanied it, which rendered them unsuitable for engraving. Advantage has, however, been taken of the author's having sent a portion of his collection to the Leeds Exhibition, 1875, to obtain larger drawings from selected examples. Where necessary these have been supplemented from the collections of Cyprian pottery in the British Museum.

Pl. IX. All from the Sandwith Collection. Fig. 1 is now in the British Museum.

Pl. X. Figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, Sandwith Collection, of which fig. 1 is now in the British Museum. The rest in the British Museum.

Pl. XI. Figs. 1 and 2, Sandwith Collection. Fig. 3, British Museum.

Pl. XII. All from the Sandwith Collection. Fig. 3 is now in the British Museum.

Pl. XIII. In the British Museum.

VII.—*The Early Statutes of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, with Observations on its Constitution and History.* By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D. F.S.A., *Præcentor of Chichester.*

Read May 7, 1874.

THE earliest copy of the Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Chichester occurs in the Dean's Book, a MS. marked 148, now in the library of University College, Oxford, which formerly belonged to Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, and was given in 1692 by Maria Langbaine, widow of his son Gerald Langbaine, gentleman commoner of the former college. A note on one of the leaves shows that a former owner was John Crowcher, Dean of Chichester from 1425 to 1460. "[Liber Decanatus] Cicestren' qui nuper erat de novo ligatus per mag. Joh^m Cruch' decanum predictæ ecclesie qui eciam de bonis suis propriis restituit implementum decanatus predicti, quod erat alienatum et abductum per M. Ric. Talbot penultimum predecessorum dicti Johannis decani. Dictus etiam Johannes plurima bona expendit circa reparaciones dicti decanatus et manerii sui de Coudr. et aliarum domorum pertinentium ad dictum decanatum que omnia erant quasi in ruina. Ideo parcat sibi successor et oret pro anima ejus."

The book contains a *Tropar* of the Use of Chichester, and meditations and prayers, some of them by Dean Thomas Lichfield; it is of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and must have been compiled very soon after the codification of the old customs in 1247 and before the Statutes of 1271, which are not in the collection. There is a careful transcript by Dr. Hutton in the Harleian MS. 6973, but by the kindness of the Master and Fellows of University College I have been able to adopt their MS. as the text. A few headings have been added within brackets from the later copies at Chichester,^a and the Statutes of 1314 and other ordinances and customs have been incorporated as illustrations in their proper places.^b

^a The Rev. C. A. Swainson, D.D., senior residentiary, who has arranged, after long labour, all the capitular documents, considers that "the chapter transcript was written about the year 1725."

^b In my *Cathedralia and Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals* the reader will find the whole cathedral system explained at length.

Copious extracts from the capitular documents were indispensable to explain many obsolete expressions and furnish a commentary upon points which time has rendered obscure.

The cathedral church of Chichester is one of those technically called of the old foundation, such as Salisbury, Lincoln, Lichfield, St. Paul's London, Exeter, Hereford, Wells, York, and those of Wales, to which reference is made in the Statute *Qui Censentur Residentes*. The constitution, as it was framed and grew up under the fostering care of bishop Ralph and his successors, comprised a dean^a and a chapter, including four dignitaries,^b and canons, who also held prebends,^c and at first were bound to long terms of residence^d and ministered in

^a See Stat. Constitutiones Antiquæ. The deanery was endowed by Seffrid II. The old income was 107*l*. The dean held the vicarage of Aldingbourne, and "the deanery of the parish of the Holy Sepulchre," Chichester, and the prebend of Westergate. The dean held the patronage and tithes of St. Bartholomew's Westergate, besides the urban deanery or deanery of Christianity (a title suggestive of a time when a heathen population existed round the cities and towns) as his peculiar jurisdiction until it was abolished on Jan. 1, 1846, by order in Council dated Aug. 8, 1845, under the Act of 6 and 7 William IV. c. 77, s. 10. It included Rumboldswyke, Fishbourne, St. Andrew's, St. Martin's, St. Olaf's, St. Pancras', St. Peter's the Great juxta Gildhall, St. Peter's the Less, St. Mary's in Foro, St. Mary's Hospital, and "Subdecan. sive Vicaria S. Petri Maj. sive subdecan'." (Lib. Inst. Pub. Rec. Off. Cic. Dioc. 5, fo. 1.) On Dec. 11, 1340, the primate made an award owing to a contest between Bishop Stratford and the dean, that the latter had jurisdiction, except during the time of an episcopal visitation, over the city churches and in matrimonial causes, and had authority to correct ecclesiastical offences not reserved to the bishop. The name of Little London, which certainly was part of the possessions of the Hospitallers (Min. Acc. 31 and 32 Hen. VIII. m. 16 dorso), occurs in 1440, and the arms of the last prior, which were in the windows of the residentiary house near the gate, also suggest some connection with the Order of Knights of St. John, for, in a charter in the University College MS. relating to land outside the west gate, the clause occurs "excepto loco religioso." In 1642 the round church of the Holy Sepulchre, which stood on the mound near St. Bartholomew's (called the Mount) Church in West Street, was destroyed. Val. Eccles. i. 298; Clarke's MS. 29, p. 67. The deanery is now in the gift of the Crown, not according to the maxim laid down by Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. ii. p. 126. (See Stat. de Modo Eligendi et Installandi Decanum.)

^b In the Statutes of 1251, De Proventibus Defunctorum and De Expensis, these are called Dignitates and Personæ. See Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 1, ad verbum "dignitatibus," p. 118; and ib. tit. 7, ad verbum "dignitatis," p. 114; and lib. v. tit. 16, ad verbum "canonici," p. 327. See also the extract from Bishop Storey's Register under the Statute De Domibus Canonicorum.

^c Canoniam est jus spirituale quod aliquis assequitur in ecclesiâ per receptionem in fratrem et assignationem stali in choro et loci in capitulo; Præbenda verò est jus spirituale recipiendi certos proventus pro meritis in ecclesiâ competentes percipienti ex divino officio cui insistit, et nascitur ex Canoniam tanquam filia a matre. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, i. p. 144, ad verbum "prebendas.") See Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum.

^d See the Statutes, De Domibus Canonicorum Decedentium. De Absentiâ Canonicorum. De Utilitate Residentiæ. Qui Censentur Residentes. De Plenâ Residentiâ et Semi-plenâ.

courses of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; but in decay of discipline, "protested" (as the term ran) that is, demanded to be admitted as residentiaries and to share both in the common distribution of the cathedral funds and food, and in a division of the revenues arising from oblations, fees, and other sources of income.^a In the Visitation articles^b of 1675 are enumerated "decanus, dignitarii, canonici residentiarii, prebendarii," and the other members of the foundation, "vicarii chorales, vicarii laici sive clerici, omnesque ministri et servientes." The Register of Praty is more precise: "Ecclesia Cicestrensis habet quinque dignitates, præcentoriatum,^c cancellariatum,^d thesaurariatum,^e et duos archidiaconatus Cicestrensem et Lewensem: xxxii. præbendas et xvi. cantarias." In 1415 there were equal numbers of dignitaries and canons and of vicars. Bishop Praty mentions three stalls of deacon canons and five of sub-deacon canons. All the stalls except those of Highley and Wittering were in the bishop's gift by collation. The dean was elected by the chapter. The dean, præcentor, chancellor, and treasurer were also called "persone," "majores," and "superiores."^f

^a See the Statutes, De Panibus Canonorum. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Antiquâ Formâ Distributionis Communæ. De Distributione Panis. De Distributione Communæ. De Cotidianis Distributionibus et Releviis Legatis et Annualibus. De Distributione pro Defunctis.

^b Art. of Inq. Stat. ii. fo. 5. Comp. Art. 1682, fo. 2. (*Ib.* p. 137.)

^c See Statute, Constitutiones Antiquæ. It was endowed by Bishop Seffrid II. cum præbenda cui annexa ecclesia de Ovyng. Tax. 80*l.*; dec. 8*l.*, at a later date 69*l.*; in 1520, 35*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; and in the Parliamentary Survey 230*l.* The præcentor was lord of the township of Oving in 1316. In 1520 he had the farm of Hilsker in West Dean, and, according to the Parliamentary Survey, Quæ farm in that parish 1543. Præcentoria in Eccl. Cath. Cic. et præbenda de Oving eidem annexa. Dignitas Præcentoralis sive Præcentoriatu in Eccles. Cath. Cic. una cum præbenda sive Canonicatu de Owving eidem annexa. (Lib. E. 293. Writs of Parl. ii. 336, n. 53. Cranmer's Reg. fo. 388 a. Parker's Reg. fo. 199 b. Visit. 1558, fo. 3. Reg. H. and G. fo. 21. Reg. Storey, fo. 69. Reg. Rede. fo. 242. Book B. fo. 208. Act Book i. p. 61.)

^d See Statutes, Constitutiones Antiquæ and De officio Cancellarii. Founded by Bishop Hilary; cum ecclesia de Chitynglegh cum capella. Tax. 80*l.* dec. 8*l.* K. B. 98. Præbenda de Woodhorne de facto est unita sive annexa Cancellario. In his gift were the vicarages of Pevensey and Ditchling. De donatione ecclesiarum cancellario Eccles. Cath. Cic. (Leiger, fo. 69. Lib. E. 241. Reg. Storey, 1478, fo. 6. Lib. Y. fo. lvij. lxj.)

^e See Statutes, Constitutiones Antiquæ and De officio Thesaurarii. Founded by Bishop Hilary; ejus est ecclesia de Estbourne cum capella. Tax. 70*l.* dec. x. K. B. 63. Carta de nundinis de Estburne concessis W^{o.} de Nevyle, thesaurario. Lib. E. fo. 241. Lib. Y. fo. xxxiv.

^f See the Statutes, De Domibus Canonorum in Civitate. De Residentiam Facturo. De Officiis Ecclesiæ Nocturnis. De Expensis. De Proventibus. De Antiquâ Formâ. Reparatio Ecclesiæ. Reg. Chichele. fo. 194 b. The installation of dean Roger de Scrope in 1383 was attended by "Joh. de Bisshopestone cancellario et canonico prebendato in eadem tunc ratione dignitatis majore et seniore ecclesie." MS. Univ. Coll.

The dean has the spiritual oversight, and may correct offenders in chapter : he can give leave of absence over two days to residentiaries. The duty of the præcentor is to preside over the choral service, to note the ministers for choir duties, admit them, and read over the names of candidates for holy orders ; he also is required to take his part at the enthronisation of a bishop and the installation of a dean. The chancellor was the librarian, muniment keeper, chapter secretary, lecturer, and schoolmaster. To the treasurer is entrusted the charge of all the servants, goods, jewels, plate, bells, lights, and ornaments.

The communar, one of the canons residentiary, acts as the capitular bursar, like the provost and economist in some other cathedrals.^a

The chapter is the congregation of the members of the corporation in one certain place at one and the same time, expressing their "voices" or votes, a majority of which is sufficient to confirm the decision of the matter before them. The precedence and habit are the same as in choir. The canons are summoned by letters mandatory by the bishop for a visitation, or by the dean and chapter, or by both the bishop and the dean, and are required to appear in person or by proxy, under pains and penalties which are increased to deprivation in case of abetting or offending in any breach of canonical obedience. Canons offending are to be admonished in chapter by the dean, they are to obey the mandate of the dean and chapter, and are privileged to make answer to the bishop in chapter only. The dean and chapter can enforce repairs of houses which have been occupied during a year, and allow no dilapidations of fixtures in houses vacated by death. Without their sanction no change can be made in the conduct of divine worship, but they can authorize special services. Statutes are made in chapter, being either the resolutions of the dean and chapter, confirmed by the bishop, or directions of the bishop confirmed by the dean and chapter under joint seals. In the absence of the dean, as during a vacancy, the senior residentiary who is present is president of chapter.^b The powers of residentiaries are given in the Statutes *De Residentiâ* and *De Cotidianis Distributionibus* and the later Statutes of Curteys and Harsnet. The lesser chapter meets on Oct. 10, Jan. 20,

fo. 219. See also the form of enthronisation and Stat. De Distributione Panis. In Wood's MS. Bodl. Lib. E. 3, fo. 28, they appear as the "Four Masters of the Church."

^a See the Statutes, De Communario. De Distributione pro Defunctis. Qui Censentur Residentes.

^b By stat. 1573, sect. 5. The term president occurs in a collation to St. Mary's Hospital, Oct. 20, 1447: Johannes Blounham precentor ecclesie Cath. Cicestren. ac presidens, et ejusdem loci capitulum. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 12.) In 1359 (Lib. Y. fo. lvi.) and also at Dean Caurden's installation in 1546. Day's Reg. p. 12. Comp. Harsnet's Statutes, 2, 5.

May 2, and Aug. 1, with the three days next following, by an order made Oct. 10, 1617.^a The great or general chapter was called on Oct. 13 yearly, when the audit was held. Ancient custom is to be regarded as a precedent and rule.^b

In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1281, the dean and præcentor each had, "cum præbenda," 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the chancellor, "cum ecclesiâ de Chiddyngele," the same sum; and the treasurer, "per se," 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The priest-canons, who paid their vicars stall wages of 13*s.* 4*d.*^c held the prebends of Bracklesham, Bury (not mentioned in 1291), Hova Ecclesia and Hova Villa (divided in 1353), Waltham, Woodhorne or Erlington, Highley, St. Bartholomew Colworth, Wilmington 1^a or the Chantry, and Wilmington 2^{da}. The deacon-canons, who paid stall wages of 6*s.* 8*d.* held the prebends of Bishophurst, Eartham, Ferring, Gates, Marden, Selsey, Sydlesham, Thorney, and Wightering. The sub-deacon stalls were Firle, Fittleworth, Hampstead, Heathfield, Ipthorne, Middleton, Seaford, Somerley, Sutton, Wisborough.

The present order of these in choir is this: on the decani side^d—

Dean, who was Prebendary of Westergate.

Archdeacon of Chichester.

Prebendary of Selsey, "præbenda theologo conferenda," 1259, xxi l.^e

Fittleworth, vi l. xiii s. iv d.

Wisborough [or Green], founded by Ralph II. xiii l. vi s. viii d.^f
(20*l.*)

Hurst [or Bishophurst], xvi l. xiii s. iv d.

Ertham, founded 1190 by Seffrid II.^g had the patronage of
Ertham Vicarage, x l. (12*l.*)

^a Book of Extracts, fo. 18 b.

^b See the Statutes, *passim*.

^c Under penalty of sequestration of the prebend. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiii. Reg. Islip. 1355, fo. 84 b.) The stall wages were paid until the Cathedral Act; and now compensation is given for their loss to the priest vicars by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

^d The Roman numerals give the value in Pope Nicholas' Taxation, the Arabic numbers that in Dean Fishmonger's Certificate, temp. Hen. VIII. made for the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Lib. Epi. 403.

^e Lib. E. 217. Leiger, 205.

^f The following charter of Ralph II. shows the manner in which prebends were augmented: "Assignamus imperpetuum ecclesiam de Aldingburne decano Cycestr. Prebendæ quoque de Wodehorne propter tenuitatem adjunximus et consolidamus ecclesiam de Amberle, quæ fuit membrum prebende de Aldingburne ita quòd de eis una sit de cætero et censeatur prebenda et deserviat per sacerdotem. Statuimus quòd ecclesia de Wiselbergha, quæ item fuit prebendæ de Aldingburne de cætero sit prebenda et deserviat per subdiaconum." Lib. Y. fo. xlv.

^g Ordinatio prebendæ, Lib. Y. ff. xxxix. xli.; Lib. E. 214.

Prebendary of Gates, viii l. (6*l.*)

Midylton [lands in Arlington], v l.

Wightering [West], founded for a reader in theology in the close,^a had the patronage of West Wittering, xli. (40*l.*)

Waltham, x l. (16*l.*)

Hethfield had the patronage of Hethfield and Selmeston,^b xiii l. vi s. viii d. (13*l.*)

Woodhorne, formerly Erlington, founded by Ralph II.^c xx l. (17*l.*)

Sidlesham, xxx l. (15*l.*)

Ferring,^d xxx l. (32*l.*), founded by Bishop Hilary.^e

Hova Ecclesia, xxx l. (4*l.*) founded by Bishop Poore.

Exceit [near East Dean], founded by Bishop Sherborne, Jan. 23, 1523, with 6*l.* a-year.^f

Colworth [a farm in Oving], mentioned in 1278, and Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. II. xxvi. xiii. 4.

Subdean.^g

Chancellor.

On the Cantoris side are—

Præcentor, Prebendary of Oving.

^a Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 15, 377, fo. 328; Lib. Y. fo. xlii. Bulla Clementis VI. quod prebenda theologo regenti conferatur. Per Bullam Gregorii XI. 1373, magistro in theologia conferatur. 1259, Conferenda regenti in theologia et confirmata per Bonifacium archiepiscopum Cantuar. Lib. E. 216, 217. Leiger, 205. The lecture was read in 1733 on all Wednesdays in full term, except when a holiday occurred. Inj. of Bishop, p. 109.

^b B. B. Willis, Parochiale Angl. 67.

^c A manor in Oving parish. Val. Eccles. i. 300; Lib. Y. fo. xlv. The prebendary had the patronage of S. Pancras Arlington.

^d Carta de confectione prebendæ, Lib. Y. ff. xxxix. xlii. The prebendary had the patronage of Ferring and East Preston.

^e Lib. Y. fol. 39 b.

^f These Wiccamicall prebends were founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 1, 1523. Conferantur prebendæ uni Doctori vel Baccalaureo in Theologia vel ad minus Artium Magistro qui sunt vel fuerunt de Collegio S. Mariæ Winton. et Oxon. The dean and chapter nominate to Bargham, the three others are in the patronage of the bishop. Bursalis is endowed with a prebend of Wilmington. The prebendary was chantry priest of St. Mary's Hospital and chaplain of Talk's Chantry. Wyndham held the Hospital of Ham, and a chantry in West Angmering. Bargham was Master of S. James Hospital, Seaford. Bargham free chapel (Lib. Y. fo. lxiv.) was bought from Sir Edmund Dudley for 100 marks, and St. James' chapel from Robertsbridge Abbey for 20*l.* Exceit, a chapel and chantry of 5*l.* yearly, was bought from Bayham Abbey for 50*l.* (Val. Eccles. i. 301, 302, 305. Sherborne Stat.)

^g A stall was necessarily allotted to him, as the other vicars occupied the stalls of their absent domini.

Archdeacon of Lewes.

Prebendary of Henfield, [mentioned in 1309; the last presentation was in 1679. Lib. Inst. I. 72] xxx l. [Haufond.]

Bursalis, founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 16, 1520, with 20 marks a-year.^a

Ferles existed in the 13th century, v l. (10s. for many years.)

Sutton [church destroyed], xxvi l. xiii s. iv d. (18*l.*)

Bracklesham, xv l. xiii s. iv d. (24*l.*)

Ipthorne [in Wyke parish], vi l. xiii s. iv d. (12*l.*)

Hova Villa, founded by Bishop Poore, divided from Hova Ecclesia in 1353, had the patronage of Bolney Vicarage, xxx l. (10*l.*)

Thorney, dates from the time of Henry III. x l. (12*l.*)

Seford, with the patronage of Seaford Vicarage, iv l. xiii s. iv d. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxi.)

Hyleigh [in Sydlesham parish], xxvi l. xiii s. iv d.^b

Marden, founded by the Aguillons, with the patronage of East Marden, viii l. (6*l.*)

Somerley [a farm in Wittering], viii l. (5*l.*)

Hampstead, vi l. xiii s. iv d.

Wyndham, founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 23, 1523, with 11*l.* a-year.^a

Bargham, founded, Jan. 23, 1523, by Bishop Sherborne, with 13*l.* a-year.^a

Bury had the patronage of Bury Vicarage, 13*l.*

[Wilmington], xxxvi l. xiii s. iv d. held by the Abbot of Grestein.^c

Treasurer.

The office no longer exists, as the dean's peculiar jurisdiction has been abolished, and the vicarage church of Saint Peter the Great has been rebuilt outside the close.

^a See note ^f page 148.

^b Carta Seffridi II. de pace facta inter Rogerum capellanum et Guidonem de Bysshopston canonicum de Hylve. This is the first mention of a distinct prebend. The prebendary was to celebrate a mass of requiem on all Fridays except Christmas day and Good Friday. The prebend, by Bp. Storey's foundation, was in 1477 attached to the mastership of the prebendal school, and is in the gift of the dean and chapter. Lib. Y. xli.; lib. E. fo. 77.

^c The abbot of Bec had a stall in the choir of Wells, and those of de Lyra and Cormeilles at Hereford. 1414. Rex dedit decano et capitulo eccles. Cath. Cic. prioratum de Wilmington alienigenum in Com. Suss. qui (ut dicebatur) fuit præbenda in ecclesia prædicta, quæ nuper fuit abbatis de Grastino in Normannia

The revenues of the cathedral proper constituted the *commune*, or common fund, arising out of pensions of churches. From it the resident members of the chapter were provided with a daily ration of bread, and also a weekly payment made on every Saturday, probably after chapter. The rest (*residuum*), after defraying the expenses of collection and of the communal, was, like contingent payments, at the disposal of the chapter. Bishop Hilary founded the prebend of Sengleton, to furnish the canons' bread. The money payment was restricted to canons who were present in choir at vespers or matins or high mass, except in certain cases of lawful excuse; but they received it if their vicars were present at the night office, since they maintained such deputies by stall wages. On certain feasts they received a money allowance or compensation in lieu of the previous distribution of choral wine.

The ordinance on the distribution of the *commune* points to two serious evils, one the neglect of attendance in choir, and the other of non-residence. At first non-residence was permitted only to students at the university and chaplains to the king, the primate, and the diocesan. Then residence became to be regarded as "labor" deserving "præmium," and virtually was personal attendance at specified services, during a certain period reduced to a minimum, in consideration of payment at a proportionate rate. In 1339 there were thirteen residentiaries; in 1441 there were only seven, including the dean, the præcentor, and the archdeacon of Lewes. At Bishop Storey's visitation there were present three "habentes dignitates" and three canons residentiary; but Bishop Sherborne found only two canons in residence. However, in 1527, there were ten residentiaries, including the chancellor, the treasurer, and the two archdeacons, and twelve are mentioned in Sherborne's obit. In Queen Mary's time the dean and one residentiary divided all. In Queen Elizabeth's reign the number rapidly increased, so that about 1570 there were seven or eight resident. In the time of Bishop Curteys they were reduced to their present number of four.

In 1247 a vigorous movement was made in favour of enforcing residence. Canons

valoris cexl. marc. per annum habendum durante guerra." Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 67. Similar instances of abbots holding cathedral prebends are mentioned in my Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals, my Scoti-Monasticon, and by Lyndwood, p. 133. Henry V. gave this prebend, with the alien priory, to found the Mortimer Chantry for two chaplains, which was confirmed by Edward IV. In 1675 it is said two stalls, formerly in the choir and belonging to the vicars choral, the Willington and Willington, are now laid down and omitted, being now unappropriated. Hay 204. There were eighteen stalls on each side, and eight returned stalls on the west against the Arundel screen: they were for the most part of Bishop Langton's time, but four were added by Sherborne.

were required to reside during the whole year, with the exception of absence during three weeks in each quarter, according to the use of certain churches. A relaxation was made at the same time in the case of those who had completed the full residence of one year, and who were henceforth allowed, with the licence of the dean or vice-dean, to be absent twelve weeks in a year, which counted as demi-residence (*semi-plena*). Any undue excess in this respect was punished by forfeiture of a share in the quotidian, unless condoned by the dean and chapter, but no exception could be made if the entire absence exceeded half a year.^a The income of a full resident was as follows: besides commune bread on the foundation of Bishop Hilary, he received 12*d.* a-week, paid by the communar on Saturday; the quotidian, or daily pennies; three pence for attendance at vespers or matins or high mass; one penny in lieu of wine, even if present only at the gospel on festivals of the first or second class; 12*d.* instead of wine on stated feasts, and 6*d.* on other principal days; a share in the "annual," or payment at masses for the dead, in the Rest of the commune, in fines, if present in chapter, and in legacies in the office of the dead; also half a mark at Easter, besides a portion of the half the proceeds of a prebend vacated by death; and a small sum, less than half a mark, for summer residence, probably because at that season canons preferred to the hot streets of the "ancient city," and the banks of the Lavant, their prebendal retreat.^b

Full residence was, on the other hand, discouraged by the imposition of strict and burdensome obligations. The Act of Spoliation^c which wrecked the cathedrals requires a residence of at least three months in the year, during which the residentiary must perform the duties of his office as required by the statutes of the cathedral. These laid down that he is not to be absent for more than two nights, without the dean or vice-dean's licence; he must reside within the city, and attend choir in his canonical habit.^d The canons paid on admission as

^a See the Statutes: *Constitutiones Antiquæ. De Distributione Panis. De Antiqua Forma Distributionis Communæ. De Distributione Communæ. De Cotidianis Distributionibus. De Absenciâ Canonicorum. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Residentia Plenâ et Semi-plenâ.*

^b See the Statutes: *De Utilitate Residentiæ. De Residentiâ Plenâ et Semi-plenâ. De Absenciâ Canonicorum. De Distributione Communæ. De Cotidianis Distributionibus. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Festo S. Wolstani.* Henry VI. allowed the dean and chapter "quod c. libratas terre et redditus per annum acquirere possint ad augmentacionem canonicorum residentium vicariorum et choristarum. (Rot. Pat. July 1, 26 Hen. VI. P. m. 4.)

^c 3 and 4 Vict. c. 113, sect. 3. *Comp. Canon 44. Canons of 1603, in my edition, p. 67.*

^d See the Statutes: *De Pœnâ Inobedienciæ. De Absenciâ. De Distributione.*

residentiaries [until 1870] to the dean and chapter 25 marks, and a similar sum to the fabric, which in other cathedrals usually was spent in providing "a precious cope," made of silk, which was used in processions. The residentiary was to be present at every day and night hour throughout a whole year in choir, and, if he failed in a single attendance, he must recommence his course. Every day during that period he entertained the vicar of his stall, two other choir-vicars, the porter, two sacrists, and one chorister. He gave a banquet to the dean and chapter, and all the ministers of the church, besides strangers coming from any part of Sussex.^a It is a pretty simple scene of a hospitable board, round which were grouped the higher and the humbler, with comers of every degree.

The choral or canonical habit was required to be worn in choir, consisting of an open black cope of silk, without a hood or embroidery, worn over the rochet or surplice. If a canon, being "entitled" or "inscribed," placed on the daily roll (tabula) for duty as hebdomadary or for other choral duty, failed to appear in person or by deputy, he was to be corrected by the dean in chapter.

As the canons wore the grey amess, so the vicars had a dark calibre amess.^b

Each of the dignitaries had his respective vicar, the dean's vicar, the sub-chanter, the sub-chancellor, and sub-treasurer. Each canon was also represented by a vicar. The strength, however, of the vicars' college varied. Ernisius the præcentor^c gave at his anniversary distribution, "Capellano S. Petri majoris ecclesiæ, 2*d.*; x. capellanis regentibus parochias, 10*d.*; et x. pueris de choro, 5*d.*;"^b to every canon and vicar celebrant, 12*d.*; among canons attending, 6*s.*; among the vicars, 5*s.*; among ten chaplains^d ministering in ten chapels, two chaplains of St. Michael's, two chaplains on the foundation of Dean Thomas, and two Arundel chaplains, 2*s.* 8*d.*; and among the hebdomadary boys in course for the week, to be paid by the succentor, 9*d.*

In 1342 Dean Garland by his will^e bequeathed 4*d.* to each of the four petty canons, "quatuor vicariis qui dicuntur parvi canonici";^f 2*d.* to each of the twenty

^a Stat. De Residentiam Facturo.

^b See the Statutes: De Uniformitate Habitûs in Choro. De Offensâ in Divinis Obsequiis. De Distributione Communæ. De Officiis Nocturnis.

^c Lib. Y, fo. lxxviii. He was precentor in 1219 and 1251.

^d These vicars thus eked out their stall wages.

^e Swayne, fo. 299. The installation of Dean Roger le Scrope, in 1383, was witnessed by "domino Will^o. subdecano, Thoma vicario decani, Joh. succentore, Waltero subthesaurario, magistro Simone Halshale clerico et notario capituli [the chancellor's vicar] ac aliis vicariis chori, rectoribus et presbyteris civitatis et ecclesiæ multitudine copiosa." (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 219.) "Vicarius in choro et capellanus." (Ib. fo. 12.)

^f At St. Patrick's Dublin [1431], Leighlin [1430], and Waterford we find also minor canons, petty

vicars "cujuscunque ordinis," 1*d.* to each of the twelve "pueri de choro," and to each of the three priest chaplains; the two sacrists and four bell-ringers received 4*d.* a-piece. In 1397 there were twenty-eight vicarii in choro.^a In the time of Bishop Robert Reed, we find twenty-six "ministri." In 1441 there were eleven vicars who were chaplains of chantries and thirteen more.^b In 1478, on the Feast of St. John Baptist, at the obits of Henry V. and Nicholas Mortimer, each of the sixteen vicars received 18*s.* 8*d.*, the sub-dean and royal chaplains 7*s.* 6*d.*, eight choristers and two thuriblers 5*s.* 10*d.*, each of the two sacrists 7*d.*, the porter 7*d.*, and four bell-ringers 16*d.* In 1481 there had been twelve choristers, but henceforth four were to be thuriblers and eight singing-boys. Bishop Storey's visitation in 1481 was attended by twenty-two "vicarii chorales," including the sub-dean, virgifer, janitor clausi, and two sacrists. Dean Fleshmonger's Certificate for the Valor Ecclesiasticus mentions twelve vicars receiving each 2*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* and four lay vicars choral. In Bishop Sherborne's time, 1508-1536, the numbers varied from twenty-six to eighteen "vicarii in choro," two royal chaplains, eight choristers, and four bell-ringers. There were three classes of subordinate members: vicars of the first form or book; secundarii, who occupied the second form or row; and boys of the third form, who sat below all.^c At Sherborne's visitation^d there were two royal chaplains, ten vicars-chaplains, four other vicars, and two clerks. In 1527^e the ten residentaries included the chancellor, treasurer, and the archdeacons; there were also twenty vicars-choral; 5 Edw. VI. eight priest-vicars (three conducts in the certificate at 13*s.* 4*d.*); 6. Edw. VI. six priest-vicars; 2-3 Phil. and Mary nine priest-vicars; 3-4 Phil. and Mary eight priest-vicars; 4-5 Phil. and Mary six priest-vicars; 26 Eliz. five priest-vicars. At a later date there were four priest-vicars, four Sherborne's lay-clerks, and four lay clerks. In 1604 there were six vicars and three lay vicars. Their wages in the Liber Regis are 2*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*^f In 1710 there were four vicars choral, seven lay clerks, whereof one was organist, and six

canons at Toledo, eight "moindres ou petits chanoines" in the twelfth century at Rouen, and demi-canons or semi-prebendaries at Lyons who were chaplains. S. Paul's from a remote period also had "capellanos qui vulgariter minores canonici nuncupantur," being regarded as "personæ secundi gradus," who celebrated at the high altar. At Salisbury, however, the "minores canonici de secundâ formâ" appear to have been in S. Osmund's time canons, not priests, forming a class above the boy canons who sat with the choristers in the third form, just as "clerici qui non sunt presbyteri ante stalla superiora" are mentioned at Aberdeen.

^a Reg. fo. 26 b.

^b Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b.

^c See Stat. De Offensâ.

^d Reg. fo. c.

^e Ib. p. ii. fo. 98.

^f Var. Obs. 58, 63. Val. Eccl. i. 298, 303. Certif. of Chantr. 50, 2.

choristers. When the number of residentiaries was reduced to four by bishop Curteys 1570-1582, the four priest vicars represented four distinct aggregations of prebendaries with 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* as "stall wages:"—1. Oving, Hova Villa, Woodhorne, Thorney, Heathfield, Sutton, Somerley. 2. Westergate, Colworth, Highlegh, Eartham, Seaford, Fittleworth, Ipthorne. 3. Waltham, Brackelsham, Selsey, Marden, Ferring, Wittering, Wisborough. 4. Bury, Hova Ecclesia, Gates, Sidlesham, Hurst, Firle, Middleton, Hamstead.

In 1811 Mr. Valintine enumerates four vicars choral, an organist, four lay clerks, six choristers, two vergers, and two sextons.^a

The older cathedral of the diocese of Chichester has been long under the sea. The tradition runs that the finial of its steeple was on a level with the keyhole of S. Richard's porch. Two venerable relics, sculptured panels, one the Raising of Lazarus, the other the Prayer of the Sisters of Bethany,^b now preserved in the south presbytery aisle, are said to have been brought from it, but they appear to be of later date, probably twelfth century. "The church at Selsey was dedicated to St. Paul, but now to St. Peter" we are told.

Chichester is first mentioned in the eighth century. K. Eadwig in 956, in a questionable charter given to Selsey, mentions bishop Brethelm and the brethren dwelling at Chichester.^c Bishop Stigand removed the see, about 1075, "in Cices-tram ubi antiquitus et S. Petri monasterium et congregatio fuerat sanctimonia-lium."^d The see of Sherborne was similarly translated to Sarum, and Lichfield to Chester, and the Council of London, in 1075, required the translation of cathedral churches from villages to large towns.^e

In Domesday the town contained one hundred and sixty houses and a church; in the reign of the Confessor one hundred dwellings are mentioned.

The architectural history of the cathedral throws considerable light upon several portions of the statutes, and may be briefly told in this place. The church is 380 ft. long; its breadth in the nave, only exceeded at York, is 96 ft. 9 in.; the transept is 130 ft. across; the vaulting is 62 ft. high, and the steeple, 277 ft. high, is loftier than those of Lichfield and Grantham. Fuller^f

^a Guide, p. 39.

^b Engraved in Labarte's Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages, translated by Mrs. Palliser, 1855, and in Archæological Journal, xii. p. 412.

^c Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 335, No. 459.

^d Mon. Ann. ii. 29, Winton.; iv. 372, Wigorn. W. Malm. 68, 205.

^e Wilkins, Conc. i. 363.

^f Worthies, ii. 385.

says, in an often misquoted passage applied to the spire, "Country folk are confident in their tradition that the master workman built Salisbury, and his man the church of Chichester, and if so "sequitur Dominum non passibus æquis." But proportion of time confuteth the conceit . . . Seffrid bestowed the cloth and making on the church, Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto," that is, the gilding and chocolate paint formerly on the stalls, and the wall pictures and patterns on the vaulting, which were the work of Bernardi. The chancellor's stall before the restoration bore considerable traces of beautiful colours.

In 1147 William earl of Arundel^a gave to the church of the Holy Trinity, which he had injured, "quicquid juris habebam in quarta parte civitatis in qua ipsa ecclesia et domus canonicales et episcopalis sitæ sunt." He laid the grant on the altar with a silver-gilt cup for the reservation of the Holy Eucharist. Earl Hugh bestowed land for the cemetery "in viâ et extra muros."^b King John gave to the church "tantum de vico nostro [the West Street] circa muros cimiterii Cicestr. quod libere et sine impedimento possint ibi ædificare seldas (shops) habentes xii. pedes in latitudine."^c Henry III. bestowed the Broyle, then called Deep Dene, on the chapter.

Bishop Seffrid, 1197-1220, purchased the land between the close wall and the Lavant.^d

Of the early Norman cathedral, the eastern arm, the transept, and eight bays of the nave, with its aisles, 1090-1120, substantially remain; the eastern half of the nave formed the ritual choir until the removal of the stalls, probably in the fifteenth century, into the crossing, when the vaulting shafts were lengthened to the ground.

Bishop Ralph de Luffa "built his Cathedral Church of Chichester from the ground; it was scarcely finished, when as May the fifth, 1114, it was quite defaced, and a great part of the city defaced with casuall fire. Hee found meanes to repaire it againe, beeing helped much with the liberality of the King and some other."^e The fire did no very material injury to the main structure; the works

^a Lib. Y. fo. xxviii. Dugdale, Monasticon, vi. 1169.

^b Lib. E. fo. 9 b. Lib. Y. fo. xxviii.

^c Lib. E. fo. 11 b. Lib. Y. fo. xxxj. Dugdale, Monasticon, vi. 1169.

^d Lib. Y. fo. lxx. The southern defence of the precinct consists of walls of various dates, with semi-circular bastions. "In porcione ecclesie nunquam fuit aliud fossatum quam cursus Lovante. Non apparet ratio quare ecclesia Cycestr' in porcione sua non debeat habere domos herentes muris et turres supra murum." (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 6.)

^e Godwin, Catalogue, &c. 1615, p. 467.

were continued; the Lady chapel (in its present three western bays) and the vaulting of the nave-aisles were completed at a much later date, about 1170-1180; and on Oct. 3, 1184, the whole cathedral was consecrated.

A second fire, on Oct. 20, 1187, did great harm, and necessitated a costly restoration, for the walls were seriously damaged. At the east end the presbytery, now deprived of its apse, with the circular processional aisle, and made square-ended, was lengthened by two beautiful bays, marked by the grand marble pillars with satellites; and vaulting replaced the flat timber ceiling of the nave. On Sept. 12, 1199, the church was once more consecrated by Bishop Seffrid and six other prelates; and three dedication crosses still remain upon the walls,^a one at the exterior of the south aisle, and one in each of the eastern chapels which flank the Lady chapel.

The thirteenth century saw a vast system of restoration carried on with the use of Purbeck instead of Sussex marble for the shafts, stone from Caen in preference to that of Quarr Abbey and Ventnor, and Sussex sandstone, and the addition of an arcade to the clerestory between 1200 and 1250. The central tower above the arches of the crossing was of the second quarter of the century. Simultaneously, that is, shortly after the consecration, by lateral development, on the south side two external chapels, which had once beautiful gabled fronts and pinnacled turrets, were added. Then three northern chapels were completed (c. 1250-1270).

A western Galilee porch was added with a gallery above it, which was probably

^a 1108. Radulfus Episcopus Cicestrensis fecit dedicari ecclesiam (Anglia Sacra, i. 297). 1114. Ecclesia Cicestriæ combusta est. (*Ibid.*) Civitas Cicestra cum principali Monasterio (Minster) per culpam incuriæ (a fault not yet out of date), iii^o. Non. Maii (May 5), flammis consumpta est. (Hoveden, i. 169.) iii^o. Non. Maii Civitas Cicestriæ cum Monasterio ejusdem per incuriam igni succensa est. (Hemingford Chron. i. 42.) Ecclesiam suam, quam à novo fecerat, cum fortuitus ignis pessumdedisset, liberalitate potissimum regis, brevi refecit. (W. Malm. de Gest. Pont. 206.) 1187. Mater ecclesia Cicestrensis cum tota civitate xiii. Kal. Nov. quasi irato Deo in favillam est reducta. (Matt. Par. i. 443.) Combusta est ferè tota civitas Cicestriæ cum ecclesiâ sedis pontificalis et domibus episcopi et canonicorum. (Hoveden, ii. 333.) 1199. Seffridus episcopus Cicestrensis dedicavit cathedralem basilicam sedis suæ cum vi. episcopis aliis mense Septembri. (Ann. Mon. ii. 252. Waverley.) Seffridus reâdificavit ecclesiam Cicestrensem secundo igne combustam et domos suas in palatio Cicestrensi. (MS. Catal. Episc. Cic. Leland, Collect. ii. 341.) Seffridus ecclesiam Cicestrensem post incendium magnum sumptibus innumeris reâdificavit. (Ann. Mon. ii. 256, Waverl.) Dedicata est ecclesia Cic. à Seffrido ejusdem loci episcopo, ii^o. Id. Sept. (Ang. Sac. i. 304.) See also Ann. Mon. ii. 73, Winton.; iii. 446, Bermond; iv. 390, Wigorn. Addit. MS. 6262, fo. 77. 1447. Charta Adami episcopi de Festo Consecrationis ecclesiæ Cicestr. Oct. 3, olim Sept. 12. (Hayley MS. p. 163.) In the reign of Edward VI. the first Sunday in October was observed as the feast of dedication.

used by the choir when singing "Honor laus et gloria" on Palm Sunday.^a The sacristy, the north porch, and St. Richard's porch, with the parvise or secret treasury over it date within the first fifteen years of the thirteenth century. The additions of the time of King Edward I. were confined to ornamental work in the nave. The square-ended, instead of apsidal, chapels were added in the first quarter of the thirteenth century on the east side of the transept. Over the northern chapel is a large chamber which probably formed a charter-house, library, and muniment room.

The Norman basement of the south-west tower was supplemented by an Early-English superstructure.^b

In 1232, the dean and chapter gave of their substance. During five years they devoted to the glory and beauty of the House of the Lord a twentieth part of the income of every dignity and prebend, "ut transeat in usus fabricæ ejusdem ecclesiæ, quæ multiplici reparatione indigere dignoscitur."^c Bishop Richard, in 1249, reviving an earlier statute of Bishop Simon, extended the capitular contribution to half the revenues of every prebend, whilst one moiety of a prebend vacant by death went to the fabric and the rest to the use of the canons;^d he also ordered all parishioners within his jurisdiction to visit the Mother Church at Easter and Whitsuntide; and likewise payment of Pentecostal offerings to the

^a See my *Sacred Archæology*, under Palm Sunday.

^b In the time of Bishop Simon de Welles, 1204-5, K. John gave Bakechild Church to the "newly-dedicated" cathedral. "Acquisivit Ecclesiæ ecclesiam de Backchild quam Joannes rex Angliæ dedit in dotem Ecclesiæ Cicesterensis noviter dedicatæ." (Lib. Y. fo. clxxvii.) On May 24, 1207, the King permitted the importation of Purbeck marble. "Dedimus licentiam domino Simoni Cicesteriæ episcopo ducendi marmor suum per mare à Purbeic usque Cicestriam ad reparationem ecclesiæ suæ de Cicesteriâ, à die Martii proximo post festum S. Trinitatis anno viii^o," &c. (Rot. Pat. 8 Joh. m. 16.) Bishop Ralph de Neville, or, as he was usually known, Ralph II. bequeathed 130 marks at his death, on Feb. 1, 1244 "Dedit cxxx. marcas ad fabricam Ecclesiæ et capellam suam integram cum multis ornamentis." (Lib. Y. u.s.), and his executors, besides releasing a debt of 60*l.* due to him and spent on the bell tower, gave 140*l.* to the fabric of the church, receiving some benefit in return. Bishop St. Richard was also a benefactor before his death on April 3, 1253, "dedit ad opus Ecclesiæ Cicesterensis ecclesias de Stoghton et Alceston, et jus patronatûs ecclesiæ de Mundlesham, et pensionem xl. s. in eadem." (Lib. Y. u.s.) He also bequeathed 40*l.* to the cathedral.

^c The calamity to which reference is here made is explained in the *Chronicle of Dunstable* under the year 1210: "impetu venti ceciderunt duæ turres Cicesteriæ. . . ." Ann. Mon. iii. 32. Dunst. These were probably the upper storeys of the two western towers.

^d Reg. Islip. 1355, fo. 84 b.

cathedral throughout the diocese, whilst, as above, every new residentiary was to give twenty-five marks to the fabric fund.^a

The great activity which marked the thirteenth century was not concluded. The Lady chapel was then elongated.^b

The Decorated period did not pass without other additions to the fabric. To an early date in it belongs the inner doorway of the Galilee. Bishop John de Langton (1305-1337) erected the chapter-house over the treasury or sacristy.^c

The gable of the presbytery, with its rose window, is of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Langton also built, c. 1315, the great and sumptuous south window^d beneath which his founder's tomb, under a noble canopy, is erected. In 1359 the first-fruits of the prebendal stalls were granted to the fabric^e; and, in 1391, one-twentieth of all their rents was allotted by the dean and chapter to the works, which embraced work round the high altar, for, in 1402, materials, "ad opus summi altaris," were stored in St. Faith's Chapel.^f A novum opus, a term applied to some special building at Peterborough and St. Paul's, was also in progress.

In 1384 Chancellor Bishopston bequeathed "xx marcas fabricæ ad notabiles antiquos defectus ejusdem reparandos."^g

To the Perpendicular period, we also owe the great north window, the detached bell tower (circa 1420), and the central spire, since rebuilt.^h

^a See Stat. de Cotodianis Distributionibus, lib. Y. ff. xiii b. clxxviii. Mr. Clarke's MS., Segrave's Chichester, p. 13. Hay's Chichester, p. 412. Lib. E. 178 b.

^b The benefactor was Bishop Gilbert de St. Leophardo, 1288-1305. Construxit a fundamentis Capellam Beatæ Mariæ in Ecclesiâ Cicestrensi. Item dedit ad fabricam Ecclesiæ predictæ mcl. marcas. (Lib. Y. u. s.)

^c "Expendidit in Domo Capitulari Cicestrensi, ex parte australi, in quodam muro et fenestris, à superficie terræ usque ad summitatem constructo cccxlii." The building communicates with a small chamber, for valuables, which is closed with a sliding door in the panelwork. "Item dedit ad fabricam Ecclesiæ cxxv. marcas." (Lib. Y. fo. clxxviii.) In 1637 the present muniment-room is called the upper chapter-house, and in the last century the east chapel of the south wing bore the appellation. See Langton's obit.

^d Leland. ii. 341. MS. Harl. 293, fo. 41 a.

^e Primos fructus omnium præbendarum pro primo anno ecclesiæ fabricæ juxta antiquam consuetudinem legitimè præscriptam solvere tenebantur et tenentur consensu omnium præbendariorum. (Registrum Simonis Archiep. Cantuar. s. a. 1359, fo. 157 b.) See Stat. Reparatio ecclesiæ.

^f Reg. Rede, fo. xxxii. 5. Half the income of a vacant prebend went for one year to the fabric. Ib. fo. 45 b.

^g Wills, Rous, 10. Richard Earl of Arundel, by his will, dated 1392, bequeathed 100*l.* to the Cathedral. (Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 127.)

^h Under the date of Henry VI. is mentioned "ordinatio pro anniversario Thome Patching xvi^o. Maii qui dedit 100 marcas ad construendum berefridum, vulgò Raymond's Tower. 1428. (Leiger. 37.) Tradition

The old customs and ritual, the anthem sung at nightfall before the rood-screen, the incensing at the elevation, the lighting of the church, the distribution of commune bread and wine, the dress of the ministers, the various chantries, the dog-whipper, the punishment of choristers by the succentor, the visits of minstrels and buffoons, plays acted by the vicars, the harper at the shrine, the collection of funds for the fabric, processions, and many a little picturesque detail of daily life will be found to throw much light on the services and habits of the period.

I now proceed to give, with a running commentary, the text of the important collection of capitular enactments known, as they are styled in one of the copies, as "*Antiqua Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensis ab anno Domini MCLIII. usque ad annum salutis MCLXX.*" The date 1114, no doubt, refers to the *Constitutiones Antiquæ*, as at that time the four dignities of the church had been founded and the constitution was completed. They are clearly borrowed from St. Osmund's Statutes of 1092 at Salisbury,^a and in all probability were derived from Rouen, as they present a marked resemblance to those of Lincoln, which Remigius conformed to the customs of the Norman metropolis. The rest of the old statutes follow, though not in strict sequence of time, yet perhaps according to the importance attached to their several subjects. I complete the series by some additional documents of a later date.

Those who drew up the statutes desired the observation of them with all their heart, as Bishop Sherborne has shown in that striking ordinance, when he desired the Book of his Foundations to be chained to the throne in the cathedral, "*librum ordinationum et fundacionum catheratum in sede episcopali in ecclesiâ cathedrali.*"

And so at the end of the original statutes is this solemn warning, "*In ecclesie corpore, tanquam decens et celesti sponso placitum, summopere cavendum, ut membra non dissideant à capite, nec cujusquam materea dissensionis inter ea suscitetur.*"^b

The order, though not strictly chronological, observed in the University College MS. has been followed, as affording an authoritative text. The statutes follow at p. 95 al. 195, "*Statuta Synodalia dom. Ricardi II. Cycestr. episcopi;*" the only

has associated the tower with a Ryman of Appledram, who was compelled to sell the materials which he had accumulated, as he had failed to obtain the royal licence to crenelate his manor-house. (Camden's *Britannia*, i. 283.) See *Gent. Mag.* xvi. 90. The Paschal Candle used to be made in it.

^a See Report of Cathedral Commission, p. 363; and *Stat. of Lincoln, Novum Registrum*, p. 3.

^b *Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 206.*

punctuation of the original consists of diamond points or stops. It is, probably, the earliest copy of the statutes extant; but the original statutes sealed by the bishop and the dean and chapter have been long lost.

STATUTA ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS CICESTRENSIS
ET PERTINET LIBER IDEM AD DECANATUM EJUSDEM,^a ET SIC AD EANDEM
ECCLESIAM.

In nomine sancte atque individue Trinitatis, ab incarnatione Domini A^o M.CC.XXXII. Indictione IIII. Kal. Novembr., omnibus ecclesie canonicis qui vocari debuerunt canonice^b vocatis, presentibus omnibus in capitulo^c præfate ecclesie qui debuerunt et voluerunt et potuerunt interesse; hiis quidem personaliter comparentibus dom. Thom. decano, magistro Will^o thesaurario, Will^o Cicestr. archidiacono, mag^o R. archidiacono Lewensi, et Will^o de Kainesham, G. de Gloucestria, Iocelino de Alta ripa, Ioh^e de Arundel' magistris, et Walt^o filio Petri, Rob^o de Amberl', Nich^o Crasso, Richardo de Glentham, Johanne de Nevill'; ceterisque per epistolas consentiendo sui presentiam facientibus,^d edite sunt constitutiones subscripte, que postmodum, in presentia venerabilis patris et episcopi Radⁱ secundi, in ecclesia memorata tunc presidentis, confirmationis robur acceperunt.

The earliest surviving form of convening the great chapter (1570) occurs in the Lansdowne MS. xii. 194, in the account of the election of Bishop Coortesse, by the Queen's licence.^e

^a At the end of the *tropar* is inscribed "Iste liber pertinet ad decanatum Cicestr." &c., and at the end of a prayer of Dean Thomas (fo. 56b) "Iste liber totus pertinet ad decan' Cicestr."

^b For the canonical form of convening of Chapter by citation or letters mandatory, see my *Cathedralia*, pp. 77-79. Bishop W. Rede's copy of the Statutes is in Liber E. f. 179-189.

^c Capitulum est collectio personarum adinvicem de his, quæ eis incumbunt, in locis ad hoc assignatis tractantium. Hoc modo sumptum supponit pro personis congregatis in Ecclesia Cathedrali. (Lyndwood, lib. i. tit. 2, p. 14.)

^d Episcopus etiam cum Capitulo non potest facere statutum in præjudicium aliorum, nisi hi quorum interest consentiant, vel saltem sint præsentis. (Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 1, p. 116.) The authority for confirming statutes is thus laid down in 1480: In matters and business touching the cathedral church the consent of the dean and major part of the chapter was sufficient to confirm statutes and decrees. Comp. Const. Othoboni tit. xxxv. p. 136. The dean and chapter were called Masters of the church. (Reg. Storey, fo. 71, r. 8. Leiger, 328.)

^e A licence for electing a bishop in 1253 is in Reg. 8, c. xvi.

The dean cites "confratres canonicos et prebendarios, per publice citationis edictum in stallis eorundem infra chorum affixis et ibidem aliquamdiu dimissis juxta antiquam et laudabilem consuetudinem dicte ecclesie ad comparandum. Horâ Capitulari precibus Matutinis in choro solempniter decantatis pulsâtâque campanâ ad capitulum more solito et consueto convenimus capitulariter et de facto propositâ per me decanum causâ illius convocationis et adventus, comparuit personaliter virgifer noster in hâc parte mandatarius et presentavit literas citatorias et monitorias et certificavit se vigore et auctoritate earundem legitime et peremptorie citasse vocasse et monuisse omnes et singulos confratres prebendarios et canonicos per publicum edictum in valvis chori affixum, ac per affixiones literarum in stallis eorundem infra chorum. Literis citatoriis altâ et intelligibili voce tunc ibidem publice perlectis omnibus et singulis confratribus cum alta voce tam in domo capitulari quam etiam ad ostium et præ foribus ejusdem domus publice preconizatis omnes et singulos non comparentes pronuntiavi contumaces et negligentes ac in penam contumaciarum suarum et negligentiarum hujusmodi et eorum cujuslibet, eis et eorum cuilibet terminum ulterius dicendi sive proponendi in hujusmodi negotio precensi."

The election, I may add, was made, per formam compromissi, by delegates, and the result announced by the "vice-dean."

[REPARATIO ECCLESIE.]

Ad decus et decorem domus Domini nos decanus et capitulum Cicestr'^a constituimus ut per quinquennium de proventibus et redditibus dignitatum et prebendarum ecclesie nostre vicesima secundum estimacionem in capitulo nostro provisam transeat in usus fabricæ ejusdem ecclesie que multiplici reparatione indigere dinoscitur.

The statute was immediately put in force and external help sought, for we have ^b "literæ episcopi Radulphi III. pro fabricâ ecclesiæ Cyc.;" and, in 1247, "literæ Thomæ Cantuar.; Episcoporum London. Norwic. Winton. Carleol. Bath. et Well. Exon. Lichf. Sarum. et Heref. de relaxatione et indulgentiâ pro iiij festis Pentecostes, S. Trinitatis, S. Reliquiarum, et S. Fidis, et pro fabricâ." These were indulgences granted to pilgrims visiting the cathedral at Whitsuntide and on Trinity Sunday, to make their offerings of S. Richard's pence. Bishop Richard required every adult within his diocese to communicate in their parish church at Easter, and at Whitsuntide to visit the cathedral to pay their offering long known as S. Richard's pennies or moneys; and if those not in the archdeaconry of Chichester visited the priories of Lewes or Hastings instead, their oblations were collected throughout the archdeaconry of Lewes and paid into the cathedral treasury; in 1480 they amounted to 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and in a later year to 7*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Fines and payments in commutation

^a In his quæ non tangunt Episcopum, possunt Decanus et Capitulum statuere id quod licitum est, absque consensu Episcopi. (Lyndwood, lib. v. tit. 16, ad verbum "constitutis," p. 327.)

^b Lib. Y. fo. xxiii. xxvii.

of penance, legacies, common in wills of the period, and freewill offerings contributed to the fabric fund. The following document illustrates the progress of the works:^a—

“Memorandum quòd Anno Domini MCCXLIIIJ mense Januarii, facta in usus proprios larga distributione bonorum piæ recordationis Radulphi IIdi. Cycest. episcopi, secundum extremam ipsius voluntatem, per executores testamenti sui apud Guldeford congregatos, reversi de congregatione executores de episcopatu suo electi, sc. G. decanus, E. præcentor, Joh. cancellarius, tunc archidiaconus Cyc., Raynerius prior de Tortenton, Walkelinus de Cycestria, relaxantes debitum lx librarum ad opus berefridi ab ipso institutum, de bonis suis mutuo acceptarum, et considerantes quod idem defunctus ecclesiæ suæ, cujus bona per xx annos et amplius perceperat, magis tenebatur quam quibuscunque cæteris, pro salute animæ suæ, fabricæ ejusdem ecclesie, quæ multiplici indigebat reparatione, de residuo dictorum bonorum cxi libras, quæ fuerant in custodia prefati Walkelini, assignaverunt. Cujus rei contemplatione decanus memoratus et capitulum Cyc. multa debita quibus eundem defunctum sibi et ecclesiæ suæ obligatum fuisse commemorabatur omnino relaxabant. De dicta vero pecunia per dictum Walkelinum, custodem et procuratorem fabricæ, numerata per Dei gratiam opus turris lapidei quod relictum extiterat multis temporibus, quia desperatur, jam reparatione laudabili in elegantis structuræ formam consurgit et in brevi, Deo favente, consummabitur; in perpetuam vero hujus rei memoriam dicti executores præsentis scripto sigilla sua aposuerunt A.D. MCCXLVII. mense Decembris.”

Some centuries later the spirit of the old constitution was appealed to not in vain by Bishop Brideoake.

On Holy Innocents' day 1642 the rebels “plundered the cathedral, seized upon the vestments and ornaments of the church, together with the consecrated plate serving for the altar. They left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacrament. The common soldiers broke down the organs, and, dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, ‘Hark, how the organs go!’ They brake the rail, which was done with such fury that the table itself escaped not their madness. They forced open all the locks, whether of doors or desks, wherein the singing-men laid up their Common Prayer Books, their singing books, their gowns and surplices. They rent the books in pieces, and scattered the torn leaves all over the church even to the covering of the pavement; the gowns and surplices they reserved to secular uses. In the south cross ile, the history of the church's foundation, the pictures of the kings of England, and the pictures of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester, begun by Robert Sherbern, the thirty-seventh bishop of that see, they defaced and mangled with their hands and swords as high as they could reach. On the Tuesday following, after the sermon, possessed and transported by a bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments and stalls, and scraping the painted walls, Sir William Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these barbarous impieties. The sub-deanery church was then pillaged.”^b

In 1675 Bishop Brideoake represented those “necessitates ecclesiæ in quam tempore motuum nuperorum vis plurima labiesque perduellium incubuerat; queritur dilapsas esse turres, laceratas

^a Lib. Y. fo. xiiij.

^b Mercurius Rusticus (1642), 139-143.

fenestras, convulsa fundamenta, ruinam minitantiæ Claustra, multaque præterea mala et incommoda quæ gliscente bello ecclesia sustinuerat, qua propter hortatus est uti quantum res suæ paterentur quilibet è Dignitariis et Canonicis aliquid in usum fabricæ juxta antiquam ecclesiæ consuetudinem contribueret." The deanery and chancery were in ruins, and, besides personal contributions, the dean and chapter sold the altar plate to repair the injuries done to the church.^a The entire reconstruction of the steeple has now dissipated a piece of old folk-lore here, that before a "bishop's death" a heron "comes and sits upon the pinnacle of the spire."^b

By way of contrast to the medieval method of constructing buildings, a copy of a paper in Dr. Ede's, the præcentor's, handwriting, c. 1684, will show how later architects dealt with churches in wholesale destructiveness, as Wyatt did in the last century: "An account of Dr. Christopher Wren's opinion concerning the rebuilding of one of the great towers at the west end of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, one-third part of which, from top to bottom, fell down above fifty years since, which he gave after he had for about two hours viewed it both without and within, and above and below, and had also observed the great want of repairs, especially in the inside of the other great west tower, and having well surveyed the whole west end of the said church, which was in substance as followeth: that there could be no secure building to the remaining part of the tower now standing; that, if there could and it were so built, there would be little uniformity between that and the other, they never having been alike nor were they both built together or with the church, and when they were standing the west end could never look very handsome. And, therefore, considering the vast charge of rebuilding the fallen tower and repairing the other, he thought the best way was to pull down both together, with the west arch of the nave of the church between them; and to lengthen the two northern isles to answer exactly to the two southern; and then to close all with a wall designed and fair-built west end and porch; which would make the west end of the church look much more handsome than ever it did, and would be done with half the charge." Fuller says, in 1662^c the church "now is torn, having lately a great part thereof fallen to the ground." There is much in the Act Book about this ruin.

Probably about this time, and long before a view taken in 1780, the north-west tower was reduced to its present unsightly form. In King's print it is shown with huge rents down its northern face.

¶ Quoniam vero super officiis et oneribus cancellarii et thesaurarii questionum sepius suborte sunt difficultates constitutione inperpetuum valitura sanximus ut onera subscripta ad se pertinere agnoscant.

DE OFFICIO CANCELLARII.

Cancellarius juxta antiquam ecclesie consuetudinem per se vel per ydoneam personam competenti experientia edoctam in modo pronuntiandi secundum ecclesie consuetudinem audiat lectiones ad officia nocturna deputatas. Hoc

^a A list of the subscriptions and gifts, including a flagon and cup for the Holy Table, is hung up in the Canons' vestry. The room over it was, probably, a reliquary chamber.

^b Defoe's Tour, i. 204.

^c Worthies, ii. 385.

autem faciat statim completo officio vespertino. Poterit tamen si voluerit, ut relevetur a laboris tedio, ante illud officium minores de secunda forma et pueros de tertia vocare et ipsorum lectiones ascultare.

Quilibet autem lecturus ad hoc ut ascultetur se offerat tempore opportuno. Alioquin si incongrue et inconcinne seu alias normam ecclesiæ offenderit, penam incurrat inferius statutam contra eos qui committunt defectus in officiis sibi deputatis secundum cotidianas tabulæ inscriptiones, qui in ecclesia Marantie^a solent nuncupari.

Ad ejusdem spectat officium quòd ad literas decani et capituli conficiendas notarium et scriptorem literarum,^b et alias ydoneum de secretis capituli sibi communicatis non revelandis juratum, suis sumptibus et expensis convenienter exhibebit, eique in hiis omnia scripture necessaria sine difficultate et more dispendio ministrabit.

Idem libros ecclesie correctione indigentes per se vel per ydoneum corrigat correctorem.

DE OFFICIO THESAURARII.

Ad Thesaurarii officium pertinet custodia thesauri totius ecclesie per diem et noctem, et thesaurarie,^c atque signorum pulsatio,^d et ornatus ecclesie, et

^a See also the Statute De Offensâ in Divinis Obsequiis. Marance was a notice of fine for absence. See my *Cathedralia*, p. 174.

^b The modern representative is the chapter clerk.

^c The treasury, vestry, or sacristy [Frances de Urrutigoyti, *De Cathedr.* p. 334] is the fine vaulted room, with its original door and iron scroll-work, below Langton's chapter-house. The sacristans were the treasurer's servants. "The vestry coffer where joyelles lyeth" is mentioned in the compotus of 35 Hen. VIII. It has five locks and is of great antiquity, measuring eight feet by twenty inches: it now stands near the north porch. "Acta in thesauraria" are mentioned in 1507. In the "treasury," in 1466, a prebendary was inducted. (Lib. B, fo. 3. Book of Extracts, fo. 1. Reg. Rede 1402, fo. xxxii.) For illustrations of the chest, ancient screens, and metal work in the cathedral, see Talbert's "Examples of Ancient Furniture" (1876), pl. 41—43. The earliest reliquaries were given by Beatrix de Lindfield (1216), "sanctuarium in figura crucis composita." (Lib. E. fo. xiii. b.) A question usual at visitations was as to the genuineness of the relics exhibited in church. (*Ib.* fo. 264.) The choir was provided with a "silver bauckette" for holy water. No inventory has been preserved, owing to the raid on the sacristy by the Council of Edward VI. who issued "at Greenwich, May 2, 1553, a lettre to the Commissioners for the sale of church goods in Chichester, that if they cannot make sale of thornaments of theyr church before the day it is prescribed unto them, that then they doo it as shortly as they can, having respect unto his majesties moost advantage." (Reg. of Council iii. 714.) The Transitional Norman Sacristy (now the Priest Vicars' Vestry) had an oven for baking the hosts. The round chimney remained up to a recent date. The upper rooms may have been those of the "presbyter reclusus" mentioned in Bishop R. Rede's will.

^d In the fifteenth century the complaint was made "quòd Sacristæ non pulsant ad minùs horâ xiii^a. in

alterium sollicitudo, inventio et collatio cere ad luminaria ecclesie, suis sumptibus formanda facienda et accendenda.

Luminaria quidem cereorum in omnibus festis prime dignitatis, ad officia divina nocturna et diurna talia debent ab ipso ministrari.

¶ Supra altare majus accendi debent vii. cerei,^a quorum quilibet erit ponderis duarum librarum, et supra trabem pictam supportantem crucifixi ymaginem viii. ejusdem ponderis, et duo^b super gradus ante altare similiter et ejusdem ponderis; et duo in minoribus candelabris portandi ante sacerdotes quando incensant altare et duo portandi per ecclesiam ad incensanda altaria extra chorum; et duo accendi debent ad officia nocturna supra candelabra in medio chori, in festo vero Sanctæ Trinitatis tres, coram episcopo in sede sua cum presens^c fuerit duo: et unus extra chorum juxta gradus^d per quos est transitus ad vestiarium.

¶ In festis vero secunde dignitatis et tertie et in commemoratione beate

nocte, sive hora ii^a. vel. iii^a. nec continuant pulsationes suas ita longo sicut deberent." (Reg. Storey, fo. 71 b. Quòd sacristæ dimittunt diversis temporibus nocturnis hostia ecclesie a media nocte usque manè aperta et inconclusa, in maximum periculum ecclesie et rerum ecclesiasticarum. Book of Extracts, fo. 7 b.) Sacriste pro munda custodia ambonum et repurgatione candelabrorum ecclesie, 6 d. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.) In 1675, it is said, "the 5 o'clock bell in the morning and the 8 o'clock bell at night are neglected to be rung, which formerly were observed;" these were the relics of the ringing for the matin mass mentioned in the statutes of the Prebendal School, and the curfew. The tolling of the bells before service was to continue for one quarter of an hour, and the warning to be one quarter of an hour previous. There are eight bells. The tenor is rung before the meeting of the great chapter, and the warner previous to the ordinary service.

^a In England a triptych usually formed a low reredos and costers at the side, and a dorsal supported on four tall pillars, forming taper-stands, inclosed the altar. (See MSS. in Brit. Mus. Dom. A. xvii. Tib. B. viii. Add. 1699, fo. 145.) St. Richard ordered a cross to be placed before the celebrant at the altar. Celebret sacerdos cruce anteposita. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 90 b.) The eight tapers stood upon a light-beam over the altar corresponding to the rood-beam above the choir door. The customary number and weight of the tapers, which were maintained by 15 marks, paid out of the church of Anna Porta or Amport, were ordered by Bishop Stephen to be observed in 1270. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiv.) Richard Earl of Arundel, in 1187, left 1*d.* for the light before the altar and 12*d.* on St. Denys' day; and Savaric, in 1156, by charter, left an endowment for the same light. (Lieger, 125, 128.) Bishop Moleyns "dedit quosdam pannos ex serico velveto factos, rubei coloris, non minoris pretii, ad ornandum altare summum." (Harl. MS. 293, fo. 41 b.) Godwin calls them vela. The Computus, 35 Hen. VIII. shows that Lambert Bernardi [who, in 1533, received a salary of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] repaired "the painted cloth of the crucifix over the high altar."

^b Lynd. l. iii. tit. 23, p. 236; tit. 27, p. 253; lib. v. tit. 3, p. 298.

^c See Othonis et Othobon. Constitutiones, tit. xxii. p. 119. Comp. Lynd. lib. iii. tit. 4, p. 131.

^d The steps "ex australi parte ecclesie" leading towards the vestry (which retains its actual adjunct in a water-drain on the west side of the south arm of the transept) are still in use by the clergy on leaving

Virginis quando in choro celebratur, ad officia nocturna et diurna debent accendi quinque cerei et duo super predictos gradus ante altare.

¶ In festis vero quarte et ultime dignitatis^a et cunctis diebus ferialibus tres cerei supra altare sunt accendendi ad missam, supra gradus vero duo ad omnia alia officia.

¶ In omnibus autem festis secunde, tertie, quarte et ultime dignitatis et diebus ferialibus accendatur unus in medio chori ad nocturnum officium.

¶ Per magistrum vero Willm. de Nevill' thesaurarium^b qui bona thesaurarie in multis ampliavit, viij. cereorum supra trabem memoratam et secundi cerei in medio chori, et secundi ante sedem episcopi, et unius juxta gradus versus vestiariarium in festis prime dignitatis, et quinti in commemoratione beate Virginis factum est additamentum; quod ipso consensum liberaliter prebente imperpetuum mansurum unanimi assensu et voluntate decrevimus.

¶ Ad ejusdem spectat officium quotiens canonicus in aliquo altari majoris ecclesie missam celebrare vel audire voluerit semel in die luminare competens cum vestimentis, libris, calice, et ceteris necessariis ad illud officium, per sacristam^c seu custodem Ecclesie ministrare.

¶ Ad hec, que commemorata sunt, convenienter exequenda et expedienda idem tenetur de consensu et consilio decani et capituli sacristam et custodem fidelem et prudentem in ecclesiam constituere qui unum clericum sub se habere debet ad luminaria preparanda et accendenda, et ad cetera ministeria sua deputatum, et duos servientes ad minus ad signa pulsanda, qui ecclesiam totam inferius et superius scopis mundare bis in anno tenentur, semel ante pascha et semel ante festum dedicationis ecclesie.

the altar; as the custom in processions was at the enthronisation of Storey in 1478, and Praty in 1438. The steps open into the south aisle of the presbytery, where there are traces of the lines in the pavement once followed in the processions. This order was confirmed in 1270. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiii.)

^a These in other cathedrals were called simples; and, whether they had three or nine lections at matins, were treated as Sundays, and had two rulers of choir. The feasts of first, second, and third class were known also as principal, minus, and inferius duplex. The classification resembled that at St. Paul's. (Reg. S. Pauli, 53, 54.)

^b Treasurer 1232—1251.

^c 1479. "Servientes Thesaurarii modernis temporibus vulgariter vocati Sacristæ." Their duties are thus defined: The close gates were shut at nine in winter and at ten in summer. Immediately before the last peal (finalis pulsatio) for Mattins, Mass, or other office, the choir gates shall be shut by the church porter and securely closed, in order that laymen and others shall not enter, as in times past; but the south door shall be opened, shut, and guarded by the church porter for the ministers of the church at the necessary times. (Reg. Storey, 71, 71 b.) The verger in 1616 attended with his virge at the Epistle and Gospel.

¶ Ad eosdem pertinet cura ordinandi^a ecclesiam consuetis temporibus cortinis, velis, pallis, et aliis ad ornatum ecclesie deputatis.

¶ Hinc autem sacriste et ministris memoratis in necessariis providere tenetur de bonis propriis quibus congrue valeant sustentari.

Whether the permission to a canon to celebrate at will was often used we have no means of knowing, but the following was the order of the daily masses which were said from six in winter and five in summer up to 11 a.m.^b by the hebdomadaries immediately before the Reformation:

Missa in Mane (or St. George's), sung by the chaplain of St. George's.
Sung at 5 a.m. in summer, and 6 a.m. in winter.

Ad II ^m Missam	. . .	Courses of Chaplains	} Monday and Friday. Wednesday and Saturday. Tuesday. Thursday.
" "	. . .	" "	
" "	. . .	" "	
" "	. . .	" "	
" "	. . .	" "	} Tuesday and Thursday. Wednesday and Friday.
" "	. . .	" "	
Ad Missam III ^m	. . .	" "	} Monday and Saturday.

The Chaplain of Altar of Benefactors (assistant).

Ad IV ^m Missam	. . .	Courses of Chaplains	} Monday and Thursday. Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday. Wednesday.
" "	. . .	" "	
" "	. . .	" "	

V^a Missa. High Mass of St. Mary.
Succentor tenetur cotidie celebrare in Capellâ B.M. Virginis vel saltem interesse in Missâ ejusdem.^c

VI^a Missa sung by the King's Chaplain directly after Lady Mass, or the Chaplain of Okehurst, or the Chantry-priest of St. Pantaleon.

VII^a Missa. The High Mass, sung at 11 a.m.^d [The canonical hour was immediately after tierce said at 9 A.M.—Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 238.]

^a "Ordinandi" in another hand is interlined in darker ink by a contemporaneous corrector, no doubt under the Chancellor's direction, and "ornandi" erased.

^b Hayley MS. 189.

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 70 b.

^d "Anone after these thynges" [mass] "we do go into the Chapter House and there we take greate care and do take weighty counseyles by what meanes the servyce of God may be mayntayned, where the lettres of the pensyons do ly hyd, how moch treasure is in the treasure-house, how they may sende money to bringe in encesse that our canonschyppes might be made the more fatte, and we do also make a newe statute how

Besides the high altar there were altars dedicated as follows:—

ST. ANNE'S. There was a chantry here founded by Dean Walter de Gloverniâ (Gloucester) 1262-80, and maintained by St. Mary's Hospital. One service was said weekly, and the chaplain received 20s. a-year, according to the certificate 18s., retiring on a pension of 14s.^a

SAINTS EDMUND THE CONFESSOR and THOMAS THE MARTYR, in majori ecclesiâ. It was built by St. Richard, who was buried in the adjoining bay next the pillar. A first chantry was for the soul of John sometime bishop, at 4*l.* a-year; a second chantry for the soul of Dean Thomas of Lichfield, 1232-47; and a third for Dean William de Bracklesham, 1280-1296. The chaplain received 4*l.* a-year.^b On the site of St. Richard's interment a chapel inclosed by a screen stood between two pillars on the north side of St. Augustine's altar, with the arms of Sherborne on the wall. The water-drain is said to have been "removed to the entrance of the church in the present century."

ST. EDMUND THE KING. There was a chantry here for the founder of St. Mary's Hospital, William, who became dean in 1157. There were two weekly masses of the Holy Ghost and St. Mary, and on other days the office for the dead with Placebo, Dirige, and Commendation. St. Edward the Martyr is also mentioned, but possibly by the error of the scribe. This dedication to Edmund the King may, however, have been altered by St. Richard. The warden and hospital of St. Mary's were bound to furnish certain bread and beer to the dean and chapter, and find a bright lamp always burning from nightfall to dawn before this altar. There was a chantry here called "Neville's," as in the Magdalen Chapel; the chaplain received 60s. a-year; according to the certificate it was fixed at 23*s.* 4*d.*^c

ST. CLEMENT'S, mentioned in 1481. There was a chantry here for the soul of Dean John Cloos, LL.D. who died in 1500; he desired to be buried "juxta ostium Domus Capitularis ecclesie Cicestrensis sub tumbâ marmoreâ;"^d possibly that in the south nave aisle opposite Bishop Arundel's tomb. The chantry priest received a salary of 66*s.* 8*d.* for two weekly services; the Certificate states that he had 72*s.* and retired on a pension of 70*s.*^e An altar-slab now placed in the Lady Chapel on the Holy Table was found embedded in the wall of the south aisle of the nave.

long season a newe chapleyne or chanon shall receyve no frutes at the begynnyng, that the buyldyng myght go forwarde by the pensyons." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.)

^a Lib. Y. fo. xxii. xxiii. Hayley MS. 186. Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b. Val. Eccles. i. 303, 305. Certif. of Chantr. L. n. 2, in Public Record Office. Fundatio Cantariarum. "Semel Cantarista celebrans ad altare S. Annæ." The date would place this chapel on the north side of the nave.

^b Val. Eccles. i. 297. Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b. Lib. Y. fo. cliv. clvi. cliii. Val. Eccles. i. 303. Var. Obs. 68. "Ter celebrans ad Altare B. Thomæ Martiris, orabit pro animâ Willelmi Decani: et dicet singulis septimanis unam Missam de S. Spiritu, et unam Missam de B. Mariâ; cæteris diebus dicet Officium quod de defunctis solet, cum Placebo, Dirige et Commendacione." (Fundatio Cantariarum.)

^c Certif. of Chantries, L. No. 2. Lib. Y. fo. cliii. clviii. Leiger 146. Var. Obs. 186.

^d Wills, More, 14.

^e Var. Obs. 67, 186. Leiger 58. Reg. Storey 69. Swayne, 182. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303. Certif. of Chantries L. "Bis celebrans ad Altare B. Clementis orabit pro animâ Joh. Cloose nuper decani."

ST. JOHN BAPTIST'S CHAPEL, mentioned in the charter of Bishop Simon for Bakchild, and therefore previous to the year 1199. Two chantries were maintained at it for the soul of William Earl of Arundel, who died in 1176. Four mortuary services were sung four times weekly. The income was 8*l.* a-year. Each of the Arundel chantry-priests at the dissolution was receiving a stipend of 72*s.* a-year, and retired on a pension of 3*l.* 10*s.* a-year.^a

ST. THEOBALD'S CHAPEL had an image of the saint, either the Hermit of Provins, who died June 30, 1061, or, more probably, the Cistercian abbot of Vaux de Cernay, one of the Montmorency family, who died Dec. 8, 1247. This chapel was on the north side of the nave, next to the tomb of St. Richard, as the image of the saint was removed to it. In 1634 tradition called this and the adjoining chapel of S. Anne the Arundel and Ryman chantries. The beautiful effigy of a lady in a kirtle and gorget, which Flaxman considered to be the finest in England, is pure Decorated of the fourteenth century, and stands on the site of St. Richard's tomb. In the next bay are two effigies of a knight (c. 1360-1370) and a lady (dating about 1340-1360) which have been removed from the north wall. Dallaway says that there was a lion rampant on the knight's surcoat.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S CHAPEL. William Neville, treasurer 1170-85, gave to it "Porthors sine notâ" (a breviary without musical notes), two cruets (phialas), a missal, and silver chalice. There was a chantry here in 1337 for the soul of Bishop Langton.^b The chapel it seems adjoined the south, and probably St. John's Chapel was on the north side of the Lady Chapel; both retain their dedication crosses. Bishop de Lenne says in his will "Corpus meum sive ossa deferantur ad ecclesiam Cicestren. et sepeliantur coram altare B. M. Magdalene ante ostium ejusdem capelle sicut transitur ad cappellam B. M. V.; ponatur unus lapis marmoreus planus insculptus de ymagine pontificis et literis de nomine meo, ut fideles ibidem transeuntes pro anima facilius excitenter orare: item volo fieri in dicta capella in loco ad hoc apto et magis opportuno imagines benè operatas et bene depictas Domini Jesu resurgentis et B. M. Magdalene genuflexe apparentis; et depingi de novo de bona pictura et duratura Capellam predictam de historia B. M. Magdalene ad dextralem sive australem partem, et ad sinistram partem in qua, scilicet, Capud B. Ricardi reponitur, de historia B. Ricardi."^c He gave a silver image of the value of 10 marks ad Feretrum B. Ricardi. I can remember the Flight into Egypt remaining on the west wall of the transept. Bernardi's "Bishops" are now in the north wing, but his graceful paintings and foliage, with Sherborne's rebus and mottoes on the vaultings, have disappeared.

^a Leiger, 41, 87. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. 1478. Quòd decanus removebat unam imaginem S. Ricardi à Capellâ suâ S. Mariæ Magdalene ad Capellam S. Theobaldi, et ymaginem S. Theobaldi posuit extra portam S. Johannis Baptistæ, contra fundacionem ecclesiæ et consuetudinem antiquam in magnum præjudicium ecclesiæ, quia impedit oblationes fieri consuetas in honore hujusmodi ymaginum. (Visit. 1478. Inj. sect. 5. Reg. Storey, fo. 7 b.) Quater, cantarista celebrans ad Altare S. Johannis B. This chapel was on the north side of the Lady Chapel.

^b Leiger 293. Lib. E. cvii. 228.

^c 1373. Reg. Wittlesey, fo. 128, 129. The Catalogus states that he was buried "apud Wygorniam."

SAINT PETER'S THE GREAT, THE ALTAR OF THE SUB-DEAN, at which the dean and chapter were bound to find "duos torticios," also called the Altar of St. Peter, served by a perpetual vicar or sub-dean. In 1402 it still stood in the nave,^a and was a parish church in the time of Henry III. but the tithes were appropriated in the fifteenth century to the commons of the dean and chapter. The nave was wholly in the power of the dean and chapter, the parishioners holding their altar only by sufferance, and "the lines which were to guide the processions" remain on the floor.^b In 1695 the sermons were preached in the nave, and about a century earlier (1581) "matins were said at 6 a.m. usually, but at 7 a.m. from All Saints' to Candlemas." Before the reign of Henry VIII., but certainly after 1481, the sub-deanery church was moved into the "north aisle," the eastern chapel of the north wing, probably owing to the erection of the rood-screen by Bishop Arundel.

HOLY CROSS AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S beneath the rood in the nave. There was a chantry of Dean Thomas Lichfield, 1232-47.^c There were two weekly services; one chaplain received 4*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* the other 4*l.* 10*s.* and they retired on pensions of 4*l.* In the Computus the "Chantry Priest of the Rood" had 21*s.* 4*d.* quarterly. In 1248 the prior and monks of Sele agreed to pay on the quarter-days six marks and five shillings to the chaplain.^d Dean Fleshmonger desired to be buried "sub albo marmoreo lapide qui jacet inter altaria Nominis Jesu [Holy Cross] et S. Augustini." (Wills, Alenger, 57.)

ST. MARY'S ALTAR AT THE CHOIR DOOR. A chantry was founded for Bishop Arundel. There were two weekly services. The salary of the priest was rated at 78*s.* 2*d.* but in the Certificate appears as 4*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* Every night an anthem was sung here by the bishop's foundation; and an entry occurs in the Computus of 35 Hen. VIII, "for the choristers' anthem Nunc Christe, 3*s.* 4*d.*" Bishop Storey in 1480 required the vicar who was last admitted to a stall to sing the antiphon of the Blessed Virgin before her image, next the choir door, at the usual times, during a whole year. Dean Hasley, who died in 1412, desired to be buried before her image.^e

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL. There was a chantry called Okehurst's founded by John Goring, John and Cecilia Okehurst, and others, for one chaplain, who received 7*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* and had a pension of 6*l.* A fraternity maintained a chantry here,^f and there appears to have been near it St. Mary's

^a Rede's Reg. fo. 36.

^b Reg. Praty, fo. 70 b. 74 b. 77 b. Rede, fo. xxxvii. Reg. Storey, fo. 72. Book of Extracts, fo. 1. Tanner MS. cxlix. fo. 24. Valintine's Guide, 3rd edit. p. 36.

^c "Bis celebrans ad altare S. Crucis orabit pro animâ Thomæ Decani." See Stat. De Capellanis Altaris SS. Mariæ et Augustini. Lib. Y. fo. cxxvi.

^d Leiger, 251, 256. Var. Obs. 67, 186. Reg. Storey, Visit. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxviii. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 302. Part of a bracket, with the name of St. Augustine upon it, was built into the wall under the Arundel screen, on the north side of the choir door.

^e Var. Obs. 67, 186. Swayne MS. 252. Hayley MS. 5. Certif. of Chantr. 50. Storey's Visit. 1480, § 10. Arundel Reg. Lambeth, fo. 149 b. 158. See p. 66, 70.

^f Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. IV. P. i. m. 15, April 15. Reg. Storey, Visit. Book B, 230. St. George's Feast was ordered to be observed in 1415. (Lyndw. App. p. 68.)

chantry in 1336, maintained out of a prebend in the Castle Chapel of Hastings from rents at Salehurst, Odiham, and Mundefelde churches.^a The prebendary of Highley with his schoolboys attended the matin mass every day at this altar: and Dean Fleshmonger bequeathed 30s. "Capellanis de Okehurst et S. Georgii atque Nominis Jesu." (Wills, Alenger, 37.)

THE FOUR VIRGINS, in the eastern chapel of the north wing of the transept ("ex parte boreali ecclesie"), bearing the names of SS. KATHERINE, MARGARET, AGATHA, and WINIFRED. Here were two chantries founded in 1269 for the soul of Bishop John II. who died in 1262.^b

ST. KATHARINE'S, founded before 1199, as appears from the charter of Bishop Simon for Pagham. There was a chantry of Bishop Langton in it, with three weekly masses and daily Placebo, Dirige, and Commendation. The chaplain received 72s. (4*l.* in the Valor), and retired on a pension of 3*l.* 10*s.* But there was a still earlier chantry founded here for the soul of Dean William, who died about 1180.^c Bishop Sherborne ordered that, at the antiphon of St. Katharine, his prebendary of Bursalis "providet quod unusquisque puerorum habeat partem suam scriptam et notatam, et j. ceream candelam, et ea decantata, dicat dignior persona unam collectam cum versiculo de B. Katerina cum psalmo 'De Profundis,' concludendo 'Anima,' etc." Before St. Mary mass, "quolibet die videat quod sint compta, quodque habeant superpellicea integra et munda, et quod bini et bini decenter incedant;" and they were to go to the tomb and say "De Profundis" and some other prayers. Their devotions were to be "quotidie, vel eundo, vel surgendo de lecto, semel Pater noster, Angelica Salutacio, et Symbolum Apostolicum, 'Anima famuli,' etc." He also directed that "in Vigilia D. Katerine accendantur hora vii^a. viij. luminaria seposa, laquearibus altis suspensa, et convenient vicarii et choriste, ad tres quartas ante horam viii^m, in quorum concursu accendantur alia ij. luminaria cerosa, et decantetur una solennis antiphona ad laudem V. Katerine. Crastino mane, hora vi^a, pulsatores tintinnire magnas campanas, ad missam D. Katerine hora vii^a solemniter decantandam, ad Altare Benefactorum suorum, ubi (celebrata matutinali S. Georgii missa), sine intervallo, inchoetur missa S. Katerine."

Six pence for the boys' recreation immediately after were distributed.

ST. PANTALEON'S, mentioned in 1244, was a chantry founded by Bishop Ralph I. for three priests who were appointed by the præcentor; the chaplain of "Ralfe Randoll's chantry" received 57*s.* 1*d.* by the year; the value at the dissolution was 60*s.*^d Pantaleon, Panteleëmon all pitiful, was a physician of Nicomedia who suffered on the rack, and, having been tortured with red-hot plates of

^a Lib. B. fo. 230. "Li Charnell Howse" Chantry was in this chapel. (Compotus of 1544.)

^b Var. Obs. 69. Leiger 97. By Bishop Storey's foundation, "infra capellam in latere boreali ecclesie," there were four suits for the prebendary of Highley, as celebrant, red, black, white, and green; a chalice, two cruets, a missal, a damask pall, four altar-cloths, and a pall of brodura-Alexandri, which, Cahier says, was brought from Alexandria. (See also Hunter MS. Nominale. Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 24,523, s.v.) Ter celebrans ad altare B. Katarinæ, Agathæ, Margaretæ, et Winifridæ VV. orabit pro anima Johannis Episcopi II^d. et dicet quotidie Placebo et Dirige et Commendacionem. "When he singeth masse of requiem he hath on a blacke vestment." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.)

^c Leiger 41. Certif. of Chantr. L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303.

^d Var. Obs. 41, 67. Lib. Y. fo. xlvi. b. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 299, 302. "Celebrans ad Altare St. Pantaleonis orabit pro anima Radulphi episcopi."

iron, was beheaded on July 27 in the Diocletian persecution. Churches are dedicated to him at Lyons, Cologne, Venice, and Constantinople. He is also commemorated in the Kalendar of Hereford Cathedral and the Breviary of St. Alban's.

FOUR ALTARS IN CHOIR, "iiij altaria infra chorum:" 1. Sherborne's altar. 2. Opposite to it on the north side. 3. Altar of Bishop Ralph Neville. 4. Altar of Bishop Edward Storey. The second altar was the altar of Benefactors and Founders.^a Bishop Sherborne's altar stood over his grave. Sherborne founded lights to burn on these altars upon certain days. He appointed that he should be buried "in a pour remembraunce that he had made there on the south side of the church."^b His cenotaph and image of alabaster remain in the south aisle of the presbytery. Bishop Storey was buried nigh "the high altar on the north side under a plain tomb which he himself in his lifetime had ordered to be built, in height and fashion exactly like another on the south,"^c "prope summum altare ex parte boreali ejusdem altaris sub tumba pro me noviter facta."^d

OUR LADY'S ALTAR. Dean Thomas de Lichfield founded a chantry in 1233, and endowed it with lands outside the West Gate. The chantry was in the bishop's gift. There was daily mass, or else three masses of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Trinity were said weekly, with Placebo and Dirige daily. The salary was 5*l.* a-year.^e Bishop Gilbert de St. Leofardo, "the founder of

^a "Ordinamus quod in singulis noctibus à vigilia Omnium Sanctorum usque ad festum Purificationis B. M. V. ad iiij. altaria infra chorum nostræ ecclesie Cathedralis, divinorum tempore, accendantur iiij. luminaria seposa in nocte; et in festis S. Trinitatis et S. Ricardi accendantur, cum nox est, et continentur usque ad horam xi^m, viz. ad altare nostrum j. et ex adverso borealiter aliud; iiij^m ad altare dom. Radulphi Episcopi; iiij^m ad altare dom. Edw. Story; quelibet candelarum duret per ij. noctes." The altar of the Benefactors and Founders was opposite to ("ex adverso borealiter") Bishop Sherborne's altar "altare nuper erectum super locum sepulturæ nostræ (Stat. r. xxii. b); statim post Missam S. Georgii sonet una campanella ad altare nostrum ad significandum populo quo confluat." It was the fourth "altar in choir." We have "Laying of ledd over the Benefactors' aulter xiv d.; ledd upon the ile over the Benefactors' aulter." (Compotus 35 Hen. VIII.) Secundarius Capellæ B. M. V. ex statutis ecclesiæ tenetur cotidie celebrare Missam de Requiem pro animabus Benefactorum. (Reg. Praty, fo. 78.) Pro iiij. luminibus super iiij. altaria in Choro lucentibus vj s. viij. d. (Val. Eccles. i. 298.) Infra or extra chorum; in the retro choir, behind the choir-stalls, or retro altare, behind the reredos. The site of Sherborne's altar is still pointed out by two image niches at the north-east corner of the south wing; Storey's and Neville's altars were in the feretory, placed in front of the pillars which face the Lady chapel.

^b Wills, Hogen, fo. 4.

^c Hayley MS. 345, 355. Browne Willis has preserved the tradition of the "tomb standing between two pillars on the north side of the altar." (Cole MS. xxviii. fo. 2 b; Mitred Abbeys, ii. 349.) Opposite to Bishop Ralph II. (Neville) on the north side is a monument for Bishop Edmund Storey. (MS. Lansd. 918, fo. 348.) Neville's tomb has been appropriated, only in the present century, to Bishop Day, by affixing a plate on it, engraved by King the artist. Browne Willis says, one in the south wing was "probably a monument for Bishop Day," (Cole MS. xxviii. fo. 2,) whilst Gough distinctly mentions Neville's monument. (Camden's Britannia, i. 105.) An Iconography, 1656, quoted by Willis, attributes it to St. Richard. (Mitr. Abb. ii. 348.) I printed the furniture of Sherborne's altar in Gent. Mag. xviii. n.s. 767.

^d Wills, Blamire, fo. 21.

^e Leiger 109. Var. Obs. 67, 186. Lib. E. cix. cx. cxi. 200. Val. Eccles. i. 303. Celebrans ad Altare

the chapel," endowed an anniversary. Henry Garland, dean in 1332, founded a salary of 40*s.* each for two chaplains serving the chantry, for the soul of Bishop Gilbert.^a There was a third endowment for the Lady Mass. The chaplain received 53*s.* 4*d.* a-year; the Custos Capellæ B. M. V. had 6*s.* 8*d.*; and the washer of the ornaments 8*d.* The sub-dean acted as epistolar. Ernisius the præcentor endowed the altar with the stipend of 8*s.* for a clerk ministering in the mass. Another person gave 18*d.* a-year for service (obsequia) at the altar and cleaning the space in front of it. Richard de Brome gave an endowment for wax to furnish the taper burning before the altar called the "Blessed Virgin's Light."^b There were also two chantries of Nicholas Mortimer, confirmed by his cousin Edward IV. on a foundation by King Henry V. The two kings' perpetual chaplains, being graduates, received 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* or, according to the Certificate, 12*l.*; they retired on a pension of 6*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*^c

THE ALTAR OF THE SHRINE OF ST. RICHARD, mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1289, and in the Bishop's Visitation in 1402. Nicholas de Wyche and William de Radinges his chaplain were despatched to Rome to secure canonisation of S. Richard, which took place on St. Vincent's day, Jan. 22, 1260. Bishop Stephen spent 1,000 marks on the consequent translation.^d In 1270 he required the dean and chapter "quod inveniant et sustineant in perpetuum decem cereos quadratos ad Feretrum B. Ricardi ardentem in festis primæ dignitatis, et duos cereos rotundos ad idem Feretrum, et tercium ad Tumbam Sancti predicti, et novem cereos circa Feretrum rotundos, ponderis quilibet duarum librarum, ardentem in festis primæ et secundæ et terciæ dignitatis, quilibet ejusdem ponderis, diebus ac noctibus continue ardentem."^e

The shrine and altar are mentioned in 1488. "Lego matri ecclesie apud Cicestriam xvj. d. sub hac conditione quod ipsi de eadem faciant unam missam celebrari pro anima mea ad altare coram Feretrum S. Ricardi ibidem."^f Chancellor Burwell desired to be buried "nyghe unto the shryne of S. Rychard agenste the dore,"^g clearly that opening into the east alley of the cloister.

Upon a raised platform filling one entire bay behind the reredos, and reached by two flights of steps on the east side, this altar stood westward at the head of the shrine, which adorned what was afterwards called distinctively the "burying place," the site between the reredos and procession path, forming, as in other great minsters, the feretory of the patron saint. The original tomb

B. Mariæ orabit pro animâ Thome Decani; et celebrabit singulis diebus pro defunctis. Tamen si voluerit potest dicere unam Missam de B. Mariâ; unam eciam de Trinitate; et unam de S. Spiritu singulis septimanis; dummodò specialem orationem faciat in dictis missis pro animâ Thome Decani; et dicet singulis diebus Placebo et Dirige in ix. lectionibus. For Placebo and Dirige see my Sacred Archæol. s. v.

^a Certif. of Chantries, L. No. 2. Leiger 89, 89

^b Lib. Y. fo. cxi. cxiii. cxv. Swayne 433 b.

^c Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. P. iv. m. 160. Computus 1479. Swayne 311. Lib. Y. fo. clxxxix. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 302. Certif. of Chantr. Sussex, L. No. 2.

^d Wilkins's Conc. i. 746.

^e Lib. Y. fo. clxiv. b.

^f Test. Falcon. Arnoldson. Reg. Storey, fo. 94 b.

^g March 5, 1509. Wills, Bennett, 35.

remained in its place. The shrine was jewelled, and had a watch-loft (as at York and Lincoln) at the back of the high altar, which then stood six feet back to the west. The watch-loft was removed in 1820.

On the 16th June, the eve of St. Botolph, 1276, the body of St. Richard was removed from his tomb and placed in a silver-gilt shrine, in the presence of the King and Queen, of Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, nine bishops, and a large number of magnates both ecclesiastical and civil.^a

The "donaria et oblationes" hitherto made at his tomb were continued at the shrine, to which the barons of Hastings always gave their share of the coronation canopy, and, in accordance with the times, Lovel, the harper and minstrel, was singing the praises of the saint when he received a guerdon of 6s. 6d. from the King on May 26, 1297.

1299. [27 Edw. I.] xxvij^o die Junii in oblationibus Regis ad feretrum ex una parte S. Ricardi in Ecclesia Cath. Cic. vij s.; et ex alia parte, vij s.; et ad mitram ejusdem Sancti, vij s.; et ad capud ejusdem sancti, vij s.; et ad tumbam ubi Sanctus Ricardus primo sepeliebatur, vij s.; et ad mitram Sancti Edmundi et ad Calicem Sancti Ricardi, vij s.—Summa, xlij s.^b Next year the King offered a cloth of gold and "mensuras" of himself in wax.^c On June 6, 1299, he gave a cloth of gold to the shrine and offered 7s. at the tomb, and the same sum to the head and other relics. In 1294 he gave a jewel made out of a vase found at Edinburgh.

A^o 1280, 8 Edw. I. Feb. 17. "Intelleximus quòd vos quædam jocalia que feretro S. Ricardi Cicestrensis nuper affixa et postmodum subtracta fuerunt, eidem feretro, nobis irrequisitis, facere non vultis reaffigi; Nos recuperationem jocalium illorum divinitus reputantes contigisse iterato vobis mandamus quòd jocalia illa ad honorem Sancti predicti de nostra licentia sicut magis expedire videritis dicto feretro affigi faciatis.^d

Thus there were three objects of pilgrimage at that time. The first was the original tomb, then left vacant; the second was the new shrine; and the third was the head of the saint in a reliquary,^e for, with the extravagant rage for relics, the body of the saint^f was dismembered, and, as in the case of St. Osyth at Chiche, St. Chad at Lichfield, St. Hugh at Lincoln, SS. Oswald and Wolstan at Worcester, St. Wilfrid at Ripon, and St. Thomas at Canterbury, his head was exhibited apart.^g

The following ordinance of Bishop Storey, in 1478, requiring the procession on Whitsunday to

^a Walsingham, i. 16. Ann. Mon. ii. 122, Winton; ib. 387, Waverley; iv. 268, Wykes; ib. 470, 471, Wigorn.

^b MS. Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{8}{13}$. ^c Add. MS. 24,523, fo. 67. Lib. Contr. Gard. p. 97.

^d Lib. Y. fo. xiiij^o. Rymer, tom. i. p. ii. p. 183.

^e Feretro S. Ricardi j ouche; item capiti ejusdem j ouche auri. (Wills, 1384, Rous, fo. 5.) There were also vicarious pilgrimages. (Wills, 1439, Luffenham, fo. 25.) See also Test. Vet. 51, 68, 326, 726.

^f Gray's Reg. (Surtees Soc. Publ.) 149. Rym. Fœd. iii. P. 2, p. 720. X. Script. ad ann. 1364. Jo. Arch. Inst. xxxiii. 73. Ang. Sac. i. 525, 527.

^g 1441. Cantaria ubi caput S. Ricardi ponitur 33s. 4d. item quod esset una cantaria ubi . . . S. Ricardi scituatur. An Feretri et Reliquiarum custodia viro ydoneo et honesto sit remissa? [1294. The dean and chapter granted to Roger Capellano ad Feretrum S. Ricardi the chantry there, and assigned to him eight marks a-year out of Mendlesham Church in Norfolk, ad sui sustentacionem et clerici competentis sibi

meet in the choir and proceed through the chancel and nave, points to the position of the shrine in its usual position behind the high altar. The bishop says: "Fide dignorum relatione accepimus, quòd inter nonnullos nobis et jurisdictioni nostræ subditos et subjectos, ecclesiam nostram Cath. Cic. ac ipsorum subditorum ecclesiam matricem cum crucibus et vexillis, annuatim quolibet die lunæ ebdomade Pentecostes processionaliter, ad inibi S. Ricardo in honore Dei devotè offerendi precesque effundendi visitare debentes, propter prælationem et præminentiam, eorundem processionum in intrando et exeundo dictam ecclesiam nostram Cathedralem Cic., retroactis temporibus diutiùs verbera, obprobria, insidiæ, contenciones, homicidia,^a divinorum perturbationes, alia quam plurima mala evenerunt, et verisimiliter in futurum evenient, inde ordinem subsequentem in antecedendo in processionibus hujusmodi duximus de cætero inviolabiliter observari, viz. quòd post inhabitantes burgum de Arendelle, et inhabitantes villam de West Dene et parochiam ejusdem, quos cæteros eo ordine antecedere volumus quo antiquius assueverunt, inhabitantes villam de Bosham in intrando ecclesiam nostram Cath. sint primi eo ordine, dummodò ipsi præsentés et parati sint ad sic intrandum horâ ix^a illius diei, quo processio fieri debet, per horologium ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. et non aliud signandum sumentes, præstò qui ad horam x^m non fuerint, tunc volumus, expetant et ingredi ecclesiam postponant, quousque omnes alii supradictarum et infra-scriptarum parochiarum ingressi fuerint; et post dictos inhabitantes villam de Bosham cum membris suis, viz. Apuldreham, Funtynton, et Chydham, cum fuerint præsentés, parochiani deinde proximi; deinde inhabitantes villæ de Sidlesham cum inhabitantibus de Eston, et post ipsos parochiani de Felpham, et tunc parochiani de Bordham, et post ipsos parochiani de Selsey, cum crucibus et vexillis, cum etiam devotione intrabunt, et incedant, et non cum virgis longis et depictis, quas propter eas deferentium et aliorum assersentium, et paucorum indevotionem, risu, garrulationibus, clamore et tumultu, expensarum effusione, in eorum delationibus excitis et subortis, de cætero deferri vetuimus, provisò semper quòd primò intrantes, et omnes alii juxta ordinem in choro præsentés permaneant, et ex tunc cancellum et ecclesiam^b seriatim et pacificè eo ordine quo intraverint, cum omni humilitate exeant."^c How attractive and popular such processions were we gather from the language of the homilist, "While they offer, the music and minstrelsy goeth merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints whose relics be then in presence."^d Sometimes noble penitents had to humble themselves, as in the case of the Earl of Arundel, who, in the year of grace 1290, would go a hunting with harriers in the bishop's

ibidem deservituri.] Edmund Earl of March, in 1380, bequeathed to Wigmore Abbey a bone of St. Richard Bishop of Chichester. In an inventory of Selborne Priory, in the reign of Henry VI. "j. junctorium S. Richardi, item pecten S. Richardi," are mentioned, and "ij costæ S. Ricardi" were at St. Paul's. (Lib. Y. fo. liv. b. Reg. Praty 746. Lib. E. fo. 291 b. Art. Inq. in Visit. E. 264. Test. Vet. p. 111. White's Selborne, p. 384. Dugdale, p. 235.)

^a Comp. Ang. Sac. i. 513.

^b The nave. The procession met on the platform between the gradus chori and gradus presbyterii, and so proceeded to the Cancellum, the Feretory, "with its costly closures."

^c Reg. fo. 44. See also Grostete's Const. in Brown's Fasciculus, ii, 413.

^d 3 P. Serm. against Idolatry, 218.

chace of Hoghton, and only obtained absolution for his poaching habits, "interdictâ in dictum comitem penitentiâ et jejuniis trium dierum, et peregrinatione ad S. Ricardum."^a

Commission for taking down S. Richard's shrine at Chichester. "Henry 8 to our trusty and well beloved servant Sir Wm. Goring, kt. and . . . Erneley, Esq. For as much as we have been lately informed that in our city of Chichester and Cathedral Church of the same there hath been used long heretofore and yet at this daye is used much superstition and certain kynd of idolatry aboute the shryne and bones of a certain bishop of the same, which they call S. Richard, and a certain resort thither of sundry our subjects, which being men of simplicitie, by the inculcation of certain of the clerge, who, taking advantage of the same, doo seke at the sayd shryne and bones of the same that God only hathe auctoritie and power to grant, We, wylyng such superstitious abuses and idolatries to be taken away, command you with all convenient diligence to repayre unto the said cathedral church of Chichester and there to take down that shrine and bones of that bishop called S. Richard within the same, with all the sylver, gold, juells, and ornamentes to the same shryne belongyng, and also all other the reliques and reliquaries, with all the plate, gold, juells, ornamentes aforesaid, to be safely and surely conveyed and brought unto our Tower of London, there to be bestowed as we shall further determine at your arrival. And also that ye shall see bothe the place where the same shryne standyth to be raysd and defaced even to the very ground, and all such other images of the church as any notable superstition hath been used to be taken and conveyed away.^b The 14th day of November, in ye 30th year of Hen. VIII. THOMAS CROMWELL."

The shrine was taken down, rased, and defaced on Friday, Nov. 20, by the Commissioners, who furnished the following inventory:—

"Hereafter folowyth the juells of gold, sylver, relykks, ornamentes, and other juells takyn from the shryne in the Cathedrall Church of Chichester the ffryday the xxth day of November, the xxxth yere of the reyne of Henry the VIIIth, by Wyllm. Goryng, knyght, and Willm. Erneley, esquier, comyssioners unto our said sovereyn lord the Kyng, to take down the seid shryne, with all suche gold, sylver, juells, relykks, and ornamentes of the same, and the same shryne to be rasyd and defaced, as more pleyntyly apperith by the said commission, the which gold, sylver, and other jewells remaynyth in vj cofers, a caskett, and in a litell boxe. Item, first in a shippe cofer lv ymages sylver and gylt. Item, in a longe cophyn wheryn byshopp Rychards bones wer in lvj ymages of sylver and gylt. Item, iij other cofers full of broken sylver. Item, a cover with iij lokks that was delyvered by the deane and archedekyn with relykks and other jewells parcell of the seid shryne. Item, in a litell boxe xxxj ryngs with stonys, and iij other jewells. Item, in a casket xlj jewells sett with stonys and perlys." (Chap. Ho. Books. Publ. Rec. Off. A. $\frac{5}{12}$ fo. 102.)

This notice suggests a scene of violence and mutilation, sacrilege and fury, when the last relics of St. Richard's shrine disappeared.

Last of all, the dean and chapter had to pay for repairing the rough usage of the fabric:—

^a I printed the paper in *Gent. Mag.* N.S. xviii. p. 355.

^b Lamb. MS. 577, fo. 73, Draft of Privy Signet or King's Warrant n. 671, Pub. Rec. Off.

“1544. Unto Wolsey the masson, for amendynge of the Tumbe in our Lady Chapel, that was broken uppe when the Commissioners were here from the Councell to serche for the same, xv d.”

This, no doubt, was the tomb of Bishop Gilbert, rifled in mistake, when the spoilers were at work and wrecked all round.

“Pro solutis cuidam aurifabro inquisitionem facienti inter aurifabros eo tempore quo expoliata erat Ecclesia Cathedralis per Empson etc. antehac non solutis sed sepissimè requisitis pro labore suo, iij s. iiij d.”^a

There was also Talk's Chantry (Val. Eccles. i. 305), connected with St. Mary's Hospital.^b On June 10, 1493, E. Bartlot and R. Burrell witnessed the will of Thomas Tauke, arm. who made only one bequest, “fabricæ Eccles. Cath. Cicestren'. xij d.” (Wills, Dogett, fo. 24.)

[DE DIVERSIS CONSUEUDINIBUS.]

In festis prime dignitatis hoc placuit observari ut canonicus intitulatus ad missam celebrandam nullatenus teneatur procurare^c ministros quoscunque ecclesie, nisi gratis velit aliquem vel aliquos ad comestionem invitare. Nullus autem veniat nisi invitatus secundum consuetudinem optentam in ceteris festivis et ferialibus diebus.

In the 15th century,^d resident canons present at prime or high mass were not to leave the city without giving the customary dinner to their vicars and the choristers.

The *comestio* given by residentiaries lingered on in the waiting days or officiating days, as follows:^e

“On these days the toll began at half-past nine and at three, when the whole quire waited on the dean or residentiary of the quarter from his house to church, and he said the whole service and read the lessons. The first residentiary, on the feasts of St. Stephen and Purification, and Monday in Whitsun week. The second residentiary, on St. John's day, Monday in Easter week, and Tuesday in Whitsun week. The third residentiary, on the feasts of the Circumcision and All Saints, and Tuesday in Easter week. The fourth residentiary, on the feasts of the Ascension and Epiphany, and on Nov. 5. The dean officiated on his preaching days, the feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.

“THREE-CAKE DAYS were Purification, Circumcision, Ascension, and All Saints' days.” The choir on these waiting days were entertained with cakes and ale, even in the time of Mr. Clarke

^a Compotus 35 Hen. VIII.

^b Sussex Arch. Coll. xxiv. 53.

^c Scil. in victualibus sive in pecuniâ.

^d Reg. Praty 1441, March 1, fo. 75 b.

^e Var. Observ. p. 61. No date is given, but it was probably in the seventeenth century. Juxta ritum aliarum cathedralium volumus ut diebus Natalis Domini, Paschæ et Pentecostes Decanus si domi sit, festis vero Circumcisionis, Epiphaniæ, et Ascensionis Domini, item Purificationis B. V., et Omnium Sanctorum et reliquis festis duplicibus prebendarii residentes suo ordine preces divinas et Sacram Synaxim in ecclesia publicè celebrent (Stat. Norwic. 7 Jac. I. cap. xvi. Lamb. MS. 1144. Comp. Stat. Cestr. Lamb. MS. 866. P. ii. 2, and Hereford, c. vii.; Lamb. MS. 736, p. 16.)

in the last century. The duty of giving a dinner or supper to the officers of the church and the choristers is still maintained; with the former it is compounded for by a money payment called "supper money," with the latter the feast is continued. The date of the commutation of the *comestio* may be traced to the time of Laud, who on Feb. 20, 1635, enjoined "that the meetings and hospital" (*sic*) "invitations, anciently observed by your residentiaries, and by them kept quarterly for the quire, be still maintained, or else that the same money be still given by the residentiaries by way of perdition, which some of them have lately begun to give, so that the quire acknowledge it to be a benevolence. Item that the stall-wages be restored to the vicars-choral due to them for doing service all the year at the high altar." (Reg. fo. 238 b.)

Quilibet autem canonicus presens in festis ^a prime dignitatis sex, scilicet Natalis, Pasche, Pentecostes, Sancte Trinitatis, Dedicationis ecclesie, Reliquiarum, nomine vini ^b quod inter canonicos consuevit distribui denarios duodecim percipiet. In ceteris festis prime dignitatis sex denariorum muneratione sit contentus. Unicuique vicario in hiis quatuor prime dignitatis sollempnitatibus, Natalis, Pasche, Sancte Trinitatis, [et] Dedicationis ecclesie, pro vino quod eis impendi consuevit de gratia tres denarii tribuantur.

^a There were twenty-nine feasts observed, including St. Richard, April 4 (the morrow), and June 16. Swayne 454. 1314. Quòd Festum S. Wilfridi eò devocius quò gentiles de partibus Ciestriæ ad fidem Christi converterat, in ecclesia Ciestrensi celebretur et pro ii^{da} dignitate teneatur. (Statuta, lib. E. 186.) It is a remarkable fact that the only old fragment of glass (in Langton's window) contains the arms of S. Wilfrid, Azure, three suns proper. Cum Festum S. Dionysii (Oct. 9), fuisset omissum propter Festum Reliquiarum quod ipsius die celebratur in ecclesia Ciestr. statutum est et ab omnibus concessum quod in crastino Festi Reliquiarum celebretur et fiat. (Lib. Y. fo. xxiv.) The Feast of Relics of S. Richard, at a later date, was kept as the Feast of the place, or Patron Saint, as usual [J. J. Bond, Handybook of Dates, p. 87, 62] on Sept. 15, at Chichester. It must have been translated, like that of the Dedication; which, in 1682, was still observed as a great festival. At Sarum the Feast of the Relics of S. Osmund was kept in July.

In 1294 there was issued Bulla P. Bonifacii de Indulgentiis concessis visitantibus ecclesiam Ciestr. in Festis St. Trinitatis et Translationis St. Ricardi. (Leiger 3.) The last notice of regard for the two principal founders occurs in 1678. An grata et pia fundatorum Wilfridi et Ricardi diebus statutis commemoratio inter Sacra facta est? R. In libro statutorum qui in manibus est non nobis occurrunt hujusmodi dies statuti. (Inq. ad. Visit. Episc. fo. 133, 135.)

^b One of the questions at a Visitation in 1299 was, An Sanctorum sunt omnes reliquie que in ecclesia exhibentur à catholicis venerande? (Liber E. 264.) Wine was given on the Feasts of St. Edward the Confessor and other days. Pro vino Choralì in die Dedicationis ecclesie iij s. vii d., St. Edmundi C. xvij d., Nativitati Domini iij s. vij d., St. Ustani xvij s., Paschæ iij s. iij d., St. Trinitatis iij s. vij d., St. Pantaleonis ijs. vjd. (Lib. E. cvii. 35 Hen. VIII. Lib. Comp.) And, on state rejoicings, Pro vino dato in Choro Vicariis eo die quo canebatur Te Deum ob victoriam obtentam super Scotos, viz. xxv^o. die Maii, iij d. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.) Bishop Sherborne, a lover of old custom, made a new ordinance for an annual gift to the dean

DE DISTRIBUTIONE PANIS.

Cum vicarii canonicorum presentium de mensis dominorum suorum alantur, secundum normam ecclesie longa consuetudine approbatam, hoc omnium consensu est confirmatum, ut sive dominus sive vicarius officio nocturno interfuerit, dominus cotidianam panis distributionem que presentibus in illo officio debetur integre percipiat, et similiter si eorum alteruter fuerit infirmitate gravatus vel minucione per venas, de licentia facta decani vel exigente necessitate alterius superioris in ecclesia presentis, excusatus fuerit, et si neuter illi officio interfuerit, quod posset contingere, si secus fieret, quod non habentis excusacionis causam negligentia infirmitate vel minucione excusato verteretur in perniciem. His vero duabus causis cessantibus utroque in illo officio deficiente, nullus eorum pro pane mittat, vel etiam oblatum sibi recipiat, si juramenti quo ecclesie est astrictus transgressionem et transgressionis illius penam voluerit evitare.

The following rules were subsequently adopted with regard to the commune bread: Cum panis absentibus à matutinis subtrahi consueverit et vigilantibus laborantibusque applicari, volumus quod de cætero, in distributione incrementi dicti panis dictis absentibus, ne quicquam distribuatur de incremento prædicto.^a The following notes have been gleaned from MS. Collections, the records being no longer in existence: the date is probably after Bishop Rede's Visitation.^b

“At all feasts having the Proper service or the commemoration if they have proper antomes at Lauds, or III. Responds proper, and at all ferii and festi, and feasts of III. lections in Paschtime, every vicar that cometh to matynes shall have a cast of white bread and a little cob, so that he come within gradum chori before the 3rd Gloria Patri of the III. Priest's Psalms^c be ended, or else to be void of all profits for that time. They have each 14 loaves and 2 cobs weekly.

and chapter: “Comunarius ecclesie cathedralis, in vel circa festum S. Martini in hieme, provideat ad numerum quinariam, ad quartam partem dolii unicuique; et si fuerint quatuor residentes, quinta porcio detur theologo prebendario.” 1670. Pro vino inter decanum et capitulum £5. (Sloane MS. 1677, fo. 9.)

^a Stat. 1314, lib. E. fo. 186.

^b 1402. Reg. fo. xxxiv. b.

^c The last three psalms, xciii. lxiii. and lxviii., always recited at Lauds. The “gradus chori” was the step on the east side of the stalls; the western door was closed when the service began; those who were late entered from the south aisle, whilst vicars who arrived before the “Invitatory” psalm received the “Venite loaf.” The Privileged Ferials were those on which commemorations and the lesser simple feasts were superseded, or, except in a few instances, Doubles were deferred or translated. The proper anthem was a verse of its own psalm which followed, or one selected from Holy Scripture, as a summary having a special application to the day or season as distinguished from the ordinary anthem in the daily psalter. Three lessons taken severally from the Old and New Testament and some patristic commentary followed by their respective responsories (appropriate anthems repeated alternately) were interposed between each portion of the psalms allotted to matins on feasts of nine lections.

"1580. Each residentiary hath weekly twenty-one loaves, worth five shillings and six pence; and two odd loaves weekly, in all 13*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; out of which deductions are twenty-nine (loaves) for the vicars for venite bread, sixteen for Sherborne's clerks, and since 1663 the odd loaves for the dean's verger at 3*d.* the loaf; so remaineth 13*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*" It was known as commune bread, panis Communæ, as in 35 Hen. VIII. "xviii. Maii. for ij. quarters of whette for the comune bread xxiijs."

1604. 240 loaves, each of 32 oz., were to come to the "binne," and 120 cob loaves, each of 12 oz. Out of these the dean and each residentiary had 21 weekly, and the 4 vicars and 4 lay clerks received each 14 loaves. 84 loaves, each of 22 oz., making 42 casts, were distributed every Sunday.^a Among other recipients there was then a dog-whipper, Bishop Sherborne's preclar or bede-man. Bishop Storey ordained^b "Quod quilibet vicarius choralis, de nocte surgens ad matutinas, habebit duos panes albos et unum cribatum panem" (a cob loaf).

[DE ABSENCIA CANONICORUM.]^c

Canonicus vel vicarius absens pro negotiis ecclesie sibi a decano et capitulo injunctis si expensas fecerit de communa sibi erogatas, nichil de distributionibus commune recipiat cotidianis, nisi egressus a civitate et regressus ad eandem, quibus scilicet, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, integre debentur Canonicis diurna denariorum stipendia.

DE OFFENSA IN DIVINIS OBSEQUIIS.

Quoniam per impunitatis fiduciam nutritur audacia delinquendi in officiis precipue divinis, que peccatis nostris facientibus sæpius negliguntur, sanximus ut si quis in ecclesia nostra debitum officii cujuscunque ad quod intitulatus fuerit secundum cotidianas tabule inscriptiones non impleverit per se^d vel per alium qui sine offensa consueti ordinis ecclesie vices ejus potest suplere,^e si canonicus est per decanum in capitulo corripiatur: si vicarius est de stipendiis suis ebdomadariis pro qualibet tali culpa vel marantia unius denarii vel duorum jactura, vel

^a Hayley MS. 178. The cob was a cracknel or simnel made of fine flour. It is still given to the canons of the Cathedral at their admission. A cast was a couple of loaves. (See also Stat. De Antiquâ Formâ, below.)

^b Reg. fo. 8.

^c In Liber E. "De Absencia."

^d See Stat. De Officio Cancellarii. At the Archbishop's Visitation, 1299, the question was put, An Canonici ebdomadarii missas suas celebrent sicut intitulantur, vel vicarii pro eisdem. (Lib. E. fo. 264.) The table was made weekly, and enrolled the rectors of choir, the hebdomadary boys, acolytes, readers, singers of responsories, celebrants, gospellers, and epistolers. Traces of the tabling will be found in the notes to Stat. De Officio Thesaurarii and De Offensâ, and in the existing Ordo Prædicandi. (See also Stat. of St. Paul's, edited by Dr. Simpson, F.S.A. p. 105, and Wells, fos. 11, 15, 73, 80. MS. Lamb. 729.)

^e "Suplere" is interlined by the corrector.

alia pena competentiori puniatur. Si vero non vicarius fuerit per Cantorem vel ejus vicarium^a castigetur. Si vero de tertiâ formâ^b fuerit ejiciatur a choro vel a magistro^c suo seu Cantoris vicario vij verberum ictus sustineat vel xiiij si offensam gravem commiserit.

HARSNET'S STATUTES 1611.

R. 4. No unreverend gesture nor unseemly talking be used by any of the vicars or lay vicars, or Bishop Sherborne's clerks, in time of divine service, upon pain of an admonition, and, after three admonitions precedent, upon pain of deprivation.

R. 5. No vicar nor clerk do presume to go out of the choir in time of divine service without leave first asked and obtained of the dean, if he be present, or, in his absence, of the president of the chapter, or, in their absence, of the residentiary of the quarter, under the like penalty as before. (Fo. 12.)

The carelessness of the vicars choral seems to have been chronic, for two centuries later than the earlier statute the following order was given:—The president of chapter for the time being is to correct absent vicars choral who neglect matins so that scarcely two or three appear in one part of the choir; as the younger and haler (forciores) sleep on in their beds.^d The complaint was made at the close of the fifteenth century “quod rectores chori non veniunt tempestive ad servicia divina, sed quandoque post mediam partem psalmi, quandoque in fine.” “Quod non habent unum accolitur assistentem ad altam missam.”^e The rule was eventually this:^f “Two of the calibre amyces must be the high rectors in all principal feasts and feasts of majus duplex.^g Two of the priests' stalls must be the second rectors in all the aforesaid feasts. Two of the priests' stalls must be the high rectors in all feasts of minus and inferius duplex. Two de secunda forma must be the second rectors on all the said feasts. Two de secunda forma must be rectors at all feasts of ix lections and commemorations.^h That every rector's course de secunda forma continueth two weeks alternis vicibus. None de secunda forma shall have a candle if a priest be present [to read the lections].

“If any person be absent from matyns that is in course to be rector, he that beareth the cope

^a The succentor. (See Stat. De Stipendio Vicarii Cantoris.)

^b See Stat. De Pueris in Tertiâ Formâ.

^c Duty of the Master of the Choristers. Harsnet's Stat. 1611, p. 10. Stat. fo. 14. Decrees of Dean and Chapter 1616, r. 12, 13, 16. *Ib.* fo. 18, 19.

^d Reg. Praty, March 1, 1441, fo. 75 b.

^e Reg. Storey, fo. 8.

^f Act Book, C. 99 b. Hayley 177. The date is probably of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

^g See Lyndwood lib. ii. tit. 3, p. 103, ad verbum “officio duplici.” On Doubles the antiphon was sung both before and after the psalm, hence the name.

^h Festivals of the lowest grade observed on some ferials in each week that might be vacant during certain parts of the year, being feasts of the patron saint, and of S. Mary, kept usually on Saturday if possible. “Memoriæ habentur semel in anno quorum altaria sunt in ecclesia.” (Sar. Proc. R. 3.)

for him" (*i.e.* wears the rector's cope in his stead) "all that matyns, from the beginning to the ending, shall have for his labour a loafe called a *venite* loafe, one of the two which the party absent did forfeit.

"If a *calabre amess*^a be absent, another shall bear the cope and have the *venite* loafe.

"Four wax candles are always distributed at the end of Lauds at the four uppermost books^b to the senior set of the book, to find the lights to the same book for that time."

The following statute was at length enacted regarding vicars:^c—

Cum cultus divinus augeri debeat et non minui, statutum est et ab omnibus approbatum, quod nullus vicarius duobus stallis deserviat, loca duorum occupando, cum vix ad servicium unius sufficere possit, nisi prætextu infirmitatis alicujus vel absentiae necessariae hoc si fuerit ad tempus permisum.

Vicarii inferiores singulis horis et officiis diurnis et nocturnis intersint jugiter et intendant, nisi per dominos suos præsentés fuerint impediti; quod si non fuerint, singulis absentibus in singulis vicibus unus obolus de stipendio suo subtrahatur, nisi licitam prætereendere poterit absentiae causam coram domino decano et probare poterit.

Cum non deceat vicarios melioris conditionis esse quam canonicos, statutum est et ab omnibus approbatum quod vicarius qui in obsequiis et obitibus mortuorum, dum in ecclesia Cic. fuerit, annuatim præsens non fuerit, nil percipiet de eisdem nisi minutus sanguine vel adversa valetudine detentus.

Cum absens fuerit vicarius ad tempus de licentia decani pro negotiis propriis seu alienis, intra civitatem sive extra fuerit, dum absens est, nil percipiet de iis quæ præsentés et laborantes percipere consueverunt.

Nullus auferat aut diminuât alii quod suo officio est annexum.

Vicarius seu minister ecclesiae qui de lapsu carnis convictus fuerit, per decanum corripitur et corrigatur primo: quod si secundo fuerit convictus ad agendum in choro pœnitentiam publicam compellatur; quod si tertio recidaverit tanquam incorrigibilis a consortio expellatur.

Nullus canes in ecclesiam^d ducat propter fœditatem, quam in eadem sæpius fecisse dinoscitur, sub pœna suspensionis ab ingressu ecclesiae, si super id legitime fuerit convictus.

It was found necessary to proscribe plays and amusements in the church, for this question occurs at a Visitation: "An ludi theatrales et inhonesti fiant in ecclesia per vicarios et alios ecclesiae

^a Calaber was squirrels' fur imported from Calabria. Bale mentions "costly grey amices of calaber and cats' tails" (Image, etc. P. III. ch. xviii.) and Hutton (1708) speaks of civic gowns "furred with grey amice," "and those below the chair with calaber" (New View, i. p. xxxiii.) The latter was a deep brown and cheaper fur and worn by vicars. See Reg. S. Pauli, 322.

^b At Winchester School the forms are still called books.

^c Stat. 1314, lib. E. 186.

^d The Homily speaks of God's house not being a house of hawks and hounds, and the Caroline Divines allude to the scandal of laymen entering church with dogs at their heels. The altar-rails were ordered to be made so close as to secure their seclusion. The dog-whipper I have already mentioned as a recipient of commune-bread. The office existed in several cathedrals. (See my Traditions and Customs, and Cathedralia, p. 196.)

ministris?^a Games of ball, buying and selling, and other indecencies^b were forbidden in the church cloister or cemetery (the Paradise and the north churchyard) by Bishop Praty in 1441. Jugglers and players were paid for their performances, which of course took place elsewhere.^c

Another curious custom is preserved on record in 1468: "Consueverunt, quolibet die Epiphania Domini, duo vicarii circumire chorum et ecclesiam (the nave with its parish church, as at Salisbury, Hereford, and Lincoln), cum signo Spiritus Sancti sive imagine, incipiendo cum decano, et de post eum secundo in ordine (si ipse decanus recusaverit acceptare hujusmodi Spiritum Sanctum), et ad ceteros parochianorum et ecclesie donec fuit acceptum; et acceptans hujusmodi Spiritum Sanctum consuevit conferre unum ornamentum ecclesie, secundum voluntatem suam." It was probably a dove.^d

DE PUERIS IN TERTIA FORMA.

Statuimus etiam ut per magistrum scholarium et vicarium cantoris decem pueri^e eligantur idonei in tertia forma et eorum nomina in superiori parte tabule juxta marginem scribantur, et semper singulis deficientibus novi subrogentur. Et nullus nisi de eorum numero fuerit intituletur ad aliquod officium in tabule inscriptionibus,^e nisi fuerit de domo et familia canonici.

Illis vero decem^f potius quam ceteris specialius sepius et propensius à decano et canonicis opera misericordie in necessariis impendantur.

This statute does not seem to have been well observed, as in the Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 95 b, we find the following remark subsequently renewed by Bishop Storey in 1481.

"Quantum ad statutum de x pueris in tertia forma, cum modò sint xii. decens videretur quod de ipsis essent viii. claras et altas habentes voces pueriles, iv. vero majores pro thuribus deferendis." The choristers in choir wore albes with apparels:^g they were selected from the boys of the third form; others serving as acolytes and thuriblers. They were at an early period, certainly in the

^a Art. Inq. in Visit. 1292. Lib. E. 264.

^b Reg. fo. lxxix. Infra septimanam Pentecostes et etiam in aliis Festivitatibus fiunt a laicis ludi theatrales in ecclesia . . . introducitur in eam monstrum larvarum . . . in SS. Innocentium et aliorum Sanctorum festivitatibus, quæ Natalem Christi sequuntur, vicarii presbiteri diaconi et subdiaconi, vicissim insanie sue ludibria exercentes, per gesticulationem debacchantes obscenam, divinum officium impediunt in conspectu populi. (1331, 1338, Stat. Wellens. MS. Lamb. 729, ff. 75, 88. Harl. MS. 1682, fo. 21. See Synod. Exon. § 13, Wilkins, ii. 140, and Can. lxxxviii. 1603, my edit. p. 126.)

^c 35 Hen. VIII. Mimis Dom. Comitis Arundell in ebdomada Nat. dom. huc advenientibus, ut solent, in regardis illis xx d. 2^o die Julii mimis et histrionibus dom. Principis huc adventientibus xx d.

^d Storey's Reg. fo. 8 b.

^e See Constitutiones Antiquæ under "Cantor debet," etc.

^f "Decem" interlined by the corrector.

^g Comp. 35 Hen. VIII. Lotrici albarum choristalium vj d. For apparellinge of ij dosen of children's albes ayenste Christemasse viij d. The apparels were ornaments round the neck and cuff.

thirteenth century, described as hebdomadary boys of choir.^a The master of the scholars was the delegate of the chancellor, whose duty was to teach the choristers grammar.^b In the time of Henry VIII. he seems to have been one of the chantry priests, but afterwards simply "informer in musica." He was lodged in the Vicars' Close.

HARSNET'S STATUTES, 1611.

R. 9. No clerk, vicar, or chorister shall be actually admitted into his place till he first make public trial of his voice and skill in presence of the dean and chapter, together with the master of the choristers or the sub-chantor. (Statutes, fo. 14.) See the decree of the dean and chapter, 1616, r. 12, fo. 18.

The good Bishop Sherborne took thought of the choir-boys in the highest and in material matters; first by the Choristers' Prayer: *Ordinamus quod singulis diebus in primo introitu eorum ad ecclesiam, in mane, circiter ultimam pulsationem ad Missam B. M., salutato venerabili sacramento, bini et bini accedant ad sepulcrum nostrum in dicta ecclesia, dicturi ibidem alternatim psalmum "De Profundis" cum versiculo "Non intres in iudicium" et cum oratione "Fidelium;"* and secondly by providing milk for the choristers: *In Anniversario ordinentur viii. parvi disci de electro purissimo, et portet quilibet choristarum discum suum lacte plenum, croco coloratum, zucaro dulceratum, et ovis inspissatum, et portent alterâ manu discum, et aliâ electum panem, cum cocleari argenteo, dicatque eorum unus, ferculo comesto, "anima dom. Roberti benefactoris nostri R. in P."*

STATUTA ALIA EDITA A° Dⁿⁱ M.CC.XLVII.^c

In nomine sancte ac individue Trinitatis anno domino M.CC.XLVII. mense Julii in crastino Sancte Marie Magdalene vocatis omnibus ecclesie Cicestr' canonicis

^a The notices of the choral service after the Reformation are very few. See Harsnet's Statutes 1611, tit. xxvi. and Art. of Inquiry 1700, ans. 5. (Stat. p. 159.) The following custom is curious and perhaps unique: In the seventeenth century the order was made that "the second anthem after the Te Deum shall be chanted on Litany days, and set on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays." "After the first lesson shall follow Te Deum Laudamus, in English, daily throughout the year, except in Lent, all the which time, in the place of Te Deum, shall be used Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino." [Rubric 1549.] Anthem is here equivalent to Canticle, as in the rubric the sentences of Scripture "solemnly sung afore matins" on Easter day are called "these anthems," and in 1662 "this psalm following [Ps. xcvi.] except on Easter day, upon which another anthem is appointed." It was sung antiphonally and with recitation notes like the psalms on Litany days, and "set forth" in parts to an unrestricted melody or service on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays.

^b Rede's Reg. 1402, fo. xxxii. b. A patent to Christopher Payn, master of the choristers, with the chambers in the vicars' cloisters. (Swayne, p. 453 b.) His duties are defined by Harsnet's Stat. 1611, r. 10. "Will^o Sampson, cantaristæ, pro informatione choristarum v s. pro riguardo x s.:" a payment was also made "pro pollyng and shaving of the choristers crounes for vj quarters after viij d. a peece for a-yere, viij s." (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.)

^c In Liber E. temp. Bishop W. Rede, this is called "Item aliæ constitutiones ecclesie predictæ."

qui vocari debuerunt et presentibus in capitulo personaliter G[alfrido] decano, E[rnasio de Tywa] precentore, et magistris Joh^e [Clympyng] cancell', Joh^e [de Reigate] archidiacono Cicestr', Laur' de Summercote, tunc officiali domini Epi. Cicestr', W. de Glover', Hervæo de Cornub', S[tephano] de Pagham, ceteris scil. magistris, W[illelmo de Neville] thesaur^o, Joh^e [Blund] cancell' Eborac'^a ac Laur' de Sancto Martino, et dominis P. Chacepor cancell' Exon.,^b W. filio Petri, W. de S^{co} Egidio, per procuratores canonicos, et dominis Abbate Grestein' et R. Passelew archidiacono Lewens., per procuratores non canonicos præsentiam suam exhibentibus, ceterorum vocatorum non venientium absentiam divina replente presentia edite sunt constitutiones subscripte.

DE DISTRIBUTIONE COMMUNE.

Quod vetus introduxit consuetudo circa distributiones commune, ut omnis de cetero dubietatis scrupulus auferatur, presenti scripto perpetue memorie placet commendari scil. quod canonicus de cotidianis denariorum^c distributionibus nichil percipere debet qui in choro non interfuerit officio vespertino seu matutino,^d vel misse majori, nisi in civitate egritudinis vel minucionis causa, seu alia rationabili que legitima debet reputari, fuerit excusatus. Illis etiam diebus exceptis quo fatigatus itinere venerit in urbem, vel mane exierit ut suam perficiat dietam,^e quibus [diebus] impune ab ingressu ecclesie abstinere potest. Et etiam illis exceptis quibus de mandato decani et capituli pro negotiis ecclesie absentes fuerint, et expensis propriis militaverint. Qui autem civitatem ingrediuntur moram non facturi, nichil percipiant velut transeuntes, nisi in canonicali habitu in ecclesia cathedrali apparuerint.

DE UTILITATE RESIDENCIE.

Quia vero per residentes ecclesie periculis et adversitatibus obviatur, et ejusdem profectibus in temporalibus et spiritualibus providetur, quicquid superest, deductis

^a Chancellor of York from 1236 to 1248.

^b Wells. (Le Neve, Fasti, i. 159.) Oliver does not mention him at Exeter. See Tanner's Notitia, 31. Browne Willis, Lincoln, 92.

^c Ut vere retributionis valeant Denarium recipere post laborem . . . ne opus Dei fiat ab aliquibus negligentibus . . . (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 226, from S. Matt. xx. 2.)

^d Missam celebrare non debet aliquis non dictis matutinis. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 236.)

^e "Dieta, i.e. pro uno die." (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, p. 140.) A day's journey of twenty miles. (Cowell and Fleta.)

expensis et sumptibus consuetis, de proventibus ad communam pertinentibus ad ipsos in laboris sui remuneracionem spectare dinoscitur, ad alios nequaquam, ne pares^a habeantur in premio qui impares sunt merito quo ecclesie deservitur. Hujusmodi vero proventuum distribuciones fiant temporibus consuetis.

QUI CENSENTUR RESIDENTES.

Residentes vero censentur qui per totum anni circulum in officiis debitis ecclesie personaliter deserviunt, quibus, juxta consuetudinem quarundam ecclesiarum, conceditur de licentia decani vel alicujus canonici vices ejus^b gerentis qualibet quarta anni^c per tres tantum abesse septimanas.

In 1359 William Bergevene was locum tenens of the dean. In 1472 Robert Gest, residentiary, was locum tenens, and admitted a canon to residence.^c He was either residentiary of the quarter or the canon who had kept longest residence, and acted as president of chapter in the dean's absence, and is therefore called the "senior" by Bishop Curteys as the oldest resident. No important matter of business was to be sealed except in the presence of the dean or his locum tenens and all the residentiaries or their proctors, and after the mature deliberation of all.^d

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1573.

R. 5. Every residentiary within this church shall keep house and residence per se aut per alium, the space of three months every year, to be appointed by the mutual consent of the dean and chapter at their audit, which audit shall begin the 10th day of October yearly. (Fo. 7.)

R. 9. Residentiaries absent shall leave proctors to consult and conclude of such things as shall be necessary for the state of the church at every one of the four several days before this time

^a Bishop Praty, 1441, enjoined the dean and chapter "quòd fiat emendatio residentie ita quod Canonicus præsens in Primâ non sit absens nec extra civitatem in prandio; nec præsens in Missâ absens in mensâ; nec præsens in nocte absens in die; nec e contra, propter hominum obloquium et malum aliorum exemplum, quod canonici actualiter residentes multociens præsentes in Altâ Missâ divertunt se extra civitatem ad eorum prandium ad loca propinquiora et vicina civitati, non facientes provisionem pro prandiis vicariorum et choristarum suorum, sicque vicarii et choristæ illis temporibus mendicitatis suffragiis vivere intelliguntur, injungimus quod Residentiarii præsentes in Primâ vel Altâ Missâ ante refectionem congruam pro seipsis et suis ministris ecclesie non recedant." (Reg. fo. 71.) Pope Alexander III. ordered an allowance according to Gallican use. (Lib. Y, fo. xviii.)

^b "Decanus ea quæ pertinent ad officium suum potest aliis committere per se, nec requiritur consensus capituli. Episcopi vel decani dispositio non est libera, quando requiritur consensus capituli, maximè cum eorum consensus concernat omnes ut singulos et non ut universos." The Vice Dean is one "ut suppleat vices decani absentes quem deputat decanus loco suo ad tempus, et est remotivus." (Lyndw. lib. v. tit. 16, p. 327.)

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 75 b. Inj. March 1, 1441, r. 7.

^d Lib. Y. fo. clxvij. Praty, Stat. 1441, fo. 72, 75, 76.

appointed and agreed upon for such purposes, viz.: the 20th of January, the 2nd of May, the 1st of August, and the 10th of October yearly, and, in case of their absence, it shall be lawful for those that are there present to proceed, conclude, and execute in all causes as fully and effectually to all intents and purposes as if they were there all personally present. (Fos. 8, 9.)

STATUTES 1617.

5. Presidentship of Chapter, in the absence of the dean, belongs to the senior residentiary, and in his absence to the next senior . . . he which hath been longest resident be accepted and taken for senior whether he have a dignity in the church or but a prebend, the dignity of the dean only excepted. (Book of Extracts, fo. 2.)

It hath been the ancient custome that the senior residentiary should always begin his residentiary's quarter the first day of October, and that so in like manner all the residue of the said residentiaries should in seniority begin their quarters in order the first day of the first month of their such several quarters, and that all the residentiaries have in their times (as the officer of the said church hath affirmed) kept and observed the said custom. (Book of Extracts, fo. 19, 30 Sept. 1617.)

STATUTE 1828, FO. 119.

The dean and chapter may nominate and allow a competent stipend to some other residentiary or prebendary to supply the place of a residentiary disabled from keeping his statutable residence.

Besides the temporary vice-dean there was a permanent sub-dean. He was the dean's official in duties analogous to those of sub-deans of rural deaneries who proved wills in the absence of their superiors; and thus his temporary jurisdiction extended as far as the dean's permanent deanery. (Lyndw. lib. ii. tit. 1, p. 80.) A seal of the reign of Edward I. now in the British Museum, with the legend "S. Subdecani Cicestric," represents the sub-dean praying beneath a figure of S. Peter; the rule was that an official's seal "tantum nomen officii habeat insculptum." (Const. Othobonis, tit. xxvii. p. 69.) He is named in 1383 as distinct from the dean's vicar in choir, being generally vicar of the parish church in the nave called St. Peter's the Great, in distinction to St. Peter's in the City (consolidated with St. Martin's by Richard King of the Romans on account of the parishioners' poverty), St. Peter's the Less and St. Peter's in Foro (which, having only two parishioners, were given by Bishop Ralph II. to St. Mary's Hospital). (See note on page 144.) He acted as epistolar in the Lady Mass. In 1481 subdecanus ecclesie heads the list of vicars. Since 1618 he received a share of 1s. 4d. in the special distribution to the choir on St. James's day. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the sub-dean appears to be alluded to as the epistolar.^a

^a Bishop Stratford "recepit juramenta corporalis obedientie de subdecano ecclesie Cicestr. et deinde de omnibus et singulis vicariis ejusdem ecclesie in domo capitulari vi. non. Oct. A.D. 1345." (Lib. E. fo. 169.) His principal duty as vicarius sive subdecanus is thus defined by the bishop at a visitation: Quod vos subdecanus, ut presbyter parochianus, ex officii vestri debito, preces dominicales pro Fundatoribus et Benefactoribus ipsius ecclesie nostre vivis et defunctis, in ipsa ecclesia secundum antiquam consuetudinem fieri consuetas clero et populo exponere tenemini. (Praty, 75 b.) In 1478 he is cited "inter curatos civitatis

DE PLENA RESIDENCIA ET SEMI-PLENA.

Circa personas vero ecclesie utiles, que ad minus per annum unum plenam fecerint residentiam, provisum est ut de licentia decani vel ejus vices gerentis valeant in qualibet parte anni pro suis propriis necessitatibus per plures abesse septimanas. Ita quod tocius anni absentia duodecim septimanarum quantitatem non excedat.

Si quis vero per majus tempus absens fuerit nichil percipiat de proventibus memoratis, nisi pensatis ejus meritis et temporis diurnitate quo ecclesie deservit^a placuerit decano et fratribus residentibus ei aliquid conferre de gratia, que omnino illi denegatur cujus dies absentie simul aggregati ad dimidii anni metas attigerint. Hanc autem gratiam volumus extendi ultra medietatem portionis plene residentis. Tales igitur contenti sint illis distributionibus que presentibus impendi consueverunt.

DE COTIDIANIS DISTRIBUTIONIBUS ET RELEVIIIS LEGATIS ET ANNUALIBUS.

Consuetudo verò hec est quam observat ecclesia, presentibus in choro officio vespertino aut matutino vel misse majori debentur tres denarii cotidiani in forma supradicta.

Presentes in solemnitatibus prime dignitatis vel secunde si decanus et residentes voluerint dummodo interfuerint majoris misse evangelio^b in choro denarium nomine vini percipiant.

et jurisdictionis decani." (Reg. Storey, fo. 9 b. 71.) And as rector ecclesie S. Petri in ecclesia Cicestrensi. (Reg. Rede, fo. xxxvi.) He collected Peter pence in the deanery of Chichester. (Lib. E. 263.) He was styled sub-diaconus sive vicarius Ecclesie subdiaconi sive vicarie S. Petri Majoris in ecclesia Cic. (Val. Eccles. i. 304.) Thus we have the appointment by Cranmer in 1552, "Jacobus Lloid ad subdiaconatum ecclesiam sive Vicariam perpetuam ecclesie parochialis S. Petri Majoris infra ecclesiam cathedralem Cicestrensem." (Reg. Cranmer, fo. 423.) He acted as the epistolar and hence was called subdiaconus; "Subdiacono Cicestrie pro cantatione Epistolae dietim in Capella B. M. 8s." (Val. Eccl. i. 295, 305.) Are the stalls so divided in the quire among the vicars, according to former constitutions, that there is no injury done to the epistolar? (Visit. Art. 1679.) Can. xxiv. 1603. "In all cathedral churches the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast days, sometimes by the bishop if he be present, and sometimes by the dean, and sometimes by a canon or prebendary, the principal minister using a decent cope and being assisted with the gospeller and epistler agreeably" [in my edition p. 35]. Comp. Stat. of Hereford. Lamb. MS. 736, fo. 16.

^a The scribe's error for "deserviit."

^b Private masses might be said "post lectum Evangelium majoris misse." (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. xxv. p. 238.)

Qui autem intersunt in choro^a exequiis mortuorum die vel nocte distributionem anniversariam recipiunt.

¶ Qui vero presentes sunt in capitulo cùm relevia^b et que cum releviis ex consuetudine quandoque debentur offeruntur, ad eorum soli distributionem admittuntur.

¶ Redditum vero dimidie marce ad Pascha quem contulit Th[omas]^c decanus percipiunt tantum residentes et presentes.

¶ Legata verò, que relinquuntur ecclesie, presentibus in choro in defunctorum obsequiis distribuuntur.

¶ Que autem competunt capitulo ratione medietatis prebende vacantis per mortem canonici tantum pertinent ad residentes non solum tempore obitus canonici, set etiam tempore quo fiunt annualia obsequia pro eodem.

¶ Poterit etiam illis qui intersunt tempore obitus canonici fieri gratia supranotata, nisi dies absentie tempore quo fiunt annualia obsequia simul aggregati ad dimidii anni metas attigerint, juxta id quod supra memoratum est.

Canonicis, quibus de residentia estatis minus una marca debetur, non in blado satisfiat set in pecunia numerata.^d

This rule is more fully detailed in the following constitution:^e

1249. Cum in prebendis Canoniorum decedentium per annum integrum una earum medietas Canonicis in ecclesia nostra deservientibus, altera vero Fabricæ Ecclesiæ ab antiquo per episcopos nostros accedente consensu Capituli fuerit assignata, eademque assignatio ex constitutione apostolicorum felicis recordationis Eugenii Papæ III., et Alexandri Papæ III., extitit roborata, et pacificæ possessionis usu continue quasi spatio centum annorum firmata.^f Archbishop Islip in 1335 confirmed this custom.

DE CONSUETUDINE ANTIQUA ET APPROBATA.^g

Ut antique consuetudinis et approbate juramento firmate firma servetur auctoritas, nulla etiam ad tempus in obsequiis et ministeriis ecclesiasticis introducatur

^a Exequiæ Memoriam solemnnes orationes pro mortuis. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 14.)

^b *Relevia*, ordinarily fines, were the payment made by a new canon to the dean and chapter on succeeding like an heir and taking possession of a vacant stall. (Stat. of St. Paul's 59, 115; Comp. Spelman 483; Bracton ii. 36, 3; Cowel; Hale's Reg. of Worcester xlix.) Decanus et Capitulum ecclesiæ Cicestr. percipient proventus omnium præbendarum vacantium primo anno. (Reg. Peccham, 1279, fo. 159 b.) See also the Statutes De Proventibus Defunctorum and De Residentiam facturo for the payment of 25 marks.

^c Thomas of Lichfield, founder of Chantries at the altars of Saints Mary, Augustine, Thomas, and Edmund; he succeeded in 1232. (MS. Harl. 69, 73. fo. 11, 17 b. 18. Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 62. Swayne 252.)

^d It was "oblatio instar donationis . . . quæ fit in pecunia secundum morem Angliæ." (Lyndw. p. 21, 185.) Bladum, blé, AS. blæd, is corn.

^e Wilkins, Con. i. 696.

^f See also De Proventibus Defunctorum xxxiv. Islip's letter in Gent. Mag. xv. 626, and Lib. Y. fo. xiii.

^g Stat. 49, lib. E. fo. 181 b. laudabili observanda. Lyndwood defines laudable custom to be "omnis

novitas, nisi ex causa prius a decano et capitulo approbata, nec consuetudo censeatur sed potius corruptela, si quid ab aliquo vel aliquibus quantecumque auctoritatis factum esse commemoretur, nisi confirmatum fuerit observantia generali.

DE VENALITATE INTERDICTA.

Summi principis et sacerdotis auctoritate qui vendentes et ementes eiecit de templo^a candelarum venalitatem que in ecclesia fieri solet interdiciamus, nec in cimiteriis vel universo ecclesie atrio vel patrimonio earum turpe sustineatur commercium, per quod in ecclesiastica veneratione non modicum evenire solet dispendium, sed potius brachii secularis invocetur auxilium,^b ut certe et determinate quantitatis modus qui assisa^c nuncupatur in ipsis, sicut in ceteris venalibus, statuatur, sicut in locis quibusdam famosis observatur.

DE DEFORMITATE IN CHORO PER ABSENTIAM VICARIORUM.

Ne vicariorum raritate^d ulterius in choro divinorum^e deformetur honestas; statuimus ut quilibet vicarius egritudinis vel minucionis causa cessante missis et

illa quæ non est contra fidem vel contra bonos mores, et quæ est pia erga Deum et Ecclesiam." (Lib. i. tit. 3, de Consuet. p. 22. gl. i.) Consuetudo rationabilis et ecclesie utilis ideò inviolabiliter observanda. (Lib. iii. tit. 16, p. 187.) In casu statuti novi non esset declaratio antiquorum statutorum hoc prius dicentium, sed potius nova ordinatio. Consuetudo est optima legis interpret. (p. 187, ad verb. "involvi.") And again, Intellego illam Consuetudinem esse approbatam in quâ concurrunt requisita ad esse consuetudinis, dum tamen sit rationabilis et legitime præscripta. (*Ib.* tit. xxvii. p. 253, ad verb. "approbatas.") Jus scriptum statutum et consuetudo æquari videntur. Statuta et consuetudines æquantur. (Lib. i. tit. 15, p. 70, ab verb. "juramento.") The canons of 1604 require ut ecclesie [cathedralis] Statuta et Laudabiles Consuetudines (modò verbo Dei et prærogativæ regie non repugnent) . . . et si quæ per episcopum diocesanum, juxta Statuta et Consuetudines ejusdem ecclesie, ac leges ecclesiasticas hujus regni in visitatione suâ legitime præscribentur, inviolatè custodiantur. (C. xlii. See my edition, p. 65, and for the authority of the Ordo Prædicandi, Canon. xliii.)

^a This clause is founded on a Legatine constitution of the time. See Othoboni, Const. § 34, apud Lyndw. 137. The sacrist by the Wells statute was to prevent marketing in the nave (fo. 60). Quòd in ipsâ ecclesiâ necnon in claustro et cemeterio ejusdem pilarum ludi et mercationes venditioni publicè exponuntur, ex quibus sequuntur perjuriam, rixæ, contentiones, verbera et aliquociens hiis pejora ac plurima alia inhonesta exerceantur, etc. (1441, Reg. Praty, fo. 74. See also Reg. S. Pauli, 391, 2.)

^b See Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 28; lib. iii. tit. 2, p. 127.

^c See Lib. Y. fo. clxvii. clxxxiii.

^d See Stat. De Offensa in Divinis Obsequiis.

^e Divine Service. "Divina, intellige non solum de missis, sed de aliis officiis, nam omnes horæ canonicæ appellatione Divinorum continentur." Lyndw. lib. i. tit. x. p. 53; ii. tit. vi. p. 112.

horis diurnis diligenter intersit, et si quando ex aliqua causa probabili, que legitima debeat reputari, illis interesse nequiverit, socium de eadem forma vicinum requirat qui sui vitium defectus attenuet (*sic*) unus autem unius tantum sic absentiam suppleat, ne novâ viâ vetus renovetur deformitas.

CURTEYS' STAT. 1573.

XI. That none of the vicars choral, lay vicars, singing men, or any of those which be commonly called Sherborne's clerks, depart out of the city of Chichester without the consent of the dean or senior residentiary in the absence of the dean. And that if any of them so departing without leave absent themselves above the space of two days, that such his or their departings shall be taken and had ipso facto for an admonition, and after the third departing without leave within one year he shall be expelled from his room and commodities in the same church. (Statute Book, fo. 4.) Comp. Harsnet's Statutes 1611, r. 12. Ibid. fo. 14.

DE STIPENDIIS VICARII CANTORIS.^a

Ut sicut antiquitus factum esse memoratur succentor de bonis precentoris quadraginta solidos annuos, scilicet de synodalibus^b per manum archidiaconi Cicestr' recipiat, ad instantiam domini Ernisi^c tunc precentoris, confirmamus.

The sub-chanter was appointed by the dean and chapter on the nomination of the chanter (who in the last century was required to "appoint the anthems"),^d each vicar usually being in turn sub-chanter. His duties were to be present at the trial of vicars, clerks, and choristers, to bring in perditions,^e to direct the choir every Monday morning for the week following, etc.

The duty of the Sub-Chanter (Harsnet's Statutes, 1611, Statute Book, fo. 14.)

R. 26. He shall order the choir, and, in case there happen any disorder, he reform it; if in the choristers by correcting them; if in any other, by complaining to the dean, or, in the dean's absence, to his president of the chapter. (Decrees of dean and chapter, 1616. Statutes, fo. 21.)

R. 12. The master of the choristers or he shall oppose^f each chorister before his admission, and faithfully relate his aptness or ability of voice. (*Ibid.* fo. 18.)

^a "Succentoris." Lib. E. fo. clxxxii.

Quod esset consuetudo quod unusquisque prebendarius, stallo suo vacante, possit unum vicarium ydoneum præsentare decano et capitulo infra mensem, qui staret in probatione in choro legendo et cantando per tempus congruum, et tunc præsentetur decano et capitulo per succentorem et unum vel duos de gravioribus vicariorum, qui deponerent decano et capitulo prædictis de ejus habilitate moribus et scientia. (Storey's Inq. 1478, fo. 6.) Stat. De Pueris et De Offensa.

^b Procurations given at visitations, or a fee paid at the annual synod held by the bishop.

^c Ernisius de Tywâ was præcentor in 1219 and 1251.

^d 1700, Book B. fo. 159.

^e Sc. quotidianæ, loss of the daily penny. Fines.

^f *i.e.*, try and examine: the term Posers still remains at Winchester, and Appositions at St. Paul's School.

DE FRATERNITATIBUS.

Per fraternitates^a vulgares, que pro modico fieri solent, ecclesiastice venerationis vilescit dignitas, quapropter ne decetero fiant nisi in certa forma et ex causa honesta a Decano et Capitulo providendis firmiter prohibemus.

There were two guilds in Chichester. That of the Merchants, dating from the reign of William I. which was licensed by Henry II. to consist of a master, the mayor for the time being, four wardens (custodes), annually chosen within a month after the mayor's election, a chaplain, brethren and sisters, and was re-established in 1446, as St. George's Fraternity, to maintain a chaplain in St. George's Chapel, which they attended. (Rot. Pat. 24 Hen. VI. P. ii. m. 1, May 13.) In 1541 the present Guildhall was formed out of the desecrated choir of the Grey Friars church, which it is to be hoped may one day, and that before long, be restored to divine worship in place of the mean and poverty-stricken churches which are unworthy of the "ancient city."

The guild received lands from bishop Sherborne to purchase wine, which was distributed at the Cross on the feast of St. George after service sung in St. George's Chapel and an anthem in the cathedral, and, when the usual honest merriment had been made, the toastmaster dismissed the guests with the words "All is over; pray for lord Robert's soul." A relic of this custom may be found in the younger townfolk on New Year's Eve circling the Cross three times to the cheerful strains of a band of music.

DE ANNIVERSARIIS.

Anniversariis defunctorum qui passim ex gratia fieri consueverunt, ne in onus ecclesie consurgant, certus modus a Decano et Capitulo approbandus imponatur.

In 1678 a "catalogue of all gifts and benefactors was set up in an open place in the church to invite and animate the like charity in others." Will. de Kaynesham, canon, provided a wax taper of 1 lb.^b to burn before the high altar from the beginning of the service to the end. Canons, vicars, and boys, all received payment for attendance. The Liber Y contains numerous charters for anniversaries.

^a The chaplain of the fraternity who served at St. George's altar received 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (in the Valor 9*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*), and retired on a pension of 5*l.* "The mayor's stipendiary or chaplain had yearly 4*l.* for his living of the said mayor, and besides 6*l.* allowed to the said mayor and citizens for meat and drink of the said incumbent at the mayor's table by agreement of the dinner (*sic.*)" (Certif. of Chant. 50, n. 2.) The prebendary of Bursalis paid 1*d.* a-piece yearly to the four servants of the mayor. Sherborne gave 40*l.* to the mayor and citizens, in order to relieve the dean and chapter of charges.

^b "Before Relyques of Saints upon some goodly and costly pillow, two or four wax tapers are lyghted . . . whereas aboute the Sacrament there doeth scarcely one poore candell brynne." (Of the olde

OBITS AND ANNIVERSARIES.^a

Michaelmas or First Quarter, Oct. 1–Dec. 31. Galfridus (Aguillon), archidiaconus, 1192, 1214. His family founded the prebend of Marden.

William Earl of Arundel. William de Albini, husband of Adeliza of Lorraine, Countess of Arundel (widow of Henry I.), founder of Pinham Priory and Buckenham. He gave the prebend of East and West Dene, all his possessions in the fourth part of the city, and the site of his castle of Chichester to the cathedral. He died at Waverley, Oct. 13, 1176, and was buried at Wymondham Abbey.^b His chantry was at the altar of St. John Baptist.

Bishop John Arundel, died 18th October, 1477. He erected the Arundel screen or roodloft which formerly stood between the western pillars of the crossing. It had a central door, set between two recesses for altars, and a lierne vault. It is now kept in store, and it is to be hoped will be re-erected in front of the arch in the north wing of the transept. The bishop had a chantry for a service said twice in the week at St. Mary's altar.^c His tomb as that of a founder is set between two pillars in the southern arcade of the nave.

Oct. 19. Bishop Sherborne. His anniversary was to be held on St. Frideswide's day, Oct. 19, with exequies "in nocte iii^a horâ" of the eve, and mass on the feast, followed by largess to the poor then in Chichester at 10 a.m. By order of the prebendary of Bursalis, the city-bedel, who received 12*d.* was to proclaim the coming services; and in chapter that prebendary said "anima dom. Roberti requiescat in pace per misericordiam Dei." Within four days after, all the ordinances of Sherborne were to be read publicly by one of the Wiccamical prebendaries; Bursalis was to give to the dean a gallon of wine and bread at a cost of 12*d.*, and fruit. The great bells were to be rung at intervals from 1 p.m. until one hour after the exequies, in order to stir the people to pray, and each ringer received 4*d.*; 20 tapers, of 20 lbs. weight, were offered in the cathedral church for the solemnities; 3*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* (including 6*s.* 8*d.* for baking) were allowed to maintain the distribution of bread. The recipients were first to come to church and then to the palace to pray; any residue was to be bestowed as marriage portions for four poor and decent young maids of Chichester. The dean or residentiary "eminentioris dignitatis" received for singing high mass 5*s.*; each canon to the number of twelve had 2*s.*; each vicar choral to the number of sixteen, 6*d.*; every chorister to the number of eight, 4*d.*; the four ministers of the church, each 6*d.*;

god. 1534.] Bale also mentions "the continued light of lamps before the high altar, the burning cressets at triumphs in the night, the torches at burials and solemn processions, tapers at high mass, and the candles at offerings." (Image, etc. ch. xviii. p. 537.)

^a Clarke's MSS. and Addit. MS. 6262, fo. 89, al. 77. A list of Anniversaries of 35 Henry VIII. is in an old act book. I shall give a catalogue of the bishops elsewhere, and have printed a complete Fasti Cicestrenses in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxii. 154; xxiii. 2; and a Kalendar of the Registers in Proc. R. S. L. vol. ix.

^b Dugd. Baron. i. 120. The anniversary seems, however, to have been kept in the second quarter.

^c Bis celebrans ad altare B. Mariæ ad hostium chori, orabit pro anima Joh. Arundel, nuper episcopi. (See p. 170.)

five ringers, each 8*d.*; every city priest celebrating a mass 4*d.*; and the two royal chaplains 6*d.* each, but a small offering was required at the hands of the recipients. The dean was to invite all the canons to dinner, saying "Animæ famuli tui Roberti *iv*^{ti}. Tho. Chaundeler, Jo. Halman clericorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace." The ministers and ringers had money for their separate dinner.

Oct. 19. King John; dedit ecclesiam de Bakchild, in dotem ecclesiæ Cicestr. et xii pedes de vico regio extra muros cemeterii.^a See page 155.

Dean Henry Garland, 1332-42. Founder of the chantry with two chaplains of St. Mary for Bishop Gilbert 1336, and that of Colworth or St. Faith's in the cloisters, 1332. (MS. Harl. 6258, fo. 145.)

Dean Walter of Gloucester, 1262-89. Founder of St. Anne's chantry. (MS. Harl. 6958, fo. 32 b.; 6976, fo. 43 a. b.; Swayne, 252; Prynne, iii. 186.)

Nicholas Mortimer, for whom King Henry V. founded two chantries in the Lady Chapel.^b He had served the King when Prince of Wales in the French wars, and was probably of the same family as the Earl of March, whence he is termed by Edward IV. "consanguineus noster," but does not seem to be recorded in the pedigrees.

The second doorway in the south alley of the cloisters belonged to the royal chantry-priests' house, and has carving above it representing the arms of England and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, with a rose beneath. In the cornice it has the badge of Henry V. the Flaming Beacon, and the collared Antelope and Swan, and a fleur-de-lys and portcullis. The doorway,

^a King John had a second chantry which was held in the Chapter Garden without the walls of the city. Radulphus de Nova Villa dedit Ecclesiæ Cicestr. terras vocatas Greylings Well et terram vocatam Boscus Seman. quam habuit de dono Hugonis de Albinaco comitis de Arundel. Construxit capellam S. Michaelis extra portam orientalem Cicestr. in qua statuit ij. capellanos celebrantes pro anima regis Johannis quorum uterque reciperet vi. marcas annuatim de ecclesia de Slynfolde per manus decani et capituli. The King, Henry III., gave "gardium nostrum cum pertinentiis suis quod est extra muros civitatis cum capellâ quæ ibidem constructa est, et cum illo loco in quo mortuorum corpora sepulta sunt. Concessit episcopus quod in prædicta capella ij. constituat capellanos divina celebraturos inperpetuum, unum pro salute animæ regis Johannis, et alterum pro salute animæ nostræ" (1277). (Hayley MS. fo. 3. Var. Obs. 186. Cathal. Epis. Lib. Y.

^b Nos considerantes exilitatem dotationis ecclesiæ dicte, devotionemque ministrorum ejusdem . . . in honorem almi confessoris Episcopi Ricardi, cujus corpus et reliquie in dicta ecclesia Cicestren. continentur, pro animabus Henrici *IV*^{ti} ac matris nostre ac pro anima bone memorie Nicholai Mortymer, quondam dum vixerat fidelis familiaris nostri, prioratum et prebendam de Wilmington decano et capitulo assignamus, ordinamus et stabilimus duas Cantarias in quadam Capellâ sanctissime Dei genitricis ubi corpus Nicholai Mortymer requiescit humatum . . . unus capellanus cotidie celebret missas . . . alter capellanorum celebret in *II*^{ta} Feriâ de Annunciatione Dominica, Feriâ *III*^{ta} de S. Spiritu, et sic missas illas usque ad diem dominicam alternando, quo die volumus eorum alterum inperpetuum de Trinitate celebrare. These royal chaplains were to have the first stalls among the vicars in choir "cum almuciis de calabria," the dean and chapter were to pay 40*s.* a-year "ad sustentationem Communis Aulæ et utensilium vicariorum," 2 marks to the vicars, and 8 marks to the choristers. (Claus. Ro. Aug. 12, 1414, 1 Hen. V. m. 20. Pat. Rot. 2 Hen. V. p. ii. m. 14.) The chantries are confirmed in Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. m. 20.

now in Canon-lane, also belonged to it; it has a rebus, a portcullis, a fret, a circle, and a shield, on a cross within a bordure of roundels a rose seeded.

Oct. 30. Bishop Stephen de Berghsted or Pagham, consecrated Sept. 24, 1262, at Canterbury. "C. MCCLXXVI. hic celebravit translationem gloriosi confessoris B. Richardi, prædecessoris sui, circa quam expendit plus quam M. libras." He was excommunicated by Pope Clement IV. for his part in the war of the Barons; he was afterwards reconciled to Henry III.^a He died blind Oct. 30, 1287. His tomb remains as a founder in the south wall of the Galilee which he built, and wherein he humbly made his grave as if inviting the thoughts and prayers of those who passed by into the House of the Lord, as Bishop Barrow desired when he was by his own desire laid to rest outside the west door of St. Asaph. Dean Milton was buried "in australi porticu."^b

Sir John Arundel, probably a relation of Bishop Arundel.

Bishop Radulphus, Ralph I. de Luffa,^c consecrated 1091, rebuilt the cathedral. He died Dec. 4, 1125.^d In his quarrel with the King he blocked all the church doors in the diocese with thorns. "At the entrance into the Lady Chapel, under a plain marble, lies Ralph, the third bishop of the see" (on the north).^e The slab has his name, a mitre, and staff. Canon Northburgh, who died in 1382, desired to be buried at the Lady Chapel door, near the three bishops and the tomb inscribed "Radulphus Episcopus."^f Two other slabs lying under the arch of Bishop Gilbert's tomb are mentioned in this position in Mr. Clarke's notes about 1750. One of them is assigned by tradition to Seffrid or Siegfried II. 1180-1204;^g the other is a half-effigy in low relief, with the right hand grasping the crutch.^h Above the tomb of Bishop Ralph there is a recessed arch in the wall, probably for the exhibition of relics. (Comp. W. Malm. liv. v. § 265.)

Second or Hilary Quarter, Jan. 1-March 31. Dean Thomas de Lichfield, 1232.

^a *Catalogus Episc.* Lib. Y. fo. cxxvj. Rishanger, 47, 55. *Ann. Mon.* passim. *Lansd. MS.* 431, fo. 8.

^b *Reg. Chichele*, 374 b.

^c Lauffen, near Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, as identified by Mr. R. H. Major, F.S.A.

^d *Lib. Y.* fo. clxxvi.

^e *Browne Willis's Mitred Abbeys*, ii. 349.

^f *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 208 b: ante ostium Capellæ B. M. Virginis, citra illos tres episcopos ibidem sepultos, et inter dom. et confratrem Mag. Thomam Yonge et episcopum inibi in medio sepultum, nuncupatum et in tumbâ ejus sculptatum "Radulphus Episcopus," et quod fiat ibidem circa funus meum petreæ consolidatio, et quedam petra de marmore honesto, ad instar dom. Jo. Ambersle ibidem sepultum.

^g These coffins were opened in 1829 and various articles removed, which are now kept in the library. The stone coffin of Bishop Goisfrid (1089) which was found in the Paradise was removed to the south transept in 1830. (*Gent. Mag.* c. 447; *Dally's Guide*, 65.) There are four other slabs, each bearing a pastoral staff laid diagonally on the lid, in front of each of the eastern chapels; one on the south has a mitre; they probably commemorate Stigand, Hilary of Pevensey, John I. and Simon I. (*Gent. Mag.* xcix. i. 545. *Journ. Arch. Inst.* xx. 235.)

^h *Segrave's Guide*, p. 13. The slab, engraved by King, represents the bishop's hand holding a staff surmounted by a mitre, with veil and fillets, and belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century. It was probably the memorial of Bishop Ranulphus de Warham, who died Sept. 15, 1222; he left an endowment for a dole of bread, which is still given weekly to the poor: twelve quarters of wheat were baked in the seventeenth century.

Bishop Beckington of Bath and Wells, Prebendary of Henfield 1438, died Jan. 1464-5.

Bishop Storey, transl. March 27, 1478; died Jan. 29, 1503.

Bishop Ralph II. de Neville, consecrated April 21, 1224; died Feb. 1, 1243-4.

Bishop Gilbert de S^o Leofardo^a (Leeuwarden in Friesland), consecrated Sept. 5, 1288, at Canterbury; died Feb. 12, 1305; refounder of the Lady Chapel. "In the Lady Chapel, about the middle of the south wall, is a tomb for Bishop de S. Leofardo, who built the said chapel."^b This is the beautiful cinquefoiled arch still remaining. The whole chapel has been lately restored in loving memory of the late Bishop A. T. Gilbert.

Bishop Seffrid II. consecrated Nov. 16, 1180, at Canterbury. He died March 17, 1204.^c

Third Quarter, April 1-June 30. Dean Galfridus, 1247-62.^d Dean William de Bracklesham, 1280.

Archdeacon Simon Russell, 1388.

Bishop John II. Biscop or Clympyng, consecrated Jan. 11, 1253-4, at Canterbury; died May 18, 1262. Dedit. ecclesie Cicestr. xv marcas annui redditus percipiendas de prioratu de Michelham et xx s. de Prebenda de Erlington et js. de ecclesia de Rustyngton (Cathalogus).^e

Bishop John Barnett successively held the sees of Worcester, Bath and Wells, and Ely. He died June 13, 1373.

April 16. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, consecrated March 15, 1245, at Lyons;^f died 1253. He was buried between two pillars on the north side of the nave near the chapel of St. Edmund,

^a Ann. Mon. ii. 402, iv. 312. Cepit anno domini MCLXXXIX. Item dedit Præcentori Ecclesie Cicestr. terras in Ovyng quas emit pro cc. libris, ad celebrandum anniversarium suum singulis annis, et ad distribuendum pro eodem per manus comunarii lvj s. viii d. Item dedit ecclesie capellam [the furniture in] suam cum aliis pluribus jocalibus et ornamentis. (Cathalogus Episc. Cicest. Lib. Y. fo. clxii.)

^b Browne Willis's Mitred Abbeyes, ii. 349.

^c Lib. Y. fo. xl. Bened. Petrib. i. 280, ii. 78. Hoveden ii. 254, iv. 90, iii. *pass.* Item dedit Ecclesie Cicestrensi ecclesiam de Sefford, salvâ prebendâ c. solidorum. (Cathal. Episc. Cic.)

^d MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 23 b, 6976, fo. 44. Prynne iii. 224. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxix.

^e Matt. Par. ii. 139, 327. Fifteen marks were distributed. (Lib. Y. fo. cl.)

^f Cepit a^o dom. MCC[XLV] acquisivit collationem Vicarie de Stoghton, Conoghton, Clympyng, Collefield, Westfield, et Ikclesham. Item ad opus ecclesie Cyc. dedit ecclesias de Stoghton et Alciston, et jus patronatus ecclesie de Mendlesham, obiit autem iij^o die mensis Aprilis A.D. MCLIII. et cathologo sanctorum ascriptus à dom. Papa die mens. Feb. 12 A.D. MCLXII. Translatus vero fuit in Eccles. Cath. Cicestr. xvj^o die Junii A.D. MCLXXVI. (Cathalogus Episcoporum, Lib. Y.) He died in the chapel of his patron saint, St. Edmund, which he had consecrated at Dover. He used the Ciphus S. Edmundi to cure a boy at Chichester. (Vita, c. vii. Acta Sanctorum ix. 302 E.) Corpus ejus in ipsa ecclesia coram Altare B. Edmundi Confessoris quod ipsemet ibidem ad aquilonarem ecclesie partem dedicaverat, in hujusmodi loco sepultum est. (Bocking, MS. Sloane, 1772, fo. 59.) "In humili loco," according to Capgrave and the Vita. (Acta Sanct. ix. pp. 282, 307 D.) Bocking, narrating a miracle "ad tumbam," says it occurred to a paralytic sleeping, "circa horam diei tertiam dum Missa Major celebraretur, super Sancti sepulchrum," and mentions the Custos Tumbæ. (Sloane MS. fo. 61 b. Act. Sanct. p. 310 B.) There was therefore no effigy in existence then. The saint's cope and boots cured diseases. (Capgrave, c. iii. Acta Sanct. ix.)

which he built.^a His body was afterwards translated into a shrine eastward of the altar like those of St. Edmund at Bury, St. Cuthbert at Durham, St. Thomas at Canterbury, St. Edward at Westminster, and St. Alban. The Cathedral itself was popularly known as "St. Richard's."

In no case could the figure hitherto erroneously called by his name be the effigy of St. Richard, for the Act 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. x. § 6, spared only recumbent "images set upon a tomb only for a monument of any dead person who hath not been commonly reputed and taken as a saint;" and the Injunctions, 1547, § 3, absolutely required all standing images, such as that mentioned under St. Theobald's Chapel, and described in the Homily of Peril of Idolatry, P. iii. p. 235, to be taken down and destroyed which had been "so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto." Wharton says that in his time pilgrims used to visit the tomb of Bishop Giffard at Worcester, mistaking it for the shrine of St. Wolstan.^b

It would seem that the so-called tomb of St. Richard, which has been "restored," except on the north side, consists of two portions. The basement, like the tester and canopied screen of wood, now removed, and the aumbry for offerings which once stood near it of Perpendicular date, probably belonged to Bishop Moleyns (1449-1450); whilst the effigy of Bishop Langton, who died in 1337, was removed from its sepulchral recess and placed upon it, and the effigy of Bishop Stratford,^c who died in 1362, has been set over the grave of Langton. The architectural features favour this supposition; the same kind of stone as the basement was used for the tomb of Rickingale in the fifteenth century; the tall mitre and close-shaven face of the effigy are at variance with both the low mitre and short crisp beard and moustache of the middle of the thirteenth century. The shrines of St. Dunstan at Canterbury and St. William at Rochester have no effigies, for saints were never represented as recumbent, but standing. Bishop Moleyns was murdered^d on Jan. 9, 1449-50, having been beheaded by shipmen outside the Domus Dei of Portsmouth, and evident signs of hasty interment were found in the grave. Tradition has called a tomb in the north presbytery aisle by his name; but, it is that of Rickingale, who died in 1429; although not completed, as its architectural features show, for some time after his death.

He desired to be buried in *ecclesiâ vel choro*; and in his will says, *Volo quod lapis marmoreus cum ymagine Episcopali ac nomine meo insculptis, ponetur super corpus meum tam cito post mortem meam quam honeste parari potest.*^e

Bishop Robert Rede in 1415 desired to be buried "in choro, ad pedes tumuli dom. Willelmi de Rede prædecessoris mei coram summo altare."^f The other prelates who died during the fifteenth

282 A, 305 c.) 1253, "Miracula ad Tumbam Ricardi Cic. Epi." such is the simple remark of Matthew Paris, iii. 139, 327.

^a St. Richard says in his will, "Lego Corpus meum sepeliendum in majori ecclesia [the Cathedral as in Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 139] in navi ejusdem ecclesiæ prope altare B. Edmundi juxta columpnam." (Lib. Y. fo. xiiii.) The local term "the High Church" is not yet extinct.

^b Ang. Sacra, note 1, 497. Comp. Council Register, ii. 240, 251.

^c Reg. Islip. fo. 185 a.

^d Leland, de Script. Brit. 454. He was paymaster of the forces. W. Wyrcestre Ann. 477. He died intestate. Reg. Kemp. 180a.

^e Chichele, i. 423. Carter's Sketch, Add. MS. 29,925, fo. 26.

^f Reg. Chichele, fo. 277 a.

century were Sydenham in 1438, who directs his tomb to be "coram summo altari;" Praty in 1445, who desired to be buried "in ecclesia sive in choro;"^a Arundel, who was buried in the nave 1477; and Storey, whose tomb remains.^b

April 26. Bishop John I. (de Greneford), consecrated Oct. 6, 1174, at Canterbury. He died in 1180.

Bishop Henry Ware, consecrated July 17, 1418, at Pont de l'Arche; died June 1420.^c

Fourth Quarter. July 1—Sept. 30. Dean Matthew,^d 1180-93, and the Sub-dean Peter.

13 July. Bishop Hilary, consecrated Aug. 3, 1148, at Canterbury; died July 13, 1169.^e

19 July. Bishop John de Langton, consecrated Sept. 19, 1305, at Canterbury; died July 19, 1337.^f "His tomb is under the great window in the Kings' transept, so called from Bernardi's painting of the heads of all the Sovereigns of England upon panels.^g The high tomb supports an effigy with a horse at the feet, and he was buried in lead, with a paten laid upon his breast. His great work was the glorious window of flowing Decorated in the south wing of the transept, which retains a single fragment of stained glass, St. Wilfrid's arms. His other work was the chapter-house, the present muniment room over the sacristy. The earlier building, possibly in its normal position on the east side of the cloister where the large arch opens, is mentioned on April 18, 1249, when an endowment was made, totam aream capituli eccles. Cyc. scopis mundare quâlibet feriâ sextâ, nisi aliquid festum solempne impediet; et tunc fiet in ejus vigiliâ vel in crastino.^h In 1397 and 1402 there is a distinct notice of Langton's Domus Capitularis, and in 1500 Dean Cloos was buried before its door (ostium). During the occupation of the church by the rebels, Sir Arthur Hazelrigge "demanded the keys of the chapter-house, where the remainder of the church plate was. He commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought crows of iron for that purpose. Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joys, for, dancing and skipping, he cried out, 'There, boys, hark! hark! it rattles, it rattles,' and, being much importuned by some

^a Reg. Stafford, i. 28 b. Chicheley 463, a. b.

^b A MS. book in the library contains drawings by J. C. B. (probably Buckler), of all the bishop's slabs and similar memorials on the floor of the church, of which Mr. Valintine at the beginning of this century says: "About sixty years since the sepulchral stones, some of them of immense size, formerly adorned with brasses under stately canopies, were removed from the choir into their present situations in the nave and side-aisles on the paving of the choir with black and white marble." Guide, p. 34. These are probably memorials of the Bishops John Clympyng, Gilbert de S. Leofardo, Rede, Ware, Sydenham, and Praty. One is semée with mullets and crescents.

^c Reg. Chichele, p. 335.

^d MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 28, 6976, fo. 42 b, 158 b. Cart. Scacc. Nero E. vi. fo. 157. Reg. Waltham, fo. 110. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxix.

^e Lib. Y. fo. lxxxv.

^f Capgrave 187. Legavit ad fabricam ipsius ecclesie c. li. et totam capellam suam (the ornaments of his chapel) cum multis aliis reliquiis, jocalibus, et ornamentis. Ædificavit magnam fenestram sumptuosam australem ecclesie. (Cathalogus episcoporum.) See also page 152.

^g Hayley MS. 342. These portraits were destroyed by the fall of the spire on Feb. 21, 1861.

^h Lib. Y. fo. cliii.

members of that church to leave but a cup for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by that they should 'take a wooden dish.'^a

In the computus of 1637 it is designated as the upper chapter-house. In 1729 there was^u payment of 24*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* for paving the great chapter-house. Its destination accounts for the magnificent staircase which leads to it, and the grand chair its chief ornament. It could be easily restored for its proper use by the transfer of the muniments to their original chamber adjoining the north transept. It stood over the Treasury.

Aug. 18, Bishop William Rede,^b consecrated at Avignon; died in 1385. He desired to be buried in the church of the Holy Trinity, Selsea,^c as the registrar wrote in his will by an error for Chichester, where the bishop was buried in the choir.

Aug. 21, Bishop Simon de Welles, consecrated July 12, 1204, at Westminster; died in 1207.^d Præcentor Ernisius de Tywa, 1219 and 1251.

Aug. 31, King Henry V. founder of the Royal Chantryes.

Sept. 15, Bishop Ranulph [de Warham], consecrated 7th Jan. 1218, died 1222.^e

A very interesting, but unhappily too brief, a list of obits and special services occurs in Ashmolean MS. 1146:—^f

Jan. ix.	Obitus Ade Cicestrensis episcopi, cujus anime propicietur deus. [1449-50.]
Feb. iv.	Obitus Radulphi secundi episcopi Cicestrensis. ^g [1243-4.]
„ xi.	Dies Consecrationis domini Simonis episcopi Cicestrensis. [1430-1.]
„ xii.	Obitus Gilberti de Sancto Leophardo episcopi Cicestrensis. [1304-5.]
Mar. xvii.	Obitus Seffridi II ^{di} episcopi Cicestrensis. [1204.]
April iii.	Deposicio Sancti Ricardi. [1253].
„ viii.	Obitus domini Roberti de Stratford, episcopi Cicestrensis. [1362].
„ x.	Consecratio venerabilis patris domini Ricardi ij ^{ti} episcopi Cicestrensis anno domini, etc. 90 ^{mo} . [1390.]
„ xvi.	Obitus Ricardi i. episcopi Cicestrensis. [1237].
„ xxvi.	Obitus Johannis episcopi Cicestrensis primi. [1180].
Mai. xviii.	Obitus Johannis ij ^{di} episcopi Cicestrensis. [1262].

^a Merc. Rust. 143.

^b Walsyngham, Hist. Angl. i. 307.

^c Reg. Courtenay, 213-216. Reg. Chichele, p. 277 a.

^d Simul acquisivit ecclesie ecclesiam de Bakchild quam rex Johannes dedit, et acquisivit de eodem rege episcopatu Cicestr. xij. pedes de vico regio extra muros camiterii Cicestr. (Lib. Y. fo. clxxvii. Matt. Par. ii. 102, 113; iii. 222-224.) The houses built on this site along West Street were removed 1848-52.

^e Blomefield says 28 May, on which day his obit was celebrated at Norwich, where he had been chancellor.

^f "Dedit cxxx marcas ad fabricam ecclesie, et capellam suam integram cum multis ornamentis." He also gave "Chichester Rents," houses in Chancery (Chancellor's) Lane, so called after him when he held the great seal, and fixed the implementum or staurum, the permanent store or stock of the bishops. (Lansd. MS. 431, fo. viii. Cathal. Episc. Cyc. Lib. Y. fo. xliiii. xlv. li.)

^g Comp. Lansd. MS. 431, fo. 8, and Addit. MS. 6262, fo. 89.

- Jun. xvii. Obitus Edwardi tercii Regis Anglie [1337] a quo Willelmus tercius episcopus
Cicestrensis recepit temporalia. [1369.]
- Jul. xiii. Obitus Hillarii episcopi Cicestrensis. [1169].
- „ xix. Obitus Johannis iij. episcopi Cicestrensis. [1337.]
- Aug. xviii. Obitus Willielmi Reed episcopi Cicestrensis A^o 1385.
- „ xxi. Obitus Simonis episcopi Cicestrensis. [1207.]
- Sept. ii. Consecracione Willielmi tercii. [1369].
- „ iii. Missa de Trinitate.
- „ xii. Dedicacione ecclesie Cicestrensis.
- „ xv. Obitus Ranulphi episcopi Cicestrensis. [1222.]
- Oct. xxx. Obitus Stephani episcopi Cicestrensis. [1287.]
- Dec. xi. Willelmus tercius oritur mundo et Christo.^a
Missa de S. Spiritu.
- „ xix. Obitus Urbani pape v^{ti} qui providit Willelmo tercio de episcopatu Cicestrie.
[1368.]

DE CAPELLANIS ALTARIS SANCTE MARIE ET SANCTI AUGUSTINI.

Cum jam vacante capellania Sancte Marie constituta a bone memorie Thome^b decano Cicestr. ad nos de capellano substituendo pertineat ordinatio, considerantes quod capellano capellanie Sancti Augustini ab eodem institute hoc onus impositum est, ut celebrata missa sua mane intersit misse beate Marie et processionibus et magnis missis ix.^c lectionum, ordinamus ut capellanus alterius capellanie predicte cui uberius est provisum, ad idem decetero teneatur.

Et si forte contigerit quod unus eorum quandoque hiis interesse nequiverit, hoc alteri denuntiet ut diligentius intersit, ne utroque absente nascatur deformitas, uterque vero ut officii sibi prescripti debitum fideliter impleat, et ut cum honestis personis sua sit conversatio, ne honeste vite caveat testimonio, per subtractionem beneficii compellatur.

“At the outside of the western end of the north transept were the remains of buildings which

^a No doubt his birth or baptismal day. Founders' "Ob." and "Nat." are kept at Winchester. Comp. Num. xxxii. 14: Surrexistis pro patribus; and Ep. ad Coloss. ii. 12: "In Christo resurrexistis;" "spiritualis generatio" (Lyndw. p. 244). Comp. prima tabula nos ad portum salutis adducens Baptismus est. (Const. Othob., MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 156.)

^b Thomas Lichfield.

^c Dies sanctorum qui celebrantur autoritate diocesana necnon duplex officium habentes, cum ix. lectionibus debent observari. (Radulphi de Can. Observ. ap. Hittorpium, 457 e.) For feasts of Nine Lectons, see Johnson's Canons, ii. 440.

appear to have been the residence of some chantry priests. The door by which they used to descend into the church to perform their office still remains."^a

The numbers and duties of chantry-priests are thus defined:

Beneficiatus seu habens cantariam de cætero in vicarium ecclesiæ non admittatur, nec alicujus vices gerere permittatur, cum diu et hoc in generali congregatione fratrum statutum dinoscitur extitisse.

Habentes cantarias in predicta ecclesia perpetuas in altaribus et locis ejusdem intitulatas, Divinis officiis vacent et intendant, nisi alibi celebrent vel parochialibus ecclesiis deserviant, sub poena stipendii sui subtractationis.^b

DE FESTO S. WLSTANI.

Festum depositionis beati Wlstani pontificis^c decetero fore concedimus tertie dignitatis quod ut solempnius celebretur redditum quinque solidorum statuit G. decanus in choro distribuendorum in forma que in carta exinde [confecta]^d plenius continetur.

DE DOMIBUS CANONICORUM IN CIVITATE ET EXTRA.

Domus canonicorum in civitate vel diocesi prebendales necessarias de bonis prebendarum canonicorum, qui eas per annum ut proprias retinuerint reparari et conservari, censemus, quod, nisi per canonicos vel eorum procuratores infra tempus à decano et capitulo statuendum factum fuerit, ad id per prebendarum sequestrationem compellantur.

A letter of admonition in 1300 was issued with a citation, "Mag. canonico W^o. de Irtone propter defectum et reparationem domorum spectantium thesaurario Cic. tam in clauso quàm in parochia de Estbourne;" and in 1402 the præcentor was presented "quod non facit debitam reparationem in domum sui infra clausum canonicorum." The dean, or a residentiary deputed by the dean and chapter, was to visit yearly, or in every second year, the church property.^e

A deed of Dean Matthew, 1125-40, exists touching the houses "in termino claustrii."^f

Omnes canonici residentiarii, (decano, præcentore, thesaurario et cancellario tantummodò exceptis, quorum dignitatibus certæ sunt domus et mansiones pertinentes et spectantes,) habitent et moram suam trahant et larem foveant in domibus et mansionibus, canonicis et residentiariis, vel in

^a Valantine's Guide, 36.

^b Stat. 1314, lib. E. 186. The chantries are enumerated under the altars, page 168-173.

^c In the Chichester copy "episcopi et confessoris." St. Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, died Jan. 18, 1095. (Ang. Sac. ii. 267-269. W. de Malm. Gest. Pont. 288) Geoffrey was dean 1247-1262. MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 23 b, 6976, fo. 44. Prynne iii. 224. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxxix^o. See Stat. de Communario. Depositio is laying down the burden of this earthly tabernacle. The St. Alban's Kalendar makes it a feast of three lections.

^d Interlined.

^e Lib. Y. fo. clxiiij. Reg. Storey, 1480, r. 4, fo. 7 b.

^f Lib. Y. fo. lxxxj.

proximo residentiam facturis, per episcopum conferri solitis et consuetis,"^a the residentiary houses being in his collation; two of these remain. In 1431 the bishop gave a ruinous house, except the kitchen, to the fabric, and the site of another house covering an acre to the next residentiary as building ground.^b

1368, April 12. Litera Willelmi Cicestr. episcopi quod canonici ecclesie possint celebrare in oratoriis hospitiorum^c suorum, modo infra clausum ecclesie, et extra horas in quibus in ecclesia attenditur. They could only say of course low masses. Confirmatio ejusdem per Willelmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.^d

There was a canons' hostel, between which and the cathedral St. Faith's chapel in later times was used as a thoroughfare, 1385. "In clauso Canonorum Cicestrens. juxta hospitium canonicale, (so runs the Register of Archbishop Courtenay,) e est quedam alia domus canonicalis contigua, cum gardino, ab olim per diversos ejusdem ecclesie canonicos solita habitari." The former was "adeo angustum quod propter ejusdem strictitudines seu foricturam^f necessaria victus tui ad magnum incommodum in domibus aliorum non absque domigio ponere coarctaris." This house probably adjoined the south alley of the cloister, and is marked out by the doorway retaining a Perpendicular label, and opening into the house of the Wiccarnical prebendaries, which had an upper gallery and nall, and below the latter a plain cellarage of the thirteenth century, 28 by 18 feet, and 7 feet high, which remains. Bishop Sherborne thus describes the residence, Jan. 24, 1523.

"Quod dicti prebendarii nostri et successores sui pro habitacione sua habeant imperpetuum domum illam, cujus ostium est in sinistro muro claustrum versus venellam que ducit ad mansionem decanalem, cum omnibus ortulis, ceterisque commoditatibus eidem annexis, sicut modo includuntur ac per Mag. Edw. More nuper occupabantur. Domum predictam in iij^{or} mansiones, secundum prebendariorum numerum, dimidiamus, ita quod spaciosa illa et ampla Camera, que est super aulam ibidem, ac camera eidem contigua, ex australi parte, una cum latrinis adjunctis cedant in usum et comodum unius prebendariorum [Bursalis]. Alius enim habeat superius illud Deambulatorium, quod ex parte occidentali ipsi Aule adheret, et orientaliter edibus Capellanorum Regiorum, una cum loco subtus deambulatorium predictum, ubi sibi adaptet cameras suas.

"Tertius quidem cum parlura ex parte australi ipsius aule, una cum ij^{hos} cameris proximè conjunctis sit omnino contentus.

"Quarto enim omnes illæ superiores camere, que sunt inter aulam et coquinam, una cum parvâ camerâ versus venellam, pro sua habitacione assignentur.

"Bursalis habeat partitionem illam que est de magna camera super aulam."^g

Beyond the doorway into St. Richard's Wyne or Lane (venella) the Decorated label marks the entrance to the treasury or treasurer's house. Part of the side wall on the east retains a late small window. Like the deanery, the house is modern; it was rebuilt in 1832: a view of it, as it existed in 1820, is in the hall of the deanery.

^a Storey's Reg. fo. 71. See Stat. de Domib. Canon. Deced.

^b Lib. Y. fo. 1.

^c Hostels or houses.

^d Leiger 24. Lib. Y. fo. xlvi. Swayne 270.

^e I have printed the document in Gent. Mag. xvi. 286.

^f Strait entrance and wicket.

^g Reg. fo. 22 b.

The residentiary house next the Bishop's gate has a fine Norman doorway (c. 1160-70), removed from the former dwelling; and the Chantry or Præcentor's house retains an Early-English porch, with quadripartite vaulting in two spans; a couplet under a gable, which is pierced with a quatrefoil; a little cinquefoiled window, a cornice on the bay window in the garden front, and a mantelpiece of the time of Henry VII. A mantelpiece in the study, with the De la Warr arms, came from Halnacre about 1800.

In 1742 it is said that "the chancellor's house is and has been for many years quite dilapidated." It was ruined by the rebels in 1643. It faced the Close opposite the Galilee;^a its site between the Palace Chapel and the houses in West Street is still known as "the Chancellor's garden."

In 1602 the four houses occupied by the residentiaries were that one adjoining the palace gate; a second retaining traces of an archway next to the deanery; the Bursalis prebendal house; and the chancery.^b

Henry II. allowed Dean Seffrid to make "posternam in muro civitatis Cicestr. contra domum suam, per quam eat ad virgultum suum et ad culturam suam et ad grangias suas. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 4.) The second doorway through the walls was made by Geoffry, a canon, in the early part of the thirteenth century.^c

[DE CONSTITUTIONIBUS INCORPORANDIS.]

Omnes constitutiones antique et approbate in unam cum istis redigantur scripturam, que publice proponatur ut excusacionis ignorantie non observantibus materia subtrahatur.^d

CONSTITUTIONES ANTIQUE DE OFFICIIS VARIIS.

Decanus omnibus canonicis et vicariis preest, quoad regimen animarum et correctionem morum.^e

^a Swayne, 791. Visit. Book, p. 214. Lib. Y. fo. 30. ^b Var. Observ. 72. ^c Lib. E. fo. 10.

^d The same process was followed at Lichfield under Bishop Heywood, at York under Wolsey, at Lincoln under Bishop Alnwick, and at St. Paul's. Bishop Mawson in 1742 required that the statutes "shall be submitted by the chapter clerk to the perusal of every new dignitary and prebendary before their installation." (Stat. Book, B. fo. 217.)

^e Canonici quoad curam animarum subsunt Decano. The dean by the canon law received the confessions of the canons. (Lyndw. lib. v. tit. xvi. gl. f. k. m. p. 327.) Correctio et reformatio delinquentium must be made in the chapter-house. Capitulum potest corrigere crimen canonici de capitulo; decani ecclesiarum cathedralium excessus subditorum quandoque corrigunt et reformant. (Lyndw. lib. i. t. 3. p. 17.) At Lincoln the two rose windows of the transept represented the care of the bishop and the dean, as "oculi duo," the first inviting the Holy Spirit, the latter guarding against Satan's coming from the sides of the north. (Dimock's Life of S. Hugh, vv. 936-946.) M. de Beaurepaire, l'archiviste de Rouen, in a letter to me, says, "L'on ne connaît pas de Statuts du Chapitre de Rouen antérieurs au 13^e siècle vers 1247." (The year in which the statutes of Chichester were consolidated.) "On y trouve les articles suivants. Omnes canonici subjacent jurisdictioni Decani et capituli plenarie in omnibus hiis que spectant ad officium

Cantor debet chorum regere^a quoad cantum, et potest cantum extollere vel deprimere; lectores et cantores nocturnos et diurnos in tabula notare, inferiores clericos in chorum introducere, in celebratione ordinum clericorum admissorum nomina recitare.

Cancellarius debet scholas regere^b vel dare lectiones ascultare et terminare, sigillum ecclesie, adhibito sibi fratre fideli, custodire, litteras et cartas componere.

Thesaurarius^c debet thesaurum, ornamenta, vasa, utensilia ecclesie conser-
ecclesiasticum, ad honestatem chori, ad emendationem morum, ad correctionem delictorum. Debent in predictis obedire ei et etiam in citationibus et vocationibus ad capitulum et cum decano et capitulo fideliter stare. Debent Decanus et capitulum animadvertere in delinquentes circa predicta et circa omnia alia; et vacante decanatu tota jurisdictio residet penes capitulum." Stat. De Offensâ and the statute on the election of a dean and the *mores* in statutes extend to the points mentioned in the constitution. The dean can give leave of absence to a residentiary, and permit the loan of books. He also instals dignitaries and canons on the bishop's mandate. (Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum.) The correction and admonition of Vicars have been alluded to in pp. 181, 190, and below.

^a Quod hoc importet remitto te ad Ordinale Sarum Ecclesie (Lyndw. lib. ii. tit. 3.) The Regimen Chori may be seen in Stat. De Offensâ and Harl. MS. 1001, fo. 121 b. Solet chorus regi omni die dominico, et omni duplici festo, et omni festo ix. lectionum per totum annum: et à primis vesperis Natalis Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, in ipsis octavis; et per ebdomadam Paschæ et Pentecostes, in festis S. Mariae, SS. Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et S. Barnabe Apostoli, et per octavam Ascensionis Domini et in octavâ die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, etc. At Chichester twenty-nine chief feasts were observed, including commemorations of St. Richard, April 4 and June 16. (Swayne, 454.) A rubric in the Tropar of MS. Univ. Coll. throws a light on the ritual: "Dominica Tertia in adventu; a tribus presbyteris est cantanda in capis sericis choro respondente, 'Qui regis scepra.'" (Fo. 32.) It contains sequences and proses (rhythmical anthems or canticles), "carmina," kyries having sentences interposed between the words Kyrie and Eleison, and "Canticum," the Gloria in Excelsis for festivals of the first to the fifth class or dignity. The music gives a most interesting example of mediæval melody in its simpler and also its complex forms. The days of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Dunstan, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Vincent, St. Laurence, Holy Cross, the Translation of St. Thomas M. and the Assumption and Dedication, are festivals now disused. In 1682 the bishop inquired, Anne Festum Dedicationis ecclesie ad morem festorum majorum ritè celebretur? The tabula, or matricula servicio chori, is mentioned in Stat. de X. Pueris and Stat. de Offensâ.

^b Bishop Storey founded the prebendal school to relieve him from this duty, and the master of choristers taught the choir boys. At Rouen the chancellor promised "quod per me vel alium audiam lectiones que legi debent in choro: et scolis grammaticalibus hujus ville de sufficiente magistro in artibus providebo, qui nullibi preterquam in domo capituli, prout est consuetum, poterit regentare." (Letter of M. de Beaurepaire.) At Lincoln the chancellor's duties have been lately resumed. At Salisbury the chancellor was school-inspector throughout the city. The sub-chancellor became the chapter clerk.

^c The treasury, or treasure-house, contained the "treasure," the exchequer, the vessels, the goods, plate, jewels (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 26, p. 249; tit. 27, p. 252); "utensils" or cimelia; all necessities of divine service, consecrated or not (*Ib.* lib. i. tit. 10, p. 50), and "ornaments" of the church and clergy, precious vestments, and furniture of draperies, and the like. (*Ib.* lib. i. tit. vi. p. 33; tit. x. p. 52.) The sacristy or Treasury was also under the charge of the treasurer. The sub-treasurer at a later period kept the

vare, luminaria universa per totum annum administrare, campanas ad omnes usus ecclesie pulsare, valvas ecclesie serare et reserare.

Archidiaconi^a in sollicitudine parochiarum et in cura presunt animarum.

Nihil potest excusare canonicos quin resideant nisi causa scholarum^b et servitium regis qui unum potest habere in capella sua, archiepiscopus unum et episcopus duos. Potest tamen abesse sine licentia decani per duos dies.

Dignitas decani et omnium canonicorum est quod episcopo in nullo respondeant nisi in capitulo et iudicio pareant capitulo.

Communam in ecclesia non percipiat nisi qui presens fuerit in ecclesia.

Item si canonicus dedicationi ecclesie interfuerit, eque percipiet de oblationibus cum capellanis episcopi.^c

The concurrent jurisdiction of the dean and chapter over the capitular peculiars, and the general relation subsisting between the bishop and the dean and chapter, will be best illustrated from a short treatise in the University College MS. of the fourteenth century.

Cum separata sunt jura episcoporum et capitulorum ex longa juris et moris observantia in ecclesia Cycestr', sicut et in aliis ecclesiis episcopalibus, optentum est, quod sicut ad episcopum in rebus episcopalibus, ita ad decanum et capitulum in rebus eorum communibus et prebendalibus cura pertinet et dispositio, et super eisdem causarum cognitio. Unde hujusmodi cause per decanum et capitulum apud Cycestr' examinari consueverunt et decidi, exceptis causis minoribus que, partibus convenientibus, dissimulante capitulo Cycestr', per archidiaconos consueverunt expediri.

Institutio et destitutio prebendarum ad decanum et capitulum spectare dinoscuntur et earum, cum opus fuerit, custodia et sequestratio.

Capitulum Cyc' locorum ubi site sunt res communes vel prebendales iudex est in causis hujusmodi res contingentibus, et ex talibus substitute sunt vicarie ecclesiarum prebendalium.

Si autem causa aliqua ita contingeret decanum et capitulum quod non debeat esse iudex, quasi in re propria, in hoc casu episcopus in capitulo questionem dirimere debet ex optenta consuetudine. Similiter si episcopus causam habet circa canonicum, in capitulo coram decano et fratribus expediri habet negocium.

keys of the library, treasury, and chapter-house. (See the note under the obit of Bishop Langton, and Stat. De Officio Thesaurarii.) Charters, evidences, altar-muniments, and the chapter seal were kept by the chancellor in the muniment room over the chapel in the north transept.

^a The Archdeacon of Chichester was to preach on Ash Wednesday, and provide oil for chrism and holy oil. (Reg. Rede, 1402, fo. xxxii. b.) For the archdeacon's duties, see Lyndw. lib. i. tit. 10. Tenentur archidiaconi presertim cum sint de corpore capituli ejusdem jura tueri sua jurisdictione et conservare. (MS. Univ. Coll. fol. 4.)

^b As a student in the university. (See Lyndw. lib. v. tit. iv. pp. 204, 287; lib. v. tit. v. pp. 300, 301, "Per doctoratum desinit quis esse scholaris.") Comp. De pœna non residenceium, in lib. Y. fo. xxi.

^c Si dom. episcopus ecclesias vel capellas prebendarum dedicaverit, nihil ibi percipiunt capellani episcopi, nec alii nisi solus canonicus cujus fuerit prebenda. (Registrum Osmundi, fo. 6.)

Necesse habet in causis specialiter ecclesiam contingentibus decani et capituli, vel majoris et senioris partis consensum requirere, sine quibus non potest etiam statuenda statuere, nec errata corrigere, nec evellenda dissipare aut evellere.

Decani et capituli consilio et consensu episcopi majora ecclesie expediunt negocia. In beneficiorum collacionibus capituli consensus est requirendus licet aliud consuetudo introduxit. Item hii in dignitatibus et omnibus beneficiis vacantibus cum episcopi ultra sex menses ea conferre distulerint, ordinandi potestatem accipiunt.

DE OBSEQUIIS QUE FIUNT PRO CANONICIS DEFUNCTIS.

Hec est institutio canonicorum Cicestren. ecclesie de canonico suo defuncto : primum quidem corpore ejus cum debitis exequiis sepulture tradito, sequentibus septem diebus post primam cotidie, processione parata, canonici devote tumulum defuncti fratris adeant, quindecim psalmos in eundo, in redeundo autem quinque psalmos decantantes, quibus finitis, statim missa pro fidelibus defunctis incipiatur, ad quam prima oratio pro anima fratris, cetera vero pro more consueto dicantur.

Illud quoque summo opere est servandum quod non tantum his vii diebus, verum etiam singulis illius anni, nisi major sollempnitas intervenerit, placebo et dirige cum novem psalmis et tribus lectionibus, atque missa cum propria oratione pro fratris anima, memoriter dicantur, excepto tricesimo die et anniversario. In hiis autem duobus terminis placebo et dirige cum novem psalmis et novem lectionibus, campanis pulsantibus, festive dicantur, et plenum obsequium in commendacione et processione atque in misse celebratione congruis horis, quemadmodum in die obitus sui celebriter recolatur.

Preter hoc quidem annale^a officium quod communiter est omnibus agendum, quisque canonicorum per se [si] sacerdos fuerit triginta missas, sin vero minoris ordinis fuerit decem psalteria, infra annum illum, persolvat.

DE DOMIBUS CANONICORUM DECEDENTIUM.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXCII^o auctoritate domini Sefridi Cicestr. episcopi^b secundi sanctitum est in capitulo ejusdem ecclesie, quod decedentibus

^a Annalia, missæ celebrandæ per anni spatium vel aliàs temporaliter. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23.) Anniversarium certum officium non solum uno die (a year's mind) scilicet, in fine anni, sed etiam omni die per annum dicendum pro defunctis (year-services). (*Ib.* p. 250.) Exequiæ, solenne officium defunctorum. (Lyndw. App. 25.) Trentals were said on the month's mind xxx^o die. (*Ib.* lib. ii. tit. 5, p. 111.) For Placebo and Dirige, see my Sacred Archaeology, s. v. The obit was the anniversary of decease.

^b Lib. Y. fo. xiiii. A.D. 1192.

canonicis executores eorum testamentorum suorum cum famulis^a [familiis] suis per viij dies quiete et pacifice manebunt in domibus defunctorum et libere disponent de omnibus possessionibus eorum, secundum extremam voluntatem defunctorum easque sine impedimento asportabunt, preter scamna immobilia et mensas immobiles, scilicet que solo vel parieti adherent; provideatur etiam per Decanum et Capitulum ne infra hos dies edificia vel sepes vel cetera talia deteriorescentur. Octava autem die libere ingrediatur domos illas canonicus cui eas præsulis gratia contulerit.

Ejusdem etiam auctoritate sanctitum est quod deinceps domus canonicorum nullis concedentur nisi residentibus, vel in proximo residentiam facturis.

Huic autem constitutioni interfuerunt et communi decreto auctoritatem et assensum et stabile firmamentum indiderunt Matheus decanus, Lodovicus precentor, Galfridus Agullon cancellarius, Petrus archidiaconus, Symon filius decani, Godefridus de Stokton⁷, Garinus, magister Silvester, magister Ricardus, Willelmus capellanus, Malgerus, dominus Guido, Ricardus capellanus,^b Marcellus, magister Robertus, mag^r Will^s Durandi.

HARSNET'S STAT. 1611, R. VII.

Prebendaries and vicars shall not devise any house, edifice, or buildings within the Close, except it be to a prebendary, lay vicar, or singing-man, or some necessary officer of the church. (Fo. 13.)

DE LIBRIS ECCLESIE.^c

Hec est consuetudo antiqua et approbata, et anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCXXVI^o in presentia Symonis decani, Mag^{ri} Willⁱ de Leukenore cantoris, Thome de Lichefeld cancellarii, Willⁱ Durandi archidⁱ, Magistri Willⁱ de Kaynesham, Ric['] de Maupudre, Rob^{ti} de Amberle, Nicholai Crassi, Johannis de Heketone, Godefridi de Weseham canonicorum innovata, videlicet quod cum aliquis canonicus residens voluerit accipere libros de ecclesia liceat illi quotquot voluerit, excepta multitudine effrenata; et retineat penes se quamdiu fuerit in

^a "Famulis" interlined by the corrector instead of "familiis" erased: the household which he maintained "in hospitio sive domo suo."

^b Bishop Hilary gave the prebend of Ertham "Ricardo capellano Cyc.['] ecclesie canonico." (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 62 b. Lib. Y. fo. xli.) At Kirkwall three prebendaries were called chaplains, and at Lichfield there were five Canon-chaplains in the thirteenth century. See also Reg. Arundel, 242, and Reg. S. Pauli, 131.

^c Lib. Y. fo. xliii.

civitate. Cùm vero a [al. è] civitate recesserit, restituet libros ecclesie. Si vero penes se retinere voluerit fiat hoc per licentiam Decani. Ita tamen quod pro libris relinquat ecclesie memoriale competens et equivalens.

CURTEYS' STAT. 1573.

6. The books of the church, videlicet wherein the chapter acts and leases be registered, shall remain in the custody of the chapter-clerk, provided always that the dean or any of the residentiaries shall have the same books or any of them at any time or times whensoever they shall reasonably demand the same, so that they restore them again to the said chapter-clerk within four days after, except it seem otherwise good to the dean and the most part of the residentiaries besides the dean (fo. 3).

The library is first mentioned in 1478,^a quod mag. G. Heydocke legeret Lecturam in Theologiâ in domo communiter nuncupatâ Libraria ratione prebendæ, viz. E. Wightering. This was probably the large chamber above the chapel of the Four Virgins, and it might now with advantage be adapted to this use; whilst the lower chapel with its fine central pillar and vaulted space would form a convenient chapter-house, if Langton's is to continue as a muniment chamber. Until Bishop Mawson converted the Lady Chapel into a receptacle for the books, the vicars' hall had served in the seventeenth century the same purpose. The Lady Chapel must be distinguished from the Oratory of S. Mary in the rood-loft, where Chancellor Bishopston desired to be buried "in parte coram ymagine S. Marie in oratorio atte Stok [ad la Stocke, Leiger, 127], sub eo loco quo Evangelium diebus festivis majoribus solet pronuntiari." (1374. Wills, Rous, fo. 5.)

DE PANIBUS CANONICORUM.^b

Hylarius^c Dei gratia salutem, etc. Notum sit universitati vestre quod concessi et dedi canonicis Cicestr. ecclesie prebendam de Sangelton^d videlicet ecclesiam de

^a Storey, Reg. fo. 5 b.

^b Book B, fo. 188, following Stat. de Libris. (Lib. Epis. Ant. Evid. 183 b.) The commune of bread was reinforced from several sources; thus, there is Mandatum dom. regis Ricardi (a^o regni v^o) missum Priori de Tortyngton quod reddat Decano et Capitulo Cic. cc. panes, ponderis ejus liber panis lx. solidorum, et xl. lagenas cervisiæ qui eis a retro sunt de annuo reddito xl. panum et xxiv. lagenarum cervisiæ. (Lib. Y. fo. lxxxiii.) The commune churches furnishing the common fund were: Bedyngham. (Lib. Y. fo. xlv.) Fristone. (Lib. Y. fo. xlv.) Alcistone given by St. Richard ad opus ecclesiæ. Burgham. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxii.) Stocktone or Stoughton given by St. Richard. Bakechild given by King John. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxii. xxxviii.) Seaford given by Seffrid II. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxi.) Firles. (Lib. Y. fo. xlii.) In the vacancy of the see the dean and chapter presented to Cuckfield, Donington, Alciston, Icklesham, Westham, Bedingham, Friston, Westfield, Cocking, and Clymping. (Lib. Y. fo. clxxii.)

^c Hilary, bishop of Chichester, 1148-1169.

^d C. 1150, confirmatio commutationis inter Dec. et Cap. et Monasterium Sagiense de preb. de Sengleton.

Sangelton et ecclesiam de Westdene et ecclesiam de Estden' cum capellis, terris et decimis et aliis omnibus ad prenominatam prebendam et ecclesias predictas pertinentibus, ut integre et libere eas possideant sicut Willielmus London' archidiaconus unquam melius et liberius eandem et easdem ecclesias tenuit. Hec autem prebenda ad hoc est canonicis collata ut ex ea panes inter ipsos distribuendi conficiantur. Et ut hec nostra ordinatio inconvulsa permaneat anathematis vinculo publice cum sacerdotibus nostris innodavimus omnes qui aliquo ausu temerario eandem prebendam imminuere vel in aliquo demembrare vel ad alios usus quam prediximus convertere presumpserint. Testibus Joh^e. decano, Jordano archid^o, Joh^e cancell^o, etc.

DE ANTIQUA FORMA DISTRIBUTIONIS COMMUNE [CANONICORUM].

Anno incarnationis Dominica M.C.XCVII^o. auctoritate venerabilis patris Sefridi Cic. ecclesie episcopi secundi et auctoritate domini Sefridi ejusdem ecclesie decani, convocatis ejusdem ecclesie canonicis et in capitulo congregatis, habitus est inter eos tractatus de melioracione communis ecclesie conditionis, et de distributione commune in meliorem statum reformanda, et tam a decano quam ab aliis personis et canonicis pari voto et communi omnium assensu statutum est et autentico scripto confirmatum, quod tres canonici, scilicet, Ricardus thesaurarius, et Guido de Bissopeston', et mag^r Willielmus Durand' totam ecclesie communam percipient intus et foris undecunque provenientem et eam hoc modo distribuent.

Panis distribucio fiet sicut prius [et licito]^a statutum fuit a felicis memorie Hylario episcopo. De residuo commune, singuli canonici presentes per manum predictorum canonicorum vel aliorum eis in predicto ministerio succedentium singulis ebdomadis percipient xii. denarios in sabbatis earundem septimanarum.

Si autem minorem moram fecerint, pro rata temporis percipient de xii denariis,^b si tamen cum habitu suo interfuerint vel misse vel horis vespertinis.

(Leiger, 88.) Confirmacio Hylarii de præbenda de Sengleton ut ex eâ panes inter ipsos distribuendi conficiantur, ut fiat præbenda, in consequence of a dispute between two canons, both claiming it. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxviii. xxxix. xli.) King Edward I. permitted the church of Chichester to have a free tenure of the prebend in the church of Arundel, quæ facta est de Sengleton, de Estdene et Westdene. (*Ib.* fo. xxix.) East Dean. Carta confirmationis de Westdene et Estdene. West Dean. Compositio inter Abbatem et Conventum de Sagio et Seffridum episcopum de prebenda de Westdene 1150. (*Ib.* fos. xxxii. and lx.)

^a "Et licito" interlined by the corrector.

^b "Prime is begon, ther must one com forthe armed with a bagge fulle of money to confort such humble and heve hertes, which same thyng is lykewyse done at Tertia, Sexta, and Nona . . . the canons are of a very high minde . . . yet theyr mynde is moche set upon hym which walketh about with the bagge

Singulis autem vicariis dabuntur in sabbatis singularum ebdomadarum tres denarii de predicta communa, preter denarios quos percipient a dominis suis. Si vicarius tenetur ministrare in sacerdotio marcam percipiet a domino suo, si in diaconatu dimidium marce, si in subdiaconatu xl. denarios.^a

De residuo autem quod post hanc distributionem superfuerit de communa, computatis expensis factis in colligenda communa et retributione laboris eorum qui curam istam sustinebunt, consilium capituli fiet. Statutum est etiam quod nullus vicarius recipiatur in juniore ordine quam in eo quem prebenda, ad quam presentatur, exegerit; vicarii vero hiis stipendiis contenti omnia onera sustinebunt que prioribus stipendiis contenti sustinuerunt.

DE UNIFORMITATE HABITUS IN CHORO.

Statutum est etiam quod uniformis sit habitus [omnium]^b in choro: quod nullus ferat capam cum gorjuris in chorum: quod omnes cape fisse sint ad modum competentem; et habeatur subtùs superpelliceum vel rochetum.

The choral cope^c was black, large and flowing like a cloak; open before downwards from the breast, where it was closed and sewn up to the throat. The prohibited gorjura, or gorge (It. Gorgiera; Fr. Gorgère) was a hood which came round the neck like a collar, whence its name.^d

of money, to whom after they have humbly put forthe theyr hande, then is there no longer any cause of taryenge, for they are exempted but thei do give to these chapleins iiij d. but if masse be begon and the tyme of ofring doeth drawe nere, the chapleins armed every one of them with an ob. [$\frac{1}{4}$] do cast theyr ob. in to the basen kepyng the sudary but the masters doo touche the basen with an empty hand and making curtesy . . . go agayne to theyr place." (Of the olde god, &c. 1534.) Comp. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 93. The usual offering was a penny. (Becon's Comparison, p. 18.)

^a "Stallwages as until 1840" rubricated in the margin.

^b "Omnium" interlined.

^c See Stat. de Officiis.

^d Media nocte psallunt cum cappis et capuciis nigris toto anni tempore excepta septimanâ Paschæ deinceps cappas nigras cucullatas superimponunt vestimento albo (Ord. Paris. Martene, i. p. 183.) At Lincoln the canonical habit included superpellicea alba de lineo, almicias de griseo, ac capas de nigro panno laneo. (Stat. p. 44.)

Decanus et canonici omnes amictibus cum superpelliceis albis; ceteri clerici et pueri albis tantum superpelliceis induantur. Ad capas nigras induendas neminem aretare volumus. (Marian Stat. Dunelm. c. xxxiv. Cotton. MS. Tit. A. xxvi. fo. 258. Lamb. MS. 866 P. ii. fo. 30.)

In a very rare book belonging to my learned friend the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A. which was published in London, June 15, 1534, the following curious insight into a choir of that time is given by a disaffected chaplain or vicar. "Besydes a whyte linen surples we do on us a calibre amyce So then prime is begen, we are faine to chaung our tune and to take it higher twyes or thries, often tymes even hole iiij partes ad totam quartam. Afterwards do come in our masters and lords of the close covered

The grey amess or furred almuce (the epomis corrupted into aumusse) took its place and was used at Storey's enthronisation—it had stole-like pendants in front.^a

In the pictures by Lambert Bernardi, "qui ecclesiam multo decore magnificè adornavit,"^b the canons are represented wearing red or blue processional albes with brooches, and, as Dr. Rock says, "the amys outside black, but within made of fine grey skins, of a deep silvery hue," which has descended to the present time in the form of the broad scarf, and is perfectly distinct from the liripipium,^c a falling cape or tippet, which may be worn by non-graduates. The almuce may be seen on the effigy of a canon of Chichester at Pulborough [1423]. In 1571 neither the Lower House nor the Queen sanctioned the bishops' proposal for abolishing graium amictum (Cardw. Synod. i. p. 112, 116), though the Council illegally had forbidden its use at St. Paul's in 1549. (Grey Friars' Chron. p. 59.)^d The rochet had either narrow sleeves like an albe or was sleeveless, and the arms were passed through a slit in each side. The following question was propounded at a Visitation in 1675, *Anne defunctorum prebendariorum sive residentianorum ornamentis choralibus fruuntur proprii vicarii?* (§ 34, Stat. fo. 119.) By Canon xxiii. 1603, *superpellicorum et epomidum usus in ecclesiis cathedralibus indictus*, and by Canon xxiii. *Cœnam administrantibus capparum usus injunctus*. The canonical habit is worn in choir and chapter.

The vicars^e wore almuces of dark calabre; and the singing-men, 35 Henry VIII. had "albes of whytted canvass edged with apparels."

with gray amyces and havynge on a very white surples of moste fyne raynes or sylke. These men beholding theyr amice of furre (which hath in other cuntryes a great gyrdle of grene colour hangyng downe with many tasselles and wrethed sylken shredes very thicke) compasse their head rownd about with a purple tiara, and they have thre or five servauntes waiting upon them, and two chaplayns whiche folow harde at theyr masters heeles. They resorte to the quyer very worshypfully and they deo hyghly honour to the lampe, thei do make greate reverence to the sayntes, and so, after they have once presented and shewed themselves in the chyrche, they go forth of the quyer comyttyng the resydue of the dyvyne servyce to the chapleyne." (Of the Olde God and the Newe: London, 1534.) John Olde may be the writer's pseudonym.

^a Haines's Brasses, i. lxxv.

^b Hayley MS. fo. 5.

^c See note on Canon lviii. 1603, in my edition, p. 82.

^d My friend the Rev. J. F. Russell, LL.B., F.S.A., points out that the following were still in use in Elizabeth's reign:—"The black chimere, or sleeveless coat, upon the fine white rochet; the horned cap; the tippet; the cope in great churches; silken hoods in choirs upon the surplice; the grey amice with cats' tails; the rector chori; the epistler; the gospeller," &c. (A Pleasant Dialogue, 1566.) Comp. Bale 527, and note in my edition of the Canons, p. 82. He also mentions the use of the broad scarf in the frontispiece to Cranmer's Catechismus, 1548. Bale speaks of the "fair white rochets of raines or fine linen cloth."

^e *Vicarii inferiores almuciis seu pileis convenientibus et uniformibus in choro et divino officio super capitibus utantur, et non caputiis; et singulis horis et officiis diurnis et nocturnis intersint jugiter et intendant.* (Lib. E. 186, Statuta, A.D. 1314.) The following illustrations of the choral habit occur in a compotus dated 35 Hen. VIII.:—For apparelling of xv men's albes, xiiij d. For eggynge of vi men's albes with sowinge over of the parells unto the same, viij d. For xvij ells of whytted canvass to make albes and aluter clothes for the chyrche, after viij d. the albe, in toto xij s. ix d.

DE MODO INCENSANDI.

Quod singuli clerici in superiori gradu ^a bis incensentur : quòd Crux feratur ante Evangelium ^b quando Evangelium legetur in pulpito.^c

Huic constitutioni interfuerunt, et assensum suum prebuerunt, Dominus Seffridus decanus Cic. ecclesie, Lodovicus precentor, Galfridus cancellarius, Ricardus thesaurarius, Silvester archidiaconus, Jocelinus archidiaconus, Rogerus capellanus, Petrus de Lewes, Garinus, Guido de Bissopeston', magister Th' capellanus, magister Rob' de Boseham, mag^r Rob. de Felkham, Godefridus de Stokton, Willielmus capellanus, Ph' de London', mag^r Petrus de Bokeham, Marcellus, mag^r Will. Durand', mag^r Rad' de ffordr', Joh^{es} de Hampton', Malgerus, Ric' de Kirkl', Adam de Ecclesdon, Robertus de Melkel', mag^r Edmund^s, Nicholaus Tuthounn', Petrus de Colemer', Philippus de S^{co} Edwardo.

The following extracts refer to the use of incense in the church:—

Carta Seffridi II. de quibusdam decimis ad incensum de terris decani quæ Codlandus appellantur, illius tenementi quod Oswaldus tenuit, et illius terræ quæ de Longo Prato decani versa est in culturam frugum, ut exinde per manus fidelis procuratoris ministratur per totum annum singulis diebus incensum in altari ad Majorem Missam post Evangelium; et singulis festis IX Lectionum duo cerei super majus altare per totas Laudes Matutinarum incensi.^d

Consensus Abbatis Laurentii et Conventus de Ponte Roberti super assignatione c s. ad sustentationem duorum clericorum ad thurificandum Corpus Christi in elevatione ejusdem singulis diebus ad magnum altare cum summam missam ibidem celebrare contigerit. 1304.

^a The upper stalls. I have described the misericords in the Building News 1875.

^b Nullus clericorum de i^a vel ii^a formâ in choro admittitur nisi auctoritate decani. (Constit. Linc. 1212, Wilkins, i. 535.) Quod vicarius Eccl. Well. anno probacionis durante non stet in superiori gradu vel celebret Magnam Missam. (1321, fo. 187.) Martene, i. 136. Quando vadunt ad Evangelium primo vadunt duo clerici portantes candelabra, et in medio major eorum portans crucem. At Lyons, 1251, twelve chaplains, maintained wholly by the quotidian, were distinct from "minores præbendarii," six of whom as "vicarii" assisted the major canons at high mass on Sunday. (D'Achery, Spicilegium, i. 718-19.) At Wells "juniores canonici" occupied the second form. In 1407 chaplains celebrated mass at the high altar of Chichester, and this privilege probably distinguished them from vicars. The four sub-canonici of Hereford date only from 1631. (Comp. MS. Laudab. Consuet. fo. 28.)

^c The rood-loft; on days when the choir was ruled, not as at other times from the lectern. (Comp. Sarum Processional, B. 5, L. 6.) The pulpitem was at this time in the fourth bay of the nave from the crossing, thus inclosing the ritual choir; in which the architecture is earlier and ruder than in the western bays. In the former the tympanum or the triforium has diagonal masonry, but in the latter a different diaper-pattern in each bay. The Norman nave was thus utilized at Norwich, Winchester, St. Albans's, and other churches. See p. 208.

^d Lib. Y. fo. xli. Carta Seffridi decani de incenso, 1 b. fo. lxxxix.

This was probably a local rite, as the Sarum use^a (which is not noticed at Chichester until the time of Archbishop Chichele), unlike the modern Roman, did not cense at the elevation. Bishop Storey complains of the rectors of choir, "quod non thurificent, prout moris fuit, temporibus Missarum celebrandarum in principiis Missarum (the Introit) nec post Evangelium."^b So that censing at the offertory was unknown.

"There is borne a banner of sylke and garnyshed with a goodly crosse in token of the victorious and blessed triumphe which Jesu Christe made of subduyng the worlde unto hymselfe besydes that there are borne aboute two brennyng tapers in sygnification and betokening that the gospel is the very heavenly doctryne by the which all men are illuminated then afterwards a preest beareth a sencer of silver makyng a fumigation and savour of ensense . . . There is also borne aboute the gospel book rychley covered with golde and sylver . . . afterwards there thundereth a great bell . . . last of all the gopell is borne aboute to every person in the quyre and offered forth to be kyssed Evenwhiles the gopell is in syngyng we do put off our cappes, we do ryse up on our feet When the masse is in syngyng in great and cathedral churches then is the brente frankensence in the sencer and it makethe a smoke aboute all the altre." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.) Chorus ministerio pueri more solito, incensetur, subsequente subdiacono textum deosculandum singulis, eo ordine quo incensatur, porrigente. (Reg. S. Osmundi, fo. xv.) De eodem incenso quo thurificatur altare, non deberent thurificari clerici sed de alio incenso non benedicto. (Lyndw. p. 298.) The "great bell in the choir" is mentioned in the Computus of 1544.

A new and important series of statutes enacted 1251 now succeeds.

[CONSTITUTIONES ECCLESIE CICESTR.]

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis anno Domini M.CC.LI°. XIII. kal. Maii, omnibus ecclesie canonicis vocatis qui vocari debuerunt, hiis quidem personaliter comparentibus Galfrido decano, Ernasio precentore, et Magistris Jo. [*Clympyng*] cancellario, Will° thesaurario, Joh° [*de Reigate*] archid° Cicestr. Waltero de Glocestr', Herveo de Cornub', Stephano de Pageham, et dominis Jacobo de Kawrth', Roberto de Beccles, ceteris vices suas committentibus presentibus canonicis, scilicet, dominis Roberto archid° Lewensi, et Waltero filio Petri, Symone de Climping, Adam de Seldeslye, Will° de Rading', magistris Rogero de Cantelup, Petro de Depham, ceterorum non comparentium absentiam divina replente presentia, edite sunt constitutiones subscripte.^c

^a See Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, pp. 92, 94-5. For the Elevation see Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 132, &c. Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* t. xv. p. 580. The Sarum use was not followed at St. Paul's until the fifteenth century. In 1424 Dean Milton bequeathed a Sarum missal to the use of the high altar. (Reg. Chichele, fo. 374 b.) The sequence of colours in Storey's episcopate resembled that of St. Paul's and Exeter.

^b Reg. fo. 8.

^c Book B. 184.

RECAPITULATIO DE PROVENTIBUS DEFUNCTORUM.^a

Olim auctoritate felicis memorie Simonis Cicestr. episcopi, pro voluntate capituli statutum est in hunc modum. Si canonicus decesserit inter festum S^{ci} Michaelis et mediam quadragesimam, à die obitus ipsius usque ad annum completum, cedat medietas prebende ipsius in jus superstitum fratrum. Reliqua vero medietas usibus ecclesie applicetur, sicut in privilegiis Cicestr. ecclesie statutum est, et in eadem ecclesia hactenus optentum.

Adjicimus etiam ad hec, quod canonicus omnes fructus provenientes de terra prebende sue que in agricultura consistit, quantum inter festum S^{ci} Michaelis et diem obitus sui excoluerit in sequenti autumpno integre percipiat, exceptis terris ecclesiarum prebendalium que consuetudinem ecclesiarum ipsarum sequentur.

Concedimus etiam quod si canonicus usque ad mediam quadragesimam superstes fuerit, integre percipiat omnes fructus provenientes de prebenda sua usque ad vigiliam S^{ci} Michaelis proximo sequentem, quocunque die inter mediam quadragesimam et festum S^{ci} Michaelis proximo sequens ipsum mori contigerit. Ita quidem quod a die S^{ci} Michaelis post obitum ipsius canonici proximo sequente usque ad annum completum, medietas prebende ipsius defuncti cedat in usus superstitum fratrum. Reliqua vero medietas, sive idem canonicus ere fuerit alieno obligatus sive non, usibus ecclesie applicetur. Ab hiis etiam concessionibus nostris dignitates ecclesie Cicestr. excipimus, quas decedentibus personis in usus successorum volumus converti.

1411, Bishop Robert Rede ordered "omnes fructus redditus et proventus^b cujuscunque prebendæ ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. per mortem canonici et prebendarii ejusdem de cætero quæcunque et quotcunque anni tempore vacaturæ, per annum a die obitûs dicti canonici numerandum, inter canonicos actualiter in eadem ecclesiâ nostrâ residentes, et fabricam ejusdem ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. æquis portionibus fideliter dividendos fore et actualiter dividi debere, de communi consensu et assensu dictorum decani et capituli nostri."^c Archbishop Islip, who visited the cathedral in 1355 (as Peccham did in 1282,^d and Chichele, on July 9, 1415), made order that the old custom of paying their vicars by the canons should be confirmed and put in force, and also that "primi fructus quarumcunque præbendarum vacantium ipsius ecclesiæ fabricæ pro unâ medietate, ac decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ pro reliquâ medietate, debentur, et toto tempore habitationis debebantur; and again, in 1359, that juxta

^a In the margin: defaced as a heading before "In Nomine," etc. Lib. E. 183. Carta G. Decani et Cap. (Lib. Y. fo xiii.) See note to Statute De Cotidianis Distributionibus.

^b See Lyndw. pp. 64, 152, 155.

^c Reg. Rede, fo. 45 b.

^d Reg. 197 a.

antiquam consuetudinem ejusdem ecclesiæ legitimè præscriptam, primos fructus prebendarum suarum solvere tenebantur et tenentur.^a

DE EXPENSIS AGRICULTURE.

Hujus igitur excepçionis clausulam, equitate suadente, sic interpretari cogimur, ut post personarum decessum dignitates in usus transeant successorum, refusus^b expensis de bonis defunctorum in agricultura factis a festo S^{ci} Michaelis usque ad diem obitus eorundem, cum iniquum^c [liquidum] esse dinoscatur vivos locupletari cum jactura defunctorum. Alioquin medietas fructuum ex hujusmodi agricultura provenientium, tempore messium sine diminucione, ipsis reservetur, pro sue voluntatis extreme judicio, in pias causas eroganda.

DE DISTRIBUCIONIBUS PRO DEFUNCTIS.

Que vero pro defunctis vel aliis faciende sunt [pauperibus^d] distributiones, ex publico alicujus vel aliquorum voto vel testamento publice fiant per communem capituli ministrum^e secundum quod tempore distributionis faciende decano et fratribus presentibus magis videbitur opportunum.

The amount of these distributions to those present varied, as they did in the mode of bestowal; for instance, W. de Kaynesham, canon, bequeaths to every vicar 2*d.*; to two chaplains 3*d.*; to clerks of choir who are tabled, 6*d.* for bread; and the residue among canons assisting at vespers and mass. Ernisius gave to every canon and vicar celebrating mass 12*d.*; among canons attendant 6*s.*; among vicars 5*s.*; among the chaplains 2*s.* 8*d.*; and to the boys 9*d.*; to the sacrists 3*d.* each. Bishop John II. bequeathed 15 marks for yearly distribution.^f

DE PENA INOBEDIENTIE CANONICORUM.

Ad reprimendam vero quorundam inobedientium insolentiam, qui vocati auctoritate decani et capituli venire, seu procuratorem mittere idoneum, negligunt, et mandatis canonicis obtemperare renuunt, duximus statuendum ut tales cum fuerint presentes beneficio distributionum, que ex variis causis fieri consueverunt, omnino priventur usque ad condignam satisfaccionem.

^a Reg. ff. 84 b. 157 b. See also De Cotidianis Distributionibus. Dean Freton in his will, 1383, says, "Solvi prope infra paucos annos quid pro me quid pro predecessoribus meis pro primis fructibus circa ccc marcas." (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 206.)

^b Refunded.

^c "iniquum" interlined by the corrector.

^d In the margin.

^e The communar. See Stat. De Communario.

^f Var. Chart. in lib. Y.

Absentes vero divinorum obsequiorum remediis^a careant, que specialiter fiunt pro canonicis vivis seu defunctis.

Eidem vero pene subjaceant qui ab ecclesia recedunt, a Decano vel ejus vicesgerente^b licentia non petita speciali, juxta antiquam ejusdem consuetudinem.

DE PENA ADVERSANCIUM ECCLESIE.

Qui vero juramenti de fidelitate ecclesie prestanda sprete religione, eidem adversantur in capite vel in membris, patrocinium prestando seu quid aliud in dampnum ipsius machinando, non solum pena puniantur memorata, set etiam nisi commoniti destiterint, omni quod in eadem optinent priventur beneficio. De forma enim fidelitatis esse dinoscitur, ut jurans non sit in dampnum ei cui juravit, cui insuper auxilium et consilium prestare debet, si beneficio dignus videri vult, et salvus esse de fidelitate quam juravit,^c secundum quod in canone definitum est.

[DE OFFICIIS ECCLESIE NOCTURNIS.]

In officiis vero ecclesie nocturnis arbitramur sufficere, ut in capis sericis non brodatis ei deserviat, exceptis noctibus Natalis, Pasche, Pentecostes, S^{te} Trinitatis, nisi pro presentia domini episcopi vel aliarum venerabilium personarum decanus vel alius major ecclesie aliter ex causa duxerit providendum.

[DE RESIDENTIAM FACTURO.]

Facturus residenciam in ecclesia Cicestr. debet hec observare, et ad hec ex antiqua consuetudine ejusdem ecclesie tenetur, viz. in principio residence sue solvere decano et capitulo viginti quinque marcas, et ad fabricam ejusdem ecclesie viginti quinque marcas sterlingorum; Et esse presens primo anno integro in choro ipsius ecclesie horis diurnis et nocturnis, Et si contingat ipsum abesse aliqua hora diei vel noctis suam reincipiat residenciam; Et quolibet die habeat in

^a Remedial virtues, as in Lyndw. lib. ii. t. xvi. p. 189. Othob. t. xxix. p. 128, t. ii. p. 82. S. Aug. Serm. clxxxii. § 7. A remedy at Winchester is dies remissionis.

^b See Stat. Qui censentur Residentes.

^c See Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum. Propter inobedientiam possunt subditi eorum beneficiis privari; graviter enim peccat qui obedientiam infringit, præsertim si veniat contra leges sive constitutiones per superiorem ritè et rationabiliter editas et promulgatas, maximè cùm constitutiones ipsæ sint præceptoræ. (Lyndw. i. tit. ii. p. 11, c. xiv. p. 69.)

prandio ad mensam suam vicarium stalli sui, et duos alios vicarios de choro, janitorem, et duos sacristas, et unum choristam dicto anno durante.

Etiam convivare debet decanum et capitulum et omnes ministros dicte ecclesie necnon et alios extraneos de partibus Sussexie illuc venientibus. Ac alia omnia onera subire et facere prout confratres residenciarii fecere et facere teneantur.

The date of the handwriting in this ordinance is placed by Mr. E. A. Bond, Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, late in the fourteenth century. It is not in Lib. E.

In 1574 Bishop Curteys re-enforced the payment of 50 marks, which was continued until the patronage of the residentiaryships passed into the bishop's hands.

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1574.

St. 2. No prebendary hereafter shall be admitted to be a residentiary but he shall first pay at his admission dimidium c. marcarum, to such uses as is appointed by an old statute in that behalf provided, and now discontinued by negligence. (Statutes, fo. 6.)

The following charges up to the year 1870 were incurred at the admission of a residentiary: to the dean a pottle of wine, a pottle of claret, and sugar 2 lbs.—7s.; to each residentiary a quart of sack, a quart of claret, and sugar 1 lb.—3s. 6d.; prandio (ad fabricam^a) 3l.; to the fabric, 33l. 6s. 8d.; and fees to sub-treasurer, vicars, clerks, ringers, etc.—in all 40l. 14s. 8d.

DE INSTITUCIONE CANONICORUM QUALITER FIERI ET PER DECANUM EXPEDIRI DEBIT.^b

Quando aliquis instituitur canonicus Cicestren. dominus decanus coram fratribus in capitulo querat a presentato, si voluerit promittere et jurare fidelitatem ecclesie? Obedientiam decano et capitulo? Residenciam secundum consuetudinem ecclesie? Quod non revelabit secreta capituli? Quod antiquas et approbatas consuetudines ecclesie observabit? Si hoc se facturum promiserit,

^a Fabrica structura ecclesie sive constructio, quæ consistit in parietibus fenestris et tecto. (Lyndw. Provinc.) Fabrica appellatur per quod Ecclesia habet percipiendi reditus tam pro ædificio quam pro ornamentis et aliis necessariis pro cultu divino. (Frances de Urutigoyti, cap. xx. p. 336. Reg. Islip, fo. 157 b.)

^b MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 205-18. Institutio quæ collationem sequi debet est idem quod investitura seu admissio ad beneficium ecclesiasticum. (Lyndw. lib. iii. t. 6, p. 137.)

tunc decanus tradat ei librum cum regula et panem commune suppositum, dicens, Recipio te in canonicum et investio te hâc prebenda per librum de spiritualibus, per panem de temporalibus. Postea dicatur, Ecce quam bonum et quam jocundum, etc. (Ps. cxxxiii.) Deinde accipiat dom. decanus et fratres illum in osculum pacis. Postea constitutus coram decano et fratribus juret solempniter se propositos articulos observaturum.

Hec est forma sacramenti:^a Ego promitto et super sancta [*Dei*] Evangelia juro quòd propositos articulos [*ac ordinationem Decani et Capituli precipue capitula super pecunia ad anniversariam distributionem per Robertum Elsted deposita in quantum ad me pertinet et pertinebit*]^b inviolabiliter observabo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta evangelia. Facto sacramento assignetur ei stallum in choro et locus in capitulo.

The date of this form Mr. E. A. Bond places about the year 1300. To every canon is assigned formally his own proper stall, and two stalls ought not to be held by a single canon, as it entails the loss of a voice in chapter and deformity in choir by the vacancy of a stall. No canon ought to occupy the stall of a dignitary if absent, Non canonicis quidem permittitur subingredi stalla vacantia dignitatum, &c. (Scarfantoni, P. iii. 58, p. 142.) Regula est quòd sedes dignitatum sunt situatæ in loco eminentiori ac nobiliori, distincto à sedibus canonicorum, tunc, dignitatibus absentibus, non licet canonicis illas occupare.^c (Ceccoperi, lib. i. tit. ix. 1.)

Possession is now given by the seisin or delivery of a small willow wand or staff, as if regula, but the form of Paris and St. Paul's was "regularis observantie forma in hoc volumine contenta." It was probably the Statute Book, Regula Canonicorum, Liber Canonum. At Rouen and Lincoln possession was given per textum Evangelii.^d The ancient form of oath made by a residentiary was as follows:

Juramentum Residentiarii Ecclesiæ Cath. Cicestr. in allocatione sibi facienda.

1. Primo jurabit tactis Sacrosanctis quòd erit fidelis ecclesiæ in quocumque officio sibi contingente, ac etiam in omnibus bonis ecclesiæ tractandis et dispensandis sine aliqua fraude et lucro privato.

2. Quòd divinum officium in choro absque dissolutione et inani confabulatione devotè observabit, et cæteros ministros quantum ad ipsum pertinet ad idem faciendum procurabit.

^a The words sacramentum and juramentum solempne as an oath of fealty are regarded as synonyms. (Lyndw. iii. t. 23, p. 233.) Juramentum obliget ipsum jurantem sive fiat. . . . per librum sacrorum evangeliorum . . . juraturus præstet juramentum ad S. Dei Evangelia per eum corporaliter tacta. (Ibid. pp. 110, 111.)

^b See Lib. E. 178. Stat. Book, fo. 29, and note on De Communario, p. 214.

^c Invasor est qui rem alienam alienat. (Lyndw. p. 257.)

^d See Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, p. 141. Martene, de Eccles. Rit. i. 152, 154, 159, 183. Wilkins, Conc. i. 535. Dugdale's St. Paul's, 350.

3. Quòd acta capitularia et quæcunque ibidem pro utilitate ecclesiæ sive personæ singularis tractari contigerint secreta servabit, nec illa alicui nisi de capitulo aut de ejus consensu revelabit.

4. Quòd sanum consilium et auxilium pro posse suo ecclesiæ præstabit, nec alicui personæ de capitulo dampnum aut detrimentum in aliquo procurabit.

5. Quòd rixas et discordias inter fratres non movebit, sed charitatem et pacem cum debitâ obedientiâ ad decanum et capitulum observabit.

6. Quòd non movebit litem contra aliquem de capitulo, sed hujusmodi materiam quam contingat coram decano et capitulo terminabit.

7. Quòd se honeste in gestu et habitu secundum statum suum habebit, et, quantum sinit humana fragilitas, seipsum absque omni carnali scandalo præservabit.

8. Quòd non inducet aliquas novitates in ecclesiâ sine expresso consensu decani et fratrum. Sicut ipsum Dominus adjuvet et Sancta Dei Evangelia.^a

The prebendary protested by a formal instrument his voluntary intention to reside; and the acts of ratification were followed by consent, admission, and signing of the office of residentiary. He actually came into residence and was admitted to commons, until the number was fixed in 1574. (Bishop Curteys' Stat. c. 3.) "Whereas the revenues of the cathedral are very small, and by reason of multitude of residentiaries, the profits being divided and dispersed into many hands, the old laudable hospitality is not nor can be kept of any, whereby at this day is grown a contempt of that state: Therefore it is agreed and ordered that there shall be no more residentiaries after this time but four besides the dean."^b

None shall be admitted to be a residentiary hereafter except he do first severally ask the good will of the dean and every one of the residentiaries for the time being, and also have the consent of the dean and most part of the residentiaries besides the dean."^c

The residentiaries are now appointed by the bishop. The terms of quarterly residence, "per se aut per alium," and nine months' absence were established at the same time.

This statute was entirely abrogated in the year 1687 [Act Book, ii.]. In everything the major part of the body overrid the less numerous.

QUID ET QUALITER CIRCA DECANUM, TAM PRIUS ELECCIONEM SUAM QUAM POST
CONFIRMATIONEM AGI DEBET IN ECCLESIA CIC.^d

Cum fuerit decanus a confratribus suis electus ducatur ad altare "cum sollempnitate, campanis pulsantibus, cantore incipiente Te Deum laudamus, quo facto dicat senior hanc orationem, Concede quæsumus

^a Book of Extracts, fo. 14 b; Stat. Book, p. 32.

^b Stat. fo. 6, 1574; Stat. 2.

^c Stat. Book, fo. 1.

^d Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 205, 219. Mr. E. A. Bond dates this from about the year 1300. The additions are made from Liber B, 178, and occur in Bishop W. Rede's copy of the Statutes, that is, before 1385.

^e As at Dean Caurden's installation in 1546.

Omnipotens Deus ut famulum tuum quem ad regimen nostrum elegimus gratiæ Tuæ dono prosequaris et Te largiente tum ipsa tibi nostra electione placeamus per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Approbata vero electione a superiore, Inprimis jurabit inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliiis se facturum in ecclesia continuam et debitam residentiam. Et quod observabit omnia jura ecclesie sue antiquas et approbatas et assuetas consuetudines et libertates pro posse suo. Et quod sibi subjectos ut idipsum faciant diligenter instruet. Et quod possessiones ecclesie injustè dispersas et facultates prave alienatas congregabit. Et quod humilitatem et pacientiam in semet ipso pro omni posse suo cum Dei adjutorio custodiet et ad hec custodienda subjectos suos excitabit. Quo facto prosternet se ante crucem in capitulo, fratribus suis canentibus hos iij. Psalmos. Deus misereatur. (Ps. lxvii.) etc. [*Ad Te levavi.* (Ps. cxxiii.) *Ecce quàm bonum.* (Ps. cxxxiii.)] Seniore dicente hanc orationem Cunctorum bonorum institutor Deus, etc. [*Qui per Moysen famulum Tuum ad gubernandam ecclesiam præpositos instituisti, Tibi supplices preces fundimus Teque devotis mentibus exoramus, ut famulum Tuum quem convenientia et electio famulorum Tuorum decanum hodie instituit, protectionis Tuæ gratiâ munire dignere sicque regere subditos concedas, ut cum omnibus illis regna cælorum adipiscatur, per Dom. nostrum Jhesum Christum. Amen.*]

Hoc autem dicto solemniter ducatur a majoribus^a ad stallum suum et eo installato dicat senior Pater noster, etc. [*Et ne nos, etc. Saluum fac sercum Tuum. Dominus custodiat introitum tuum exitum tuum et auferat a te elationem. Dominus custodiat te ab omni malo. Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto. Exurge, Domine adjuva nos. Dominus vobiscum. Deus, cui omnis potestas et dignitas famulatur, da famulo Tuo prosperum suæ dignitatis officium, in quo semper timeat, et Tibi jugiter placere contendat, per Christum Domium. Omnium domine fons bonorum et cunctorum dator, profectum tribue famulo Tuo adeptam benè regere dignitatem, et a Te sibi præstitam bonis operibus corroborare gloriam, per Christum Dominum. Actiones nostras quæsumus Domine, et aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere, ut, interveniente beata et gloriosa semperque V. Dei genitrice Maria^b cum omnibus sanctis, cuncta nostra operacio a Te semper incipiat et per Te incepta finiatur per Christum. Mox aquâ benedicta aspergatur a seniore cum In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Postea debet*

^a Majores are the dignitaries, see note, p. 145, and Stat. De Distributione Panis. Comp. Sar. Par. D. 1. H. I.

^b "et Beati Ricardi." Book vi. 178.

ei assignari locus in capitulo a majoribus, deinde ducitur ab eisdem in mansum decanatus, auctoritate literarum capitulo in ea parte directarum.]

Item^a jurabit quod implementum stauri vivi et mortui, per beatæ memoriæ magistrum Rogerum de Freton decanum noviter et pie introductum, juxta vim formam et effectum cartæ donacionis hujusmodi implementi in hac parte confectæ, licet ipsum cedere vel decedere contingat, successoribus suis decanis Cicestr. dimittet integrè et restituet modo debito.

The manner in which their right of electing the dean was wrested from the chapter was this. Scrope had been nominated by papal provision (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 108) in 1383, and Prichard was amicorum potentium præsidio suffultus multipliciter. (Reg. fo. 194.) In 1540 Bishop Sampson informed the crown that "the buysshop geveth the deanrie, the chauntor, chauncellorship, treasurership, two archdeaconries, item xxx prebendes" (Augm. Off. Books, xxiv. fo. 35); but in 1546 the chapter certainly exercised the right of election. (Day's Register, fo. 12.) In 1551, on Sept. 19, Traheron wrote to Secretary Cecil, "Two men of Chichester came unto me yesterdaie, of whom I learned that the prebendaries there have fre election, howbeit they doubt not but that a letter from the Kinge wolde prevent." (Dom. Papers, vol. xiii. n. 46.) And on Oct. 2, 1551, the Council, including the "L. treasurer, the L. great Mr., the L. Admirall, the L. Chamberlayne, Mr. of horse, Mr. Vice Chamberlayne, Mr. Secretary Cecill, and Mr. Bowes," adopted his hint in that evil time for the Church of England, and sent "a lettre to the prebendaries of Chichestre, allowing theyr conformities in the election of Mr. Traheron to theyr dean, requiring theym to goo through with placing of hym accordingly." (Reg. of Council, iii. fo. 403.) The Act Book of the Chapter (A. 1. fo. 15 b.) contains this entry, "xxij die mensis Novembris, presidens et capitulum apposuerunt sigillum regie majestatis ad causas ecclesiasticas pro decano et capitulo ecclesie Cathedralis Cicestr. in fidem et testimonium cujusdam electionis decrete^b de ven. viro B. Traherne S.T.P. et decano dicte ecclesie nuper facto." Again, on this man's recommendation of Sampson as a State nominee (Dom. Papers, xv. n. 74), the Crown, on Feb. 7, 1553, usurped the patronage as its right. "Dedimus et concessimus et per presentes damus et concedimus T. Sampson S.T.P. decanatum ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Cicestr., modo per liberam resignationem B. Traheron S.T.P. ultimi decani ibidem vacantem, et ad nostram donationem aut collationem et liberam dispositionem pleno jure spectantem." (Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. VI. P. ii. m. i.) Queen Mary restored freedom of election.

To our trustie and well-beloved Robert Peterson, Treasurer of our Cathedral Church of Chichester, and to the rest of the Canons there. Mary the Queen. By the Queen. Trustie and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where we are credibly informed that by the ancient Statutes and ordinances of your Church you have used to have and enjoy free voice and liberty in

^a Added late in the fourteenth century.

^b Decanus ex officio suo tenetur capituli negocia procurare, unde in decreto cujuslibet electionis decanus pater nuncupatur. (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 4.) Decretum technically means statutum de consilio suorum ad nullius consultationem.

the election of your Dean at every avoidance until the same of late days hath been interrupted, We, minding the preservation of your ancient liberties and understanding further your good inclination and desire that you have to choose our well-beloved William Pie, clerk, unto the same dignity, will and require you to proceed to the election of him according to your own desire and your said ancient statutes and liberties, and we shall accept the same and take it in good part. Given under our Signet, at our tower of London, the eighth day of August, in the first year of our Reign. (*Literæ licentiales Regine concessæ capitulo Cic. de libere eligendo decanum interruptione prehabita non obstante.*) Act Book, A. (1) fol. 19 b.

Queen Elizabeth, however, in true Tudor fashion, issued a mandate for election, and gave the grant (*concessio*) of the deanery, in which Archbishop Parker found satisfaction. (*Dom. Pap. xli. n. 33. Pat. Rot. 44 Eliz. p. 22, m. 14.*) Charles I. pursued the precedent. (*Pat. Rot. 6 Car. I. p. 17. and 10 Car. I. p. 33, m. 48*), and in 1660 the Crown definitely usurped the patronage. (*Lib. Inst. i. fo. 61. ii. fo. 53.*)

DE COMMUNARIO.^a

A.D. MCCLXXI. in festo Natalis Domini viz. in die S. Johannis Evangeliste per dominos Will. de Glovernia decanum, W. de Bracklesham cancellar. N[*icholaum*] thesaur. G[*alfridum de Gates*] arch. Cic. S[*imonem de Clympyngham*] archi. Lew. et magistros W. de Kylkermyn, J. de Coruleto, N. de Blachysden, et quam plures alios canonicos tunc temporis in civitate manentes provida deliberatione concorditer ordinatum est et statutum, quod canonicus vel alter qui communia negotia gerit ecclesie qui communarius appellatur in crastino S. Wilfridi episcopi viz. iii^o Id. Oct. administrationis sue compotum reddat de anno preterito coram canonicis in capitulo Cicestr. tunc temporis convenientibus ut quod omnes tangit.

The communar is mentioned in Stat. De Distributione pro Defunctis, and in the Statutes of Curteys and Harsnet.^b In Rede's Register he appears as surveyor of dilapidations and collector of perditions or mulcts paid by offending vicars and lay clerks. In the same register is mentioned Johannes Mason, "magister operis fabricæ ecclesiæ Cic. et custos omnium pertinentium ad idem opus, liberæ conditionis." In 1402 John Masdoun was magister expensarum fabricæ, an interesting fact as bearing on the gradual progress towards the employment of an architect by profession. The funds were low, for a few years later Dean Maydenhithe bequeathed 40*l.* as a standing fund to be kept in a chest with triple locks, and recommended the residentiaries to lay by an annual sum "quia Communia Ecclesiæ Cic. tam modica et exilis existit."^c In 1441 Robert Elstede's box in the vestry was replenished with the sum of 50 marks to afford loans for the payment

^a Lib. B. 189. Stat. Book, fo. 57. Not in the Univ. Coll. MS.

^b Reg. fo. clxiv. 6. Reg. fo. 346.

^c Reg. Rede, 35, 172. Dean Cloos left a fabric fund of 25*l.* [Wills, Moone, 14.]

of the church ministers in case of want of funds to pay them. Sherborne gave a legacy to the chest,^a (*ordinamus quod in cista per nos ad hoc ordinata et in secreta thesauraria ecclesie nostre reposita ponantur xx li.*); and lands in mortmain to augment the maintenance of the vicars and clerks were permitted by the crown to be held.^b

ORDO AD RECIPIENDUM EPISCOPUM CICESTRENSEM PRIMO ADVENTU SUO AD
ECCLESIAM CICESTRENSEM.^c

Imprimis decanus et fratres sui, et totus chorus, capis sericis induti, precedentibus eos ministris consuetis, viz. puero cum aquâ benedictâ, duobus ceroferariis, cum accolito crucem deferente, albis cum amictis indutis, procedant ad portam occidentalem cæmiterii ecclesiæ cathedralis versus forum et crucem, pulsatis solemniter campanis in adventu suo, non exeundo portam sed stando subtus portam et infra, expectando adventum episcopi. *Intrat quandam domum sive bassam cameram ex latere occidentale seque ibi discalciat.*^d Ibi in portâ adornetur scabellum coopertum pannis sericis et pulvinaribus, super quibus idem episcopus, post aspercionem aquæ benedictæ, genuflectare debet, et tunc decanus et præcentor (si præsentibus fuerint, alioquin ipsis absentibus duo majores et seniores personæ de canonicis residentibus) incensent ipsum sic genuflectentem, et sibi tradant crucem osculandam. Postea tradant ei librum cum schedula continentem juramentum suum in primo adventu suo præstari consuetum, cujus forma est hæc “In Dei nomine.” [Nos N. permissione Divinâ Cicestr. episcopus, juramus quòd jura, statuta et privilegia; antiquas etiam approbatas et assuetas consuetudines istius ecclesiæ nostræ Cicestr. observabimus; quòdque possessiones ejusdem ecclesiæ congregatas conservabimus; dispersasque et injustè et pravè alienatas pro posse nostro congregabimus, sicut nos Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.]

Quo juramento publicè a decano præstito in præsentia cleri et populi, suscipiant eum honorificè decanus à dextris et præcentor (vel major persona post eum) è sinistris, ducentes eum cum processione per claustrum ad ostium occidentale ecclesiæ, canente choro responsorium “Honor, Virtus,” et ibidem iterum ut priùs, incensetur; tunc intret ecclesiam et ascendat pulpitem si voluerit exponere

^a Stat. 1573, fo. 9, 1611, § 38, fo. 12.

^b Rot. Pat. 26 Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 4. See Statute De Officio Thesaurarii.

^c Lib. E. fo. 14.

^d Reg. Story, fo. 2. Praty, fo. 84. Words in brackets are supplied from Storey's and Praty's Registers.

^e Reg. Storey, fo. 2.

verbum Dei. Aliàs, rectè ducatur ad summum altare, cum hoc responsorio "Triuna Trinitas." Ibiq̄ue ordinetur scabellum decenter coopertum, ut superiùs factum fuerit, ipsoque ibi prostrato, et finito responsorio, cum "Kyrieleison" et "Pater noster," sub silentio; decanus vel major persona ecclesiæ stans ad australe cornu altaris ait, "Ne nos . . . sed libera nos à malo."

Salvum fac servum Tuum, domine, episcopum nostrum.

Deus meus, sperantem in te.

Mitte ei auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eum.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam,

Et clamor meus ad Te perveniat.

Oremus. Concede quæsumus, Domine, huic famulo Tuo, episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplum bonorum operum animos suorum instruat subditorum; et æternæ remunerationis mercedem à Te piissimo Pastore percipiat, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dictisque devotionibus suis, surgat, osculetur summum altare, et conversus ad populum dat benedictionem episcopalem consuetam; quâ dictâ recipiat fratres suos ad osculum pacis.

Deindè ducetur et intronizetur in sede suâ episcopali per archidiaconum Cantuariensem, seu istius locum tenentem [ubi permanet quousque ministri chori Te Deum plenarie cantaverint], quibus adimpletis adeat in palatium suum cum decano et fratribus suis assistentibus.

A few variations occur, thus: Bishop Storey having put on his boots again after the Te Deum,^a preached in the chapter-house on the text, "I will build My Church;" after which he celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost at the high altar. He afterwards gave a banquet to fifteen hundred people. "Extra portam quæ communiter vocata est . . . [Middlegate in Praty's register], suo palafrido descendens intravit quandam domum [bassam cameram in Praty's register], ex latere occidentali ejusdem portæ situatam, seque ibi discalceavit. Illicò post hæc, portam prædictam eundem rev. patrem intrantem pater noster abbas de Bello^b cum mitrà et baculo apparatus, ac mag. Joh. Waynfflete decanus, mag. Joh. Wyne præcentor, mag. Joh. Plentyth arch. Lewensis, et decem canonici ac totus chorus in capis sericis more processionali decenter ornati, ad portam prædictam ipsum patrem reverentiâ condignâ receperunt; ubi thurificatione et crucis deosculatione

^a Reg. fo. 2.

^b Abbates exempti ex eodem motivo exemptionis præcedere debent post episcopos. (Frances, de Urrutigoyti, De Cath. cap. xxxiii. n. 106, p. 608.) Abbatibus pontificalibus indutis et invitatis pro assistentiâ in processione et missa alicujus festivitatis debetur locus immediate post episcopum. (Scarfan-toni, iii. 26.)

peractis juramentum in hujusmodi actu præstari consuetum præstitit, cujus juramenti tenor talis est [as already given].

“Dehinc processionaliter ex parte australi ecclesiæ cathedralis omnes una processionaliter procedentes responsorium ‘Honor, Virtus’ psallentes, per hostium occidentale ecclesiæ sunt ingressi. Dictus pater, ex tunc genuflectione paulisper per eum ad summum altare factâ, precibusque per decanum predictum dictis cum thurificatione, et collecta actu illo die consuetâ, unum nobile auri obtulit, decanumque ac alios canonicos et ministros ecclesiæ ad osculum pacis recepit, et continue populum benedixit. Et post hæc mag. Jo. Cloos legum doctor vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, officialis principalis consistoriique episcopalis Cic. ac prebendarius ecclesiæ Cic. publicè perlegit literas commissionales ei directas. Eundem rev. patrem Jo. Cloos in sedem suam episcopalem honorificè induxit, installavit et intronisavit, juris juxta exigentiam, ubi permansit quousque ministri chori Te Deum plenarie cantaverint.”

At the installation of Bishop Rede the choir sang “Summæ Trinitati” in the procession. He preached on the text, “The Lord visited His people.” Bishop Praty^a alighted “ad mediam portam que ducit ad vicos civitatis.” He was received by the abbot of Battle, the dean, præcentor, treasurer, the two archdeacons, and four canons.

The Bishop’s Gatehouse is of the Decorated period, with a large archway, postern, and porter’s lodge, above which is the chamber once used as the prison of heretics and criminous clerks. The palace retains a kitchen 33 by 36 feet, with a ceiling supported by trusses of oak-beams at the four angles, of the fourteenth century; a noble hall with a painted heraldic ceiling erected by Bishop Sherborne; and a chapel c. 1200, having a Transitional Norman portal, two consecration crosses, a painting of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child in distemper, within a quatrefoil, a crowstepped gable (Jacobean), and a bell dated 1696. The vault is quadripartite, the north windows have Decorated tracery, and at the east end there are traces of a fine triplet. Bishop Latimer was “in ward” with Bishop Sampson.^b

In 1675 the ceremonial of visitation was as follows:—

FORMA VISITATIONIS PER EPISCOPUM.

Quùm dies ad visitandam Eccles. Cathed. statutus aderat, campanæ primo mane ictu numeroso pulsabantur; lapsis deinde paucis horis, decanus, dignitarii, canonici residentiarii, prebendarii, vicarii chorales, cæterique ecclesiæ ministri solemniter processione apparatu ad ostium occidentale ecclesiæ dom. Episcopum exceperunt; deinceps media ecclesiæ nave “Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum” cantantes procedunt ad chorum, dominumque venerabilem patrem ad thronum comitantur, quo ad sedem episcopalem ascenso pergunt ad sacra, quibus peractis consimili processione modo ad domum capitularem progrediuntur [without singing, 1727]. Quam primum in otio omnes consederunt, facta prius proclamatione, accietur mandatarius episcopi et jubetur exhibere mandatum decano et capitulo traditum. Deinde exigitur executio istius mandati per decanum.

^a Reg. fo. 84.

^b State Papers, i. 627; Strype, Memor. I. i. 502, App. n. xcii.

Qua de re prestat juramentum virgifer sive mandatarius decani, legitur mandatum, deinceps decanus, dignitarii, canonici residentarii, prebendarii, vicarii chorales, vicarii laici sive clerici omnesque ecclesiæ ministri et servientes præcognizantur et acciuntur, comparentes per se vel per legitimum procuratorem notantur, non omnino comparentes contumaces puniantur reservata pœna. His peractis Dominus Episcopus Latino sermone visitationis propositum luculenter exposuit deinde articuli Latino idiomate decano et capitulo traduntur quibus die responderi mandatum est. (Reg. fo. 117.)

1727. Articles were delivered and inquisitors sworn:—

For the Church—2 Residentiaries, 2 Prebendaries.

For the Vicars—2 Vicars Choral, 2 Lay Vicars.

The bishop gives his charge, and admonishes the inquisitors to make their return on a certain day. The bishop adjourns the court to such a day, and continues all certificates. They return from the chapter-house to the west door in the same manner as they came to the chapter-house.

The Crown-Soleil is given in accordance with the desire of Bishop Sherborne. Ordinamus quod quotiens domnus Cic. Episcopus in visitatione triennali ac ordinaria visitatione ad ecclesiam suam, eam visitaturus, descenderit, Decanus ad ipsum in tribunali judicario sedentem reverenter accedat, et nominibus omnium habentium dignitates, prebendas, ministeria, aut officia in dicta ecclesia præconisatis, literas nostras porrigat, et dicat “Dñs Robertus, predecessor vester, has literas misit ad vos, quibus includit sub suo et capituli sigillo coronam auream de sole, non meriti vel laboris præmium, sed sperate recordationis lene intersignum.”

The letters expressed the obligation of the dean and chapter to observe Sherborne’s Statutes, and contained an earnest request that the bishop would read and enforce them. So late as 1727 the dean presented the letter and Aurea Corona (Visit. Book, fo. 174); and in 1731–2 the entry occurs, Pro Corona aurea de sole, 6s. 9d. The Crown of the Sun or Golden Crown was coined by Henry VIII., and of the value of 4s. 8d.; it derived its name from the mint-mark.

This present was not the only one which came from a bounteous hand: he had another for the “Joyous Coming.”

Ordinamus quòd tres ministri Ecclesie per dom. decanum vel ejus locum tenentem deputati veniant ad dom. Episcopum statim post ejus introitum ad Ecclesiam, palatium, vel ad aliquem alium locum infra precinctum Clausi, vel si possint occurrant ei exeunti ab ecclesia, quoties cum honore pontificali precedente campanulâ suâ ad ecclesiam accesserit, defferentes ei munera panem [quartæ partis modii frumenti purissimi] et vinum [ij. lagenas melioris vini]; et si presentantes videre et audire velit, dicat ei primus portantium, “D’ne, Robertus IV. predecessor misit ad vos panem et vinum pro jocundo adventu vestro ad ecclesiam vestram, et appellatur in vulgari ‘Saynt Rychard Wyne.’”

“Idem fiat in adventu archiepiscopi Cantuar., regis, vel regine, et providebit j. medietatem de vino Ypocratico^a cum selectis fructibus ultra panem et vinum. Archbishop Peccham in 1282, Robert in 1299, and Chichele July 9, 1415, held visitations.

In 1388 (22 Richard II.) William of Wykeham had a dispute with the prior Thomas Neville

^a Hypocras, spiced and sugared wine strained through a flannel bag called Hippocrates’ sleeve.

and the convent of Winchester, in the presence of Roger the primate, when the following order was made: "Whereas from time immemorial the prior and convent had been bound to send daily to the bishop, when residing in his palace of Wolvesey, or in the cathedral of Winchester, or the priory, or any other place within the city or suburbs of Winchester, eight loaves of wassail bread, each of a certain weight, and four bottles of good wine, by the hands of the junior monk, who was to present them with due respect to the bishop, and say in French 'Monsieur SS. Pere et Paule vous envoient,' the said custom should be observed in full." (MSS. St. Mary Winton. College.^a) This excellent Wykehamist, bishop Sherborne, thus imitated his great founder's example.

In 1397 the ancient use was of a more elaborate order.

Reg. Rede. Circa horam primam diei ad ecclesiam suam cathedralem accessit, ac iidem decanus predictus canonici et omnes alii ministri ecclesie predictae cum solempni processione apparatu cantantes solempniter responsorium "Honor, virtus," etc. ad hostium occidentale ejusdem ecclesie dictum ven. patrem honorifice receperunt, et facta eidem patri per dictum decanum et quemdam rev. virum mag. Ph. Galeys, thesaur. dictae ecclesie Cicestr. solempni incensatione, idem ven. pater praecedente ipsum processione predicta ad summum altare ejusdem ecclesie honorifice deductus est, et dicta super eundem patrem ante dictum altare prostratum per decanum predictum collecta in hujusmodi actu consuetâ, idem ven. pater episcopus decanum et canonicos dictae ecclesie tunc praesentes ad osculum pacis recepit. Quo facto mag. Petrus vicarius perpetuus de Estborne assumpto themate, "Pastor visitat gregem," collationem fecit. Qua finita idem ad domum capitularem accessit. ^b

One form of an archiepiscopal visitation is preserved.

Memorandum quod secundo Idus Decembris anno domini MCCXCIX. venerabilis pater Robertus Cantuar. archiepiscopus venit ad civitatem Cicestr. ad visitationis officium exercendum. Cui primo extra civitatem in equis decanus et canonici qui presentes fuerant occurrerunt, eoque salutato celeriter ad ecclesiam redeuntes una cum ipsius loci episcopo ac toto choro, ipso, videlicet, episcopo pontificalibus induto et decano cum capa chori, aliis omnibus in habitu consueto praeter sacerdotes diaconum et subdiaconum duos libros evangeliorum deferentes et unum clericum crucem deferentem, alium cum aqua benedicta et duos cum thuribulis, alios vero duos cum cereis qui more processionali fuerunt induti. Hii omnes processionaliter ordinati in porta orientali cimiterii dominum. Archiepiscopum receperunt. Episcopus vero et decanus acceptis thuribulis eum incensarunt; deinde duos libros evangeliorum ei ad osculum porrexerunt, et recepta de manu ejus aqua benedicta eum in ecclesiam duxerunt processione cum cantico preeunte, quo ducto coram magno altari prostravit se in oratione aliquamdiu. Deinde episcopus orationem quandam dixit super eum; mox eo erecto, magno altari deosculato vertit se ad populum benedictionem fundendo, quo facto ingressus est ad capitulum et sedens premissis themate proposuit verbum Dei. Thema autem fuit tale, Missus es ut visites Judeam et Jerusalem, Esdre vii. c.; finito vero sermone omnibus aliis exclusis a capitulo, exceptis suis clericis et episcopo decano canonicis et vicariis familiaribus, precepit legi certificato-

^a De Jocundo Adventu, fo. vi.

^b Reg. fo. 25 b.

rium super mandato visitationis, deinde fecit recitari constitutionem quandam novam Bonifacii VIII. que incepit Quia plerique, in titulo de Officio Ordinar. lib. vi.^a Qua perlecta fecit legi cedulam quandam continentem que monuit omnes et singulos ut super defectibus quos noverint in personis vel in officiis seu in rebus quibuscunque ad dictam ecclesiam pertinentibus meram et liberam patefacere veritatem sub pena excommunicacionis quam in scriptis promulgavit. Deinde cum solo episcopo secessit in thesaurariam et eum singillatim et secreto super multis et variis articulis examinavit. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 95.)

DE JURAMENTO VICARII.^b

In Dei nomine die x. Martii MCCCXCI. ordinatum est per reverendum in Christo patrem et dom. dom. Ricardum Dei gratia Cic. episcopum de expresso consensu et assensu reverendorum virorum, domini W. Lollyngton decani, mag. Mich. Cranstoun preb. de Wystryng, dom. W. Petteworth preb. de Efferles, et dom. Joh. Yermouth preb. de Hampstede, canonicorum residentium, ac dom. N. Stone archd. Lew. et preb. de Hanfelde, et mag. Mich. Cergeaux preb. de Selsey, canonicorum dictæ ecclesiæ in ipsa ecclesia Cicestr. congregatorum, quòd quilibet vicarius chori ejusdem ecclesiæ in admissione sua jurabit fidelitatem ecclesiæ obedientiam decano reverentiam capitulo et quòd non stabit in stallo contra voluntatem domini sui rationabilem coram decano et capitulo allegatam et probatam.

The establishment of vicars was complete in the time of Bishop Seffrid II. who allotted the amount of stall-wages to be paid to them by their "domini," the several dignitaries and canons. A prebendary of Ferles had the fruits of his prebend sequestered because he did not pay the vicar who served in his stall.^c In 1355 Archbishop Islip found many stall-wages in arrear at his visitation.^d Their first charter was given Dec. 30, 1277, by Edward I. "pro stabilienda communitate vicariorum choralium in ecclesia Cyc."^e

They were to be appointed by the dean and canons. Each prebendary nominated within a month after a vacancy for probation in singing and reading.^f On June 15, 1334, they were incorporated (Add. MS. 5706, f. 333) by Edward III. who empowered them to elect a principal and be incorporated "ut de cætero principalis et communitas vicariorum ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis fiant et nominentur; habeant unum commune sigillum pro negotiis agendis; et sint capaces ad acquirendum terras et tenementa, possessiones, et emolumenta spiritualia et temporalia;" confirmed Dec. 30, 1465, 5 Edw. IV.^g

In 1411 Elizabeth Countess of Kent bequeathed "vicar' Coll' Sancti Ricardi Cicestr' xls. Item anachorit' in dicto collegio vis. viiid." In 1415 "presbyter reclusus in ecc. Cic." is mentioned.^h

^a Lyndw. Prov. p. 16.

^b Lib. B. fo. 189, E. 185.

^c Lib. Y. fo. elxiii.

^d Reg. Islip, fo. 84 b.

^e Hayley 167.

^f Storey's Inj. 1478, fo. 6.

^g Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. IV. P. 1, m. 24.

^h Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 213, Reg. Chichele, 275.

In order to secure musical efficiency a vicar before admission was required to prick his own part.^a The vicars often held chantries in the cathedral. They all wore calabre amyces of deep brown Calabrian fur; and caps, but not hoods.^b "Secundarius Capellæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ex statutis ecclesiæ tenetur cotidie celebrare Missam de Requiem pro animabus fundatorum, proventus officii extendit se ad v marcas et ultra."^c The secondary was a vicar in secunda forma. Bishop Storey in 1480 required the vicars choral to be back in their chambers, or infra septa canonicorum, at the tolling of the curfew.

By a decree Aug. 1, 1583, the vicars choral were to meet on the first Thursday in every month at dinner and supper in the common hall.^d

Their hall and kitchen were required to be repaired by Archbishop Laud at his visitation in 1635, but in 1675 the common hall was out of repair, and "the ancient customs there used wholly neglected."

The vicars' college contains a hall of the fourteenth century, c. 1370, measuring 35 by 21ft. It has a canopied lavatory with masks to the labels on the north side; an open timbered ceiling; two windows, square-headed, and of two lights, in each wall; a pulpit on the south side, and a small chamber, which originally held the statute-chest, the plate and table furniture, with a cross above a water-drain; it once formed the landing from a porch of the fifteenth century, communicating with an external staircase, both of which are now removed. The vicars' Statutes were to be placed in a chest chained to the pulpit. At the east side is the parlour, c. 1200, which retains a skew window, deeply splayed, in the north wall. In 1396 the vicars built a common manse, between the chapel of St. Faith and the Gylden Hall, facing South Street; the dean and three residentiaries laid the foundation stones at the four corners of the parlour or common room. In 1385 the Gylden Hall was given to the vicars.^e The undercroft of the end of the twelfth century, (Transitional Norman) is of two bays, and in three spans, with quadripartite vaulting, containing rings for lamps and supported on low circular pillars. It has three narrow Norman windows, deeply splayed, on the north side, and a doorcase in the south wall. Eleven dwelling-houses were erected for the vicars, but four only remain. The houses towards the south street were at one time occupied by some of the body. They were not to be let to any but "Churchmen." A view of the Close by Grimm, in its complete state, is given in the Burrell Collection in the British Museum, and also in Rouse's Beauties of Sussex. The "Dark Cloisters," which Essex the architect described as "a very old cloister mostly built with wood," extended round the four sides

^a Rawlinson MS. 45, fo. x. b. Var. Obs. See also Harsnet's Stat. 1611, r. 9. Pricked-song was music full of flourishes and ornaments as opposed to plain-song. Shakespeare, Rom. and Jul. ii. 4. Middleton, Women Beware, iii. 2. Hawkins, iii. 3. To prick was to note down music.

^b Var. Obs. 62. Stat. 1314, lib. E. 187. Reg. Storey, fo. 72. At Exeter in 1343 the caps were black.

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 78.

^d Book of Extracts, fo. 10 b.

^e In 1396 we have "Memoriam consensus vicariorum et processus Decani et Capituli ad constructionem Mansionis Communis," called Commune Mansum by Rede, 1402, when it comprised several chambers and a common hall. (Reg. fo. xxxiii. xxxiii. b.) Charta donationis de Gyldenhall nunc vicariorum episcopo Cicestr. Ricardo Metford occurs in 1385. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII. Lib. E. fo. 165, 168.) He gave it to the vicars, when it is described as "inter cimiterium Eccles. Cath. Cicestr. ex parte boreali et tenementum R. Sexteyn ex parte australi."

of the Vicars' Close, and were taken down in 1736, when "the houses were new faced and windows put in." (Jaques' MS. fo. 63.) Some of the corbels remain on the north side. The south gateway was removed in 1831.

STATUTES OF VICARS CHORAL.^a

1. A principal to be elected on the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, or within six days ensuing, for the year following. His duties were—
2. To superintend the vicars and delate the incorrigible to the dean and chapter.
3. To appoint in his absence a deputy (fo. 60).
4. To receive an oath of obedience from the vicars.
5. The oath of the newly appointed vicar.
6. Quod vicarii et alii commensales aulæ communis quicunque post nocturnas collationes (quas Bevers vulgariter vocant) moram in aulâ non protrahant (fo. 61.) The word bever was used at Winchester College for bread, cheese, and beer in the long or summer half in cloister time.
7. Vicars to keep silence within the precinct and in their chambers from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m.
8. No vicar to pass the night without the precinct except by leave.
9. Nor to receive guests without licence.
10. To keep an inventory of plate (fo. 62).
11. To have a common seal.
12. To keep their chambers in repair.
13. To transact common business in the common hall (fo. 63).
14. To be fined for non-appearance if summoned.
15. The choice of servants.
16. Vicars to delate but not correct the common servants (fo. 64).
17. The steward to keep the daily bread and buttery key.
18. Punishment of revelation of secrets.
19. A vicar to be steward.
20. Statutes to be read at least once every quarter or term.
21. The Bible or other lection to be read at times of refectio in hall (fo. 65).
22. Punishment of offenders against charity.
23. Vicars not to carry swords in the city or keep dogs in their rooms.
24. All vicars and commoners to dine after nones sung after the High Mass, and to sup after the last anthem sung in the nave daily, and to bever at 7 o'clock.
25. Rules for hall. An anthem sang after meals.
26. Punishment for brawling.
27. Punishment for immorality (fo. 67).
28. An overseer of lands to be appointed at Michaelmas.
29. Defaulters in payment for commons to be mulcted (fo. 68).
30. The quadrangle and cloister to be kept clean (fo. 69).
31. Distribution of fines.
32. Interpretation of the Statutes reserved to the dean and chapter.—Sept. 24, 1534.

^a Statute Book, fo. 59.

Dean Freton, who in 1381 bequeathed a cope to the fabric "prout moris est," and two parts of his residue "ad opus fabricæ et maxime in adiutorium librariæ per episcopum faciendum," left "cuilibet de iiij^{or} parvis canonicis j nobilem et cuilibet alteri presbytero vicario xl d." (Reg. Courtenay, 203), and archdeacon Blythe gave "cuilibet vicario qui capellanus est, vj s. viii d." (Wittlesey, 129 b.) The duties of Sherborne's four lay clerks were defined (Sept. 2, 1526) to attend the dean going or coming on feasts principal from his own house, and to assist the priests; of these "unus ad minus semper sit basse naturalis et audibilis vocis, aliorum verò iij. voces sint suaves et canoræ, ita quòd à communi vocum succentu possint naturaliter et libere ascendere ad xv. vel xvi. notas,"^a to be chosen by the sub-chanter, and three other clerks of his foundation and the informant of the boys. They were to attend the nocturns on the feast of Dedication, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, Translation of St. Richard, and the Assumption of B. M. V.; to attend the hours; and before the mass of St. Mary to go with the boys to the tomb; afterwards to sing mass and go in procession to high mass; to have surplices, which were to be "munde et honeste, plane sine plicis (not gathered), non nimis breves vel nimis longe, sed ad decentiam, cum inscriptione primarum literarum nominis sui R. S. in pectore et in dorso, de sericis filis nigris et aureis mixtis." In 1689 their number was reduced to three.^b Sherborne's bread was discontinued in 1713.

ORGANIST.

The first notice of an organ occurs in the reign of Henry VIII., when William Campyon (35 Henry VIII.) received 6s. 8d. for playing on the organs in the choir, and 3s. 4d. for playing on the organs in the Lady Chapel. In 1685 the organist received the wages of one of Sherborne's clerks, those of another being divided among the remaining two. Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign a payment of 4d. was made to three men for removing the organs of the Lady Chapel "in summas partes ecclesiæ."

^a A satirical vicar of a cathedral church in 1524 thus describes the singing at this period. "How goodly shrill tonges do sounde daili, here y^e musicians do synge songes of fyve partes. Otherwhiles they do so strayne theyr voyce a over theyr reache as thoughe they wolde be strangled, with in a litle while after they do let their voice fall so lowe that thai woldeste were y^t they dyd wepe; one man singeth on this part, an other singethe on another parte, and by and by afterward they waxe dumbe; anon after one begyneth to crowe, and then foloweth a sounde of a fule voyce, in somoche that often tymes in so great a stryfe and dyversytyes of manyfold voices it doeth seme necessary to cry peace peace." (Of the olde gode and the newe.) So Bale speaks of the "fresh descant, pricksong, counterpoint and faburden." (Image, p. 535.) At S. David's some of the vicars gossipped with idlers behind the pillars or went wandering about the nave, whilst in choir they sang carelessly, "in matutinis et horis canonicis versus psallendo ante alios, per se incipiendo, et post alios, in finibus nimis protrahentes, in medio versus cum sociis difformiter et immodice simul non finiunt, sed unusquisque ad votum suum inordinate procedit; verba in missa anticipant, incongrue et sine punctuatione et orthographia debita." (MS. Stat. Menev. 1368. 1432.) The Statutes of Lincoln contain some beautiful and devout rules for the choir, bidding them sing like angels, as if with one voice and one mouth glorifying God. (Nov. Reg. 63.) Medieval music must have sorely tried the ear and voice, by its unmelodious character and the multiplication of wearisome and unmeaning notes.

^b Hutton's Visit. 1742, p. 8.

In 1670 the following payments were made: Quatuor vicariis choralibus presbyteris pro stipendiis suis juxta stylum antiquum, £14. 13. 4. Quatuor clericis laicis pro eorum stipendiis £16. 0. 0; septem choristis pro duobus quarteriis et octo pro quarteriis alternis, £18. 3. 6; organistæ, £0. 13. 4; informatori choristarum in musicâ, £2. 2. 0; tonsori choristarum, £0. 5. 0. Allocatio Sherburni: pistori pro pinsatione panum, £0. 6. 8; quatuor clericis laicis, £43. 6. 8. Regardi ex benevolentia organistæ, £8. 10. 0; informatori choristarum, £5. 0. 0. Stipendia ad festum S. Jacobi, quatuor vicariis, quatuor clericis, quatuor Sherbornis, magistro scholarium, subdiacono [subdean] et virgifero, unicuique, 1s. 4d.; tribus sacristis, 2s.; sex pueris, 3s.; in toto £1. 5. 0.^a

The organist shall remain in the choir until the last psalm be sung and then go up to the organs, and, there having done his duty, return into the choir again to bear his part all along, under the amercement of iij^d toties quoties. This is thought a meet matter in all double choirs, much more is it necessary in all half-choirs, as ours is. Decrees of Dean and Chapter, 1616, r. 18. (Statutes, fo. 19.)

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1573.

That none of the vicars choral, lay vicars, singing men, or Sherborne's clerks shall be a fighter, common brawler, quarreler, or drunkard either within the close of the same church or within the city or precincts of the city of Chichester; and if any of these at any time hereafter offend in any point aforesaid, the first and second times of so offending shall be had and taken for admonitions ipso facto, and after the third offence so committed shall be expelled from such room and commodities as he hath within the said church. Harsnet's Statutes, 1611, fo. 13, extend this penalty to the offence of common frequenting of taverns, inns, and tippling-houses, gaming, and any other crime whereby scandal doth or is likely to arise to the Church. (Fo. 13.)

BISHOP HARSNET'S STATUTES, 1611.

R. 3. Vicars, lay vicars, or Bishop Sherborne's clerks that shall be absent from divine service on the Sabbath day or any high feast day without leave asked and obtained of the Dean, or, in his absence, of his president of chapter, with signification under either of their hands touching his leave unto the residentiary of the quarter, shall be defaulted out of their wages by the cominer: if absent after three such several mulcts, then to be deprived ipso facto by the dean, or, in his absence, by the president and chapter. (Fo. 14.) This was reinforced by decree of the dean and chapter, 1616, r. 28. (Statutes, fo. 21.)

STATUTE OF BISHOP MAWSON, 1742.

Vicars choral and lay vicars absenting themselves without leave of the dean or president of the chapter from Morning or Evening Service to be fined 6d. to be deducted from their wages (Statutes, 109); and in case of disobedience, and after three admonitions from the dean or president of chapter, to be immediately deprived of their places. (*Ib.* 110.)

^a Sloane MS. 1677, fo. 8.

In a Statute of Bishop W. Ashburnham, 1767, it is mentioned that the number of lay clerks was reduced to four, owing to inefficient funds. (*Ib.* fo. 113.) In the time of Queen Mary the number was reduced from twelve to five, and since that time to four only. Of Sherborne's clerks the stipend of one in 1685 was added to the organist's office, and the profits of other divided between the remaining two.

THE CLOISTERS.

It may be well to add a few words about the cloisters, although they are not specially mentioned in the Statutes. At one time the principal of vicars choral kept the keys of their cloister gates, which were locked at 9 p.m.

The cloister is mentioned by Dean Matthew (1180-93) "claustrum canonicorum," in Rede's Register, 1402 (fo. xxxii.), and St. Faith's Chapel, "infra claustrum ecclesie cathedralis" in 1441 (Reg. Praty. fo. 79). Many abuses were committed in it. In 1616 the prebendary was ordered to "scourge out of the cloisters all ungracious boys with their tops, or at least present them to the old man of the vestry;" and, moreover, "to purge the churchyard of dogs and hogs and lewd persons who play or do worse therein." Essex the architect discovered evidences of the time of Henry III. and an external lancet window-case remains in the south wall. The ceiling and tracery of the panes, strikingly like Winchester Cloisters, are Perpendicular, after 1400. The Prebendary of Wightring "in clauso lecturus," according to a Papal Bull of 1373 (Add. MSS. 15,377, fo. 328), read his lectures in the cloister; and at Winchester College the name of "cloister time" still lingers, being the only relic of the practice of studying in the cool alleys in the summer half.

Immediately abutting upon the south alley was St. Faith's Chapel, mentioned in 1325; the case and fragments of tracery of the east window, the gable, and two buttresses remain. The south-east angle of the cloister is formed under the west end of the chapel, which is carried upon buttressing arches. In 1332 Dean Garland founded a chantry in it; about a century later, in 1441, Bishop Praty complained concerning "cantaria in capellâ S. Fidis V. dicta Cantaria de Colworth, cujus capellanus non celebrat, nec celebrari procurat pro fundatoribus, ut deberet; et tunc arbores nuper crescentes in eadem cantariâ succiduntur et venditioni exponuntur, et domus unita deformatur." (Reg. fo. lxx b.) In 1402 it was claimed as a thoroughfare by the canons from their hospitium to the cathedral, "quod canonici residentiarii, inhabitantes hospitium suum, ex antiquâ consuetudine pacifice à tempore cujus contrarii non habebant, et semper habere consueverunt jus eundi per capellam antedictam ad ecclesiam cathedralem."^a At that time Master John Paxton promised to restore to John Mason, master of the works, "meremium ad opus summi altaris in ecclesiâ Cicestrensi in capellâ S. Fidis depositum."^b So that the building was desecrated into a store-room.

The care of the cloisters was entrusted by Bishop Sherborne to a distinct official. De Preculario^c

^a Reg. Rede, fo. xxxiii. Leiger 120.

^b Reg. Rede, fo. xxxiv. b. Meremium means beams and timber.

^c The precula was the paternoster or ave beads, the modern rosary (Polyd. Vergil de rer. inv. lib. v. c. ix. p. 337), whence his name, the bishop's Bedeman. There was a precarius at St. George's Priory, Dunster.

s. oratore [the Bishop's Beadman of the Valor Ecclesiasticus, i. 293]. "Ordinamus quòd ad honorem S. Trinitatis, SS. Wilfridi et Ricardi, preficiatur idoneus et gravis vir, qui prebendariis nostris successive celebraturis ad iiij altaria infra chorum Eccl. Cath. Cic. ministret, altaria præparando, per campanulam futuram missam prænunciando, ornamenta aptando, et necessariis ad hanc rem expletis, in choro superpelliceo indutus, tempore divinorum, pro nobis, etc. orando, et tam altaria quàm imaginem alabastrum a pulveribus telis aranearum et aliis sordibus bene purgata custodiat . . . ut ecclesiam claustrum et cæmeterium diligenter supervideat, et de ecclesiæ ruinis aut aliis puerorum vel pecorum accidentibus malis custodiat. Annuatim percipiat togam de nigro; ij camisias; ij pilios; ij paria sotularium; et ij paria caligarum." His duties are now those of the cloister-keeper.

Dean Maidenhithe says in his will, 1407, that he had had to repair and rebuild "de novo construxi ruinosas et quodammodo collapsas domos mansi;" and he left half his residue ad fabricam domorum pro communitate vicariorum infra clausum construendam. (Reg. Arundel, 242.)

THE CLOSE.

The Canon Gate built in the time of Richard III. bears the arms of Winchester College and of the warden, Dr. More, a fess dancettée between three estoiles. In the last century the Pye Poudre Court during Sloe Fair was held in the upper room. This fair for traders derived its name from a sloe-tree in a field near the north gate, where it was originally held during ten days after Michaelmas. The Pavilion or Fair Court of the bishop lasted from the vigil of St. Faith to the eve of St. Edward Confessor, ever since the memory of man till the present century. The bishop claimed the keys and tolls of the city. Proclamation of it, and of Pye Poudre Court for travellers, was made at Canon Gate, and on the south side of the cross.

Another, called East or Paradise Gate, on the north-east facing the cross, was destroyed with its tower in 1829. (See *Gent. Mag.* vol. c. pt. 2, p. 219.) It formed an important feature in the ceremonial of the reception of a bishop after his arrival under escort from St. Roche's Hill.

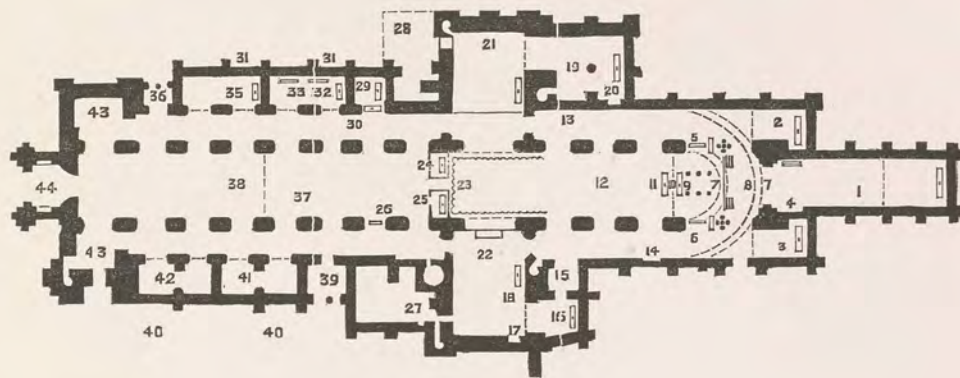
The following extract shows that the term Paradise was not restricted to the Garth. John Hardham, of Chichester, May 28, 1550, bequeathed his body to be buried "in the churchyard or Lighten called Paradise nigh unto the crosse."^a

Within the precinct, when the Duke of Monmouth visited the city on Feb. 1, 1680, we are told by the bishop of the time, that "the great men of our cathedral welcomed him with bells and bonfires made by wood had from their houses to flare before his lodgings . . . Dr. Edes conducted him to the church from the cloister into the quire; he was ushered into the dean's seat with a voluntary upon the organ," and special anthems were sung on the occasion.^b

The accompanying plans may be useful as explaining the views which I have set forth in this memoir as to the various arrangements of the Cathedral and Close.

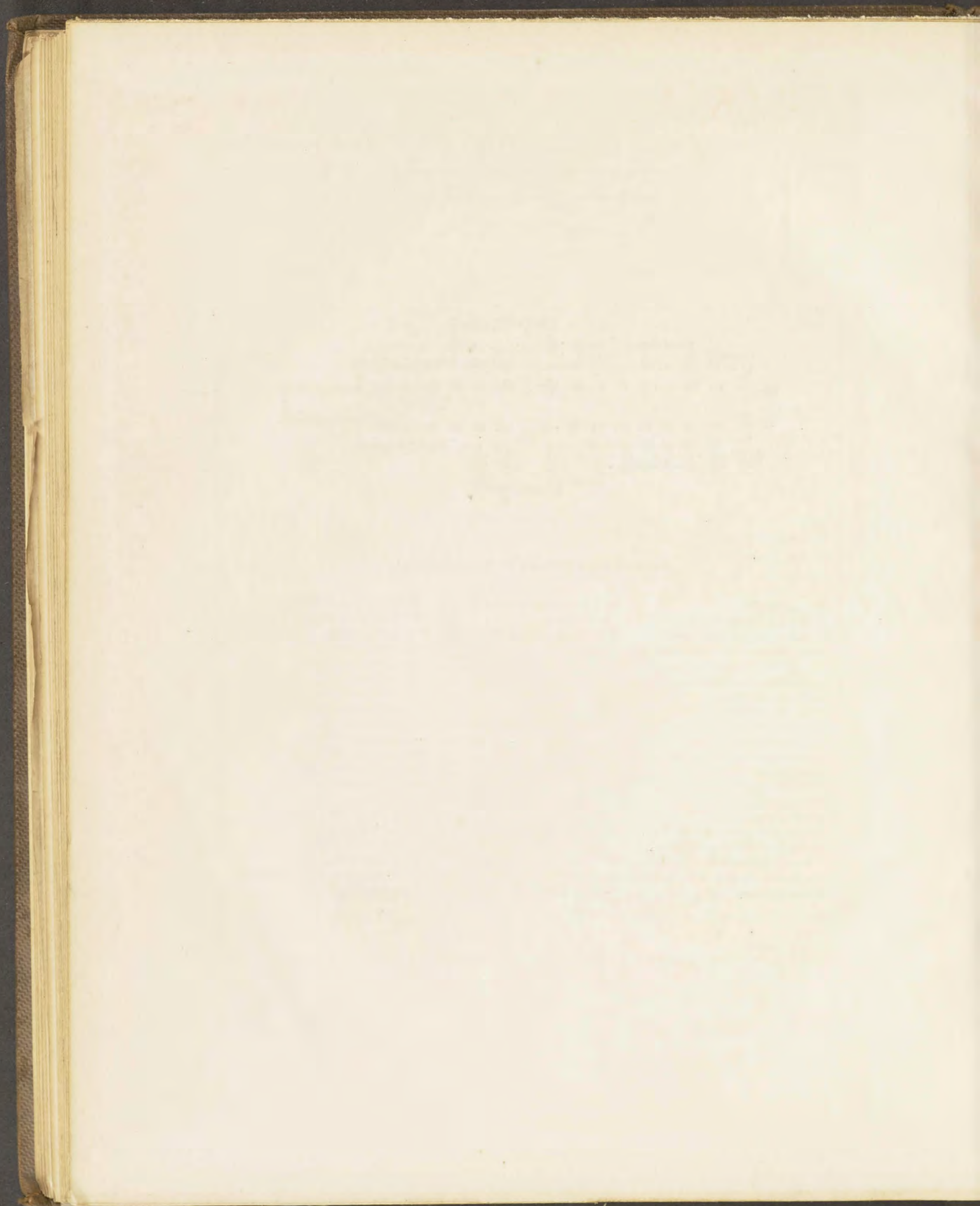
^a Wills, Coode, 18.

^b Tanner MS. 38, fo. 126.



ANCIENT ICHNOGRAPHY OF THE CATHEDRAL.

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|--|---|--|
| 1. Lady Chapel. | 16. S. Pantaleon's Chapel with relic-chamber over. | 28. Chantry Priests' lodging. |
| 2. S. John Baptist's Chapel. | 17. Bp. Langton's tomb with Bp. Stratford's effigy. | 29. S. Edmund's Chapel. |
| 3. S. Mary Magdalen's Chapel. | 18. Bp. Sherborne's altar. | 30. S. Richard's first grave. |
| 4. Bp. Gilbert's tomb with slabs of Bps. Seffrid II. and Warham, with Bp. Ralph's fronting them. | 19. Chapel of Four Virgins with Library over. | 31. 31. Aumbries. |
| 5. Bp. Storey's altar. | 20. Ablution drain. | 32. S. Theobald's Chapel. |
| 6. Bp. Neville's altar. | 21. Aisle and Altar of Benefactors. | 33. Effigy of a Lady. |
| 7. Norman Apse. | 22. Bp. Moleyns' tomb with Bp. Langton's effigy. | 34. Effigies of a Knight and Lady. |
| 8. Procession path. | 23. Choir, with Rood-loft or Arundel Screen. | 35. S. Anne's Chapel. |
| 9. Feretory of S. Richard with altar and shrine. | 24. Altar of S. Augustine and Holy Cross. | 36. North porch. |
| 10. Watching-loft. | 25. Chantry of S. Mary at the Stock or the Choir Door. | 37. Norman ritual choir. |
| 11. High altar. | 26. Tomb of Bp. Arundell. | 38. Parish Church of S. Peter the Great. |
| 12. Presbytery. | 27. Sacristy or Treasury with Langton's Chapter House over. | 39. S. Richard's Porch with secret treasury over. |
| 13. Bp. Rickingale's tomb and effigy. | | 40. 40. Drains and aumbries. |
| 14. Bp. Sherborne's tomb and effigy between sculptures of the 12th century. | | 41. S. Clement's Chapel. |
| 15. Norman Sacristy with Recluse-chamber above. | | 42. S. George's Chapel. |
| | | 43. Western towers. |
| | | 44. Galilee Porch. Bp. Stephen's tomb on south side. |



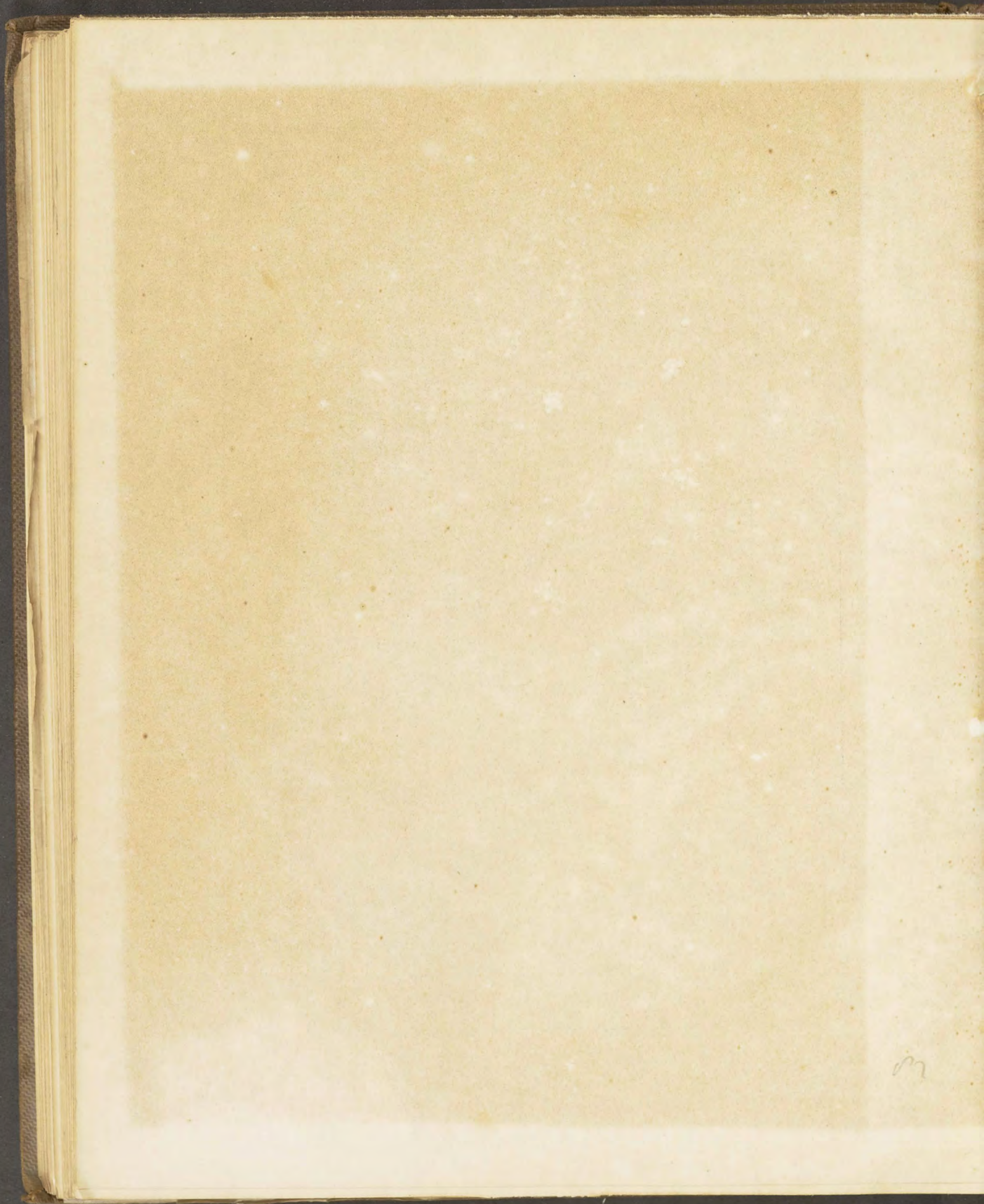


THE CLOSE.

1. Paradise Tower Gate.
2. Vicars' Parlour over Undercroft.
3. Vicars' Hall.
4. S. Faith's Chapel.
5. Vicars' Close.
6. Dark Cloister.
7. Vicars' Gate House.
8. Canongate.
9. Chantry, or Praecentor's House.
- 10, 10. Residentiary Houses.
11. Deanery.

12. Postern.
13. Bishop's Gatehouse.
14. City Wall of the 14th Century.
15. Palace Garden.
16. Palace.
17. Sherborne's Kitchen.
18. Sherborne's Hall.
19. Chapel.
20. Chantry, or Chancellor's House.
21. Palace Offices.
22. Treasury, or Treasurer's House.

23. S. Richard's Wyne or Lane.
24. Wiccamical Prebendaries' Hall over cellarage.
25. Royal or Mortimer Chantry Priests' lodging.
26. Paradise.
27. Middle Gate.
28. Bell Tower.
29. Sun Gate.
30. Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity.
31. The Cloisters.



27

