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a



b



c



d

*a.* The set of twenty-four gaming-pieces. *b.* The six bead and bracelet fragments (natural size). *c* and *d.* Two of the gaming-pieces (natural size)



# *A La Tène III Burial at Welwyn Garden City*

By I. M. STEAD, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

[Read 17th February 1966]

## INTRODUCTION

**I**N South-eastern England, north of the River Thames, is a small but important group of rich La Tène III cremation burials (fig. 1). One of the characteristics of the group is the absence of a mound, or any other surface indication, and it follows from this that the discoveries are invariably by chance, as a result of some agricultural or commercial excavation. At best the archaeologist has had to make a

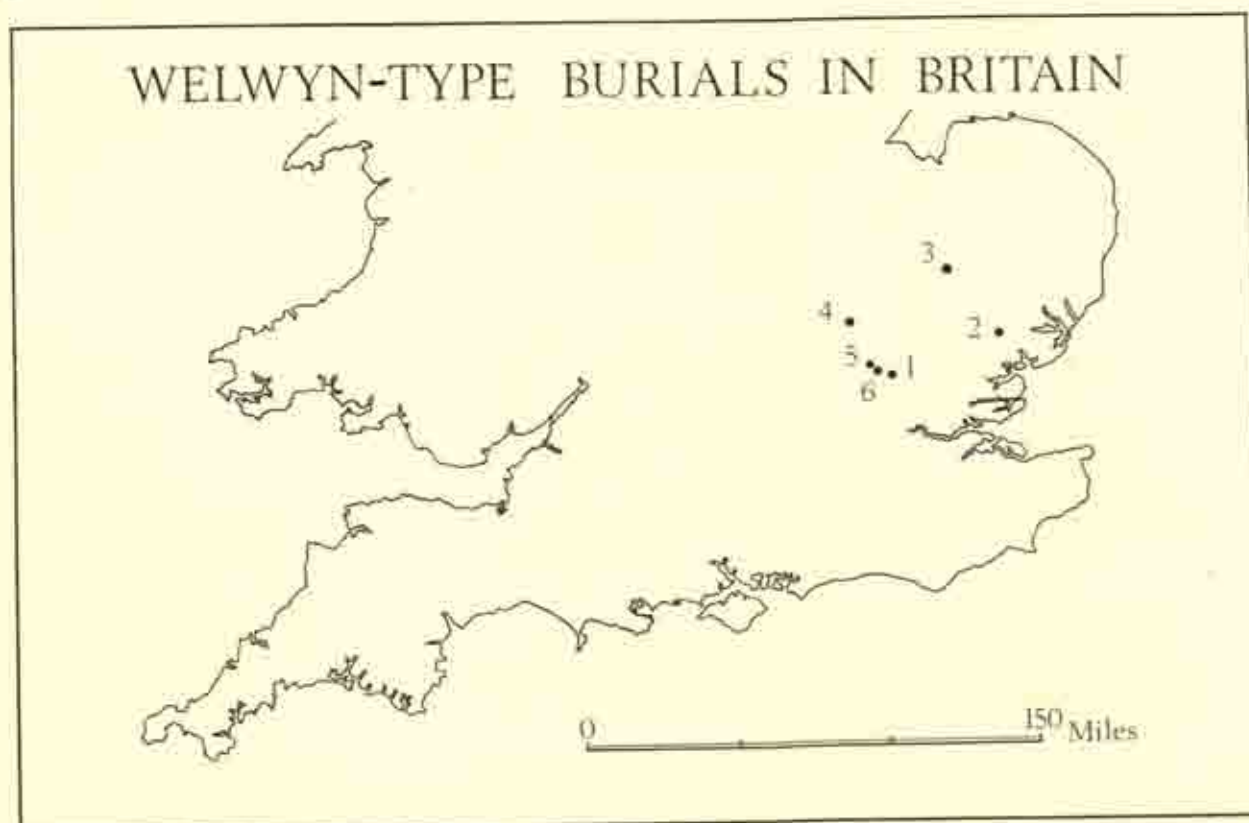


FIG. 1. 1, Hertford Heath; 2, Mount Bures; 3, Snailwell; 4, Stanfordsbury; 5, Welwyn; 6, Welwyn Garden City

hasty excavation under conditions far from ideal, and at worst he has been presented with a garbled account of the discovery and an incomplete collection of grave-goods.

Two such burials were found in the nineteenth century during agricultural operations, at Stanfordsbury, Bedfordshire, in 1832, and at Mount Bures, near Colchester, Essex, in 1849.<sup>1</sup> The Stanfordsbury burial was disturbed by a drain, and then excavated under the supervision of a local antiquary, Thomas Inskip, who also found a second burial nearby. But Inskip's finds were not published until ten years later, and

<sup>1</sup> All these burials are listed, with bibliography and grave-goods, in the Appendix.

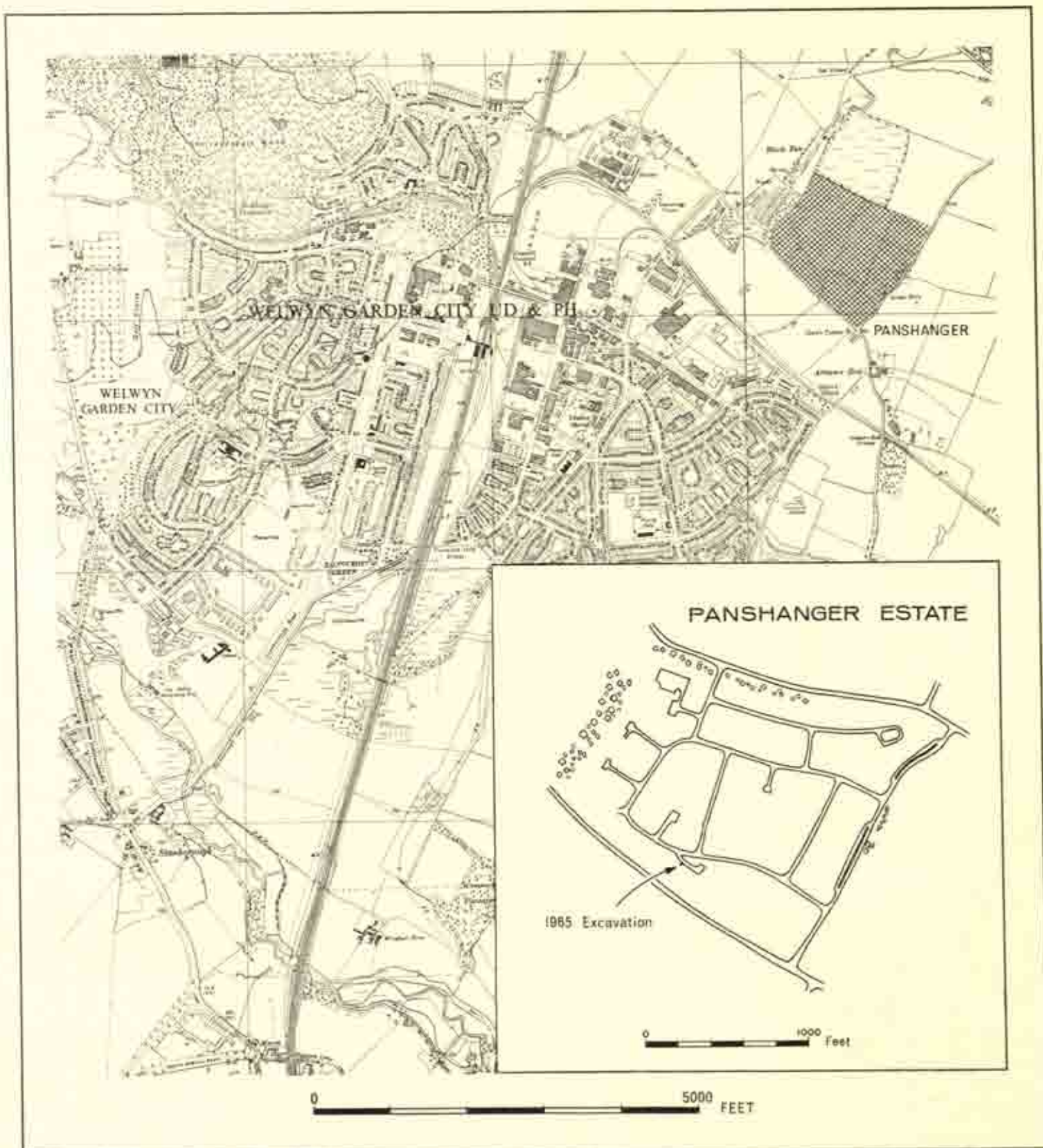


FIG. 2. Panshanger Estate, Welwyn Garden City: the site of the 1965 discovery. (Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved)



then not by himself, but by Sir Henry Dryden. At Mount Bures the excavation of a field-ditch led to the discovery of a similar burial which was cleared without archaeological supervision, and published shortly afterwards by Charles Roach Smith.

In the present century the discoveries were made during roadworks, or building construction. At Welwyn, Hertfordshire, in 1906, two burials were disturbed and emptied, and although the finds were published shortly afterwards it is clear that the grave-groups are incomplete, and there is a possibility that finds from the two graves were muddled. In 1952 a pipe-line on a new housing estate at Snailwell, Cambridgeshire, revealed a similar burial, but unfortunately the archaeologists were obliged to complete their work within a single day. Again, in 1956, on a new housing estate at Hertford Heath, outside Hertford, another burial of this type was disturbed—this time by two intersecting pipe-trenches. Some finds were immediately rescued, but the site was covered by a concrete raft, which had to be broken when the remainder of the grave was re-excavated the following year.

This sorry tale of pipe-lines and rescue work is continued by the discovery of a burial at Welwyn Garden City in 1965. Again the scene was a new housing estate, and again the burial was exposed by a pipe-trench. The Panshanger Estate, on the east of Welwyn Garden City, is one of the last areas to be developed by the local Development Corporation (fig. 2). At the beginning of 1965 the road network had already been established, and the main services were under construction. Some time in the middle of February a mechanical excavator cleared a trench for the gas-pipe, and the sub-contractor responsible for the work noticed a mass of broken pottery, and a fairly complete amphora standing upright in the side of his trench. This amphora was removed, only to reveal another beyond. So the workmen burrowed into the side of their trench and pulled it out—and then saw a third, beyond that. The third amphora was well beyond the gas-pipe trench, and underneath the newly constructed road, so the workmen decided to leave it in case its removal might damage the road foundation. The two rescued amphorae were thrown on to the side of the trench, the gas-pipe set in position, and the site backfilled.

It was thought that the amphorae would make useful garden ornaments, so the sub-contractor took them home and stored them in his garage. There they were noticed by a neighbour, who told a member of the local archaeological society, and eventually, about two months after the discovery, news of the find reached the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Building and Works.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, as the news came to light immediately before Easter, it was possible to take advantage of the Easter vacation to mobilize a skilled team of students to supplement the Inspectorate's permanent staff, and an excavation was quickly organized.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Inspectorate was informed by its local correspondent, Dr. I. E. Anthony, F.S.A., Verulamium Museum. Mr. A. G. Rook and Mr. G. Moody, Secretary of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society, provided earlier links in this chain of information.

<sup>2</sup> The writer was assisted by Mrs. S. M. Stead, Miss J. E. Mellor, Miss M. P. Owers (Mrs. Canham), Mr. R. G. Canham, and Mr. Basil Clarke. Miss G. Jones and Mr. D. S. Neal, of the Ministry's permanent staff, also assisted

with the excavation work and recording. The Inspectorate is also indebted to the Welwyn Garden City Development Corporation for their willing co-operation, and particularly to their Chairman, Mr. C. G. Maynard, who intervened personally, and their Estates Officer, Mr. R. Balam. Mr. A. G. Davies, Hertford Museum, and Mr. A. G. Rook generously surrendered finds which they had retrieved from the surface and from the gas-pipe trench.



## THE EXCAVATION

A length of the gas-pipe trench was re-excavated, and the site was soon located by the scatter of sherds. After the grave had been seen in the section of the trench, an area to the south was stripped to uncover the plan. At that end there was another disturbance—a water-pipe trench—but this was shallow and had caused little damage. To the north of the gas-pipe it was apparent that the burial extended under the new road, and the Welwyn Garden City Development Corporation was approached, and generously gave permission for part of the road to be removed. This area was then stripped, and the full plan of the grave was uncovered (fig. 3).

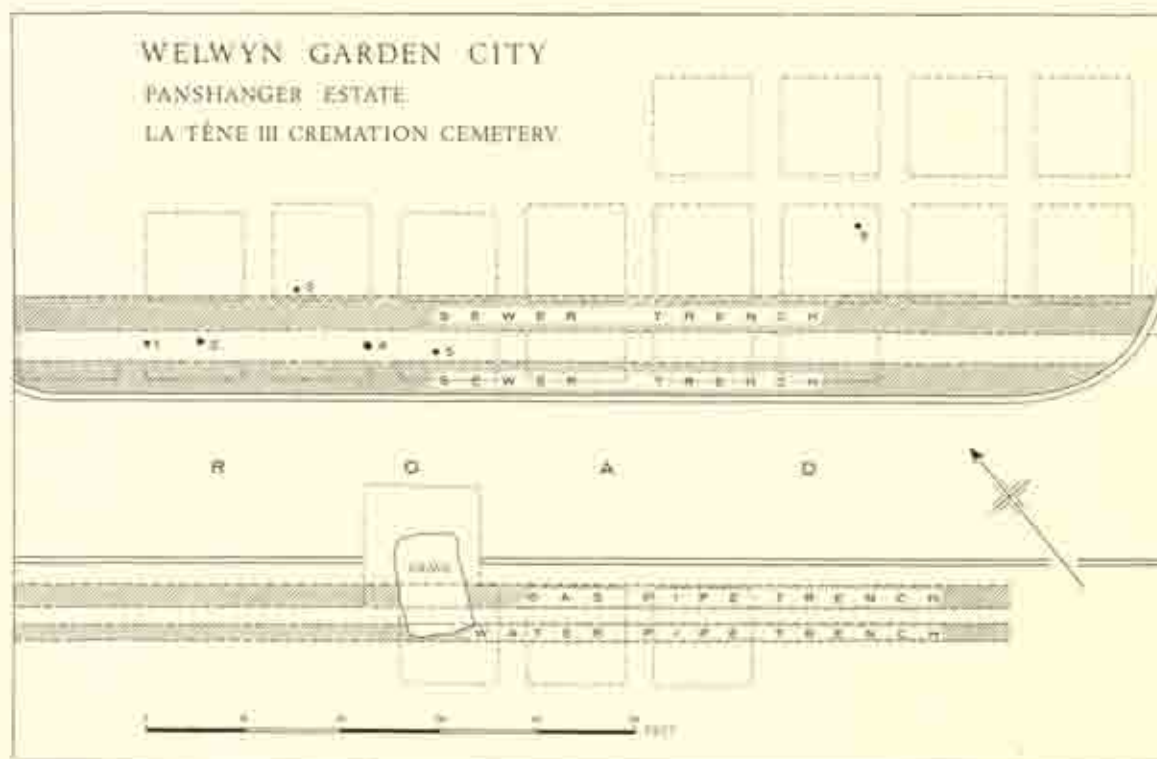


FIG. 3. Site plan, showing the area excavated, the main grave, and the separate cremation urns (nos. 1 to 6). Modern service-trenches are hatched

That part of the grave between the two pipe-trenches was excavated first. There were no finds in the filling, but on the floor in one corner was a complete pedestal urn, at the other end a complex of iron bands and iron rings, and along the edge of the gas-pipe trench a mass of crushed and broken pottery (pl. II, *a*). On the north side of the grave the broken necks of three amphorae were found immediately below the road foundation. They were standing upright and their rims had been removed, possibly by earlier ploughing or during the construction of the road. One of these necks belonged to an amphora whose body had been pulled out by the workmen two months earlier, but the other two were undisturbed. On the floor, in the central area, were several crushed pots, some disturbed when the gas-pipe excavators burrowed



into the side of their trench. But much of the northern part of the grave, including the cremation, had escaped damage.

When a similar burial was found at Welwyn at the beginning of the century, a second grave was discovered about 100 ft. away, and at Stanfordsbury two such burials were found within 30 ft. of each other. Hence it was imperative to search the surrounding area for other remains. This search was impeded by the position of modern features and the plans for further development. Much of the immediate area was covered by the road, and for the rest the Development Corporation was, quite naturally, unwilling to allow random digging on the proposed sites of houses. The nearest area which could be stripped was on the opposite side of the road, and here six more cremations were found—each in a separate pot with no additional grave-goods (fig. 3). Five of these cremations formed a close group, four of them in a baulk between two sewer trenches, and this concentration suggests that others might have been disturbed by those trenches, or remain undetected under the road.

For the house-plots it seemed that a scientific detecting device was required. The proximity of the service pipes and a nearby main road ruled out the use of a proton magnetometer, so a resistivity survey was carried out by the Engineering Test Branch, Ministry of Public Building and Works. This located three anomalies, and the Development Corporation readily gave permission for their excavation; but two were quite shallow pits, and the third was part of a small ditch.

#### THE GRAVE

The grave had been excavated in gravel, and its floor was about 4 ft. below present ground level. Immediately below the disturbed top-soil the pit measured about 10 ft. 6 in. long by 7 ft. 3 in. wide, but its walls sloped slightly, so that the floor of the grave was 8 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. 9 in. The grave had been back-filled, not with gravel, but with a finer grey sandy earth including fragments of charred wood which could have been derived from the funeral pyre. There was no trace of a timber lining, nor anything resembling the structure of a vault. This seems to have been a grave which was fully back-filled immediately after the burial.

The corpse had been cremated, and the calcined bones were in a simple heap towards the centre of the northern end of the grave. There was no sign of any container for the bones. The immediate area of the cremation seems to have been kept particularly clear; the grave-goods at this end, apart from the glass gaming-pieces, were found leaning against the wall of the grave. This clear area was defined on its southern side by an oblique line across the grave and a scatter of ornamental bronze-headed studs. It appears that these studs originally decorated a wooden object which formed a partition at this point. To the south of this 'partition' the grave-goods, and particularly the pots, were crowded together on the floor of the grave.

Despite the interference by pipe-trenches, it has been possible to prepare an almost complete plan of the grave-goods (fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> By great good fortune the gas-pipe had

<sup>1</sup> This plan, and all the other line drawings illustrating this paper, were drawn by Miss G. Jones. Miss Jones also took the photographs from which pls. vi, b and vii, b have been prepared.



WELWYN GARDEN CITY  
HERTFORDSHIRE  
1965

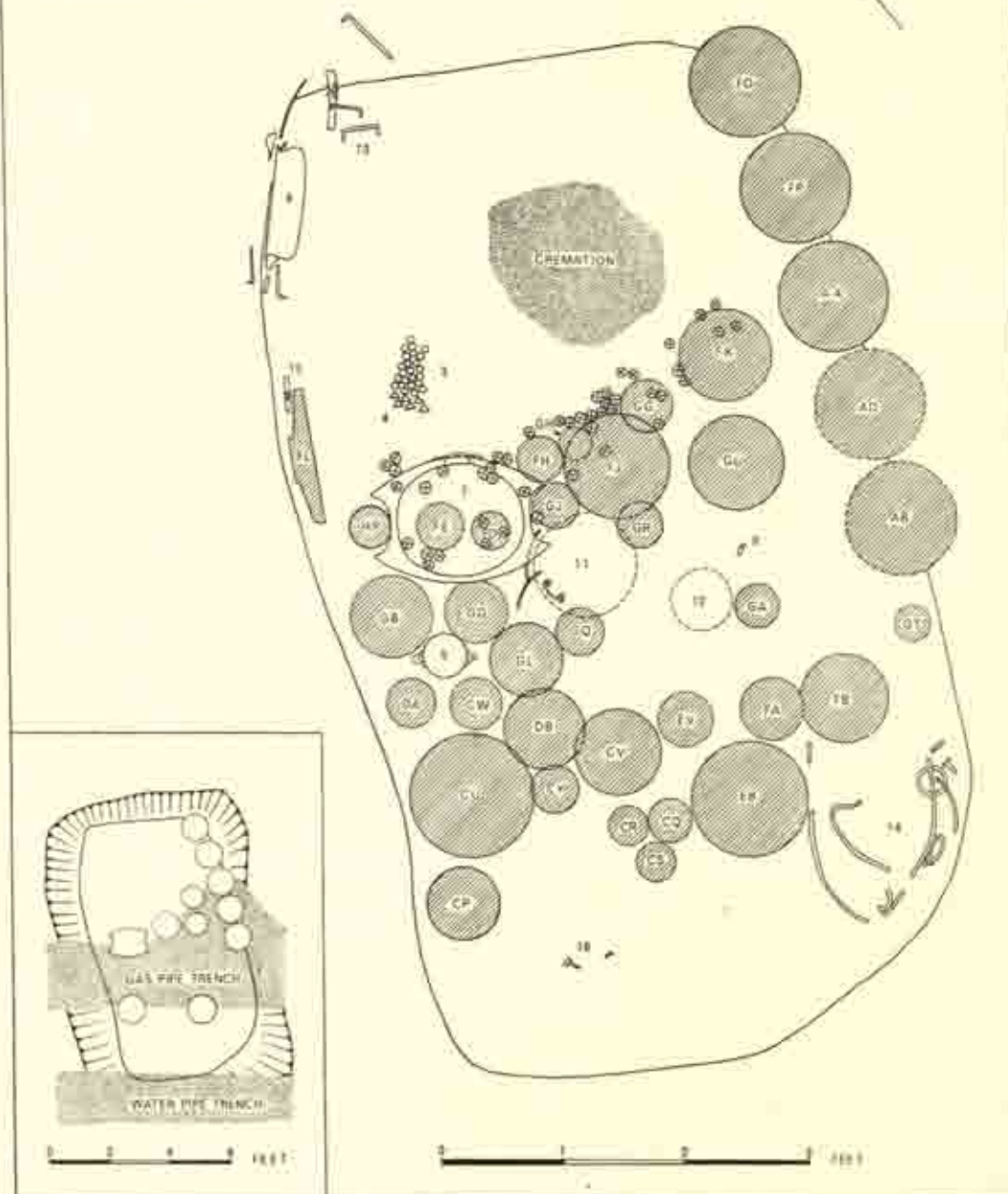


FIG. 4. Plan of the grave. Explanation: (a) Inset. The stippled area shows the disturbance of the modern pipe-trenches, and the extension from the gas-pipe trench made in order to pull out the amphorae. (b) Amphorae and other pots hatched, and marked with code-letters, as excavated. Amphorae AB and AD had been completely removed during the excavation of the gas-pipe trench; the body of AA had also been removed, but the neck remained to show its exact position. Four pots had been completely disturbed by the gas-pipe trench, and their positions are unknown; PS.GE; PS.KB; PS.KE; PS.KF. (c) Other grave-goods: 3, Gaming-pieces; 4, Bead and Bracelet fragments; 5, Silver cup; 6, Bronze strainer; 7, Bronze dish; 8, Nail-cleaner;  $\oplus$  = 9, Dome-headed studs; 10, Distorted bronze (in with the cremation); 11 and 12, Wooden vessels with bronze fittings; 13, ? Wooden board with iron fittings; 14, Wooden vessel(s) with iron fittings; 15, Triangular knife; 16, Wooden object with iron fittings; 17, 'Straw mat' (not shown, under no. 7)

been laid slightly above the floor of the grave, so that although the pottery had been smashed, most of the bases were still *in situ* and it has been possible to restore the body-sherds to their bases.<sup>1</sup> In this way all but four pots can be replaced in their original positions.

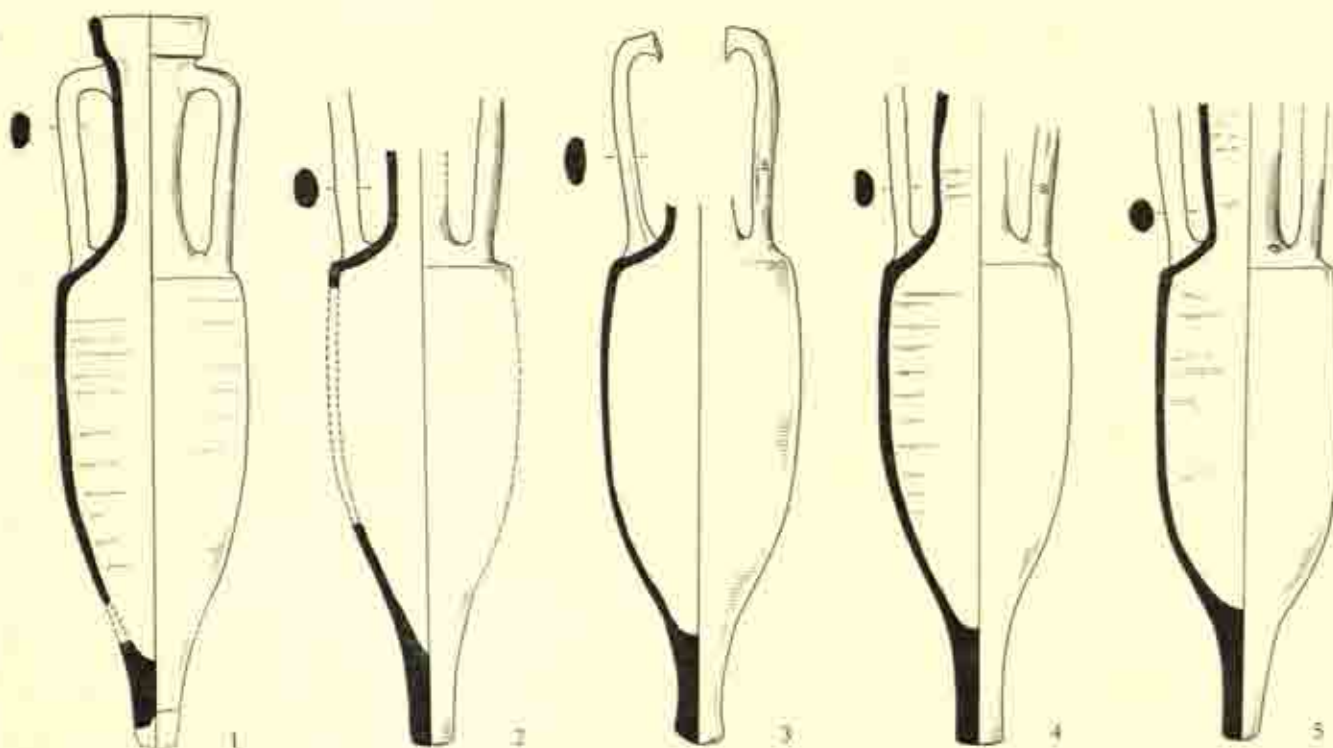


FIG. 5. Amphorae (1/2)

#### GRAVE-GOODS<sup>2</sup>

##### (i) *Amphorae* (fig. 5)

1. Amphora in hard reddish-brown ware. An Italian vessel, Dressel type 1, cf. M. H. Callender, 1965, 7-9; O. Uenze, 1958. This amphora was damaged by the gas-pipe trench and not found *in situ*. It is the only one whose rim survives, so it may perhaps have fallen in the grave and thus escaped damage by ploughing. (PS.AB)
2. Similar amphora. (PS.AD)
3. Similar amphora, but on one handle there is a mark—three lines incised before firing (pl. II, b). (PS.FP)
4. Similar amphora, also with three incised lines on one handle. (PS.FO)

<sup>1</sup> This work, and emergency treatment of the metal objects, were carried out by Mr. V. R. Rickard and the staff of the Ancient Monuments Conservation Laboratory.

<sup>2</sup> The writer is indebted to Miss V. Rigby for assistance in dealing with the grave-goods, and to many colleagues who examined some or all of the material and whose comments and advice have been used in this report. The

identifications of wood and mineralized woody residues mentioned in the text were made by Dr. D. F. Cutler, by courtesy of the Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. The grave-goods have been presented by the Welwyn Garden City Development Corporation to the British Museum.



5. An amphora similar in shape to the others, but with a creamish slip. It has been stamped at the base of the neck, but the impression is difficult to read—perhaps HIE or HIB. At Camulodunum a Dressel type 1 amphora had been stamped on the rim (C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, 214, fig. 45, no. 7) with similar letters, and the E or B on that impression also runs into the edge of the stamp—but the letters are shorter than those on the Welwyn Garden City amphora. Two of the amphorae found at Welwyn in 1906 were stamped on the rim, the one AA and the other sos. These stamps, hitherto unpublished, are illustrated on fig. 6.



FIG. 6. Stamps on amphorae: 1, Welwyn A; 2, Welwyn B; 3, Welwyn Garden City (f)

This amphora, like nos. 3 (pl. II, *b*) and 4 had three incised lines on one handle (the central line has been lost because the handle is broken and chipped). As the mark was made before the vessel was fired, it seems unlikely that it related to the contents—such marks were usually made in paint after the amphora had been fired. It may perhaps be compared with name stamps which are followed by numbers (cf. M. H. Callender, 1965, 265) possibly indicating subsidiary centres of production or individual potters. (PS.AA)

(ii) *The Pottery* (figs. 7-9)

In general the pottery may be divided into the following categories:

Grey ware with over-all burnishing	1, 2, 7-13, 18, 19, (26), 27, 31, 32.
Grey ware with burnished bands	3-6, 21-24.
Buff ware with over-all burnishing	20, 28, 33-35.
Buff ware with pattern burnishing	14-17, 25.
Imported vessels	29, 30, 36.

Many of the grey wares have worn surfaces, presumably due to soil conditions as well as the disturbance by the pipe-trench, which caused the abrasion of many sherds. Originally much of this grey ware had fine burnished surfaces which have not completely survived, and some vessels now have a variegated light grey-brown surface in parts. The rims, and edges of pedestals, are frequently worn.

It seems very likely that all the grey and buff wares are native products, and the feature common to all, except the tripod vessel, is close horizontal or concentric burnishing. The small flat-rimmed cups have this burnishing together with linear burnishing arranged as decoration in much the same way as that on the tripod vessel, so there can be little doubt that the latter is native too. The two platters, and the white-slipped jug, which all have mica in their fabric, are the only probable imports.

(9)

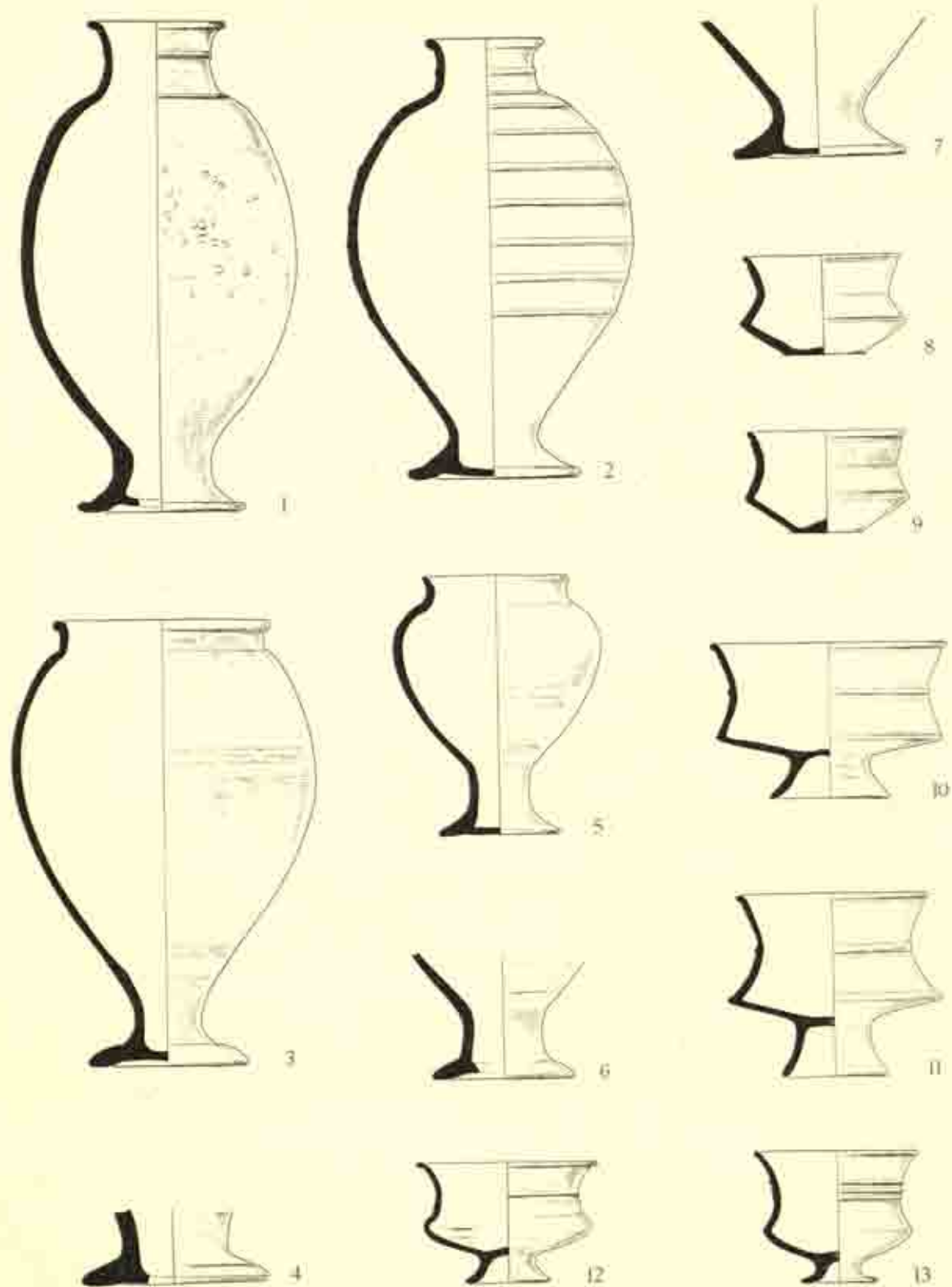


FIG. 7. Pottery (4)

c

(10.)

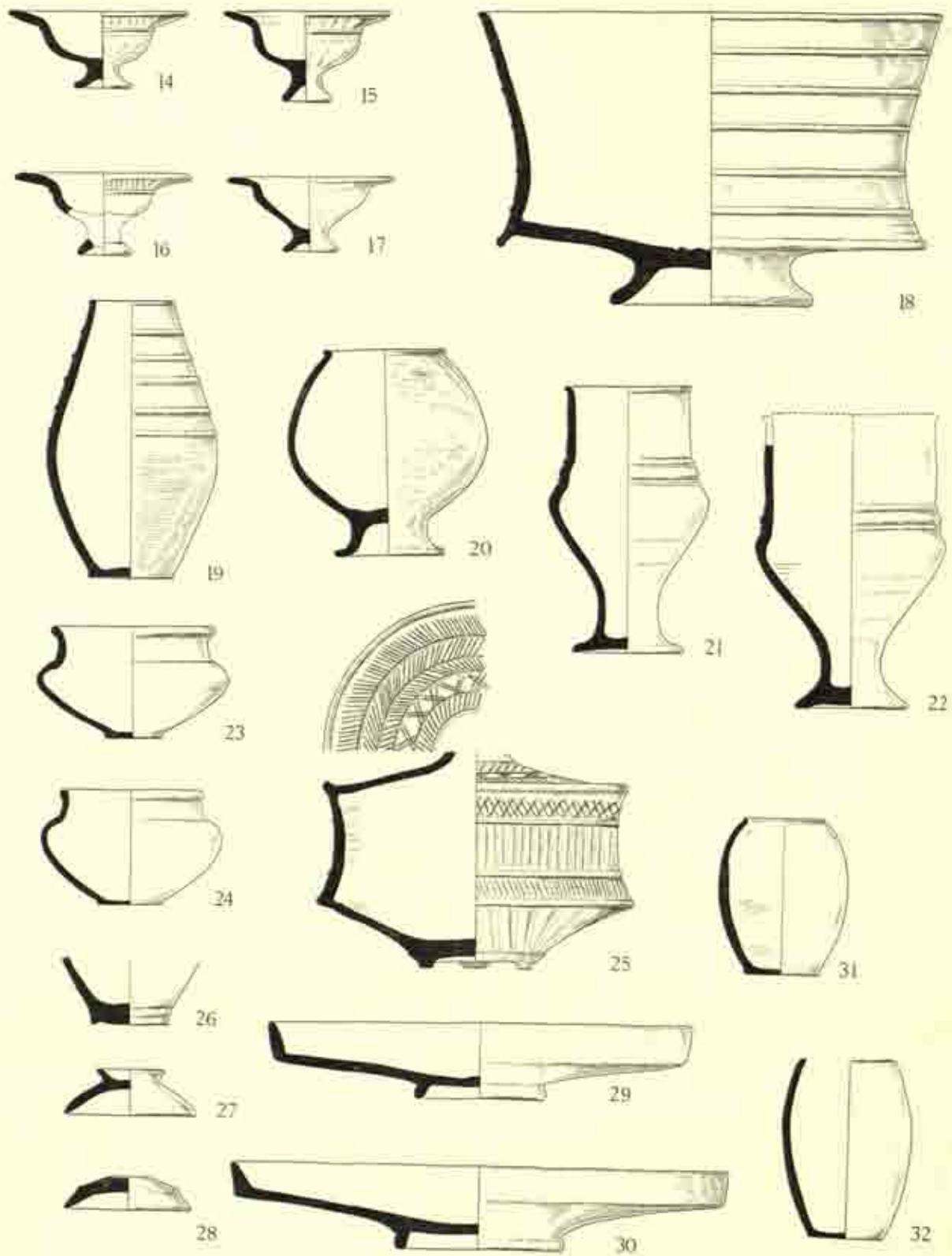
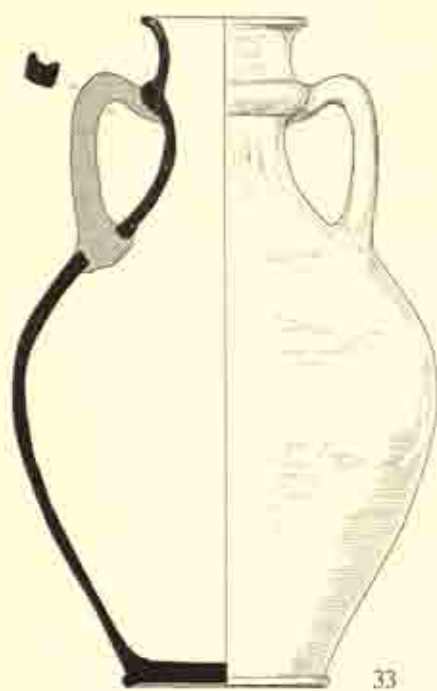
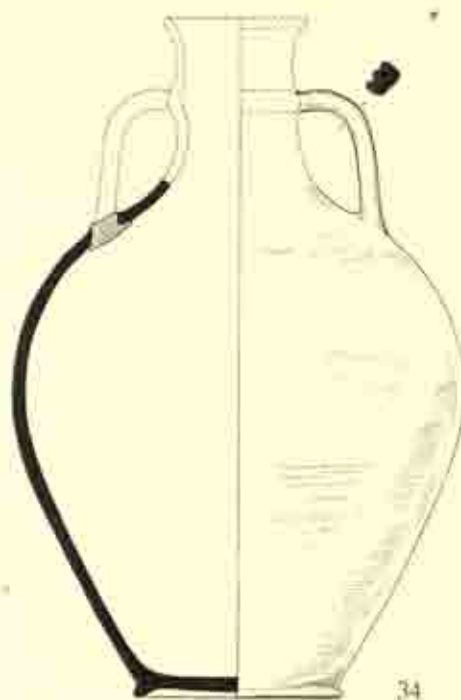


FIG. 8. Pottery (1)

(11)



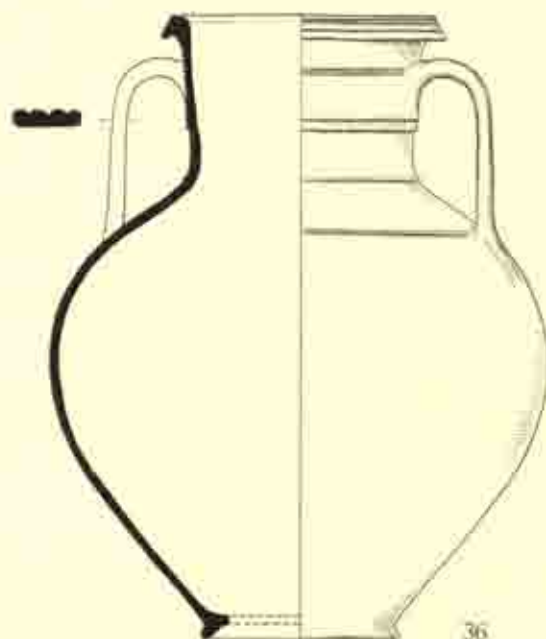
33



34



35



36

FIG. 9. Pottery ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )



Although it is generally fine table-ware, the native pottery must have been made in the immediate locality, and the closest parallels are from Hertfordshire, with some related vessels from Essex. Pottery from the Aylesford-Swarling burials has been conveniently assembled by A. Birchall, 1965, and parallels from her illustrated corpus are quoted below preceded by 'AB'.

1. (PS.CP) (pl. III, *a*) Pedestal urn with a narrow neck. Fine burnished surface, with a few slight and haphazard impressions of the end of a stick on the body. There is a narrow-necked urn from Aylesford, AB. 69, but it has a higher belly—more pear-shaped. An urn from Welwyn D, AB. 110, has a similar body, but differs in the detail of neck and base.
2. (PS.DB) Similar pedestal urn, but the upper part of the body is decorated with cordons. There seems to be no similar cordoned vessel, and the type differs from AB type IA which has cordons over the entire body.
3. (PS.CV) Pedestal urn with a short wide neck, and a quoit-shaped foot. Horizontal burnishing in bands, as indicated. This is a more usual form, and very like other Hertfordshire urns, AB. 104 and 106 (Welwyn) and 118 (Hitchin).
4. (PS.FB) Pedestal urn with a heavier foot. Other sherds from this pot show that it had a short wide neck, similar to no. 3, and similar bands of horizontal burnishing.
5. (PS.CW) Small pedestal urn, with short wide neck and bands of horizontal burnishing. AB. 117 (Hitchin) is similar, although slightly larger.
6. (PS.FA) Pedestal urn with quoit-shaped foot, similar to no. 3.
7. (PS.GL) Pedestal urn with a base like no. 1, and with similar burnishing over all the surviving part of the body.
8. (PS.CR) Carinated bowl; its surface is worn, and now variegated, buff-grey. Somewhat similar to AB. 108 (Welwyn C), AB. 127 (Ardleigh, Essex), and other related vessels from Essex (AB. 167, 176, 177, 210).
9. (PS.FD) Similar bowl, but the surface is better preserved, and finely burnished.
10. (PS.GD) Tazza, in dark grey ware, with horizontal burnishing. Very like vessels from the Welwyn cemetery, AB. 103 (Welwyn A), 105 (Welwyn B), 112 (Welwyn D), and a related tazza from Essex (AB. 215).
11. (PS.EV) Similar, but narrower and taller tazza, whose surface is not so well preserved.
12. (PS.FE) Pedestal bowl, with fine horizontal burnishing. Similar to AB. 137 (Shoebury, Essex).
13. (PS.CS) Pedestal bowl with three cordons on the body.
14. (PS.FH) (pl. III, *b*) Small pedestal cup in buff ware, with a flat rim. The upper side of the rim is burnished concentrically—very similar to that on the other pots. The underside of the rim, and the body, are decorated with radiating



burnished lines. No closely comparable type has been located; the striations on the body may suggest a metal prototype, although pottery flat-rimmed cups are found in northern Italy throughout the Iron Age.

- 15-17. (PS.HP; PS.GQ; PS.GR) Similar cups, varying slightly in shape.
18. (PS.CU) Large cordoned bowl with a pedestal. Fine dark grey ware. Similar to form 210 at Camulodunum (C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, 258, and pl. LXXIV) which was quite rare; but more like the shale version found at Barnwell Priory, Cambridgeshire (Cambridge Museum). Related vessels occur in France (e.g. J. B. Ward Perkins, 1940, fig. 22, no. 1, and fig. 23, nos. 1 and 8; these examples without the pedestal base), and Germany.
19. (PS.GJ) Cordoned beaker in fine grey ware with over-all horizontal burnishing. The upper part of a rather similar vessel from Kempraten, Switzerland, W. Drack, 1962, pl. 14, no. 6.
20. (PS.GG) Globular beaker with a pedestal. A fine buff ware, with horizontal burnishing very similar to that on the grey wares. No exact parallel has been found.
21. (PS.GA) Cordoned beaker with a tall neck, bead rim, and pedestal base. Over-all burnishing on the pedestal and belly, and two bands of burnishing in the area between, cf. pedestal urn no. 3, etc. The beaker from Hitchin, AB. 124, is similar in its upper part, but it does not have a pedestal base.
22. (PS.CY). Similar but wider beaker.
23. (PS.CQ) Small bowl, with upright neck, in grey ware with lines of horizontal burnishing. Similar to AB. 109 (Welwyn C).
24. (PS.DA) Similar bowl, with a rather shorter neck.
25. (PS.GB) (pl. III, c) Curious tripod vessel. Buff outer surfaces, and grey inside. The 'lid' was fired in one piece with the rest of the pot, and the only point of entry was through a hole at the top. Unfortunately this top part was damaged and lost. The burnished decoration is in a similar technique to that on the cups, nos. 14-17. There is no very close parallel, although in some ways it may be compared with a type of bowl with lid distinctive of Essex (Camulodunum form 252) and particularly the example from the Lexden Grange burial (Colchester Mirror burial) which also has lattice decoration on the upper part of the body (Sir Cyril Fox and M. R. Hull, 1948, 136, and fig. 9, no. 6). Tripod vessels are known in La Tène III contexts on the continent, e.g. Mont Beuvray, J. G. Bulliot, 1899, pl. xxiv, 9, 10, 15; pl. xxvi, 10, 17; pl. xxviii, 11, 14; pl. xlIII, 1, 11, 16; but none is closely comparable with that at Welwyn Garden City. Functionally the vessel may have been used for incense, cf. the bowl from a cemetery at Litlington, Cambridgeshire, C. Fox, 1923, 208-9, pl. xxi, 3, and another from Silchester, T. May, 1916, 119, type 71, pl. 1, which have similar central openings but they are surrounded by perforations.



26. (PS.KB) Base of a vessel with a foot-ring, and a cordon just above the base.
27. (PS.KF) Small vessel in grey ware, possibly a lid—it would fit the pedestal urn with narrow neck, no. 1. Similar to AB. 209 (Creeksea, Essex).
28. (PS.GH) Lid in buff ware, possibly intended for one of the flagons. It was found inverted on the floor of the grave.
29. (PS.EB) Platter, with light-brown surfaces and grey core. Particles of mica in the fabric. On the underside are traces of a fine polished surface. No very close parallel has been found, but this platter, and no. 30, are not Gallo-Belgic, and presumably copy something in the Arretine or Campanian tradition. They are more likely to have been imports than native products.
30. (PS.FL) Platter in similar ware, slightly darker, but also with particles of mica. The fabric is brown throughout, and traces survive of a brighter red surface.
31. (PS.GT) Plain grey-ware beaker, burnished, with a bead rim. AB. 146 (Southminster, Essex) and 159 (Great Wakering, Essex) are quite similar.
32. (PS.KE) Similar beaker, but the rim has not survived.
33. (PS.FK) Large buff flagon, with two handles and a cordon round the neck. Horizontal burnishing over-all. The most similar British vessel is Camulodunum form 170, which has the same type of neck but a much wider body.
34. (PS.GU) Similar, but the handle has a slightly different profile.
35. (PS.GE) Small flagon in similar fabric; tall funnel-shaped neck with a cordon round it. It has had two handles, but neither has survived.
36. (PS.FJ) (pl. III, *d*) Flagon in hard reddish-brown ware with a white slip on the outside and splashed into the inside of the neck. There is some mica in the fabric. AB. 172 (Colchester) is quite similar in shape and fabric. Almost certainly an import.

(iii) *Gaming-pieces* (fig. 10, left; frontispiece, *a*, *c*, and *d*)

A complete set of twenty-four glass gaming-pieces (PS.FM), on which Dr. D. B. Harden, V.-P.S.A., has submitted the following report:

'These twenty-four gaming-pieces form a complete set in four colours, white, blue, yellow, and light green, there being six examples of each colour. Nearly all the pieces are uniform in shape—domed and slightly pointed at the apex and with a flattened base, and being, in section, considerably greater than a semicircle. The only exceptions are two of the yellow pieces, which have no trace of an apical point and are scarcely greater than a semicircle in section: but this is no doubt accidental, and we can be sure that all were meant to be uniform. The dimensions, too, are as nearly uniform as could be expected from hand-made objects of this kind, varying from 2.5 to 2.8 cm. diameter at base and 2.0 to 2.2 cm. in height.

'The white, blue, and yellow pieces are of opaque glass, the light-green pieces are of translucent (but by no means transparent) glass. It is not possible to see the texture of the opaque glass, but it is certainly of good quality, with few impurities and no large bubbles, though at times, particularly on the opaque white examples, there are hollow pock-marks, normally small, but occasionally larger, caused by the weathering away of unfused sand or other inclusions;



there are other places where these sandy inclusions are still *in situ* and could be scraped out readily enough. The texture of the translucent green glass is very good, with few bubbles and hardly any pock-marks or sandy inclusions of the type just described.

The surfaces of all the pieces are remarkably smooth to the touch and there is very little iridescence or other weathering, though one or two of the blue pieces have developed small patches of opaque milky white weathering and some of the white and yellow pieces have developed a brown stain in places, perhaps caused by contact with iron compounds in the soil.

All the pieces are decorated with "eyes" sunk flush with the surface, made of sections (*c.* 1 mm. thick) of glass rods patterned with interlocked curves of opaque white in a translucent dark green or translucent wine-coloured ground. (That both these ground colours are translucent and not opaque is recognizable on the translucent clear green group, though it is not, of course, ascertainable on the opaque-coloured groups.) One opaque blue piece has seven "eyes" (five green and two wine-coloured); all the others have five "eyes", mostly a mixture of green and wine-coloured ones; but one opaque white piece and three of the pale-green pieces have only green "eyes". Except on these last specimens, the "eye" at the dome is always wine-coloured. There are 122 "eyes" on these 24 gaming-pieces: 82 of these have three interlocked curves; 34 have 4; 4 have 2; and 2 have only 1. Thus it is clear that three or four curves is normal and those with only two or one curve (which, therefore, is really a spiral) are exceptional. It should be added, too, that the use of interlocked curves in this way in rod sections is—to my knowledge—unique. Not only does it not occur on gaming-pieces: I do not know it on any kind of object.

The method of manufacture of these gaming-pieces is not entirely clear, but we may assume that it was somewhat along the following lines. First, a small gathering of glass was taken from a pot of molten glass-metal on a metal rod.<sup>1</sup> This gathering would be fashioned into more or less the required shape by rolling and smoothing it on a marver. Meanwhile, thin sections from glass rods of the appropriate pattern to fashion the "eyes" would have been made ready. These sections would be affixed to the gathering in their correct positions while it was still soft and viscous and the gathering would then be reheated in the furnace to melt the sections so that they, too, became soft, though still perhaps raised somewhat from the surface of the gathering. The gathering was then withdrawn from the furnace and, while still attached to its rod, was inserted in an open mould (of wood, clay, or metal) to give it its final form and to sink the "eyes" fully into the gathering. There might, or might not, then be a further marvering to ensure that the surface was fully smoothed. Finally the gathering, laid in the mould, was cut off from the metal rod, after the rod had been twisted to help to produce the flattened base (the ridges formed by this twisting can still be seen) and then the base of the gaming-piece was fully flattened by pressure with a wooden batten. The fact that the edge of the base joins the wall in a curve might be taken to infer that this explanation of the fashioning of the base is incorrect, for it might be thought that, if the base was pressed down on to the mould with a batten, the edge would become angular and fairly sharp. But I think the answer to this is that the gathering on the metal rod was marvered in a much more nearly spherical form than that of the finished object; if so, and the base, after detachment from the rod, was not pressed right down on to the edge of the mould by the batten, the curved edge, as it now exists, would ensue. It may be that others will have different views of how these objects are made; but I put this one forward as a reasonable hypothesis, for consideration.

These gaming-pieces are of the greatest interest and rarity. Indeed, to my knowledge, not only is there no comparable set extant; there is not even a single gaming-piece of the same form and decoration which can be cited as a parallel, whether contemporary or not. This grave is to be dated about 10 B.C. by its pottery and other contents. Parallels would have to be sought, therefore, on the continent, for no glass gaming-pieces of any kind, so far as I know, have occurred in

<sup>1</sup> We must not at this early date, in northern climes, talk about blow-pipes or punties, which would not yet be known there: but the use of a metal rod for gathering glass so that it could be drawn out and otherwise worked must have been normal from the beginning of glass-working.



an iron-age context in Britain, though glass beads (including types with "eyes" comparable with those on these gaming-pieces) are not uncommon, and other glass objects, e.g. bangles, occur, though far more rarely. It is fair to say, however, that normally the "eyes" on iron-age beads are either formed of concentric circles of glass—such as those on the fragmentary blue bead here used as a die (see below)—or of a single spiral trail, and, as already indicated, I can cite no examples of beads with "eyes" formed of interlocked curves. The places where we could most reasonably expect to find parallels to these pieces are eastern and southern Gaul, the Alpine region and the upper Rhineland, and the Po valley, and it is likely that in time parallels to them in one or more of those areas will turn up. It is known that there was a strongly based glass industry in northern Italy and the head of the Adriatic from at least the ninth century B.C. onwards which made beads and brooch-sliders, and also certain types of vessel found in graves at S. Lucia and Hallstatt,<sup>1</sup> all of varieties quite unknown in the main Mediterranean glass-making centres. There was, too, in La Tène lands further north an industry for making beads and bangles.<sup>2</sup>

Technical Report on the Glass Gaming-pieces, by A. E. WERNER, F.S.A., and MAVIS BIMSON, F.S.A., of the British Museum Research Laboratory

In view of the work which has been done by Turner and Rooksby<sup>3</sup> using X-ray diffraction analysis to determine the nature of the materials used as opacifying agents in ancient glass throughout the ages, it seemed to be of interest to examine these dated glass gaming-pieces in which three types of different coloured opaque glasses have been used. Small samples were taken for spectrographic and X-ray diffraction analysis; the results obtained were as follows:

1. *Opaque White Glass.* The colour and opacity are both due to the presence of crystals of calcium antimonate ( $\text{Ca}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$ ), which was detected by X-ray diffraction, and the presence of antimony was confirmed spectrographically. This compound is one of the earliest opacifying agents used; it has been identified in specimens of glass from Thebes dated 1450 to 1425 B.C. and in Assyrian glass from Nimrud of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. Its use was also continued in the Roman period to about the fourth century A.D.

2. *Opaque Yellow Glass.* X-ray diffraction analysis showed that the colour and opacity of this glass are both due to the presence of crystals of a cubic lead-tin oxide ( $\text{PbSnO}_3$ ) in suspension in the glass. Spectrographic analysis also confirmed the presence of lead and tin and the absence of any antimony. This cubic lead-tin oxide was first identified by Rooksby in glass mosaic tesserae from a Roman tower at Centelles, near Tarragona, Spain, dated about fourth-fifth century A.D. It has also been

<sup>1</sup> T. E. Haevernck, *Jahrb. des R.-G. Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, v (1958), 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See T. E. Haevernck, *Die Glasarmringe und Ringperlen der Mittel- und Spätlatènezeit auf dem Europäischen Festland* (39 Berichte, Röm.-Germ. Kommission, Frankfurt; R. Habelt, Bonn, 1960), pp. 1 ff. and especially pp. 20–23 where the meagre evidence for workshops is discussed; W. Krämer, 'Manching, ein Vindelisches Oppidum an der Donau', in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (Röm.-Germ. Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin, 1958), pp. 175 ff. and especially pp. 192 f., pl. I (in colour); A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* (1908),

pp. 121 ff., 138 ff.; P. Reinecke in K. Schumacher, *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, v (1911), chapter 3 (who gives the old view that they were Mediterranean imports). For ancient glass gaming-pieces in general see also D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (1936), pp. 289 ff.; H. Arbmán, *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich* (1937), pp. 63 ff., pl. 15; and *reiff. ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Turner, W. E. S. and Rooksby, H. P., *Glastechnische Berichte*, Sonderband V. Internationalen Glaskongress. 32 K (1959), Heft VIII. 17–28; *idd. Jahrb. des R.-G. Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, vol. viii (1961); Rooksby, H. P., *G.E.C. Journal*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1962), pp. 20–26.



found in a seventh-century A.D. yellow glass bead from Worms, Rheinhessen, and in a ninth-century A.D. glass bead from Koban in Russia. The precise nature of this lead-tin oxide opacifier and its use in ancient glass has been discussed by Rooksby,<sup>1</sup> who concluded that somewhere about the fifth century A.D., at the time when tin oxide began to replace calcium antimonate as the white opacifying agent, this lead-tin oxide began to replace lead antimonate as the yellow opacifying agent. It is of particular interest that it has been found to occur here, since there appears to be no previous record of its use as early as the first century A.D.

3. *Opaque Blue Glass.* Spectrographic analysis showed that the colour of the glass is due to the presence of copper in solution in the glass. This glass is less opaque than the samples of white and yellow glass, and it may well be that it was originally intended to be translucent, since spectrographic analysis shows that none of the possible white opacifying agents, e.g. calcium antimonate or tin oxide, are present. X-ray diffraction analysis showed the presence of a small amount of crystalline material suggesting that the opacity is probably due to undissolved silicates. These would arise either because of incomplete melting or partial devitrification during the manufacture of the glass. This phenomenon has been observed in other samples of ancient glass examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory, and Rooksby (private communication, 1964), has also confirmed this observation.

(iv) *Bead and Bracelet Fragments* (fig. 10, A-F; frontispiece, b)

- A. Slightly less than half of an amber bead 1 in. diameter, with a small central perforation. (PS.FU. 1)
- B. Segment of a bead, original diameter about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in., of translucent brown mingled with opaque yellow glass, and with marvered wavy trails of opaque yellow glass on the surface. (PS.FU. 2)
- C. Segment of a bead of opaque dark blue glass with fragments of two eyes marvered flush, each showing as two concentric circles on the surface. The perforation was about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter and has a sandy surface, indicating that the bead was built on a sand core.<sup>2</sup> The 'eyes' are of opaque white glass. (PS.FU. 3)
- D. Short segment,  $\frac{1\frac{1}{8}}$  in. long, of a glass bracelet; translucent brown glass with an applied meandering trail of opaque yellow glass. (PS.FV. 1)
- E. A slightly shorter ( $\frac{7}{8}$  in.) segment, probably from the same bracelet as D. (PS.FV. 2)
- F. A short segment, 1 in. long, from a glass bracelet slightly thicker than, but very similar to, D and E. (PS.FV. 3)

The gaming-pieces were found in a close group, as if they had been in a bag which had disintegrated. The bead and bracelet fragments were found together at one end, so that they may have been in a separate container within the main bag. The six

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* *Physics and Chemistry of Glasses*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1964), pp. 20-25.

<sup>2</sup> This type may be paralleled in pre-Roman contexts in Germany (cf. e.g. A. Kisa, *Das Glas in Altertume*, p. 124.

fig. 24, no. 3, and P. Reinecke in K. Schumacher, *Alt-tümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, v, 1911, pl. 14, p. 61, no. 213); the type was fairly long lived. D. B.H.

fragments were not deliberately broken for inclusion in the grave; the broken edges are worn, and their position in the grave suggests that they were an integral part of the game.

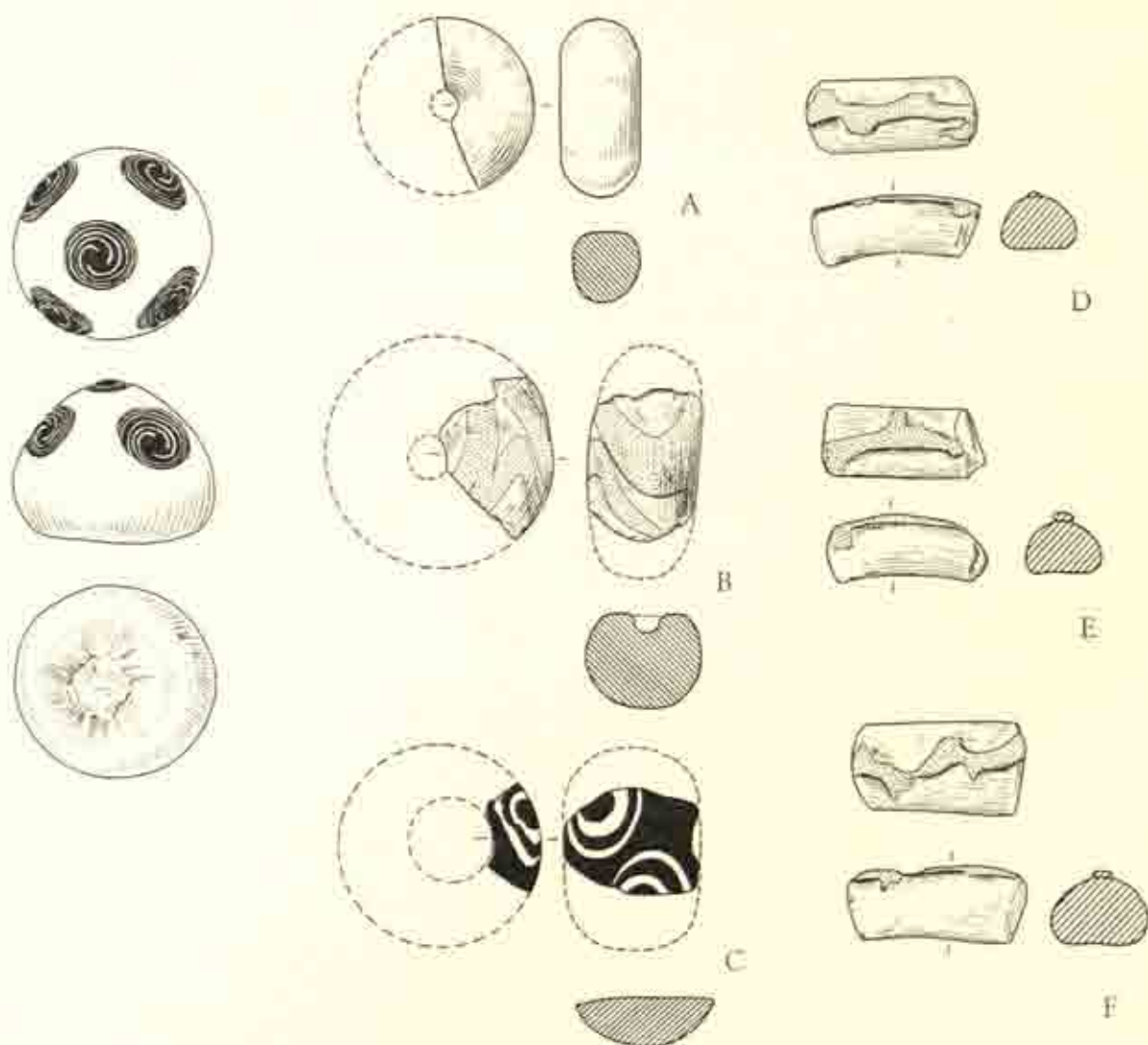


FIG. 10. Left, Gaming-piece; A-C, Bead fragments; D-F, Bracelet fragments (†)

The identification of the game presents many problems. It seems reasonable to suppose that it was a board-game, but there are no literary references to such in La Tène contexts, and no surviving boards, though there have been several discoveries of gaming-pieces and dice.<sup>1</sup> Most of these have been chance finds of odd pieces, but there are sets of glass gaming-pieces, or part-sets, from four Celtic graves in Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>2</sup> These graves, two from Montefortino and two near Bologna, had

<sup>1</sup> J. Déchelette, 1914, 1396-8.

<sup>2</sup> Montefortino, tomba XXIII, E. Brizio, 1899, 682, and tav. v, 10 and 11—3 dice and 20 pieces; Montefortino, tomba XXXV, E. Brizio, 1899, 699, and tav. xi, 4 and 5—2

dice and 12 pieces; Benacci, tomba 953, E. Brizio, 1887, 475-6—3 dice and 22 pieces; Ceretolo, E. Brizio, 1887, 495—17 pieces.



from 12 to 22 gaming-pieces which could be interpreted as part-sets from a complete 24—for each could be divided into four groups distinguished by colour or design, and no such group had more than six pieces. But the Bologna and Montefortino gaming-pieces do not resemble those from Welwyn Garden City in detail—they are smaller and lower, and those which are decorated have a single spiral or streaking. They are very similar to other Italian gaming-pieces from Villanovan and Etruscan graves at Bologna, and from other Etruscan cemeteries.<sup>1</sup> Like the Celtic gaming-pieces from Bologna and Montefortino, the other Italian 'sets' seem to divide into four hands, surviving incompletely, and they are regularly associated with dice.<sup>2</sup>

Celtic board-games are mentioned in late Welsh and Irish texts, which refer in particular to a game similar to draughts and played without dice.<sup>3</sup> But it would be unwise to try linking these references with gaming-pieces of a much earlier period. Greek and more particularly Roman games are less remote in time, but the Welwyn Garden City pieces do not readily correspond to any known classical board-game.<sup>4</sup>

It is quite possible that they belong to an unknown Celtic game, and the problem can be tackled only by considering the pieces themselves. Two facts may reasonably be deduced; first, that they may be divided by colour into four sets of six each, presumably each set being held by a different player; and second, that within each set the pieces were not differentiated, so each piece is likely to have equal powers, unlike chess, and it seems unlikely that pieces could be promoted, as in draughts.

In general, board-games played in Europe have been divided into four categories:<sup>5</sup> games of alignment, such as merels; war-games, such as chess and draughts; hunt-games, notably Fox and Geese; and race-games, similar to backgammon. But nearly all these games were intended for only two players—only race-games were occasionally played by four. Race-games will also fit the other limitation, for the pieces are undifferentiated and have equal powers. It is usual, however, for race-games to be controlled by dice, or lots of some kind. Numbered dice were not invariably used, for some primitive communities favoured a group of six cowrie shells, and scored according to whether or not they fell face upwards. Now at Welwyn Garden City there were six bead and bracelet fragments, and experiments show that each piece can fall in only two positions, with either a flat or rounded side uppermost. It seems clear that these fragments were the 'dice' used to control the game.

The Welwyn Garden City pieces were probably used for some form of a race-game with four players, and a similar game could account for the association of dice and gaming-pieces in other Celtic and German burials. Although this is unlike any known classical board-game, it is perhaps similar to a game played in India on a board with cruciform marking.<sup>6</sup> This game was introduced into Britain towards the end of last century and patented with the name 'ludo'.

<sup>1</sup> Examples in the Museo Civico, Bologna, from Arnoaldi, De Lucca, Certosa, and Giardina Margherita, dating from the fifth century B.C. In the Archaeological Museum at Florence there are gaming-pieces from Populonia and Todi; and in the Villa Giulia Museum, in Rome, is another set from Todi and some pieces from Palestrina.

<sup>2</sup> There are also gaming-pieces and dice from three German burials approximately contemporary with Welwyn Garden City, H. J. Eggers, 1953, 100.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. R. Murray, 1952, 34-35.

<sup>4</sup> For critical reviews of classical board-games see R. G. Austin, 1934 and 1940.

<sup>5</sup> H. J. R. Murray, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 134-5.



(v) *Silver Cup*. Report by D. E. Strong

The main fragment consists of a substantial part of the bowl of the cup (pl. iv, *a*). The fragment is badly squashed and bent, and heavily corroded in some parts, but the complete circumference of the bowl is preserved with most of the upper mouldings. The lower part of the bowl is missing except for a small fragment of the bottom to which the foot was once attached (pl. iv, *d*). The handles and the foot (pl. iv, *b*, *c*, *e*) are well preserved.

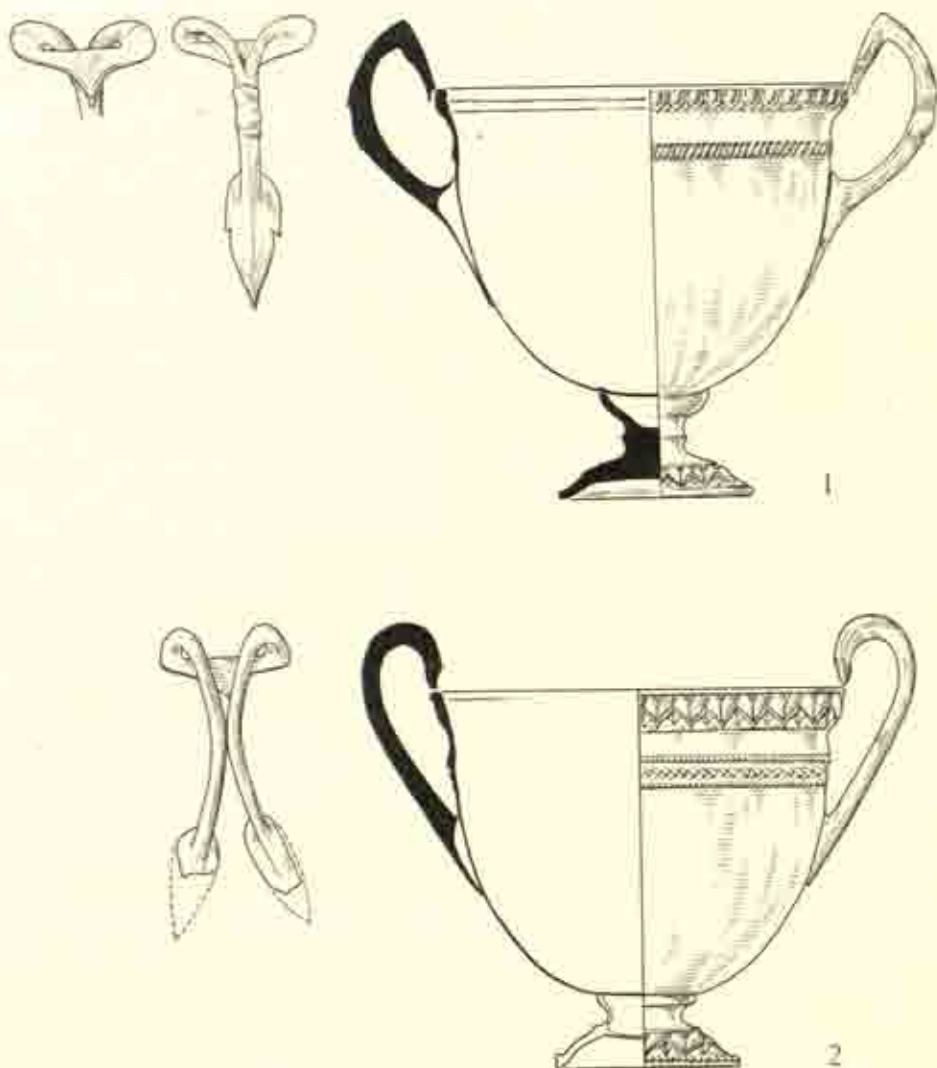


FIG. 11 Silver cups: 1, Welwyn Garden City; 2, One of the cups from Welwyn B. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

*Reconstruction* (fig. 11, no. 1). The total height of the cup as restored is 10.9 cm., excluding the handles; the diameter is also 10.9 cm. The foot is 2.7 cm. high and the maximum height of the handles 7.7 cm.

There are two uncertain elements in the reconstruction: (1) the curve of the missing lower part of the bowl, and (2) the exact setting of the handles.

The lower part of the bowl has been drawn from one of the silver cups found at

Welwyn in 1906 (fig. 11, no. 2) which have the same diameter and are similar in general design.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of clear marks of solder, the setting of the handles has been deduced from the notches cut in the ends of the overhang which seem to have been made to fit on top of the rim. They serve two purposes, one of strengthening the handles and the other of bringing the soldering plate down to clear the band of rope ornament. Normally handles of this type are set with the overhang above the rim; presumably these particular handles were not specially made for the cup and had to be adapted to fit it.

*Description.* The cup has a deep, semi-ovoid bowl, with a zone of mouldings on the outside below the rim, consisting of a row of decorated ovolo immediately below the rim, a plain cavetto, and a narrow convex moulding with rope ornament. The ovolo and rope pattern are gilded. The foot has a spreading base-plate with rather flat cyma reversa profile decorated with a leaf-and-tongue ornament and edged with a rounded rim. The stem is a double cavetto with a big quarter-round moulding immediately below the body of the cup. The cyma reversa ornament on the base-plate is also gilded. Each handle has a leaf-shaped soldering plate, the leaf being simply divided into three lobes, from which rises a curved stem; the stem divides to form a loop which is bent down sharply almost at right angles towards the rim. A leaf calyx decorates the outside of the stem just below the division. The front of the overhang is treated as a flat triangular surface with concave sides coming to a point.

*Technique.* The bowl of the cup was 'raised' from a sheet of metal of fine silver alloy. The mouldings on the upper part of the bowl were thickened out by hammering the metal, and the detail of the ornament was chased in. The handles and the foot, including the ornament, were cast from wax models by 'cire perdue' and joined to the bowl by soft solder, the cavities of the soldering plates having once been filled with this material. Some of the details of the handles, including the divisions of the lobes on the soldering plates, were made after casting. The notches in the tips of the handles were also made after casting, and were not apparently soldered to the rim. The gilding on the body and foot was applied as leaf and not by the use of mercury.

A technical report on the fragments by the British Museum Research Laboratory is appended.

*Date and provenance.* The cup belongs to a class of silver drinking-vessels popular in the Mediterranean world, and among the Romans in particular, during the last century B.C. and the first century A.D. Many plain and relief-decorated cups survive, most of them found in the Campanian hoards of A.D. 79 and a few, mainly in undated contexts, elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> They continued a Hellenistic tradition but were made generally for Roman patrons and come mainly from Roman sources. The closest parallels for the new cup are the pair found at Welwyn in 1906 and another pair from Tivoli, now

<sup>1</sup> The figure shows one of the cups fitted with the handles which are known to belong to it but were formerly associated with another, lost, cup. R. A. Smith, 1912, 20, pl. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For these cups in general see D. E. Strong, 1966, pp. 112 ff.



in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The Welwyn 1906 cups have generally been assigned to the Augustan period<sup>1</sup> and the Metropolitan Museum cups were recently published as Late Republican.<sup>2</sup>

While there is little doubt that the cup was made in the second half of the first century B.C., a more precise date is difficult to establish in the absence of dated parallels.<sup>3</sup> The form of the handles, a late version of the Greek cylix handle, but characterized by a single instead of a double stem, cannot be much earlier than the middle of the first century B.C. It occurs in a simple form on cups of Late Republican date at Ancona and Megara Hyblaea<sup>4</sup> and was still in use in the Augustan period when it was fitted to two Hellenistic Megarian bowls in the Hildesheim Treasure.<sup>5</sup> The only identical handles occur on the well-known but undated olive cups from the Casa del Menandro which have been assigned to about 30 B.C.<sup>6</sup> A cylix handle in any form is unlikely to be later than Augustan; it went out of fashion in the first century A.D. and is very rare in the Campanian hoards. The design and detail of the ornament on the bowl may be compared with three cups in the Hildesheim Treasure—a pair of plain cups and a cup decorated with laurel branches;<sup>7</sup> of these, the plain cups have been assigned to the Augustan period (but chiefly by comparison with the Welwyn 1906 cups) and the decorated cup to the period 75–50 B.C. The basic scheme of the mouldings is certainly Hellenistic<sup>8</sup> and probably did not survive the end of the first century B.C. The details of the ornament, especially the ovolo and the cyma reversa, are very simple without any of the elaboration associated with silver-work of the first century A.D. The general impression is that the cup may be a little later than the Welwyn 1906 cups and that it was probably made in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

Whatever the precise date there is hardly any doubt that the cup is an import from the Mediterranean world. Plain silver cups of this kind must have been among the most attractive items in the luxury goods which reached barbarian Europe from the Roman world after Caesar's conquest of Gaul. They are elegant and simple and were probably more in demand than the decorated counterparts that were so popular in the Mediterranean world but which might be incomprehensible or even offensive to northern taste. The popularity of these plain cups gave rise in the early years of the Empire to a fairly large production of imitations; the centre of this production was probably Gaul and examples have been found at a number of sites, including Dollerup,<sup>9</sup> Byrsted, and Lübsow,<sup>10</sup> but the Welwyn Garden City cup, although it is not of such fine quality as, for example, the Tivoli cups in New York, has none of the non-classical features which characterize the northern imitations, and could not have been made by anyone other than a craftsman trained in a Mediterranean workshop.

<sup>1</sup> J. Werner, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.M.A.*, xxiii (1965), 179.

<sup>3</sup> The most recent attempt to date surviving examples of this type of cup is by H. Kühmann, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> *Ori e Argenti dell'Italia antica*, 1961, no. 287.

<sup>5</sup> E. Pernice and F. Winter, 1901, pl. VII, and figs. 9–10.

<sup>6</sup> A. Maiuri, 1936, nos. 7 and 8; *Monumenti Piot.*, xlv (1952), 59.

<sup>7</sup> E. Pernice and F. Winter, 1901, pls. VIII and IX.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the mouldings on the Hellenistic bowls from Civita Castellana, P. Wulfeumier, 1939, p. 362.

<sup>9</sup> *Acta Archaeologica*, xix (1948), 252.

<sup>10</sup> K. Majewski, 1960, pls. VIII, a and b.



Report by A. E. WERNER, F.S.A., and H. BARKER of the British Museum Research Laboratory on the Scientific Examination of Fragments of the Silver Cup

1. *Description.* The various pieces of the cup consist of a base, two handles, a detached fragment, and a fragmentary bowl which is very much crushed and distorted.

2. *Composition of metal and gilding.* Spectrographic examination indicates that the metal is silver containing a little copper. Traces of gilding can be detected on the patterned areas of the base and the bowl, and there is some indication that the area between the two rows of decoration on the bowl may also have been gilded. Mercury was not detected in the spectrographic examination and this is a clear indication that the process of mercury gilding was not used. In view of the fragmentary remains of the gilding, it seems likely that the layer of gold was very thin. This would mean that the gilding was done by burnishing gold-leaf or very thin gold-foil on to the silver.

3. *Method of construction.* The base and handles appear to be made of cast metal, whereas the bowl is of beaten metal. The decoration on the base was almost certainly produced during the casting process, whereas that under the rim of the bowl seems to have been done by the use of punches. Spectrographic examination of corrosion products on the lower ends of the handles and on the base indicates that they were attached to the bowl by means of soft solder. The bowl itself, however, bears no definite traces of the points of attachment of the handles, but the detached fragment of the bowl was clearly soldered to the base. The actual position and manner of attachment of the handles to the rim must, therefore, remain in some doubt because there is no obvious evidence of soldering, but the spectrochemical evidence does indicate that the lower ends of the handles were probably soldered to the bowl. Presumably these areas where one would expect to find some evidence of soldering are now missing.

(vi) *Bronze Strainer* (fig. 12, pl. v)

A bronze bowl  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep, with omphalos base. It has rounded sides, with a low belly and simple horizontal everted rim. Now distorted to an oval shape, with a diameter from  $10\frac{1}{4}$  to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. In some places, where the bronze is not corroded, there are concentric marks which could have been made when the vessel was polished.

The single cast bronze handle has rounded body, flattened bars which pass through attachment rings, and tapering returns. It is fastened to the vessel by two rings with notched margins and short split-pin shafts burred on the inside of the bowl.

At the side of the bowl opposite the handle a cast bronze spout has been attached by three short bronze (?copper) rivets. The spout is simply decorated by straight grooves on the top and a V-shaped incision on each side of the opening (pl. v, b). A very crude rectangular hole has been punched outwards into the wall of the bowl leading into the spout, but it is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. to the side



of the central position. Part of the rim has been cut back to facilitate the attachment of the spout, but this seems unnecessary because the upper edge of the spout stands proud. (PS.DD)

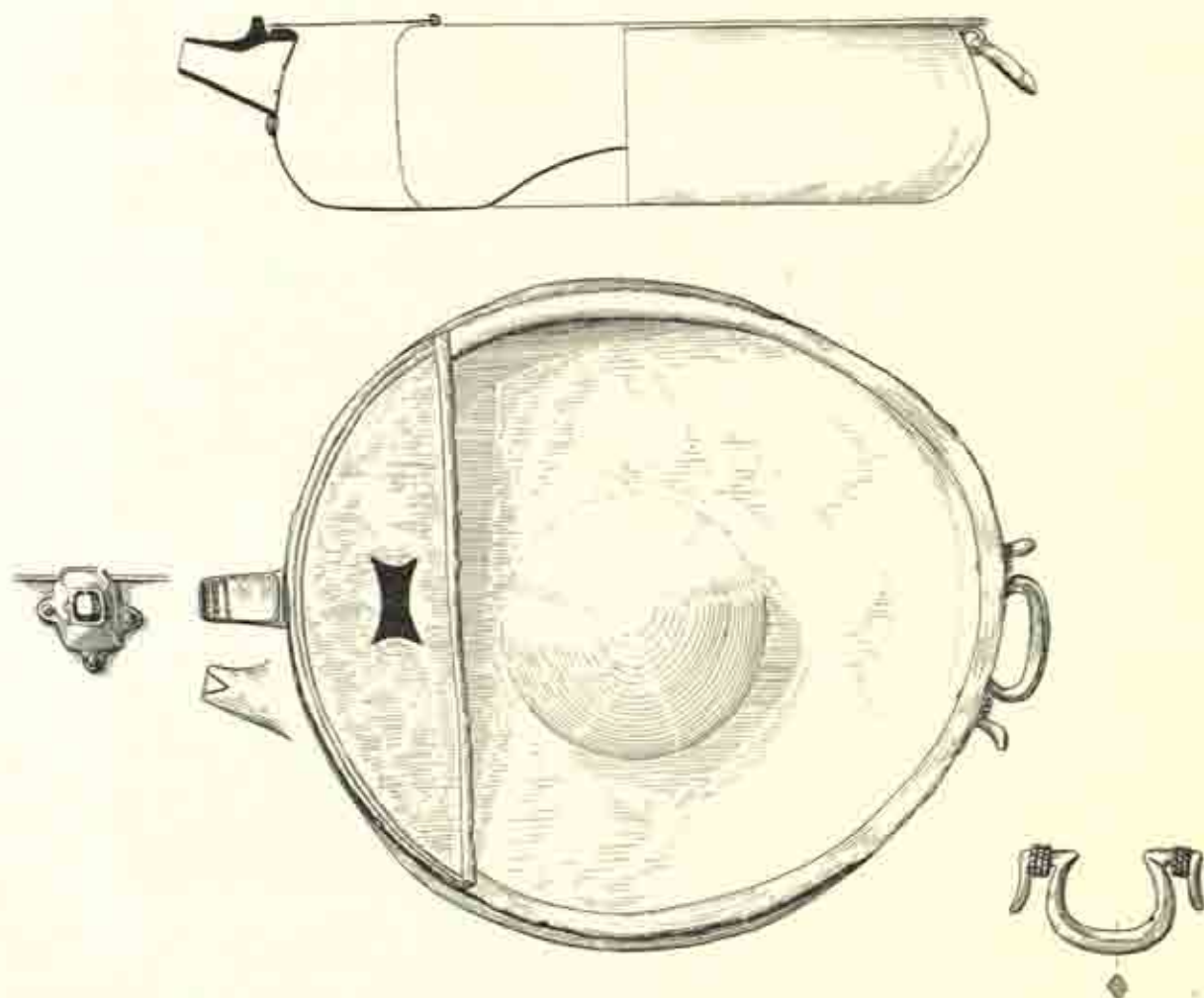


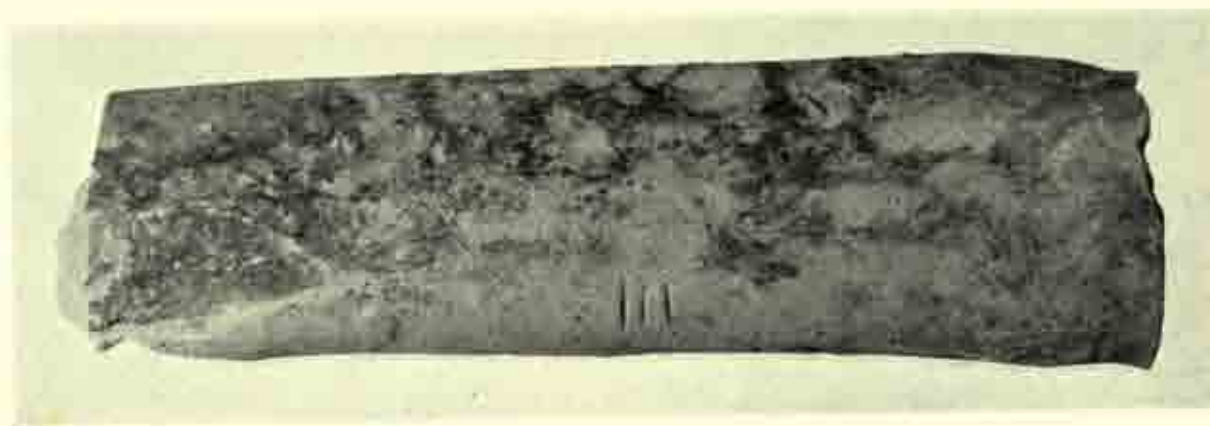
FIG. 12. Bronze strainer (1)

There is a separate perforated panel (PS.DC) shaped to the profile of the bowl, so that it would stand vertically towards the front of the vessel. The perforations are arranged in a pattern (fig. 13, pl. v, c). At the bottom a central circle encloses a swastika with long curved arms, and is flanked by two pairs of linked spirals. Above this, in a line, are three pairs of linked spirals, and at each end of the panel a single spiral with long tail completes the rather dull symmetry. The two rows of ornament are divided by a zigzag line, and a number of V-motifs fill the spaces on the outside of the design. The whole pattern is defined by a perforated line.

There is a separate lid (PS.DE),  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. long and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. maximum width, designed to cover that part of the vessel between the strainer-panel and the spout. A decorative hole, slightly off-centre, has an elongated shape,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., with concave sides. The curved edge of the lid is bordered by two slight ridges,



*a.* Finds in the grave, to the south of the gas-pipe



*b.* Part of the handle of an amphora, with three incised lines



*a*



*b*



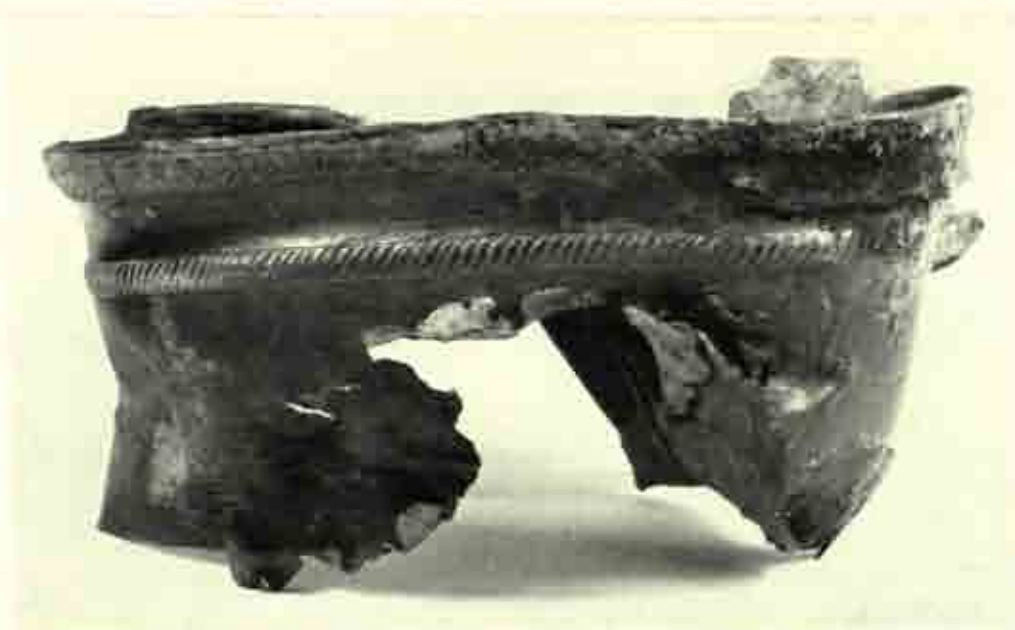
*c*



*d*

Pottery from the grave: *a*. Pedestal urn (PS.CP); *b*. Flat-rimmed cups (PS.HP, PS.FH); *c*. Tripod vessel (PS.GB);  
*d*. Roman flagon (PS.FJ)

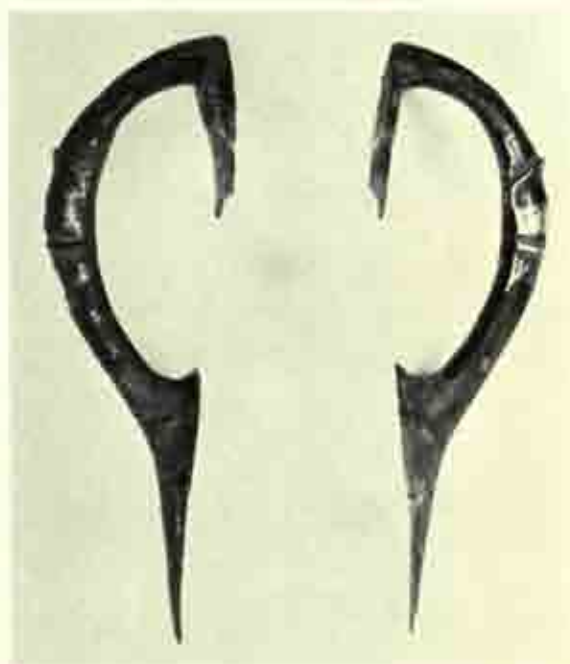




a



b



c



d



e

The Silver Cup: *a*, the remains of the bowl; *b* and *c*, the two handles; *d*, the base of the bowl; *e*, the foot  
(Photographs: The British Museum)

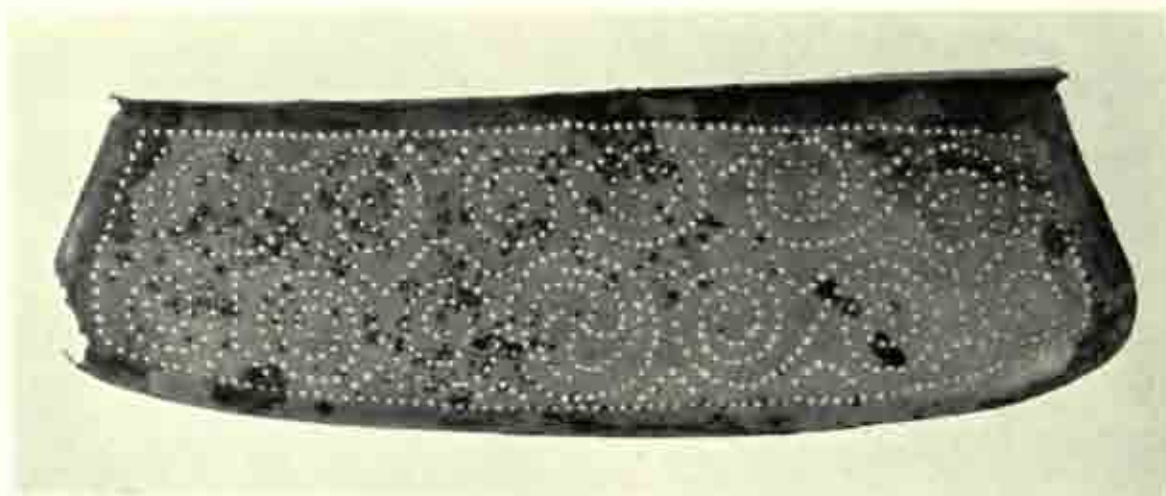




*a*



*b*

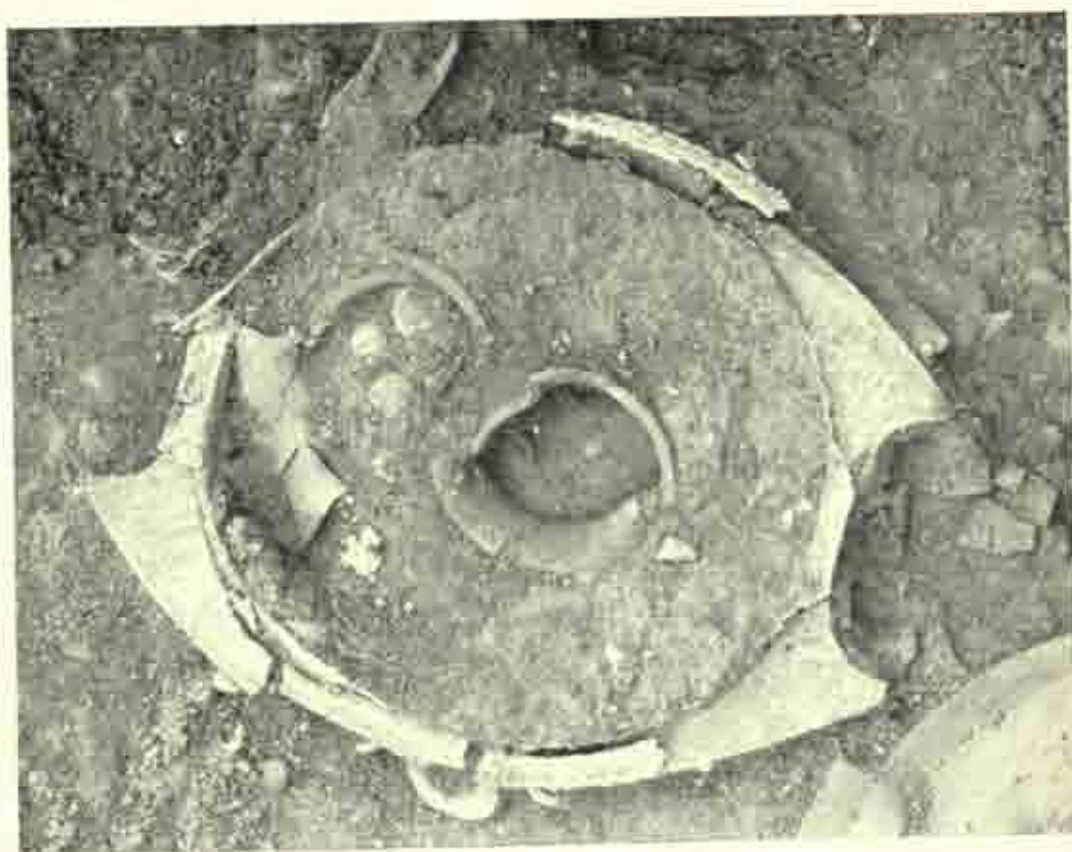


*c*

The Bronze Strainer; *a*, general view; *b*, detail, showing the spout; *c*, the strainer-panel



*a*



*b*

The Bronze Dish: *a*, restored; *b*, shown in the grave, with two small pots and some dome-headed studs inside it.



*a.* Triangular iron knife



*b.* Fragment of 'straw mat', photographed in the grave.



and the straight edge is covered by a separate length of bronze binding. It appears that this piece of binding was designed to link the lid with the top of the strainer-panel.

The use of this vessel as a strainer has a home-made appearance, with the strainer-panel merely slotted into position. The spout, too, appears to have been added as an after-thought, attached by simple rivets and with the rim roughly and unnecessarily cut back for it. Finally, the perforation through the side of the bowl, giving access to the spout, has the appearance of crude secondary work. It seems likely that the original vessel was a bowl with a single handle—for there is no trace of an earlier handle on the position of the spout—which at some stage was adapted by the addition of spout, strainer-panel, and lid. The strainer-panel, secured partly by its shape and partly by attachment to the lid, is a particularly ingenious feature.

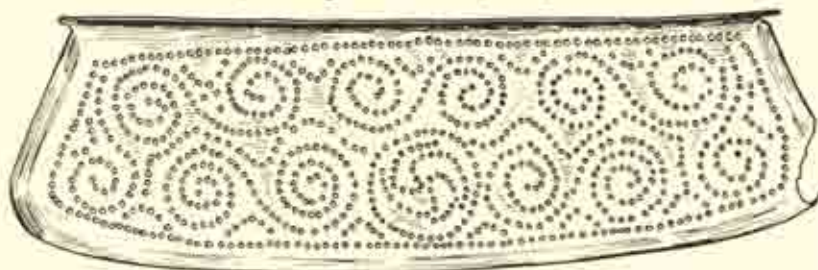


FIG. 13. Perforated panel from the bronze strainer (1)

Although the strainer cannot be paralleled in its entirety, a very similar lid was found in the Santon Downham hoard.<sup>1</sup> It is slightly smaller, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, but has similar grooves round its borders, and a central elongated hole with concave ends but fairly straight sides. The Santon Downham lid is rather more elaborate, however, for its hole has a movable cover pivoted on a duck-head rivet which is matched by a similar duck-head at the opposite side of the hole. There are also three engraved rosettes, one on the movable cover and the others at either end of the lid.

On the Continent a similar, but later, spouted vessel with a lid over the front part does not have a strainer-panel.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that the conversion to a strainer was carried out by local bronze-smiths, but that the original bowl was a Roman import. A similar, but larger, bowl was found in the Lübsow III grave, Kr. Greifenberg, Pomerania.<sup>3</sup> The Lübsow bowl, which was regarded as a Roman import, also has an omega-type handle which, although more similar to that on the Welwyn Garden City dish (below, p. 26), is an extremely rare form.

If the secondary features on this vessel are native work, the standard of artistic achievement is disappointing. Both the cast bronze spout and the decoration of the strainer-panel should have offered plenty of scope to craftsmen capable of producing the Felmersham spout<sup>4</sup> and Mirror Style art, respectively. The strainer has a dull symmetrical pattern, and the spout—in which one may perhaps recognize a vague representation of an animal head—could hardly have been less inspired.

<sup>1</sup> R. A. Smith, 1909, pp. 154-5, and fig. 8.

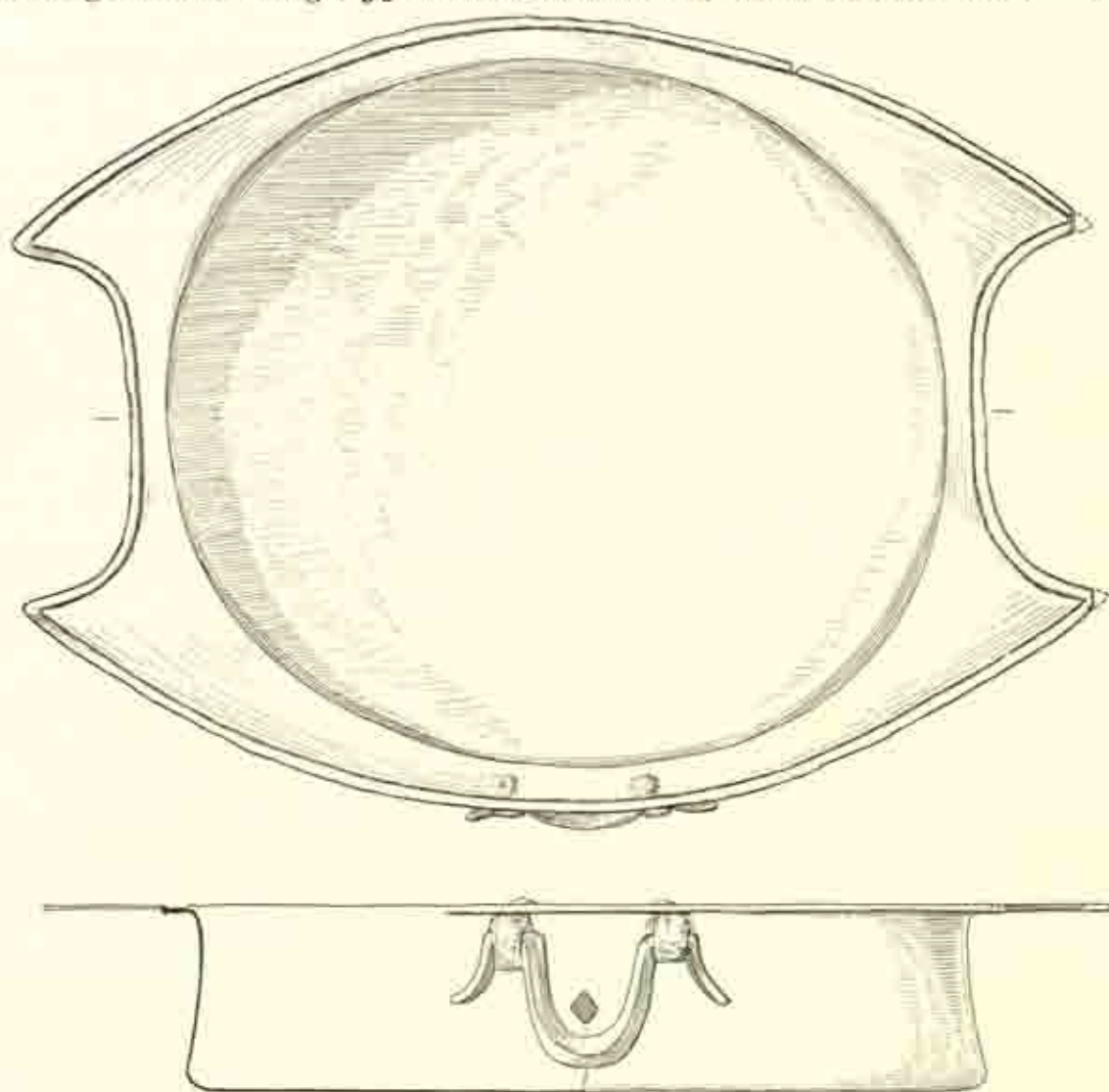
<sup>2</sup> H. J. Eggers, 1951, type 90.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Eggers, 1953, p. 90, taf. 2a.

<sup>4</sup> W. Watson, 1949, pp. 41-42, and fig. 3.

(vii) *Bronze Dish* (fig. 14, pl. VI)

An oval bronze dish,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  by 13 in., and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep. It has a flat base, slightly incurved sides, and a flat everted rim. The rim is some  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. wide at the sides, but it expands into a wide flange, towards the ends. At each end there is a cutting into this flange,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. maximum width, which reduces the rim to  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.

FIG. 14. Bronze dish ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

again at its centre, and leaves the flange at either side of the cutting with a maximum width of 3 in. The interruption of the flange at the ends is perhaps intended to provide hand-holds for lifting the dish. The rim is bordered by a groove, about  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. from the edge.

In the centre of one side there is a handle, attached to the underside of the rim by two corroded iron rings. The handle has angular corners and tapering terminals, similar to that on the strainer, but the central part of this handle is deeper. (PS.GK)



In the grave this dish had two small pots (nos. 9 and 12, p. 12) inside it (pl. vi, *b*). One of these had been placed on a block of wood (ash)  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, at least  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, and at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. In the Stanfordbury A grave both the large bronze bowl and the bronze jug had been set on wooden blocks,<sup>1</sup> and in this Welwyn Garden City grave the bronze dish under discussion had been placed on a 'straw' mat (see p. 40).

Functionally the dish could have been a deep tray, and the two pots within it would not be inconsistent with this identification. There seems to be no close parallel either in Britain or on the Continent, although some oval wooden trays with flanges at the ends are not dissimilar in shape,<sup>2</sup> but they have neither handles nor inset hand-holds.

The handle of this dish is quite similar to that on the Welwyn Garden City strainer, but it is exactly matched at Harpenden, where one of the surviving finds from a rich burial is the greater part of a bronze handle with a single surviving iron attachment ring.<sup>3</sup> Miniature versions of this form were found in the Santon Downham hoard,<sup>4</sup> but the rounded handles described below, p. 31, were the more common British form.

(viii) *Bronze toilet article* (fig. 15)

Short broad piece of flat bronze with a ring at one end and a V-shaped incision at the other.  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. long. (PS.GC)

Apparently a nail-cleaner from a toilet set.<sup>5</sup> It was found in the disturbed area, near one of the wooden bowls. Normally this piece would hang from a ring, along with an ear-scoop and small bronze tweezers. Presumably the other items from the set were scattered and lost during the gas-pipe excavation, because it would be odd for the nail-cleaner to have been placed alone in the grave. Toilet sets of this type are common in La Tène and Roman contexts.



FIG. 15.  
Bronze nail-cleaner ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

(ix) *Dome-headed Studs* (fig. 16)

Between 46 and 48 dome-headed studs, each consisting of an iron shank 1 in. long soldered, with a tin-lead alloy, on to a hollow bronze dome  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. diameter and  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. high. The inside of this dome had been plugged with clay, and the shank nailed into a wooden board at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. thick. Surviving wood fragments adjoining these studs were identified as probably *Fraxinus excelsior*: 'Ash'. On the underside of some of the clay plugs there was a trace of iron, which could have been the remains of a thin washer intended to secure the plug within the bronze dome. Alternatively this iron could have been deposited here against the wood by leaching from the corroding shank.<sup>6</sup> (PS.CO; PS.FN; PS.FT)

These studs were clearly ornamental, and they decorated a piece of ash which, from the position of the studs in the grave, was about 3 ft. long. When this piece of wood

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Dryden, 1845, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Glastonbury, A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, 1911, p. 345, no. x. 80, fig. 125; Stanwick, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 1954, pp. 52-53, fig. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 520-2, and fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Smith, 1909, pl. xvi, no. 2 (four illustrated).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, pl. c, 34.

<sup>6</sup> Technical description based on an examination kindly carried out by Dr. K. L. Murray, of the Laboratory of the Government Chemist.



decomposed, the studs were scattered, but they fell along a more or less straight line which coincides closely with the oblique line dividing most of the pottery from the northern part of the grave which housed the cremation. As some of the studs had fallen on the shoulder of a flagon it is apparent that part of the wooden feature was originally at least 10 in. above the floor of the grave. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the studs were scattered among the pottery but none of them had strayed into the deserted area surrounding the cremation, i.e. they were found only on one side of the oblique line.

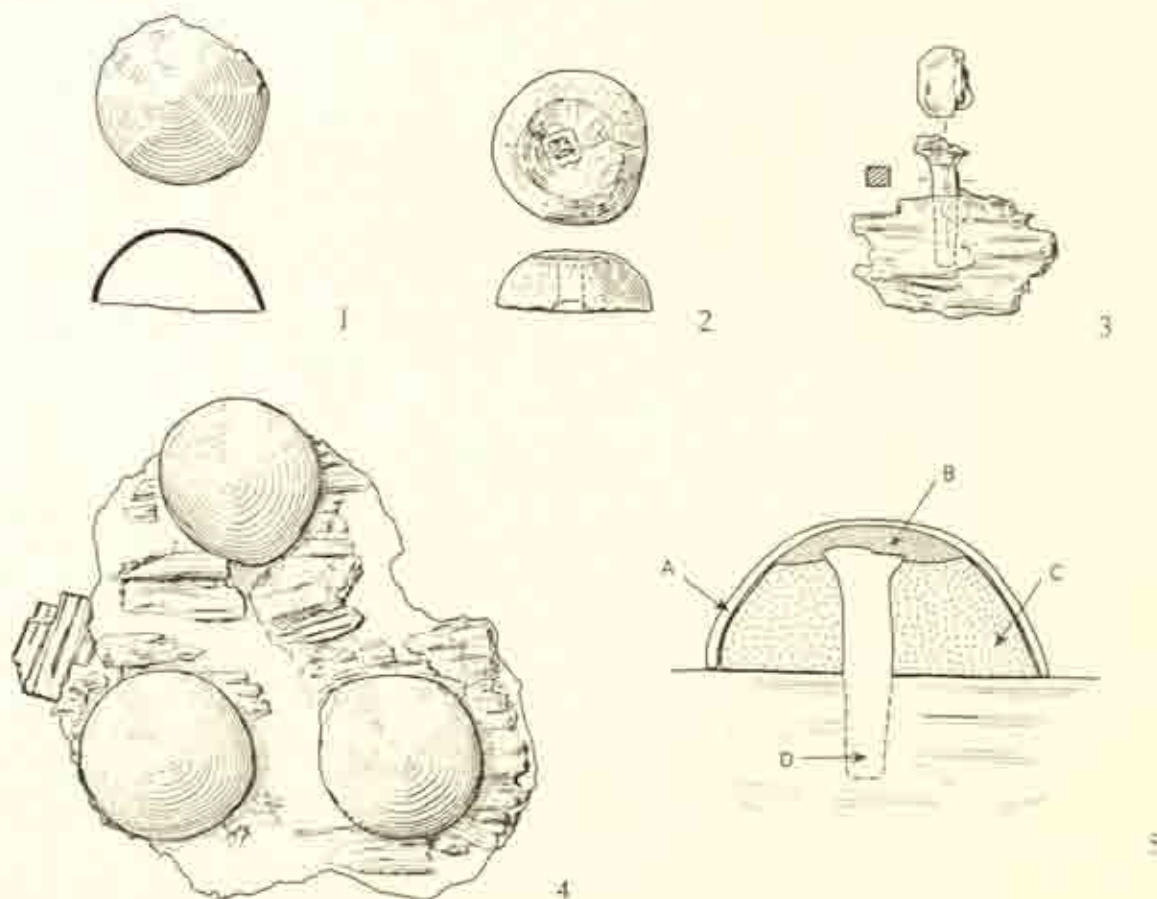


FIG. 16. Dome-headed studs: 1, Hollow bronze dome; 2, Clay plug; 3, Iron shank, in wood; 4, Group of three studs, surviving in wood; 5, Reconstruction, showing A, bronze dome; B, solder; C, clay; and D, iron shank. All (1), except for the reconstruction which is (5).

From this information one may imagine some form of a wooden barrier, or screen. It could have been merely one part of a larger wooden object—such as the head-piece of a couch, or the lid of a chest, but this is unlikely because such an object had left no trace and must have been constructed entirely out of some perishable material.

Ornamental studs have been found in other British La Tène III burials, but it has never been possible to identify the object they decorated. From Welwyn there are very similar studs in two sizes,<sup>1</sup> and at least twenty studs of a more elaborate type—

<sup>1</sup> R. A. Smith, 1912, p. 23.



red enamel within an open-work dome—were found at Hertford Heath.<sup>1</sup> The latter are similar to those found in the Lexden barrow.<sup>2</sup> Although the Hertford Heath domes were soldered on to sheet bronze and not nailed directly to wood, they might still have decorated a similar object. Indeed, it is interesting to compare the positions of the Hertford Heath and Welwyn Garden City domes, for in both graves they belonged to objects which seem to have divided the grave roughly into a one-third area with the cremation at the centre, and a two-thirds area with most of the grave-goods on the floor.

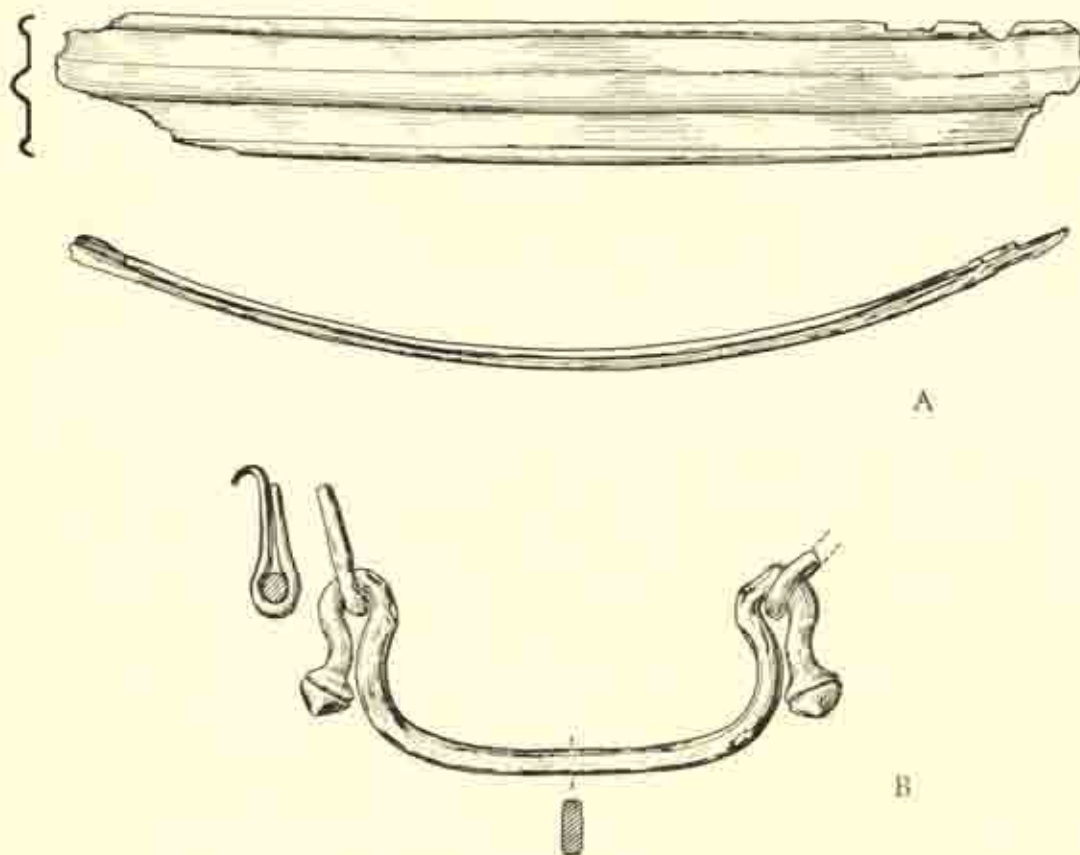


FIG. 17. Fittings of wooden vessel: A, bronze band; B, bronze handle (j)

(x) *Distorted Bronze Fragments*

Found with the calcined bones. Possibly the remains of a brooch, or some other personal ornament, but it had been burnt with the body and no recognizable fragment survives. (PS.HW)

(See p. 44.)

(xi) *Wooden Vessel with Bronze Fittings* (fig. 17)

A. Several fragments of a curved bronze band,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide. It has a central cordon, and a small ridge at each edge. The three longest fragments ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 4 in., and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. long respectively) suggest that the band belonged to a vessel about 10 or

<sup>1</sup> J. Holmes and W. H. C. Frend, 1959, pp. 7-8, and see also pl. 2 b.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Laver, 1927, 250, pl. 1X, fig. 1.

11 in. diameter. Most of this vessel had been disturbed, but there is no evidence for more than one band, nor any trace of a joint. (PS.GO)

- B. A cast bronze handle,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, with a flattened body. Each terminal is curved back and capped by a boss. The handle has been attached to a wooden vessel about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick by two bronze split-pins each with a ring-head and the two feet bent over. (PS.GP)

No surviving wood could be definitely assigned to this vessel, although minute fragments found with broken pieces of the bronze band were identified as 'softwood (Conifer)' which does not occur elsewhere in the grave.

There is some evidence that this was a fairly shallow wooden dish. The single bronze band is consistent with a shallow vessel, and one might have expected two bands, had the object been deeper, e.g. a bucket. The single swing handle was presumably used for hanging the vessel, which again suggests a fairly shallow dish. Finally, one of the larger fragments of bronze band was found, apparently *in situ*, below the wide rim of the bronze dish, no. vii; this dish was only  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. high, so the wooden vessel was perhaps even shallower.

There are no close wooden parallels, but among bronze vessels a shallow bowl from Felmersham has a series of grooves below the rim,<sup>1</sup> and the Welwyn Garden City bronze band might well have occupied this position on a wooden vessel of similar shape. Another, and perhaps closer, type of bronze vessel is found as a Roman import in Northern Germany.<sup>2</sup> Both the Felmersham and North German vessels have handles attached by bronze plate handle-mounts, as opposed to simple split-pins, but the German handle is very similar to that from Welwyn Garden City.

(xii) *Wooden Vessel with Bronze Fittings* (fig. 18)

- A. Fragments of wood, preserved because of extensive mineralization, including one piece 3 in. long and  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick, with a bronze pin in it. This piece could have come from a vessel 6 or 7 in. in diameter. The wood has been identified as probably *Fraxinus excelsior*: 'Ash'. (PS.FX)
- B. Short length of bronze binding,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. long, possibly from the rim of this wooden bowl. (PS.FX)
- C. Fragment of embossed bronze  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Apparently from a circular panel. The outer curve on this fragment has a radius of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. (PS.AW)
- D. Small fragment of embossed bronze. Apparently from a circular piece with central boss surrounded by two concentric ridges with a series of raised dots between the two. (PS.KD)
- E. Bronze handle with a rounded back with lozenge-shaped section. The recurved terminals are each surmounted by a boss. No attachment pins survive. (PS.KA)
- F. Various small fragments of flat sheet bronze. (PS.FX; PS.BL; PS.CF; PS.BH; PS.BG; PS.AX; PS.GV; PS.KC)

<sup>1</sup> W. Watson, 1949, bowl no. 1, pp. 42-44, and fig. 5. There were traces of two opposed handle-mounts.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Eggers, 1951, type 78.



It must be emphasized that items C, D, E, and most of F were found in the gas-pipe trench, so they cannot be assigned to this vessel with certainty.

There is insufficient evidence to attempt a reconstruction. The bronze binding is similar to that found at Felmersham,<sup>1</sup> which was thought to have been on the rim of a vessel of similar diameter (6 to 7 in.). The swing-handle is similar to that on the wooden dish, no. xi, above, but smaller and more rounded.

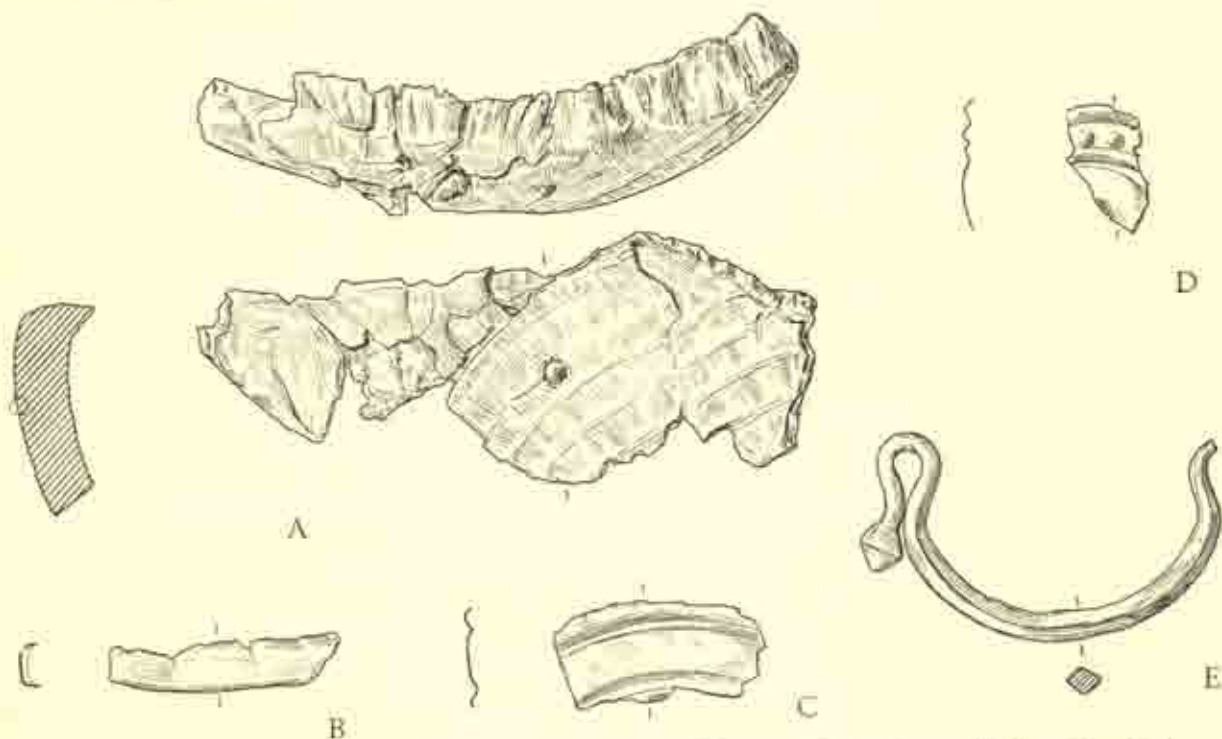


FIG. 18. Fittings of wooden vessel: A, Mineralized wood, with bronze pin; B, Bronze binding; C and D, embossed bronze fragments; E, Bronze handle (1)

It is interesting that four swing handles have been found in this grave, each on a different vessel. It is clear that they were not used for lifting the vessel, but for hanging it from a hook on the wall. Such handles have been found quite frequently in La Tène III contexts in Britain,<sup>2</sup> but have usually been regarded as casket handles, an identification which can be accepted only when hinges or other casket fittings are also found.

(xiii) *Wooden Board?, with Iron Fittings* (figs. 19 and 20)

A. IRON CLAMPS

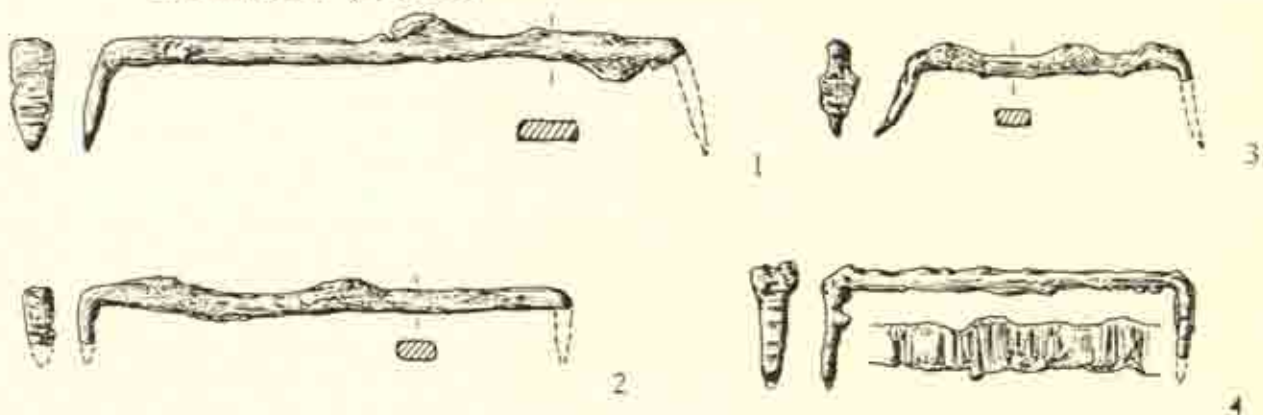
1. 6 in. long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide,  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. thick. The only surviving arm is  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. long and tapers to a point. (PS.BW)
2. 5 in. long (broken, but probably only the arm has been lost),  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. wide,  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. thick. One arm survives to  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., but is broken. (PS.GN)

<sup>1</sup> W. Watson, 1949, p. 46, and pl. vi, a.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, pl. c, no. 3.

## A LA TÈNE III BURIAL AT WELWYN GARDEN CITY

3.  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick. The complete arm is 1 in. long and tapers to a point. (PS.JA)
4.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. long,  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. wide,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick. The complete arm is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, but not pointed. Clear remains of wood on the inside have been identified as 'hardwood'. (PS.HZ)

FIG. 19. Iron clamps ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

## B. IRON NAILS, with hooked heads

5. 3 in. long, with a well-formed head  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long, bent sharply at right angles to the shaft. (PS.HX)
6.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, with a flattened head  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. long, bent at right angles to the shaft. (PS.CG)

## C. IRON NAILS (miscellaneous)

7. Fragmentary iron shaft, 2 in. long, possibly from a nail with hooked head. Traces of wood attached to this nail have been identified as *Quercus*, of *robur* type: 'Oak'. (PS.ED)
8. Similar, but  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, and the shaft seems to be more flattened. (PS.CH)
9. Bent iron shaft,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, possibly similar to the hooked headed nails, but the head,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. long, is slightly twisted and not flattened. (PS.JF)
10. Bent nail. It has been  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. deep in the wood, then twisted and the rest of the shaft hammered over. (PS.JK)

## D. IRON 'UMBO' (fig. 20, no. 11)

An oval iron boss, with flattened plates at each end, through which short nails attached it to a wooden board. A flange survives along one side. The whole piece is  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. long; the complete end-plate is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. wide; and the maximum width across the centre (surviving) is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. One end-plate is incomplete, and the position of a nail near the surviving corner suggests that it had been broken in antiquity. There are traces of four nails, towards each corner, but only one is complete, and it penetrated the wood to a depth of only  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Remains of wood on both end-plates, but too highly mineralized to allow identification (PS.DW)



(33)

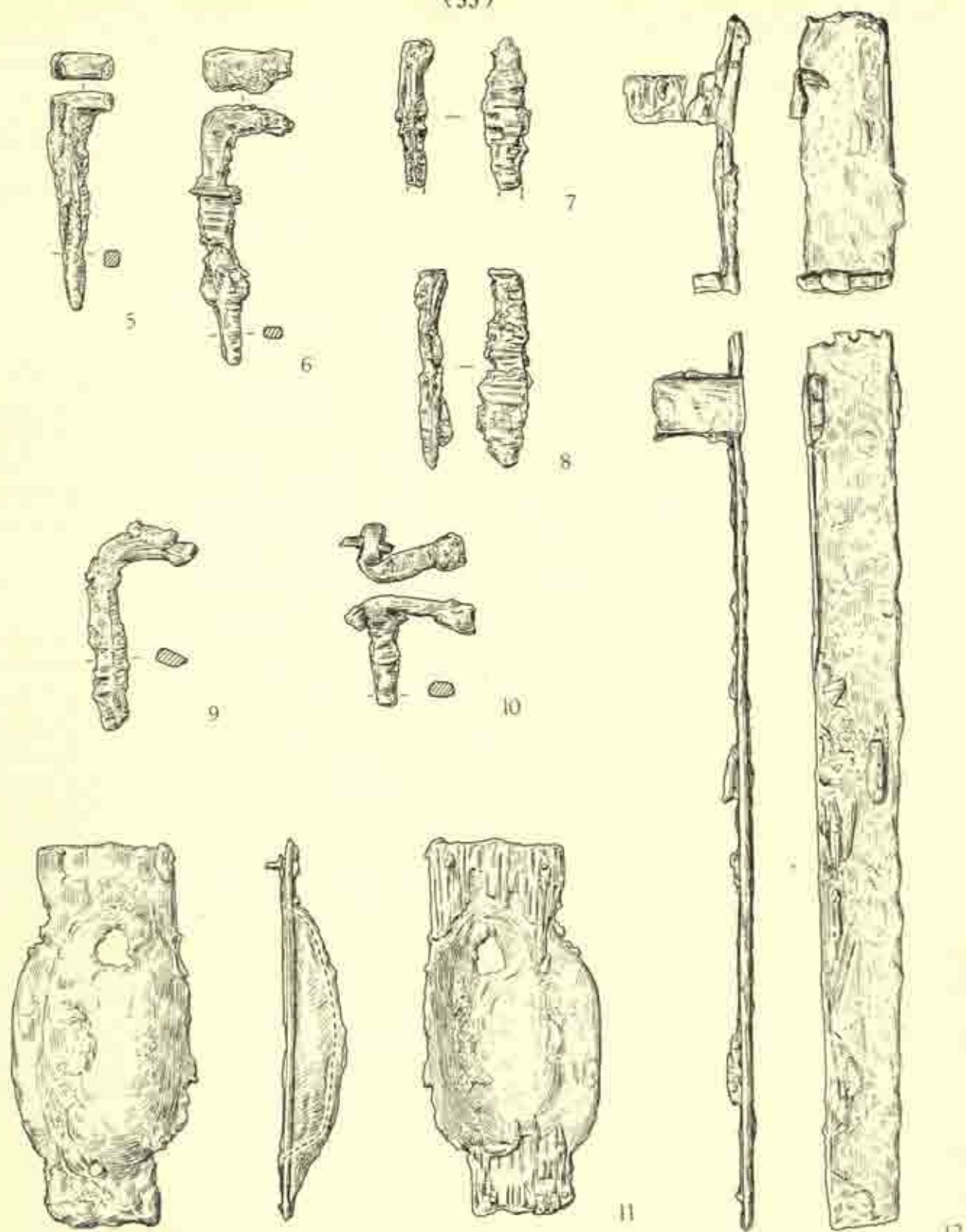


FIG. 20. Iron fittings: 5 and 6, Nails with hooked heads; 7 to 10, Miscellaneous nails; 11, Umbo; 12, Hinge (1)  
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## E. IRON HINGE (fig. 20, no. 12)

Consists of an iron strip,  $12\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, tapering from  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. to  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in width, and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. Also a shorter iron strip,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. long,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide, and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. At the wider end of the longer strip three cuttings leave four narrow tongues which were each wrapped round a bar attached to the end of the shorter strip, to form a hinge.

Each iron strip has the remains of a bracket, whose two arms are approximately  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. apart. On the larger strip the bracket is  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide; both arms are fragmentary, but the longest surviving fragment is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. The bracket on the shorter strip is  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide. Short nails attached these brackets to the board, and there are traces of three similar nails in the longer iron strip.

A wood fragment on the longer arm of the hinge has been identified as probably *Acer campestre*: 'Maple'. (PS.JH; PS.HY)

## F. FRAGMENT OF SKIN

In this corner of the grave, immediately adjoining the bronze strainer (no. vi), a small piece of skin had survived because of contact with the corroding bronze. 'The fragment was folded, with hair remains on the inside, and the bend was opened out in our softening fluid. No discoloration of this solution occurred, as usually happens with vegetable-tanned leather, and as the skin stained green, one can say that it was not vegetable tanned. It was therefore rawhide, or oil- or alum-tanned leather. The skin was too thin to be from cattle, and had groups of fragmentary densely pigmented (i.e. black) hairs. The widest of these were medullated, yet measured only 10-32 microns in diameter, with a mean of 19. Finer fibres were not measured because it was thought that they might merely be fragments. Medullated fibres of this fineness are unusual in sheep, but common among fur fibres, and this suggestion was supported by the angular appearance of some of them in cross-section. The hairs appeared most like those of the stoat, but there is really insufficient evidence for a proper identification.' (PS.DV)

Apart from the boss, the hinge is the most distinctive piece, but it is difficult to visualize an object which would require a single hinge of this size. It is the type of hinge which could have been used on a large chest, but in that case it would have been one of a pair. If it did belong to a chest, then the brackets round each arm would be a curious method of attachment. These brackets suggest that the hinge was fixed to the edge of a wooden plank or board, but how a hinge would function in this context is obscure.

The four iron clamps are also curious in the context of a rich grave-group, because they differ in size and thus suggest repairs rather than an original part of the object. If they are truly repairs, then the hinge could perhaps have had a similar use. Although clearly a hinge in origin, in this context it could have been re-used as a repair to the corner of a board (fig. 21). This would explain the brackets round the arms of the

† Report kindly provided by Dr. M. L. Ryder, of the Animal Breeding Research Organization.



hinge, which would also give the thickness of the board,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. All the clamps could have been used on wood of that thickness.

The hinge was found in the corner of the grave, with its longer arm leaning against the wall and its shorter arm on the floor. The clamps were all in the vicinity of the hinge, from floor level to 20 in. above. The two complete iron nails were found some 2 ft. away, one near the floor of the grave and the other about 18 in. above the floor, with their shafts pointing towards the hinge. All these pieces of

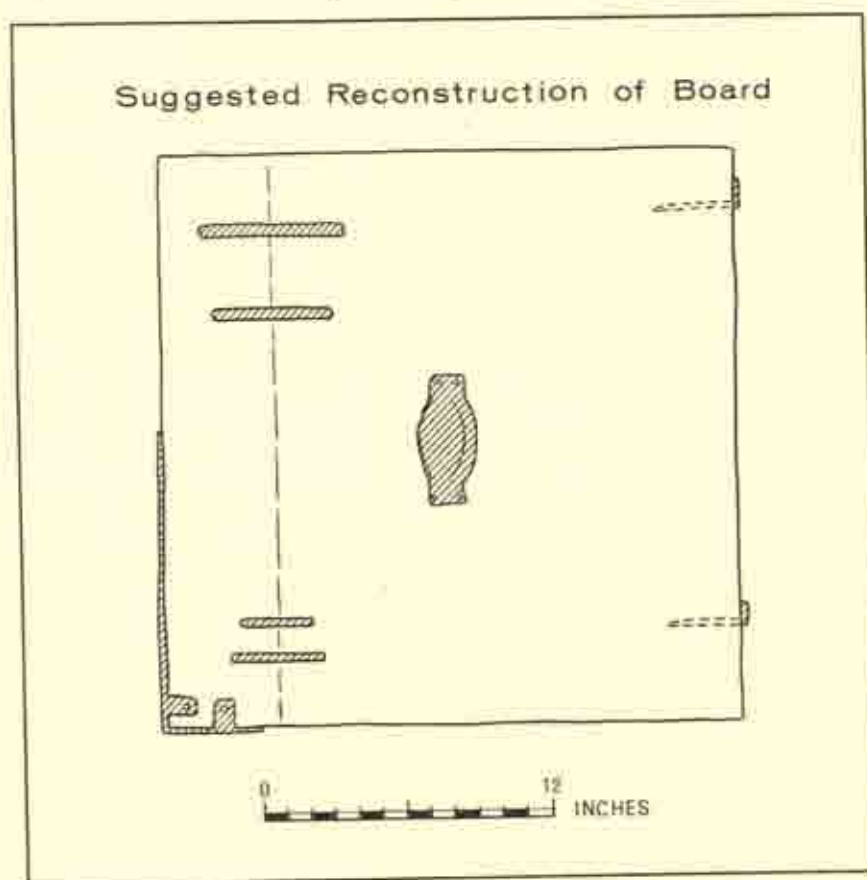


FIG. 21

iron could have belonged to a single board, some 2 ft. square and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. thick. If so, the boss, which was found against the side of the grave, with its centre about 14 in. above the floor, would have occupied an approximately central position.

A much repaired wooden board in the context of a rich grave-group must have been an object of considerable rarity or value. One can only guess as to its purpose, but there is one board which ought to have been in the grave—the game-board.

The purpose of the boss is not immediately clear, unless it was purely decorative. However, if the wooden object had been the game-board one might suggest a function for the boss. The nails which secured it are quite short, and it is possible that it was attached to a thinner piece of wood inset in the centre of the board. Thus inverted, the boss could have been a central cup, which could, perhaps, have housed the six glass

oddments of beads and bracelets, and such an arrangement, with a central dead area, would not be inconsistent with the four-man race-game postulated above (p. 19). But this is mere conjecture.

Despite the grouping in the north corner of the grave, it is not certain that all these iron pieces belong to a single object. Wood remains might have been useful in this context, but unfortunately most of the surviving pieces are too highly mineralized to allow identification. An isolated piece of wood from this group (PS.DX), and wood attached to one of the nails, has been identified as probably oak, and a clamp bore traces of 'hardwood'. But the only identified wood from the hinge was probably maple. However, this does not necessarily mean that two woods were used on the suggested game-board, for the maple could have survived from the object on which the hinge was originally used.

It is worth noting that metal bosses were found in two comparable grave-groups. At Snailwell there was a conical iron boss, apparently from a shield, and in the Stanfordsbury A grave a thin bronze object which was originally published as an 'elbow-piece' of armour. The Stanfordsbury object is clearly a shield-boss, quite similar to the central part of the Moel Hiraddug umbo<sup>1</sup> though lacking the central rib. However, the piece from Welwyn Garden City is quite unlike any La Tène shield-boss.

(xiv) *Wooden Vessel(s) with Iron Fittings* (fig. 22)

A. IRON BANDS

1.  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide and  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. thick. A number of fragments total  $29\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length, including one piece with an overlap of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. The fragments give various diameters, varying from 10 to 15 in., with an average of 12 in. (PS.EK; PS.EQ)
2.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide and  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. thick. The fragments total 27 in. long, and one includes an overlap of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in., secured to a wooden base by a nail  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long. (PS.EE; PS.EL)

B. IRON RING HANDLES

3. A ring  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. external diameter and about  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. thick. (PS.EJ) This was suspended by an iron split-pin with ring-head and the two feet bent over. It has been attached to a piece of wood 1 in. thick, whose grain is orientated in the direction of the pin's shaft. Remains of wood were 'probably maple'. (PS.EH)
4. A ring  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter, and about  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. thick. (PS.EO) Suspended in a similar way, but this split-pin has been attached to a piece of wood  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick, whose grain is orientated at right angles to the shaft. Surviving wood was 'probably maple'. (PS.EN)
5. Short segment (2 in. long) of a ring about 3 in. diameter. Attached to it is the ring-head of a pin similar to those above. (PS.EF)

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hemp, 1928, pp. 270-1.



6. Short segment ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. long) of a ring about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter, with a similar ring-head attached. (PS. KB)
7. One arm of a similar split-pin,  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long. (PS.EW)

## C. ASSOCIATED OBJECT

8. An iron hook,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, found with these bands. Purpose unknown. (PS.EG)

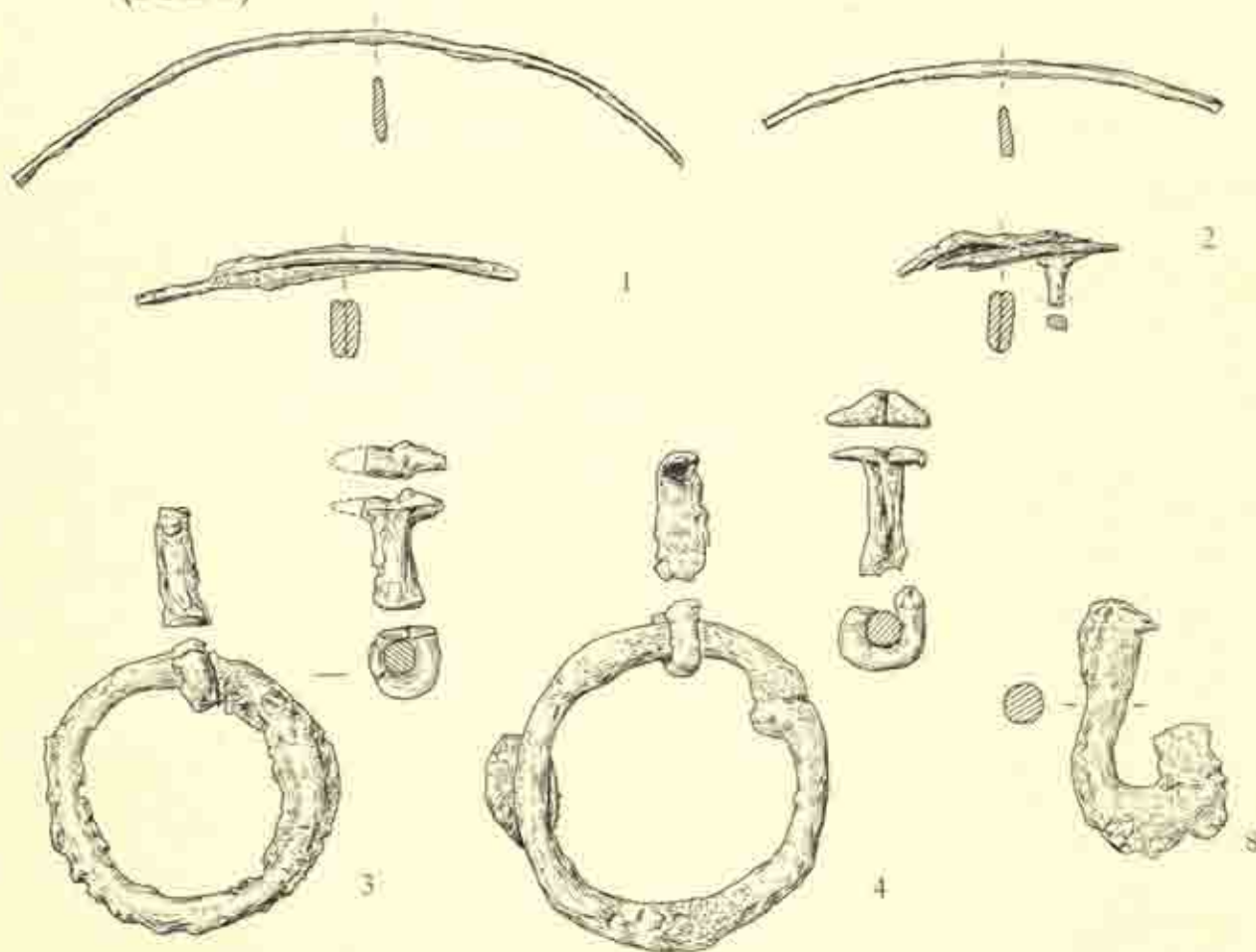


FIG. 22. Iron fittings of wooden vessel(s): 1 and 2, Iron bands; 3 and 4, Rings with split-pin attachments; 5, Iron hook ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

The two iron bands, although differing slightly in width, could readily have belonged to the same wooden vessel. However, the two complete ring-handles were found immediately outside the bands, and only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. apart ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. apart between centres). It seems unlikely that two rings found in such positions could belong to the same vessel and, furthermore, surviving fragments on the two split-pins show that the wood differed slightly in thickness, and its grain was differently orientated on the two pieces. Although none of this evidence is conclusive, and the wood on both split-pins was probably maple, it does seem more likely that there were two wooden vessels,

one inside or above the other. The vessels may each have had two ring-handles, because they had been disturbed by the gas-pipe trench, and fragments of two other rings, nos. 5 and 6, were found in the back-filling of that trench.

Ring-handles of this type are usually found on metal cauldrons,<sup>1</sup> although in an earlier period they were also used on metal situlae.<sup>2</sup> The Welwyn Garden City vessels are perhaps most likely to have been wooden buckets after the style of these situlae.

(xv) *Triangular Iron Knife* (fig. 23, no. 1; pl. VII, a)

A triangular iron blade, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, with a bronze duck-head at one corner.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. maximum surviving width. One of the lower corners is rounded, but the other is damaged. The duck-head has a hollow ('eye') on one side, but not on the other. Both sides of the blade bear remains of wood ('hardwood'), which on each face has a straight edge about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. from one edge of the iron. It was found standing upright against the side of the grave, adjoining the platter, no. 30, with the duck-head uppermost. (PS.GZ; PS.GY)

It seems likely that the surviving wood is the remains of a case, and that the object is a knife whose working edge is opposite the duck-head handle and protected by the wooden case. A similar, but larger, triangular blade was found in the Snailwell burial (fig. 23, no. 2). It too had a small handle in one corner—a wooden handle attached by two bronze rivets. But the Snailwell blade was not so symmetrical. Another similar knife in a La Tène III or Early Roman context was found in a cemetery at Walmer, Kent (fig. 23, no. 3).<sup>3</sup> The exact purpose of these knives is unknown, but considering the context of the one from Welwyn Garden City, they may have had a culinary use.

(xvi) *Wooden Object with Iron Attachments* (fig. 24)

It is clear that there was some other wooden object on the south side of the gas-pipe trench, but too little survives to allow any identification. Included in this group are the remaining pieces of iron from the grave and the gas-pipe trench, which cannot be assigned to any other of the grave-goods.

The following, A and B, were found *in situ*, as marked no. 16 on the plan, fig. 4.

- A. An iron nail,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, with thick circular head and remains of wood on the shaft. (PS.CN)
- B. Part of a small iron clamp, surviving length  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., with the sole surviving arm  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. long. Remains of wood on the inside. (PS.BR)

The following, C and D, were found within the platter, no. 29, and may belong to the same object as A and B.

- C. Fragment of the shaft of an iron pin,  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long, with circular section. (PS.BO)
- D. Small iron clamp  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, with one arm complete,  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long, and the other arm broken. Remains of wood on the inside. (PS.BP)

<sup>1</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, 1951, pp. 182-3.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. A. Smith, 1957.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Woodruff, 1904, p. 16, find no. 21.



(39)

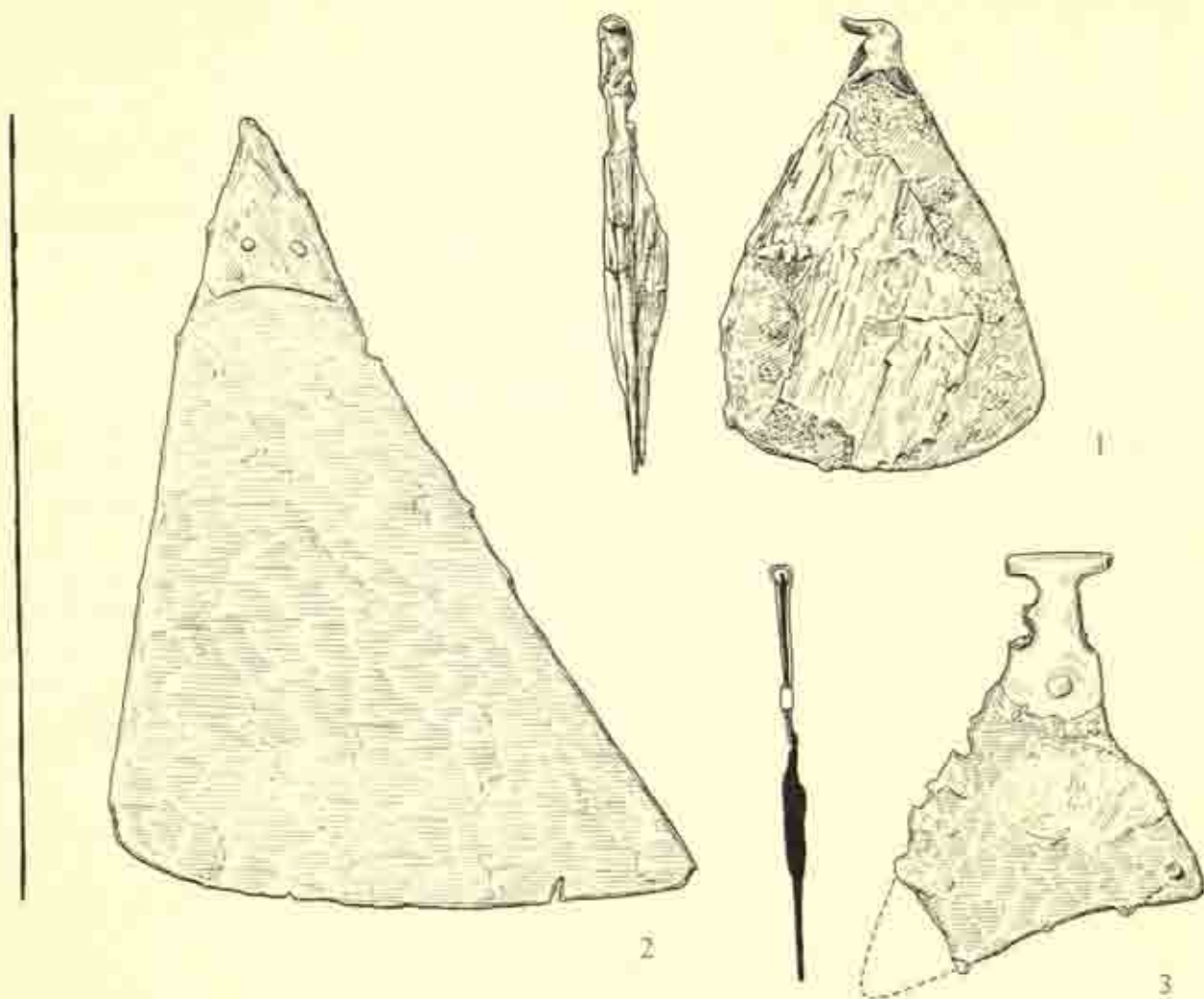


FIG. 23. Triangular iron knives: 1, Welwyn Garden City; 2, Snailwell; 3, Walmer ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

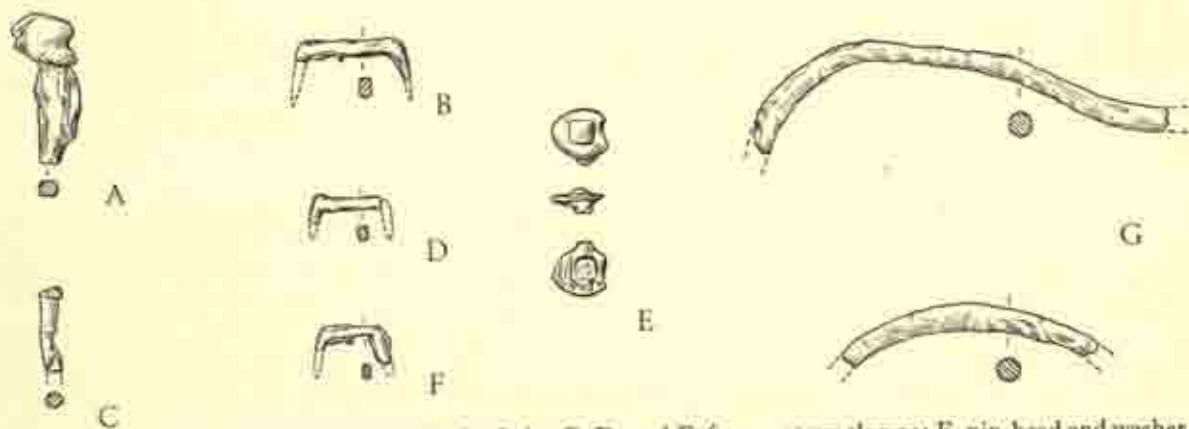


FIG. 24. Iron oddments: A, Nail; C, Shaft of pin; B, D, and F, fragmentary clamps; E, pin-head and washer; G, Two pieces of curved bar ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

The following, E to G, were found in the filling of the gas-pipe trench.

- E. Head and part of the shaft of an iron pin through an iron washer  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter, with remains of wood on the underside. (PS.CC)
- F. Small iron clamp  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, with one arm surviving to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, and the other broken at the joint. (PS.ET)
- G. Two pieces of curved iron bar  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. diameter; the one  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. long and the other  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. Possibly from the handle of a small wooden bucket. (PS.AT)

(xvii) 'Straw Mat' (fig. 25; pl. vii, b)

This 'mat' had covered part of the floor of the grave. There is no indication of its original size, and the surviving piece had been preserved because of contact with the corroding bronze of the bronze dish, no. vii. The 'mat' had been built from two different vegetable materials, the more robust—'bark, probably from *Quercus* sp. of *robur* type (oak)'—forming a framework around which the other material was woven. The latter was a 'flattened, stem-like material, possibly from a monocotyledonous plant, but lacking diagnostic anatomical characters found in Gramineae or Cyperaceae and unlike British material of Juncaceae, *Acorus calamus*, *Iris pseudacorus*, and *Typha latifolia*; material too poorly preserved to make possible a closer identification'.<sup>2</sup>

Report on the Cremation, by MISS R. POWERS, Sub-Department of Anthropology,  
British Museum (Natural History)

Adult, probably male, probably over 25. No osteoarthritic changes.

*Skull*

The following areas are represented; both temporals (petrous parts and mastoids), parietal and occipital fragments which show that the lambdoid suture was open. Part of a malar bone, probably the left, was present and this side of the skull was less completely destroyed than the other. A portion of the palate and five fragments of the alveolar margin of the mandible are present. The latter contain sockets for two premolars, three incisors, and three molars two of which were the back ones—M3 unless this tooth was naturally absent. Shallow triangular pits are present behind their sockets. The left first molar appears to have been lost during life. Five tooth roots are present, probably the canine and premolars and two molar roots corresponding to the preserved sockets.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Dorothy Wright, Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, comments: 'It is most unusual for a mat to be made on this stake-and-strand principle because of the difficulty of making the edges which cannot be the same all round, there being no stake-ends at the

sides. I would have thought it was more likely to be part of the bottom, side, or lid of a fairly large stake-and-strand basket. The stakes being stiffer than the strands also leads one to think this.'

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Cutler (see p. 7, n. 2).



*Skeleton*

All areas of the skeleton are represented by fragments.

*Trunk.* Two rib fragments, dorsal arch of atlas, axis including odontoid process, lateral articular facets of two other cervicals, portions of sacrum and/or lumbar vertebrae of slightly different colour and preservation from the rest (more brown than grey).

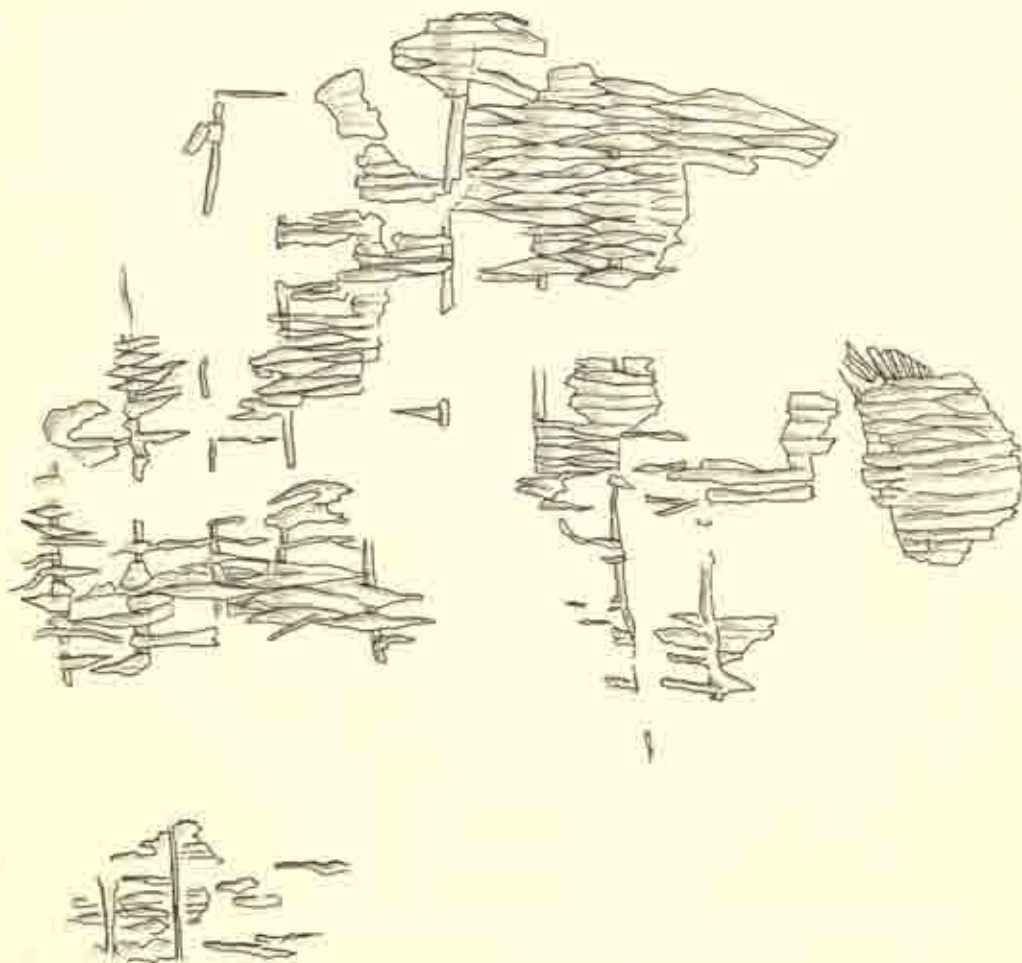


FIG. 25. Remains of 'straw mat' ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

*Limbs.* Long-bone shaft fragments including tibiae, femora, fibulae, and probably the arm bones too. Fragments of the tibiae and femora at the knee joints, the femur head, and of the distal ends of both humeri.

*Bronze Stains*

A few scattered green spots from bronze stain are present, mostly on the smaller long bones, but this was probably not significant (see find no. x, p. 29).

## BEAR PHALANGES

Among the human calcined bones were found the burnt remains of six terminal phalanges of a bear—i.e. a minimum of one paw and one finger. Presumably it had been a brown bear, although the specimens themselves are not specifically distinctive.<sup>1</sup> This raises the possibility that when the body was burnt it was wrapped in a bear-skin—for such terminal phalanges are normally left in a skin because their removal would damage it.

## THE CEMETERY

The main grave formed part of a small cemetery (fig. 3), but the other burials had only the coarse pottery which held the calcined bones. Thus, although these other burials were clearly secondary in importance, it is not possible to decide whether or not they were secondary in date. The rich burials at Welwyn and Hertford Heath also belonged to cemeteries with poorer burials.

## A. POTTERY (fig. 26)

Of the following vessels nos. 1 to 5 were found in a group in the immediate vicinity of the main grave, but no. 6 was more isolated (see plan, fig. 3).

1. (PA.AH) Urn in variegated ware, predominantly dark grey, with rounded everted rim, a cordon on the neck, and a groove on the shoulder. The lower part of the body has horizontal marking, possibly the remains of burnishing. This type of urn is common within the Aylesford-Swarling Culture, e.g. AB. 20 (Swarling), 151 (Great Wakering, Essex), 165 (Billericay, Essex), and not unlike type 13 at Wheathampstead (R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, 1936, p. 150, pl. 1, 13); see also Camulodunum form 229.
2. (PA.AN) Similar urn, with grooves on the neck but without the pronounced cordon.
3. (PA.AO) Urn in variegated ware, buff to light grey. Quite similar to no. 5.
4. (PA.AJ) Base of a pot in variegated ware; the few surviving sherds are quite worn. Possibly similar to AB. 143 (Little Hallingbury, Essex).
5. (PA.AA) Urn in variegated ware, orange-buff to light grey. The lower part of the body has horizontal marking, possibly the remains of burnishing. Similar to AB. 19 (Swarling), although the latter has an additional cordon on the neck.
6. (PA.AL) Base of a pot in fine dark grey ware, with horizontal burnishing. Quite similar to the fine ware from the main grave. Among the cremated bones were two pieces of iron, possibly from a brooch. Similar in shape to AB. 7 (Swarling), though without the deeply impressed grooves of that vessel. It is unfortunate that so little of this pot survives, because the type of base is more common on the Continent than in Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Kindly examined by Miss J. E. King and Dr. F. C. Fraser, F.R.S., Department of Zoology, British Museum (Natural History).



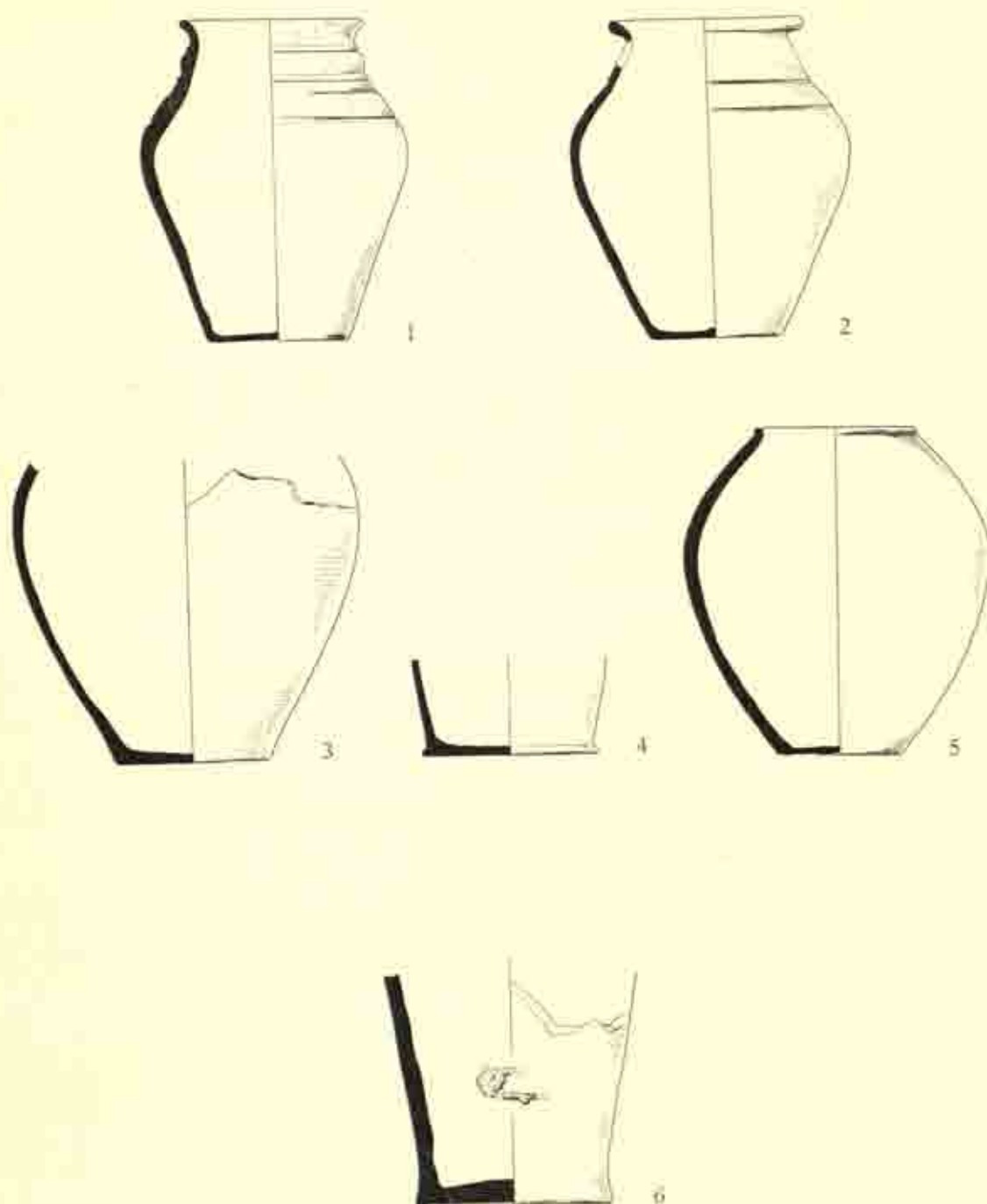


FIG. 26. Pottery from the cemetery (I)

## B. CREMATED BONES, by MISS R. POWERS

1. (PA.AH) Adult male. Fragments of skull. A marked beak-like exostosis is present on the occipital muscle attachment at inion. Some at least of the sutures are open. Long-bone fragments.

2. (PA.AN) Either a sub-adult or a female. Small, thin, skull fragments, mainly from occipital area. Tibia, femur, and other long-bone fragments.
3. (PA.AO) Adult, sex unknown. Fragments of long bone and alveolar fragment from the region of the mandibular symphysis with the sockets for both central incisors, the left lateral incisor and part of the canine socket. All these teeth were present at death.
4. (PA.AJ) Human, probably adult, long-bone fragments.
5. (PA.AA) Adult. Fragments of cranium, showing open lambdoid suture and also lengths of coronal and sagittal for about 1 in. around bregma.
6. (PA.AL) Probably human. Mainly long-bone fragments. No diagnostic features remain.

#### WELWYN-TYPE BURIALS

The Welwyn Garden City burial belongs to a well-defined group of rich La Tène III graves in Britain, including two sites in its immediate vicinity, Welwyn and Hertford Heath (fig. 27). They have sometimes been called 'vault-burials', but this implies that there was a roofed cavity like some Late Hallstatt burials on the Continent which were enclosed in wooden chambers. None of the British sites has produced evidence for a wooden chamber, and the group is better termed simply 'Welwyn-type burials'. The burial practice may be defined as a cremation in a large rectangular grave without covering mound. There is always a quantity of pottery, including at least one amphora, and usually some imported metal or glass vessels.

The group comprises eight British burials, whose details and grave-goods are presented in Tables I and II and the Appendix. The recorded grave-plans are outlined in fig. 28. Welwyn Garden City compares favourably in size with Hertford Heath and Snailwell; Mount Bures, shown here as triangular, was incompletely excavated;<sup>1</sup> and the two Stanfordsbury graves, which are perhaps the latest of the group, were very much larger. The measurements of the two graves excavated at Welwyn in 1906 were not recorded.

Apart from the recent find, Snailwell is the most complete grave-group, and the only other burial where the cremation itself was found intact. Here, too, the calcined bones were not in a pottery urn, but simply heaped on the floor of the grave. There was, however, a slight difference in ritual, because the Snailwell bones had been so hot that they had scorched the floor of the grave, whereas at Welwyn Garden City they seem to have been cold at the time of burial. Furthermore, at Snailwell a fine bracelet was included in the grave-group, but elsewhere, apart from Stanfordsbury B, personal ornaments seem to have been rare. At Welwyn Garden City the only hint of a personal ornament was in the distorted bronze fragments found with the calcined bones.

Pottery seems to have been abundant, although complete groups have survived from only three graves. Essentially it was fine table-ware, and when available imported vessels seem to have been preferred to native forms. Drink was provided

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Smith, 1852, p. 31: the grave 'was not fully explored, as the plan of the excavation of itself decides'.



in the form of wine in amphorae, but little has survived of any food. Many foods would have left no trace, but the absence of meat is curious—animal bones were found only at Snailwell. The iron knives found in three burials could have been used in preparing food, but despite the hearth furniture in four graves there are no cauldrons (but a tripod at Stanfordbury A) and no cooking-pots.

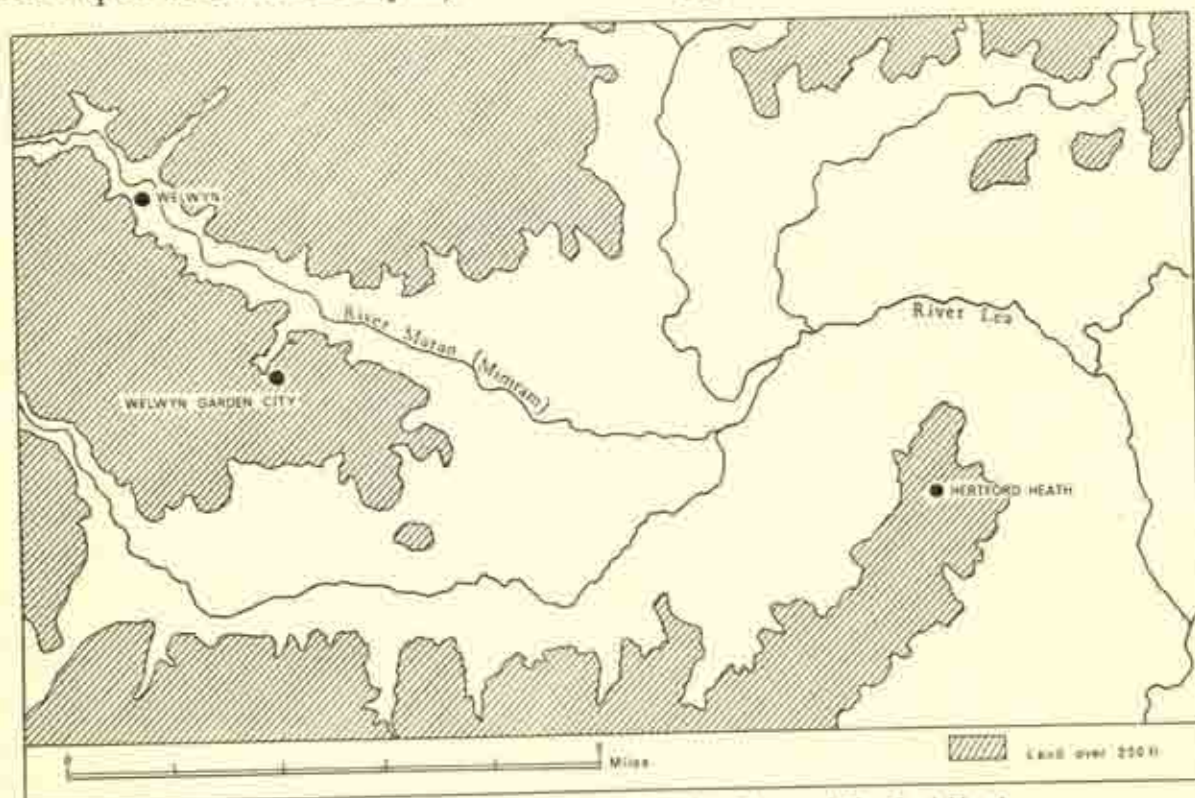


FIG. 27. Burials at Welwyn, Welwyn Garden City, and Hertford Heath

There seems to have been one other element in some of the graves, which has been variously interpreted as a litter, couch, or coffin. At Snailwell this took the form of a box-like structure, about 3 by 6 ft., whose sole surviving elements were iron angle-pieces and two iron hooks. Something of the sort may have been in the Hertford Heath grave, where a quantity of unidentified ironwork had been disturbed by pipe-trenches. But the Hertford Heath object was certainly not a simple box, although it did have three iron hooks similar to those at Snailwell. The two iron rods at Stanfordbury B could have belonged to an object within this class, and the dome-headed studs from Welwyn Garden City obviously decorated a substantial wooden object. Too little remains for one to elaborate on these large and essentially wooden objects, but it is perhaps worth noting that, unlike the other four graves, the four graves mentioned in this paragraph do not have hearth furniture.

Finally, in order to avoid any confusion with other La Tène burial rites, it should be noted that no wheeled vehicles and no weapons<sup>1</sup> have been found in any Welwyn-type grave.

<sup>1</sup> But, curiously, two shield-bosses were found, at Snailwell and Stanfordbury A, see p. 36.

Welwyn-type burials are not the only form of rich burial of the period in south-eastern England, and in particular one notes the barrow at Lexden, Colchester, which covered an enormous grave,<sup>1</sup> and also the rich bucket burials such as Grave Y at Aylesford.<sup>2</sup> The bucket burials were in small circular pits, and their calcined bones were either in the bucket or in one of the accompanying urns. Similar rich burials in simple pits are found in this region throughout La Tène III and into the Roman period.

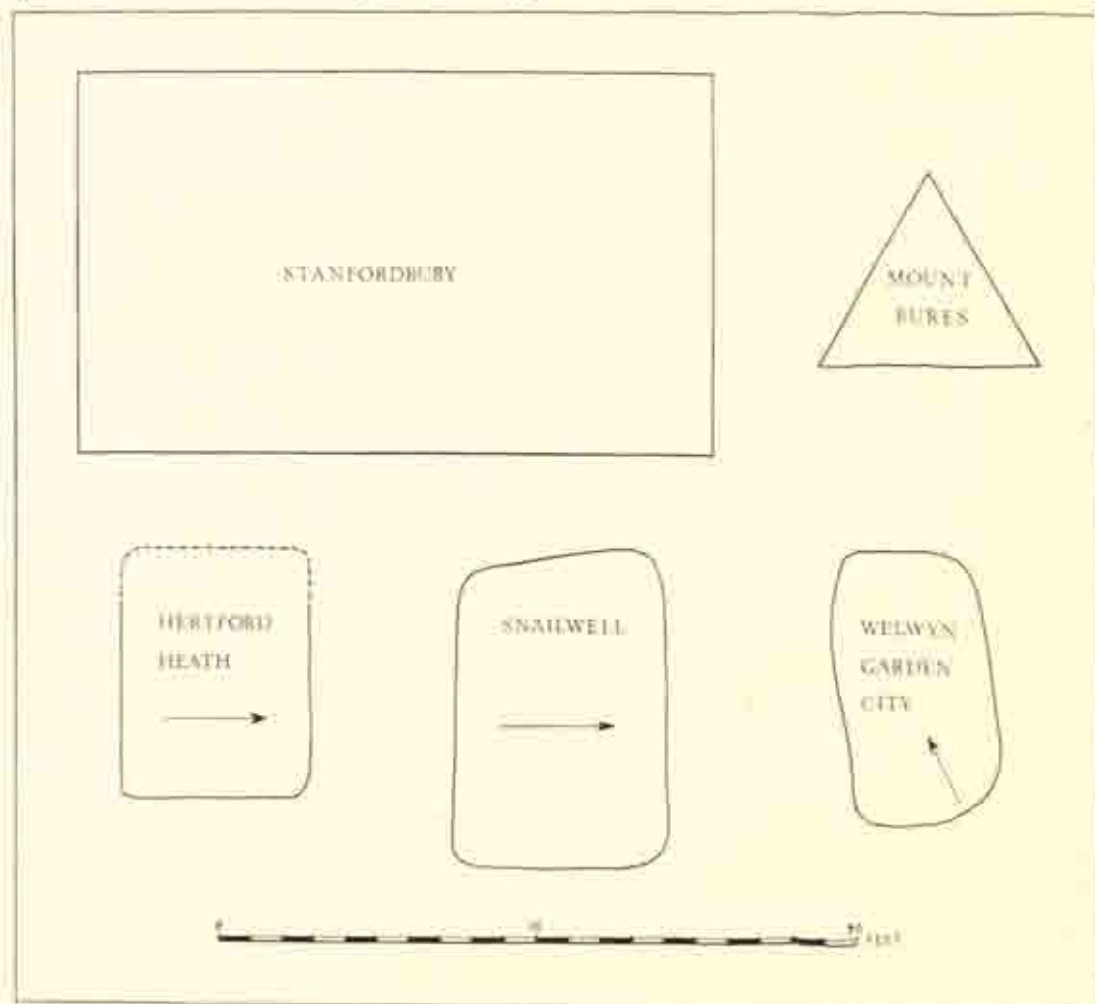


FIG. 28. Outline plans of the Welwyn-type burials (the arrows indicate north)

But there are also several vague accounts of burials which might well have been of the Welwyn type. They too were found by chance, but there is insufficient evidence to classify them with certainty. These burials are listed at the end of the Appendix, and they fall within the distribution of the burials discussed above (i.e. those on fig. 1).

#### CHRONOLOGY

It is not possible to date the Welwyn-type burials accurately, but imported bronze and pottery vessels may be used to establish two phases.

Phase I includes the two graves from Welwyn, with bronze vessels which Werner

<sup>1</sup> P. G. Laver, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> A. Birchall, 1964.



has classified as Late La Tène. Werner demonstrated that Italian bronze vessels north of the Alps may be divided into two mutually exclusive groups.<sup>1</sup> The earlier, Late La Tène, he divided from the later, Early Roman, about the time of the conquest of the Vindelici (15 B.C.) and the start of military operations on the Rhine by Drusus (12 B.C.). The upper chronological limit for these bronzes is *circa* 50 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> although Werner considers that most of them belong to the final decade of the phase.

Phase II of the Welwyn-type burials is defined by the presence of imported Gallo-Belgic or samian pottery. Gallo-Belgic kilns started production about 15 or 10 B.C., and their wares were imported into Britain until the end of the reign of Claudius.<sup>3</sup> The grave-groups at Mount Bures and Snailwell included Gallo-Belgic pottery, but they cannot be more precisely dated than *circa* 10 B.C.–A.D. 50. Samian pottery was certainly found in the two Stanfordsbury burials, but unfortunately it was muddled with similar pottery from the cemetery at Shefford.<sup>4</sup> None of the pottery now displayed with Stanfordsbury B is reliable, but the three samian cups with Stanfordsbury A were accepted by Fox.<sup>5</sup> The cup Ritterling type 5 has a stamp which Inskip recorded from this grave-group;<sup>6</sup> it is a Gaulish copy of an Arretine type, and is likely to have been made *circa* A.D. 35–45. Of the other two cups, Loeschcke 11 should be Tiberian (*circa* A.D. 30–40) and Dragendorff 24/25 is probably Claudian.<sup>7</sup> The Ritterling type 5 cup seems reliable evidence for dating the Stanfordsbury A burial about the time of the Claudian conquest, and the other cups would not be inconsistent with that date. Although Stanfordsbury B could be later, *circa* 10 B.C.–A.D. 50 seems a reasonable range for Phase II.

Table III is an attempt to express this chronological evidence in diagrammatic form. Although the burials are listed in a possible chronological sequence, their grouping within the two phases is more significant. The first two burials clearly belong to Phase I, and the final four burials to Phase II, but the position of Welwyn Garden City and Hertford Heath is more obscure.

The Welwyn Garden City bronze vessels are of little use for chronology because they are virtually unique, although the closest continental piece, from Lübsow III, was associated with a patella of Werner's Early Roman phase.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, there are close similarities with the two Welwyn graves, not only in the amphorae and silver cups, for the surviving pottery from Welwyn is also matched at Welwyn Garden City. Furthermore, although negative evidence, the absence of Gallo-Belgic wares in such a large group of fine pottery is surely significant. The Gallo-Belgic kilns could not have been in operation for long before the date of the Welwyn Garden City burial, and this certainly indicates a date before the birth of Christ. Strong's date for the manufacture of the silver cup emphasizes the conclusion drawn from the bronzes and pottery, that one cannot suggest a closer date for the burial than the final quarter of the first century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> J. Werner, 1954, see especially Tafel 4.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Birchall, 1965, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, pp. 202–4.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Dryden, 1845, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> C. Fox, 1923, p. 204, and pl. xx, 1–3.

<sup>6</sup> Inskip, quoted in C. R. Smith, 1852, p. 30, records

stamps SILVVS and OF COR, the latter presumably C. Fox, 1923, pl. xx, 3.

<sup>7</sup> The writer is grateful to B. R. Hartley, F.S.A., for these comments on the samian.

<sup>8</sup> H. J. Eggers, 1953, bowl, Taf. 2a; patella, Taf. 3a and b.



It is even more difficult to suggest a date for the Hertford Heath burial. The only imports, the amphora and glass bowl, cannot be dated precisely, and the native pottery differs in fabric and shape from that found in the other three Hertfordshire burials. Furthermore, the absence of imported pottery<sup>1</sup> is not so significant because the group comprises only ten pots. On the basis of the pottery, a date rather later than Welwyn Garden City seems likely.

One further point of interest shown by Table III is the position of Dressel type I amphorae. Both Phase I burials have these amphorae exclusively, but of the Phase II sites only Mount Bures has one, and that is in a group of six amphorae.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Dressel type I amphorae cannot be correlated exactly with Phase I as defined here, for the type is known to have been used well into the first century A.D. Particularly important from this point of view is the evidence of Camulodunum, where five of the thirteen amphorae in Period I (A.D. 10-43) were of this type.<sup>3</sup> Hence Mount Bures could very well be dated as late as the second quarter of the first century A.D.

#### RELATED BURIALS ON THE CONTINENT

The Aylesford-Swarling Culture, which includes Welwyn-type graves as one form of rich burial, has particularly close associations with northern France,<sup>4</sup> and it might be reasonable to expect Welwyn-type burials in that area too.

However, closely comparable burials have been found at only one site, Arras, although the similarities there are very striking.<sup>5</sup> Four burials were found, each in a square grave, measuring between 11 ft. 6 in. and 13 ft. Unfortunately, the finds, which were never illustrated, appear to have been lost, so the records are not really adequate. But all four burials had amphorae, usually standing in the corners of the grave; each was furnished with a quantity of pottery, including decorated samian in at least one, and a variety of bronze vessels and iron objects. In at least two burials the calcined bones were simply heaped on the floor, and these same two burials had iron frames very similar to those found at Welwyn in 1906.<sup>6</sup> As far as these records go, the rite seems to have been exactly the same as the Welwyn-type burials in Britain. The loss of the Arras finds means that close dating is impossible, but burial 1 had an urn with fourteen bronze coins in it, and burial 3 (with iron frame) had three coins, identified as Augustus, Agrippa, and Tiberius.

The only other similar burial in France is a La Tène III cremation at St.-Audebert, Presles-et-Boves, Aisne,<sup>7</sup> in a grave 6 ft. by 4 ft. 3 in., lined with rough stone slabs. It had two Dressel type I amphorae, together with seven pots, a bronze ring, some beads, and a La Tène III iron brooch. The differences here are perhaps slight, but

<sup>1</sup> The samian bowl found during the excavations at Hertford Heath is not reliably associated with this burial.

<sup>2</sup> The surviving amphora from Stanfordsbury is certainly not Dressel type 1. In shape it is akin to Dressel type 14, although in size it is very much smaller. It may be a half-measure amphora, cf. full- and half-size amphorae illustrated by M. H. Callender, 1965, pls. II, c. and IV, a.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 1947, Form 181, p. 251, and table, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> A. Birchall, 1965.

<sup>5</sup> See especially A. Terninck, 1879, pp. 231-42, with plans of the burials; also J. Quicherat, 1885, pp. 429-32.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated by Terninck and Quicherat, but see also J. Déchelette, 1914, p. 1410, fig. 631, no. 2, and R. A. Smith, 1912, p. 13, fig. 9. For a revised reconstruction of the Welwyn frame see J. W. Brailsford, 1958.

<sup>7</sup> F. Moreau, 1892, pl. 113; A. Birchall, 1965, p. 314, and fig. 29.



the cremation was in an urn, and the burial, which was not as rich as the British, lacked imported glass or bronze vessels; furthermore, no British graves were lined with stone slabs.

The St.-Audebert and, more particularly, Arras burials are clearly related to the Welwyn-type graves, but there is no evidence that they could be ancestral. Neither site can be closely dated, but St.-Audebert has post-Caesarian amphorae,<sup>1</sup> and the Arras coins suggest a late date for at least one of the burials. However, although these two sites may be contemporary with the British burials, their presence in France does suggest that earlier examples may yet be found there.

Further east, a similar rite is found in some Hunsrück-Eifel cemeteries in La Tène III<sup>2</sup> where large square or rectangular graves have cremated bones heaped on the floor. But, although these German burials include large collections of pottery, they are not as rich as the Welwyn-type burials in other respects, and lack metal and glass vessels and amphorae.

There is another group of burials worth mentioning in this context. At Montefortino, in The Marches, is a cemetery of the Celtic Senones.<sup>3</sup> It is a flat cemetery, with large rectangular graves (a typical one measured 10 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft.), some have amphorae and fire-dogs, pottery is common, and several have rich collections of bronze vessels. Tomba VIII, with a pair of fire-dogs, had a gold spiral bracelet with serpent heads quite similar to the more stylized version found at Snailwell. And tomba XXIII included fire-dogs, a similar bracelet, three dice, and twenty glass gaming-pieces. The major difference in burial rite is that the Montefortino burials were inhumations, but nevertheless the similarities are most striking. However, there can be no direct connexion between Montefortino and Welwyn, because the Italian cemetery is securely dated about three centuries earlier than the British group.

The comparison between Montefortino and Welwyn is a striking example of the reaction of two groups of Celts to a similar set of circumstances. In Britain one might see the Welwyn-type burials as the graves of Celts impressed and enriched by their contact with Roman merchants. About the same time the Lübsow Germans reacted in a similar way to other Roman traders operating beyond the Empire.<sup>4</sup> At Montefortino the merchants were their neighbours, the Etruscans. Even earlier the same phenomenon occurred in Eastern France and the Rhineland, when the Celts were confronted by Greeks trading beyond the main areas of colonization, and there again the imported vessels were invariably connected with wine-drinking.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. Uenze, 1958, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Hoppstädten, Birkenfeld, in the Nahe valley, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, xiii (1938), 232-8.

<sup>3</sup> E. Brizio, 1899; J. Déchelette, 1914, pp. 1088-91.

<sup>4</sup> H. J. Eggers, 1953; R. E. M. Wheeler, 1955, pp. 49-63.

<sup>5</sup> J. M. de Navarro, 1928, especially pp. 434-5.



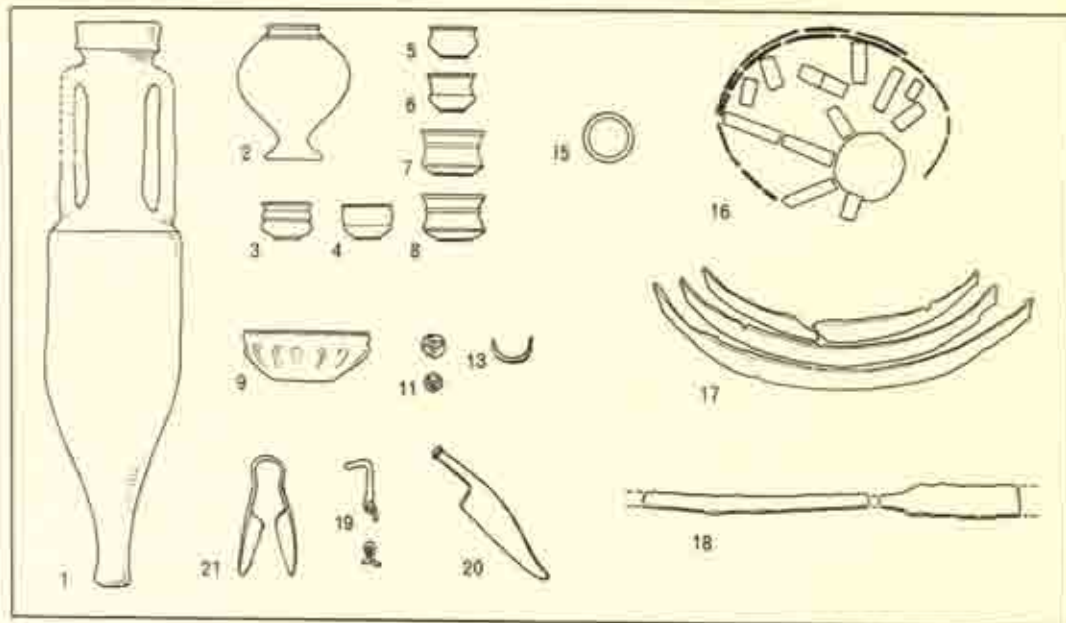




## APPENDIX

## WELWYN-TYPE BURIALS: LISTS OF GRAVE-GOODS

## HERTFORD HEATH



Hertford Heath, Hertfordshire. TL. 352113.

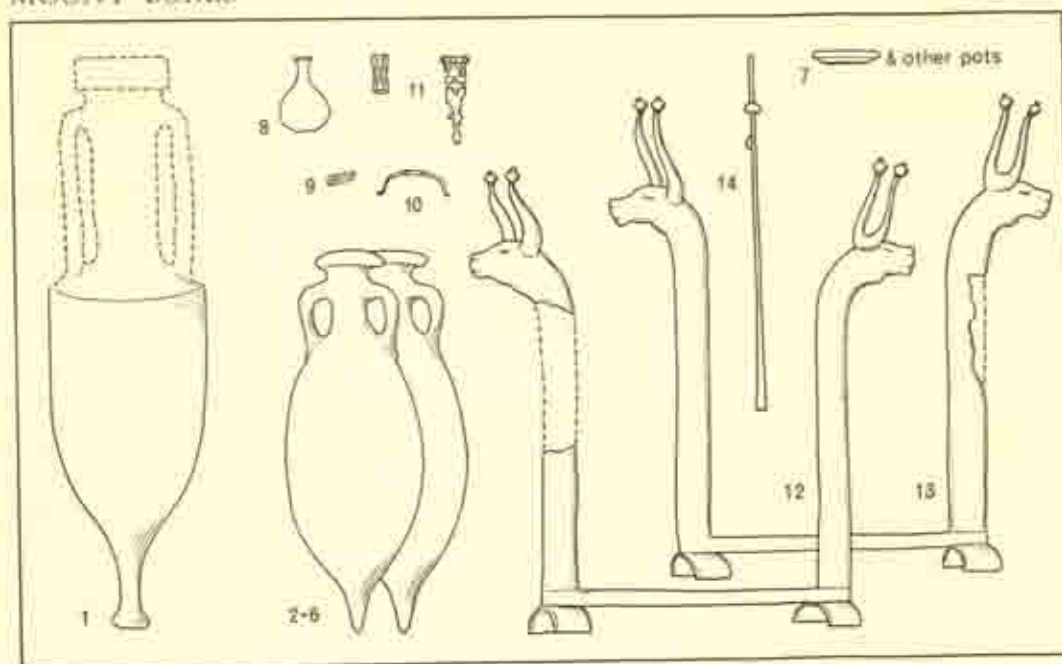
J. Holmes and W. H. C. Frend, 1959; unpublished information from D. Britton. Finds in the British Museum.

1. Amphora.
- 2-8. Seven pots, with fragments of three others.
9. Glass bowl.
10. Glass bead (?lost).
11. Seventeen bronze and enamel studs, with fragments of four others.
12. Fragments of bronze plate, with repoussée decoration; fixed to wood by iron pins with bronze heads.
13. Bronze handle.
14. Short bronze rod, with moulding at one end—?fragment of another handle.
15. Iron ring, with bronze cover.
16. Remains of circular wooden board, with iron rim, radial strips, and ring-handle (Iron 1).
17. Three curved iron strips (Iron 2).
18. Iron strips, some wide tapering to narrow, and some entirely narrow (Iron 3).
19. Three iron hooks with attachments—with 'eyes' formed from split-pins.
20. Iron knife; probably in a leather case, whose iron rim survives.
21. Iron shears.

(Scales: 1-8, 15-21 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 9, 11, and 13 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )



## MOUNT BURES



Mount Bures, Essex. TL. 907322.

C. R. Smith, 1852.

The only surviving find is a pair of fire-dogs in the Colchester and Essex Museum.

- 1-6. Six amphorae.
- 7. Quantity of pottery, including Gallo-Belgic platters.
- 8. Glass bottle.
- 9. Green glass bead.
- 10. Two bronze handles.
- 11. Bronze hinge, and bronze link.
- 12, 13. Two pairs of iron fire-dogs, with bronze terminals.
- 14. Iron bar.

(Scales: 1-7, 12-14 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 8-11 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )

## SNAILWELL



Snailwell, Cambridgeshire. TL. 645675.

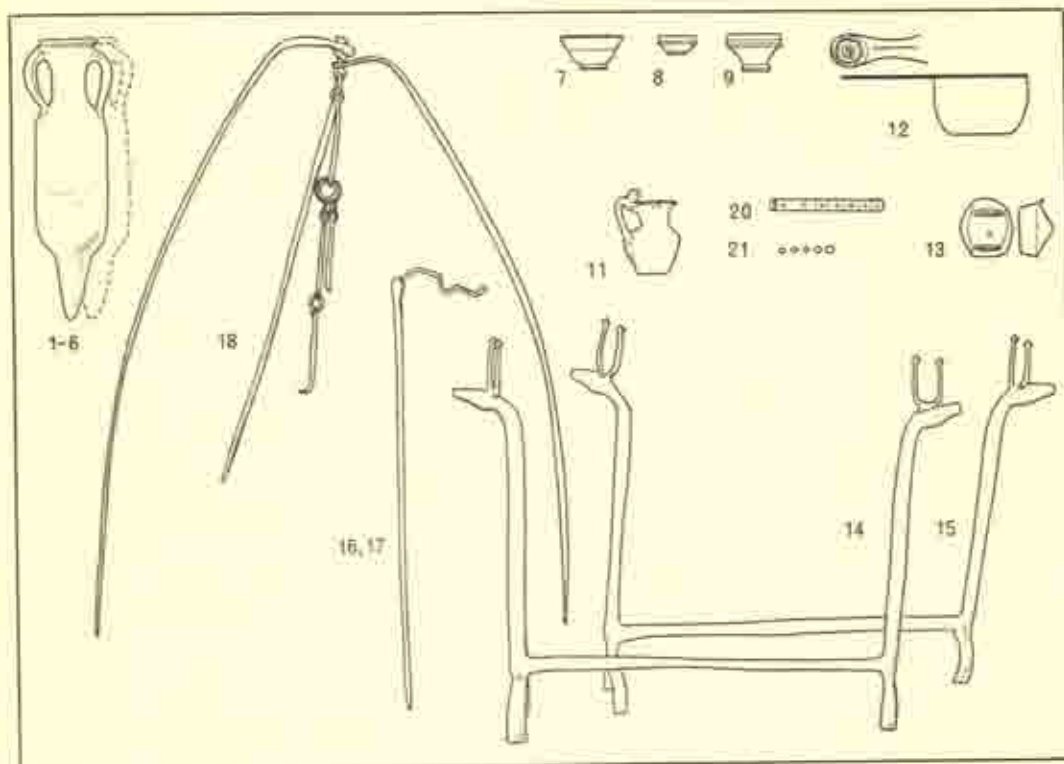
T. C. Lethbridge, 1953.

Finds in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

- 1-3. Three amphorae.
- 4-16. Thirteen pots, including Gallo-Belgic wares.
- 17. Bronze bowl.
- 18. Embossed bronze plating.
- 19. Bronze bracelet.
- 20. Bronze buckle.
- 21. Wooden 'litter', with iron angle-pieces.
- 22. Triangular iron knife.
- 23. Iron boss.
- 24. At least five decorated bone toggles.
- 25. Two iron hooks, with split-pin 'eyes'.

(Scales: 1-18, 21-23, and 25 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 19, 20, and 24 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )





Stanfordsbury, Bedfordshire. *circa* TL. 148412.

Sir Henry Dryden, 1845.

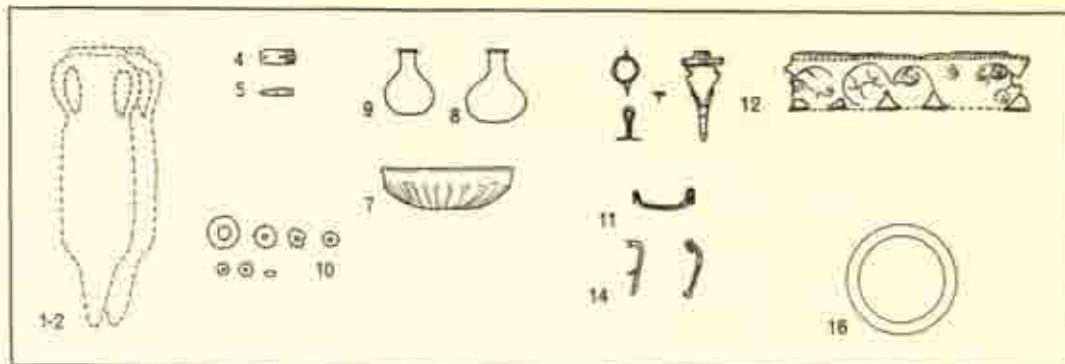
Finds in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

- 1-6. Six amphorae, but only one survives (see p. 48, note 2).
- 7-9. Samian: three cups survive (see p. 47).
- 10. Shallow bronze bowl (lost).
- 11. Bronze jug.
- 12. Bronze patella.
- 13. Bronze shield-boss.
- 14, 15. Two pairs of iron fire-dogs.
- 16, 17. Iron spits.
- 18. Iron tripod.
- 19. Iron fragments ('scales of armour') (lost).
- 20. Bone 'flute'.
- 21. Five stones (four white, one black) ? gaming-pieces.

(The iron knife with bone handle, listed by Dryden and displayed with the finds, is probably recent.)

(Scales: all at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ).

# A LA TÈNE III BURIAL AT WELWYN GARDEN CITY STANFORDBURY B



Stanfordsbury, Bedfordshire. *circa* TL. 148412.

Sir Henry Dryden, 1845.

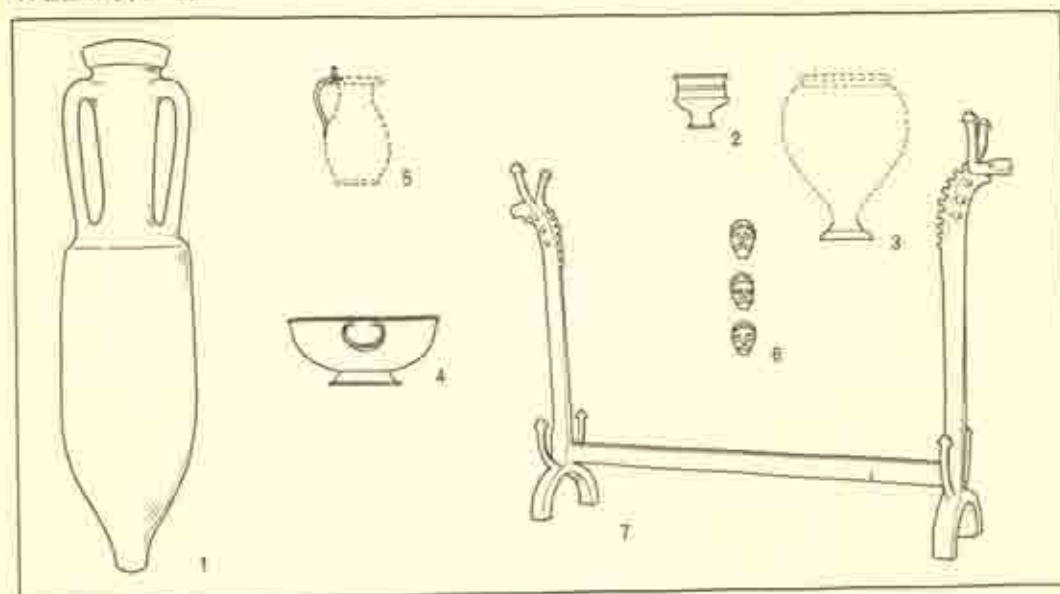
Finds in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

- 1, 2. Two amphorae (lost).
3. Samian pottery (muddled or lost).
4. Silver buckle.
5. Silver strap-end.
6. Glass urn (lost).
7. Green glass bowl.
8. Green glass bottle.
9. Blue glass bottle.
10. Four glass beads, three amber beads.
11. Bronze handle.
12. Bronze box-fittings, including bronze panel.<sup>1</sup>
13. Roman coin (?Titus) (lost).
14. Two bronze brooches (only one mentioned by Dryden).
15. Two iron bars (lost).
16. Shale bracelet.

(Scales: 1 and 2 at  $\frac{1}{10}$ ; 4, 5, 7-12, 14 and 16 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )



## WELWYN A.



Welwyn, Hertfordshire. T.L. 232159.

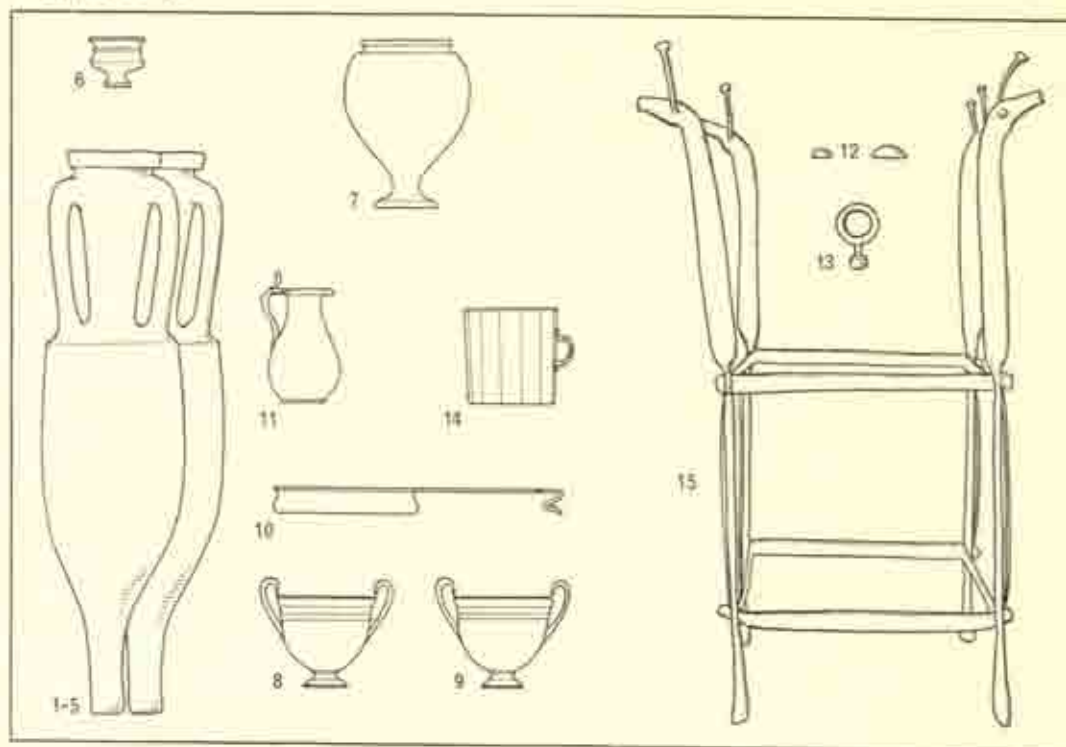
R. A. Smith, 1912.

Finds in the British Museum.

1. Amphora (with stamp, sos, see fig. 6). B.M. 1911. 12-8. 1.
- 2, 3. Two pots. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 9 and 10.
4. The base and handle of a bronze bowl. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 3a and 3b. The published reconstruction includes pieces of sheet bronze which probably belong to a second vessel. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 42 and 43.
5. Bronze jug (handle only). B.M. 1911. 12-8. 8.
6. Three bronze masks. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 5-7.
7. Pair of iron fire-dogs. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 2.

(Scales: 1-5 and 7 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 6 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )

## WELWYN B



Welwyn, Hertfordshire. TL. 232159.

R. A. Smith, 1912.

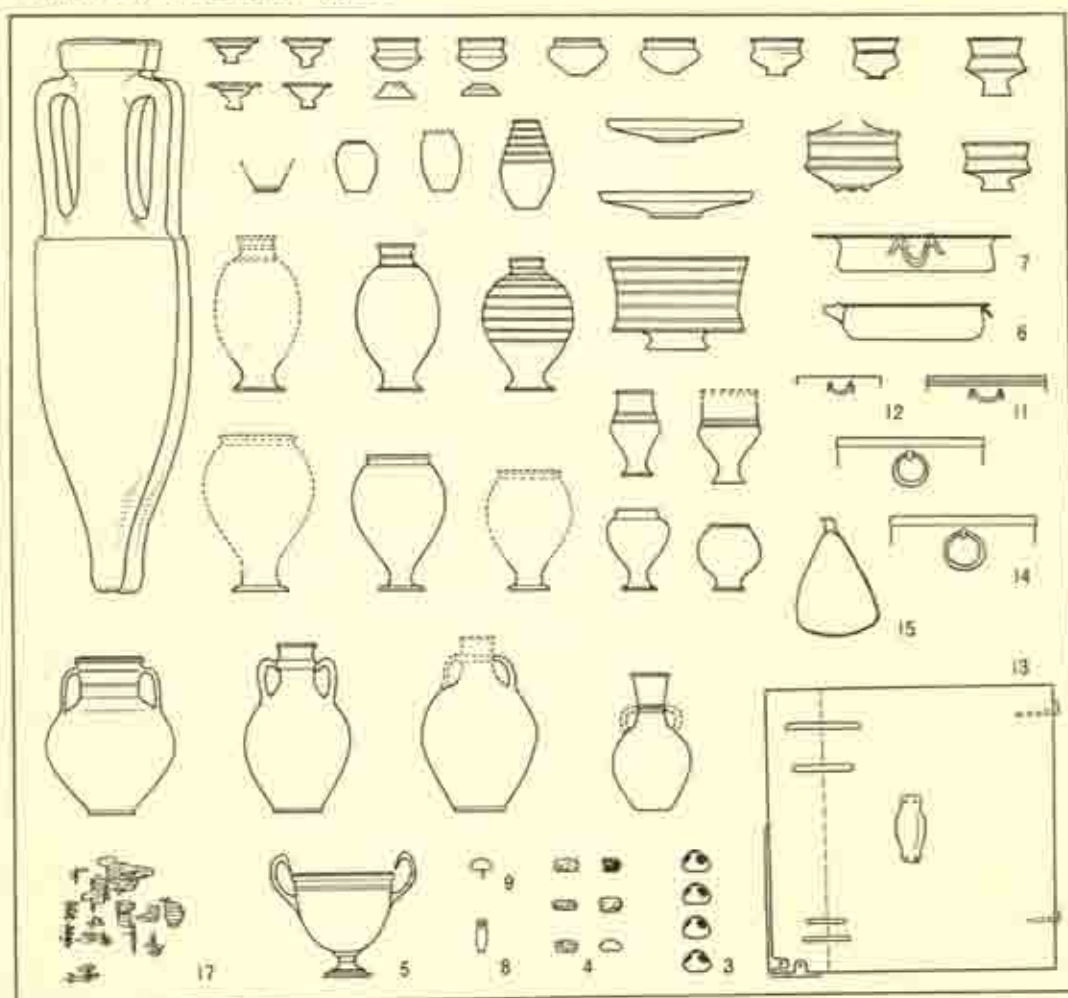
Finds in the British Museum.

- 1-5. Five amphorae (one with stamp, AA, see fig. 6). B.M. 1911. 12-8. 15-19.  
 6, 7. Two pots. B.M. 1911. 12-8.  
 8, 9. Two silver cups (see also fig. 11). B.M. 1911. 12-8. 27-30.  
 10. Bronze patera. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 23.  
 11. Bronze jug. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 24.  
 12. Bronze studs. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 31 and 32.  
 13. Bronze ring with knob. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 26.  
 14. Tankard with bronze handle. B.M. 1911. 12-8. 25.  
 15. Iron frame (see J. W. Brailsford, 1958). B.M. 1911. 12-8. 22.

(Scales: 1-7, 10, 11, 14 and 15 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 8, 9, 12 and 13 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )



## WELWYN GARDEN CITY



Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire. TL. 254131.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Five amphorae.                                     | 10. Distorted bronze (with calcined bones). |
| 2. Thirty-six pots.                                   | 11. Wooden vessel with bronze fittings.     |
| 3. Twenty-four gaming-pieces.                         | 12. Wooden vessel with bronze fittings.     |
| 4. Six bead and bracelet fragments.                   | 13. ? Wooden board with iron fittings.      |
| 5. Silver cup.  | 14. Wooden vessels with iron fittings.      |
| 6. Bronze strainer.                                   | 15. Triangular iron knife.                  |
| 7. Bronze dish.                                       | 16. Wooden object with iron fittings.       |
| 8. Bronze nail-cleaner.                               | 17. Straw mat.                              |
| 9. Forty-six or forty-eight bronze dome-headed studs. |   |

(Scales: 1, 2, 6, 7, 11-14 and 17 at  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; 3-5, 8, 9 and 15 at  $\frac{1}{8}$ )

## OTHER POSSIBLE WELWYN-TYPE BURIALS

HARPENDEN, Hertfordshire. TL. 144150.

Burial found in 1867, about 4 ft. deep. Finds include pottery urn, wooden vessels, two bronze ring-handles with rams-head mounts, and a bronze handle similar to that on the Welwyn Garden City dish (p. 27). *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), 520-2.

LINDELL, Essex. *circa* TL. 645270.

A Dressel type 1 amphora in the Saffron Walden Museum was found, possibly with another, in 1782. *V.C.H. Essex*, iii (1963), 155-6.

LITTLE HADHAM, Hertfordshire. *circa* TL. 440227.

Some time before 1886 a Dressel type 1 amphora was found with another during the draining of a field. Recorded in the manuscript 'Collections for the History of Much and Little Hadham', by Miss Harriet Wigram, p. 15, with a water-colour sketch of one amphora, p. 14. The manuscript is in Hertford Museum, and the writer is grateful to the curator, Mr. A. G. Davies, for drawing his attention to it.

LORDS BRIDGE, BARTON, Cambridgeshire. TL. 395545.

A pair of fire-dogs, possibly from a burial. The presence of a barrow in the immediate vicinity perhaps suggests something more akin to Lexden, where there was a La Tène III barrow in a cemetery of otherwise flat burials. E. D. Clarke, 1821.

MAULDEN MOOR, Bedfordshire. *circa* TL. 060380.

An amphora found in 1798 with 'several urns of different forms and sizes, containing bones and ashes, and fragments of red pottery enriched with figures and other ornaments; they lay about three feet below the surface of the Moor, which is quite level'. D. and S. Lysons, 1806, 24.

WELWYN (MARDLEBURY), Hertfordshire. TL. 253175.

At least one amphora found in a pit 6 to 7 ft. wide and 8 to 9 ft. long; R. T. Andrews, 1905, pp. 32-33, with the amphora (Dressel type 1) illustrated pl. opp. p. 28. Possibly a second amphora found at the same time, and *V.C.H. Hertfordshire*, iv (1914), 169, refers to a third. The one amphora is now in Hertford Museum.

WESTMILL, Hertfordshire. *circa* TL. 370270.

Three amphorae found in 1729 when labourers were ditching; two were stamped, and one was recorded F.R.M. J. E. Cussans, 1873, 202; *V.C.H. Hertfordshire*, iv (1914), 169; the stamp is listed by M. H. Callender, 1965, under no. 130, P.ARVA.

WOBURN ABBEY, Bedfordshire. *circa* TL. 970330.

Two complete Dressel type 1 amphorae found in the park, the one *circa* 1800 and the other in 1833. *Arch.* xxv (1834), 606-7, and pl. LXIX.

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## The Dover Ring-sword and Other Sword-rings and Beads

By VERA I. EVISON, F.S.A.

IN August 1951 skeletons were found during the building operations of the Buckland Estate, Dover, Kent, and were brought to the notice of the late W. P. D. Stebbing, who visited the site and supervised the excavation of one grave. The contents of this grave were sent to the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, and the writer supervised the remainder of the excavation under the auspices of the Inspectorate.<sup>1</sup>

According to a photograph and information from Mr. Stebbing, it is evident that there was little left of the skeleton in the grave he excavated. As to the finds (figs. 4, 5),<sup>2</sup> a sword was lying along the left side of the body, a spear to the left of this, almost touching, and a knife was under the middle of the sword-blade. A shield boss was near the head, and a pair of scales and coins, with some 'dark peaty stuff', were in a slight recess in the wall of the other side of the grave nearer the foot. A bronze buckle with shoe-shaped rivet may have come from this grave (fig. 5, *h, i*).

The most important item in the grave is the ring-sword, and the five other known examples in this country have often been discussed. These rings attached to sword-hilts have attracted a great deal of attention,<sup>3</sup> mainly because there is no immediately obvious reason why they should be fixed to a sword at all as they perform no function. It has been assumed that they are symbolic, and various explanations have been put forward.<sup>4</sup> The interlinking of two rings can hardly mean anything other than a bond of some sort. As the owner of a sword was a man of high rank, the connexion must be to another warrior in comradeship or to his lord. The most likely conjecture is that the ring-knobs were given by a leader or king to his thegns, and it might serve as a reward for service and as a badge of office or rank, as well as symbolizing the mutual loyalty of lord and man expressed in the Anglo-Saxon adjective *hold*.

It is evident that a ring could be allocated unexpectedly, for, as we will see, there are instances where a ring has been attached to a pommel not built to receive one, and which had to be modified to accommodate it. Also, there are pommels which bear traces of having once carried a ring no longer there. An explanation of this may be that the ring had to be relinquished and handed back to the lord at the end of the warrior's tenure of office. Alternatively, as swords were precious objects often handed on as heirlooms, the ring would have to be removed if the heir was not entitled to wear it. As there is no ring on the sword at Sutton Hoo, one may assume that it was not an appropriate symbol on the sword of a king. This is supported by the fact that various men of noble rank have a ring-sword, such as the man buried in the Rhineland at Krefeld-Gellep in grave 1782, but that the young prince buried in Cologne Cathedral did not have one. A third possibility which should be mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> Objects from this cemetery have been published in *Ant. Journ.* xlv (1964), 242-5; Evison 1965 (see Abbreviations, p. 102), pp. 27, 35, 42, fig. 12, *d-i*; *Antiquity*, xxxi (1965), 214-17.

<sup>2</sup> List of finds, pp. 85-6. The drawings are by Mrs. E. M. Fry-Stone.

<sup>3</sup> The main studies are included in the list on p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Davidson 1962, pp. 74 ff.



if only to be dismissed, is that there were some rings in existence made of some perishable material such as wood or bone instead of gold, silver, or bronze. This theory was put forward by Arwidsson on the analogy of the sword bead which might be of perishable material, and it was suggested that the ring might be a development of the bead. The sword bead and the ring are two entirely different things, however. Also against this is the fact that all known rings are in gold, silver, or bronze, with none at all in other possible perishable or non-perishable materials such as bone, iron, or glass. A number of the pommels with ring missing are the products of old excavations, and it may be reckoned that sometimes the ring became detached and lost after removal from the earth by the labourers employed by the antiquary. Even the ring on the Dover sword, in fact, had become completely detached in the short time between excavation and the time I was able to examine it.

In order to clarify the comparative position of beads and rings, it will be useful to make a short digression on the subject of sword beads. An important adjunct to the sword in grave 21 at Petersfinger, Wilts., for instance, is a disc-shaped amber bead which was found under the sword-blade about one-third of the length down from the pommel (fig. 3, *b*). Professor Werner<sup>1</sup> has shown how the custom of wearing a bead on a sword can be traced back to the Sarmatians in the first century B.C., and how, during the period of the great empire of the Huns, it spread to other peoples further west, ultimately reaching the British Isles by about A.D. 500. The material of which the beads were made was first of all glass, and this continued in use until the seventh century, but by the third century other materials began to be used, such as chalcidony, nephrite, amber, white paste, crystal, and gold inset with cloisonné garnets and glass. These beads can have nothing to do with the rings on swords, for they are almost always found at a distance of about six inches from the pommel, they almost always occur singly, and are never interlinked. Moreover, they sometimes occur with a sword which is also fitted with a ring-knob on the pommel. As the beads appear to be functionless as far as the working of the sword is concerned, it is thought they must have had some meaning, and while the ring-knobs appear to be symbolic, the bead may have magical significance in view of the fact that some of the materials of which they were made are known to have been widely valued for their magical properties. Support for this comes from the fact that women, too, wore similar pendant amulets in the shape of crystal balls in silver slings or sometimes a single extra-large crystal or glass bead. These were replaced on christianization by the bronze amulet capsules of Mediterranean origin.<sup>2</sup>

A utilitarian purpose must not be ruled out altogether, however. Many of the beads have been found close to the sword-blade, a few inches below the grip, and as this is the usual position for the attachment of a strap to the scabbard, the possibility must be considered that a bead was sometimes used for the passage of a strap so that it could be drawn up tightly and firmly against the scabbard. The method would be much the same as that suggested by Werner for pyramid attachments.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches*, (1956), pp. 26-37, Karte 11.

<sup>2</sup> J. Werner, *Das alamannische Fürstengrab von Wittis-*

*lingen* (1950), pp. 38 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. Werner, *Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Bülach* (1953), Abb. 12.



It has been pointed out that large glass beads of this type have been found in late Roman contexts in Denmark and Sweden,<sup>1</sup> and the possibility of this northern source must be considered for the English material. There can be no doubt about the Frankish source of the contents of Petersfinger, grave 21, however, because of the scabbard fittings from the Meuse, and the Frankish buckle and axe also present.<sup>2</sup> The other known sword beads in England, together with any associated objects, are listed below.<sup>3</sup> Of these, Brighthampton, grave 31, has already been noted elsewhere as a Frankish grave of the first half of the fifth century on account of the animal ornament on the sword scabbard and the accompanying bronze-bound bucket.<sup>4</sup> The graves from Fairford and North Luffenham also contained similar bronze-bound buckets which indicate the same source and a date in the same period or not much later. In Abingdon, grave 49, was a sword with iron fittings corresponding closely to the bronze fittings of the sword in grave 42 of the Petersfinger-Oberlörick type. Other graves with datable contents belong to the sixth century, e.g. Dover, grave 93 (fig. 2, *a, b*), Alton, grave 42 (fig. 1), Petersfinger, grave 20, and Howletts, grave 20 (both of the last two contained a Style I decorated buckle). There is therefore no evidence that the earliest graves in England containing sword beads were connected with Scandinavia, but the pointers are directly to the Franks, and the beginning is as early as the fifth century.

It is not known precisely how these beads were attached to the sword. The bead in the grave at Kleinhünigen, Switzerland,<sup>5</sup> was found with a leather thong still attached and passing under the top of the scabbard. A metal scabbard mouth fitting is the obvious place for fixing it, and a number of such mounts are provided with a small buckle, projecting plate, or perforated lug on the lower edge at the back. Amongst the earliest of the scabbard mounts to bear a lug, buckle, or hole are those in gold and filigree from Scandinavia. These are peculiar in the splendour of their material and decoration, and in that none of them were actually found fitted to a sword or showing signs of wear, so that it is supposed they were ritualistic objects.<sup>6</sup> As the purpose of the lug seems very likely to be to provide an anchorage for the sword bead, it will be relevant to list here the English examples of this type of metal fitting.<sup>7</sup> On one sword from Gilton, Kent (fig. 9, *d*), there was a perforated lug in one piece with the mouth band. At the back of the Petersfinger sword, already mentioned, a separate rectangle of bronze with a perforated lug was soldered to the middle of the mount (fig. 3, *e*). A similar separate lugged rectangle was found in the same position in grave 96*b* at Dover (fig. 2, *h*). This type of lugged rectangle was known as early as the fifth-century Sjörup find in Skåne, where amongst a number of decorated sword fittings there is a silver scabbard mouth plate with a perforated lug projecting from one edge, and the rectangle is present too, not separate, but marked off by incised lines (fig. 2, *j*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. Raddatz, 'Zu den "magischen" Schwertanhängern des Thorsberger Moorfundes', *Offa*, xvi (1957/8), 81-84.

<sup>2</sup> Evison 1965, 38, figs. 18 and 19.

<sup>3</sup> p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Evison 1965, pp. 31-32, fig. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *IPEK* xii (1938), 126 ff., Behmer 1939, p. 151, Taf. x, *a*.

<sup>6</sup> Behmer 1939, p. 151, Taf. xl, 4, 5, 6 *b*, Taf. xli.

<sup>7</sup> VOL. CI.

<sup>8</sup> 1-4; one has no perforation, but an imitation in filigree, Taf. xl, 3. For a back view of two gold scabbard mounts see E. C. G. Graf Oxenstierna, 'Die Prachtfibel aus Grobin', *Mannus*, xxxii (1940), 219-52, Abb. 13 and 14.

<sup>9</sup> p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> B. Salin, 'Fynd från Finjasjöns strand, Skåne', *Kongl. Vitterhets Historisk och Antiquitets Akademien Månadsblad* (1893), pp. 84-106, fig. 55.



The sword from Selmeston, Sussex,<sup>1</sup> grave 51, has a scabbard mount decorated in a very similar fashion to those from Högom, Sweden (fig. 15, g),<sup>2</sup> Fèrebrianges, France (pl. xi), and Skjoldalev, Denmark,<sup>3</sup> and like them, too, it has the perforated lug at the back. On the Chessell Down scabbard mount there is a perforation in the middle of the back (fig. 11, c) which must have served the same purpose.

The purpose, however, cannot be divined with absolute certainty. Of the five found in England, three were on ring-swords, of which one also had a bead, and one was with a sword with bead but no ring. In the other grave, Dover 96, there was neither ring nor bead. The balance therefore is that the lug occurred three times on a sword where there had once been a ring-knob, and twice with a bead. Again, on the Fèrebrianges sword there had been a ring. It must therefore remain a possibility that the scabbard lug was intended to hold the other end of a cord ('peace-bands') from the ring-knob, or perform some other function. The fact that the perforation was on the lower side of the mount, however, is in favour of it being intended for something suspended, such as a bead. Also, the presence of beads of perishable material at Selmeston suggests a more frequent but now untraceable occurrence of these pendants.

Returning to the ring-swords, one finds that studies in various countries have naturally concentrated on examples in the country of the writer concerned, with illustrative material from other parts of the world. As all the examples in this country have not yet been published, they will be discussed and illustrated here with the addition of a list of published ring-swords from elsewhere.

Facts which have emerged from previous studies are that the typologically earliest form must be a rivet with a ring head into which a second complete and free ring is linked. A strap could have been passed through the free ring if the fixture was meant to be functional. On the earliest sword of this type, from Norway, Snartemo grave 5 (pl. x), the rivet is driven through the two layers of the lower guard, and besides holding the ring it performed its primary function of gripping together the two pieces of the guard. In all other swords, where there are remains of the metal plates sandwiching the now-decayed wooden upper guard, the ring rivet is at one end of the guard opposite a corresponding but simple rivet at the other end, both performing the function of holding together the wooden guard and its plates. The pommel may or may not be attached to the guard by rivets, but such rivets have no connexion with the ring.<sup>4</sup> Almost without exception, the ring is attached to one particular end of the pommel; when the sword was being worn on belt or baldric at the left side of the warrior, the front or best-decorated side of the sword would be showing, and the ring sat on the forward end of the pommel. Exceptions are from Lower Shorne (fig. 6, d) and Faversham (fig. 9, a, b).

Four main stages in the development of the ring-knob were distinguished by

<sup>1</sup> The Selmeston cemetery was excavated by Mr. David Thomson, who generously allows me to mention here some of the finds.

<sup>2</sup> D. Selling, 'Hovdingasvärdet från Högom', *Arkeologiska Forskningar och Fynd* (1952), ed. B. Thordeman,

pp. 354-9.

<sup>3</sup> Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxvi, 5, a, b; Taf. xxxvii, 2.

<sup>4</sup> An erroneous impression is given by Davidson 1958, p. 211: 'The ring is . . . held by rivets which secure it to the pommel bar.'



Montelius, and they have been followed by later writers such as Hackman<sup>1</sup> and Ørsnes-Christensen. This scheme is retained here, but it is important that the two varieties of Type I should be differentiated, and a subdivision is suggested in order to avoid confusion by altering the scheme already current. The basic fitting is a rivet, the head of which takes the form of a ring or bow:

- 1a. Complete ring head and movable interlocked complete ring (e.g. fig. 3, *h*).
- 1b. Ring segment or bow head and movable interlocked complete ring (e.g. fig. 4, *b*).
2. Bow head and ring separately made but thickened and immovable (e.g. pl. XII, *a*).
3. Bow and ring cast in one piece (e.g. fig. 13, *l*).
4. Bow, ring, and pommel cast in one piece (e.g. pl. XIV).

Stages two and three are not always easily distinguishable as a stage-two join can be firm and covered by an encircling filigree wire.

As the loose ring types occur almost exclusively in England, it was suggested by Baldwin Brown<sup>2</sup> that invention must have occurred here, and the idea was later spread to the Continent and Scandinavia. Böhner suggested Scandinavia as the source, and the date generally favoured for the beginning of the series is late sixth century.<sup>3</sup> Close study of the archaeological evidence, however, seems to point in other directions.

It has recently been established that the sword in grave 21 at Petersfinger, Wiltshire (fig. 3, *a*), is one of the earliest in Anglo-Saxon England as the scabbard mouth edging is of a type made on the Meuse in the second half of the fifth century, and found in Frankish graves at Krefeld-Gellep, Oberlörick, Éprave, and Samson. None of these continental swords had a metal pommel, and the Petersfinger pommel is unique. The shape of a straight-sided pyramid is unusual amongst pommels. One of the earliest, from Skåne,<sup>4</sup> is decorated with Style I animal ornament of about A.D. 500, and as there are as many as three rivets at each end, each enclosed in a filigree collar, this pommel is already at a later stage of development. Corner slashes as at Petersfinger occur on the pommels with incurved sides,<sup>5</sup> but the rivet with projecting bird's head at one end is unparalleled, although it must have been contemporary with, if not the forerunner to, the first type of projecting lug which was flat. At the opposite end the corresponding rivet springs from the edge of the pommel, the edge is cut back in the middle, and a curved recess has been worn half-way up the side of the pommel. This must have been made by a rotating ring as suggested by dotted lines in fig. 3, *c*, but the fastening rivet could have had either a complete ring head or a segment bow as illustrated. The most interesting point is that the pommel, which must be one of the earliest ever to bear a ring, was actually made with this in view; it was fashioned with an ornamental rivet on one side and an asymmetrically placed headless one on the other. The dating of the pommel accords well with the other

<sup>1</sup> A fifth stage, suggested by Hackman 1928, p. 48, is very doubtful, see p. 96 *n.*, below.

<sup>2</sup> G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii (1915), 221.

<sup>3</sup> Böhner 1949, p. 165; Davidson 1958, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Behmer 1939, p. 128, Taf. XXXIX, 3.

<sup>5</sup> See figs. 4, *b* and 6, *b*.



contents of the grave which have all the marks of belonging to a Frankish warrior of the second half of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

A simple pommel from North Luffenham, Rutland (fig. 3, g), was manufactured with one rivet lug on one end and two on the other. The straight-sided shape of the pommel and the flatness of the rivet lugs show it to be an early type, rather similar to the Petersfinger stage, and there is no doubt that it was intended to accommodate a ring, for at the double rivet end there is a vertical groove between the lugs. Comparison with later pommels would suggest that the ring was placed between these two lugs, but other peculiarities present suggest an unusual arrangement. Three of the corners of the pyramid are sharp and unworn, while the fourth, on the double lug end, is flattened. The adjacent lug is slightly larger than the one beside it, and has a larger rivet hole. While a rivet remains in the other lugs, it is missing here. It therefore looks as if the ring rivet was fitted in this larger lug, and the groove and the scraping of one pommel corner were caused by the rotating ring.

There is only one ring of stage 1a in England, i.e. a rivet with a complete ring-head and interlocked free ring. The sword is one from Faversham, Kent (fig. 3, h-j), and it has a simple cocked-hat pommel with a pair of rivets at each end encased in collars. The corners of the pommel are slashed as at Petersfinger, and between the slashes on the short ends there are tongue shapes of niello triangles. The pommel therefore retains the early trait of slashes, while showing the beginning of tongue shapes which on later pommels were raised above the surface. There is no sign of contact with a ring or signs of wear on the pommel, which is completely symmetrical. The silver ring is separate, and as the wooden cross-guards to which it must have been attached have decayed and disappeared there is no clue as to its original position. If it had been placed on the top guard near the pommel, and had been in use for any length of time, the movement of the free ring should have marked the pommel as on the Petersfinger and other pommels. The earliest illustration of the Faversham sword<sup>2</sup> shows the ring placed next to the pommel, but at an impossible level for attachment to the guard, and as it is compared by C. Roach Smith to the Gilton and Coombe ring-swords, these other examples may have influenced him to illustrate the Faversham ring in the same position. Comparison with the only other sword bearing a ring of this type, from grave 5 at Snartemo, Norway (pl. x), suggests that the ring could have been positioned as there, on the under surface of the lower guard.

At the next stage in the development of the ring [1b], the rivet head becomes a circle segment, of which the free end is fitted against the pommel or between the two

<sup>1</sup> Some doubt has been cast on this dating—*English Historical Review*, lxxxi, 343—but as no evidence to the contrary has been produced it is not possible to make any further comment except to restate the basis for dating. It appears from the reasoning above that the pommel of the sword is probably contemporary with the scabbard mount already established as belonging to the second half of the fifth century. The buckle, in cloisonné technique derived from eastern sources before the death of Childeric, shows a pattern similar to an example from S. Russia, and also the projecting cylindrical rivet lugs to be found on early fifth-century jewellery like the buckle from Wolfs-

heim (J. Wernert, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (1956), p. 88, Taf. 4, 1). The axe type was already in use in the fourth century, although it continued into the early sixth century (J. Breuer et H. Roosens, 'Le Cimetière franc de Haillot', *Archaeologia Belgica*, xxxiv (1957), 261). Two graves at Haillot containing this type of axe (XIII and XVII) were there dated to the end of the fifth century. The rest of the grave-goods are not distinctive enough to be used for dating, but are not out of place in a fifth-century grave.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi (1868), pl. xxii, 1.



rivets which attach the pommel to the upper guard. Interlinked in this, the ring moves freely. In some cases there is a third, dummy, rivet on the pommel edge between the two functional ones, and this was cut out at one end to make room for the end of the bow. The Dover pommel (pl. VIII, *a*; fig. 4, *b*) is typologically one of the earliest, for it is a low, cocked-hat with two rivets only at each end, and slashes along each corner of the pommel. Three ring-and-dot motifs with connecting lines are inlaid in niello on one face, and a scratched chevron design in the middle seems to be an afterthought. The rings are grooved at the sides and inlaid with niello triangles and zigzags on the circumference. Inlaid designs like this are not uncommon on the pommels themselves, but they are noticeably absent from this one. Moreover, the niello on the rings and the niello on the pommel has been tested and proves to be of two completely different compositions. One must conclude that the ring was a later fixture on an early pommel. Another sword from Faversham, Kent (fig. 6, *a*, *b*), has a pommel very like the Dover pommel, and although there is no ring remaining, the pommel still bears the mark of its rotations in the form of a curved channel worn in one end across the slashed decoration.

A similar shape of low cocked-hat pommel was found at Lower Shorne, Kent (fig. 6, *d*), but here the corner slashes have become recesses and the middle part has been elevated as a band running right over the apex of the pommel. Nielloed triangles appear on the back as a border to a central motif of ring segments, but the front has a triangular panel chip-carved in Style I. There is a pair of rivet collars at each end, but one pair is filed down flatter than the other. The space between the rivets at this end is filled with a kind of solder, in the middle of which is a perfectly round indentation or socket. The niello zigzag decoration at this end of the pommel is worn, while at the other end it is not. All these irregularities signify an earlier ring fixture, one end of the segment sitting in the hollow between the two rivets.

The pommel from Bifrons, grave 39 (fig. 7, *a-c*), bears niello triangles and so does its ring. There are two rivets at each end of the pommel, but the free end is square, and the end by the ring has the rivets spaced more widely and the edge notched (see fig. 7, *c*, showing the under surface of the pommel). The maker of the pommel was intending to fix a ring when he made the pommel, and he no doubt made the ring as well. The other pommel from Bifrons, grave 62 (fig. 8, *a*), has three rivets at one end of the pommel and the ring, its pointed end penetrating a little way into the upper guard, is fixed in between two rivets at the other end.

The most complete hilt from Gilton, Kent (fig. 8, *c*), is again very similar, with three rivets, and niello triangles on pommel and rings. This Gilton pommel has been mentioned as a ring-sword many times, but so far no notice has been taken in this connexion of two other pommels from Gilton which are practically identical, except that their rings are now missing. Both are of cocked-hat shape, with tongued sides, decoration being by niello triangles on both, a zigzag motif on one and an arrow motif on the other. Both have three rivets at one short edge, and two at the other, with a notch cut out of the pommel between the two rivets. At this same side the profile on each is dented by wear from a movable ring in the same way as the pommel from Bifrons, grave 62. Further, on pommel no. 6061 (fig. 8, *b*) there are two grooves, one near each of the rivets on the ring end, which must have been worn by



the inner rim of the ring. The ring end of pommel no. 6. 8. 75. 2 (fig. 9, *c*) lacks the niello border present on the opposite end. A scabbard mount decorated with niello triangles and gilt grooves accompanied this pommel.

The other Faversham ring-sword (fig. 9, *a, b*) differs from those just mentioned in that the end of the bow was seated on the sloping side of the pommel. There are two rivet collars only on that end, as opposed to three on the other, but the ring segment is too wide to be placed between them, and a discoloration on the side of the pommel shows that it was positioned there. This pommel is instructive in connexion with another well-known pommel, which, however, has not before been quoted as a ring-sword. This is the pommel from Gilton, Kent, with a runic inscription (fig. 10, *a*). It is a cocked-hat with curving outline, rather higher than those at Dover and Lower Shorne, but with well-developed and upstanding tongue shapes on the ends. There was a pair of rivets in low collars at each end, but at one end one rivet is broken away and a rectangular notch is visible in the middle. Both tongue shapes are decorated with niello triangle borders, but on this end there is no decoration in the middle of the tongue; instead there is a circular hole and the end edge has been cut back so that the nielloed triangles were disturbed and their filling lost. The middle of the tongue on the other end has a lightening motif in niello. One face is decorated by zigzag niello borders and on the other is scratched the runic inscription (see pp. 97-102). It is apparent that the end of a bow was fixed in the perforation.

There is another Anglo-Saxon sword pommel with a perforation in this position, but it is of a completely different type from all others in England. The sword was found in a grave at Chessell Down, Isle of Wight (fig. 11), and as it is a remarkable one in many ways it will be fully discussed at a later stage when its dating is considered. Also from Chessell Down is a bronze pommel with incurved sides (fig. 10, *c*), an early type with a rectangular hole at the top for the tang. Rivet holes have been made in each corner. The bronze is thin, and an extra hole punched in the middle of one end has resulted in the splitting of the metal as far as the tang hole. One other pommel, from Sarre, Kent, grave 91 (fig. 10, *b*), has a rough hole in the same position.

The ring on the pommel from Sarre, Kent, grave 88 (fig. 10, *d*), consists of a bow-topped rivet and an immovable ring, and the two parts were made separately but soldered together. The rings are not as substantial as the Kentish two-piece rings, and are so worn that the beaded groove on the bow is visible only at the very end. The pommel was not made for a ring, and it cannot be the first one to which this ring was fixed. The reason for this contention is that the horizontal ring is shaped nearly straight on the inner side so that it might fit closely against a pommel, but it is actually some distance away from this one. The bow is not set in line with the middle axis of the pommel, and the head of one pommel rivet had to be cut in half vertically so that the end of the bow could be fitted in.

The sword from Coombe, Kent (fig. 12), has long been known, but it is only recently that cleaning in the British Museum Laboratory has made many details visible.<sup>1</sup> It has been quoted by Jessup as a ring-sword, but without any details.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sword has recently been cleaned by Mr. Bell in the British Museum Research Laboratory. I am grateful to Saffron Walden Museum for permission to publish it.

<sup>2</sup> R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (1950), p. 140.



Montelius referred to the drawing published by Roach Smith,<sup>1</sup> noted that a drawing of a gilt-bronze ring-knob was included, and said that one could not know whether the ring-knob—which still had a quite large ring-shaped opening—belonged to the sword illustrated or the other one found in the same grave. In referring to this in a discussion on ring-swords,<sup>2</sup> Davidson translated Montelius's remark unintelligibly as referring to a 'ring-formed opening in one of the pommels from a grave at Combe, Kent' and did not quote Roach Smith's drawing or the ring-knob. The confusion arises from Montelius's use of the word *knapp* to refer both to a pommel and a ring-knob, and the ring-shaped opening he referred to was the space still existing between the bow and the ring on the Coombe knob, which in later stages became non-existent as ring and bow solidified into a lump. The second, undecorated sword also in the same grave no longer exists. The sword for many years was kept sealed in its own individual glass case so that it was not possible to inspect details, but it can now be seen that the pommel was made in the first place with the express purpose of accommodating a ring. There are tongue-shaped panels on each side of the pommel. These are not raised in the usual way, but are chip-carved in zoomorphic design. On one side the tongue-shaped panel ends in a straight line by the rivets where there is a border of nielloed lines on silver. On the other side the panel ends in an arc, there is no border, and the undecorated space so left would have accommodated the end of the ring-bow. The pommel-guard rivet at one end is finished at the top with a dome-shaped head, but the one by the undecorated end of the pommel shows a broken rivet stump, on to which the other end of the ring-bow fitted, as shown by the dotted lines in fig. 12. From Roach Smith's illustration, and from a drawing signed by J. Y. Akerman in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London (pl. xv) it is obvious that the two parts of the ring-knob were immovable although probably separately made. With a recorded total length of about 3 cm., it is beginning to expand into the large size ring usual on later Scandinavian swords, where the ring eventually becomes so big that it is even larger than the pommel. At Kyndby, Denmark, for instance, the length is 4.8 cm., which may be compared with a length of 2.6 cm. at Orsoy, 2.8 cm. at Endrebacke, and 3.2 cm. at Herbrechtingen and Schretzheim.

The ring found in the ship burial at Sutton Hoo (stage 3) is not so large, 2.55 cm., but it, too, has a characteristic of the larger later rings in the band of filigree-type decoration at the join (fig. 13, *l*). Its exact position in the burial was not recorded. It could not have had any connexion with the sword in the burial because the pommel had been neither made nor altered to accommodate a ring. The under surface of the ring-knob is quite flat, whereas the under surface of the vertical bow has to be cut away to fit over the lower edge of the pommel, as may be seen on the drawing of the Coombe sword (fig. 12, *b*). This has given rise to the suggestion<sup>3</sup> that the ring might have been intended for use on some other object such as the drinking-horn found in Valsgärde, grave 7, which had a ring with a flat base attached to it. However, if this type of ring was a symbol of office or rank, it would be natural for a chief or king to

<sup>1</sup> Montelius 1917-24, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson 1958, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (1947), p. 28.



have one or two on hand for bestowal when appropriate, and the recipient would have it cut to fit his own sword. As the man for whom the Sutton Hoo tumulus was raised must have been of royal rank, a spare ring would not be out of place in his possession.

This completes the tally of English rings on swords, placed in a series of typological development. In order to arrive at a chronology it remains to examine details of form and decoration of the fittings of the swords, and to assess the evidence of associated objects where available, together with information to be derived from foreign parallels. For comparison, a complete list of rings and ring-swords, as far as is known to me, is given on pp. 84-97.

Regarding the form of the pommels, the earliest are the two from Chessell Down, both with a tang hole in the top (figs. 10, *c*, and 11, *a, b*). Fig. 10, *c*, is a cocked-hat shape and shows the first development of rivet holes perforating the ends of the pommel itself. A slightly later stage may be seen in fig. 10, *b*, from Sarre, Kent, grave 91, where there is now no tang hole, but a pair of flat, perforated lugs have been added to each end as an alternative method of securing the pommel. Those from Petersfinger and North Luffenham (fig. 3, *c, g*) are the only straight-sided pyramids, and they belong to the same stage, with one flat decorated lug at Petersfinger and three lugs at North Luffenham. The straight-sided pyramid is a rare type amongst foreign examples as well, and the only parallels cited by Behmer are gold ones with Style I decoration from Norway and Sweden, or slightly later gold and garnet ring-swords from Sweden.<sup>1</sup> The slashed corners of the Petersfinger pommel connect it closely with the cocked-hat pommels treated in this way.

Almost all the English pommels, however, belong to the cocked-hat type, a pyramid with incurved sides. While the Sarre, Chessell Down, Petersfinger, and North Luffenham pommels were in bronze, these are all in silver, some showing traces of gilding. Three are low in height, of which the Dover and Faversham pommels have slashed corners (figs. 4, *b*, and 6, *b*) and the Lower Shorne pommel (fig. 6, *d*) has straight tongues which extend over the summit. Of the higher type, one from Faversham (fig. 3, *i*) has both the slashed corners and also lines of niello triangles in tongue shapes on the narrow sides. Six others (figs. 7; 8, *b*; 8, *c*; 9, *a, b*; 9, *c*, and 10, *a*) form a tightly knit group, all from Kent. At each side is a tongue with a broad base, now slightly raised, and decoration is by parcel-gilding with niello inlay mostly as triangles and zigzags. One workshop could have been responsible for all of them. The pommel from Bifrons, grave 62 (fig. 8, *a*), is very similar except that it is more straight-sided and the tongue shapes are not raised, but are in chip-carving, without the broadening base. This type of tongue appears on the Sarre and Coombe silver cocked-hat pommels (figs. 10, *d*, and 12), but here the decoration differs both from each other and from the Kentish group. This type of tongue is also found on highly decorated pommels of the later part of the seventh century, e.g. Herbrechtingen, Württemberg, and Endrebacke, Gotland,<sup>2</sup> so that it must be a later stage than that of the broad-based raised tongues in the Kentish group.

Leaving consideration of the form of the pommels, we may now examine their

<sup>1</sup> Behmer 1939, p. 128, Taf. xxxix, 3, 4, and 5, Taf. xl, 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Werner 1950, pl. vi, 2c and 3c.



decoration and the decoration of the other parts of the sword fittings, together with associated finds. It is not necessary to restate the connexions of the Petersfinger sword which establish it as Frankish of the second half of the fifth century. The fact that the rings on one of the Faversham swords (fig. 3, *h-j*) and on the sword from Snartemo, grave 5, are very similar, and yet they are the only two of this type, suggest strongly some common origin and similarity of date. A date soon after A.D. 500 is allocated to the Norwegian sword which has connexions with the Frankish swords with golden grips. The decoration of the Faversham pommel gives little information, but the slashes and the flush tongues suggest an early example of the Kentish series. It has a ring of the earliest type, but the pommel itself is at a later stage than another Faversham pommel (fig. 6, *b*), and the similar Dover pommel, to which, however, a later type of ring has been attached. If there is any appreciable chronological significance in the difference between the pommels from Faversham and Dover (figs. 6, *b*, and 4, *b*) on the one hand and Faversham (fig. 3, *i*) on the other, then a later ring has been added to an old pommel at Dover and an old ring to a new pommel at Faversham. The decoration of the Dover pommel is not useful except in so far as the difference in style and composition of the niello supports a comparatively later date for the ring, and the associated finds are not sufficiently distinctive to be ascribed to any particular part of the sixth century. The Style I decoration on the Lower Shorne pommel accords with its form and points to the early part of the sixth century.

With regard to the homogeneous Kentish group, it is probable that this covered the last three-quarters of the sixth century. Bifrons, grave 39, was dated to the last quarter of the sixth to early seventh century by Åberg<sup>1</sup> and by Böhner.<sup>2</sup> However, the shield-on-tongue buckle type found with it has a long life beginning in the fifth century, and it does not seem to be possible to allocate the belt mounts to any precise part of the sixth century. One of them suggests a rather early part of it because of its close connexion with a fifth-century type. This is the rectangular mount, doubled, with a tubular edge (fig. 6, *i*), obviously a descendant of the late Roman tubular mounts as at Dorchester, the fish-scale decorated mount in Childeric's grave, and the type of plate found at Miséry, Sédan, etc. of the late fourth to fifth century.<sup>3</sup> The Bifrons mount is smaller and simpler, more like the examples from Vermand.<sup>4</sup> Bifrons, grave 62, contained only a knife besides the sword. The associations of the Gilton ring-sword and of two other Gilton pommels are not known, but grave 56 at Gilton was one excavated and recorded by Faussett.<sup>5</sup> The four broad-headed iron studs to the shield were common in the sixth to seventh centuries.<sup>6</sup> The silvered bronze rivets on the boss are regarded by Werner as belonging exclusively to the period before the middle of the sixth century, but some of the graves in which they occur are later than that.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), pp. 142-3.

<sup>2</sup> Böhner 1949, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Evison 1965, frontispiece, pl. 9, *c*.

<sup>4</sup> J. Pilloy, *Études sur d'anciens lieux de sépulture dans l'Aisne*, ii (1895), pl. 15, 12.

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<sup>5</sup> B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856, pp. 20-21).

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Evison, 'Sugar-loaf Shield Bosses', *Antiq. Journ.* xliii (1963), 62.

<sup>7</sup> J. Werner, *Die Langobarden in Pannonien* (1962), p. 32, map Taf. 68, 1; see especially Gilton, grave 23, B. Faussett, *op. cit.*, p. 11.



The Chessell Down sword (fig. 11) has no helpful associated finds, but the fittings themselves are very enlightening. Four different metals are used in its mounts: gold for the plaque on the grip, silver gilt for the scabbard mouth edging and the guards, bronze for the pommel, and copper for some of the rivets. This diversity of material suggests that parts were added or replaced at different times, and this point, in fact, is borne out by an examination of details. The guards are of the normal Anglo-Saxon type, a type which occurs mainly in England in silver gilt, and in gold in Sweden and at Sutton Hoo. They consist of a thick lower plate with upturned edges and a thin, flat sheet of metal for the upper plate.<sup>1</sup> The pommel is very distinctive in shape and compares closely with two from Sweden illustrated by Behmer, one from Västergötland and one from Tune, Uppland.<sup>2</sup> All these three pommels have a hole at the top for the passage of the tang, curving sides, deeply cut-out corner furrows, and rounded ends, so that they differ radically from the pyramid types put by Behmer into the same class (VII). Behmer suggested the furrows might be a development of the vertical furrows as at Faversham (fig. 3, *i*). The connexion appears to be much more close to a pyramid type with hole at top and corner furrows from Vejle, Denmark,<sup>3</sup> and a very similar one from Kragehul, Denmark,<sup>4</sup> which is connected by an intermediate type with animal-head terminals<sup>5</sup> to the animal-head terminal type proper.<sup>6</sup> All of these are from the migration period bog-finds of Denmark or from Sweden, and as the type occurs nowhere else, this area must be the birthplace of the Chessell Down pommel.

The scabbard mount is even more important. It is unique in England, where the ornamentation of scabbard mounts is not usually ambitious. A simple band of bronze is usual, with few exceptions such as the imported Petersfinger sword, and an Anglo-Saxon sword from Alfriston<sup>7</sup> with gilt Style I chip-carving and a garnet. More ornate mounts are to be found on the Continent, but none with similar arrangement and technique. The sword from Snartemo, grave 5, in Norway, however, has a mount with the front similarly divided into two rectangular panels one above the other, of which the upper panel (part of the encircling band which is continued round the back) is also carried out in chip-carving, and the lower panel is in openwork. The pattern<sup>8</sup> (fig. 15, *f*) is not clear in all details, but rudimentary heads in Style I appear, together with feet or hands; the rest consists of asymmetrically interlacing bands, and there is no border to the lower field. An analysis by Bakka has shown close connexions between the anthropomorphic ornament of the Snartemo grip with one of the square-headed brooches from Chessell Down,<sup>9</sup> but the connexions are even more striking between the mounts of the two swords. The elements of the scabbard decoration on the Chessell Down sword (fig. 11, *d-g*) are all present on some part of the Snartemo sword, cf. Bakka, figs. 8, 10, 11, and 12. The motifs also closely resemble some present in the Scandinavian gold scabbard mounts which are carried out in

<sup>1</sup> Orsnes-Christensen 1956, pp. 133, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Behmer 1939, Taf. LVI, 5 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. xxxiii, 8a (Type VI).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. xxv, 14 (Type V).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. xxv, 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. xxv, 9-12.

<sup>7</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lvii, pl. xxvii, 1, 1a.

<sup>8</sup> B. Hougen, *Snartemo* (1935), fig. 9 on p. 35 (upside down).

<sup>9</sup> E. Bakka, 'On the Beginning of Salin's Style I in England', *Universitetet i Bergen Årbok*, 1958, Historisk-antikvarisk rekke Nr. 3, figs. 8-12.



triple rows of filigree wire encrusted on the raised surfaces of a gold background, e.g. the animal heads,<sup>1</sup> the eyes,<sup>2</sup> the man's profile.<sup>3</sup> It has further been pointed out that these motifs on the Snartemo and Chessell Down swords belong to a group of fifth to early sixth-century objects which occur in other countries as well.<sup>4</sup>

As early as the Danish bog finds there are scabbard mounts consisting of a band encompassing the mouth, with an ornamental extension below on the front only. In the first place it is not in the form of a rimless panel, but as an openwork motif of birds' heads.<sup>5</sup> A development of this motif appears on an apron scabbard mount in cloisonné found in an early fifth-century grave at Engels-Pokrovsk, Voschod, and a version in silver, also with birds' heads, came from a Gepidic grave of about A.D. 500 at Ermihalyfalva-Valea lui Mihai, Siebenbürgen.<sup>6</sup>

Another version of the apron scabbard mount figures human masks and animals instead of birds' heads. One of these was found in Sweden at Högom (fig. 15, g) in a well-furnished grave which has not yet been completely published. The photographs which have appeared of the sword show an ornamented pommel, plates at each end of the grip, and a chape and edge fittings to the scabbard. The scabbard mouth is bound with a silver-gilt band, fluted at the edge, and with a rectangular panel containing filigree double spirals and globules with annular collars in a field containing three triangular cells, one still holding a garnet. Below this extends the 'apron' with a chip-carved human mask between a pair of stylized animals. The other sword is a recent find, at Selmeston, Sussex,<sup>7</sup> with a very similar apron scabbard mount, three triangular garnets being spaced as before on the upper band, and a human mask between a pair of animals below. The Selmeston mount has no filigree, but the Högom filigree in C-spirals is also found on two other scabbard mounts, from Friedrichsthal, Randow, N. Germany,<sup>8</sup> and from Skjoldelev, Aarhus, Denmark.<sup>9</sup> Further, these swords, too, have garnet-set triangular cloisons although differently arranged, and at the back there is the small perforated lug on the lower edge of the mount which also occurs on the Högom and Selmeston mounts. Filigree annulets on the Danish and German fittings are arranged in lines in an orderly fashion, as they are on the plaque at Chessell Down. There are therefore sword-scabbard mounts which have a great deal in common with each other in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, N. Germany, and Chessell Down, and a centre in Scandinavia is hardly to be doubted.

The Chessell Down sword has a chequered history. It is probable that the blade, which may have been produced in the Rhineland, was first fitted with a bronze pommel in Scandinavia. About A.D. 500 it was given a scabbard with a silver-gilt mouth fitting of Scandinavian apron design and a pattern in a Style I of international type. It is probable that it was at this stage that the parallelogram of gold filigree was fitted to the grip. At some point the sword found its way to England, and it may have been before or after this event that a new back had to be fitted to the scabbard mouth.

<sup>1</sup> B. Hougen, *The Migration Style in Norway* (1936), pls. 59a, 60a and b, 63a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 58a, 62, 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 61.

<sup>4</sup> J. Werner, *Die Langobarden in Pannonien* (1962), p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Behmer 1939, Taf. xvii, 5b; Taf. xx, 3; Taf. xxiv, 7.

<sup>6</sup> J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (1-56), Taf. 40, 2 and Taf. 56, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished, see pp. 66, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxvi, 3b.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. xxxvii, 2.



The runes may have been on this part of the mount when it was added at this time, or they could have been scratched on some subsequent occasion. In the sixth century silver-gilt guard plates in the current English style were fitted, and probably at much the same time a hole was bored in the pommel to take the ring which the owner of the sword at that period was entitled to wear.

In view of the early date of the form of this Chessell Down pommel, it is necessary to justify the view that the perforation is a later addition, and for this purpose the other three pommels perforated in this way must also be brought under consideration. There are two reasons for regarding the Chessell Down perforation as late. Firstly, the pommel is of a shape already segmented by deep furrows, and the hole in one side leaves the surrounding metal so narrow as to incur the danger of a breakage, and thus it can hardly have been part of the original design. Secondly, the guard plates show that the sword was still in use in the sixth century, a date when the hole may have been made. Two other perforated pommels, Sarre and Chessell Down (fig. 10, *b, c*), are equally early types, but again the hole cannot have been part of the original design. The hole on the Sarre pommel is very roughly made, and the metal of the Chessell Down pommel (fig. 10, *c*) was so thin that it was not able to support the extra strain and it broke away to form a kind of slot. The best proof of the comparative lateness of this type of hole, however, is forthcoming from the Gilton runic pommel (pl. ix; fig. 10, *a*), which was manufactured about the middle of the sixth century with its decoration especially prepared to allow for this kind of fixture.

The Sarre pommel (fig. 10, *d*) and its ring-knob are separate entities, the pommel having been made earlier. It is a low cocked-hat with corner slashes. The decoration on the front panel of two rudimentary chip-carved spirals is of the same order as the inlaid spirals in the same position on the Orsoy pommel (pl. xii, *b*). There they are surmounted by a kidney-shaped spiral, and both these motifs were already in use on the early Högom pommel, a beginning in the fifth century being established by the existence of this type of inlaid spiral on the Sjörup sword fittings.<sup>1</sup> The bronze bowl found in the Sarre grave must either have been of the type manufactured in the sixth century in the Rhineland as in the next grave to be discussed at Coombe, or it may have been a Coptic bowl.

The objects from the tumulus at Coombe, Kent,<sup>2</sup> must have belonged to more than one person. No Anglo-Saxon, not even the royal occupant of the Sutton Hoo ship burial, was provided with two swords, so it is most likely that two men are represented by the two swords at Coombe. However, it will be seen that the decorated sword has close connexions with Sweden, and as two swords were found in each of the Swedish graves—Vendel 1 and 12 and Valsgärde 6 and 7, it might be influence from Sweden which accounts for two swords in one grave here. On the other hand, the presence of beads and a square-headed brooch of the early part of the sixth century indicate a woman as well (fig. 13, *b-h, j*). A bronze bowl (fig. 13, *a*) was also amongst the objects. The feet are buttressed by wire loop supports on each side in the same manner as on two bowls from Gilton, Kent.<sup>3</sup> One was from grave 8, with a bronze pin and beads,

<sup>1</sup> B. Salin, *op. cit.*, fig. 74 and figs. 46, 56, and 57.

<sup>2</sup> Conflicting reports of the contents of this grave have

appeared, and an attempt to disentangle them is made on p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> B. Faussett, *op. cit.*, pl. xvi, 1, 2, and 3.



and the other was from grave 19 with a glass vessel (destroyed), beads, knife, toilet implements, and a keystone disc brooch. Grave 19 must therefore belong to the sixth century and falls in with the continental dating of these bowls which are of Rhineland manufacture.<sup>1</sup> One was found with the noble at Morken,<sup>2</sup> one at Krefeld-Gellep, grave 1782,<sup>3</sup> and one in the woman's grave under Cologne Cathedral.<sup>4</sup> There are two glasses which are also said to have come from Coombe, a palm cup (fig. 13, *i*) and the lower part of a claw-beaker (fig. 13, *k*), both of the sixth century.<sup>5</sup> The possibly associated objects therefore indicate the sixth century in general, but the actual date of the sword can be decided by its own form and decoration.

No heirloom this, for it was in mint condition when buried, with sharp, unworn corners to the pommel and the other mounts. The form of the fittings show some traces of development from the Kentish sixth-century types as at Gilton and Bifrons. The lower guard plates with upturned edges have become considerably deeper and somewhat wider. The flush tongue shapes on the pommel have already been noted as a seventh-century characteristic. Apart from the niello triangles and zigzags on the pommel, all the decoration is in chip-carved interlace with zoomorphic terminals of stylized jaws, and most of the interlace is of four strands. A close parallel to the plates at the end of the grip is to be found on the Crundale pommel<sup>6</sup> which has a plate decorated with filigree interlace in this position. The Crundale pommel bears a late type of animal decoration, and also has the guard of solid iron which makes its first appearance on weapons at the end of the seventh century. One panel on the front of the mount at the top end of the grip with rhythmical ribbon arcs above and a row of S-curves with forked terminals below is so strikingly similar to the mounts in this position on the sword from Valsgärde 8 (pl. XIII, *b*) that some sort of close connexion is indisputable. Progressive simplification can be followed from the animal heads on the Valsgärde pommel to the heads on its grip sleeves, and so to the Coombe sword where the forehead lappet is missing and only the forked jaws remain. The decade before A.D. 650 has been suggested as the date of the Valsgärde grave.<sup>7</sup>

Evidence for the dating of the Sutton Hoo ship burial is complicated in the extreme, but the date of deposition still generally accepted is soon after the middle of the seventh century. As there are many objects in the grave group which were made earlier than this, the sword pommel, for instance, the date of the ring-knob is not a foregone conclusion. If the interpretation is correct, however, that this was a ring-knob kept in stock by the royal personage for presentation when the appropriate moment arrived, it would have been of the type in current production at the time of the burial. In view of this point, and of the stage of development of its form, the middle of the seventh century is probable.

The survey of the dating evidence, therefore, shows that in England the typological

<sup>1</sup> C. Müller, 'Das fränkische Reihengraberfeld von Lommersum, Kr. Euskirchen', *Bonner Jahrb.* cxi, 219. A date in the last third of the seventh century is, however, allocated to grave 3, Thaining, Landsberg am Lech, Oberbayern, which also contains a palm cup; *Germania*, xl (1962), 411-15.

<sup>2</sup> K. Böhner, *Das Grab eines fränkischen Herren aus Morken im Rheinland* (1959), Abb. 13, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pirling 1964, Taf. 59, 2.

<sup>4</sup> O. Doppelfeld, 'Das Frauengrab unter dem Chor des Kölner Domes', *Germania*, xxxviii (1960), Taf. 24, 31.

<sup>5</sup> D. B. Harden, 'Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland', *Dark Age Britain* (1956), ed. D. B. Harden, 159, 164.

<sup>6</sup> Behmer 1939, Taf. XLV, 1a, b.

<sup>7</sup> G. Arwidsson, *Valsgärde 8* (1954), 140.



development of the rings is in chronological sequence. The amount of evidence is not very weighty, for although it has been possible here to increase the number of ring-swords recognized in this country from the six formerly quoted to nineteen, this is still a small number for a span of 200 years. Then, too, it must not be assumed that a similar sequence must have been followed in other countries, for the problem is complicated by questions of local variations of typological development, and of exports or imports.

The question of where the custom began must be considered first in the light of the earliest examples, Petersfinger, Snartemo, and Faversham. All of these were free-moving, the Petersfinger ring no longer exists, but it left the mark of its movement on the pommel, the Snartemo ring was on the lower guard, and the position of the Faversham ring is unknown. The Petersfinger sword fittings are of a type which were made on the Meuse, the Snartemo sword was probably made in Norway, and the Faversham sword in Kent. The anthropomorphic motifs of the Snartemo sword have close connexions with the Isle of Wight, Belgium, and elsewhere. The fact that the Snartemo sword is the only representative of the swords with golden grip in Norway, and that almost all of them come from the area between the Seine and the Meuse and from the Rhineland,<sup>1</sup> shows that the influence in this case must have been from the south to the north. The Petersfinger sword type came from slightly further north, from the area of the Meuse and the Rhine,<sup>2</sup> and it may well be that the custom of attaching a ring to the sword had already begun in France or Belgium before the migrations to England. With this possibility in mind we may now consider briefly the continental swords.

Unfortunately, no ring-sword has been listed from Belgium or Holland. There are four from France. Chassemy, grave 40, contained a sword which has lost its ring. The only associated find is a plain bronze buckle (fig. 15, *a-c*). The pommel is bronze, small, and simple, with one flat lug at one end and the other end modified for the ring now lost. It is similar to the North Luffenham pommel and is likely to be as early as the fifth century. The swords from Chaouilley, grave 20 (fig. 14, *a*), and Concevreux (pl. XIII, *a*) have solidified knobs alike in shape, size, and material. A sixth-century date is supported for the Chaouilley sword by its associated objects.<sup>3</sup> It shows a great deal of affinity to the Kentish sixth-century type, for the pommel is of silver, of cocked-hat shape with raised tongues at the sides which have a broad base and are straight-sided as on the Lower Shorne pommel, but they stop short of the apex with forked terminals. They are decorated with the familiar niello triangles, and a cable design, and the apex bears a Christian type of cross in niello. The cross-guard is as on the Kentish swords. In fact the only differences from the Kentish swords are that the ring is fixed and undecorated, and there is no ornament on the faces of the pommel, not even the horizontal line of moulding or beading usual along the base. This must surely be a French copy of a Kentish sword.

One other sword from France has not before been quoted as a ring-sword. The

<sup>1</sup> K. Böhner, 'Das Langschwert des Frankenkönigs Childerich', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxlviii (1948), 234, Abb. 3.

<sup>2</sup> J. Werner, 'Zu fränkischen Schwertern des 5. Jahrhunderts', *Germania*, xxxi (1953), 39, Abb. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Werner 1950, p. 56.



pommel at Fèrebrianges, Marne (pl. xi, fig. 14, *b*), was made and decorated in an asymmetrical fashion, presumably to receive a ring. One short end of the pommel has a row of niello zigzag running parallel to the three rivets. The opposite end has different ornamentation, and an undecorated surface corresponding to the zigzag row. One outside rivet remains, but the other outside one is missing and a notch was cut between. The pommel is a fairly advanced type and the garnet scabbard mounts support a sixth-century date.

Only five ring-swords are known from Germany. The earliest, from Kärlich (fig. 15, *e*), is very similar to the Chassemy pommel, and has also been altered to receive a ring, now lost. Three others are in much the same stage of development of the ring. It is true that the Mainz-Kastel ring (pl. xii, *a*) is made in two pieces, but it was as functionally immovable as the rings of about the same size from Krefeld-Gellep, grave 1782, and Orsoy, grave 3 (pl. xii, *b*). The Krefeld-Gellep pommel is a straight-sided pyramid of gold and garnet cloisonné with a gilt-bronze ring, and was deposited in the the grave in the first half of the sixth century. The Mainz-Kastel grave is considered to belong to the second half of the sixth century by Werner,<sup>1</sup> but the earlier part of the sixth century is favoured by Pirling.<sup>2</sup> The sword from Orsoy, grave 3, was made at the end of the sixth century according to Böhner, and it is the less usual type descended from the animal-head terminal pommel as from Snartemo, grave 2.<sup>3</sup> The decoration on the rings on the Schretzheim sword shows it to be a later development.

The ring on the pommel in the British Museum (fig. 14, *c*), said to be from Italy, is at about the same stage of development as the Sutton Hoo ring, and it is fixed to a pommel with birds'-head terminals descended from the animal-head type in Snartemo, grave 2, and related to the Orsoy pommel. One pommel of this type was found in England, at Sarre<sup>4</sup> (fig. 14, *e*), where the bird's-head terminal is rudimentary. The middle part of the pommel is decorated with niello step-pattern like two Norwegian ring-pommels mentioned below. One end has been broken off, and this unusual damage might have been caused by the fixing of a ring-knob, but this is pure conjecture. The Italian pommel, however, has a middle pyramid with tang hole in the top separated from the zoomorphic terminals. The type is Scandinavian and there appears to be only one example in England, but this is so different in shape from all others that it has been quoted as a brooch.<sup>5</sup> Although the object itself is lost, the original drawing (fig. 14, *d*) clearly shows a bronze pommel consisting of a middle pyramid with the remains of the iron tang penetrating the top, while the ends take a serpentine form, S-fashion. The rest of the grave goods include the sword-blade, a shield boss, a bronze bowl with beaded rim and one with triangular lug, both Meuse products. As to the other two ring-knobs from Italy, they are from Nocera Umbra, and their size and decoration show that they belong to the seventh century.

Apart from four solid gold ring-knobs, found in the same neighbourhood and

<sup>1</sup> Werner 1950, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Pirling 1964, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> B. Hougen, *Snartemo* (1935), pl. vii, 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Cant.* vi, 173.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch.* xvii (1816), 340, pl. xxv, 7; C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), p. 259; *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 316.



without associations, Denmark has only one ring-sword, which was found at Kyndby and belongs to the seventh century.

In Norway the earliest ring-pommel, from Høiland (fig. 15, *d*), is of cocked-hat shape, without rivets, and one side has been cut away for the ring in the same way as the pommels from Chassemy and Kärlich. There is one gold ring from Kjaerstad, Åkerhus, found on its own. A cocked-hat pommel with inlay in imitation of step-pattern cloisonné work from a grave at Nes, Kvelde, Hedrum, Vestfold, must be considered with the pommel from the rich grave at Åker, Vang, Hedemark, which it closely resembles. The Åker ring-knob was made in two pieces, but the single remaining ring shows it to be of large size. No ring remains on the Nes, Kvelde, ring, but lower rivet collars at one end, together with a space left empty of decoration, shows that the pommel was made for one. Norway was therefore open to influences from other countries, but did not adopt the custom herself.

Sweden and Finland, on the other hand, continued the custom in its later stages. Sweden has two of the solid gold rings found alone, one attached to its gold and garnet pommel, and one gold and garnet pommel without its ring. All the others are later types. In Finland there are some ring-swords of the sixth century, but most belong to the seventh century, and it is only here that the latest stage of the ring-knobs occurs.

Apart from the evidence of the ring-knobs themselves, their existence is also recorded in contemporary pictures. On one of the bronze matrices for making repoussé panels from Torslunda, Öland,<sup>1</sup> there is a ring-knob on the pommel of a sword held by the leading warrior in a boar-crested helmet. Repoussé panels of this kind on the helmet from Vendel, grave 14, show a procession of warriors, each holding a ring-sword.<sup>2</sup> A third example is also in repoussé and is part of a silver scabbard mount found at Gutenstein, Baden.<sup>3</sup> Here a creature with the figure of a man and the head of an animal, wearing a coat of mail and a seax in a scabbard, carries a spear and a large sword which clearly has a ring on the pommel. Although the dates of this type of helmet and of the sword are not undebated, they cannot be earlier than the sixth century.

As a result of a survey of ring-swords, therefore, it is evident that the earliest recognizable one is the Petersfinger sword. Although this was buried in England in the fifth century, the scabbard mounts come from the Meuse area, and the pommel with its ring could have been fitted either there or in England. There are continental pommels of an equally early date from Chassemy, grave 40, and Kärlich, and these, together with the Frankish-inspired ring-sword of Snartemo, support the probability of a continental or Frankish origin. The form of these earliest rings is not known, but the signs of rubbing on the Petersfinger pommel shows that there the ring was freely swivelling, and it may be that the form was that of double loose rings like those at Snartemo and Faversham. At Snartemo, however, the ring was on the lower guard,

<sup>1</sup> Montelius 1917-24, fig. 57; W. Holmqvist, *Germanic Art* (1955), pl. xxxiii, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Montelius 1917-24, fig. 58, possibly also fig. 59, although here the ring may belong to the ring-mail in the

background rather than to the sword.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. von Jenny, *Die Kunst der Germanen im frühen Mittelalter* (1943), pl. 100.



and the position on the Faversham sword is not known. There is therefore no evidence that the rivet head of a ring-knob fixed to a pommel ever took the form of a complete circle. It is thus doubtful whether this should be regarded as stage 1 of the ring-knob proper as stated by Montelius. From this point on there were two courses of development. In the early part of the sixth century there began a school in Kent where a loose silver ring swivelled in a bow abutting the pommel. At the same time the ring on the Continent and in Scandinavia had become immovable or fixed to the bow, and was made of gold or of gilt bronze, with only one or two in silver. After the flourishing of the Kentish school up to the middle or possibly the end of the sixth century, there are no further examples of English ring-swords, for the unique shape of the ring at Sarre, and the Swedish connexions evident at Coombe and Sutton Hoo, suggest isolated examples of foreign influences rather than the reintroduction of the sword-ring custom to England. After the mid-seventh century further developments were in bronze, and were mostly limited to Sweden and Finland.

The strong influence of the Franks in the fifth-century invasions in England has been made apparent by the quantities of glass, inlaid metalwork, animal ornament, etc. which were brought across the Channel, and graves furnished entirely in the Frankish manner show the actual migration of some people. The custom of wearing a large bead on the sword was established by Werner as having been introduced to England by the Franks, and it is now clear that this occurred as early as the fifth century. The custom of the ring on the sword must also have been brought in by the same people at the same time. These two further points may now be added to the evidence already brought forward regarding the presence of Franks in England in the fifth century.

#### SWORD BEADS IN ENGLAND<sup>1</sup>

1. Abingdon, Berks., grave 49.

Green glass bead, diam.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in.

Sword with iron scabbard edging and chape similar to Krefeld-Gellep type; spearhead and ferrule, knife.

E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berks.* (1936), p. 40, pls. XVIII and XIX.

2. Petersfinger, Wilts., grave 20.

Very dark olive-green translucent glass disc bead, opaque yellow zigzag trail, diam. 2.8 cm.

Sword, bronze pommel and scabbard fittings; spearhead and ferrule, shield boss and grip, bronze strip, knife, part of tweezers, iron purse mount, bronze buckle with Style I ornament.

E. T. Leeds and H. de S. Shortt, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger, near Salisbury, Wilts.* (1953), pp. 13-16, figs. 6, 8, 10, pls. I, II, VI, VIII.

<sup>1</sup> In C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi (1868), pl. XXII, 2, two roundels are drawn beside a sword with an iron pommel from Faversham. The top one appears

to be a stud surrounded by filigree, but the lower one may be intended to represent a disc bead.

3. Petersfinger, Wilts., grave 21.  
Amber disc, diam. 2.2 cm. (fig. 3, *b*).  
Ring-sword (fig. 3, *a, c-f*), spearhead, shield boss and grip, axe, knife, iron-bound bucket, buckle with cloisonné plate, tweezers.  
Evison 1965, figs. 18 and 19.
4. Riseley, Horton Kirby, Kent, grave 86.  
Large green glass bead.  
Sword with bronze scabbard mounts, spear, shield boss, knife, iron buckle, bronze-mounted cup.  
*Trans. Dartford District Ant. Soc.* viii (1938), 24.
5. Riseley, Horton Kirby, Kent, grave 87.  
Amber bead.  
Sword with bronze chape, spearhead, shield boss, knife, iron rivets.  
*Trans. Dartford District Ant. Soc.* viii (1938), 25.
6. Howletts, Kent, grave 20.  
Yellow glass bead.  
Sword, gilt-bronze buckle and plates in Style I.  
R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (1950), pl. xxxvii, 1 (buckle).
7. Dover, Kent, grave 93.  
Cylindrical glass bead, diam. 2.8 cm., red, yellow, and green reticella threads (fig. 2, *b*).  
Sword (fig. 2, *a*), spearhead, seax, shield boss, grip and appliqué, bronze ring, bronze and iron fragments.  
Excavated by V. I. Evison on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.
8. North Luffenham, Rutland.  
Large glass bead, disc with zigzag trail in sunflower arrangement.  
Sword, shield boss, spear and ferrule, tweezers, bronze-bound bucket, pot.  
*Ass. Archit. Soc. Rep. and Papers*, xxvi, 250-1, figs. 2*e* sword, 3 boss, 1*d* bead, 4*a* tweezers, 5 bucket; pot, *Ass. Archit. Soc. Rep. and Papers*, xxvii, 220.
9. Fairford, Glos.  
Bluish-green glass disc with red trails cable-fashion on circumference.  
Sword, shield boss, tweezers, bronze-bound bucket.  
W. M. Wylie, *Fairford Graves* (1852), p. 20, pls. iv, 3, viii, 2, x, 4.<sup>1</sup>
10. Brighthampton, Oxon., grave 31.  
Amber disc, diam. 2.2 cm.  
Bronze sword pommel and scabbard fittings, spearhead, knife, bronze-mounted bucket, strap-end, bronze mounts.  
Evison 1965, pp. 31-32, fig. 11.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the book is a sketch of this grave opened on 7th March, which shows that the sword was along the left side of the body, a large bead was by the right hip,

and what looks like a second bead by the right knee. The bead was therefore not very near the sword and may not have been attached to it.



11. Brighthampton, Oxon., grave 44.  
Two glass beads.  
Sword with bronze scabbard mouth, knife.  
*Archaeologia*, xxxviii (1860), 87-88, 96.
12. Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 44 (figs. 2, c-g).  
Translucent mid-green glass disc, diam. 3.5 cm., white zigzag trails (pl. VIII, c).  
Sword, length 76.2 cm., tang missing; lower guard of two iron plates with ? wood between; spear and shield boss not now identifiable; horse skeleton with iron bit, silvered bronze studs and bronze strap fragments.  
R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies* (1852), p. 16, pls. 21, 34, 38, 40.
13. Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 96.  
Black glass bead, one side flat, the other convex, white trails in five-petal shape, diam. 4.3 cm. (pl. VIII, d).  
Sword, length 82.5 cm. to top of tang (pommel and side scabbard fittings now missing), gilt bronze scabbard mouth fitting and bronze U-shaped chape; boss, knife, and spear not now identifiable.  
R. C. Neville, *op. cit.*, p. 19, pls. 21, 34.
14. Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 151.  
Oval black glass bead, light-blue crossing trails and red dots, diam. 2.5 cm. (pl. VIII, b).  
Sword, length 92.5 cm.; boss, spear, and bronze buckle not now identifiable.  
R. C. Neville, *op. cit.*, p. 22, pls. 21, 34.
15. Alton, Hants, grave 2.  
Two green glass beads.  
Sword, two spears, knife, shield boss, bronze-bound bucket, tweezers.  
Excavated by G. N. Gowing.
16. Alton, Hants, grave 42 (fig. 1).  
Amber disc, diam. 2.8 cm. (found by sword blade, 10 in. from end of tang).  
Sword, bronze scabbard edging and chape, spearhead and ferrule, shield boss, grip and rivets, knife, iron and bronze fragments.  
Excavated by V. I. Evison on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.
17. Mitcham, Surrey, grave 192.  
Disc-shaped bead of spar.  
Sword, boss.  
*Surrey Arch. Collections*, lvi (1959), 72, pls. xvii and xxi. According to Cambridge Museum records this bead, Reg. No. 54.397 was found with a sword. According to Mr. Wilks's inventory (letter to Col. Bidder dated 1st October 1921—see *S.A.C.* lvi, 72) the sword, boss, and bead were found together. It is therefore taken as reasonably certain that this is a sword bead.

However, in the original publication, *P.S.A.* xviii, 230, Reginald Smith mentioned the few associations recorded then (1916) but no large bead is mentioned specifically as having been found with a sword although 'a few glass beads' were reported in one sword grave. The large bead attributed to grave 193 in *S.A.C.* lvi, 72, could equally well have come from one

of the women's graves found at the same time. In that report Reginald Smith did enlarge on the subject of sword beads in general, but since 'Some details of the graves were evidently known in 1916, but by 1921 Mr. Wilks no longer recalled them' (*S.A.C.* lvi, 72), it may be that Mr. Wilks's 1921 grouping of sword and bead was influenced by a memory of Mr. Smith's 1916 dissertation on sword beads. I am grateful to Dr. John Morris for help in elucidating this problem.

18. Selmeston, Sussex, grave 51.  
Bead, decaying vegetable matter.  
Sword, bucket, box, etc.  
Excavated by David Thomson.
19. Selmeston, Sussex, grave 11.  
Bead, decaying vegetable matter.  
Sword, etc.  
Excavated by David Thomson.

#### SCABBARD-MOUTH MOUNTS WITH PERFORATION: ENGLAND

1. Gilton, Kent.  
Ring-sword (fig. 9, *d*).
2. Petersfinger, Wilts., grave 21.  
Sword with ring and bead (fig. 3, *e*).
3. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight.  
Ring-sword (fig. 11, *c*).
4. Dover, Kent, grave 96*b*.  
This was a double grave containing two sword-bearing warriors:  
96*a*, sword with bronze and iron guards, spearhead, iron pin, buckle with shoe-shaped rivets, knife, shield boss and grip.  
96*b*, sword with gilt bronze scabbard top, and separate plaque with loop at the back (fig. 2, *h, i*), spearhead, iron pin, knife.  
Excavated by V. I. Evison on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.
5. Selmeston, Sussex, grave 51.  
Sword with garnet-decorated scabbard top, a looped lug at the back. Bead and other associated finds.  
Excavated by David Thomson.

#### RING-SWORDS

(A figure in square brackets indicates the stage of development of the ring)

##### ENGLAND

1. Petersfinger, Wilts., grave 21 (fig. 3, *a*).  
Sword, length 92 cm., with bronze pommel, a straight-sided pyramid with slashed corners, front decorated by horizontal moulded lines along base and ring-and-dot stamp in middle.



At one end a rivet with its projecting head in the form of a bird's head; at the other end the rivet has no head and does not project. An indentation in the edge and a groove worn in the side of the pommel show that a movable ring was once fastened here. Bronze scabbard mouth edging, moulding at each outer edge and three horizontal rows of decoration, tongue, wave, and ring-and-dot motifs. A separate bronze rectangle, decorated by a diagonal cross, was soldered to the back of the mount. This is broken at one edge, but has remains of a lug projection as indicated by the dotted lines (fig. 3, *e*).

Associated objects: amber bead (fig. 3, *b*) (see p. 65), axe, spearhead, knife, shield boss and grip, garnet and glass inset buckle, bronze tweezers and ear-scoop, iron-bound bucket, iron disc.

Evison 1965, figs. 18 and 19.

2. North Luffenham, Rutland (fig. 3, *g*).

Bronze sword pommel, length 2.6 cm.; straight-sided pyramid, at one end one flat lug, at the other end two lugs, one slightly larger than the other, a vertical groove in the pommel between the lugs, and the corner of the pommel near the larger one flattened by wear.

No associations.

V. B. Crowther-Benyon, 'Anglo-Saxon Remains Found at North Luffenham, Rutland', *Ass. Archit. Soc. Reports and Papers*, xxvii, pt. i (1904), 220-8, pl. III, 9.

3. Faversham, Kent (British Museum Reg. no. 951 '70, Gibbs Bequest) (fig. 3, *h-j*).

Sword, total length 96.5 cm., width of blade 5.6 cm. Silver cocked-hat pommel with gilding preserved in recesses. Two rivets at each end are fitted into tall collars. There are slashes along each corner edge of the pommel and also, between these on the short sides, tongue shapes delineated by rows of niello triangles but not raised above the surface. Zigzag and straight lines of niello run across the top of the pommel, and zigzag lines occur on the long sides next to the rivet collars to continue over the bases of the tongues. Three grooves run along the base of the long sides and one face is bordered by niello triangles. A silver rivet has a complete gilt ring head and a loose interlocked ring, both ornamented with circumference grooves. There is no sign of wear on the pommel or any indication that it was in contact with the rings. A silver sheet forms the scabbard tip, a silver edging of U-section holds it in place and continues for most of the length of the sword. According to the early report quoted below, the sword had 'small rings at the side by which it was suspended by leather straps' [14].

No associations.

C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi (1868), 139-40, pl. XXII, 1.

4. Faversham, Kent (British Museum, Reg. no. 952 '70, Gibbs Bequest) (fig. 6, *a, b*).

Sword, total length 94.3 cm., silver-gilt low cocked-hat pommel, two lenticular slashes with framing lines on each end, no other decoration except beading along the base of front and back, a pair of rivets in collars at each end. The rivet collars show considerable wear and at one end a curved groove has been worn across the pommel, cutting down part of the slashed decoration.

No associations.

Behmer 1939, Taf. XXXVI, 4.

5. Dover, Kent, grave C (pl. VIII, *a*; fig. 4, *b-d*).

Sword, total length 91.5 cm., silver cocked-hat pommel, two rivets in collars at each end penetrated a wooden guard sandwiched between two silver-gilt oval plates. The lower guard consists of similar plates. The pommel is worn at the top, but gilding remains in four corner



slashes and a row of beading along the lower edge of the front. Three niello ring-and-dot motifs on the front are joined by curving lines, and in the middle is a carelessly scratched chevron decoration. The back is plain save for two faintly incised lines. The ring segment head of a rivet fits between the two pommel rivets; a complete ring is linked into this, and can swivel round freely, but cannot be turned over, away from the pommel. Both rings are grooved at the sides with beading in one groove only, and a niello zigzag with a row of niello triangles each side runs round the circumference. A silver-gilt beaded wire masked the joins between grip and guards. (One is now missing.) There are two strips of silver scabbard edging, and the scabbard mouth is bound with rows of cord. The blade, width 5 cm., is pattern-welded [1b].

Associated objects (figs. 4 and 5, *a-c*): spearhead and ferrule, knife, iron buckle loop and tongue, bronze balance and fourteen Roman coins used as weights (three illustrated) three spherical pebbles (fig. 4, *e*), three flat iron strips, probably attached to the shield (fig. 5, *d*), and a boss, either fig. 5, *e* or fig. 5, *g* with grip 5, *f*. It is uncertain whether the bronze buckle and rivet (fig. 5, *h, i*) were found in this grave.

Excavated by the late W. P. B. Stebbing.

6. Lower Shorne, Higham, Kent (fig. 6, *d*).

Silver parcel-gilt pommel, length 4.5 cm., cocked-hat shape with two rivets at each end. A rectangular panel at each end extends in a raised strip over the top of the pommel, decorated with zigzag niello on the rectangular ends and triangles on the strips. On one face a triangular panel of gilt chip-carved ornament, a semicircular motif centre with two animal legs ending in two-toed feet, and two eyes with arched brows. Niello triangles appear as a border on both sides. In the middle of the other face a design in niello consists of circle segments impaled on an upright line. The rivets are encased in collars, but they are lower at one end than the other, and the space between the lower ones is filled with solder, in the middle of which is a circular depression. At this end the niello zigzag on the pommel is worn at one side.

Associated objects: a fragment of gilt-silver U-section scabbard edging, length 4.5 cm., came to Maidstone Museum at the same time as the sword, and as there is no trace of any other sword it probably belonged to the same sword as the pommel. It has transverse moulding and two rivet holes (fig. 6, *c*).

7. Bifrons, Kent, grave 39 (fig. 7, *a-c*).

Silver parcel-gilt pommel, cocked-hat shape, raised tongues on each short end with niello triangle border; similar border on front and back with niello zigzag and straight line decoration on the front and a swastika on the back. A pair of rivets in collars in each short end, but as may be seen from the underneath view of the pommel (fig. 7, *c*) the pommel was made asymmetrically in the first place, leaving a space between the rivets at one end where the end of the bow rests. The bow and interlinked ring are both decorated with a circumference niello zigzag flanked with niello triangles and lateral grooves. The lower plates of the upper and lower guards remain, together with the rivets. The niello decoration of the pommel and rings is clumsy, and there are signs of wear on the top of the pommel and bow [1b].

Associated finds: shield boss, grip and braces, spearhead, two knives (these not now identifiable), white metal buckle and four shoe-shaped rivets (three matching, one odd), three rectangular silver parcel-gilt belt plates with niello decoration, two silver-gilt folded belt plates, two fragments of silver plates, silver rectangular buckle loop, silver perforated belt mount, two iron nails, iron buckle (figs. 6, *e-m*, and 7, *d-h*).

*Arch. Cant.* x, 312.



8. Bifrons, Kent, grave 62 (fig. 8, *a*).

Silver cocked-hat pommel, parcel-gilt, three collared rivets at one end, two at the other. Both faces have vertical zigzag and straight lines in niello, a niello triangle border and moulded lines along the base. The tongues on the short sides are chip-carved in shapes reminiscent of slashes, with niello zigzag borders. On the apex is a diagonal cross design in niello with circle segments. A freely moving ring which has rubbed a groove in the side of the pommel is linked into a bow-topped rivet of which the inner end penetrated the guard between the pommel rivets. Both ring and bow are decorated with a beaded circumference groove bordered by a reserved silver and niello zigzag, and a groove in each side, beaded on one side only. Remains of the upper guard (?horn) are sandwiched between two plates. Similar plates of the lower guard remain, together with a beaded wire edging to the end of the grip [1*b*].

Associated object: knife (not identifiable).

*Arch. Cant.* xiii, 553.

9. Gilton, Kent (Liverpool Museum Reg. no. 6650 M) (fig. 8, *c*).

Silver parcel-gilt cocked-hat pommel, horizontal beading along base of front, nielloed triangle border back and front, ring-and-dot with four radiating lines on apex, raised tongues at sides with niello triangle borders. Three rivets at one end, two at end where ring-bow rests; the bow and ring are grooved round the circumference and sides, with beading in circumference groove and one side, and niello triangles between. The upper and lower guards are nearly complete, and a grooved wire covers the join at the lower end of the grip. (There is a modern wood pack replacing the original lower guard.)

No associations.

*Arch.* xxx, 132, pl. xi, 4; Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxviii, 3.

10. Gilton, Kent, grave 56 (Liverpool Museum Reg. no. 6061 M) (fig. 8, *b*).

Silver parcel-gilt cocked-hat pommel; triple row of moulding along lower edge of front, single groove on back, niello triangle border back and front; ring-and-dot with four radiating lines on apex. Raised tongues each side with niello triangle border and niello zigzag line in middle. Three rivets one end; on the other end two rivets with a notch cut in between; a vertical worn groove by each rivet and a dent worn in the tongue.

Associated objects (not now traceable): spear, shield boss with grip and iron studs and stays, seax, iron buckle, two small bronze buckles, two knives, several nails. A door-knob also recorded must have been planted by one of the excavating party.

B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), pp. 20-21.

11. Gilton, Kent (Liverpool Museum Reg. no. 6875. 2) (fig. 9, *c*, *d*).

Silver parcel-gilt cocked-hat pommel; on front three rows of grooves with intermittent billeting along base, two rows on the back. Raised tongues each side with a vertical niello line in the middle branching into two obliques like a T-rune. The tongue on the end with three rivets has a niello border of triangles and zigzag, but there is no further decoration on the tongue by the two rivets separated by a notch. The tongue this side is worn in a horizontal groove. The lower plate of the upper guard remains. A scabbard mouth mount of zones of alternated gilded grooves and reserved silver bands with niello triangles and zigzags has a projecting perforated lug [1*b*].

No associations.

Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxvii, 5, *a*, *b*.



12. Faversham, Kent (British Museum Reg. no. 954 '70, Gibbs Bequest) (fig. 9, *a*, *b*).

Sword, total length 90.5 cm., width of blade 5.6 cm. Silver-gilt cocked-hat pommel, three rivets in collars on one end and two on the other. Grooves with beading run along the base of each face and niello ladder-like motifs decorate the face next to the rivet collars. On one side the face is decorated by circle segments bordered by zigzags in niello, and the apex has a step pattern. On the other side there is an unsymmetrical interlace design in niello which is worn and indistinct at the top. At each end is a raised tongue with triangles surrounding a clear T-rune in niello with an upright line each side. A broken-off rivet has a circle-segment head with a free interlocking ring, both decorated with grooves on circumference and sides and intervening lines of niello triangles and zigzag. One end of the ring segment rested on the surface of the pommel at the end with two rivets. There is a fluted silver-gilt edging to the mouth of the scabbard and silver-gilt plates and rivets of the lower guard. A beaded silver-gilt wire girdled the grip<sup>1</sup> [*ib*].

No associations.

Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxviii, 2*a* and *b*.

13. Gilton, Kent (Liverpool Museum Reg. no. 6402 M) (fig. 10, *a*).

Silver cocked-hat pommel, horizontal grooves along base of front with row of runes scratched in space above. On back reserved silver and niello zigzags with zigzag niello line along base. Raised tongues each side, on one end two rivets and reserved silver lightening motif bordered by niello triangles, at the other end one of a pair of rivets remaining with notch in between, perforation in middle of tongue but no decoration, reserved silver and niello zigzag border, the end of the tongue being cut back so that the outer line of triangles are empty of niello. On the apex remains of a step-pattern in niello. The decoration of the pommel therefore shows that when it was made the decoration of the tongues was made suitable for the fixing of a ring, and the front face was left blank to provide a suitable surface for the runes. (See p. 97.) The lower part of the upper guard remains. Jessup<sup>2</sup> records that the length was just over 30 in. The blade was lost during the last war.

No associations.

J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855), pl. xxiv, 3.

14. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight (fig. 11).

Sword, total length 93.2 cm., blade width 5 cm. Bronze cocked-hat pommel, with hole at top for penetration by tang;<sup>3</sup> four deeply cut furrows at the edges, leaving rounded ends. A circular hole, diam. 5 mm., is bored through one end where the profile of the pommel is worn in a groove. The lower plates of the upper and lower guards remain and appear to be silver gilt (not cleaned). On the upper guard a hollow copper rivet remains, diam. 3 mm., at the opposite end by the perforation in the pommel is a larger rivet hole, diam. 4.5 mm., apparently to accommodate a ring attachment with a relatively stouter rivet. Near the middle of the grip is a parallelogram of gold foil entirely covered with filigree annulets. It is much worn, and persistent pressure of the hand is shown by the bossing of each corner caused by the resistance of the four rivets below the gold foil fastening it to the grip. The silver-gilt scabbard mouth edging consists of a decorated plate in front which is broken off at each end. At the back a short silver band was soldered on to the back of this mount, and at the opposite side a similar, but longer, band was fastened to the front by means of two

<sup>1</sup> One is shown in Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxviii, 2*b*, but two in Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxviii, 2*a*, and Davidson 1958, pl. lxii, A. There was only one when I examined it in 1965.

<sup>2</sup> R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (1950), p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> The pommel is a gold colour but has a pitted surface, and it seems this is more likely to have been caused by chemical cleaning than by gilding as suggested by Behmer 1939, p. 176.



rivets and overlapped the end of the shorter band. The longer band bears the runic inscription<sup>1</sup> on the outside and in the middle near the lower edge is a perforation. The front is parcel-gilt and divided into two panels. The top panel has a middle row of billeting with a beaded edging, a reserved silver and niello border runs along the top and niello triangles along the other three sides. The panel below is in openwork without a frame; at each end is a profile man's head facing outwards, an S-shaped curve on the crown representing hair or a helmet (fig. 11, *d*). The rest of the design consists of symmetrically curving triple bands (the middle beaded) amongst which may be distinguished an eye in the middle with an angular surround (fig. 11, *e*). At the base of the man's helmet is a vertical oval shape, from which projects a cuff with a transverse band, then a pointed curving thumb with possibly three fingers represented by a short stretch of the triple band (fig. 11, *f*). These 'fingers' grip the S-curve, which may represent the man's hair as on the Söderby-Karl mount.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, but less likely, fig. 11, *g* may represent an animal head and body, with part of fig. 11, *f* as the front joint and leg.

The sword was found under a row of nails thought by the excavator to belong to a wooden box in which it was kept.

G. Hillier, *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (1856?), pp. 35-36.

15. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight (British Museum Reg. no. 67. 7-29. 135) (fig. 10, *c*).  
Bronze pyramid with curved sides and hole at top. Rivet hole in each corner, slot extending down one end from tang hole no doubt caused by the making of a hole and the metal breaking away between.

Behmer 1939, Taf. XXXIII, 13.

16. Sarre, Kent, grave 91 (fig. 10, *b*).  
Bronze cocked-hat pommel with horizontal grooves and beading along base of front and grooves only on the back; a pair of flat perforated lugs at each end, a hole in one short side towards the apex. Traces of a runic inscription on back and front, illegible, but a possible  $\mathfrak{D}$  = d and  $\mathfrak{U}$  = u on the front.

Found with an umbo (not now traceable).

*Arch. Cant.* x. 173.

17. Sarre, Kent, grave 88 (fig. 10, *d*).  
Silver, low, cocked-hat sword pommel with traces of gilding. The front is decorated by a pair of chip-carved wave or spiral shapes, with a niello triangle border. On the ends are corner slashes with beading. At one end a bow with beading along the middle and a fixed horizontal ring, the two pieces having been made separately and joined by solder. The circumference of the ring was flattened across one side so that it could be placed against a pommel, but it is in fact a distance away. The rings are very worn and the head of one pommel rivet has been cut away to accommodate the end of the bow. Remains of both plates of upper guard [2]. A drawing of a sword-blade with pattern-welding and two similar plates of a lower guard (*Arch. Cant.* viii, pl. xi, second sword from right) may represent the rest of this sword.

Associated objects: 'bronze dish 12½ in. diam., 4¼ in. deep, one handle deficient, circular stand of bronze', shield boss and knife (not identifiable).

*Arch. Cant.* vi. 172.

<sup>1</sup> *Medium Aevum*, xxx (1961), pp. 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Fornvännen*, 1951, p. 38, fig. 5.



## 18. Coombe, Kent (fig. 12).

Silver, parcel-gilt cocked-hat pommel with flat top and sharp unworn edges; grooves along the base, both back and front. In front, an oblong panel of gilt chip-carved zoomorphic ornament in which two legs and feet may be distinguished. At the top this branches out into a pair of ring-and-dot niello motifs; above is a line of zigzag niello and the rest of the face is decorated with semicircles of niello triangles. On the back a semicircle of niello triangles in each corner, and a vertical zigzag line in the middle crossing a horizontal reserved silver and niello zigzag. On the sides a border of reserved silver zigzags bordering a tongue shape each containing gilt chip-carved cable with terminal animal leg. One tongue shape ends in a straight edge and niello key-pattern border by the two rivets. The other tongue ends in an incurved line and there is no border. The tang end with bronze washer (fig. 12, c) presumably fitted inside the pommel, but it might instead be part of the missing second sword.

The lower plates of the upper and lower guards are deeper than usual. On the upper guard one rivet has a dome-head, the other a stump. This must have held the end of the bow, of the ring-knob, as indicated, the other end of which rested on the blank space at the base of the tongue panel. A kidney-shaped washer connects the two pommel rivets on the under side of the upper guard, and this guard projects slightly more on the ring side than on the other. The upper plate of the lower guard is decorated by ring stamps. The join between guards and hilt is masked by two narrow plates in a gold-coloured metal. The top plate is divided into four panels by four rows of vertical moulding; in the front one panel contains a four-strand interlace with a forked terminal, the other contains curved strands with forked terminals; on the back are four-strand interlaces with one forked terminal. The lower plate has moulded verticals at the ends only and a four-strand interlace each side. On both plates the strands of interlace are medially-ribbed on the front but not on the back. The blade is 6.3 cm. wide at the top, with remains of the wooden scabbard and two binding cords. According to Kemble the total length was 36½ in.; according to C. R. Smith it was about 30 in.; a published drawing indicates 37½ in. [3].

Associated objects: another sword was found with this one, together with a spearhead (both lost), some beads, red glass paste (fig. 13, b-e), amber (fig. 13, f), clear blown glass (fig. 13, g) (two others listed in the accession book at Saffron Walden Museum, one probably amber and one small dark blue cylindrical bead, are now missing), part of a square-headed brooch (fig. 13, h) and a bronze bowl (fig. 13, a) which contained some burnt human bones. These are the contents of the grave recorded in *Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Inst. Proc.* i, 27 and C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii (1852), 164, pl. xxxviii, and a ring-knob was included on Smith's plate (pl. xv). According to J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, 1855, p. 53, pl. xxvi, two glass vessels were also probably found with the sword, pl. xxiv, and this is confirmed by J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, 1863, p. 207. Drawings of the two glasses and a bead, with a note that they were found with the 'sword, vessel of bronze, beads and other things in a long barrow at Coombe', were added to Akerman's own copy of *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* now in the possession of the Society. While the other objects are in the museum at Saffron Walden, Essex, these two glasses are in the British Museum, together with the bead; Reg. no. 65. 12-4. 1, palm cup (fig. 13, i), light olive-green with cruciform moulded decoration on the base running into vertical ribs on the sides; 65. 12-4. 2, base of colourless claw beaker (fig. 13, k), 65. 12-4. 3, bead (fig. 13, j), brick-red opaque with white trails. The grave groups cited in A. Meaney, *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, 1964, p. 115, and H. R. E. Davidson, 'The Finglesham Man', *Antiquity*, xxxix (1965), 27, are inaccurate. All the objects shown in figs. 12 and 13, a-k were found in the same place, but the excavation was not supervised, and the finds must represent two bodies or more, presumably secondary cremation burials in a prehistoric barrow.



19. Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, ship burial (fig. 13, *l*).

Gilt-bronze ring-knob, join between bow and ring masked by imitation beaded filigree pattern [3].

R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 1947, fig. 8.

# FRANCE

20. Chassemy, Aisne, grave 40 (fig. 15, *a, b*).

Sword, total length 83 cm., width of blade 4.7 cm.; bronze cocked-hat pommel, two horizontal grooves along base of front and triangle of impressed dots in the middle. A flat projecting rivet lug at one end, a notch cut into the pommel at the other end with a rivet through the pommel on either side. A bronze band with horizontal line decoration at the mouth of the scabbard and at the upper end of the bronze sheath tip. There are remains of U-sectioned edging, and a strap-slide fixed at one side 22 cm. from the tip.

Associated objects: a bronze buckle (fig. 15, *c*).

Shetelig 1916-17, fig. 94; Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxv, 1.

21. Chaouilley, Meurthe-et-Moselle, grave 20 (fig. 14, *a*).<sup>1</sup>

Sword, total length 87.8 cm., width of blade 4.5 cm. Silver cocked-hat pommel, raised tongues with forked ends decorated with niello triangles; at each end a niello cable and a niello equal-armed cross on the apex; two rivets in collars at one end, two smaller collared rivets at the other end, and a notch cut between in the pommel to receive a solid silver ring. The lower, upturned plates of the upper and lower guards remain [3].

Associated objects include sword bead.

Voinot, 'Les Fouilles de Chaouilley, cimetière mérovingien', *Mémoires de la Soc. d'arch. de Lorraine*, liv (1904), pls. I, 11; II, 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 12; III, 9.

22. Concevreux, Aisne (pl. XIII, *a*).

Silver cocked-hat pommel, solid ring. Silver scabbard mounts with garnet-decorated scabbard mouth [2] or [3].

J. Pilloy, 'Le Cimetière antique de Concevreux', *Mém. Soc. Acad. de St. Quentin*, série 4, Tom. 16, Pte. 1 (1913); J. Pilloy, *Études sur d'anciens lieux de sépultures dans l'Aisne*, iii (1912), pl. A. 1, p. 217; Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxiv, 4 (provenance given as Laon, and the ring illustrated by Pilloy was missing by 1939).

23. Fèrebrianges, Marne (pl. XI, fig. 14, *b*).

Silver cocked-hat pommel, horizontal grooves along base of front, ring-and-dot motif in the middle, ring-and-dot surrounded by rays on the back. At one end three rivet lugs and border of reserved silver and niello zigzag, a chip-carved bifurcating motif above this, with slashed corners which also occur on the other end. There, however, the chip-carved motif is elliptical and there is no silver zigzag border; there was originally a pair of rivets with a notch in between. This has not been noted as a ring-sword before, but the pommel was obviously made for such a fixture. The scabbard is decorated and has a mouth fitting with gold, garnet, and glass decoration on the front; on the back are two panels of animal ornament with a middle panel of green glass and garnets below which is a projecting loop.

Behmer 1939, Taf. xxxvi, 5.

<sup>1</sup> When seen in 1964 a filigree-decorated gold plate (Voinot, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 12) was fastened by wires to the lower guard of the sword, and had been published in this position by Behmer 1939, pl. xxxix, 1 and Davidson 1962, fig. 56a. As pointed out by Arbman 1950, p. 154, and Werner 1950, p. 57, this belongs to the seax sheath and

not to the sword. Behmer gave the provenance as Haroué. Davidson 1962, p. 73, retained the Haroué label and exchanged the label on the illustration with the Mainz Kastel sword; in fact Davidson 1962, fig. 56a, is a sketch of the Chaouilley sword and fig. 56b is Mainz Kastel.

## GERMANY

24. Kärlich, near Koblenz<sup>1</sup> (fig. 15, *e*).  
Bronze cocked-hat pommel, one rivet at one end, two at the other with notch in between.  
Shetelig 1916-17, fig. 93.
25. Mainz Kastel (pl. XII, *a*).  
Silver cocked-hat pommel with ring and bow separate but immovable [2].  
Associated objects.  
G. Behrens, *Das frühchristliche und merovingische Mainz* (1950), Abb. 47.
26. Krefeld-Gellep, grave 1782.  
Gold and garnet straight-sided pyramid pommel, gilt-bronze solid ring [3].  
Associated objects.  
Pirling 1964, Taf. 47, 3, 51, 1a, 1b.
27. Orsoy, grave 3 (pl. XII, *b*).  
Gilt-bronze pommel, hole at top for tang, both faces have horizontal grooves along base, beaded upper border, chip-carved C-spiral above pair of wave spirals inlaid with ?niello; raised tongues on each end terminating in ridge and splayed end of degenerate animal heads; ring and bow in one piece [3].  
Associated objects.  
Böhner 1949, pp. 146-96, Taf. 10, 10.
28. Schretzheim, Dillingen, grave 79.  
Gilt-bronze pommel decorated with interlace, solid silver ring [3].  
P. Zenetti, 'Das Ringschwert von Schretzheim', *Mannus*, xxxii (1940), 275-81, Abb. 1;  
Behmer 1939, Taf. XLIII, 3.

## ITALY

29. Nocera Umbra, Perugia, grave 32.  
Gold pommel decorated with filigree, large gold ring-knob [3].  
Associated objects.  
A. Pasqui and R. Paribeni, 'Necropoli barbarica di Nocera Umbra', *Monumenti Antiqui*, 1918, pp. 137-352, fig. 71; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLI, 6.
30. Nocera Umbra, Perugia, grave 1.  
Gold cloisonné pommel, large gold ring-knob [3]. Decoration by filigree on ring and back of pommel, and filigree tongue shapes on the ends. A cloisonné scabbard mount of an earlier period.  
Associated objects.  
Pasqui and Paribeni, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-8, figs. 4 and 5; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLI, 7.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. Raschke kindly informs me that this pommel was lost in the upheavals of 1945.



31. Italy (British Museum Reg. no. 72. 6-4. 1075, Castellani collection) (fig. 14, c).

Gilt-bronze pommel, hole at top for tang. Total length with ring 6.6 cm. Middle pyramid with incurved sides, raised square-ended tongues, terminal birds' heads. Middle part of side of pyramid inlaid with step-pattern garnets in gold cloisons, moulding at the three points and base of the triangle, the curved edges bordered by silver and copper twisted wires inlaid. The tongues inset with step-pattern garnets in gold. Line of silver and copper twisted wires inlaid across necks of birds' heads which have round garnet eyes, and one has a larger garnet on top of the head cut to the curve of the head. The ring and bow are cut away to fit over the other bird's head. The ring is gilt and the junction between bow and ring is masked by twisted beaded gold wire. The back is identical except that the eyes of the birds are not inlaid with garnets [3].

No associations.

*British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), fig. 209.

#### DENMARK

32. Eisemosegaardene, Gudme, Broholm, Fyn.

Gold solid ring-knob [3].

No associations.

Sehested, *Fortidsminder og Oldsager fra Egnen omkring Broholm* (1878), 207, pl. XLV, 7; Montelius 1917-24, fig. 55.

33. Eisemosegaardene, Gudme, Broholm, Fyn.

Gold solid ring-knob [3].

No associations.

Sehested, *op. cit.*, p. 208, pl. XLV, 8; Montelius 1917-24, fig. 56.

34. Gudme, Fyn.

Gold solid ring-knob [3].

No associations.

Montelius 1917-24, p. 32.

35. Albjerg, Broholm, Fyn.

Gold solid ring-knob [3].

No associations.

Montelius 1917-24, p. 32.

36. Kyndby, Frederiksborg, Sjaelland, grave 2.

Gilt-bronze pommel decorated with animal ornament and interlace; large ring-knob decorated with interlace [4].

Associated objects.

Ørsnes-Christensen 1956, figs. 19-20.

## NORWAY

37. Snartemo, Vest Agder, grave 5 (pl. x, fig. 15, f).  
Sword with gold grip, Style I decoration; ring interlocked in complete ring-headed rivet on lower guard [1a].  
Associated objects.  
B. Hougen, *Snartemo Funnene* (1935), pls. 1, II, III.
38. The parsonage, Høiland, Rogaland (fig. 15, d).  
Silver cocked-hat pommel, no rivets, notch cut in one end.  
No associations.  
Shetelig 1916-17, fig. 97; P. Fett, 'Arms in Norway between 400 and 600 A.D.', *Bergens Museums Arbok*, Hist. Ant. Raekke (1938), pp. 1-89; (1939/40), pp. 1-45, fig. 68.
39. Kjaersted, Garder, Vestby, Akerhus.  
Gold solid ring-knob [2].  
No associations.  
O. Rygh, *Norske Oldsager* (1880), fig. 515.
40. Nes, Kvelde, Hedrum, Vestfold.  
Bronze cocked-hat pommel with silver inlaid step pattern, rivet collars lower on one end, and with a space left in the ornament at this end which must have been covered by a ring.  
Associated finds.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 79; Gjessing 1934, fig. 21; W. Slomann, 'Folkevandringstiden i Norge', *Stavanger Museums Arbok*, 1955, p. 78, fig. 7.
41. Åker, Vang, Hedemark.  
Bronze cocked-hat pommel inlaid with silver step pattern, ring [2].  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 40; Gjessing 1934, pl. 1.

## SWEDEN

42. Väsby, Hammarby, Uppland.  
Gold straight-sided pyramid pommel, garnet and glass cloisonné, gold solid ring-knob [3].  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 51; Behmer 1939, Taf. XL, 2.
43. Stora Sandviken, Sturkö, Blekinge.  
Gold straight-sided pyramid pommel, garnet cloisons, ring missing.  
Behmer 1939, Taf. XL, 1; Arbman 1950, fig. 1.
44. Kwicksta, Toresund, Södermanland.  
Gold ring-knob [3].  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 52.
45. Lejeby, Laholm, södra Halland.  
Gold ring-knob. The end of the bow which continues into the rivet is the end outside the ring and not inside as is usual. This means that the knob cannot be cut back in the usual way to fit on to a pommel. This ring may therefore have been intended to fit on to a flat surface such as a drinking-horn.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 53.



46. Valsgärde, grave 8 (pl. XIII, b).  
Gilt-bronze pommel with white metal applied and animal ornament; gilt-bronze ring-knob made in two parts but immovable [2].  
Associated objects.  
G. Arwidsson, *Valsgärde* 8 (1954), Taf. 19-21.
47. Valsgärde, grave 7.  
Sword with ring-knob cast in one piece [3].  
Associated objects.  
S. Lindqvist, 'Rustkammaren från Valsgärde', *Nordisk Familjeboks Månadskronika*, Jahrg. 2 (1939), fig. 5; Arwidsson, *op. cit.* 1954, p. 132; Ørsnes-Christensen 1956, pp. 137-8.
48. Vendel, grave 1.  
Pommel missing, part of gilt-bronze ring ornamented with interlace.  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 42; H. Stolpe, T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel* (1927), pl. I. 1.
49. Vendel, grave XI.  
Solid gilt-copper ring-knob in two pieces [2].  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 41a, b; Stolpe and Arne, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII.
50. Roes, Grötlingbo, Gotland.  
Bronze ring and bow, in two pieces [2].  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, figs. 43-44; G. Arwidsson, *Vendelstile* (1942), figs. 63-68; Werner 1958, Taf. 3, 6-8.
51. Högbro, Roma, Gotland.  
Bronze ring of ring-knob [2].  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, p. 22.
52. Snösbäck, Karleby, Västergötland.  
Gilt-bronze pommel and ring-knob with silver filigree [3].  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 47; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLIV, 4.
53. Endre Backe, Endre, Gotland.  
Silver pommel decorated with animal ornament; gilt-bronze ring-knob with silver wire [3].  
No associations.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 48; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLIII, 2; Werner 1950, pl. VI, 3.
54. Endre Backe, Endre, Gotland.  
Silver-gilt pommel with animal ornament; gilt-bronze ring-knob [3].  
No associations.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 49; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLIII, 1; Werner 1950, pl. VI, 2.
55. Vallstenarum, Gotland.  
Garnet cloisonné pommel; gilt-bronze ring-knob with silver wire [3].  
Associated objects.  
Montelius 1917-24, fig. 50; Behmer 1939, Taf. XLII, 1.

56. Kylver, Stånga, Gotland, grave 7.  
Bronze pommel and ring-knob.  
Associated objects.  
*Fornvännen* 1908, p. 238.

57. Sandegårda, Gotland.  
Part of a ring-knob.  
Montelius 1917-24, p. 30.

FINLAND<sup>1</sup>

58. Hiukkavainio, Huittinen.  
Bow of ring-knob [2].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 5.
59. Vänniä, Tyrvää.  
Ring of ring-knob [2].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 6.
60. Kirmukarmu, Vesilahti.  
Ring of ring-knob [2].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 8 (not fig. 7 as stated, see Salmo 1938, p. 86 note 5).
61. Mäkihaka, Vähäkyrö.  
Ring of ring-knob [2].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 7.
62. Ristimäki, Kaarina.  
Bronze pommel, animal and interlace ornament, ring and bow in one piece also ornamented [3].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 9; Kivikoski 1947, Taf. 55, 475.
63. Kalmumäki, Kalanti.  
Bronze pommel, ring and bow in one piece, ornamented with interlace [4].  
Hackman 1928, fig. 10; Salmo 1938, fig. 26; Kivikoski 1947, Taf. 55, 476.
64. Pärkkö, Kodjala, Laitila.  
Bronze pommel decorated with interlace, rivet collars at one end only, ring missing.  
Hackman 1928, fig. 13.
65. Mäkihaka, Vähäkyrö.  
Pommel, rivet collars lower at one side than the other, ring missing.  
Hackman 1928, fig. 14.
66. Kalvola, Peltokuttila.  
Bronze pommel with ring [2].  
Associated objects.  
Salmo 1938, Abb. 23; Kivikoski 1947, Taf. 55, 474.

<sup>1</sup> A fragment of a guard and an extension which is possibly part of a ring from Pukkila, Isokyrö, was regarded by Hackman as a fifth stage of ring-sword where pommel, ring and guard were in one piece (Hackman 1928, p. 48, Abb. 11 and 12). This was rejected by Salmo 1938, p. 91, Abb. 27, but was included by Kivikoski 1947, Taf. 55, 477, as a ring-sword.



67. Pukkila, Isokyrö.  
Fragments bronze pommel, ring and bow decorated with interlace [4].  
Associated objects.  
Salmo 1938, p. 93, Abb. 25.
68. Ulvila, Isokyrö.  
Pommel, ring, and bow in one piece, decorated with interlace and animal ornament [4].  
Salmo 1938, p. 88; *Kotiseutu* 1937, p. 116, Abb. 2.
69. Kalmumäki, Kalanti.  
Fragments of pommel and ring-knob [4].  
Salmo 1938, pl. IX, 4.
70. Lågpeltkangas, Vöyri.  
Fragment of pommel, different decoration on each short end.  
Salmo 1938, p. 92; *Finskt Museum* 1925, p. 41, fig. 37.
71. Pappilanmäki, Eura (pl. XIV).  
Complete sword with ring-knob [4].  
H. Salmo, 'Ein Reitergrab der Merowingerzeit auf den Pappilanmäki im Kirchspiel Eura', *Suomen Museo*, xlvii (1940) (German summary, pp. 36-39, figs. 1-11); Kivikoski 1947, Taf. 56, 478.

## THE RUNES ON THE GILTON POMMEL (pl. IX)

Since the dating of runes on linguistic or morphological grounds is very tentative, it is important to make every attempt to establish the archaeological date of a rune-bearing object, and to consider also whether the runes were put on the object at the time of its manufacture or at some subsequent date. Some useful facts leading in this direction are evident from the above.

1. The pommel is one of a series of silver cocked-hat pommels with a number of common characteristics confined to Kent and obviously made within a fairly short time span. This eliminates any possibility of the pommel being an import from any other country, with consequent implications on the language of the runes.
2. The date of the production period of these Kentish pommels can be established, on the basis of the form and decoration of the swords themselves, and on the grave goods associated with them at the time of burial, to the middle part of the sixth century.
3. As to the question of when the runes were inscribed, the fact that the sword was found in a prolific Kentish cemetery shows that it must have been buried, with the runes already *in situ*, before the custom of pagan burial ceased. The latest known date for this so far is the early eighth century, but the burial of swords at this late date is rare, and of swords with ornamental pommels unknown.<sup>1</sup> If one assumes that the Gilton sword was kept as an heirloom and the runes added just before burial, they could still be no younger than the seventh century. An earlier date is certain, however, as the runes are well worn at the top and must have been in existence on the sword some time before burial.
4. There is firm evidence that it was intended to place an inscription on this face of the pommel at the time it was made. The pommel is one which was actually manufactured in a special

<sup>1</sup> Cf. late burials at Lowbury Hill, Farthingdown, Surrey side of the Thames and Tissington, *Antiq. Journ.* xliii, 38 ff., figs. 28, 30, 31, and 32.



## THE DOVER RING-SWORD AND

way with asymmetrical decoration so that a ring could be fixed to it. This ring was almost always fixed on the edge nearest the middle of the person when the sword was being worn with the front, or more elaborately decorated side, on view. This face on the Gilton pommel was left completely blank by the maker, with the exception of traditional grooves along the base.

5. The runes were not copied from a supplied script by the craftsman who made the sword. They were scratched on the surface in an amateur fashion by someone unused to working in this medium, and who had to make more than one attempt at some of the lines.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
I	ornament		e	i	c	s	i	g	i	m	e	r	n	e	m	d	e	ornament	
II		c						d				u	g			e	d	c	i
												l æ				h	h		
																etc.	etc.		
III			o		s	i					o			o					
IV		æ									æ			æ					

It can therefore be concluded that this Gilton ring-pommel was made near the middle of the sixth century, and the runes were written on it by a rune master as soon as it was made. The conclusion that the runes must therefore be Anglo-Saxon is not so certain. The number of runic inscriptions in Kent in the sixth century is limited. The Sandwich stone is not closely datable.<sup>1</sup> The Sarre pommel, fig. 10, *b*, is an early, no doubt fifth-century, continental type in bronze. It was not a product of the Kentish school responsible for the Gilton pommels, and the runes it bears could have been incised before it came to England. The Dover brooch<sup>2</sup> is slightly later, and both the brooch and its type of inscription show Frankish influences. Kent was closely connected with the Frankish kingdom at this time and, as there are no other contemporary inscriptions in the vicinity, it is within the bounds of possibility that the rune master of the Gilton pommel was Frankish.

Although both Haigh and Stephens<sup>3</sup> thought they could see runes on the back, there is no trace of any now. The transliteration of the runes on the front is made especially difficult by three factors. They are inexpertly incised so that the lines are unsteady, sometimes duplicated (characters nos. 8, 11, 13) and some light scratches are apparently unintentional (3, 6, 12). The top parts of all the characters except the middle ones have been subject to wear. One symbol, which appears three times (3, 11, 14) was not in ordinary use and may be an arbitrary symbol. The table above is intended to give an indication of the large number of permutations possible.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Elliott, *Runes* (1959), p. 81, figs. 26, 27;  
*Antiq. Journ.* xl, 243-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xlv, 242-5.

<sup>3</sup> See below.



- I. This line is based on a transliteration by R. W. V. Elliott,<sup>1</sup> where it is assumed that the two symbols at each end are ornamental, and that rune 3, 11, 14 is *e*.
- II. This line gives alternative interpretations of form just as likely as line I. As symbols 16 and 17 are merely four upright lines, they might stand for any of a large number of runes.
- III. This is based on the arbitrary runes used on the right side of the Franks Casket,<sup>2</sup> where one has some similarity to our rune 3, 11, 14 and is given the value *o*. The Gilton symbol 6 is questionable because it is an archaic form of *s* and unique in England except for the Scanomodu coin.<sup>3</sup> Even this example is not certain as the Scanomodu coin is as likely to be Frisian as Anglo-Saxon. On the Franks casket a similar character is given the value *i*. If it should have that value on the Gilton pommel, symbol 5<sup>4</sup> would be freed for its alternative value of *s*.
- IV. Symbol 3, 11, 14 occurs in almost identical form on the bronze capsule at Schretzheim.<sup>5</sup> There is said to be a second, short diagonal line at the top, but it is much lighter than the other lines, and does not show on the photographs. The value assigned to the symbol in this context is *æ*. Although this capsule was found in an Alamannic grave, it is a type manufactured on the Rhine, so that the runes are likely to be Frankish.<sup>6</sup>

#### INTERPRETATION OF THE RUNES ON THE GILTON POMMEL

By J. M. BATELY

As the above survey shows, the transliteration of the runes on the Gilton pommel presents many difficulties. However, the following readings and interpretations have been proposed:

1. Ecu ik sigi muarnum: 'I eke victory to great deeds'. (Haigh 1)<sup>7</sup>
2. Icu ik sigi muarnum *ik wisa Dægmond*: 'Eke I victory by great deeds, I Captain Dægmond'. (Haigh 2)<sup>8</sup>
3. Ice ic sigi. me ær nem. *ic wisi Dægmond*: 'Eke I victory. me early nim (seize). I wiss (show the way)'. (Bugge)<sup>9</sup>
4. Yce ik sigi. merge mik *wisæ. dægmond*: 'Eke (increase) I sige (victory). Merrily me wiss (show, brandish, bare) O-Dægmond!' (Stephens)<sup>10</sup>
5. Eic Sigimer nemde: 'Sigimer named the sword'. (Elliott)<sup>11</sup>

It will be noted that from rune 16 on (italicized above) all these readings depend on pure guesswork: there is no reason to suppose that after Haigh saw and took impressions of the pommel<sup>12</sup> it was subjected to so much wear that previously recognizable rune forms were completely obliterated on one side of it and reduced to a series of upright lines on a portion of the other.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. V. Elliott, 'Two Neglected English Runic Inscriptions', *Mélanges de Linguistique et de Philologie, Fernand Mossé in Memoriam* (1959), pp. 140 ff.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. V. Elliott, *Runes* (1959), pp. 103 ff., fig. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77, fig. 11.

<sup>4</sup> For this symbol see R. W. V. Elliott, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 146; *Antiq. Journ.* xlv, 244-5.

<sup>5</sup> H. Arntz and H. Zeiss, *Die einheimischen Runendenkmäler des Festlandes* (1939), p. 342.

<sup>6</sup> J. Werner, *Das alamannische Fürstengrab von Wittlingen* (1950), p. 44, Karte 4.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel H. Haigh, *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, 1861, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Haigh, 'Notes in Illustration of the Runic Monuments of Kent', *Arch. Cant.* viii (1872), 259.

<sup>9</sup> Reported by George Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Monuments*, 1866-1901, iii, 16.

<sup>10</sup> Stephens, *op. cit.* iii, 165.

<sup>11</sup> R. W. V. Elliott, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 77-79.

<sup>12</sup> Stephens and Bugge based their readings on copies provided by Haigh, cf. Stephens, *op. cit.* iii, 163-4.



Indeed, when Haigh first published the inscription he himself saw no trace of runes on the *Dægmund* side and claimed that on the other side 'in fact the distinctive marks of [the runes] at the end are gone'.<sup>1</sup> As for the various readings proposed for the inscription up to rune 16, these do not fit in readily with sixth-century Old English as far as we can reconstruct it.

i. Readings 1 and 2

*Ecu, Icu.* The early Old English form of the first person singular present indicative of the verb 'eke' (increase) is West Saxon \**ieccæ*, non-West Saxon \**ecce*, *ecu*.<sup>2</sup> A spelling with *i* at this date could only be justified as an unsuccessful attempt at rendering the new diphthong *ie*.<sup>3</sup> *Muarnum*, on the other hand, is completely unjustifiable in terms of Old English at any date. Haigh, in order to equate it with an otherwise unrecorded Old English word \**mæren*, has to explain it as having *ua* for *a* as in Old Saxon and Old High German; however, the graph *ua* does not appear in Old High German till the end of the eighth century, when it represents the diphthongization not of *a* but of Primitive Germanic *ō*,<sup>4</sup> while the Old Saxon (*Heliand*) 'parallels' are later in date and even less relevant.<sup>5</sup>

ii. Readings 3 and 4

The readings of Bugge and Stephens are both rendered highly suspect by the fact that they require the use of *-e* for early Old English *-æ* in the words *ice*, *yce*, and *merge*. Since *-æ* is still to be found in unaccented syllables in the oldest manuscript sources, dating from the early eighth century,<sup>6</sup> it seems hardly credible that this sound could have been replaced by *e* already in the mid-sixth century. Stephens's *yce*, moreover, depends on the untenable assumption that at this date *y* could be used for the *i*-mutation of *ea*,<sup>7</sup> while the first *e* of *merge* has to be explained as a feature of Kentish otherwise not recorded before the ninth century.<sup>8</sup> As for Bugge's *me ær nem*, this contains one form completely alien to Old English: *nem* as imperative of \**neman*, Old English *niman*. It is perhaps worthy of note that while raising of *e* to *i* in this word is invariable in Old English, other West Germanic languages vary between *e* and *i*<sup>9</sup> and a similar variation might conceivably have existed in some dialect of prehistoric Old English; however, with the exception of *sigi* no part of Bugge's reading is at all convincing.

iii. Reading 5

As has been mentioned above, p. 99, Elliott suggests that the first two runes are not runes at all but decorative scratches repeated in reverse at the end of the inscription, which he accordingly begins with the symbols *eic*. He identifies *eic* with the Old English word *ecg*, 'sword', which appears in this form as first element of a proper name on a Kentish coin of the late ninth century, the absence of the expected accusative inflection being explained as 'an occasional dialect feature, though more common in northern speech than Kentish'. *Sigimer* he takes to be a proper name, with Kentish *-mer* for West Saxon *-mar*, from *mære*, and *nem(de)* a simplified form of the preterite *nemnde*, 'named', dropping of medial *n* being a 'not uncommon Old English practice'. However, although all these forms can indeed be found somewhere in Old English, certain features of them seem out of place on a pommel from the mid-sixth century, in a space left expressly for them.

First of all, although Elliott quotes examples of *ec*, *eg*, *eche*, *ecce*, *aig*, and *eic* to support his reading of runes 3, 4, and 5 as *eic* for Old English *ecg*, there is no evidence to suggest that the

<sup>1</sup> *Conquest*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 1959, §§ 200 and 735. Early Kentish varies between *-e* and *-o*.

<sup>3</sup> See further below, section ii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, revised W. Mitzka, Tübingen, 1953, § 39.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. Holthausen, *Altsächsische Grammatik*, Halle, 1921, § 94.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 369.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, §§ 300-1.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 290, points out that earlier Kentish documents may have been influenced by Mercian spelling tradition, in which case the Kentish modification of *y* may have taken place at any time after *i*-mutation caused this sound to arise.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 117.



simplification of the geminate in these forms, with or without unvoicing, has any phonological basis. Professor Campbell indeed cites the sporadic instances of *Eg-*, *Ec-*, for *Ecg-* in proper names as the result of graphic simplification of the symbol *cg*,<sup>1</sup> which in its turn stands for an earlier *gg* and 'shows the only considerable trace in OE spelling of the Celtic use of *p*, *t*, *c*, for voiced stops'.<sup>2</sup> These orthographic developments, which depend on the use of the Latin alphabet and which cannot be traced back to a period before the eighth century, can hardly be used to account for a dubious form in a runic inscription of the mid-sixth century. The same argument would seem to apply to Elliott's explanation of the Gilton pommel *ei* in terms of Kentish tendencies to diphthongization before palatal consonants, forms such as the *deige* of the *Kentish Glosses* in fact representing not a diphthongal pronunciation but a spelling tradition where nominative *dei* could be written *deig* by analogy with genitive and dative *deges*, *dege*, and these in their turn written *deiges*, *deige*, by analogy with *deig*.<sup>3</sup> In any case, this so-called diphthongization appears to occur only when the following consonant is single palatal *g*.<sup>4</sup> A somewhat more convincing parallel is provided by the form *seic*, for *secg* (or *sege*), of the *Leiden Glossary*; however, although Sievers-Brunner explains this as showing an early stage of *i*-mutation, with *i*-epenthesis,<sup>5</sup> Professor Campbell dismisses it as 'hardly more than a slip'.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, although the absence of a final vowel from the proper name *Sigimer* is a feature typical of the second element of compounds in historical Old English, the absence of an inflectional vowel from *eic*, if this represents *ecg*, is most unusual except in Northumbrian.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, the Primitive Old English form of *nemnde*, Germanic *\*namniða*, would seem to have been first *\*næmniðæ*, then *\*næmndæ*. At what stage the form *nem(n)de* was reached in Kentish is not known, though the spelling with *æ* is still extensively preserved in both positions in surviving Old English texts of the early eighth century.<sup>8</sup> Elliott's suggested reading *nemde* for a mid-sixth century text, based as it is on a group of runes of which only two are unambiguous in form and one in significance, is thus highly suspect.

Of course, not all these objections are insuperable. *Nem(de)*, for instance, can be altered to *næm(dæ)* simply by the substitution of *æ* as the value of runes 3, 11, and 14 instead of the proposed *e*;<sup>9</sup> this would give us the reading *Æic Sigimær næm(dæ)*, *Sigimær* having the *æ* of the dialects from which historical West Saxon is descended rather than the *e* of the other known Old English dialects.<sup>10</sup> The *æi* of *æic* could then be tentatively explained as a possible early form of the *i*-mutation of *æ* from Germanic *a*, with *i*-epenthesis.<sup>11</sup> Even the *c* of this word can be accounted for in terms of incompetence on the part of the writer of the runes; without a written tradition behind him a man might well experience considerable difficulty in his notation of the sounds of speech and distinctions such as those between voiced and voiceless consonants, single or double, might conceivably go by the board. It is perhaps significant that the first known Old English runic inscriptions to be obviously and immediately meaningful are those of the post-conversion period, when knowledge of the Latin alphabet had become well established.<sup>12</sup>

However, it must be remembered that Elliott's reading depends on three major assumptions: first that the inscription is meaningful, in the sense that it contains symbols intended to represent individual sounds and that these are grouped to form recognizable words; second, that the first two runes are not runes at all but decorative scratches repeated in reverse at the end of the inscription; third, that runes 16 and 17 can be transliterated *d* and *e* (or *æ*) respectively. Only if

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, § 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 64 and p. 27, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 269.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 266.

<sup>5</sup> E. Sievers, *Altenglische Grammatik*, revised K. Brunner, Halle, 1942, § 94, note.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sievers-Brunner, *op. cit.*, § 257, note 3, and Ivar Dahl, *Substantival Inflections in Early Old English*, Lund, 1938, p. 149. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 590, however, makes no reference to an endingless accusative.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, §§ 193d, and 369. For the relative chronology of the Kentish raising of *æ* to *e* cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, §§ 169 and 288-90.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 98. That Old English uses the Germanic *a*-rune for *æ* need not be an insuperable difficulty here, especially if the rune-master was a Frank.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Campbell, *op. cit.*, § 128.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sievers-Brunner, *op. cit.*, § 94, note, and Campbell, § 42.

<sup>12</sup> For the one possible exception cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xlv (1964), 242-5.



the first assumption is correct can we assume that rune 3 must be either vowel or diphthong; only if all three assumptions are correct can we decide on the precise value of that rune or choose between the various transliterations possible for the other rune-forms. A similar set of assumptions, though differing in detail,<sup>1</sup> lies behind the readings of Haigh, Bugge, and Stephens. All take it for granted that the language of the inscription is Old English, although it contains no distinctively English or Anglo-Frisian rune-forms.

Unfortunately, the only criterion by which we can judge the correctness of these assumptions is the intelligibility of the resulting reading, and, as we have seen, none of the interpretations so far offered is free from grave difficulties. Elliott, for instance, faced with a possible transliteration *?ic* or *?is* and aware of the suitability of the word *ecg*, 'sword', in an inscription on a sword pommel, decides to read *eic* = *ecg* and then has to scrape the philological barrel to justify his hypothetical equation. A series of linguistically dubious (or even impossible) forms is no proof of the correctness of a runologically dubious reading.

No satisfactory transliteration, then, has yet been put forward for the Gilton pommel inscription, though as the purpose of inscribing runes on a sword is to ensure victory in war, any interpretation which makes use of the possible *sigi*, 'victory', is surely to be preferred.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. that the first and last two runes form an integral part of the inscription and that runes 16 to 20 can be transliterated *icwis* and 21 either *a*, *i*, or *æ*.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London enabled Miss Bately and myself to study the Gilton pommel in Liverpool Museum. I am very grateful to the following for permission to study objects or for photographs: Mr. J. L. Barber, Oakham School Museum, Rutland; Dr. P. La Baume, Römisch-Germanisches Museum; Miss M. Cra'ster, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; Miss M. Dobson, British Museum; Dr. W. Haberey, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn; M. R. Joffroy, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye; Mr. D. B. Kelly, Maidstone Museum; Professor E. Kivikoski, National Museum, Helsinki; Dr. W. von Pfeffer, Altertumsmuseum und Gemäldegalerie der Stadt Mainz; Mr. H. de S. Shortt, Salisbury, S. Wilts. and Blackmore Museum; Miss W. Slomann, Universitets Oldsaksamling, Oslo; Miss E. Tankard, Liverpool Museum; Dr. A. Werner, British Museum Laboratory.

## POSTSCRIPT

Since the above was written, I have come across a recently published bow and ring which at first glance appears to be of group 1b and similar to the Kentish group (B. Nerman, 'Ett Gotländskt ringsvärd av äldsta typ', *Fornvännen* 1962, 74-78). Found in 1826 at Endre, Gotland, it is kept in Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, under the number 484.63, together with some bronze fragments of a bit and shield appliques ornamented in Style II. The bow and ring and the other bronze fragments are all marked by fire, but it is not known whether they are all from the same burial. The ring and bow, however, are different from the Kentish group which are all in silver and ornamented, while these are in bronze with no decoration. A further important difference is that the functional part of the bow-headed rivet is always round in section up to the point where it rises into view above the guard. According to the drawing, however, this one is flat in section and does not alter shape in the same way at the point where it would have emerged from the guard, as in figs. 4, b, 8, a and c, and 9, a. If this is so, it is not suitable as a ring on a sword. It may be that it is damaged and broken in half by heat, the original complete object being a ring with loop and double tab for attachment to a strap as is common in horse equipment, etc., e.g. H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel*, 1927, pls. IV, 1, XVIII, 13, and XX, 5.

The author has asked that the following note be added to her paper:

This article was submitted to the Society of Antiquaries in January 1966. An article dealing with some of the material was submitted in June 1966 and appeared in June 1967 in the *Antiquaries Journal*, xlvii, pp. 1-26, S. C. Hawkes and R. I. Page, 'Swords and runes in south-east England'. It should be noted that fig. 9, c, p. 112 below, Gilton pommel 6875.2, was drawn in Liverpool in 1961. The pommel has obviously been cleaned since then so that pl. III, a of the *Journal* article now shows on the left end a border of niello triangles worn away in two places by the passage of a ring. The dome-headed rivet below the guard is missing in the photograph. (Ed.)

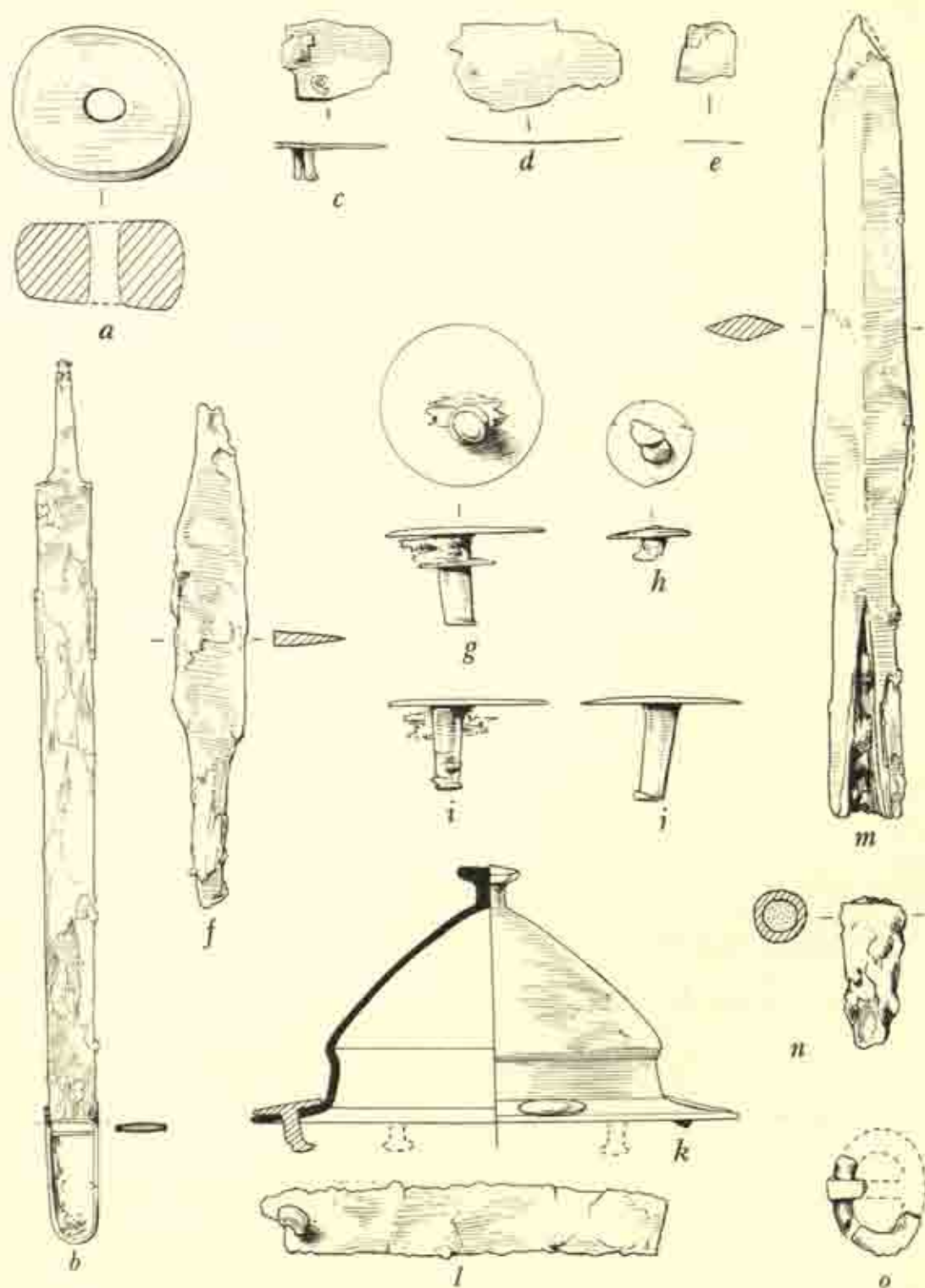


FIG. 1. Alton, Hants, grave 42. *a*, head; *b*, sword; *c-e*, bronze fragments; *f*, knife; *g, i, j*, bronze shield studs; *h*, iron shield stud; *k, l*, shield boss and grip; *m, n*, spear head and ferrule; *o*, iron buckle. *a, c-e, g, i, j*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *f, h, k-o*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



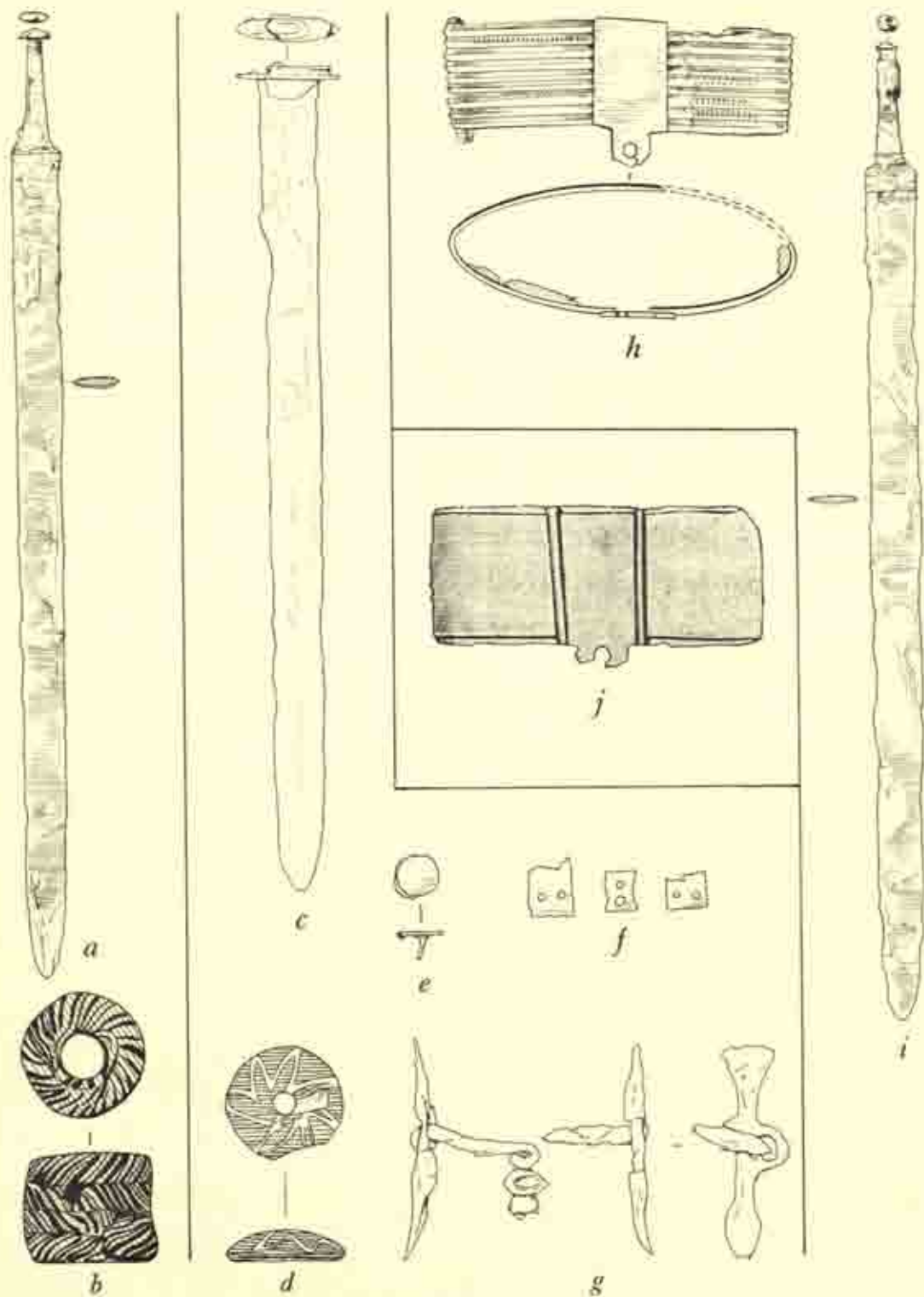


FIG. 2. *a, b*, Dover, Kent, grave 93; *a*, sword; *b*, bead. *c-g* Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 44; *c*, sword; *d*, bead; *e*, bronze stud; *f*, bronze fragments; *g*, iron bit. *h, i*, Dover, Kent, grave 96b; *h*, scabbard mount; *i*, sword. *j*, Sjörup, Sweden, scabbard mount (after Salin). *a, c, i*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b, h*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *d-f*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *g*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *j*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

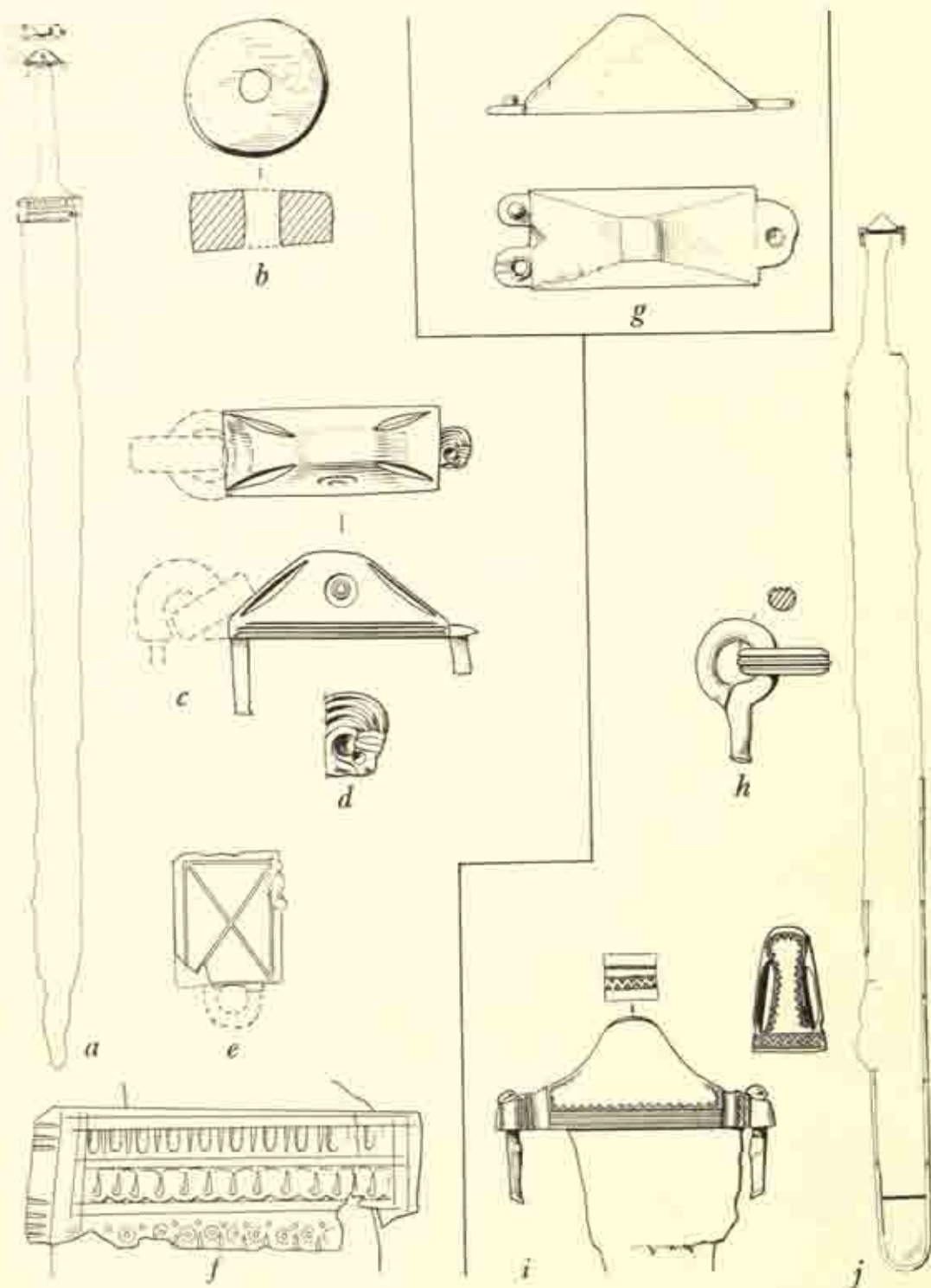


FIG. 3. *a-f*, Petersfinger, Wilts., grave 21; *a*, sword; *b*, bead; *c*, pommel; *d*, pommel, detail; *e*, scabbard mount, back; *f*, scabbard mount, front. *g*, North Luffenham, Rutland, pommel. *h-j*, Faversham, Kent (B.M. 951-70); *h*, ring; *i*, pommel; *j*, sword. *a, j*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b, c, e-i*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *d*,  $\frac{1}{8}$ .



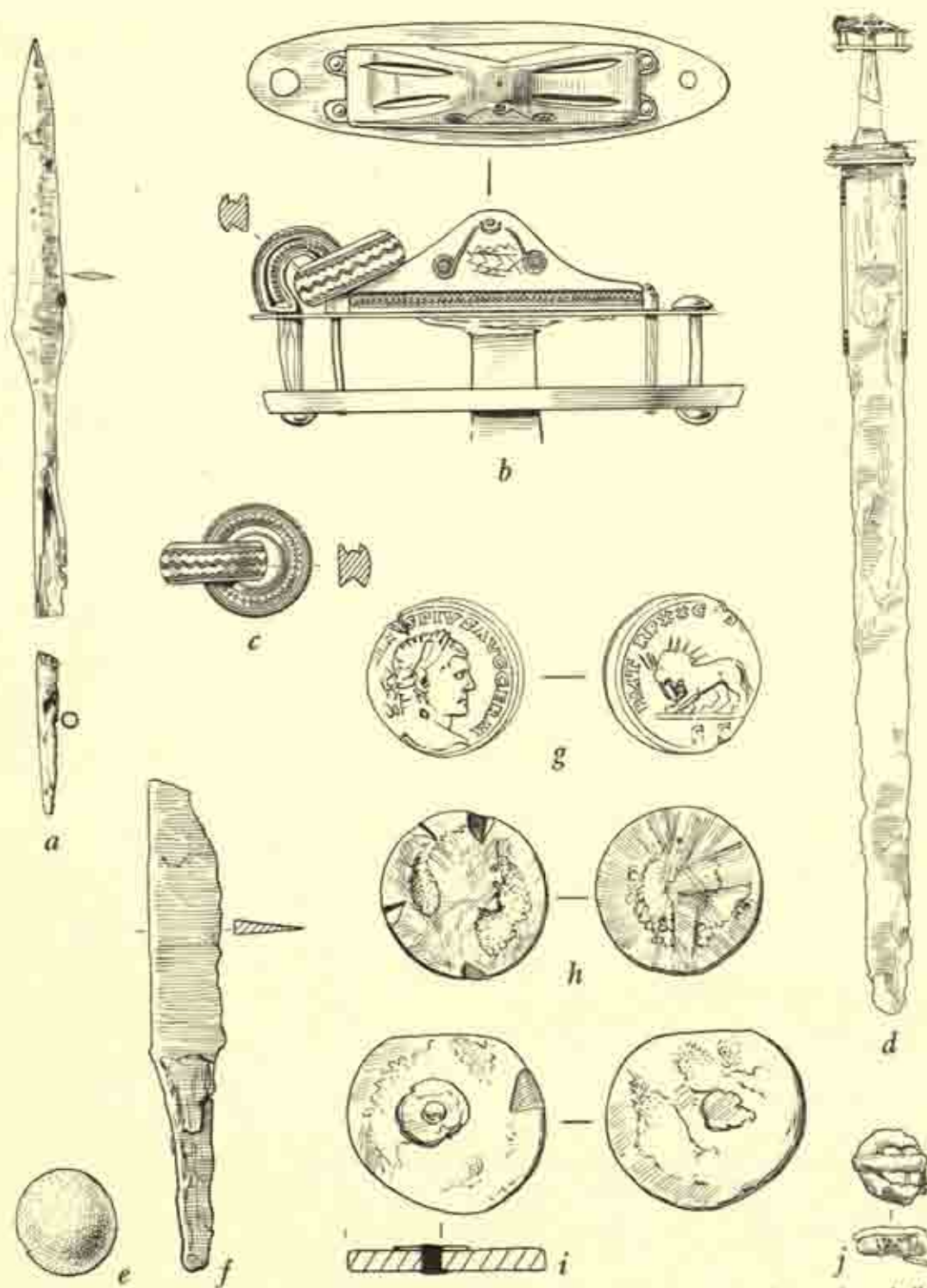


FIG. 4. Dover, Kent, grave C. *a*, spearhead and ferrule; *b*, pommel; *c*, ring; *d*, sword; *e*, chalk pebble; *f*, knife; *g-i*, coin weights; *j*, iron buckle. *a*, *d*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b*, *c*, *g-i*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *e*, *f*, *j*,  $\frac{1}{8}$ .

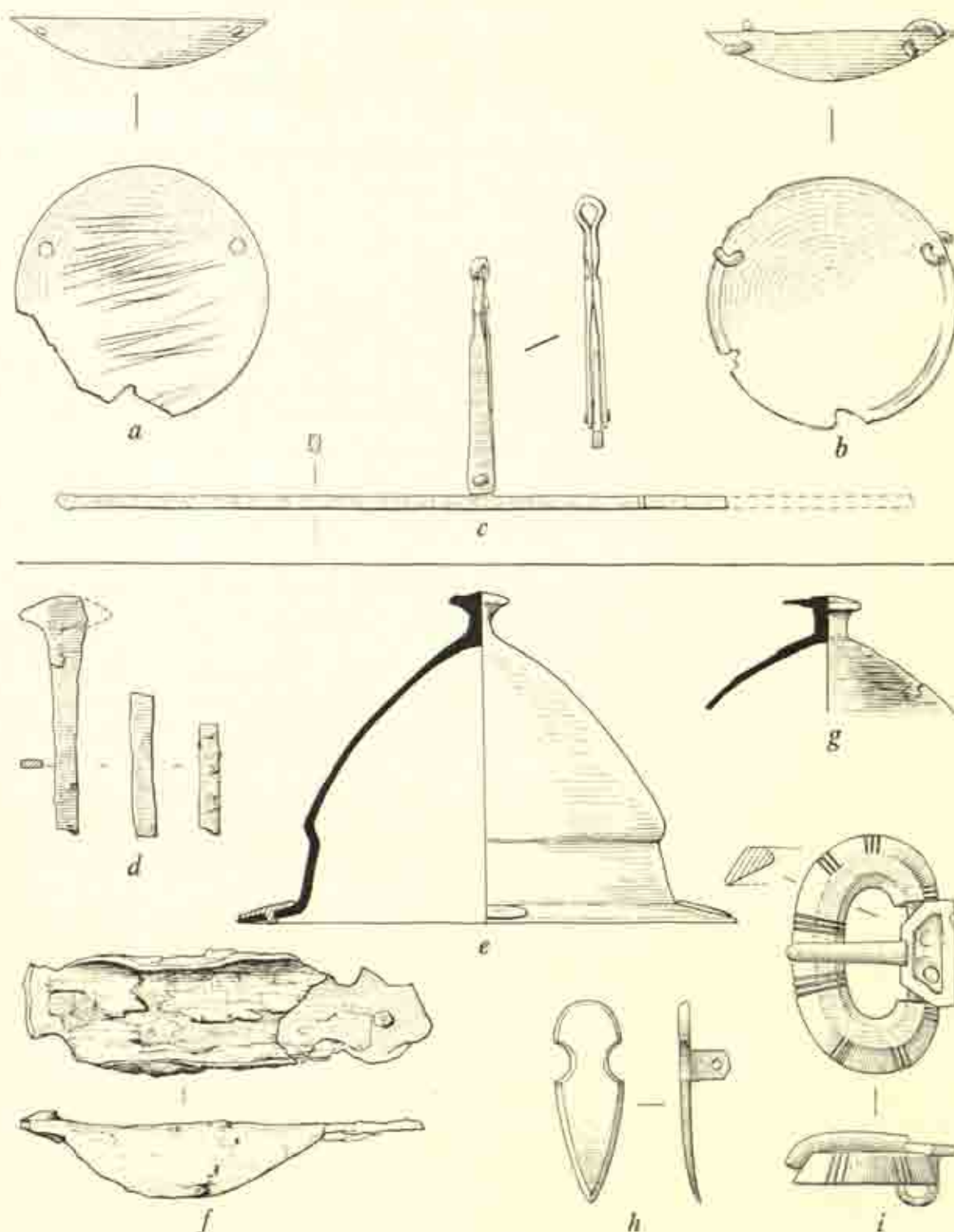


FIG. 5. Dover, Kent, grave C continued. *a-c*, balance; *d-i*, objects probably in grave C; *d*, iron shield strips; *e*, shield boss; *f*, grip; *g*, shield boss fragment; *h*, bronze stud; *i*, bronze buckle. *a-c*, *h*, *i*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *d-g*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ .



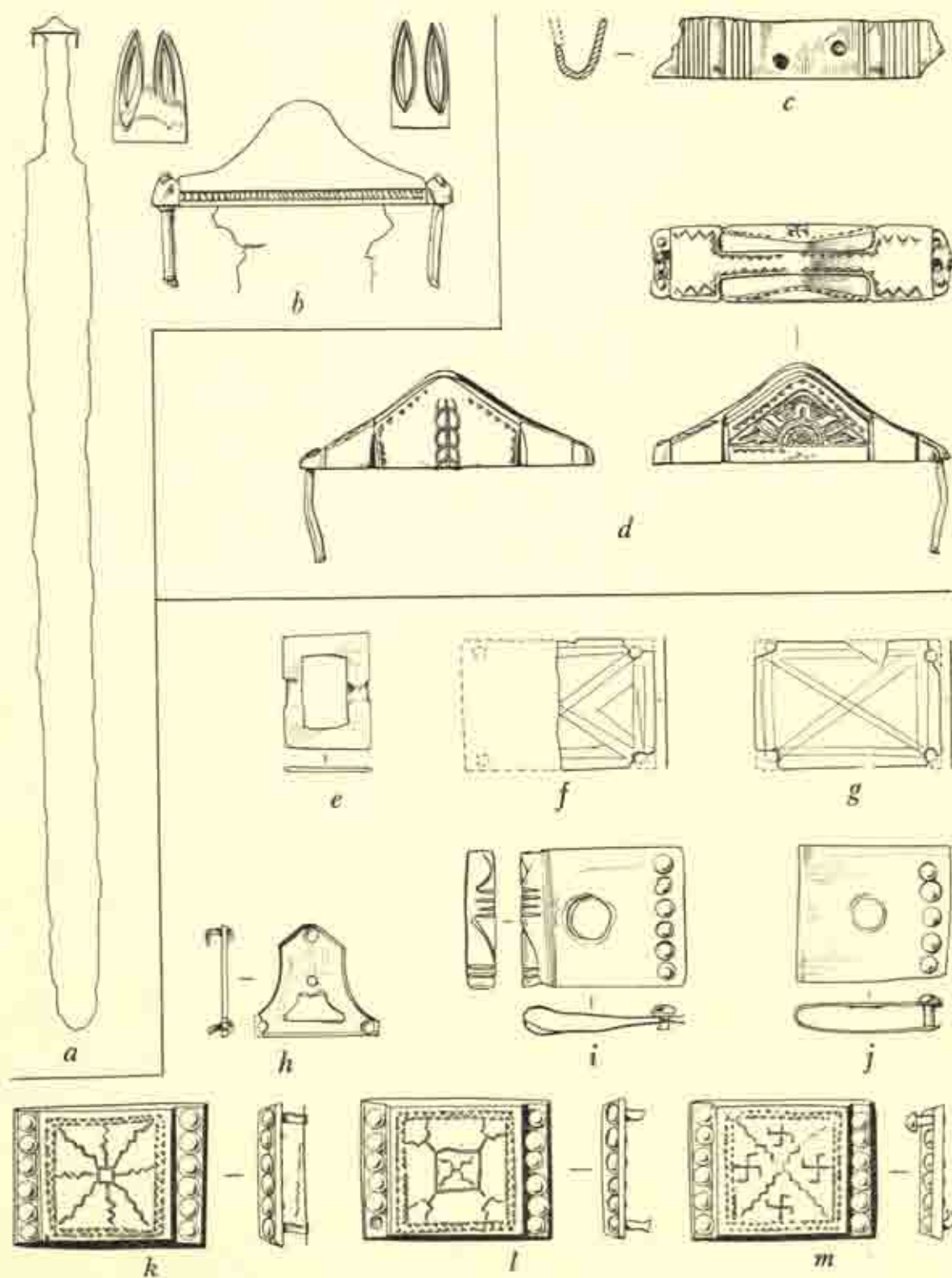


FIG. 6. *a-b*, Faversham, Kent, sword (B.M. 952 '70). *c-d*, Lower Shorne, Kent; *c*, scabbard edge mount; *d*, pommel. *e-m*, Bifrons, Kent, grave 39; *e*, buckle loop; *f-m*, belt mounts. *a*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b-m*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

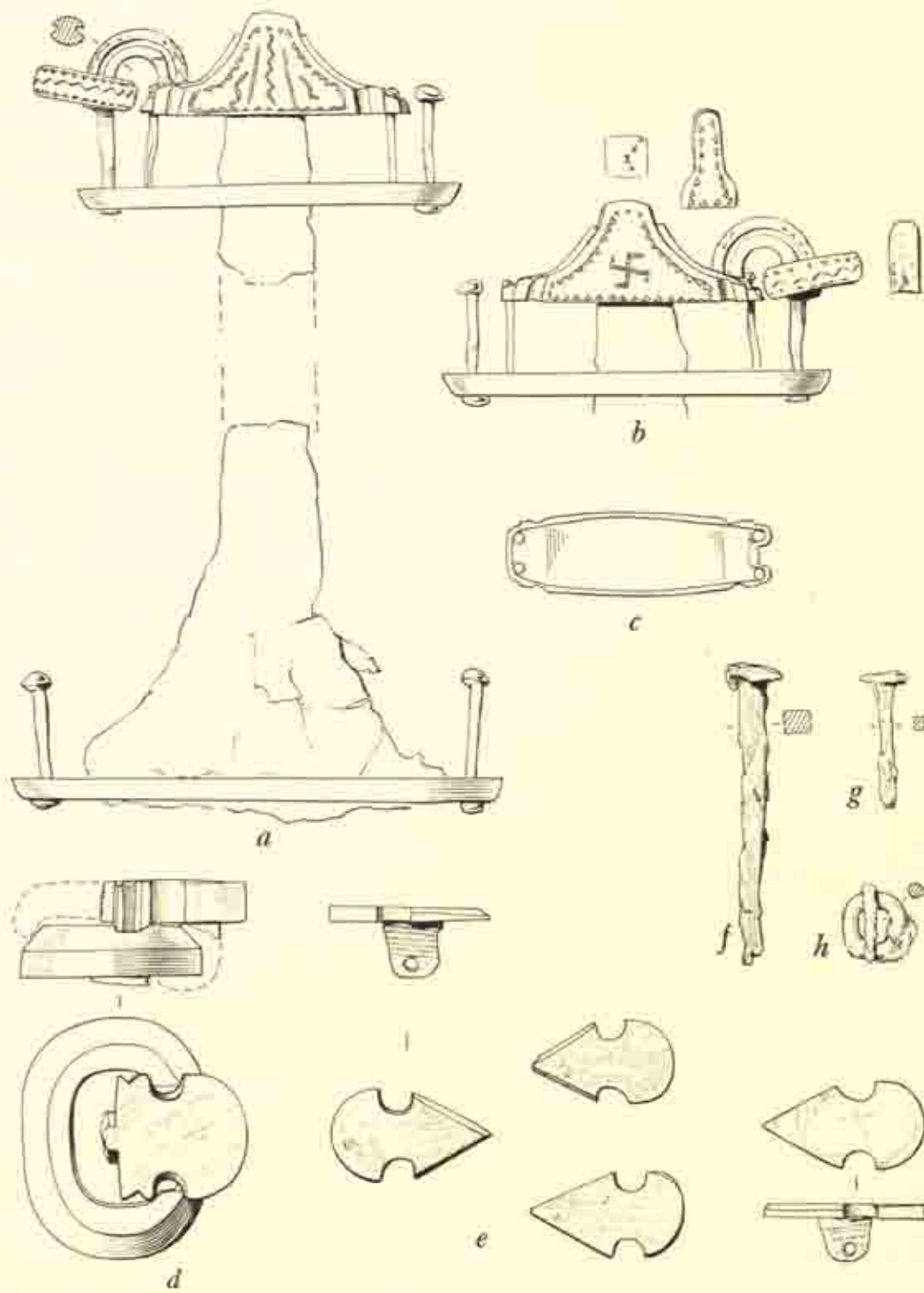


FIG. 7. Bifrons, Kent, grave 39 continued. *a*, pommel and guards; *b*, pommel reverse; *c*, pommel under surface; *d*, buckle; *e*, rivets; *f-g*, nails; *h*, iron buckle. *a-e*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *f-h*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ .



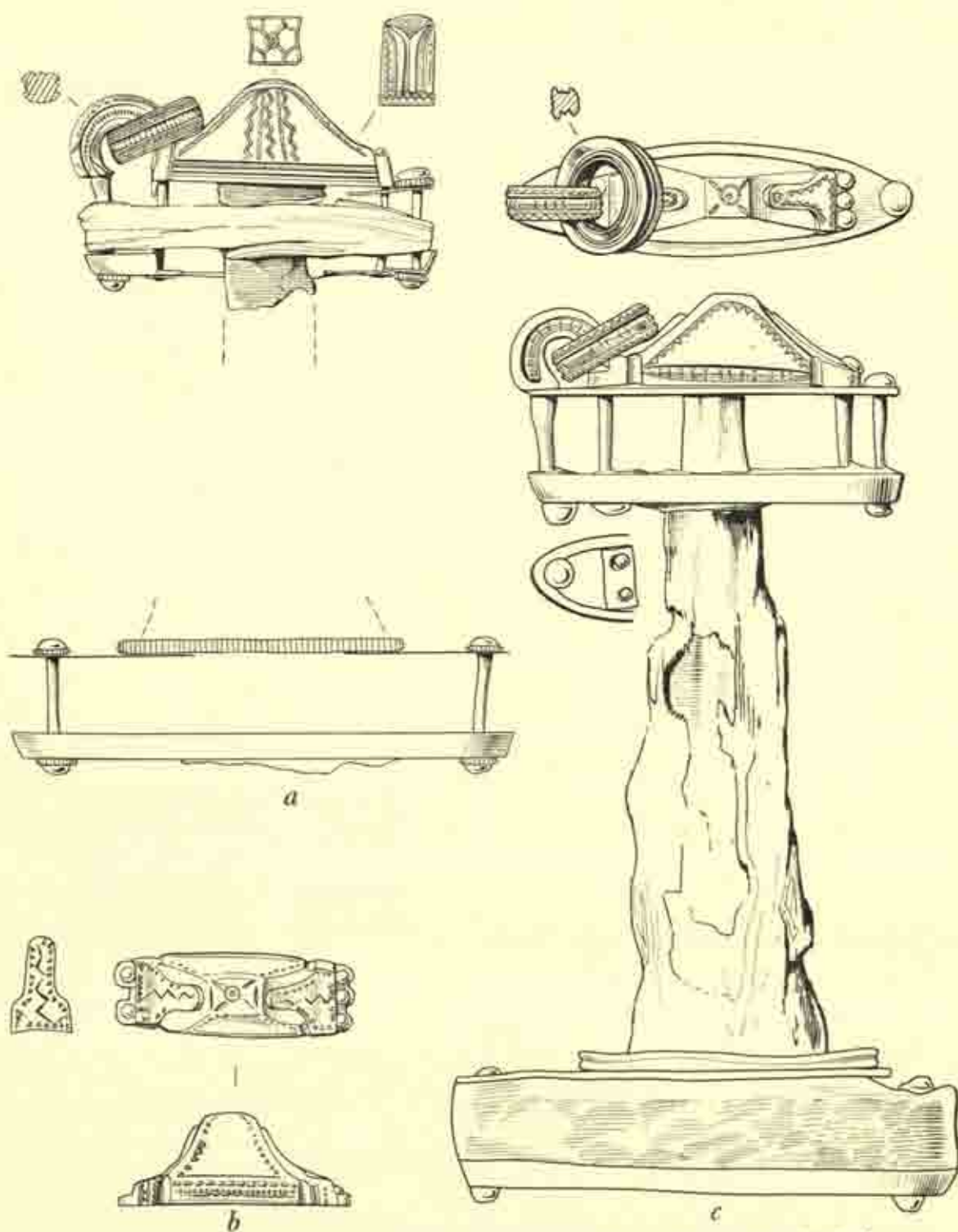


FIG. 8. *a*, Bifrons, Kent, grave 62. *b*, Gilton, Kent (6061). *c*, Gilton, Kent (6650). }

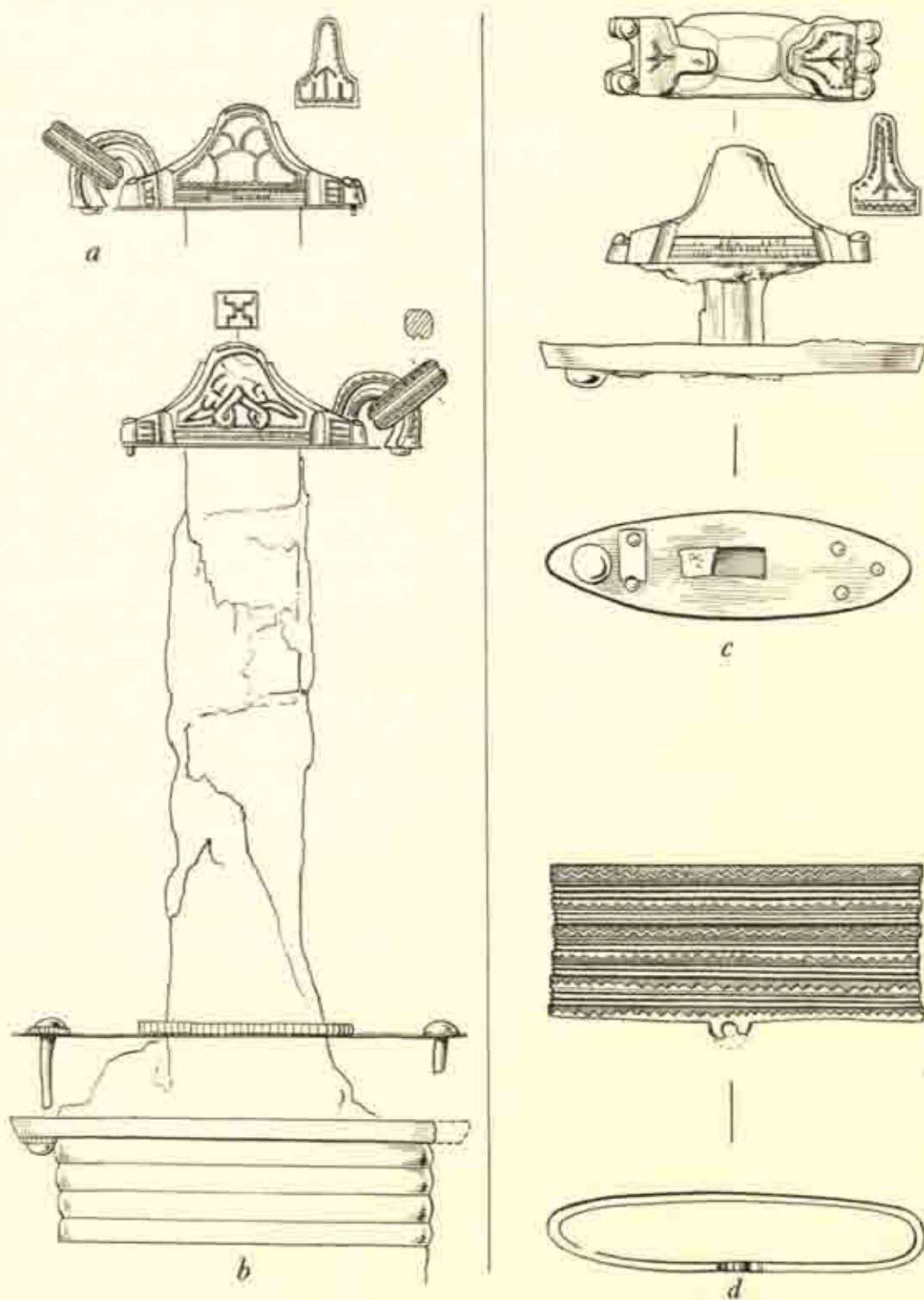


FIG. 9. *a-b*, Faversham, Kent (B.M. 954 '70), sword. *c-d*, Gilton, Kent (6875.2), sword pommel and scabbard mount. }



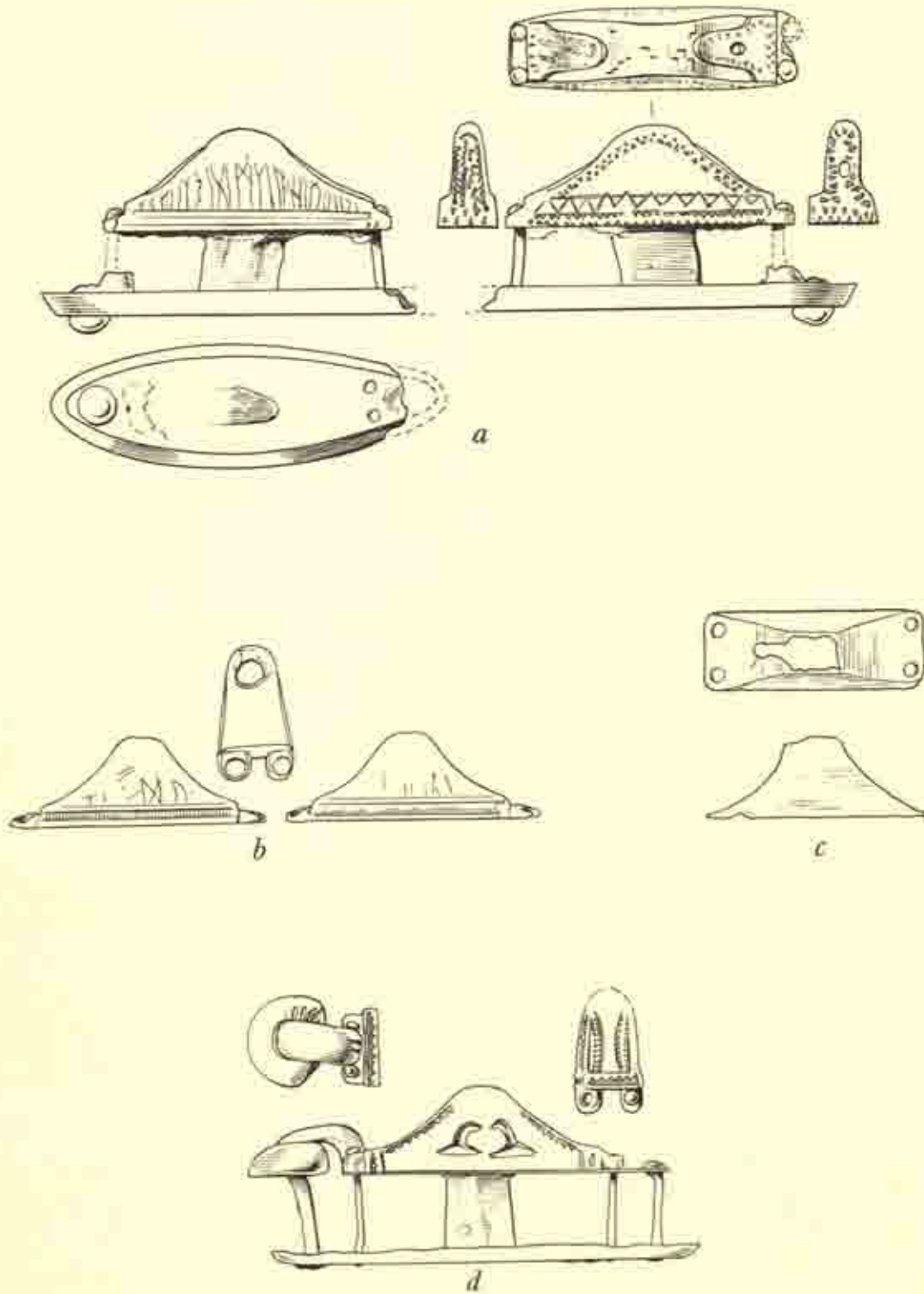


FIG. 10. *a*, Gilton, Kent (6402). *b*, Sarre, Kent, grave 91. *c*, Chessell Down, Isle of Wight (B.M. 67 7-29 135). *d*, Sarre, Kent, grave 88. }

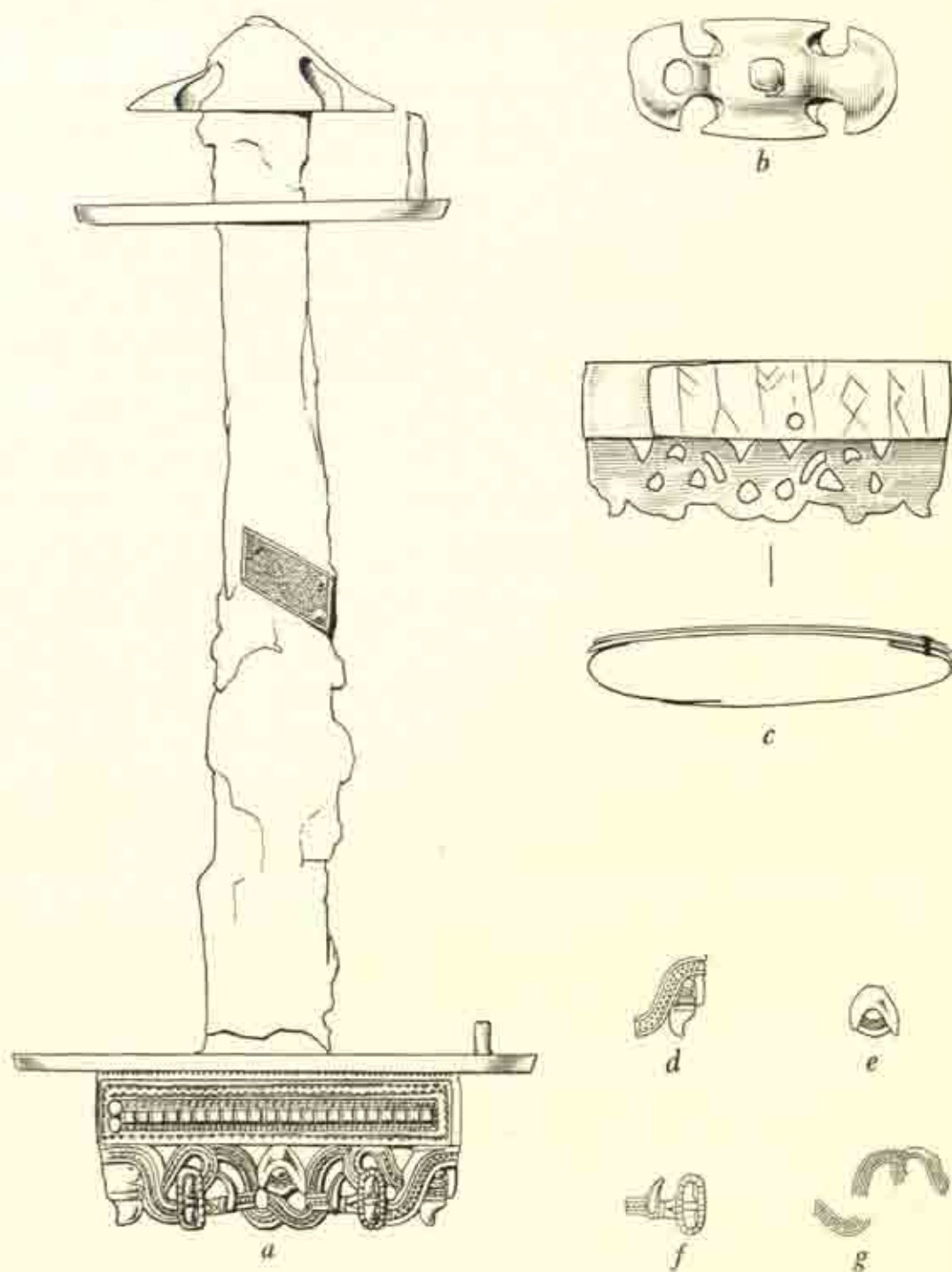


FIG. 11. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight; *a*, hilt and scabbard mount; *b*, pommel top; *c*, back of scabbard mount; *d-g*, details of scabbard mount.



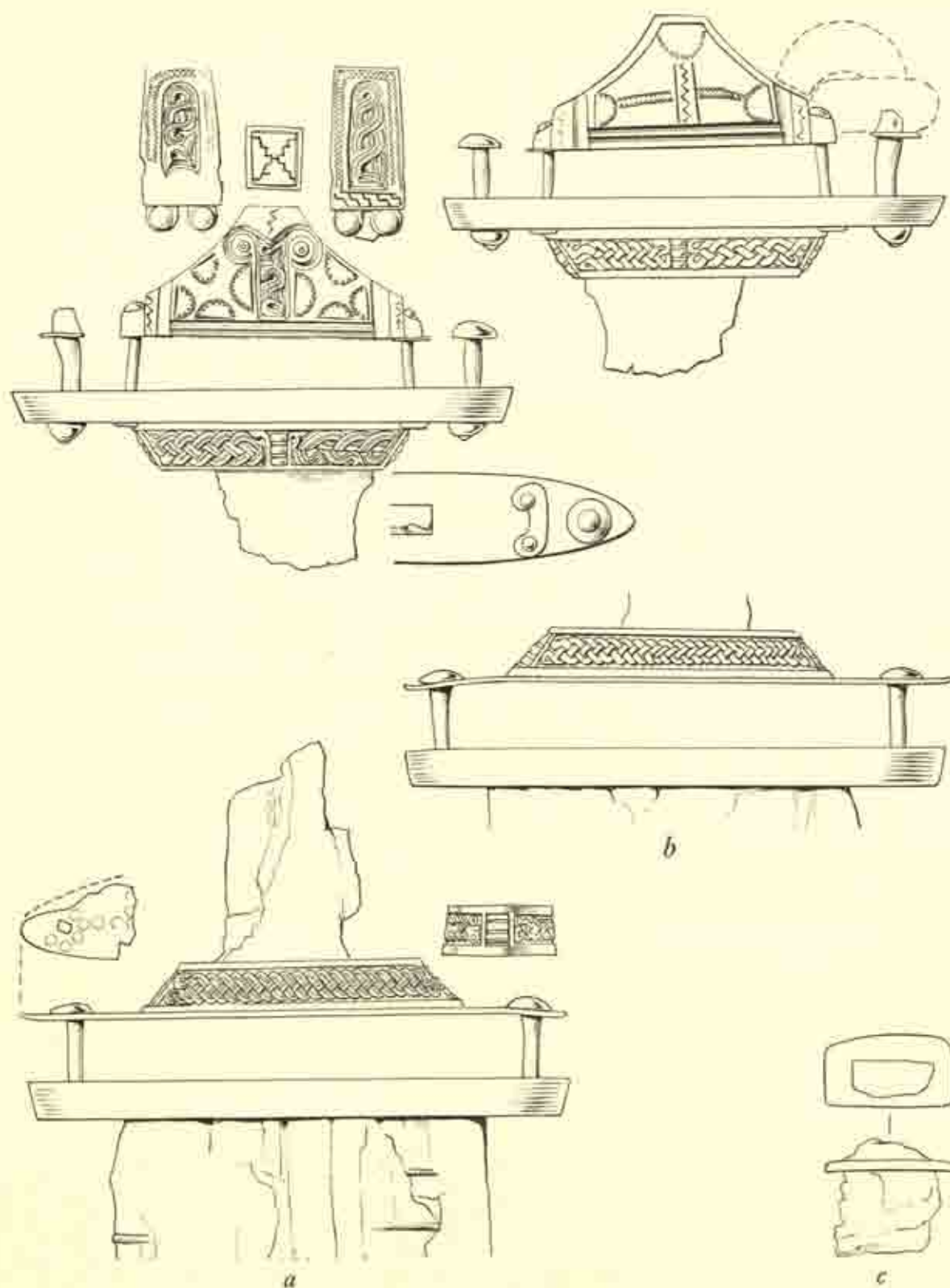


FIG. 12. Coombe, Kent, sword. *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, end of tang and washer.

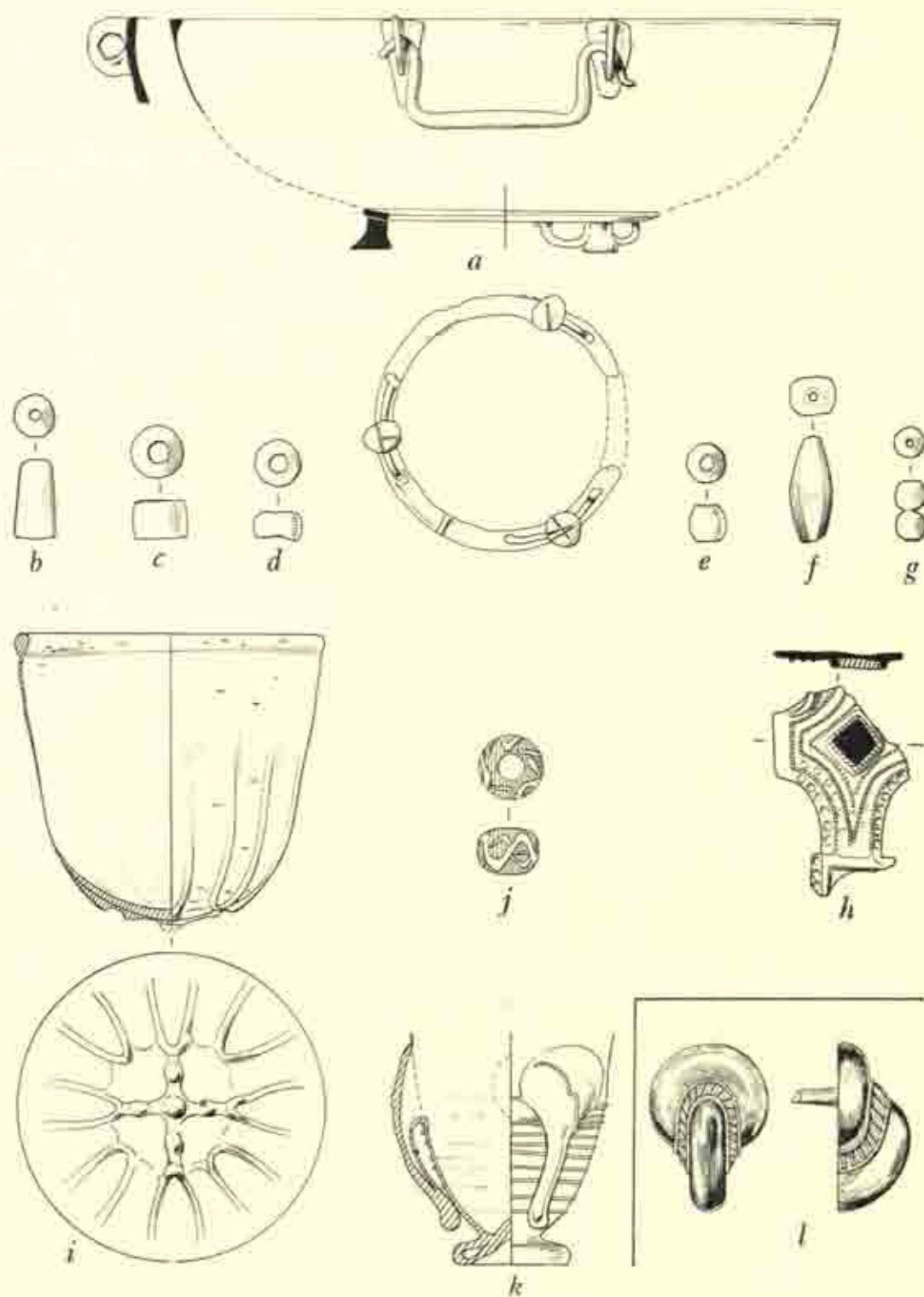


FIG. 13. *a-k*, Coombe, Kent, finds associated with sword; *a*, bronze bowl; *b-e*, red glass beads; *f*, amber bead; *g*, blown glass bead; *h*, fragment of square-headed brooch; *i*, palm cup; *j*, glass bead; *k*, base of claw beaker; *l*, Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, ring-knob. *a*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b-h*, *j*, *l*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *i*, *k*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



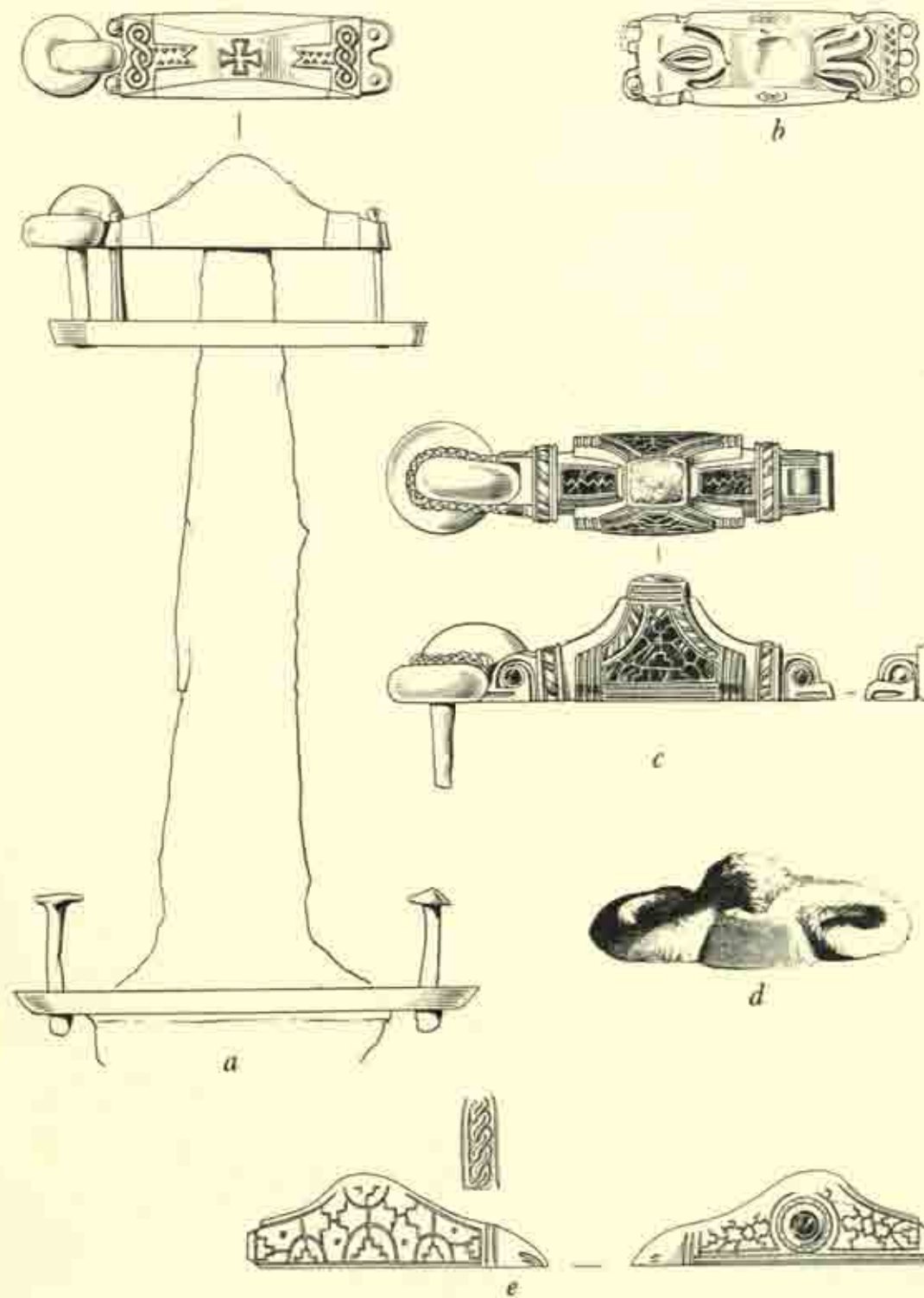


FIG. 14. *a*, Sword hilt, Chaouilly, Meurthe-et-Moselle, grave 20. Sword pommels: *b*, Fèrebrianges, Marne; *c*, Italy; *d*, Sawston, Cambs.; *e*, Sarre, Kent. |

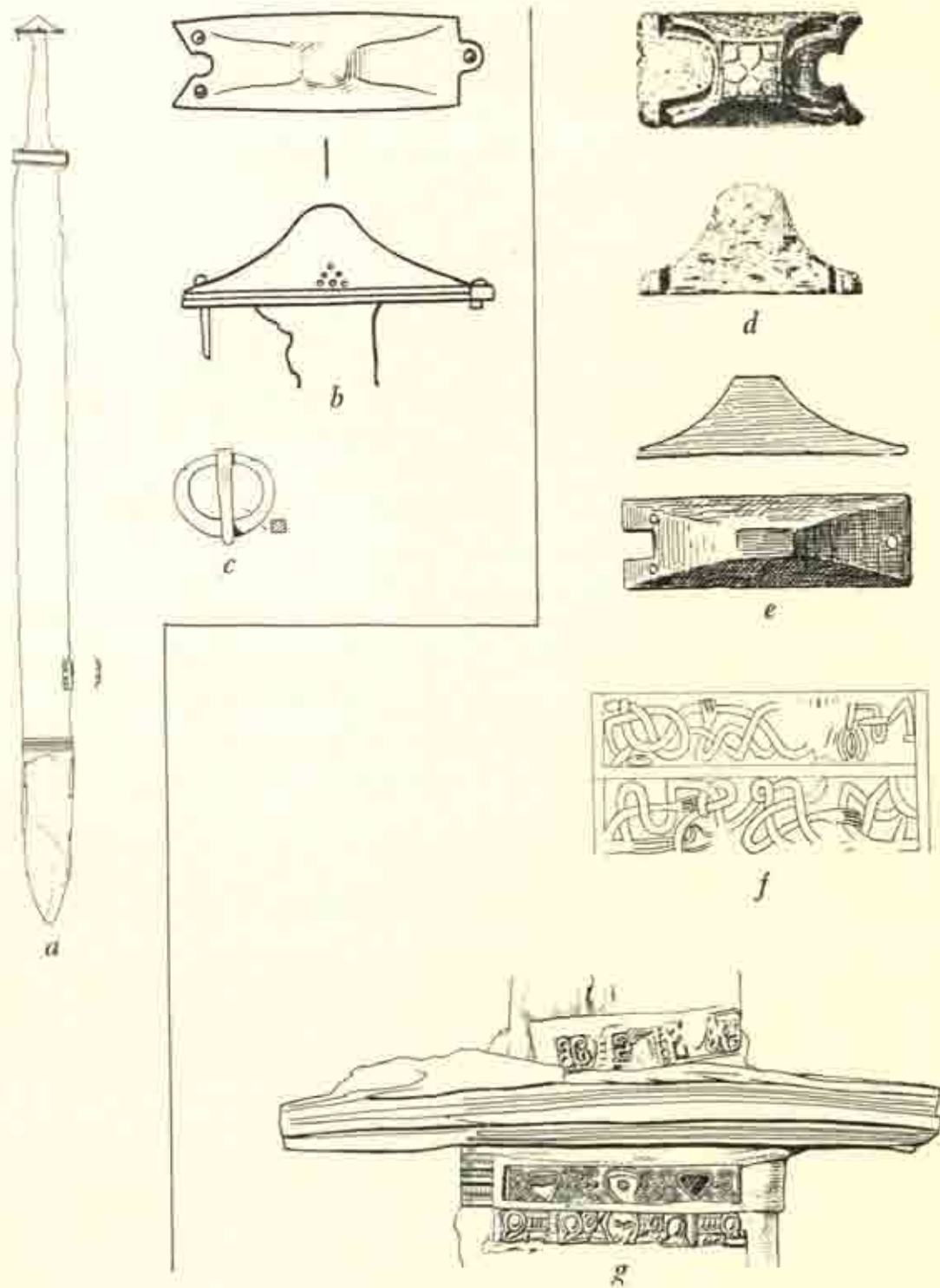
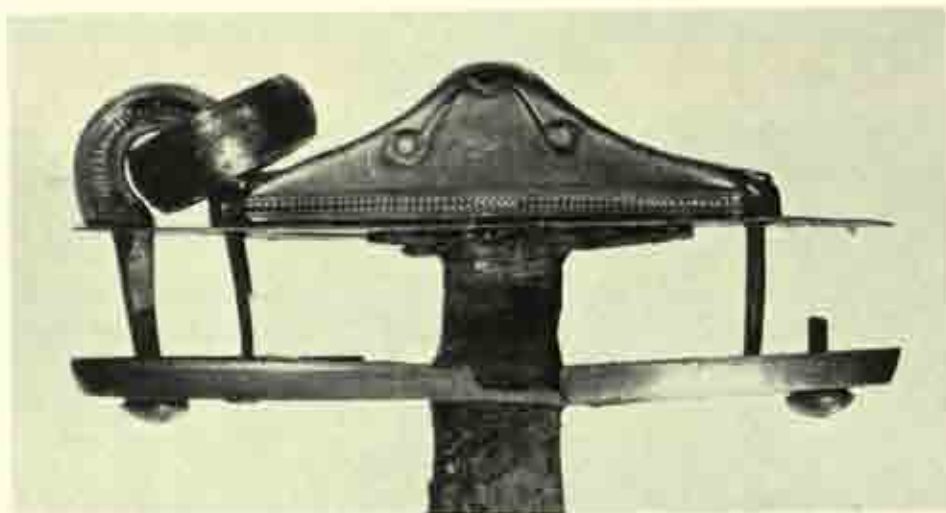
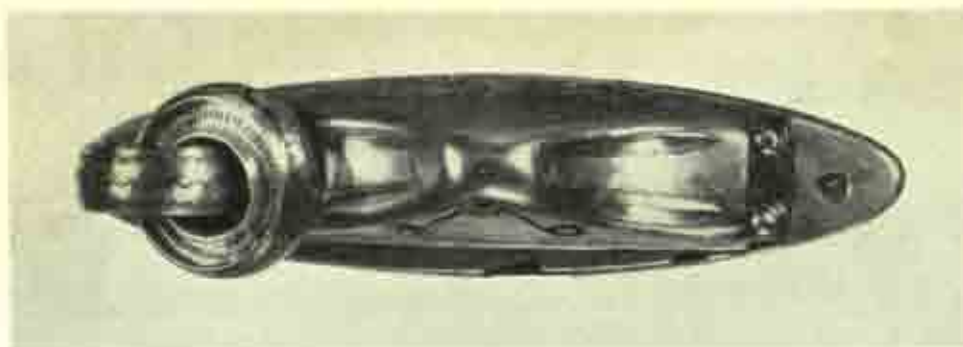


FIG. 15. *a-c*, Chassemy, Aisne, grave 40; *a*, sword; *b*, pommel; *c*, buckle. *d*, Pommel, Høiland, Rogaland, Norway. *e*, Pommel, Kärlich, Germany. *f*, Scabbard mount, Snartemo, Norway. *g*, Scabbard mount, Högom, Sweden. *a*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *c*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *b*, *d-g*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .





(Photographs: Ministry of Works and Public Buildings)

a. Dover, Kent. Grave C, ring-sword (I), pp. 63, 69, 72, 85-6



b. Grave 151



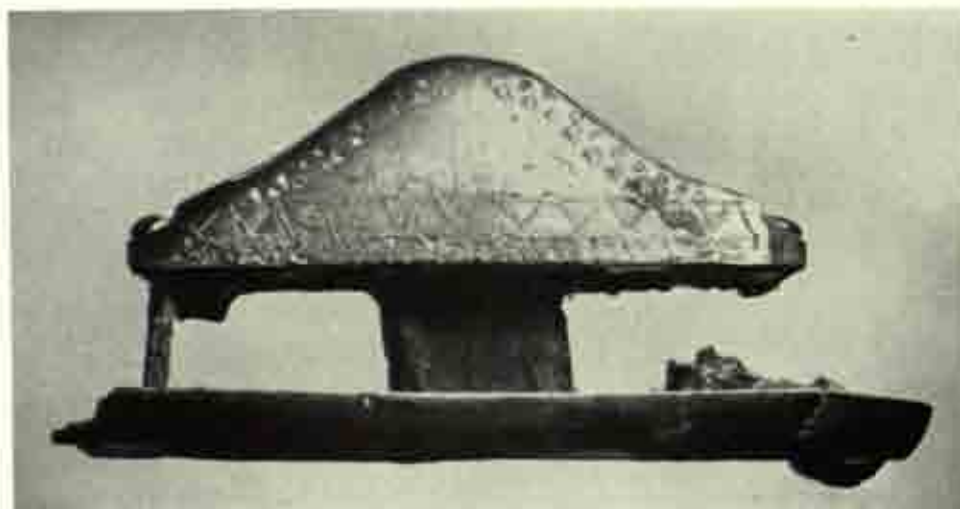
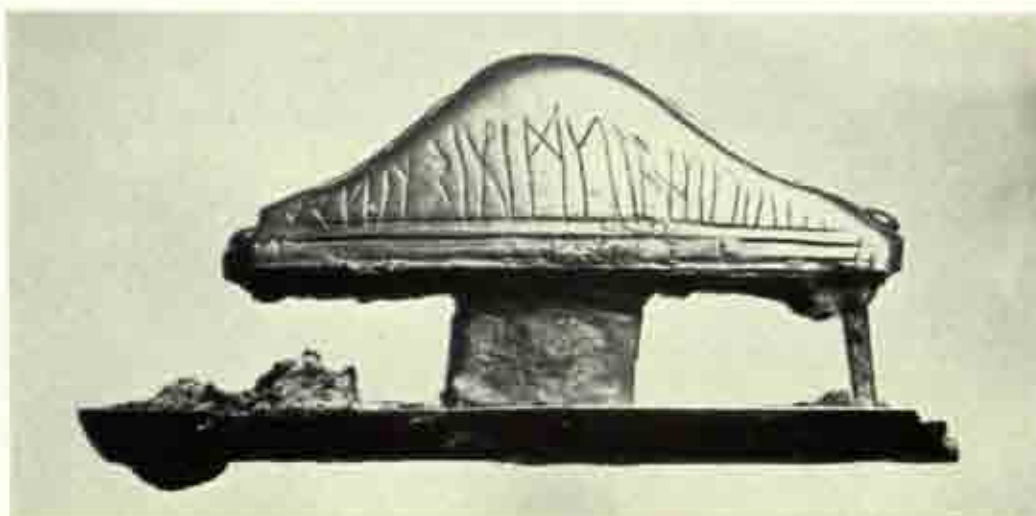
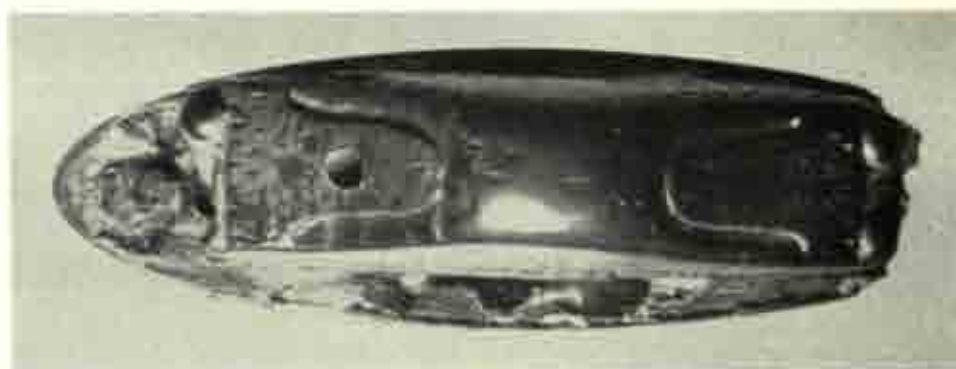
c. Grave 44



d. Grave 96



b, c, and d: Little Wilbraham, Cambs., sword heads (I), p. 83



Gilton runic pommel (1), pp. 75, 76, 88





*(Photograph: Universitetets Oldtidsamling, Oslo)*

*Snarremo, Norway (I), pp. 66, 68, 78, 94*



*a*



*b*



*(Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)*

*c*

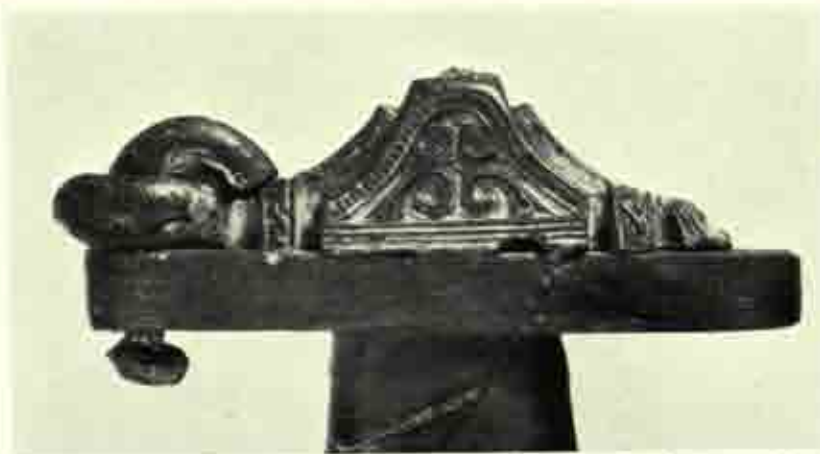
Fèrebrianges, Marne (*a* and *b*, *III*), pp. 66, 79, 91





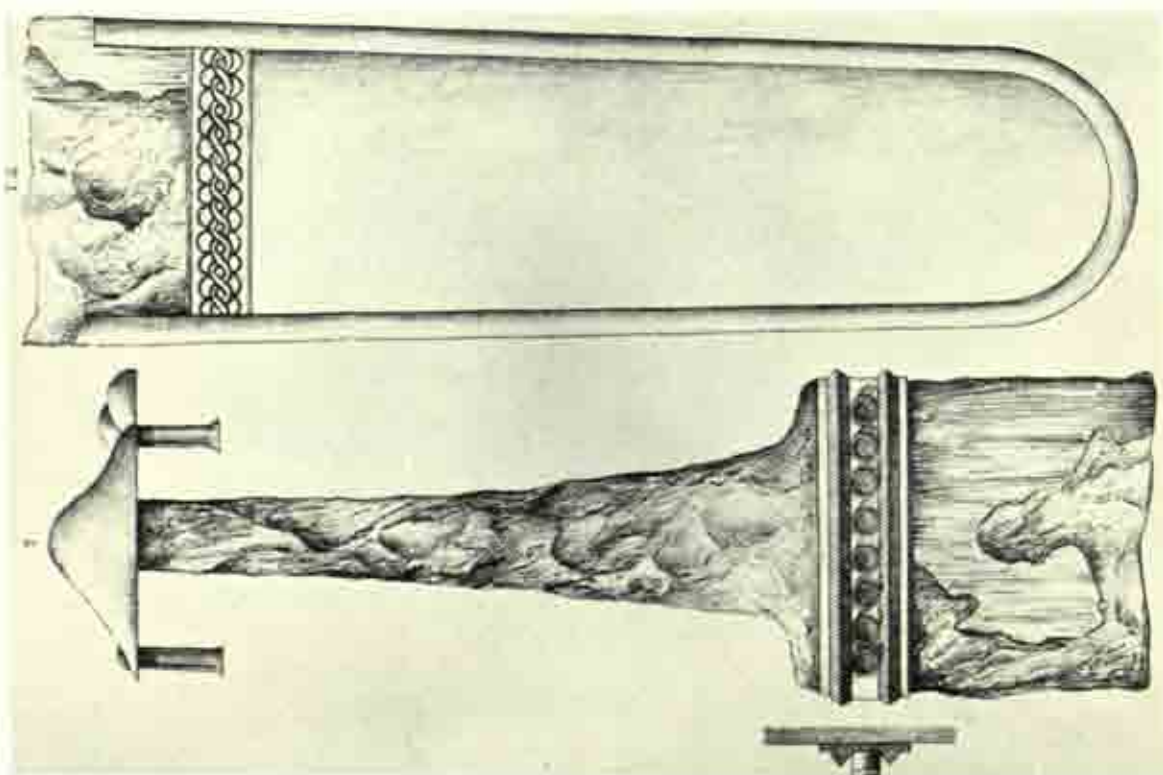
(Photograph: Altertumsmuseum und Gemäldegalerie der Stadt Mainz)

a. Mainz-Kastel (1), pp. 79, 92

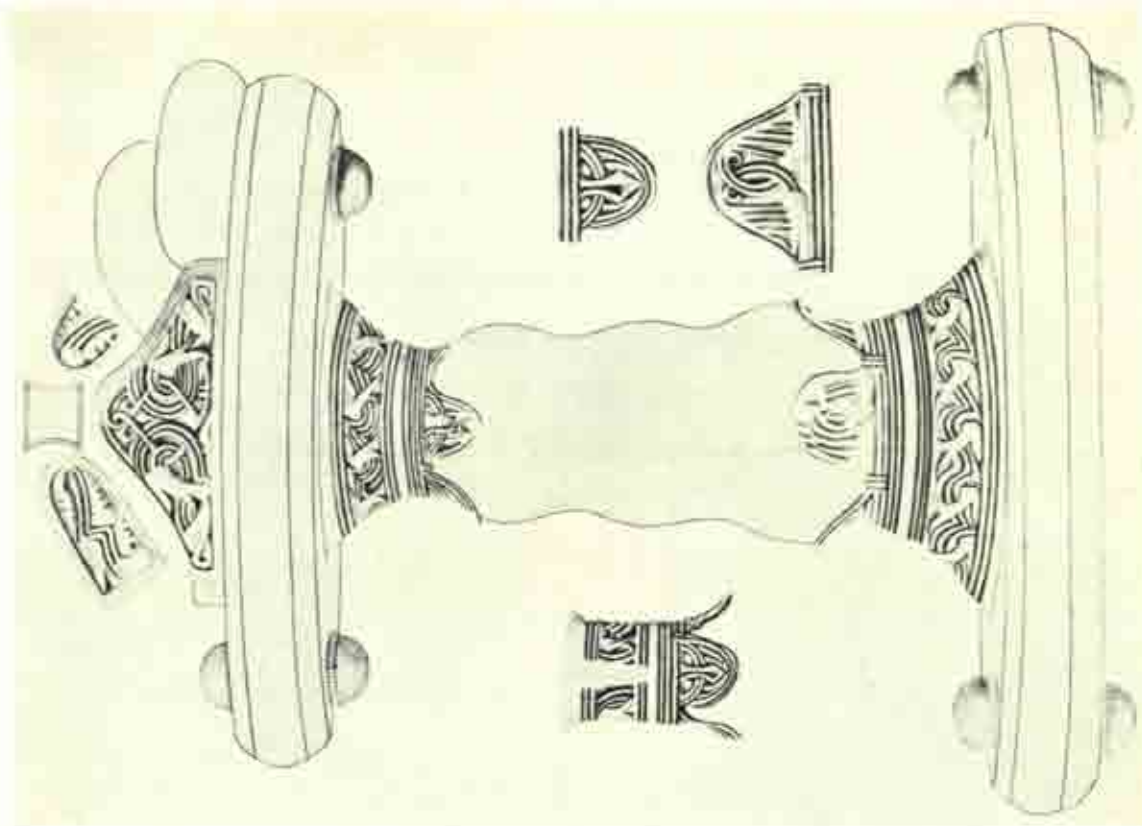


(Photograph: Rhein. Landesmuseum, Bonn)

b. Orsoy (1), pp. 76, 79, 92

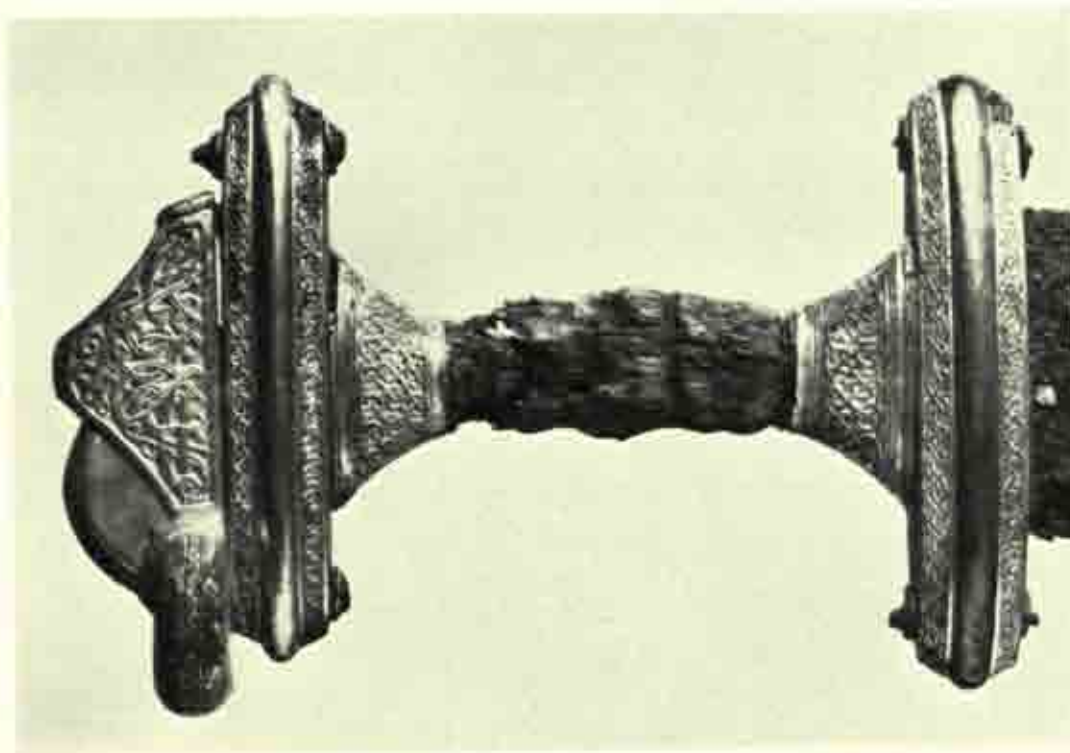
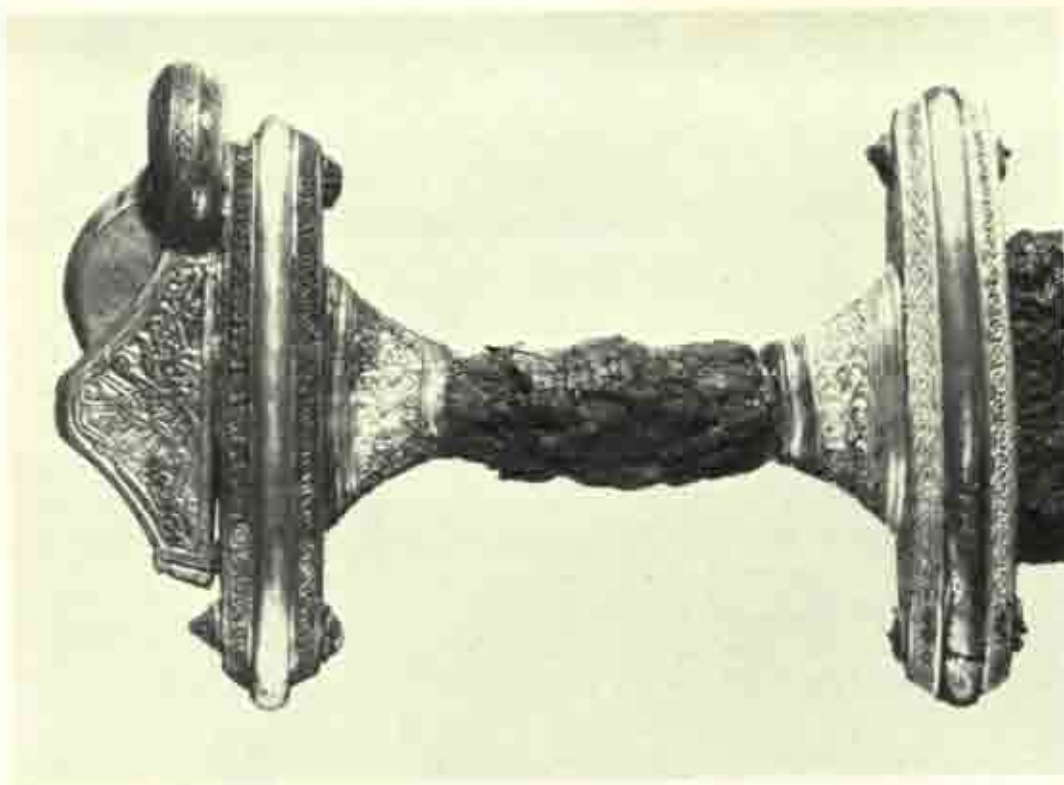


a. Concevreux, Aisne (after Pilloy) (I), pp. 78, 91



b. Valgärde 8 (after Arwidsson) (I), pp. 77, 95





Pappilammäki, Finland (1), p. 97  
(Photographs: National Museum, Helsinki)





## *The Origin of the Introduction of Peers in the House of Lords*

By SIR ANTHONY WAGNER, K.C.V.O., F.S.A., Garter King of Arms, and  
J. C. SAINTY, Esq., Clerk in the House of Lords

[Read 28th April 1966]

IN the year 1964 fifty three new peerages were created, about four times the annual average of recent years, so that some concerned in the machinery of peers' creation and introduction into the Upper House of Parliament were forcibly reminded of a tract written in 1653 by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, entitled 'Observations upon the Inconveniences that have attended the frequent promotions to Titles of Honour and Dignity since King James came to the Crown of England'. The ceremony of introduction takes between ten and fifteen minutes for each peer and late in 1964 some of their lordships became so agitated by its repetition and consumption of parliamentary time as to ask whether it could be shortened. This led to the research into the history of that ceremony on which the present paper is based.

The ceremony as performed at the present day must first be described. A procession in single file forms up outside the Chamber, led by two Officers of the Order of the Garter, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with his Black Rod in his right hand, and Garter King of Arms wearing his tabard with his silver gilt rod or sceptre of office, with its enamelled armorial head or banner in his right hand and the new peer's patent of creation in his left. Next, if they care to be present, come two hereditary Great Officers of State, the Earl Marshal with his Baton and the Lord Great Chamberlain with his White Staff. These are followed by the new peer with two existing peers of his own rank as supporters or sponsors, the junior in front and the senior behind him. All carry cocked hats in their left hands and wear their parliamentary robes. The new peer carries his writ of summons in his right hand.

On reaching the Bar of the House each in succession bows to the Cloth of Estate—that is, to the position which the sovereign, if present, would occupy. The procession then passes up the temporal side of the House, the bows being repeated as each reaches the Table and again at the Judges' Woolsacks. At the Woolsack the new peer kneels and presents his writ to the Lord Chancellor, while Garter presents his Patent. All then return to the Table, where the Reading Clerk reads the Patent and Writ and the new peer takes the Oath of Allegiance and signs the Roll. The procession then moves on, each, as he crosses the Chamber on the way, stopping and bowing to the Cloth of Estate.

Garter now conducts the peer and his supporters to the bench appropriate to their degree, where at Garter's direction they sit, put on their hats, rise, and bow to the



Chancellor three times, remaining uncovered after the last bow, while the Chancellor, seated on the Woolsack, returns their salutations. The procession then once more passes up the temporal side of the House, bowing at the appointed places as before. The Lord Chancellor shakes hands with the new peer from the Woolsack and all pass out of the Chamber.

It was always known that Garter King of Arms and Black Rod had been associated with the House of Lords since Henry VIII's reign, and it was known that already in that reign Garter received fees on the first entrance of a lord into parliament, and was vaguely assumed that the modern ceremony went back in its essentials to that date or earlier, though the oldest known accounts of it preserved in the College of Arms dated only from the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The recent researches, however, have placed this in an altogether new light.

It will be simplest first to summarize what we must then expound at length. Briefly then, the present ceremony dates from the year 1621, when it was devised to meet a new situation. It incorporated, however, elements from two older ceremonies, the investiture of peers by the sovereign on first creation and the placing of a peer, whether on creation or succession, in his seat in parliament by Garter King of Arms. If the early history first of one, then of the other, of these two ceremonies is considered, and certain events of the years 1613 to 1621 are then considered, it will, we think, become clear why and how the latter year saw the introduction of a new procedure which has lasted to the present day.

The early history of the investiture of peers by the king is to be found in the study of the practice of girding earls with the sword on succession. The origin and precise significance of this practice are obscure.<sup>2</sup> It is unknown whether it existed in Anglo-Saxon England or was introduced from the Continent at the Conquest. It is first mentioned in connexion with the investiture of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, as Earl of Northumberland by Richard I in 1189<sup>3</sup> although there is no reason to suppose that it was a novelty at this date. Girding seems to have been fairly widespread in France and the view that the practice was continental in origin and introduced into England by the Norman kings at the Conquest finds some support in the fact that it was apparently the usual mode of investing dukes of Normandy on succession.<sup>4</sup> Since it was not customary to make any systematic record of the occasions on which girding took place before the fourteenth century, we are largely dependent upon haphazard references in chronicles for information for the earliest period.<sup>5</sup> Generalizations on the subject must, therefore, be highly tentative.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Herald's IV, pp. 290 (21st June 1665), 297-304.

<sup>2</sup> The investiture of peers has never been the subject of detailed study. Selden, in *Titles of Honour*, gathered together a considerable amount of information which enables the practice to be related to a continental background. It was very summarily treated in the *Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, ii, 151. More recently it has been briefly discussed in the *Complete Peerage*, 2nd ed., vol. x, App. I, and by Sir Geoffrey Ellis in *Earldoms in Fee*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Paris (Rolls Series, ii, 352); the sword also mentioned in the charter of 25th November 1189 (*Historiae*

*Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Soc. ix, 1839, lxii). Roger of Hoveden (Rolls Series, iii, 94) mentions the girding of the Earl of Leicester on succession on 2nd February 1191—again without any suggestion that this was a new practice. We are much indebted to Mr. Enoch Powell and Mr. Keith Wallis for these references.

<sup>4</sup> Both Richard I and John were invested in this manner at Rouen in 1189 and 1199 (Matthew Paris, *Rolls Series*, ii, 346 and 454).

<sup>5</sup> There are a few references to girding in the *Calendars of Close Rolls*. It is only in 1322 that the charter of the earldom of Carlisle records the girding of a new peer and



It is well known that the official functions of English earls were exceedingly meagre compared with those of their continental counterparts. Nevertheless such information as there is suggests that girding was at least in origin a confirmation of the earl in the administrative duties of the county. In support of this contention it is worth stressing that the evidence for girding before 1300 relates both to the first holders of earldoms and to their successors.<sup>1</sup> After 1300 no example of girding on succession has been found, and it seems that from this time the ceremony took place only on creation. This development probably reflects the final break in the connexion between earls and their notional administrative duties in the counties from which they drew their titles. At the same time, it marks the removal of any uncertainty that may still have surrounded the right of automatic hereditary succession to earldoms. Similarly the grant of the third penny of the pleas of the county, which seems to have been in origin a form of remuneration for official duties, gave way in the fourteenth century creation charters to an annuity avowedly granted for the support of the higher social position that the possession of an earldom entailed. From the beginning of the fourteenth century until the general abandonment of investitures in the early seventeenth century it was the practice for earls to be girded with the sword on creation whenever this was physically practicable. The institution during the course of the fourteenth century of the degrees of duke and marquess represents simply an upward extension of the order of earls. This is indicated by the fact that both these degrees tended, like the earls, to take their titles from counties and by the fact that the principal element in the investiture of each was also the girding with the sword.<sup>2</sup> Their differentiation from earls was marked only by the addition of minor ornaments. All three degrees sat together on the earls' bench in parliament.

The fact that the barons enjoyed a separate bench in parliament emphasizes the fact that they had an origin quite different from that of earls. Originally summoned to parliament by writ they only gradually acquired by prescription the right to hereditary membership of that assembly. In the course of time, the fact that they shared with the earls membership of the Upper House no doubt prompted the barons to seek for themselves the same rights and privileges that earls enjoyed. Eventually the term baron came to be accepted as a title of honour in the same sense as the designation duke, marquess, and earl. This process of assimilation received a kind of official sanction when the practice of investing barons created by patent began. There is no evidence to indicate precisely when this was. The earliest surviving description of a baron's investiture is of 1524,<sup>3</sup> but it is probable that the ceremony dates from at least half a century before this, although it is doubtful whether it goes back as far as the

the series of creation charters properly so called begins. Prior to this the surviving documents associated with new earldoms mention creation simply as a preamble to the grant of lands or the third penny of the county and hardly ever make any reference to the physical act of creation.

<sup>1</sup> The last mention of the girding of earls noted before 1300 relates to that of the Earls of Lincoln and Cornwall on 13th October 1272 (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1272-9, p. 373; *Complete Peerage*, iii, 433). Both had succeeded to their dignities.

<sup>2</sup> The link with the counties is also noticeable in the fact that down to the sixteenth century the annuities of dukes, marquesses, and earls (normally £40, 40 marks, and £20 respectively) were almost invariably made payable by the sheriffs of the counties from which they drew their titles.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the investiture of Lord Marney in 1524 is to be found in Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 6074, f. 56, and Coll. Arm. MS. WQ, f. 80.



first creation of a baron by patent in 1387. The investiture of a baron differed in significant ways from that of an earl. It consisted simply in the putting on by the king of the parliament robe. This emphasized the peculiar origin of the degree of baron. No sword or other ornament was conferred as was the case with earls and the higher degrees of the peerage. It was not until investiture by the king had long ceased to be the general practice that barons were accorded the right to wear coronets and robes of estate which were the special mark of the higher nobility.<sup>1</sup> Viscounts, the last degree of the peerage to be instituted, were balanced rather uneasily between the earls and the barons.<sup>2</sup> They seem originally to have been conceived as a superior type of baron and to have been invested in the same manner. During the course of the sixteenth century, however, they became more closely associated with the higher nobility and were accorded minor ornaments.

Investitures were occasions of considerable symbolical significance, and were probably always attended with a degree of solemnity and publicity. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that when parliament emerged as an institution, it should frequently have been the place chosen for creations. From at least the reign of Edward II until that of Henry V an overwhelming majority of the peerages created were conferred in parliament. This can be documented from contemporary chronicles supplemented after 1337 by evidence in creation charters and finally after 1362 from the Parliament Rolls themselves.<sup>3</sup> While varying considerably in fullness, the accounts in the Parliament Rolls are the first to provide us with details of the ceremony of investiture. From them a composite picture of these occasions can be built up.<sup>4</sup> The king was seated on his royal seat adorned with his regal ornaments. The new peer was brought into his presence, on at least one occasion by two of his own degree; thereupon the chancellor explained the reasons for the creation. Next followed the reading of the charter and the investiture of the peer with the sword and ornaments by the king.

For dukes from 1362 or earlier these comprised a cap of estate and a circlet of gold and precious stones, whereas earls were at first girt with the sword only. When Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was created Marquess of Dublin in 1385, he received a circlet and sword. John of Gaunt, when made Duke of Aquitaine in 1390, was given a golden rod also, while John Beaufort in 1397 was clad in a vesture of honour—the ancestor of the peer's robe of estate. St. John Hope in his discussion of the Cap of

<sup>1</sup> The right of wearing coronets was granted on 7th August 1661 (Patent Roll 13 Car. II, pt. 38); that of wearing robes of estate on 2nd April 1685 (Patent Roll 1 Jac. II, pt. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Interesting light is thrown on the uncertainty surrounding the precise status of viscounts by the account of the creation of Viscount Berkeley in 1481. His investiture had to be postponed because of doubts as to whether he should be invested in parliament robes like a baron, or in robes of estate like an earl (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, f. 18; and Coll. Arm. MSS. WQ, ff. 79 and 117, WA, f. 3).

It is to be noted that the higher ranks of the peerage had, in addition to their robes of estate, parliament robes differentiated according to their degree. An early illustration of these robes is to be found in the illuminated Foundation Charter of King's College Cambridge (1441), pl. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> The relevant charters and extracts from the Parliament Rolls are conveniently brought together in the *Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. v.

<sup>4</sup> The occasions described are: the creation of the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge (1362), *Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, v, 53; the Dukes of York and Gloucester and the Earl of Suffolk (1385), *ibid.*, pp. 64–66, 70–73 (the investiture of these peers was postponed for three months so that it could take place in parliament); the Marquess of Dublin (1385), *ibid.*, pp. 76–77; the Earl of Rutland (1390), *ibid.*, p. 86; the Earl of Somerset (1397), *ibid.*, p. 116; five dukes, one marquess, and four earls (1397), *ibid.*, pp. 121–2; the Prince of Wales (1399), *ibid.*, p. 130; the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester and the Earl of Cambridge (1414), *ibid.*, p. 172; and the Duke of Exeter (1416), *ibid.*, p. 183.



Maintenance<sup>1</sup> deals with these and later developments of the peers' 'ornaments'. After the investiture the creation charter was given to the peer who did homage and thanked the king for his favour. The king then assigned him his place in parliament. However, although the king very frequently created peers in parliament he did not invariably do so. There are several examples of creations taking place elsewhere during this period and Edward III took the opportunity, on the creation of his grandson as Prince of Wales, to make it clear that he did not regard himself as bound to associate himself with parliament on these occasions.<sup>2</sup>

The death of Henry V marked the end of the association between parliament and the creation of peers. With rare exceptions creations thereafter took place at a more intimate ceremony at one of the royal residences. This remained the case down to the abandonment of investitures in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The reasons for this change are nowhere explicitly stated. The break in the continuity of creations occasioned by the long minority of Henry VI may have been a factor. The political situation during his reign may have encouraged the withdrawal of the ceremony from the publicity of a full parliament to a smaller occasion attended by a select body of aristocrats and leading officials. Whatever the explanation may have been, the change proved permanent in its effect. Apart from the princes of Wales, to whom special considerations were apparently deemed to apply, extremely few creations can even tentatively be associated with parliament after 1422.<sup>3</sup> Descriptions of the ceremony are no longer to be found in the Parliament Rolls and for the following fifty years no accounts of the creation of peers seem to have survived. The only information on the subject during this period is to be found in the dating clauses in charters. These clauses at least enable the time and place of creation to be fixed with a reasonable degree of certainty. After 1472, however, our knowledge is considerably increased by the existence of a series of manuscript memoranda describing the ceremony.

Beginning with an account of the creation of the Earl of Winchester in this year, these memoranda continue with some gaps down to the abandonment of investitures in the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> They seem to have emanated from the heralds, Garter

<sup>1</sup> W. H. St. John Hope, 'The Cap of Maintenance', in *English Coronation Records*, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg, 1901, pp. lxxxii-lxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> The King's attitude is made plain in his reply to a petition asking for the creation of the prince (*Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, v, 55-56). The formulae of parliamentary assent contained in creation charters of this period were clearly intended to mark the association between the king and parliament rather than to indicate any restriction on the royal prerogative of creating peers. The Prince of Wales was actually created after the session had ended. Other examples of creation outside parliament in this period are the four earls made at the coronation of Richard II in 1377 and the Earl of Nottingham, created in 1383. Some remarks on the effect of the words 'assent of Parliament' may be found in H. Nicolas, *Reports on the Earl of Devon Case* (1832), App. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Creations between 1509 and 1621 are noted in the Appendix. Apart from the creation of the Prince of Wales in 1610, the only occasion during this period when creations took place while parliament was in session was

in 1529 when three earls were made. However, these earls are known to have been created at York Place (Whitehall) and not at Westminster Palace, where parliament was sitting. Before 1509 the scarcity of detailed information makes it difficult to speak with certainty. One of the few peers known to have been created when parliament was in session was the Earl of Winchester in 1472. The description of this occasion makes it plain that, although the creation took place in the parliament chamber, it was not a parliamentary sitting in the ordinary sense of the word. The ceremonial in this case had much more affinity to the later practice than to that which took place formerly, as described in the Parliament Rolls.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix. The principal collections of these memoranda are to be found in Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 6113 and Harl. 5176 and 6074; and Coll. Arm. MSS. WA and WQ; a few printed accounts are in Milles, *Catalogue of Honour* and Nicolas, *Historic Peerage* (1857). A list of all these accounts is to be found tabulated in the Appendix.



having, as will be seen, by this time acquired the responsibility for these occasions. They vary in the amount of detail that they provide, but taken together they enable a clear idea to be formed of the ceremony of investiture appropriate to each degree of the peerage. This evidence makes it clear that the more intimate ceremonies at the royal residences were in all essentials the same as those which had previously taken place in parliament.

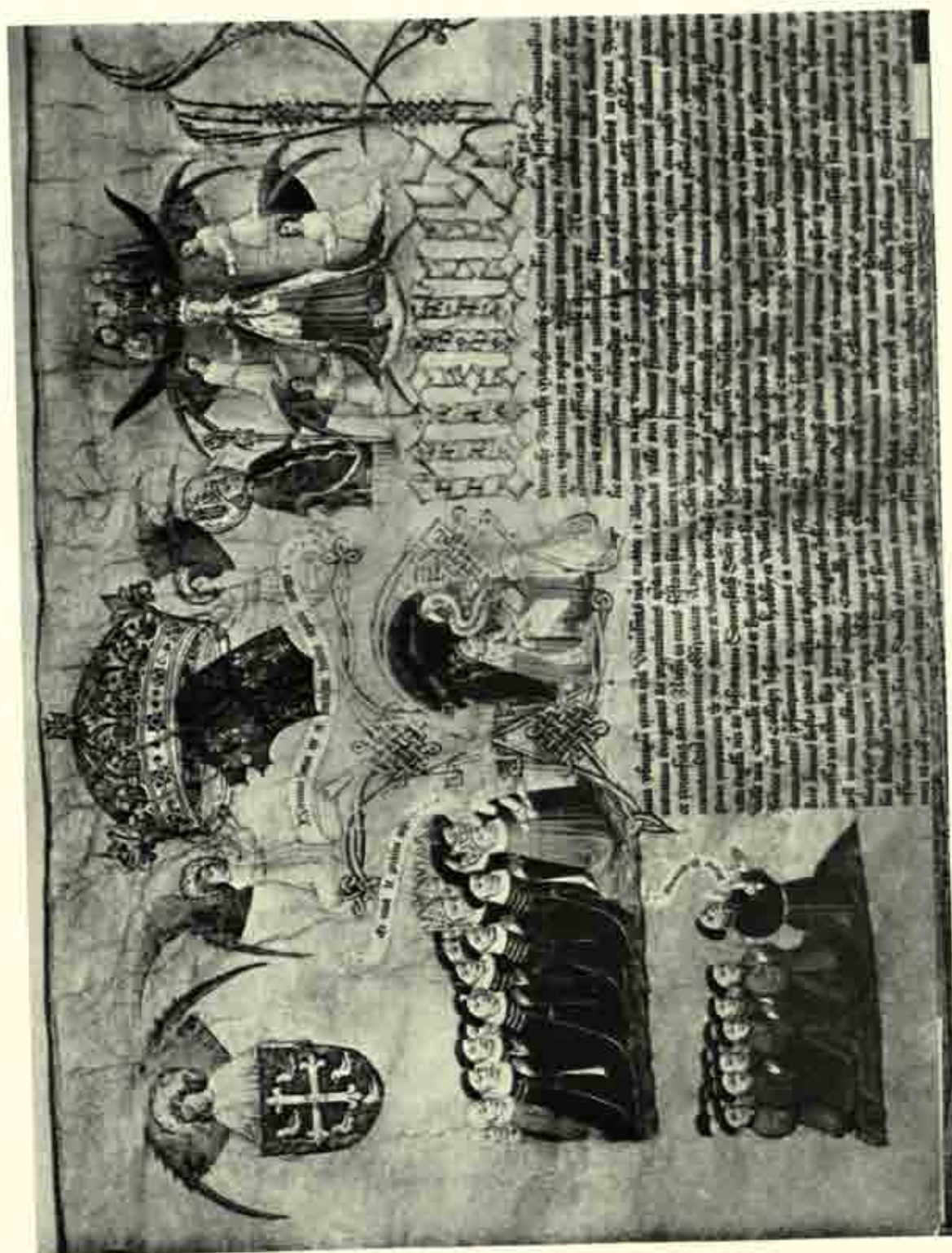
It is perhaps worth describing these ceremonies in some detail. It is noteworthy that many of them took place on important festivals of the church and a remarkable number were arranged on Sundays, very often after the king had heard mass. While the palace of Westminster and later the palace of Whitehall were the most usual places for ceremonial occasions they very frequently took place at royal residences outside London. The personal tastes of successive kings are reflected in the places chosen. During the reign of Henry VI Windsor seems to have been particularly favoured while in that of Henry VIII Greenwich and Hampton Court were frequently the scene of investitures. From the time of Richard III creations often took place at the Tower of London when the king was in residence prior to his coronation. On the day appointed for an investiture the king entered the Presence Chamber and sat on a throne below the Cloth of Estate with the leading members of his court about him. Meanwhile the new peer prepared himself in a nearby room. If he were of the rank of an earl or above, he had robes of estate put on him before he went into the chamber of presence. If he were a baron or a viscount he was clothed simply in a kirtle. A procession was then formed consisting firstly of the heralds, then Garter carrying the new peer's patent of creation, followed by the peers (also in robes of estate) to whom had been assigned the duty of carrying the ornaments of the new peer if his rank required them. These were the sword, which was common to all ranks from earls upwards, the cap and coronet which appear originally to have been confined to dukes and marquesses and which, after 1547, were conferred on earls also, and the rod which remained the prerogative of dukes.<sup>1</sup> In the case of a prince of Wales all these ornaments were conferred with the addition of the ring, which also required a peer to carry it. The new peer himself was led into the Presence Chamber by two other peers usually of his own degree. On entering, the peer and his supporters made three obeisances to the king.<sup>2</sup> When they reached the Cloth of Estate the supporters stood and the new peer knelt while Garter delivered the letters patent to the Lord Chamberlain who gave them to the king, who in turn gave them to the secretary to read out. At the appropriate point in the letters

<sup>1</sup> See p. 123 n. 1 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The question why three bows and neither more nor less figure both in the old and the modern ceremony is often asked. The answer probably is that three has been a sacred number in widely separated times and places, both non-Christian and Christian, and that this is merely one example among very many. A good collection of references to three as a sacred number will be found in the article *Numbers* in James Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ix (1917), 406-17, where it is suggested that though their currency is by no means confined to these, three and nine as sacred numbers are especially characteristic of the Indo-European peoples from Vedic and

Iranian religion through Greek and Roman, Teutonic and Celtic down to Christian. Among many examples the following of thrice repeated ritual actions may be worth mentioning: the Greek funeral pyre was circumambulated three times (Dio Cassius 56, 42); in the offering to Mars and Silvanus for the welfare of cattle the offerings were three portions each of spelt and wine (Cato de Agricultura 83); Varro records that a formula against gout was repeated 27 times (*De Re Rustica* i. ii. 27); Celtic mythology is full of triads, and in particular the *deiseal* or ceremonial circumambulation was performed three times; Adam of Bremen describes a spring festival held every nine years at Uppsala at which nine of each male kind were offered.





Foundation Charter of King's College, Cambridge, 1441, showing peers wearing their robes



a



b



c

The Parliamentary Processional Roll, 1512  
A prior and twenty two abbots, see pp. 143-5





a



b



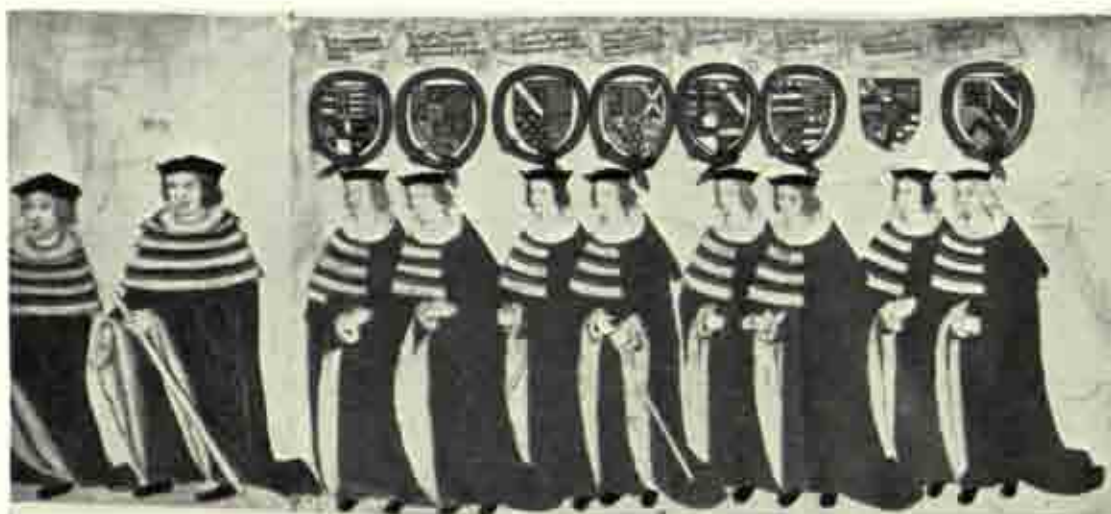
c

The Parliamentary Processional Roll, 1512

*a, b*, Eighteen bishops and the bishop of London, *see pp. 145-6*; *c*, the bishop of London, the archbishop of Canterbury, Garter King of Arms, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, *see pp. 146-7*.



a



b

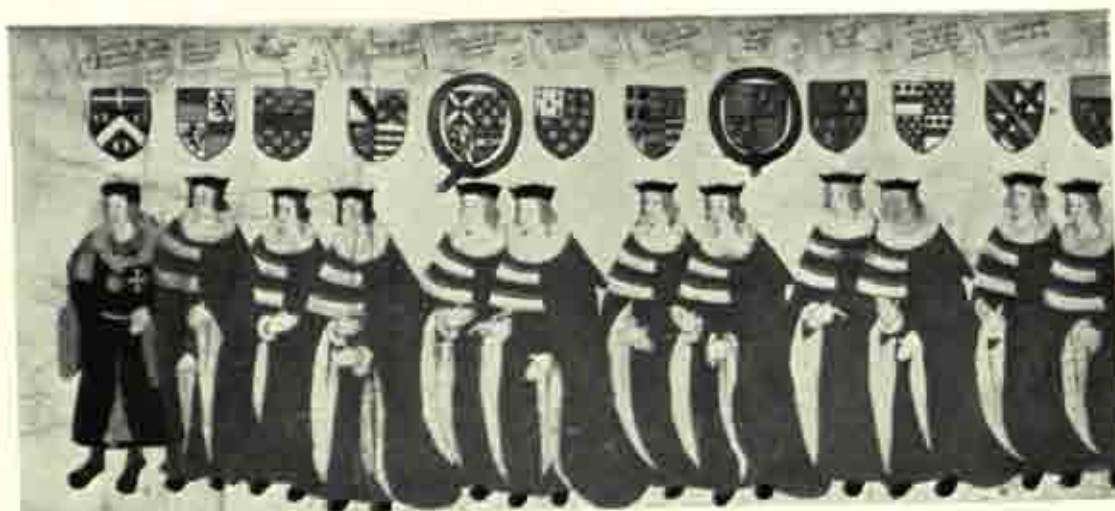


c

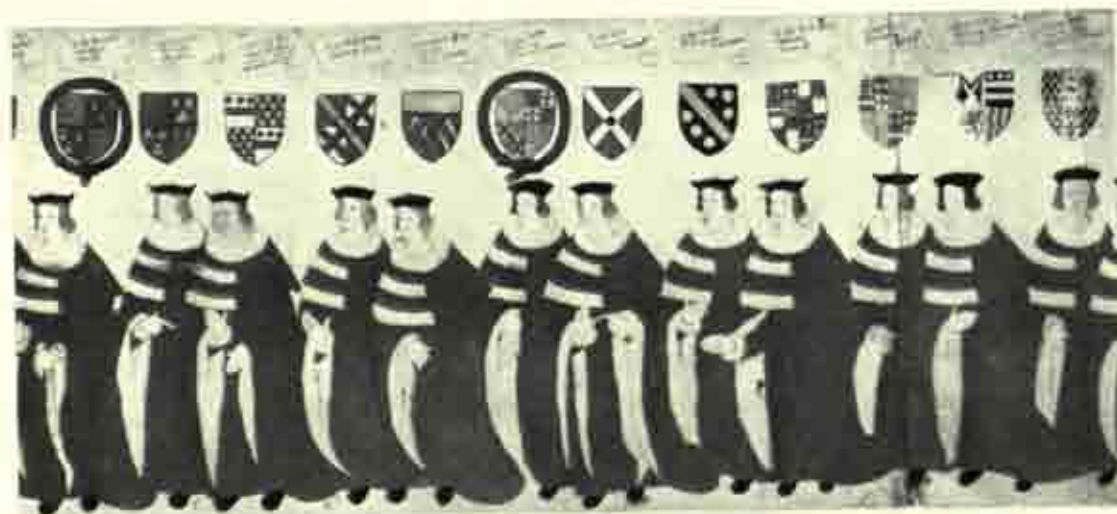
The Parliamentary Processional Roll, 1512

a, King Henry VIII, the Chief Butler and the Lord Great Chamberlain, *see* p. 147; b, c, a marquis and seven earls; c, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem and six barons, *see* pp. 147-9.

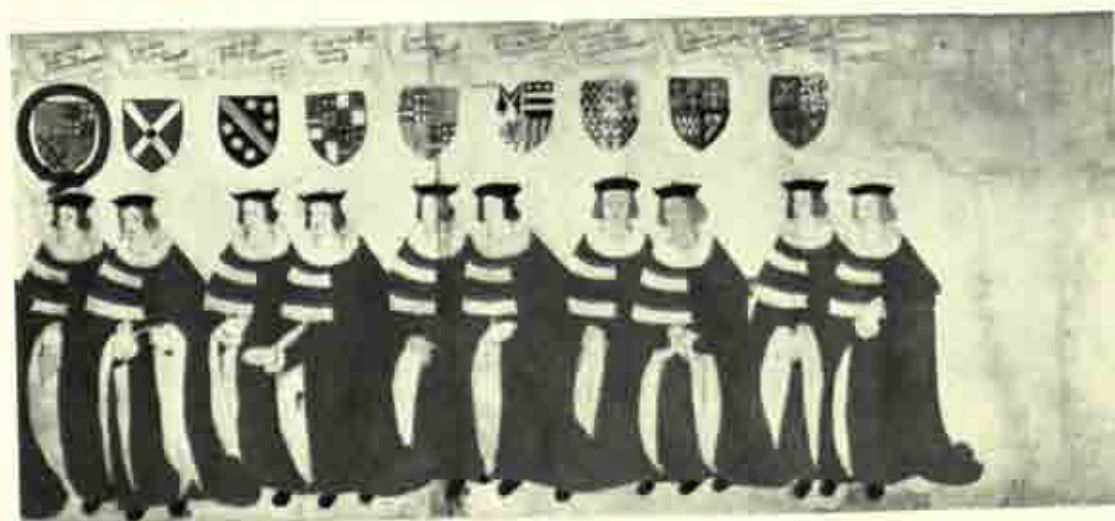




*a*



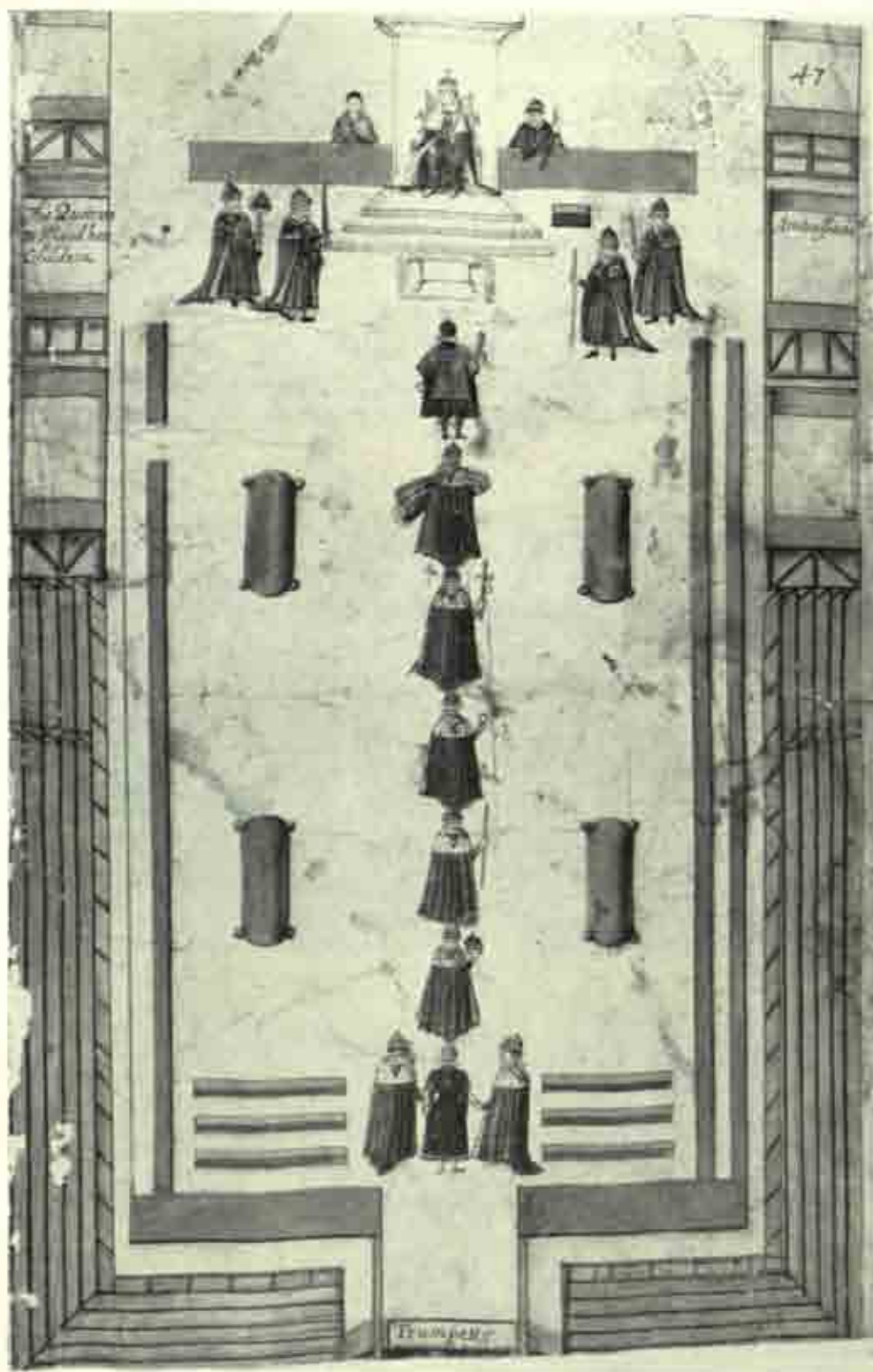
*b*



*c*

<sup>1</sup>The Parliamentary Processional Roll, 1512

*a, b, c*, The prior of St. John of Jerusalem and twenty two barons, *see* pp. 148-50



Entry procession for the investiture of Henry, Prince of Wales  
Coll. Arm. MS. WA, f. 47



patent the secretary stopped reading while the king carried out the particular physical act enjoined in the document. First the sword was girt about the neck of the new peer, then the cap and coronet were placed on his head and finally the rod was put into his hand. For viscounts and barons the ceremony differed since the essential element in their creation was not the girding with the sword but the conferment of the robes. As we have seen, viscounts and barons were probably in origin invested in the same manner. However, from at least 1550, viscounts also received a cap of honour and from 1604 a coronet.<sup>1</sup> Barons, however, continued to be invested simply with parliament robes. When the secretary had finished reading the patent, he delivered it to the king who gave it to the new peer who gave thanks to the king for his favour. The ceremony was thus concluded. It was, however, followed, where circumstances permitted, by a dinner where the new peer was accorded a special place, which at least one contemporary account compares with that of a bride at a wedding.<sup>2</sup> At the conclusion of the second course, Garter proclaimed the king's style in Latin, French, and English and then that of the new peer in French. For this the heralds received a largesse fee<sup>3</sup> from the king and Garter received from the new peer the gown that he wore immediately prior to his creation, which was invariably of considerable value and was sometimes redeemed by the new peer for a large sum. It will be seen from this composite description that the ceremony of investing new peers had close analogies both with the coronation and with the investiture of Knights of the Garter and of the Bath.

So long as creations took place in parliament, the placing of newly created peers in the chamber followed naturally upon the ceremony of investiture. The only surviving account which is detailed enough to provide adequate evidence of this shows that in 1397 the king assigned the appropriate seat in parliament to the new peer personally.<sup>4</sup> However, once the association between creation and parliament was broken, separate provision had to be made for the placing of new peers in the chamber. There is no evidence from the fifteenth century to indicate how this was done although that from the sixteenth century shows that two officers received fees in connexion with the placing of new peers in parliament whether they were of first creation or came in by descent. These officers were Garter, who was responsible for the actual placing of the new peers, and the Clerk of the Parliaments, who entered their writs. New peers paid to these two officers sums appropriate to their degree. Although the first record of payments to Garter in this connexion dates from the parliament of 1529,<sup>5</sup> Garter's responsibility in the matter had been defined in the constitutions of the Officers of the Order of the Garter issued by Henry VIII in 1522.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, a passage in a

<sup>1</sup> The cap was conferred upon Viscount Hereford in 1550 (Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 2642, f. 10); Viscount Cranborne was alleged to have been the first viscount to receive a coronet—in 1604.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the creation of Lord Howard of Effingham (1554), Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, f. 133.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of the discontinuance of investitures the largesse fee was still being paid to the heralds in the middle of the eighteenth century (*Calendar of Treasury Books*, xvi, 166; xvii, 340; xxix, 787; *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1739-41, p. 157).

<sup>4</sup> See the account of the creation of the Earl of Somerset

(*Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, v, 116).

<sup>5</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. Herald's IV, f. 403a. See also p. 128, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> These constitutions were printed in Latin, French, and English by J. Anstis, Garter, in his *Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 1724, vol. ii (some copies vol. i). The relevant clause (pp. 352-3) runs: 'Et quant aucun Seigneur entrera premierement en nostre Chamber de parlement, le dict Jarretier luy assignera lieu et place selon son estat et anchienete, et de ce aura recompence selon le plaisir du dict Seigneur.'



petition of the early seventeenth century, apparently a draft of that which was actually presented to the House of Lords in 1628,<sup>1</sup> states that at this date there existed a record of a payment of this kind by Lord Daubeny on the occasion of his taking his seat in 1514. The same draft implies that these payments had been made as far back as the reign of Henry VI. If this claim was based on anything more than hearsay, it would carry Garter's responsibility back to the time when the practice of creating peers in parliament was abandoned. The evidence that the Clerk of the Parliaments received fees in this connexion dates only from 1597,<sup>2</sup> but the fact that the writs of new peers are to be found entered in the earliest printed journals probably indicates that he had been carrying out this function at a much earlier date.

The Constitutions of 1522, besides defining Garter's part in the placing of peers in parliament, records that at each creation of a prince, duke, marquess, earl, viscount, or baron, he is to have as his fee the habiliments the said lord was wearing before investiture with the robes of estate.<sup>3</sup>

In the words of the Earl Marshal's Orders of 1568<sup>4</sup> Garter was to have 'the bearing of Letters Patents at the creations of all Noblemen, and their Gownes that they wore before their Creations. . . . And Alsoe the placing of the Lords in Parliament and all other assemblies of Honour with all Fees thereunto belonging.' The first of these two rights, that of participation in noblemen's creations, or at least the claim to it, can be carried back to a date between 1415 and 1422 by a petition made by William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms, to King Henry V, for a grant or confirmation of privileges.<sup>5</sup> This includes a request that, whenever any princes, dukes, marquesses, or earls are newly made, the King of Arms of Englishmen, being present, may have their first (or best) mantles in which they shall receive their first dignities and estates, and he adds that this right belongs in France to Monjoye King of Arms of Frenchmen. Thus Bruges, the newly instituted Garter King of Arms, was asking for a right which his successor a century later enjoyed—and had apparently long enjoyed. Bruges was, moreover, asking this just about the time when a radical change in the manner of investing peers seems to have been made—the change made after 1416 from investiture in parliament to investiture in a royal residence.

The developments in the heralds' position which had led up to this are too long and complex for treatment here. The importance of heralds had, however, been increasing in both France and England throughout the fourteenth century, and there were close links between those of the two countries with the French heralds somewhat in the lead. It appears that the appointment of principal King of Arms of the country had originally been conferred by the sovereign from time to time on one or another King of Arms according to personal seniority or suitability. Thus Chandos herald, the author of the metrical life of the Black Prince, having been made Ireland King of Arms about

<sup>1</sup> This draft is to be found in Coll. Arm. MS. Heralds IV, f. 36. For the petition (probably by Garter Segar) presented to the House of Lords see *Lords' Journals*, iv, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journals*, ii, 225.

<sup>3</sup> Anstis, *op. cit.*, p. 351: 'Et quant aucune Creacion sera faicte de aucun Prince, Duc, Marquis, Conte, Viscont, ou Baron, le dict Jarretier Roy d'armes de l'Ordre aura les

habillemens, que le dict Seigneur aura sur luy devant qu'il recoipvera ses Robes d'estat.'

<sup>4</sup> Original at the College of Arms, see *Heralds' Commemorative Exhibition 1484-1934, Illustrated Catalogue*, 1936, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. WC, f. 34; Anstis, *Register of the Garter*, i, 329.



1370, was crowned King of Arms of Englishmen by Richard II after his own coronation in 1377. By 1394 John March, Norroy King of Arms, was Roy d'armes d'Angleterre. Falcon King of Arms followed him and a few years later Henry IV promoted Richard Bruges, Lancaster King of Arms, to this office. He was the father of William Bruges, who had been Guienne King two years when he was appointed Garter in 1415. The model for this new permanent principal kingship was that of Montjoye Roy d'armes de France, which had similarly replaced a rotating principal kingship at some date after about 1370. This had been followed in 1410 by the incorporation of the French heralds, another example later followed in England. Linked, no doubt, with these events was the codification by both French and English heralds of their established rights, including the fees due on such occasions as the king's coronation, the king's marriage, the first occasion when a king, prince, duke, marquess, earl, baron, or banneret raises his banner, on the occasion of a knight bachelor being made banneret and so forth. The fees of honour upon creations of dignities, which were taken from the English heralds in 1905 and later abolished, belonged to this group. Others, however, such as the coronation fees, are still paid. They are set out in a tract of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which survives in a number of copies, Latin and French, entitled *Jura debita et largitates appertinentes de antiqua consuetudine Armorum Officialibus secundum morem et consuetudinem Angliae* or *Ces sont les Droiz et largesces appartenant et d'auncienete accoustumez aux Roys d'Armes selon l'usance du Angleterre*.<sup>1</sup>

The wording of Bruges's petition, though not explicit, seems rather to imply that the perquisite of the robe in which a nobleman received his dignity had not previously been enjoyed by principal Kings of Arms of Englishmen, though it had been by Montjoye in France. If so, it may have been granted to Bruges himself *de novo* when the investiture of peers in a royal residence replaced investiture in parliament after 1416. This, however, is but guesswork and the first investiture of a peer in which we know Garter took part is that of George, Duke of Clarence, in 1461.<sup>2</sup> In all investitures since that date, whether in parliament or not, Garter, and often other heralds, have taken part.

It will be recalled that in the Garter Constitutions of 1522 reference is made not only to Garter's part in peers' investitures, but also to his duty of assigning a peer his place at his first entrance into parliament. The first recorded instance of the performance of this duty is on the entry into parliament of Giles Lord Daubeney, in 1513-14,<sup>3</sup> and it is noteworthy that this was not a new creation, but an entry on succession. That Garter regularly at this date assigned his place to every peer on his first entry, whether on creation or succession, is clearly shown by a manuscript in the College of Arms entitled 2nd H. 13. This is a book of records of precedence, especially of the Lords

<sup>1</sup> A copy of c. 1430 is in Brit. Mus., MS. Cotton, Nero, D. ii, ff. 256b-257. Printed versions are in Guillim, *Display of Heraldry*, 5th ed., 1724, pt. iii, p. 35; Hearne, *Collection of Curious Discourses*, ed. 1775, i, 148; Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. 1774, iii, 234; Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*, 1793, pp. 142-4. The corresponding French document is

printed among the works of Sicily Herald (c. 1375-1437), *Parties inédites de l'œuvre de Sicile héraut d'Alphonse V roi d'Aragon*, ed. le P. Roland, Mons, 1867, pp. 93-99.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. WA, ff. 5, 7-7b.

<sup>3</sup> Statement in an early seventeenth century petition, Coll. Arm. MS. Heraldry IV, f. 36.



in Parliament, probably compiled by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter from 1505 to 1534. An account there<sup>1</sup> of the Opening of Parliament on 3rd November 1529 contains this passage:

At this parlyament these lords fowloing made their furst entre into the parliament chamber of whom Gartier demandith to have a reward for their saide furst entrees and thordring of their setes and regestring of their names and armes of every on after their astates according to tholde Ordynance.

Essentially linked with this duty of placing peers on first entry was Garter's other duty of preparing rolls of the peers sitting in each parliament in their right order of precedence. This continued to 1965. The oldest of these rolls now known is that of the parliament of 1514 compiled by Wriothesley,<sup>2</sup> unless their forerunner his Processional Roll of the 1512 parliament<sup>3</sup> be counted in the series. The early seventeenth century draft petition,<sup>4</sup> to which reference has already been made, would, however, carry them back much further. It is headed: Some reasons to prove the necessary use of Garter's Parliament Rolls and consequently that his auncient Fees and Rewards should be continewed to him for making the same. The third reason given for this is that: 'There is no such certain proof to demonstrate how the lords have sat in Parlament in their due places ever since the reign of Hen. 6 as it is by these Rolles.' This implies that a roll or rolls of peers, compiled by Garter as early as the reign of Henry VI, survived in James I's reign, and this is by no means impossible.

The following is a possible construction of the evidence on this aspect of the matter. Mr. Enoch Powell argues that the Earl Marshal's responsibility for precedence in parliament can be carried back to 1376 or earlier. His reasoning is as follows. In October 1378 parliament met in the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, the first time for forty years that it had met away from Westminster. The arrangements which had become established at Westminster were accordingly reproduced. The great hall at the abbey was assigned to parliament as a whole, as the Painted Chamber was at Westminster. The chamber of the hospice was assigned to the Lords, as the White Chamber (later the old House of Lords) was at Westminster. The Commons had the Chapter House, just as at Westminster they had the Chapter House or Refectory; while the Lady Chapel and the adjacent chapel of St. Andrew were assigned to the two sets of Triers of Petitions.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Powell points out that one other allocation was made. The refectory was assigned for 'treating matters concerning the law of arms', presumably by the Court of Chivalry. The monks in consequence had to eat in the orchard, though the month was October, which implies not only that a large room was essential but that the proceedings were essential to the business of parliament. 'Why?' Mr. Powell asks, and answers: 'I suggest that "the matters concerning the law of arms" were questions of precedence, dependent on tracing descent and determining the right to bear particular arms. If so', he adds, 'the responsibility of the Earl Marshal for organizing the sitting of parliament is carried back as far as 1376.' Apart from this the earliest evidence we

<sup>1</sup> f. 403a. On this manuscript see *Complete Peerage*, vol. ix, App. B.

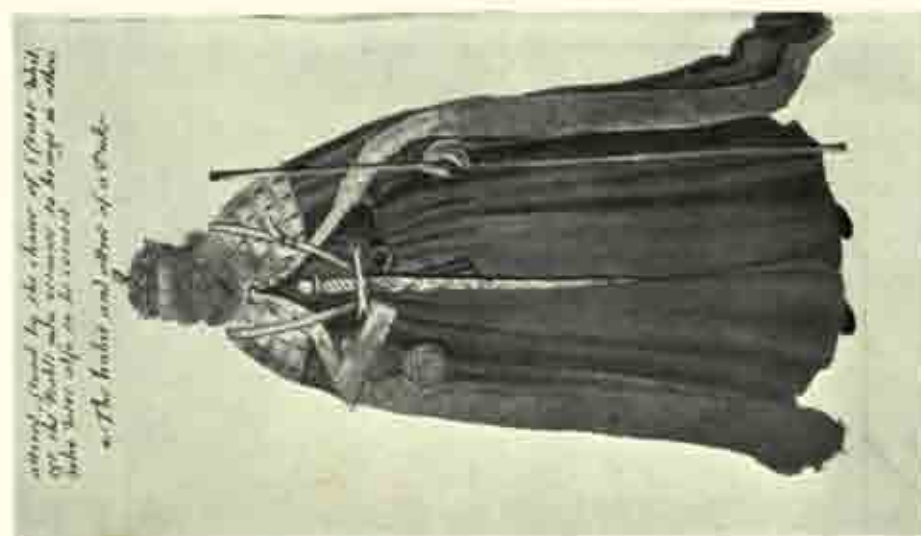
<sup>2</sup> On these rolls see *Heralds' Commemorative Exhibition 1484-1934, Illustrated Catalogue*, 1936, pp. 33-37.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 142, *infra*. Doubtless also a work of Wriothesley.

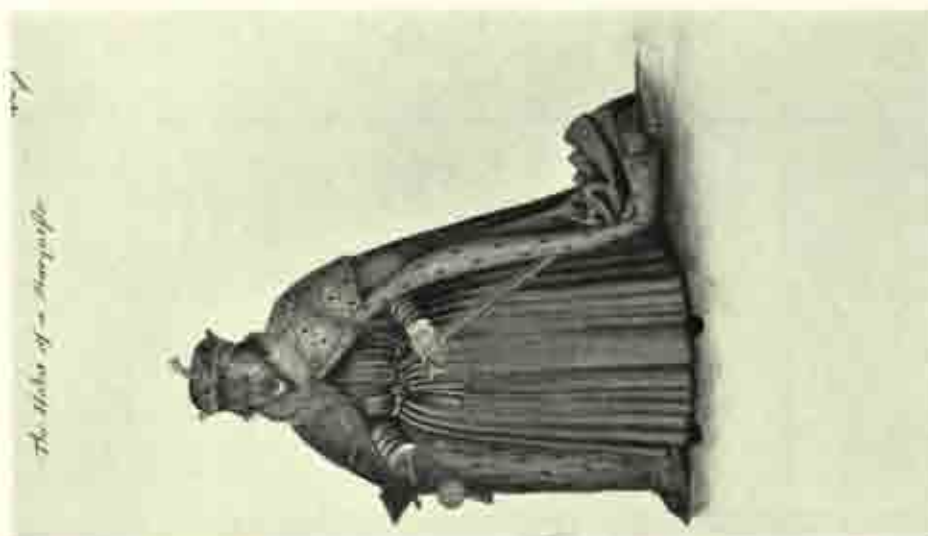
<sup>4</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. *Heralds* IV, f. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia et Chartularium S. Petri Glouc.*, Rolls Series, i, 53.





*a.* The creation robes of a duke  
Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, f. 424



*b.* A marquis robed for his creation  
Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, f. 407



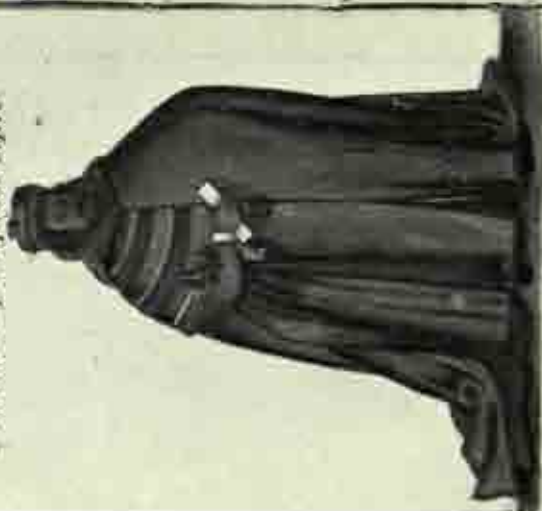
*c.* The creation robes of an earl  
Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, f. 350

of The River and Crummock  
at <sup>the</sup> mouth of a Discharge

There is no great friendship between the  
 village of a different and a few, as about  
 but through some, such things, are not fit to  
 be thought of, a great world, such a thing to  
 be the very first.

at the day of the  
 town as indicated between 11 and 12  
 as in different hours as early as his right  
 hand only to have on his left arm and a  
 weight of 100 lbs. to be put on and a  
 by half a yard upon his shoulder above  
 as the picture following. A well

• The habit of a Discontent before.



2. The forms of the fluid.

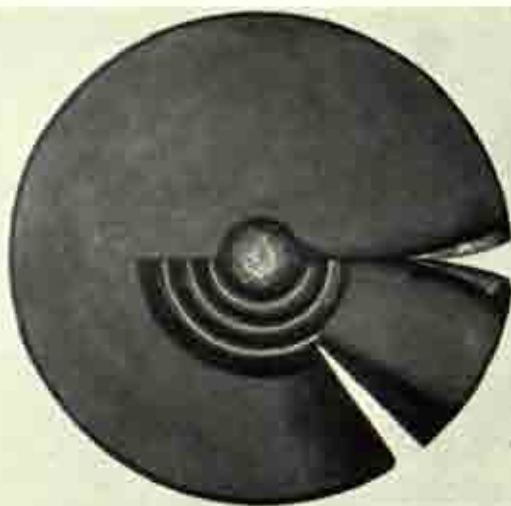


of the habit of a *Cephaenanthus* habit.



a. A viscount robed, front and back views, with the form of the hood, temp. James I Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, ff. 320-1

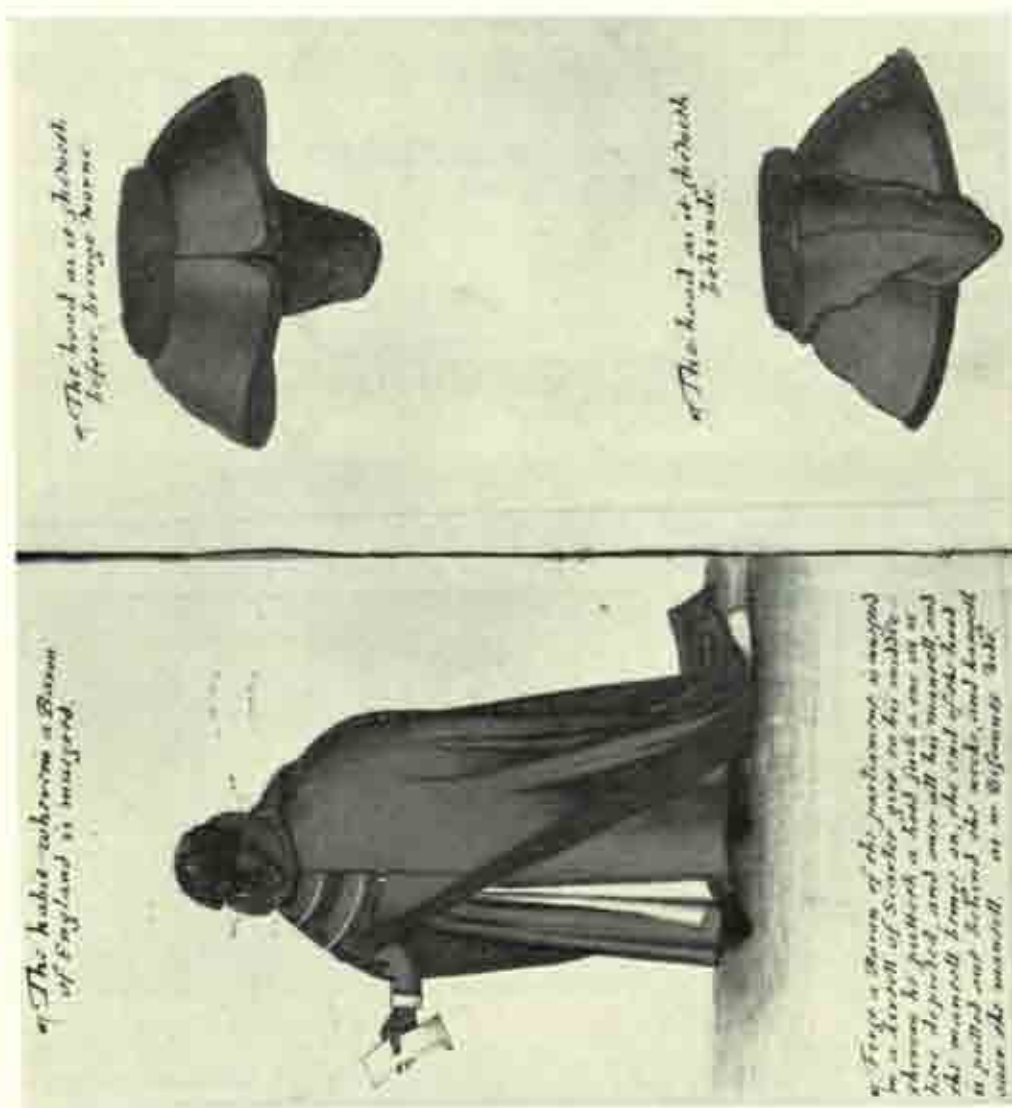
4. A sufficient model for the performance of Scarlet, paired with Maynard.



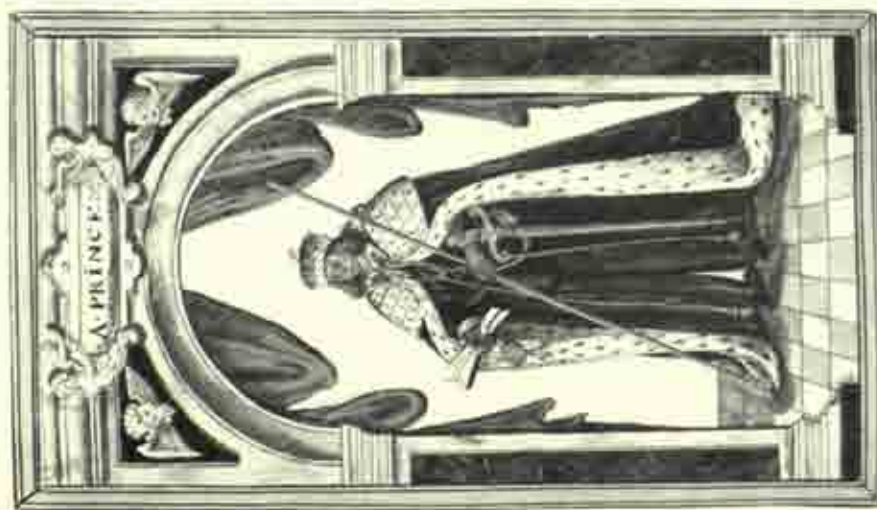
Be it remembered that on Baron back to his  
muzzle show barres.  
A Dying the barres and halfe, as is here  
above depicted  
An Earle three barres.  
A Marquis three and halfe.  
A Duke four barres.

b. A viscount's parliament mantle  
Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, f. 322

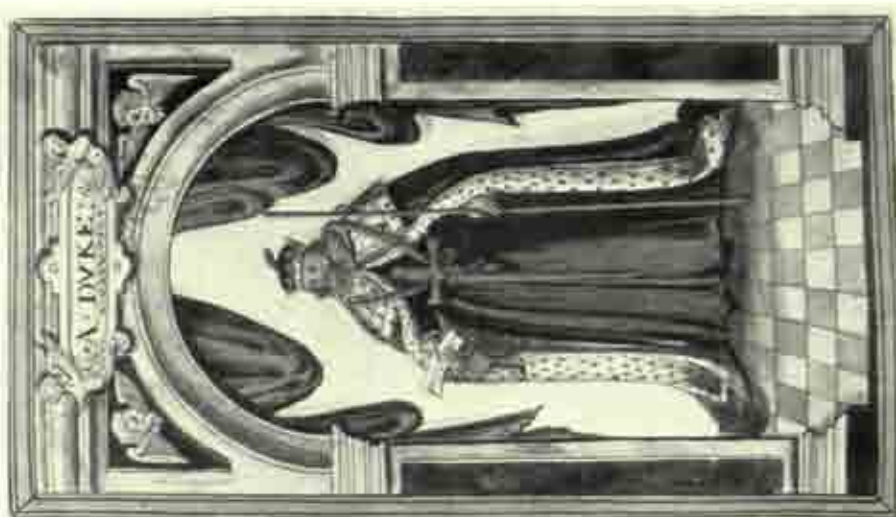




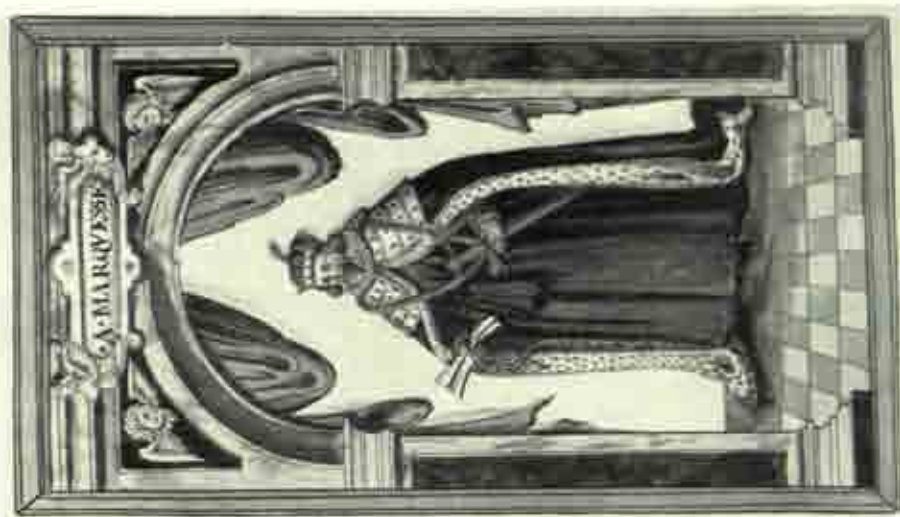
A baron robed, with front and back views of the hood. Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, ff. 256-7



*a.* A prince



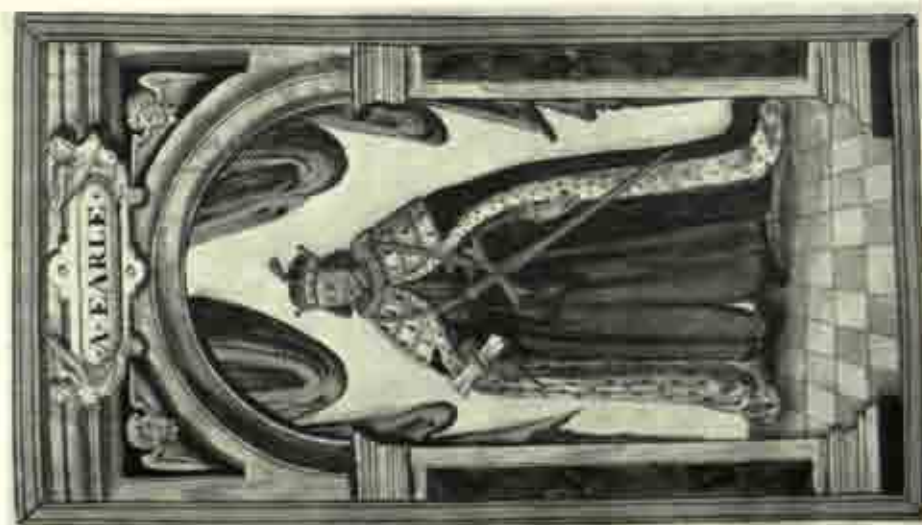
*b.* A duke



*c.* A marquess

Full page coloured drawings from Sir Edward Walker's MS, Arms of the Nobility, temp. Charles II. Coll. Arm. MS. in the office of Garter,  
*a.* p. 3; *b.* p. 5; *c.* p. 10.

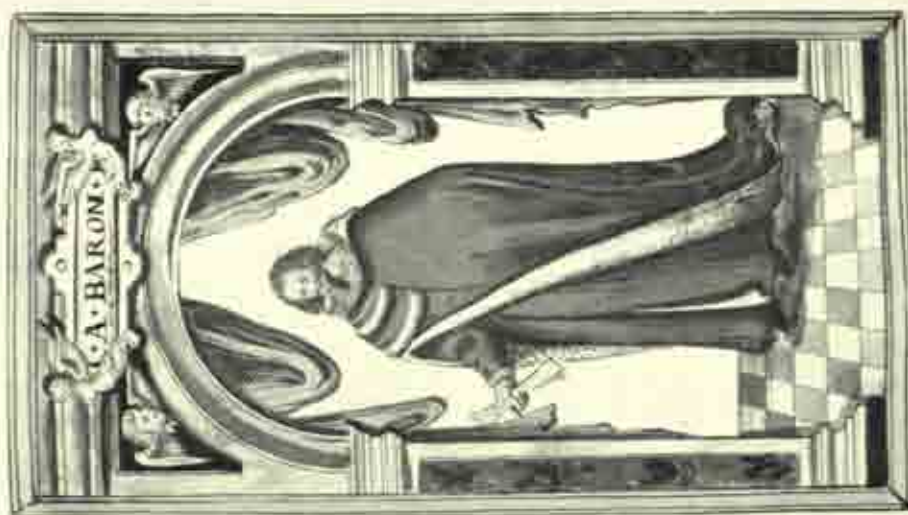




*a.* An earl



*b.* A viscount



*c.* A baron

Full page coloured drawings from Sir Edward Walker's MS. Arms of the Nobility, temp. Charles II. Coll. Arm. MS. in the office of Garter.  
*a*, p. 43; *b*, p. 81; *c*, p. 95





have noted of the Earl Marshal's concern with precedence is an Order of Estates said to have been ordered in 1431 by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, as Lord Protector, and by the Earl Marshal of England against the king's coronation.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Powell refers further to the disputes about the precedence of Lords in parliament in 1405,<sup>2</sup> settled by the king and lords in council, and to similar disputes of 1425<sup>3</sup> and 1426,<sup>4</sup> when claims to arms were also involved. He suggests that in the marshalling of parliament attention was now being paid to the right to arms as well as to the descent of persons summoned, so that the Earl Marshal could be kept busy in the early days of a parliament in settling disputes about descent and precedence. The accumulation of baronial titles, which begins about this time, would necessitate research of which good use was made, while the minorities of Richard II and Henry VI and the consequent absence of an adult sovereign to settle disputes by his own authority would produce increased reliance on such criteria.

It is probable, in fact, that a general responsibility for the function, which has thence come to be called 'marshalling', belonged to the office of marshal much earlier still, for Matthew Paris tells us that at Queen Eleanor's coronation in 1236 the marshal, Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, arranged the guests at the feast.<sup>5</sup> So long as the office of Constable of England subsisted, that is until 1521, the marshal was the constable's junior colleague or assistant. Thereafter some of the constable's former duties were performed by the marshal solely. Thus the heralds' modern subordination to the Earl Marshal has its counterpart before 1521 in subordination to the constable and the marshal. Dr. Paul Adam-Even in his treatise *Les Fonctions militaires des hérauts d'armes*<sup>6</sup> says that in France the constable, assisted by two Marshals of France, had control of the heralds, and refers to fourteenth century evidence. In England we have fifteenth century evidence in the orders for the governance of the heralds issued by Richard, Duke of Gloucester (later King Richard III), as constable between 1469 and 1483,<sup>7</sup> and no doubt the fact was older than our evidence.

We suggest therefore that at some date soon after the institution of the office of Garter King of Arms in 1415 the execution of the marshal's responsibility for marshalling the lords in parliament was largely delegated to Garter. The replacement of the investiture of peers in parliament by investiture in the king's house meant that a separate ceremony of introducing a new peer into parliament and putting him in his right place there had to be instituted, and this would be performed by Garter as the officer responsible for marshalling the lords in order. This ceremony would soon be seen to be equally applicable to peers entering the House on succession. In the same connexion Garter would be required to furnish at each parliament a roll of the lords in their due precedence. In the sixteenth century the opening of parliament procession included all the lords in order of precedence and Garter Wriothesley's pictorial roll of the procession of 1512, now at Trinity College, Cambridge,<sup>8</sup> shows the heralds punctuating and no doubt marshalling it (pls. xvii-xx).

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian MS. Ashmole 857, ff. 142-4; Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 151, ff. 127-31.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iv, 267; *Proceedings and Ordinances*, ii, 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iv, 262 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard;

Rolls Series, iii, 336.

<sup>5</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. Heralds II, ff. 701, 705.

<sup>6</sup> Lausanne, 1957, p. 5.  
<sup>7</sup> Seventeenth century copies of this roll are in the Brit. Mus. (Add. MS. 22306) and the Bodleian Library (MS. Ashmole 12).



Investiture of each new peer by the king at a royal residence remained normal down to that of Viscount Rochester in 1611. In October 1613 a breach in the custom took place, when the Duke of Lennox, a peer of Scotland, was created Earl of Richmond and Baron Settrington in the peerage of England. Because he already held a higher Scottish dignity no creation ceremony was thought necessary.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that the decision not to invest in this instance provoked thought on the subject of the need for investiture generally. The next creation, that of the Earl of Somerset, took place with full ceremony in November 1613. But the one following, that of Lord Hay, on 29th June 1615, took place without investiture. A note by William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, records that this was done 'without any ceremonie of investiture onelie by delivery of the letters patents before certeyne witnesses in the Privy Chamber of Greenwich about nyne of the clocke in the night when as the king was informed by the learned in the lawe that the creacion without ceremonie was sufficient, when as the letters Patentes was the essence of the Creation'.<sup>2</sup>

On the day following this incident Lord Dormer was invested with full ceremony and the ensuing new peers were all invested until March 1617, when Chamberlayne records that 'Sir Edward Nowell is newly made a baron by patent, which beeing a more easie way than by creation or investiture, yt is doubted that in time we shall have more than enough'.<sup>3</sup>

The next creation proposed was the conferment of an earldom on Viscount Brackley. In this connexion Bacon, now Lord Keeper, wrote as follows to Buckingham on 13th April 1617:

I perceive by a letter your lordship did write some days since to my lord Brackley, that your lordship would have the King satisfied by precedents, that letters patents might be of the dignity of an earldom without delivery of the patent by the king's own hand, or without the ordinary solemnities of a creation. I find precedents somewhat tending to the same purpose, yet not matching fully. But howsoever let me, according to my faithfull and free manner of dealing with your lordship, say to you, that since the king means it, I would not have your lordship, for the satisfying a little trembling or panting of the heart in my lord or lady Brackley, to expose your lordship's self, or myself, whose opinion would be thought to be relied upon, or the king our master, to envy with the nobility of this realm; as to have these ceremonies of honour dispensed with, which in conferring honour have used to be observed, like a kind of *doctor Bullatus* without the ceremony of a commencement; the king and you know I am not ceremonious in nature, and therefore you may think, if it please you, I do it in judgment. . . . I purpose to send the precedents themselves by my lord of Brackley; but I thought fit to give you some taste of my opinion before.<sup>4</sup>

The precedents themselves are not impressive, as Bacon admits. Apart from the Hay and Richmond cases all his examples can be shown to be invalid.<sup>5</sup> Investiture was

<sup>1</sup> 'Sine ulla investura quia prius dux fuerat': Harl. MS. 5176, f. 216; 'There needed no investiture beeing investid with a greater dignitie before': *Letters of John Chamberlayne*, ed. McClure, i, 485.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. WA, f. 29; Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5176, f. 221. The fact that Lord Hay had earlier been granted an English barony without a seat in parliament does not appear to have had any bearing on this decision.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, 65; the letters patent (Patent Roll, 14 Jac. I, pt. 23) record the names of witnesses and it is conceivable

that, although there was no investiture, the letters patent were delivered to Lord Noel in the same manner as to Lord Hay in 1615.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon, *Works* (1803), v, 465.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 474-5: the Earl of Devon (1485) was invested by the king (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, f. 13) as were the Duke of Somerset, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earls of Warwick and Southampton (1547) (Coll. Arm. MS. WA, f. 15, i, 18, f. 72).



nevertheless dispensed with, for Chamberlayne records 'The new vicount Brackley . . . was the last weeke made earle of Bridgewater by patent, which now will become as goode a way to all entents and purposes as by investiture.'<sup>1</sup> The Bridgewater patent is unwitnessed and is the first to contain a *non obstante* clause to make the creation valid despite the lack of ceremonies.<sup>2</sup>

At Christmas 1617 the king decided to create Buckingham a marquess. It was less than a year since his advancement to the earldom, which was carried out 'uppon short notice, both to the Attorney Generall and the Lord Chancellour'.<sup>3</sup> No doubt the king felt embarrassment at the prospect of another full ceremonial creation with Buckingham as its object. The question of creating marquesses without investiture had not arisen before, and Bacon, now Lord Chancellor, sent for Camden, Clarenceux, who records:

The Lord Chauncellor sent for me before 7 in the morning and privatlie charged me on the oath both of Allegiance as a subject and of my oath as a K: of Arms to keep secret that which he was to impart unto me scilicet that the king proposed to make the Earle of Buckingham Marquess of Buckingham *without ceremonie* willing me to give him som presidents to that purpose and observacions concerning Marquesses wheruppon I delivered him these.<sup>4</sup>

Camden's precedents are no more impressive than those already referred to collected by Bacon earlier in the year. Nevertheless investiture was dispensed with and the creation 'was don privatly by patent and some few noble men called to be present, that had heard nothing of yt till they saw yt'.<sup>5</sup> The patent is witnessed but like the Bridgewater patent contains a *non obstante* clause dispensing with investiture.

The next two creations—the Countess of Buckingham and Viscount Doncaster—took place without ceremony. The three following, Verulam, Leicester, and Northampton—were all attended with investiture. Chamberlayne remarks 'the two earles Leicester and Northampton were created with all the ceremonies and solemnitie on Sunday last. . . . The other two (Warwick and Devon) must receive theyre newcoyned honor by patent'.<sup>6</sup> It was apparently clearly established that investiture could now be dispensed with whatever degree of peerage was in question. James I conferred thirty-seven more peerages. It seems that only one more of his creations was attended with investiture—that of Viscount St. Alban on 27th January 1620/1, 'with all the ceremonies of robes and coronet, wheras the rest (the Earls of Holderness and Berkshire) were only don by Patent' as Chamberlayne records.<sup>7</sup> It is somewhat ironical that Bacon, who protested that he was 'not ceremonious in nature', should have been invested both on this occasion and on his creation as Lord Verulam in 1618. It would appear that after the creation of Viscount St. Alban a decision in principle was made to abandon investitures. No more have been found recorded for the remainder of the reign of James I,<sup>8</sup> and after his death the only ones that were held are those of the Earl

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Non obstante* clauses were not invariably inserted in the letters patent creating peerages until after the Restoration when they assumed a set form. They were dispensed with in 1917 (*Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1917, pp. 77–80).

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5176, f. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5176, f. 228; Coll. Arm. MS. WA, f. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* ii, 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 162.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 339.

<sup>8</sup> It is conceivable that the Duke of Richmond was invested on his creation on 17th May 1624. No account has been found, but the letters patent, dated at Greenwich, are witnessed by a large number of dignitaries (Patent Roll, 21 Jac. I, pt. 10). This is far from being conclusive proof that an investiture took place on this occasion, as the



of Strafford at Whitehall on 12th January 1639/40,<sup>1</sup> and six earls and six barons at the Banqueting Hall on 22nd April 1661 on the eve of the coronation of Charles II,<sup>2</sup> and that of Edward, Prince of Wales, at Carnarvon in 1912.

The decision to discontinue investitures does not appear to have been embodied in any document, or if it was, no such document has survived. Consequently one can only speculate as to the reasons for this development. The general explanation may, however, be inferred from the history of peerage creations during the first twenty years of the seventeenth century. During this period James I conferred peerages at an unprecedented rate. If no decision had been made to discontinue investitures it would have been necessary to conduct this elaborate and costly ceremony every time creations were made. This would have been inconvenient and continual repetition would have deprived investitures of their solemn significance. The king himself was probably glad to acquiesce since investitures involved him in a most personal way in the task of conferring titles on his favourites, thus exposing him even more than was necessary to the criticisms of the older nobility. Perhaps the most cogent consideration, however, was the element of venality that was becoming an increasingly important factor in the grant of peerages. Not long after James I came to the throne there were rumours that peerages could be had for a cash consideration. By 1620 it was common knowledge that titles were available for purchase.<sup>3</sup> In these circumstances the speech of thanks customarily rendered to the king by the new peer after his ceremonial investiture was no doubt considered an unendurable irony.

Nevertheless, if the ceremony of investiture was felt to be no longer appropriate, contemporaries appear to have been dissatisfied with the only available alternative, which was simply the delivery of the letters patent to the new peer without formality.<sup>4</sup> It seems that shortly after the investiture of Lord St. Alban in January 1620/1 attention was given to the problem of devising a simpler ceremony to mark the creation of peers and that the result of this consideration was the ceremony of introduction into the House of Lords which was first recorded in November of that year and is substantially the same as that carried out to this day. No document has been found that throws direct light on this development and so the course of events must be a matter of inference from such information as is available.

From 1614 until 1621—in other words during the whole period that investitures were in the process of abandonment—parliament was dissolved. Consequently there

Duke of Buckingham's patent dated the following day is identical in form, while its recipient is known to have been in Spain at the time. There does, however, survive a very circumstantial account of the fees paid by the Duke of Richmond on the occasion of his creation (Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS. 389).

<sup>1</sup> Coll. Arm. MS. WQ, ff. 197–200.

<sup>2</sup> Walker, *Coronation of Charles II*, pp. 57–64.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Mayes, 'The Sale of Peerages in Early Stuart England' in *Journal of Modern History* (1957), xxix, 21–37; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641*, 1965, pp. 97–119.

<sup>4</sup> Between the creation of the Earl of Richmond and that of Viscount St. Alban, sixteen peerages were conferred without investiture. These were: the Earl of Richmond

(Duke of Lennox) (6th Oct. 1613), Lord Hay (29th June 1615), Lord Noel (23rd Mar. 1616/17), Earl of Bridgewater (27th May 1617), Marquess of Buckingham (1st Jan. 1617/18), Countess of Buckingham (1st July 1618), Viscount Doncaster (5th July 1618), Earl of Warwick (6th Aug. 1618), Earl of Devon (7th Aug. 1618), Lord Digby (25th Nov. 1618), Earl of March (7th June 1619), Earl of Cambridge (Marquess of Hamilton) (16th June 1619), Viscount Purbeck (19th June 1619), Viscount Mansfield (29th Oct. 1620), Viscount Mandeville (19th Dec. 1620), and the Earl of Holderness (30th Dec. 1620). In the case of Lord Hay, the Marquess of Buckingham, and possibly that of Lord Noel, the letters patent were delivered into the hands of the new peer by the king. In the other cases it appears that no formality was observed.



was no opportunity to mark creations by ceremonies in the House of Lords even if the idea had been contemplated. Parliament met again in January 1620/1, a few days after the creation of Viscount St. Alban. In the first few days of this parliament the recipients of all the peerages created since the dissolution in 1614, or their representatives (with the exception of Lord Dormer, a minor) are recorded as present in the *Lords' Journals*.<sup>1</sup> There is no suggestion that the entry of these peers into the House was accompanied by anything more substantial than their placing in order of precedence under the supervision of Garter whether they had been invested or not. No further peerages were conferred until the adjournment of parliament which lasted from June to November 1621. During this adjournment five peers were created. On the day of reassembly after the recess—20th November—all these peers are recorded in the *Lords' Journals* as having been ceremonially introduced.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it seems clear that the decision to adopt this new ceremony was taken in respect of these five new peers and that it can be dated accordingly between June and November 1621.

The ceremony was apparently not devised by the House of Lords itself since, if it had been, one would have expected some trace of it to be found in the Standing Orders which were being codified at this very moment.<sup>3</sup> The known facts are entirely consonant with the view that it was devised to meet the king's wishes by the Earl of Arundel who was appointed Earl Marshal on 29th August 1621. As we have seen, ceremonial of this kind was traditionally a matter for the Earl Marshal and the restoration of this office to the Howard family from which it had been separated since 1572 probably resulted in a new assertion of its ancient rights by the new holder.

The ceremony itself apparently represents a conflation of investiture in the presence of the king and the introduction of barons by writ into the House of Lords. Barons by writ, since their sole entitlement to a seat in the House of Lords was their writ of summons, had no investiture. Prior to 1589 they appear to have taken their seats in the same way as other peers without any additional formality. After this date a new departure is recorded in the *Lords' Journals*. Before being placed in the House under Garter's supervision, the new baron by writ in his parliament robes was led into the House by two supporters similarly attired.<sup>4</sup> It seems that this ceremony was adapted

<sup>1</sup> 30th January, 3rd and 16th February 1620/1 (*Lords' Journals*, iii, 7-19).

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journals*, iii, 162. Introductions of Viscounts Colchester and Rochford and Lords Brooke, Montagu, and Cranfield. For the date of Lord Brooke's creation see *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, viii, 22, 88, 217, and 234.

<sup>3</sup> For the earliest version of the Standing Orders see *Calendar and House of Lords MSS.* x (x.s.), 1-27; the first Standing Order related to introductions is of 27th July 1663 and was designed to ensure that they should take place on creation only, and not on succession (*Lords' Journals*, xi, 575-6). It seems that when the new ceremony was devised, Garter, the Clerk of the Parliaments, and possibly other officers were accorded specific fees in connexion with it, on condition that they abandoned the fees that they had previously received on the first entry of peers coming in by descent. This would explain the petition of Garter, presented to the House of Lords on 23rd February

1628/9 (*ibid.* iv, 39) already referred to, where he sought restitution of these fees. No action was taken on this and the Order of 1663 finally decided the matter. The fees themselves, so far as they related to the officers of the House of Lords, were confirmed on 22nd March 1724/5 (*ibid.* xxii, 627-9). All fees on introductions were abolished on the recommendation in 1904 of the West Committee (*Lords' Journals*, cxxxvi, 316).

<sup>4</sup> The following instances of this ceremony are to be found: Lords Talbot (14th Feb. 1588/9), Delawarr (14th Nov. 1597), Bergavenny (26th May 1604), Denny (7th Feb. 1604/5), Knyvett (4th July 1607), Howard de Walden (9th Feb. 1609/10), Clinton (2nd June 1610) (*Lords' Journals*, ii, 149, 197, 306, 349, 538, 549, 606). Lords Delawarr and Bergavenny were barons whose right to sit was deemed to originate in Writs of Summons and whose precedence had been in doubt.



to cater for peers created by letters patent and that various elements were introduced into it from the ceremony of investiture. Many features of the latter—the peers carrying the ornaments, the ornaments themselves, the robes of estate, the heralds with the exception of Garter or his deputy, the dinner and the largesses—were dispensed with. Garter carried the patent as before but he presented it to the Lord Chancellor instead of to the king. The charter was read by the clerk instead of by the secretary. The reading of the writ and the placing according to precedence were probably features common to the first entries of all peers prior to this date whether they came into the House on creation or on succession.

The new ceremony probably commended itself to contemporaries for two reasons. First, it restored a degree of formality to the creation of peerages without involving the king personally in what had, as we have seen, become an increasingly embarrassing occasion. Secondly, it had a kind of antiquarian justification since down to the end of the reign of Henry V peers had usually been created by the king in parliament itself. This practice probably never became entirely obsolete in the case of the creation of the princes of Wales. Indeed it is possible that the elaborate ceremonial in the Court of Requests on the occasion of the creation of Prince Henry in 1610<sup>1</sup> (pl. XXI) which involved the special adjournment of both houses of parliament may have had some influence on those who devised the much simpler ceremony in 1621.

In describing the origins of the present practice of the introduction of peers into the House of Lords an attempt has been made to relate the ceremony to its historical antecedents. Much remains tentative; more research will be necessary before the successive stages are clear beyond dispute. In the meantime this account is put forward in the hope of arousing interest in a somewhat neglected area of English historical studies.

#### APPENDIX

Before 1509 the surviving accounts of ceremonial investitures are too few in relation to the total number of creations to justify a full tabulation. The following, however, may be noted.

Duke of Clarence	28th June 1461	Coll. Arm. MS. WA, f. 5
Earl of Winchester	13th Oct. 1472	Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, f. 101
		Coll. Arm. MS. WQ, f. 76
Duke of York	29th May 1474	Add. 6113, f. 75
Viscount Berkeley	10th June 1481	Add. 6113, f. 18
		WA, f. 3; WQ, ff. 79, 117
Viscount Lovel	12th Jan. 1482/3	Add. 6113, f. 126
Duke of Bedford	28th Oct. 1485	Add. 6113, ff. 17, 73
Earl of Derby		
Earl of Devon		
Arthur, Prince of Wales	29th Nov. 1489	WQ, f. 230
Duke of York	1st Nov. 1494	Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6074, f. 48
		WA., f. 223

From the reign of Henry VIII to that of James I creations are set out in the following tables, which are designed to indicate the date and place of investiture, the peers created, and the

<sup>1</sup> For this ceremony see Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5176, f. 273 and *Lords' Journals*, ii, 607.



authority in which a description of the ceremony may be found. In the cases where no such description has come to light, the date and place are taken from the letters patent. It is important to note, however, that the dates of the letters patent and of the investitures were not always the same.

HENRY VIII			
	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
1.	1509/10, 3 Feb., Sunday	Westminster E. WILTSHIRE	Harl. 6074, f. 54. WA, f. 9.
2.	1511, 10 May, Saturday	Died before being invested E. DEVON	<i>Complete Peerage</i> , iv, 330.
3.	1513, 15 May, Sunday	Greenwich V. LISLE	Add. 6113, f. 66 (no details).
4.	1513/14, 2 Feb., Tuesday	Lambeth D. NORFOLK D. SUFFOLK E. SURREY E. WORCESTER	Harl. 6074, f. 51.
5.	1523, 12 Apr., Sunday	Richmond L. MARNEY	Harl. 6074, f. 56. WQ, f. 80.
6.	1523, 26 Apr., Sunday	Bridewell V. LISLE	Add. 6113, f. 64. WQ, f. 80b.
7.	1525, 18 June, Sunday	Bridewell E. NOTTINGHAM D. RICHMOND AND SOMERSET M. EXETER E. CUMBERLAND E. LINCOLN E. RUTLAND V. FITZWALTER V. ROCHFORD	Add. 6113, f. 45.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE INTRODUCTION OF

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
8.	1529, 8 Dec., Wednesday	York Place E. HUNTINGDON E. WILTSHIRE E. SUSSEX	Add. 6113, f. 66 (no details).
9.	1532, 1 Sept., Sunday	Windsor  M. PEMBROKE	Milles, <i>Catalogue of Honour</i> , p. 42. WA, f. 11. WQ, f. 226. Vincent 151, p. 405.
10.	1536, 5 June, Monday	Terling V. BEAUCHAMP	No account.
11.	1536, 9 July, Sunday	Westminster E. BATH L. CROMWELL	Harl. 6074, f. 62.
12.	1537, 18 Oct., Thursday	Hampton Court E. HERTFORD E. SOUTHAMPTON	Add. 6113, f. 87.
13.	1538, 21 July, Sunday	Woking E. BRIDGEWATER	Harl. 6074, f. 62.
14.	1538, 29 Nov., Friday	Westminster L. AUDLEY	No account.
15.	1538/9, 9 Mar., Sunday	Westminster L. ST. JOHN L. RUSSELL L. PARR	Harl. 6074, f. 56. Add. 6113, f. 75.
16.	1540, 18 Apr., Sunday	Westminster E. ESSEX	Harl. 6074, f. 57.
17.	1540, 18 Dec., Saturday	Westminster L. CROMWELL	No account.
18.	1541/2, 12 Mar., Sunday	Westminster V. LISLE	Add. 6113, f. 89. WA, f. 13.



## PEERS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

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	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
19.	1543, 23 Dec., Sunday	Hampton Court E. ESSEX L. PARR	Add. 6113, f. 113.
20.	1543/4, 1 Jan., Wednesday	Hampton Court L. WRIOTHESLEY	Add. 6113, f. 114.
21.	1544/5, 30 Jan., Thursday	Westminster L. POYNINGS	No account.
EDWARD VI			
1.	1546/7, 17 Feb., Thursday	Tower  D. SOMERSET M. NORTHAMPTON E. WARWICK E. SOUTHAMPTON L. SEYMOUR L. RICH L. WILLOUGHBY L. SHEFFIELD	Milles, <i>Catalogue of Honour</i> , p. 46. WQ, f. 83. WA, f. 15. I. 18, f. 72. Vincent 151, p. 420.
2.	1549/50, 19 Jan., Sunday	Westminster E. WILTSHIRE E. BEDFORD	No account.
3.	1549/50, 2 Feb., Sunday	Westminster V. HEREFORD	Egerton 2642, f. 10.
4.	1551, 5 Apr., Sunday	Greenwich L. DARCY	Add. 6113, f. 128. WQ, f. 233.
5.	1551, 10 Oct., Saturday	Hampton Court L. HERBERT	Add. 6113, f. 129.
6.	1551, 11 Oct., Sunday	Hampton Court D. NORTHUMBERLAND D. SUFFOLK M. WINCHESTER E. PEMBROKE	Add. 6113, f. 129. WQ, f. 232.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE INTRODUCTION OF

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
MARY I			
1.	1553, 3 Sept., Sunday	Richmond	Add. 6113, f. 132. WA, f. 19.
		E. DEVON	
2.	1553/4, 11 Mar., Sunday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 133.
		L. HOWARD	
3.	1554, 8 Apr., Sunday	St. James'	Add. 6113, f. 135.
		L. CHANDOS	
4.	1554, 2 Sept., Sunday	Hampton Court	Add. 6113, f. 137. WQ, f. 91.
		V. MONTAGU	
5.	1557, 30 Apr., Friday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 140.
		L. PERCY	
6.	1557, 1 May, Saturday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 141.
		E. NORTHUMBERLAND	
7.	1557/8, 19 Jan., Sunday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 143.
		L. HASTINGS	
ELIZABETH I			
1.	1558/9, 13 Jan., Friday	Tower	WO, f. 83.
		M. NORTHAMPTON	
		{ L. BEAUCHAMP	
		{ E. HERTFORD	
		V. HOWARD	
		L. HUNSDON	
		L. ST. JOHN	
2.	1561, 26 Dec., Friday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 151.
		{ L. LISLE	
		{ E. WARWICK	
3.	1564, 29 Sept., Friday	St. James'	Add. 6113, f. 151. WQ, f. 141b. WA, f. 252.
		{ L. DENBIGH	
		{ E. LEICESTER	
4.	1567, 8 June, Sunday	Westminster	Add. 6113, f. 155.
		L. BUCKHURST	



	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
5.	1569/70, 5 Feb., Sunday	Hampton Court L. DELAWARR	Round, <i>Peerage and Pedigree</i> , i. 64-66. WQ, f. 89.
6.	1570/1, 25 Feb., Sunday	Westminster L. BURGHEY	Milles, <i>Catalogue of Honour</i> , p. 32. WQ, f. 85. Vincent 151, p. 254.
7.	1572, 4 May, Sunday	Greenwich E. ESSEX E. LINCOLN	Milles, <i>Catalogue of Honour</i> , p. 38. Vincent 151, p. 348.
8.	1597, 23 Oct., Sunday	Whitehall E. NOTTINGHAM	Harl. 293, f. 218.
		JAMES I	
1.	1603, 20 May, Friday	Tower L. CECIL L. SIDNEY L. KNOLLYS L. WOTTON	Harl. 6166, f. 68.
2.	1603, 21 July, Thursday	Hampton Court (L. WRIOTHESLEY E. SOUTHAMPTON E. SUFFOLK E. DEVON L. ELLESMERE L. RUSSELL L. GREY L. PETRE L. HARINGTON L. DANVERS L. GERARD L. SPENCER	Harl. 3319, f. 51 (no details).

## THE ORIGIN OF THE INTRODUCTION OF

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
3.	1603/4, 13 Mar., Tuesday	Tower (L. MARNHULL E. NORTHAMPTON E. DORSET	WA, f. 21.
4.	1604, 20 Aug., Monday	Westminster V. CRANBORNE	Harl. 6166, f. 71.
5.	1604/5, 7 Jan., Sunday	Whitehall D. YORK	Nichols, <i>Progresses of James I.</i> i, 472-3.
6.	1605, 4 May, Saturday	Greenwich E. SALISBURY E. EXETER (L. HERBERT E. MONTGOMERY V. LISLE L. STANHOPE L. CAREW L. ARUNDELL L. CAVENDISH	Harl. 6166, f. 80 (no details). WA, f. 22.
7.	1610, 4 June, Monday	Court of Requests P. WALES	Harl. 5176, f. 203. Vincent 151, p. 456.
8.	1611, 25 Mar., Thursday	Whitehall V. ROCHESTER	Harl. 5176, f. 204. WA, ff. 23, 41.
9.	1613, 4 Nov., Thursday	Whitehall E. SOMERSET	Harl. 5176, f. 216.
10.	1615, 30 June, Friday	Greenwich L. DORMER	Harl. 5176, f. 221. WA, f. 29.
11.	1616, 9 July, Tuesday	Whitehall L. HOUGHTON L. TEYNHAM	Harl. 5176, f. 222. WA, f. 29b.



	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Authority</i>
12.	1616, 27 Aug., Tuesday	Woodstock	Harl. 5176, f. 221. WA, f. 27. WQ, f. 168.
		L. WHADDON V. VILLIERS	
13.	1616, 4 Nov., Monday	Whitehall	Harl. 5176, f. 222. WA, f. 37. Vincent 151, p. 476.
		P. WALES	
14.	1616, 7 Nov., Thursday	Whitehall	Harl. 5176, f. 225. WA, f. 27b.
		V. BRACKLEY V. WALLINGFORD L. STANHOPE	
15.	1616/7, 5 Jan., Sunday	Whitehall	Harl. 5176, f. 227. WA, f. 24b.
		E. BUCKINGHAM	
16.	1618, 12 July, Sunday	Wanstead	Lansdowne 261, f. 135. WQ, f. 236.
		L. VERULAM	
17.	1618, 2 Aug., Sunday	Salisbury	Lansdowne 261, f. 139. WQ, f. 235.
		E. LEICESTER E. NORTHAMPTON	
18.	1620/1, 27 Jan., Saturday	Whitehall	Lansdowne 261, f. 135.
		V. ST. ALBAN	

Note by C. W. SCOTT-GILES, Fitzalan Pursuivant Extraordinary

The Parliamentary Processional Roll, 1512

Trinity College, Cambridge. MS. O. 3. 59, endorsed: *The procession to | Parl<sup>t</sup> of the Lords | Spiritual & Temporal | 3<sup>d</sup> of Henry VIII.*

Given by John Allen, B.D., Fellow 1772, d. 1778.

Vellum roll of eight membranes, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 18 ft. 1 in., bearing coloured drawings of King Henry VIII attended by officers of state and others, walking in procession with priors, abbots, bishops, officers of arms and lords temporal to the parliament held at Westminster, 4th February 1512. It was evidently the intention to identify every lord by his title and name on a scroll and a shield bearing his arms, but some inscriptions are missing or incomplete, while those denoting the bishops and the king were added in a later hand. The shields of some of the abbots are blank or incomplete, and those of the bishops are all blank. The arms of the lords temporal are complete except for one baron at the end of the procession and the officers of state, whose shields are either blank or have been partially drawn but not painted.

The procession is shown as moving towards the viewer's left, the lords walking in pairs. Above every pair the name and arms of the lord on the processional right precede those of his left-hand partner. The following is the order of the procession:

Lords spiritual—

A prior and twenty two abbots in pairs.

Eighteen bishops in pairs, flanked at intervals by seven officers of arms, followed by the bishop of London, two unnamed ecclesiastics, and the archbishop of Canterbury with attendants.

Officers of state escorting the king—

Garret King of Arms and a figure with a mace.

A figure bearing the Sword of State, and the duke of Buckingham with the Cap of Maintenance.

The king under a canopy borne by four attendants.

Two lords in robes with four bars of miniver, one carrying the king's train and the other with a white staff.

Lords temporal—

A marquis (in a robe with three and a half bars of miniver) and seven earls (three bars), in pairs.

The Lord Prior of St. John of Jerusalem (in the robes of the Order) and twenty one barons (in robes with two bars of miniver), in pairs.

Three lords temporal whose names are missing in the roll have been presumptively identified by reference to the list of those summoned to this parliament given by



Sir William Dugdale in his 'Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this Realm' (1685). Other lords listed by Dugdale but not named in the roll are:

John Brooke, Lord Cobham,  
 Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy,  
 Thomas Dacre, Lord Dacre [of Gillesland],  
 Radulph Ogle, Lord Ogle.

In the following detailed account of the roll inscriptions are given in italics.

*The parleament holden  
 at Westm' the iiij<sup>th</sup> day  
 off ffebruary the thride  
 yere off oure Sou'aigne  
 Lord Kyng Henry  
 the viij<sup>th</sup>*

Inscriptions and shields above the figures of a prior and twenty two abbots walking in pairs (pl. xvii, a, b, c):

*Thabbot off / tewkysbery lord / Henry Beley*

Gules a cross engrailed or within a bordure argent [the bordure dimidiated]; impaling, Sable on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased argent three hurts, on a chief or a cross formy fitchy between two annulets gules.

*Pryor off / Couentre lord* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbot off / Waltham lord* / [name not entered, but arms indicate John Malyn]

Argent on a cross engrailed sable five cross crosslets fitchy or; impaling, Sable on a bend between two eagles displayed argent a chaplet between two escallops gules.

*Thabbot off / Cycestre lord Joh / Hawkeborne*

Argent on a chevron gules three rams' heads caboshed argent armed or; impaling, Argent a cross moline sable between four pinks gules slipped vert, on a chief azure a mitre between two hawks or.

*Thabbot off Saint / John of colchester / lord* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbot of croyland / lord* [name not entered]

Gules a cross flory or within a bordure [complete] azure charged with nine cross crosslets argent; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot off / Schrovysbury / lord Rychard lys*

A cross [no tinctures]; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of Selby / lord* [name not entered]

Sable three swans argent; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of bardeney / lord* [name not entered]

Sable a crosier erect between two ducal coronets or, the staff enfiling an annulet or and a circular riband ends crossed to the sinister argent; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of Saint / Benett of Hulme / lord* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbott off / Thorney lord* / [name not entered]

Azure three crosiers erect two and one, and three cross crosslets fitchy two in chief and one in the centre point all or; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of Hyde / by Wynchestre / lorde* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbott off / Wynchecombe / lorde* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbot of bello / lord* [name not entered]

Blank shield with palar line.

*Thabbot off / Redyng lorde* / [name not entered]

Azure three escallops or; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of saint / mary of yorke / lorde* [name not entered]

Argent on a cross gules a bezant, thereon a demi figure crowned and holding a sceptre; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of Ramsey / lord* [name not entered]

Or on a bend azure three rams' heads coupéd argent; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot of petr / burgh lord* / [name not entered]

Gules two keys in saltire wards upwards and outwards between four cross crosslets fitchy or; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbott of / Gloucester / lord John Newton / als Browne*

Gules a sword erect surmounted by two keys in saltire wards upwards and outwards or; impaling, Argent on a chevron gules between three cranes azure beaked and legged proper a bird between two garbs or.

*Thabbott of / Glastonbury / lord* [name not entered]

Vert a cross argent in the dexter canton a representation of the Blessed Virgin holding the Holy Child or; impaling [sinister side blank].

*Thabbot off / Saint Edmund / bury lorde Willm / Buntyn*

Azure three crowns or; impaling, Argent a chevron gules between three cocks azure beaked and legged sable, combed and wattled gules.

*Thabbot of / Saint Austen of / caunt'ry lord* / [name not entered]

Sable a cross argent; impaling, Sable a chevron countercompony ermine and gules between three [charges indecipherable] argent, on a chief or a hound courant between two cinquefoils sable.



*Thabbot of Saint / Albons lord /* [name not entered, but arms indicate Thomas Ramrige]

Azure a saltire or; impaling, Gules on a bend or between in chief a lion rampant and in base a ram rampant argent three two-headed eagles displayed [colour of eagles has disappeared].

The above figure walks alone. After it there is a space with the following inscription and arms above it:

*Thabbot off / Westmonestere*

Azure on a chief indented or a crosier erect and a mitre gules; impaling, Ermine a fess between three weasels gules. [John Islip.]

Inscriptions above the figures of eighteen bishops in pairs accompanied at intervals by pursuivants of arms and heralds. All the shields beneath these inscriptions are blank (pl. XVIII, *a, b*).

*Thomas Skevington / Bish. of Bangor*

*Edward Vaughan / Bish. of St Davids*

A pursuivant of arms, only his head and shoulders visible, walks on the right of the next pair of bishops. He wears his tabard athwart, i.e. with the sleeves on breast and back. The tabard bears the arms, Quarterly: 1, Quarterly azure and gules; 2, Azure a bend argent; 3, not visible; 4, Azure a bend argent—the uncompleted arms of the duke of Buckingham, identifying the figure as William Hasyng or Hastings, Buckingham Pursuivant.

*John Peny / Bish. of Carlisle*

*Robert Sherborne / Bish. of Chichester*

A pursuivant of arms walks on the left of the last in a tabard worn sideways and bearing the arms, Quarterly of five: 1, Quarterly or and gules; 2, Azure; 3, Barry of six or and vert; 4, Gules; 5, Or three piles meeting in base azure—the uncompleted arms of the earl of Northumberland, identifying the figure as Esperance Pursuivant.

*James Stanley / Bish. of Ely / Brother to y<sup>e</sup> Earle / of Darby*

*Miles Salley / Bish. of Landaffe*

A pursuivant of arms, only his head and shoulders visible, walks on the right of the next pair of bishops in a tabard, worn sideways, quarterly azure and gules—the Royal Arms uncompleted.

*John ffisher / Bish. of Rochester*

*Richard Maio / Bish. of Hereford*

A pursuivant of arms walks on the left of the last in a tabard, worn sideways, bearing the Royal Arms, Quarterly France Modern and England.

*Hugh Opdham* / *Bishop of Exeter*

*Hadrian de Castello* / *Bish. of Bath & Wells*

*David ap Euan* / *Bish. of St Asaph*

An officer of arms in a tabard of the Royal Arms walks on the right of the procession. Only his head and shoulders are visible but he appears to be wearing the tabard in the manner of a herald.

*Geffreye Blithe* / *Bp. of Coventry* / *and Litchfeild*

On the left of the last is a herald in a tabard of the Royal Arms (worn in the normal manner).

*Edmond Audley* / *Bish. of Salisbury*

*Richard Nix* / *Bish. of Norwich*

*Silvester Gigles* / *Bish. of Worcester*

*William Smith* / *Bishop of Lincoln* / *founder of Brasenose*

A herald, as above.

*Thomas Ruthall* / *Bishop of Durham*

*Richard ffoxe* / *Bish. of Winchester*

The blank shield below the last inscription has a paler line drawn in and is within the Garter in outline.

Two figures, one bearing a processional cross, preceding

*Richard ffitz James* / *Bish. of London*

walking between two attendants carrying maces.

Two ecclesiastics walking together beneath blank scrolls and shields (pl. XVIII, c).

*William Warham* / *Arch Bish. of Canterbury*

in mitre and vestments with escutcheons of the Royal Arms on breast and shoulder, walking between two attendants carrying maces and followed by a priest.

A figure bearing a mace walking beside

Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, in a tabard of the Royal Arms, carrying a white baton in his right hand and a black cap in the left. Beside him, partly covering the skirt of his gown, is a shield bearing an uncompleted drawing of his arms: Quarterly, 1 and 4, a cross; 2, a fret and a canton; 3, a bordure.

*Edward Stafford* / *Duke of Buckingham*

A shield bearing an uncompleted drawing of his arms, viz. Quarterly: 1, Quarterly within a bordure; 2, a bend; 3, a chevron; 4, a bend. The shield within the Garter in outline.

The duke is shown in a robe with four bars of miniver and carrying the Cap of Maintenance (pl. XVIII, c).

On the duke's left is a figure in a scarlet robe with lining and cape of white fur ermined sable, and a gold chain, and carrying the Sword of State. This is presumed to be:



Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, listed by Dugdale as summoned to this parliament but not found by name in the roll. Behind his head is a blank scroll and a shield within the Garter (which he held), but the arms indicated in outline on the shield appear to be a repetition of those of the duke of Buckingham.

Four tonsured figures in white gowns carry a canopy of blue and gold chequers and in the centre a red double rose. Above is the inscription (in a later hand)

*Henry by the Grace of God King of England &c*

and below the canopy is the figure of the king in robes of state, cap, gold chain (apparently composed of roses), carrying a sceptre surmounted by a dove (pl. XIX, a).

Behind the rear canopy bearers are two lords in robes with four bars of miniver, one carrying the train of the king's mantle and the other bearing a white staff. Against the head of each is a shield within the Garter in outline and very faint, the former shield being blank and the latter with an indication of arms, viz. Quarterly: 1 and 4, Quarterly; 2 and 3, a bend. Having regard to the lords listed by Dugdale but not found by name in the roll, the one carrying the train is presumed to be

Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, Chief Butler of England, a Knight of the Garter and one of the earls distinguished by four bars of miniver. The indication of arms on the shield, and the white staff, identify the other as

John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain.

Inscriptions and shields above the figures of a marquis and seven earls walking in pairs (pl. XIX, b, c):

*The marquis / dorsett Thomas / Grey*

Quarterly of eight: 1, Barry of six argent and azure in chief three torteaux; 2, Or a maunch gules; 3, Barry of ten argent and azure ten martlets in orle gules; over the first three quarterings a label of three points ermine; 4, Gules seven mascles conjoined, 3, 3, 1, or; 5, Azure a pierced cinquefoil ermine; 6, Argent a fess and a canton conjoined gules; 7, Sable six molets of five points, 3, 2, 1, argent; 8, Sable a fret argent. The shield within the Garter. (The motto is missing from this and all the other Garters in the roll.)

*Therll of Northm̃ / berland Henry / Algerons Percy*

Quarterly of five: 1, Quarterly, Or a lion rampant azure, and Gules three luces hauriant argent; 2, Azure five fusils conjoined fesswise or; 3, Barry of six or and vert a baston gules; 4, Gules three lions passant in pale argent over all a baston azure; 5, Or three piles meeting in base azure. The shield within the Garter.

*Therll of Surrey / Thomas Hazard / trezoror of England*

Quarterly: 1, Gules a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchy argent; 2, England with a label of three points gules [may have been argent which has disappeared]; 3, Checky or and azure; 4, Gules a lion rampant argent. The shield within the Garter.



*Therll of Shrewys | bery george talbot | steward of the | Kyngys howe* [The figure is shown with a white staff]

Quarterly of six: 1, Azure a lion rampant within a bordure or; 2, Gules a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed or; 3, Gules a saltire argent charged with a martlet sable; 4, Argent a bend between six martlets gules; 5, Or a fret gules; 6, Argent two lions passant gules. The shield within the Garter.

*Therll of Essex | Henry Boursh'r*

Quarterly: 1, Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable; 2, Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant gold, on the bend a crescent gules; 3, Argent a fess and a canton conjoined gules; 4, Gules billety or a fess argent. The shield within the Garter.

*Therll off | Kent Richard | Grey*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Barry of six argent and azure in chief three torteaux; 2 and 3, Quarterly, Or a maunch gules, and Barry of eight argent and azure eight martlets in orle gules. The shield within the Garter.

*Therll of | Derby Tho | mas Stanley*

Quarterly: 1, Quarterly, Argent on a bend azure three bucks' heads caboshed or, and Or on a chief indented azure three bezants; 2 and 3, Gules three legs in armour conjoined at the thigh and flexed at the knee argent garnished or; 4, Quarterly, Gules two lions passant argent, and Argent a fess and a canton conjoined gules; over all an escutcheon of pretence, Azure a lion rampant argent.

*The Earl of Wilt | shire Henry | Stafford* [The first four words, having faded, were filled in by a later hand]

Quarterly: 1, France Modern and England quarterly within a bordure argent; 2, Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant gold; 3, Or a chevron gules; 4, Azure on a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant gold three molets of five points gules; over all in the centre point a crescent gules for difference. The shield within the Garter.

Inscriptions and shields above the figures of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem and twenty barons walking in pairs (pls. XIX, c, XX, a, b, c):

*The lorde Prior | of Saint Johns of Jer'l'm | Thomas Docwra*

Sable a chevron engrailed argent between three plates each charged with a pale gules, on a chief gules a cross throughout argent.

*The lord | Ormond | Thomas*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Or a chief indented azure; 2 and 3, Argent a lion rampant sable crowned gules.

*The lord | clifford*

Checky or and azure a fess gules.



*The lord ffitzwal' / Robertt Radclyff*

Quarterly: 1, Argent a bend engrailed sable; 2, Or a fess between two chevrons gules; 3, Argent a lion rampant sable crowned or within a bordure azure; 4, Argent three bars gules.

*The lorde Ber / gavenny George / Nevvyll*

Quarterly: 1, Gules on a saltire argent a rose gules barbed and seeded or; 2, Checky or and azure; 3, Or three chevrons gules, impaling Quarterly argent and gules in the second and third a fret or over all a bendlet sable; 4, Gules a fess between six cross-crosslets or in the centre point a crescent sable. The shield within the Garter.

*The lorde / Zoweche*

Gules bezanty a canton ermine.

*The lord Wy / logby Willm / Wylogby*

Quarterly of six: 1, Sable a cross engrailed or; 2, Gules a cross moline argent; 3, Quarterly, Gules a lion rampant or, and Sable a fret or, over all a crescent or for difference; 4, Or a lion rampant double-tailed sable; 5, Gules a fess dancetty between six cross-crosslets or; 6, Barry of six ermine and gules three crescents sable.

*The lord la / Ware / West*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Gules semy of cross-crosslets fitchy a lion rampant argent; 2 and 3, Azure three leopards' faces jessant de lys or. The shield within the Garter.

*The lord / Dacres / ffynes*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Azure three lions rampant or; 2 and 3, Gules three escallops argent.

*The lord ffer / rers of char / teley Wat / Deuereux*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux; 2 and 3, Vairy or and gules.

*The lord Scrop / Henry Scrop*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Azure a bend or; 2 and 3, Argent a saltire engrailed gules; over all an escutcheon Azure a bend or a label of three points argent.

*The lord ffitz / Hugh / ffitz Hugh*

Azure three chevronels braced and a chief or.

*The lorde / Dudley / Edward Sutton*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Or a lion rampant double-tailed vert; 2, Quarterly, Or two lions passant azure, and Argent a cross patonce azure; 3, Quarterly, Argent a saltire engrailed gules, and Or a lion rampant gules. The shield within the Garter.

*The lord / Latimer / Nevvyll*

Gules a saltire argent charged with a pellet.

*The lord / Sturton / Sturton*

Sable a bend or between six fountains.

*The lord ffitz / Waren / Boursh'r*

Quarterly quartered: I and IV, Quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable; 2 and 3, Gules billety or a fess argent; over each of these grand quarters a label of three points azure charged on each point with a fleur-de-lys or; II and III, Quarterly per fess indented argent and gules.

*The lord / Barners / Boursh'r*

Quarterly quartered: I and IV, Quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent a cross engrailed gules [water bougets omitted]; 2 and 3, Gules billety or a fess argent; over each of these grand quarters a label of three points azure charged on each point with a lion rampant or; II and III, Quarterly or and vert.

*lumley* is written between the last shield and the next.

Sir William Dugdale includes among the lords temporal to whom the summons to this parliament was sent;

'Richardo Lomley, de Lomley, Chl'r. (mortuus est ut dicitur)'.

*The lord Ha / styng George / Hastynges*

Quarterly: 1, Argent a maunch sable; 2, Sable two bars argent and in chief three plates; 3, Argent a griffin segreant gules beaked and legged azure; 4, Paly wavy of six or and gules.

*The lord / mont yoie / Willm Blount*

Quarterly of six: 1 and 6, Barruly nebuly of six or and sable; 2, Argent two wolves passant sable within a bordure or charged with ten [saltires coupes gules evidently indicating the wolves' gambes saltirewise of Ayala]; 3, Or a tower triple-towered azure; 4, Vaire; 5, Argent three fleurs-de-lys azure.

*The lord / Broke / Robt Wylogby*

Quarterly: 1, Quarterly, Sable a cross engrailed or, and Gules a cross moline argent; 2, Gules a cross patonce or; 3, Gules four fusils conjoined in fess argent each charged with an escallop sable; 4, Or a chevron gules within a bordure engrailed sable.

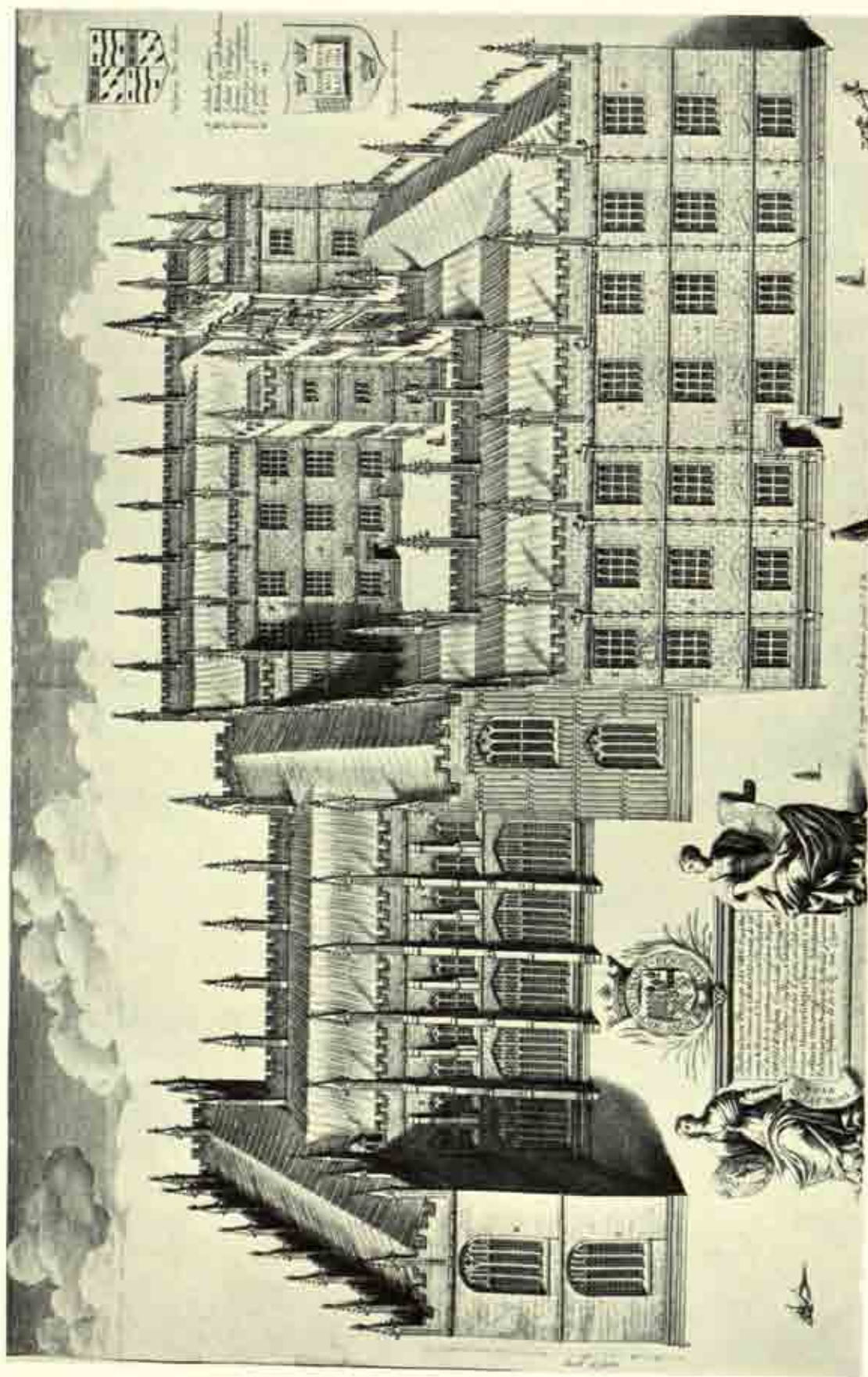
*The lorde / Conyers / Willm Conyers*

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Azure a maunch or; 2, Quarterly, Gules a saltire argent charged with a pellet, and Argent a lion rampant azure; 3, Quarterly, Azure semy of cross-crosslets three sexfoils argent, and Azure three bars gemel and a chief or.

One figure of a baron beneath a blank scroll and shield ends the procession.







The Bodleian Library from the South (from D. Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675)



## Recent Discoveries in the Bodleian Library<sup>1</sup>

By J. N. L. MYRES, Esq., LL.D., D.Litt., D.Lit., F.B.A., *Director*

*Bodleian Librarian 1947-65*

[Read 5th April 1962]

THE group of medieval and seventeenth-century buildings which forms the subject of this paper lies in the centre of academic Oxford, between the site of the city wall on the north, Exeter College and its garden on the west and south, and the old Schools Quadrangle on the east. It constitutes indeed the heart of the medieval university. In writing to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, on 14th July 1444 the authorities described the site as eminently suitable for a library because it was somewhat remote from secular noises.<sup>2</sup> In spite of a marked increase in secular noises over the past 500 years in traffic-ridden Oxford, this description remains substantially true today. The buildings, erected then and later, remain in external appearance almost exactly as they are depicted in David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* of 1675 (pl. xxvii).<sup>3</sup> They comprise the Divinity School, for which the university was already collecting money and laying the foundations in 1423;<sup>4</sup> Duke Humphrey's Library, built over it in the forty-five years following the letter to Duke Humphrey of 1444; Arts End and the Proscholium added at right angles to the east by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1610-12; and Selden End with the Convocation House below, attached similarly to the west in 1637-40. The three upper rooms, Duke Humphrey, Selden End, Arts End, form the core of the ancient buildings of the Bodleian Library: they have been continuously in use for library purposes for between 320 and 360 years.

Yet in spite of their unchanged appearance, and in spite of (or perhaps because of) their long record of service for their original purposes, the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library have an extensive record of structural weakness. The origins of this trouble may well go back to the fifteenth century, for in the sixty-five years that elapsed between the laying of the Divinity School's foundations about 1423 and the

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

*Arch. Journ.* = *Archaeological Journal*.

*Ep. Ac. Ox.* = *Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.*, ed. H. Anstey (O.H.S., 1898).

*Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* = *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., 2 vols., 1920 and 1921).

O.H.S. = Oxford Historical Society.

*Reg. Canc.* = *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., 2 vols., 1932).

*R.C.H.M. Oxford* = *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1939).

*V.C.H.* = *Victoria County History*.

<sup>2</sup> '... propterea quod a strepitu seculari remotior, bibliothecæ admodum videtur conveniens': *Ep. Ac. Ox.* i, 246.

<sup>3</sup> One of the very few changes is the disappearance of the small bellcote on the roof at the south-west corner of Duke Humphrey's library. This must have been added to it by Bodley to take his library bell which he gave in 1611. Since the recent reconstruction the bell, which had been mounted rather incongruously on the floor of Selden End, has again been hung in this position, but inside the roof instead of above it, so that no bellcote is required.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest stages of the building can be traced in the university's begging letters between 1423 and 1427: *Ep. Ac. Ox.* i, 10. In 1423 the bishop of Bath and Wells is told of 'quodam scoliarum edificio jam incepto': in 1426 'scoliarum nostrarum . . . inchoata fundamenta' are mentioned to the archbishop of Canterbury: by 1427 it was possible to speak to the master of St. Thomas Hospital, London, of 'muri scoliarum predictarum jam terre surgentes de sinu'.



opening of Duke Humphrey's Library to readers in 1488 the design and execution of the work were subjected to numerous alterations and delays which cannot have contributed to the coherence or the stability of the structure. The recent restoration of the building has thrown some fresh light on this complicated architectural history, which it is one purpose of this paper to record, but much of it remains puzzling and the details may never be fully recovered. Nevertheless an attempt can now be made to set out more fully than has hitherto been possible what seem from the documentary sources to have been the principal stages in its evolution.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the context provided by this story that the significance of the recent discoveries can be appreciated.

The Divinity School must originally have been designed as a single-storey hall of five bays. The substantial buttresses between these bays imply an intention that it should be vaulted, though the vault would most naturally have sprung from a higher point on the walls and would have risen to a greater height than is now the case. Very slow progress was made with the early stages of the building, and by 1439 the university was blaming the delays on the unnecessary elaboration of detail introduced by the master mason, Richard Winchcombe. In that year his successor, Thomas Elkyn,<sup>2</sup> was urged to speed up and simplify the work, and to eliminate all 'supervacuuous curiosity', which was not *ad rem* but tended to excessive expense for the university and excessive delay in completing the work.<sup>3</sup>

The effect of these instructions is plainly visible in the building today. At several points on the south side mouldings are simplified in windows that were still unfinished at the date of Elkyn's appointment (pl. xxxi a), niches are omitted, and the southern buttresses, unlike the northern, are left unpanelled above the plinth (see pls. xxix a and xlvii b). These differences indeed make it easy to distinguish the work of Elkyn from that of Winchcombe, and so to form a general idea of the state of the building in 1439. It seems clear that whereas the north side (pl. xxix b) had reached a height corresponding to the main offset half-way up the present windows of Duke Humphrey,<sup>4</sup> and considerable progress had been made with the east, and probably also with the west end,<sup>5</sup> most of the south side was still only a few feet above ground level.

<sup>1</sup> The most useful earlier attempt to do this is in W. St. John Hope's article on 'The Heraldry and Sculpture of the Vault of the Divinity School' (*Arch. Journ.* lxxi (1914), 217-60), but further sources have been printed since he wrote; the same is true of the historical summary in *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii (1954), 44-45, and of the architectural description in *R.C.H.M. Oxford* (1939), pp. 5-10, both of which contain valuable information.

<sup>2</sup> The details concerning these appointments are summarized in *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii (1954), 44; for the careers of these and other Oxford masons mentioned in this paper see E. A. Gee, 'Oxford Masons 1370-1530' in *Arch. Journ.* cix (1952), 54-131.

<sup>3</sup> '... dicta Universitas vult quod dictus Thomas retrahet... supervacuam talem curiositatem... in tabernaculis ymaginum, caesimentis, et fylettis et in aliis frivolis curiositatibus que ad rem non pertinent sed ad nimias et sumptuosas expensas... et ad nimiam dicti operis tardacionem.' It is interesting to note that this change in

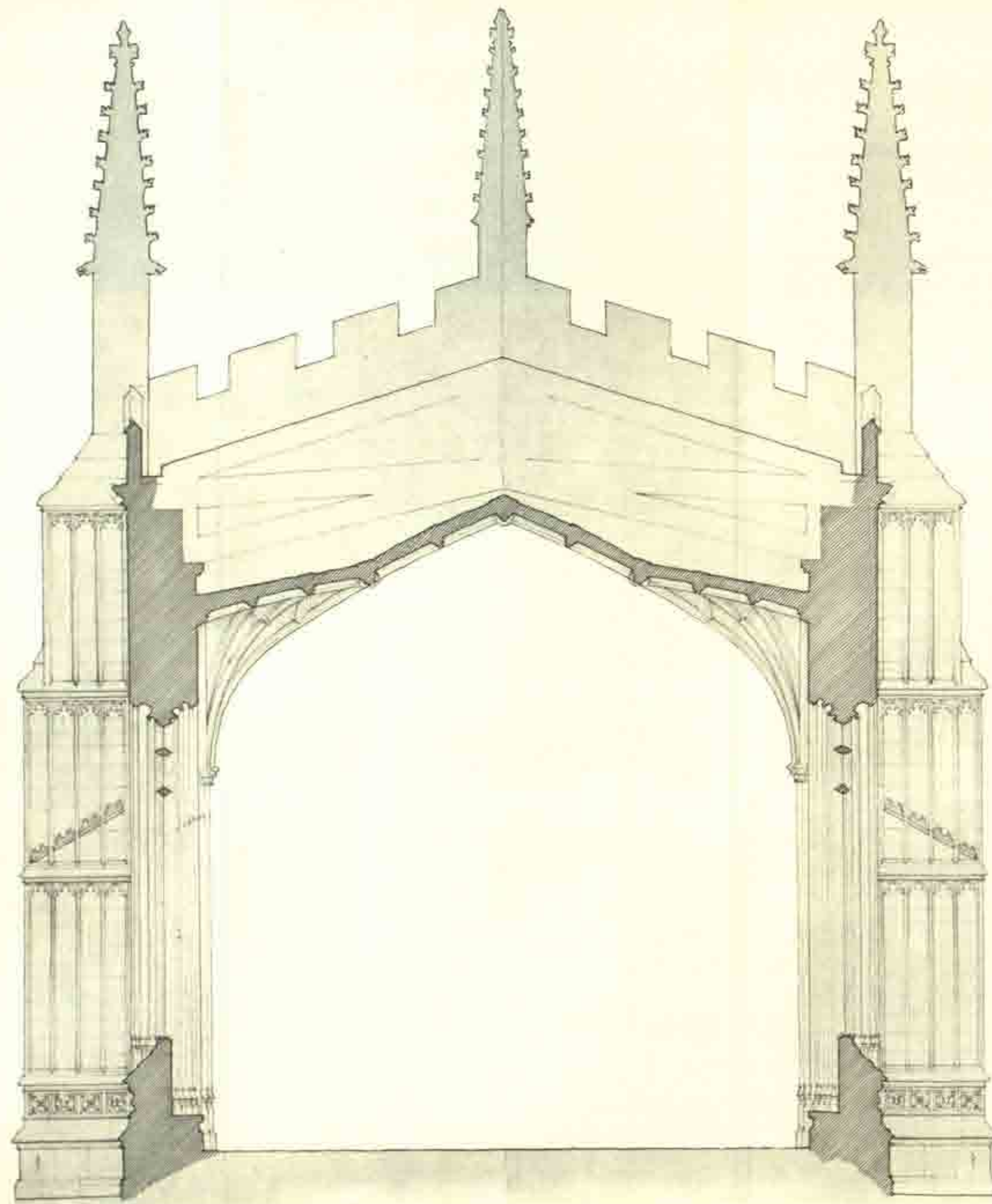
architectural direction was attributed by the university to the views of 'plures magnati regni et alii sapientes', who were moved by considerations of taste as well as of time and money (*Ep. Ac. Ox.* i, 192).

<sup>4</sup> This is the point to which the panelling of the northern buttresses also extends (pl. xxix a and fig. 1), and it may well represent the intended wallplate level of the original building. If so, the vault could have sprung from a point within the maximum depth of the buttresses, and below the heads of the main windows and could have been comfortably contained within a roof of quite low pitch. The diagonal line of decoration on Winchcombe's buttresses (fig. 1) seems intelligible only as an indication of the line of stress from a vault springing from this point.

<sup>5</sup> Both the east and west doors are decorated in Winchcombe's manner and there is evidence that both ends were panelled, at least to some extent, as were his northern buttresses. See pls. xxviii, xxxviii b, and xxxvi.







# DIVINITY SCHOOL OXFORD

*A reconstruction as originally designed  
the intent of Richard Winclescombe work  
should make.*



Scale

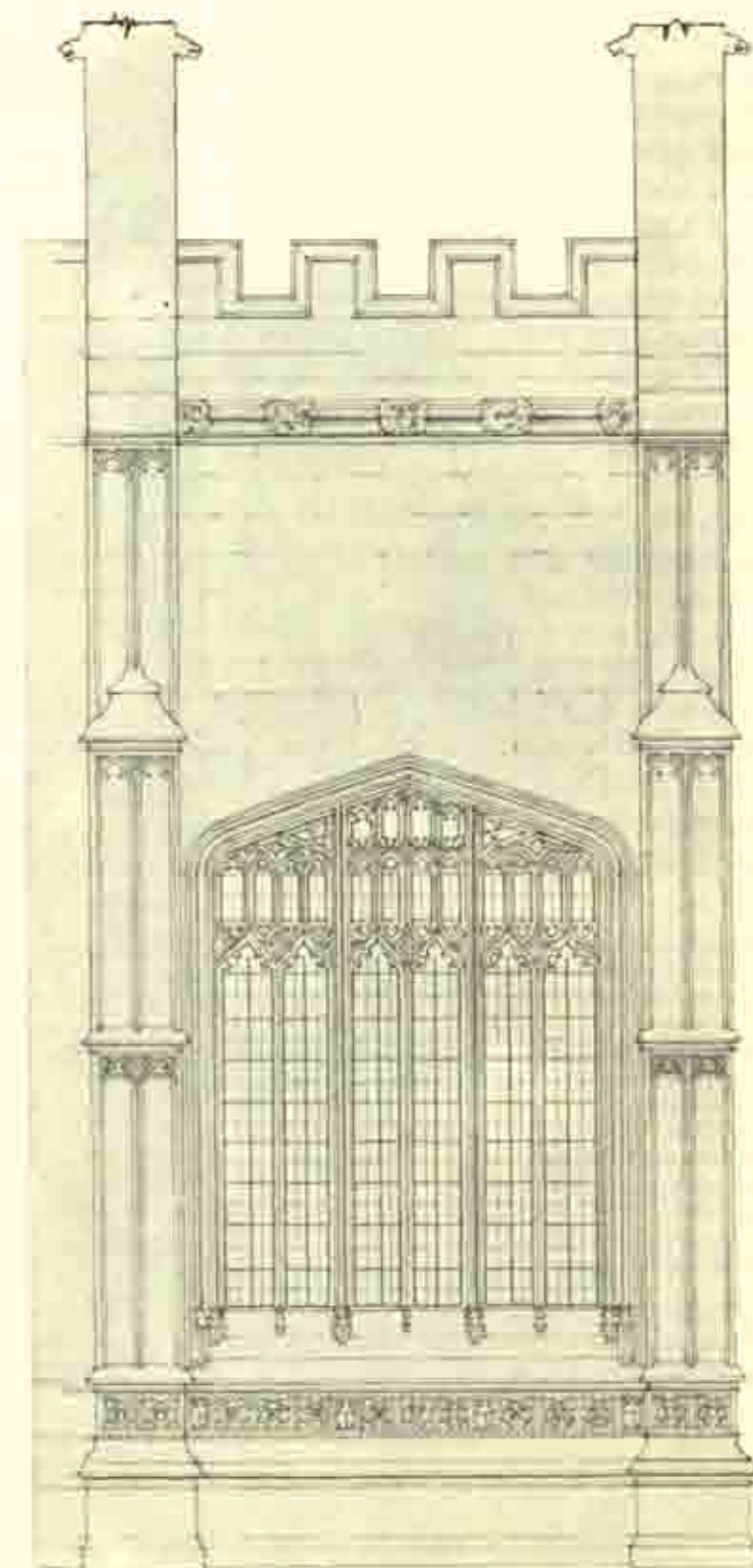
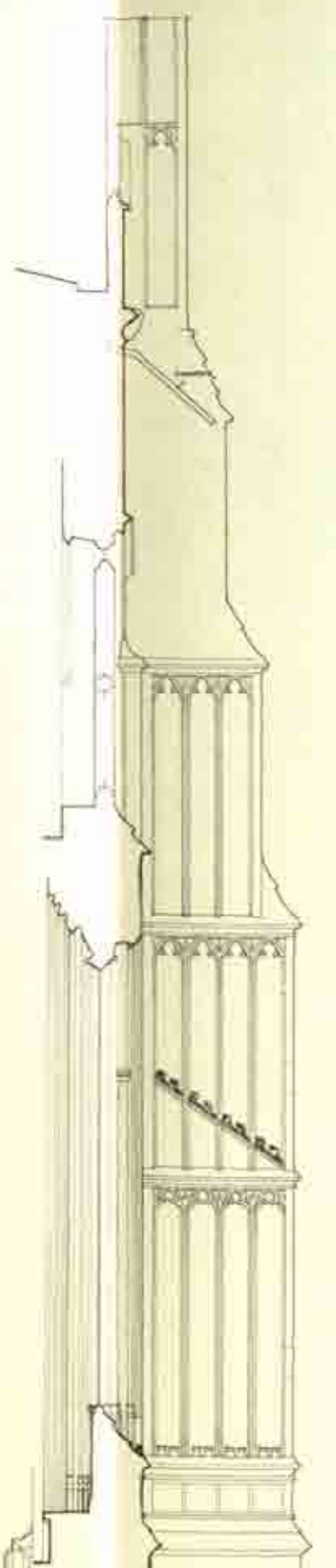
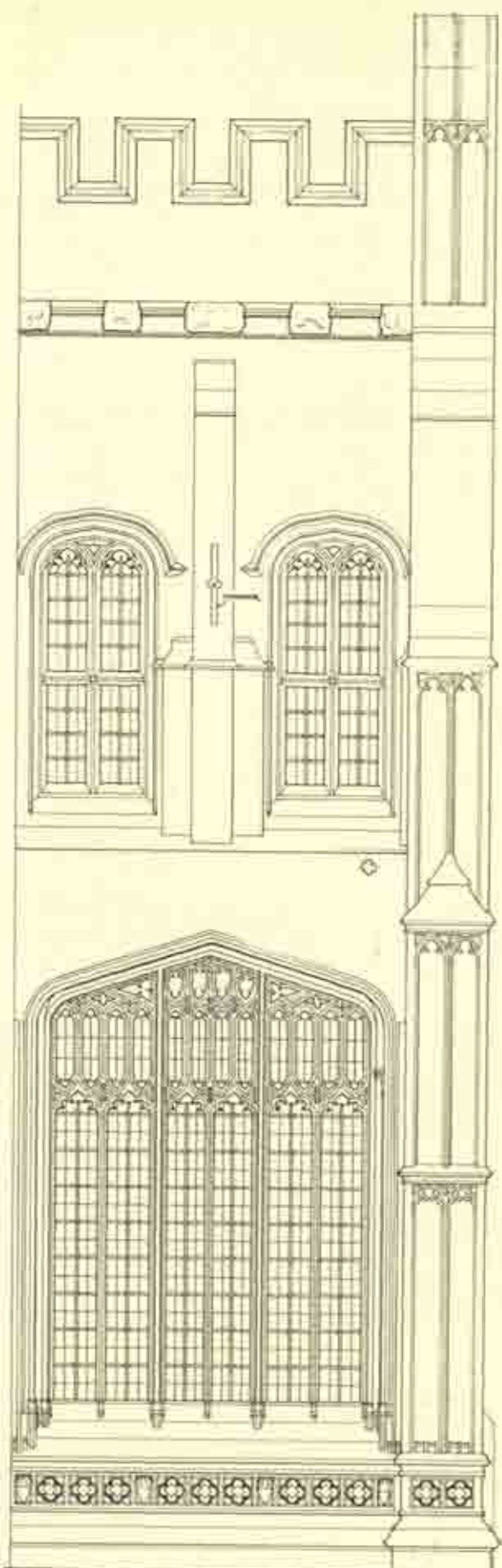
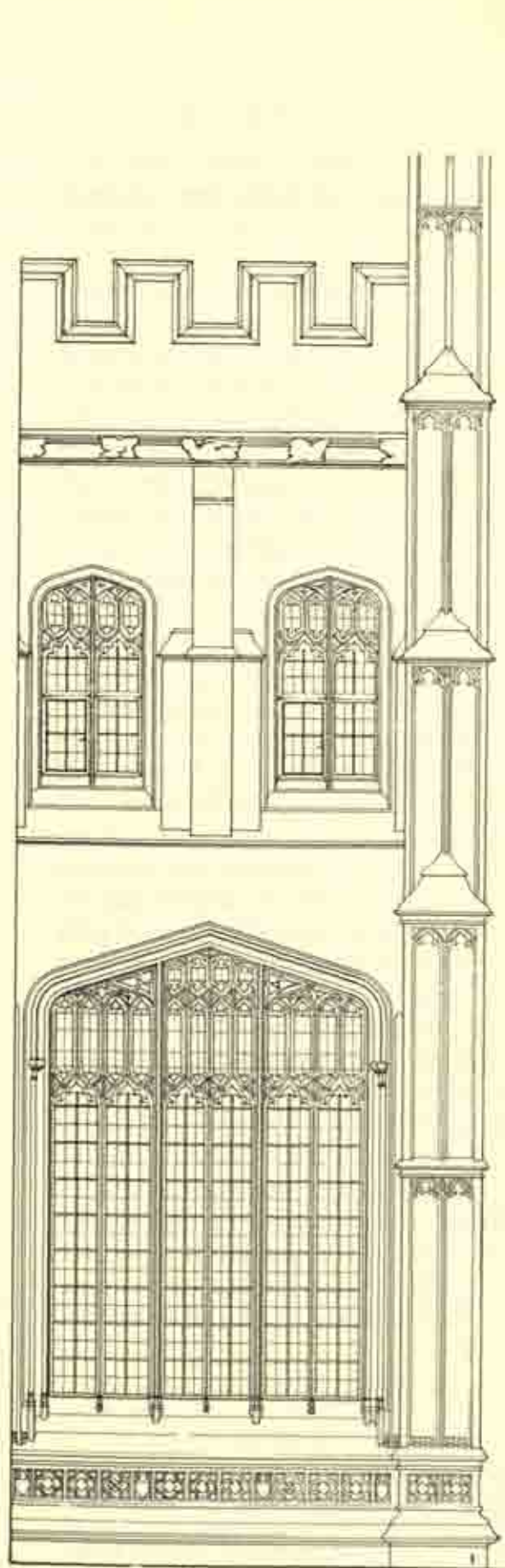


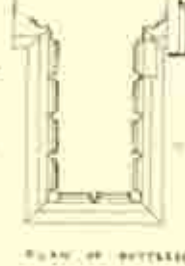
FIG. 1. Suggested section and elevation for the Divinity School as originally designed about 1423





Scale 1/8" = 1 Foot

FIG. 2. (a) Suggested elevation for Divinity School and Library as prepared in 1432. (b) Elevation of Divinity School and Library after insertion of Divinity School vault. (c) Section of b.



SECTION

PLAN OF BUTTRESS

PLAN





It was therefore with the building still in this somewhat lopsided condition that the decision was taken in 1444 to add an upper storey as a new library to house Duke Humphrey's great gift of books. This must have led to the abandonment of the intended vault, or at least of a vault of the height previously contemplated, a decision which helps to explain the curious fact that the uppermost stage of the northern buttresses and nearly the whole of the southern were not bonded into the walls, being apparently no longer regarded as functional. Provision must also have been made at this time for access to the proposed upper room by means of turret staircases at the west end.<sup>1</sup> A further consequence would have been the need to carry the walls to a higher level than had been intended, and a start seems to have been made with this on the north side at a reduced thickness. But there was evidently some uncertainty, for nearly a decade, about the additional height that would be required, presumably because no decision had been reached on the position of the upper floor or the method of supporting it. Moreover, the master mason, Thomas Elkyn, died in 1449,<sup>2</sup> and his disappearance from the scene may well have contributed to the delay and uncertainty.

But in 1453 these doubts were resolved. Two experienced craftsmen, one of whom, Robert Jannyns, had been warden of the masons during the building of All Souls College, and had recently completed the Chapel tower at Merton, were called in 'to survey and settle the height of the building'.<sup>3</sup> The task took them two days for which they were allowed expenses in addition to their fees. It must have involved decisions on the floor level of the library room and the position and size of its windows, since without the determination of these points it would not have been possible to fix the overall height of the structure. It would seem that they worked on the assumption that both the Divinity School and the Library would now have to have wooden ceilings, thus making it unnecessary to bond in the upper stages of the buttresses. They probably provided for the library windows to be set in pairs in each bay, as they still are, with their sills rather below the original wall-plate level and related to a floor set lower than the present one and resting on a flat ceiling in the Divinity School immediately over the heads of the main windows. They presumably also arranged for the present secondary buttresses to rise from this point in each bay between the library windows to join a corbel table at the new wall-plate level above them (fig. 2 a).

These decisions enabled work to proceed, and there is evidence from the accounts that it did so. Considerable quantities of stone from Taynton, Burford, and Headington were obtained in the same year that the inspection was made, and some of this was for a 'corbell tabull', showing that parts of the walls were approaching their intended height.<sup>4</sup> There is talk of alterations to a 'gabull', probably that at the west

<sup>1</sup> As shown on John Bereblock's drawing of 1566: see pl. XLVII a.

<sup>2</sup> His will was proved in the Chancellor's Court on 6th October 1449: *Reg. Canc.* i, 191-2.

<sup>3</sup> '... ad supervidendum et indicandum altitudinem dicte fabrice novarum scholarum': see the accounts of W. Clurche, supervisor of the works, printed and discussed by A. D. M. Cox in *Oxonienisia*, xxi (1956), 48-60.

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All the information here given for work done in 1452-3 is derived from this very informative document which was not available to earlier writers on this subject.

<sup>4</sup> A total of 109 feet of stone for the 'corbell tabull' is recorded which would be sufficient for the whole of one side, presumably the north, and a large part of one end of the building.



end which might well require modification from its original form to allow for the construction of the turret staircases. That work was proceeding at some height is shown by expenditure on 'scaffold tymbur' and on a *magna rota*, no doubt for a hoist to raise materials to the upper levels. By 1457 payments are being authorized towards at least a temporary roof,<sup>1</sup> and this was in a state to be thatched by 1464/5.<sup>2</sup> Desks and seats for the Divinity School itself were made in 1466,<sup>3</sup> which shows that the room was thought to be nearly ready for use, though the heads of the desks were not carved until 1469/70.<sup>4</sup>

Upstairs, however, things remained woefully incomplete. Work was still needed 'to complete the building of the wall' in 1469/70,<sup>5</sup> and at the same time the university was complaining that until the new library was ready they had no proper place to put the gift of books from John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the 1470s there is expenditure at intervals on the walls and roof. Indeed it looks as if a more substantial roof had replaced the thatched affair of 1457-65, for in 1472/3 its leadwork was repaired. At the same time the upper windows were glazed, or perhaps only provided with shutters, and some unspecified holes were also filled in.<sup>7</sup> But it is evident that the upper room was still quite unusable. It is possible that the floor had never been finished, and that the university was waiting in hopes of a benefaction that would provide the Divinity School with a more worthy ceiling.

If so, it waited for some years, but not in vain. In 1479 a gift of 1,000 marks from Thomas Kempe, bishop of London, made it possible to revert to the original project for a vaulted room, and to bring the Divinity School to completion as we know it. All thoughts of austerity were now thrown to the winds, and it seems certain that William Orchard, the most celebrated architect of the day, who had just built Magdalen College for Bishop Waynflete, was commissioned to undertake the work.<sup>8</sup> The splendour and immense elaboration of the vault which he inserted and the imaginative skill with which he fitted it around the great lateral windows (pl. xxxi b), and adapted the existing features at the east and west ends to suit his new design (pl. xxxii), have tended to distract attention from the structural problems involved, and the consequences for the proportions and the stability of the unfinished library room upstairs. To keep the inevitable changes of level to an absolute minimum, Orchard

<sup>1</sup> Four nobles were taken from the Proctor's Chest 'pro coopertura fabricae novarum scholarum': Reg. Aa. f. 107r.

<sup>2</sup> Sixteen pence were paid 'pro stramine ad cooperturam novarum scholarum' and 3s. 6d. for labour: *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 295.

<sup>3</sup> John Godard of Bucklebury, Berks., binds himself to make by St. Andrew's Day 'XXXVII ambonnes cum scabellis correspondentibus pro novis scolis sacre theologie': Reg. Cane. ii, 185.

<sup>4</sup> 'pro incisione capitum ambonum in novis scolis iii lib. vi s. viii d.': *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 299.

<sup>5</sup> £10 is paid to the supervisors of the new schools 'pro completionem edificationis muri': *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 299.

<sup>6</sup> 'priusquam nova fit libraria locum aptum non habemus': *Ep. Ac. Ox.* ii, 391.

<sup>7</sup> Forty shillings was received from the Chest of Five Keys 'pro reparatione facta circa tectum novarum scholarum', and expenditure included three shillings 'pro clausura fenestrarum superiorum et obstruccionem foraminum', and twenty-six shillings and eight pence 'pro tectura novarum scholarum theologie et pro renovatione plumbi eiusdem tecture': *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 306-8. The use of the words 'tectum' and 'tectura' for this roof suggests that it was something more permanent than the thatched 'coopertura' of 1464/5, which may have been only a temporary covering carried on scaffold poles to enable work to proceed during wet weather, much as a tarpaulin might be used today. The 'foramina' filled in 1472/3 could have been holes left in the walls to support scaffolding.

<sup>8</sup> *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 291 and 324.



designed his vault to a very low pitch for a building of this width, and caused his main transverse arches, on which everything rested, to spring from a very low point on the walls not much more than half-way up the height of the windows (pl. xxxi *b*). Even so the vault was bound to take more space than a flat ceiling, and so the floor of the upper room was forced up to very nearly its present position almost level with the sills of the library windows. That the floor was laid directly on the vault is shown by the low arches on its upper face designed to provide a flat surface for the main timbers (pl. xxxiii). A further heightening of the whole building was probably also required both to provide more weight against the thrust of so flat a vault, and to restore some proportion to the library, which must have suffered in appearance from the raising of its floor. The main buttresses, which bore the full thrust of the new vault, were thus carried up to a higher parapet and were crowned with heavy pinnacles, while the secondary buttresses between the library windows, which had now little structural function, were allowed to die out into the wall before reaching the new corbel table (cp. fig. 2 *a* and *b*).

As will be seen later, some fresh light has been thrown on these arrangements by the recent restoration of the building, though the skill which Orchard displayed in blending his new work with the old makes it very difficult to detect his changes in detail. Although the loss of the Proctors' Accounts between 1482/3 and 1488/9, the crucial years for the structural completion of the library, leaves the story undocumented over the critical period, there is the contemporary witness of William Worcester who visited Oxford and obtained measurements of the building in 1480. His account shows not only that the new vault was in position by that date but also that calculations of overall height were then being made from the foundation courses 'to the upper wall-plate of freestone'.<sup>1</sup> The phraseology suggests both that Orchard had prudently tested the depth of the foundations before building the vault, and that the walls were still rising, or were intended to rise, higher than some previously existing wall-plate. The fact that William Worcester's figure for this dimension, unlike his other measurements for the building, is wide of the mark for the present wall-plate height,<sup>2</sup> may well indicate that here he was given a paper figure by the workmen, derived perhaps from drawings which were subsequently modified, rather than from the unfinished building itself. That the work was far from finished at the date of his visit in 1480 is certainly suggested by the fact that it took another seven years before the library was ready for use. It was not until 1487 that the move of the university's

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. H. Harvey, F.S.A., for checking for me the exact wording of the passage on the Divinity School in the Cambridge manuscript of William Worcester's Itineraries (Corpus Christi College MS. 210) transcribed for his forthcoming edition of that work. William was at Oxford, staying at the Bull, from 11th to 19th August 1480, and he writes thus of the Divinity School (p. 209): 'Scola Theologie nova cum libraria desuper . . . continet in longitudine . 30 . virgas quelibet virga . 3 . pedum et [blank] Et in latitudine continet . 32 . pedes et in altitudine a fundo usque ad superiorem wall-plate de frestone . 80 . pedes: et in altitudine ad voltam

novam sive arcum modo operatum in anno Christi . 1480 . a terra sive plano solo continet . 32 . pedes.'

<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the distinction made between the internal height of the vault 'a terra' and the overall external height 'a fundo' is deliberate and implies that the depth of the foundation is included in the latter figure. Mr. Harvey has suggested to me that the miscalculation of the overall height may be partly due to William being given the height to the apex of the gable rather than to the top of the walls. Even so the error must be considerable, for it could hardly have been more than 70 feet from the foundation to the gable end: see pl. xxviii.



books from the old library in St. Mary's Church is mentioned as imminent.<sup>1</sup> Only in 1488 were newly given books being chained in the new library for the first time.<sup>2</sup>

After these many alterations and improvisations the upper room only served as the university's library for some sixty years. By 1550 it had fallen victim to the religious troubles of the Reformation, to its own lack of endowment, and to the difficulties which faced all medieval libraries in adjusting themselves to the revolutionary consequences of the invention of printing.<sup>3</sup> The books and furniture were dispersed, and for over forty years the building remained empty and neglected without proper maintenance until in 1598 Sir Thomas Bodley undertook to bring what a contemporary termed the 'greate desolate roome' back to use.<sup>4</sup>

Some consequences of this period of neglect will be discussed later. At this point it need only be emphasized that the extensions of the seventeenth century can hardly have improved the structural stability of the old building. Most of the east wall above the library floor was removed when Arts End was built in 1612, the whole of the west wall was taken out when Selden End was added in 1637, and, to make matters worse, a gallery was built along the upper walls of Duke Humphrey to take Bishop Barlow's books in 1691, thereby greatly increasing the pressure on a structure already overloaded by the massive three-decker book-presses introduced by Bodley in 1600. After some amateur attempts to rectify matters had been taken under the supervision of Dean Aldrich,<sup>5</sup> no less a person than Sir Christopher Wren was consulted in 1700. In order to contain the alarming outward spread of the south wall, he proposed that extended buttresses (pl. xxx a) should be added on the south side built on underground 'ramping arches',<sup>6</sup> and that tie-rods should be inserted to take the weight of the cases off the floor, as illustrated by his own drawing preserved in the library records (pl. LI).<sup>7</sup> These measures served to hold the building together for a century and three-quarters.

By 1876, however, there was further trouble. It was found that the spread of the walls was now threatening the stability of the Divinity School vault, and it was neces-

<sup>1</sup> In that year the bishop of London was told 'Ipsi vero omnes libri, quum primum ad nos dabuntur, una cum aliis libris qui in antiqua libraria Universitatis adhuc sunt, in tuam novam librariam cathenandi citissime transferentur.' This passage shows that the bishop, whose benefaction had paid for the vault of the Divinity School, was thereby regarded as essentially the donor of the library also: *Ep. Ac. Ox.* 545.

<sup>2</sup> In 1488 a donor of thirty-one books is told that his volumes 'sunt firmissime cathenati in nova nostre Universitatis libraria: que eos maxima quadam gratulatione propterea suscepit quod sunt primitie omnium librorum quos susceptura est': *Ep. Ac. Ox.* 545.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Oxford libraries at this time see J. N. L. Myres in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. F. Wormald and C. E. Wright, 1958, pp. 238-43, and the references there given.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1598-1601*, p. 35.

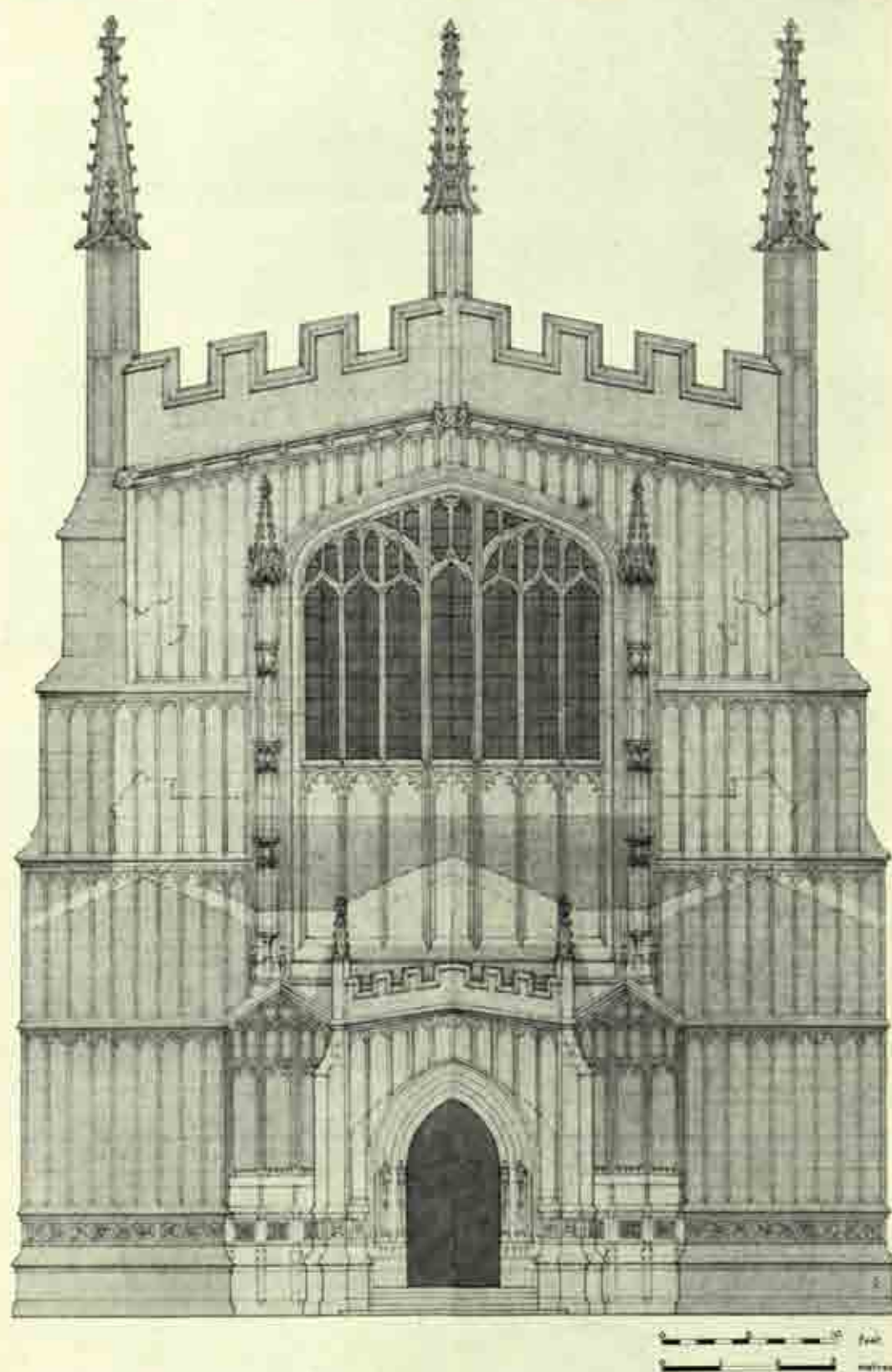
<sup>5</sup> W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (ed. 1890), pp. 168-9.

<sup>6</sup> The existence of Wren's 'ramping arches' was verified in 1922 in an excavation (in which I took part as a student)

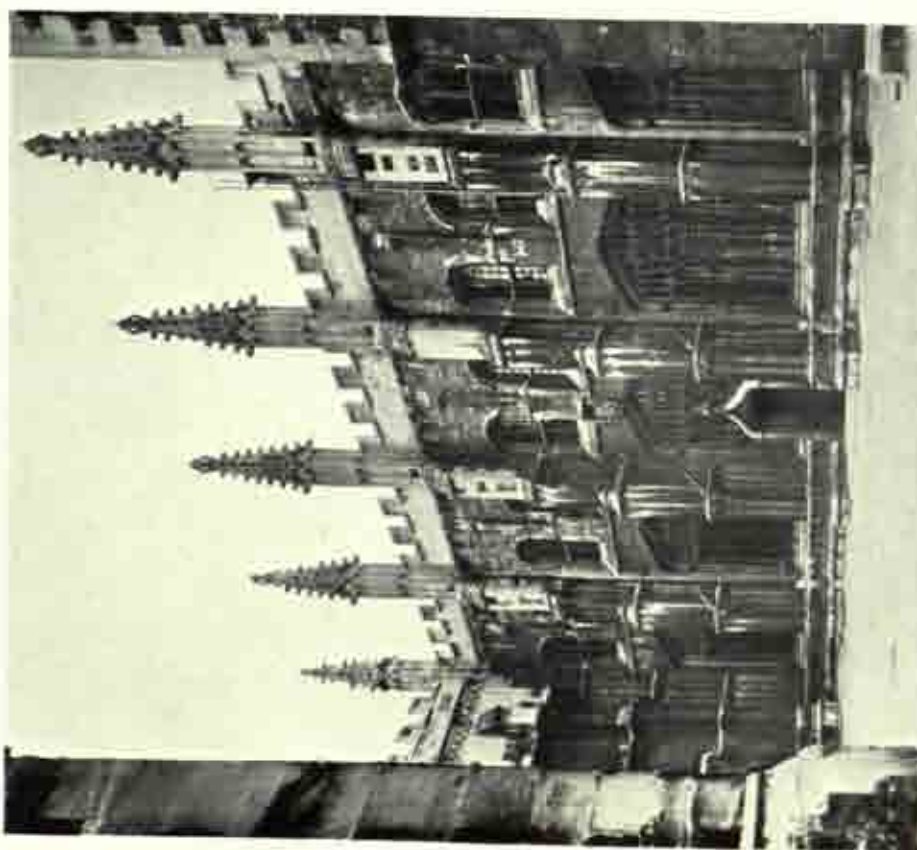
conducted by the late L. H. D. Buxton, F.S.A. The masonry of the additional buttresses had become extensively decayed before the recent restoration (pl. xxx a). Since they would have been very expensive to renew, and now served no structural purpose, they were removed. Compare pls. xxx a and XLVII b for the appearance of the south wall from Exeter College garden before and after restoration.

<sup>7</sup> That the library floor was originally laid directly on the vault is shown by the little flat arches visible on pl. xxxiii that provided a level surface on which to lay the main floor timbers. This was quite safe so long as the library contents were limited to a few hundred manuscripts on lectern desks. No one in 1480 could anticipate that the vault would one day be expected to carry the weight of Bodley's tall bookcases and thousands of printed books. It was probably this change of load more than any other single factor that produced the instability which Wren was called on to correct. It is a remarkable tribute to Orchard's architectural skill that his vault sustained this unintended weight so long.





Reconstruction of East Façade of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library. (Drawing by Robert Potter)

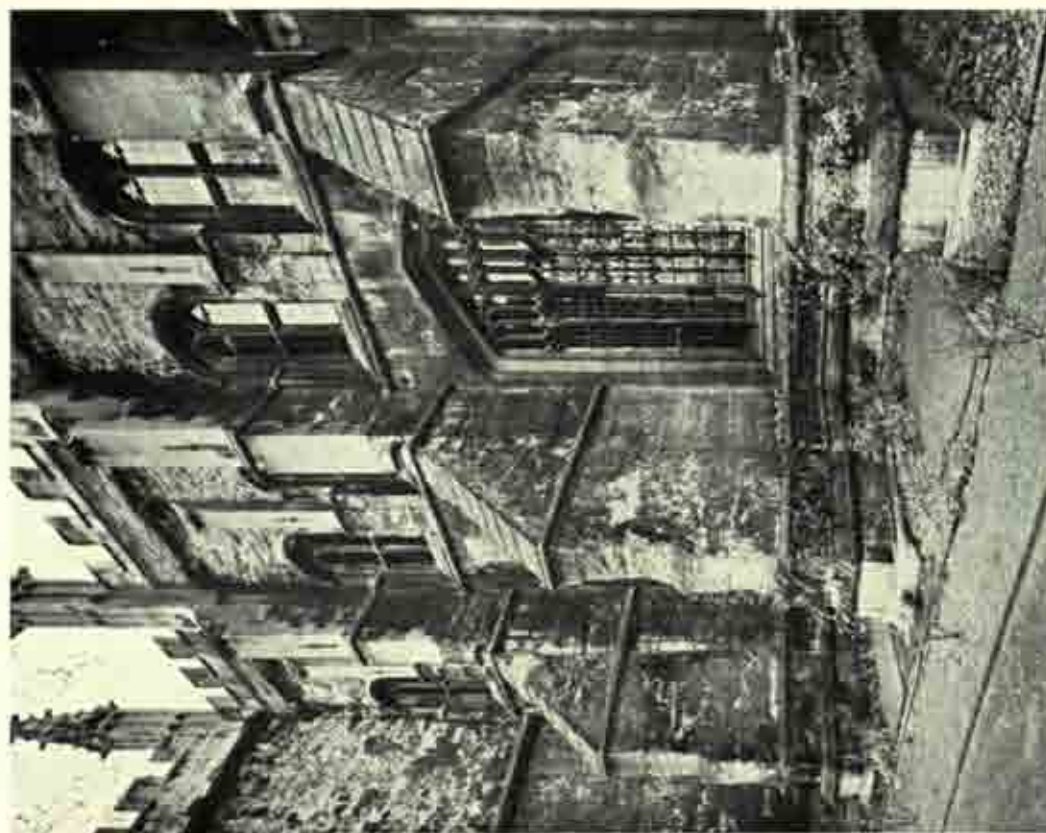


a. North side of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library before restoration; the buttresses are panelled for the first three stages.



b. East elevation of Arts End (1610-13) before restoration, showing Proscholium door, with window and panelled wall modelled on fifteenth-century features of the Divinity School

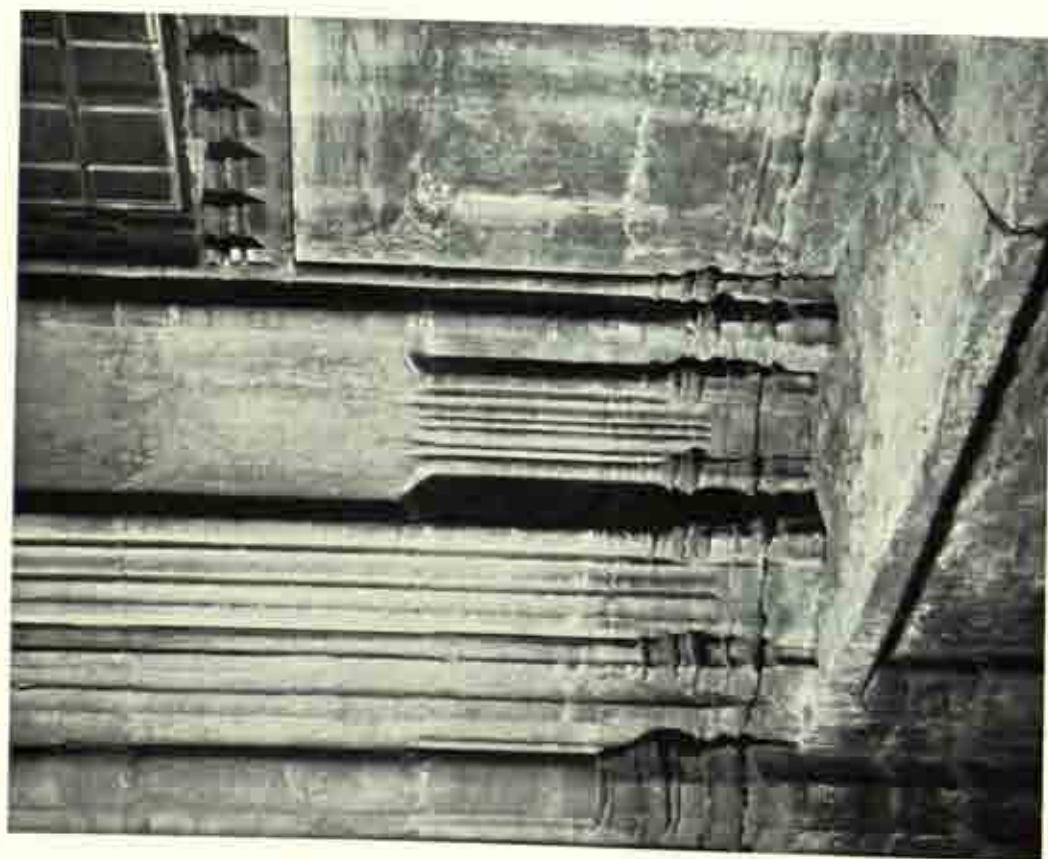




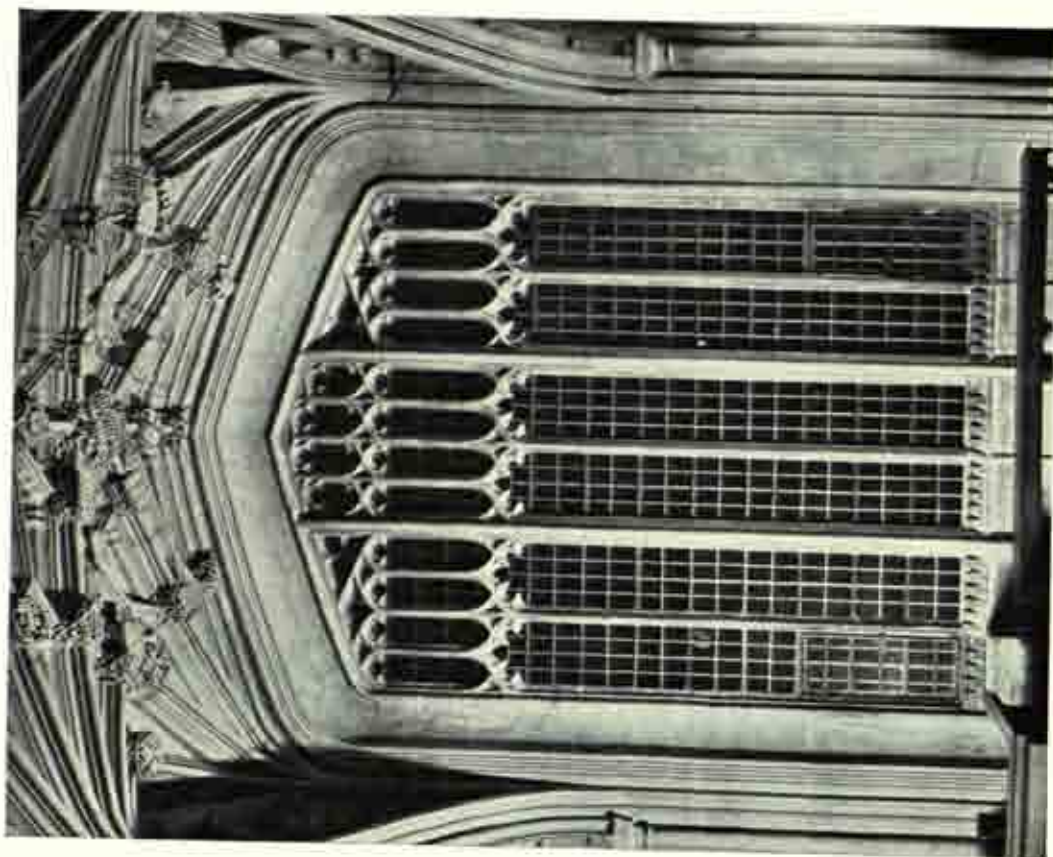
*a.* South side of the Divinity School before restoration, showing decayed state of Sir Christopher Wren's extensions to the buttresses



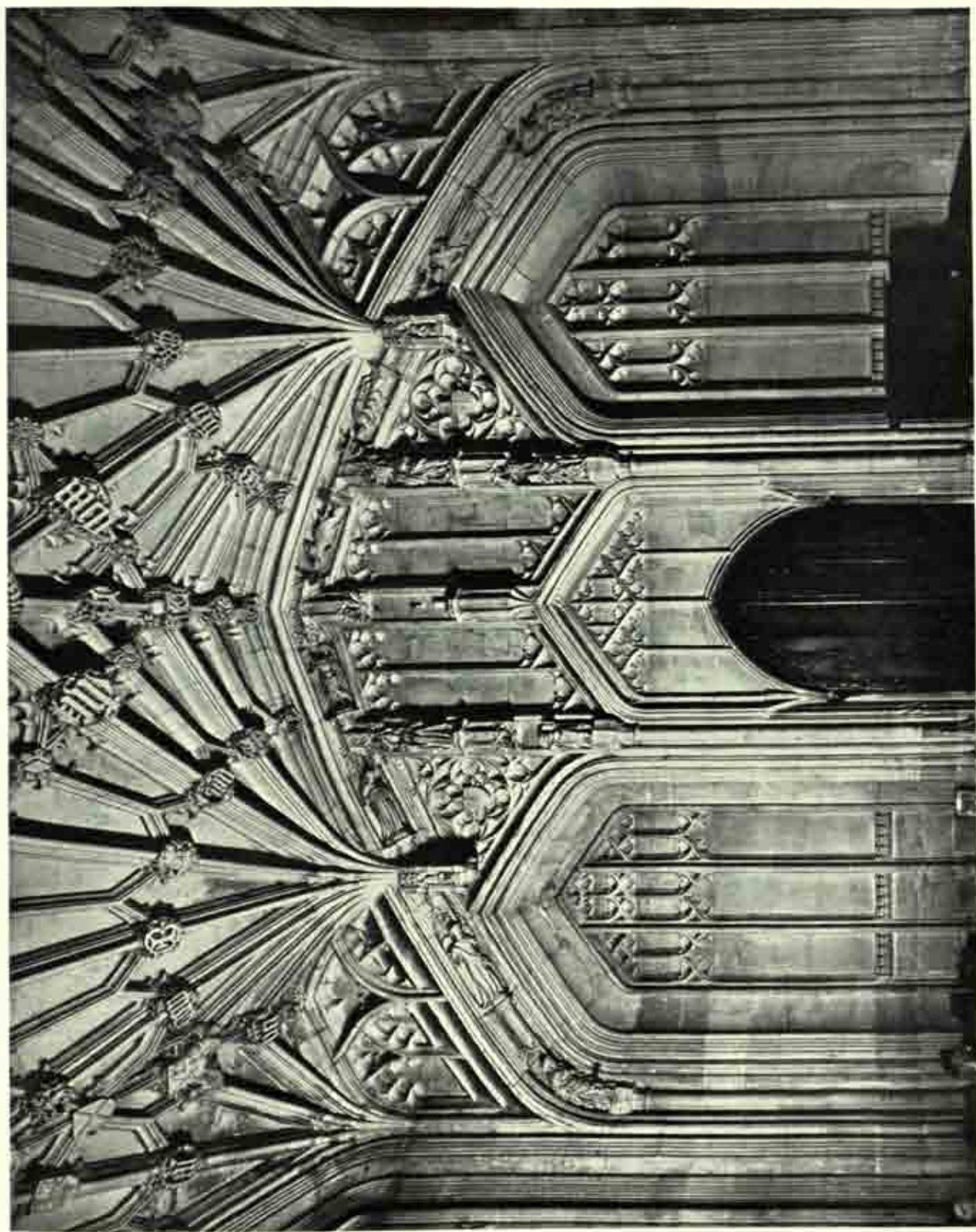
*b.* North side of the Divinity School under repair. Reinforced uprights (left) are being inserted into the buttresses  
*(By courtesy of the University Surveyor, Oxford)*



*a.* South window reveal of the Divinity School, showing contrast between the elaborate mouldings of Richard Winchcombe (before 1439) and the simpler work of Thomas Elkyn (1439-49)

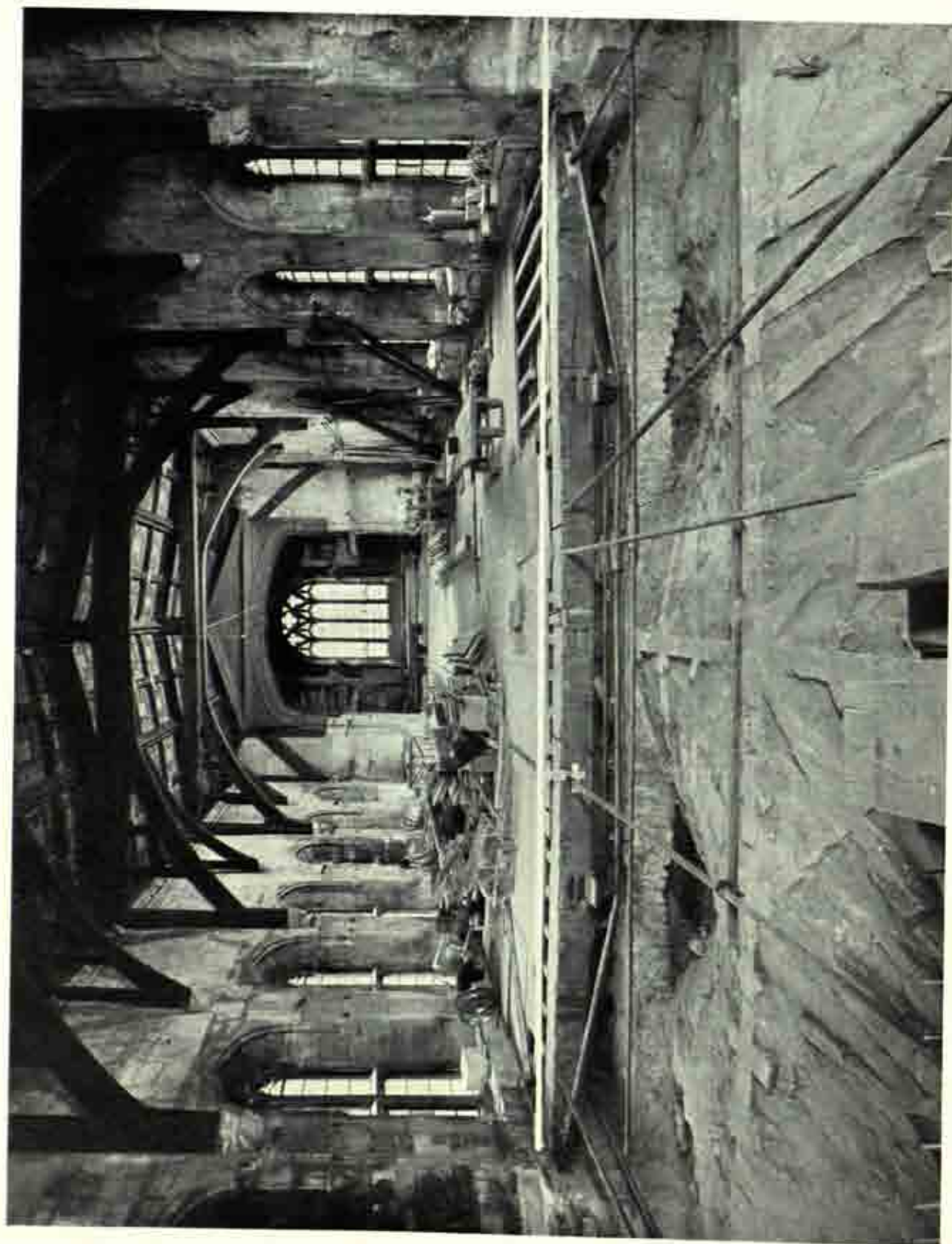






Interior of east wall of the Divinity School showing Richard Winchcombe's door (before 1439), and lateral windows remodelled in blind to fit William Orchard's vault (about 1480)





Duke Humphrey's Library, showing the trussed beams of Galton's floor (1877) sagging from the horizontal on to the Divinity School vault. The flat arches on the vault carried the original library floor

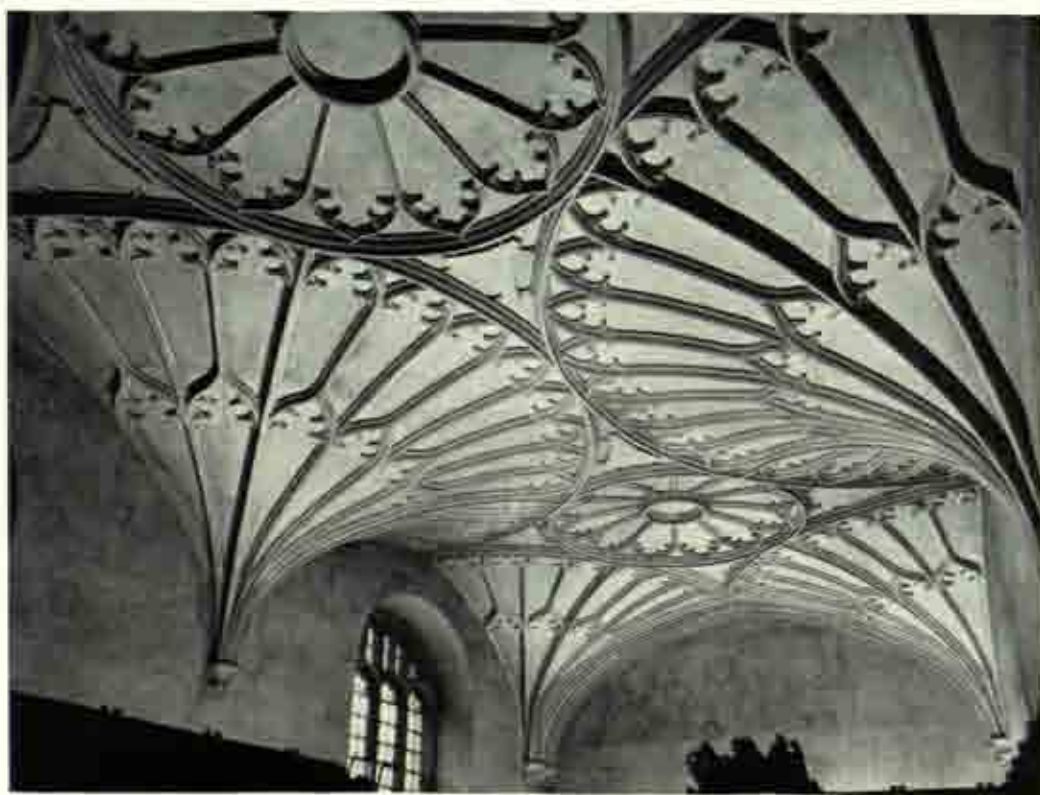




Duke Humfrey's Library, looking east; after insertion of new floor and before return of Bodley's furniture



*a.* Nineteenth-century heating ducts cut through the floor timbers of Selden End

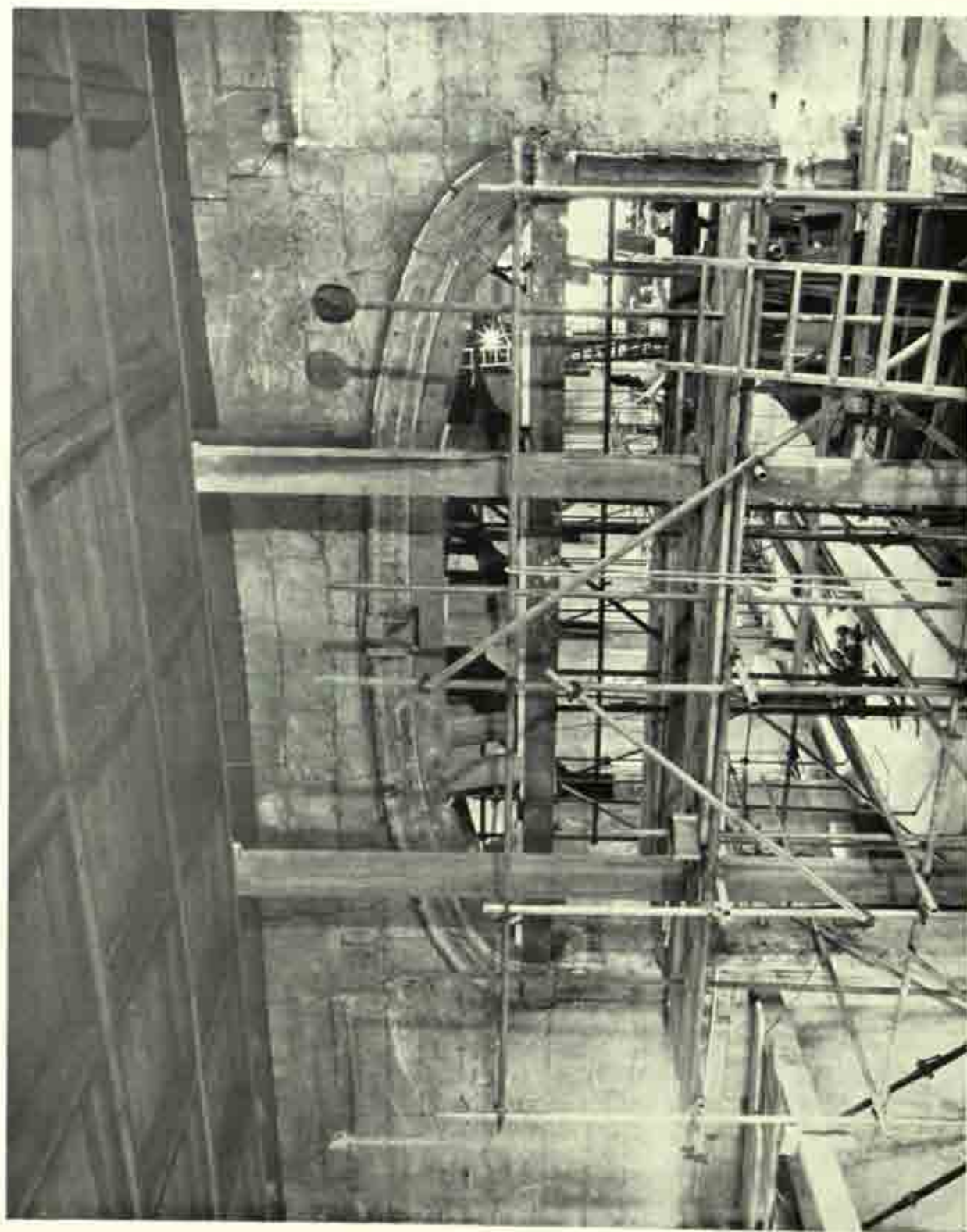


*b.* The vaulted ceiling of the Convocation House (1758-9)





Lower part of west door to the Divinity School revealed after removal of seventeenth-century seating in the Convocation House. The elaborate detail shows that the door-way belongs to the earlier phase of the building (before 1439)



Broken state of the Selden End arch, revealed after removal of its panelling (shown in Pl. xxxiii)  
(By courtesy of the University Surveyor, Oxford)



sary to relieve it of all pressure from the library floor. The whole of the old floor was accordingly removed and relaid on new 14 × 12 in. oak beams, each trussed with two 2-in. wrought iron tie-rods to hold them clear of the vault (pl. xxxiii), as described by the architect Douglas Galton in an unusually informative report, printed in the *Oxford University Gazette* on 20th March 1877. To hold the new floor clear of the vault it had to be raised some 5 in. above the floor of Arts End, and to prevent further movement of the south wall it was tied to the north wall with wrought iron rods at both floor and roof level. At the same time the galleries inserted in 1691 were removed.

These sound and conservative measures might have secured the stability of Duke Humphrey's library more or less indefinitely. But unfortunately the heating pipes which now ran beneath the floor had the effect of contracting the main beams inserted by Galton and causing the floor to sag. By 1950 it was once again in contact with the vault below and was exerting dangerous pressure upon it. The seriousness of the position became apparent when the detailed survey of decayed external stonework was undertaken for the Oxford Historic Buildings Appeal. Before any such outside repairs could be undertaken it was necessary to determine whether the safety of the building depended on the retention of the tie-rods taken through the walls by Wren and Galton. It was this examination which revealed the alarming relationship which had again arisen between the library floor and the Divinity School vault, and made a major rescue operation imperative.

It also became apparent that the introduction of central heating in the nineteenth century had had a disastrous effect on the stability of Selden End, though for a different reason. Here the heating ducts had been driven recklessly through the main timbers, with the consequence that the floor could only be kept reasonably horizontal with the help of little brick piers supported at irregular intervals on the vault of the Convocation House below (pl. xxxv a). This charming Gothick fan-vault (pl. xxxv b) was no part of the original building. It had been inserted in 1758/9 by John Townsend to serve merely as a decorative ceiling; it was only three or four inches thick and was never intended to be load-bearing. Our structural engineer was shocked beyond belief to find it supporting the floor of Selden End loaded with library furniture and massive standing bookcases packed with hundreds of heavy volumes.

From all this it can easily be realized that the work of restoring this unique group of ancient buildings under the kindly auspices of the Oxford Historic Buildings Appeal has been no easy or inexpensive matter. In addition to the anticipated refacing of extensive areas of decayed external stonework, a major structural operation of the utmost delicacy and skill was necessary to relieve the pressure on the ground-floor vaults, and to eliminate the possibility of further movement. Just how near collapse the building was became clear from several unexpected discoveries in the course of the work. When, for example, the great stone arch separating Duke Humphrey's library from Selden End was stripped of its wooden casing it was found to be completely broken-backed by the outward movement of the adjacent walls (pl. xxxvii); it could have fallen at any time, bringing with it the wall above and perhaps part of the roof of Selden End. I must here pay tribute to the architectural skill of our



Fellow, Mr. Robert Potter, F.R.I.B.A.,<sup>1</sup> to our structural engineer, Mr. E. W. H. Gifford, to the contractors, Messrs. Benfield and Loxley, and to their craftsmen. Their technical skill and sympathetic understanding of the problems presented by ancient buildings have combined to surmount the most daunting obstacles, and to save these historic structures for posterity. This is not the place for a technical account of what has been done. For the present purpose it need only be said that all the old floors have been replaced in steel and concrete. In Duke Humphrey the new floor is linked to a reinforced ring-beam running all round the room, and this ring-beam is itself tied to reinforced uprights inserted inside the original buttresses (pl. xxx *b* and fig. 3). A further ring-beam holds together the building at wall-plate level. Thus the whole structure has been made rigid and further movement should be impossible.

The removal of the old floors involved of course the temporary evacuation of all the books, furniture, and fittings, including Bodley's great book-presses, and the removal of the galleries of Selden End, with the lower parts of those in Arts End also. It was fortunately possible to move the great book-presses from Duke Humphrey as single units without dismantling them. They were each mounted on bogies, slung out through the north window of Selden End, and stored in the Proscholium, returning eventually by the same airborne route to their former positions when the new floor was in place and ready to receive them.

It is the main purpose of this paper to record the discoveries made beneath the floors and behind the fixed furniture and fittings when the rooms had thus been stripped. The matters on which most light has been thrown by these exciting operations are, first and foremost, the building history of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey themselves, including the original appearance of the east and west façades, before they were destroyed or masked by the seventeenth-century additions of Arts End and Selden End: second, the original furnishing of Duke Humphrey as a fifteenth-century library: third, the nature and extent of Sir Thomas Bodley's alterations to its fabric and fittings between 1598 and 1605: and fourth, the evidence that the present fine interior fittings of Selden End with its colonnades and galleries are an after-thought, inconsistent in several particulars with the original intention of its builders.<sup>2</sup>

Of the original appearance of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's library, when they stood alone in the years between their completion in 1488 and the addition of Arts End and Selden End in the seventeenth century, only one pictorial record has survived. This is the little sketch by John Bereblock that was published as part of

<sup>1</sup> All the drawings, including that for pl. xxviii, are by Mr. Potter to whom I am deeply indebted for much help in preparing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence on this last head will not be discussed in this paper. It amounts in brief to the fact, whose implications were not perhaps fully realized before, that the present wooden fittings of Selden End with its galleries mask several original features of the room as first designed. It has always been realized, for example, that the original plan provided for lighting by three great windows on the west elevation. Only the central one is now in use. The outlines of the others are still visible

externally but they were entirely covered internally by the gallery and wall-shelving. Their internal recesses, however, have now been ingeniously used by Mr. Potter to provide new staircases to the western sections of the gallery (pl. xxxviii *a*) previously only accessible by unsightly bridges, now removed, spanning the north and south windows. How these sections of the gallery were originally reached remains something of a mystery. Another feature at first intended to be seen but later encased in the panelling is the great stone arch with its fine mouldings separating Selden End from Duke Humphrey's library (pl. xxxvii).



the marginal decoration to Agas's map of Oxford issued in 1566 (pl. XLVII *a*). This sketch shows the building from a point in the sky to the north-west beyond the line of the city wall which then still existed and forms the foreground. In spite of its odd perspective and the peculiar treatment of the windows, which are shown on both floors as round-headed and with very simplified tracery, the drawing is remarkably accurate both in its general proportion and in such detail as can still be checked from the existing structure. It is therefore right to treat seriously the evidence it provides for those features, particularly at the east and west ends, which no longer exist or are no longer apparent. Of the east end the only feature visible above the roof is a central pinnacle whose significance will be discussed later. At the west end, which is shown in perspective, Bereblock indicates a central door in a single-storey, panelled and battlemented porch which fills the whole space between two projecting corner turrets. It is known from literary sources that one or both of these turrets provided the only access to the library before the building of the Convocation House and Selden End swept the whole of this western façade away. Bodley himself thought this approach by circular stone stairs to his library unworthy and mean, and he had plans, which came to nothing, for providing a more spacious ascent where the Convocation House now stands.<sup>1</sup>

The recent operations have indeed confirmed that the whole of the west end of the original building as shown by Bereblock was removed in 1637, leaving only the inner wall of the Divinity School proper with its central door similar to that still remaining at the east end: moreover, excavation under the floor of the Convocation House has revealed not only the junction between the angle of the fifteenth-century building and the seventeenth-century addition but also, protruding from it, the shattered foundations of the south-west turret staircase. Most of the outer face of the central door still remains behind the panelling of the Convocation House (pl. XXXVI). A considerable quantity of fragments from the stone-panelled façade and window tracery of the fifteenth-century building had been used as rubble make-up under the Convocation House floor and was recovered from the excavation. This serves to show that the external treatment of the walling was similar to that which still exists at the east front, though now partly masked by Bodley's masonry in the Proscholium below Arts End.

Of the east end enough has now been recovered to make possible a tentative reconstruction of the whole façade. At ground-floor level the original doorway to the Divinity School was retained when the Proscholium was built, although the porch covering it was removed.<sup>2</sup> The panelled walling and buttresses to north and south of the door were also incorporated in the Proscholium walls, and investigation has now shown that the blocked windows of the original design, one on each side of the door, still exist behind the plain ashlar walls and vaulting shafts of the Proscholium with which Bodley partially concealed them (pl. XXXVIII *b*). More interesting still was the discovery under the floor of Arts End of an upper section of the east face of the building still surviving above the Proscholium vault. This comprised the lower part of

<sup>1</sup> In his will Bodley expressed the hope that it would be possible 'to make the ascent more easye and graceful . . . '.

<sup>2</sup> This porch, presumably similar to that shown by Bereblock at the west end, has left the scar of its abutment

showing above and around the door which it covered. Part of its projecting foundation was found under the Proscholium pavement during the recent excavations.



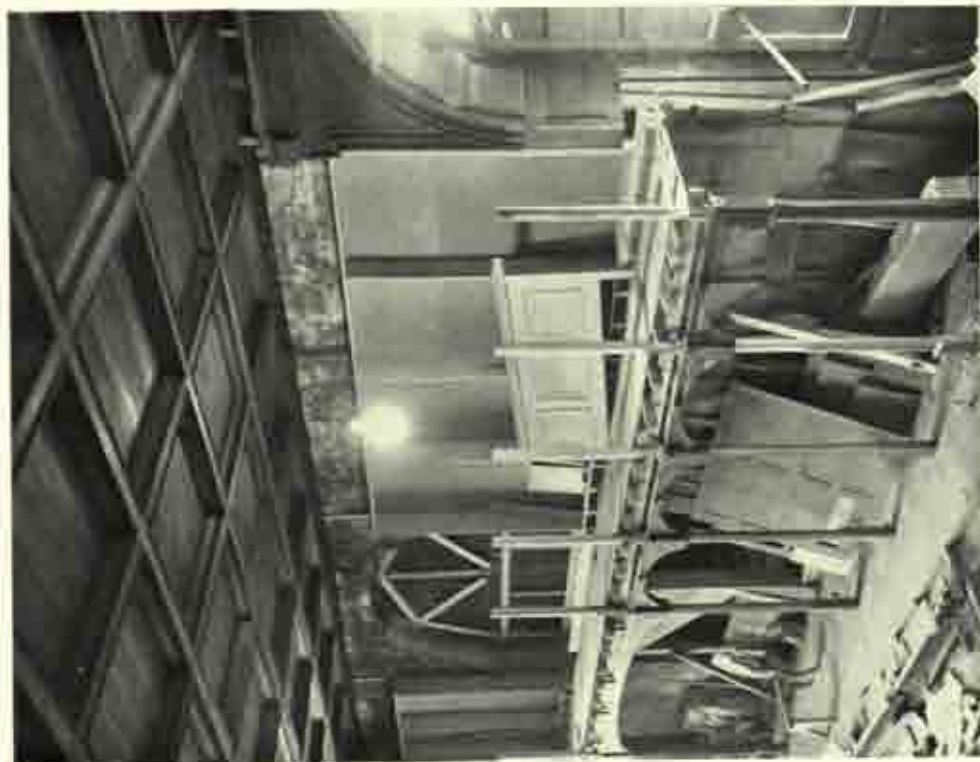
a range of stone panelling forming seven panels recessed between two perfectly preserved projecting stone niches whose elaborate detail is identical with that of the niches associated with the Divinity School vault (pls. xxxix and xl). The work therefore presumably belongs to the final period of building under William Orchard after 1479. The stone panelling was evidently a blind section at the base of a seven-light window centrally placed in the east wall of the library. The two centre mullions of the panelling are heavier than the rest, a feature which, along with similar dimensions, it shares with Bodley's east window in Arts End. This strongly suggests that, in the façade of Arts End, Bodley was deliberately imitating the appearance of the earlier building: if this was so, it affords a natural explanation for his covering the whole wall surface with stone panelling (pl. xxix *b*), for this had been a feature of the Divinity School façade. It is interesting to note that the west façade of the University Church, the nave of which was rebuilt in the 1490s immediately after the library was finished, also has the same arrangement of a window with seven lights of which the central one has heavier mullions than the rest: this implies tracery of the same general character in both windows. Now the west end of the University Church was, and is still, crowned by a low-pitched gable surmounted by a central pinnacle, and the same feature appears at Magdalen Ante-chapel built by William Orchard a few years earlier. Since Beresford's drawing shows a central pinnacle on the east end of the library also, it is reasonable to assume that our façade, too, was finished off in this way. William Orchard in fact was evidently responsible for all three designs which incorporate these similar features.

In pl. xxviii Mr. Potter has suggested what this rather splendid elevation may have looked like: the parts that are certain are shown in heavy line, the conjectural elements in fainter line. It will be noticed how awkwardly the blind ground-floor windows fit into the final design: this, of course, is because their position and size were already settled before the decision to build the library over the single-storey Divinity School had been taken in 1444. Their retention by Orchard is another sign of his skill in the adaptation of older features to his purposes: however awkward they may have appeared externally, his use of them, though modified in detail, on the internal façade of the Divinity School can only be described as brilliant (pl. xxxii).

Before leaving the eastern elevation attention should be drawn to an interesting detail in the design of the two stone niches (pl. xl *b*) that flank the base of the great window under the floor of Arts End. These niches have stone vaulted canopies, the short vaulting ribs of which meet in a central boss about as big as a grapefruit, which takes up most of the space. Each boss is carefully carved with a human head in three-quarter relief, a man's head in one niche, and a woman's in the other. These heads must always have been practically invisible inside the canopies: if, as was certainly intended, there were statues in the niches, they could not have been seen at all. Even without the statues, it is now impossible to photograph them directly and the pictures here reproduced (pl. xl *a* and *c*) were obtained by Mr. J. W. Thomas only after resorting to an ingenious arrangement of mirrors to produce a reflected image.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the photographs are by Mr. J. W. Thomas (Thomas Photos.) taken on behalf of the Bodleian Library. His skill and interest have provided a splendid pictorial record of the whole reconstruction.





*a. West side of Selden End under repair, Recess of blocked window (left) is being adapted to take new staircase to the gallery*  
(By courtesy of the University Surveyor, Oxford)



*b. East door to the Divinity School (left) with adjacent fifteenth-century window and panelling partly covered by Bodley's walling and a vaulting shaft of the Proscholium (1610)*



Part of east façade of the Divinity School revealed by removal of the floor of Arts End





*c.* Detail of boss under canopy of niche under the floor of Arts End



*b.* Detail of niche under floor of Arts End



*a.* Detail of boss under canopy of niche under the floor of Arts End

Window corbels in Duke Humphrey's Library  
(Note change in mouldings above them)



a. S 4 a



b. S 9 a

Floral and architectural origins



c. N 1 a



d. N 2 a

The 'slit-eye' craftsman

The window corbels of Duke Humphrey's Library are lettered N or S to indicate their positions on the north or south walls. The windows are numbered on each wall from the east end, and the small letter, a or b, indicates the east or west side of each window. Thus, S 4 a is the east corbel of the fourth window from the east on the south side



Window corbels in Duke Humphrey's Library.  
(Note change in mouldings above them)



*a. N 5 a*



*b. N 5 b*

The 'lentoid' eye craftsman



*c. S 7 b*



*d. S 9 b*

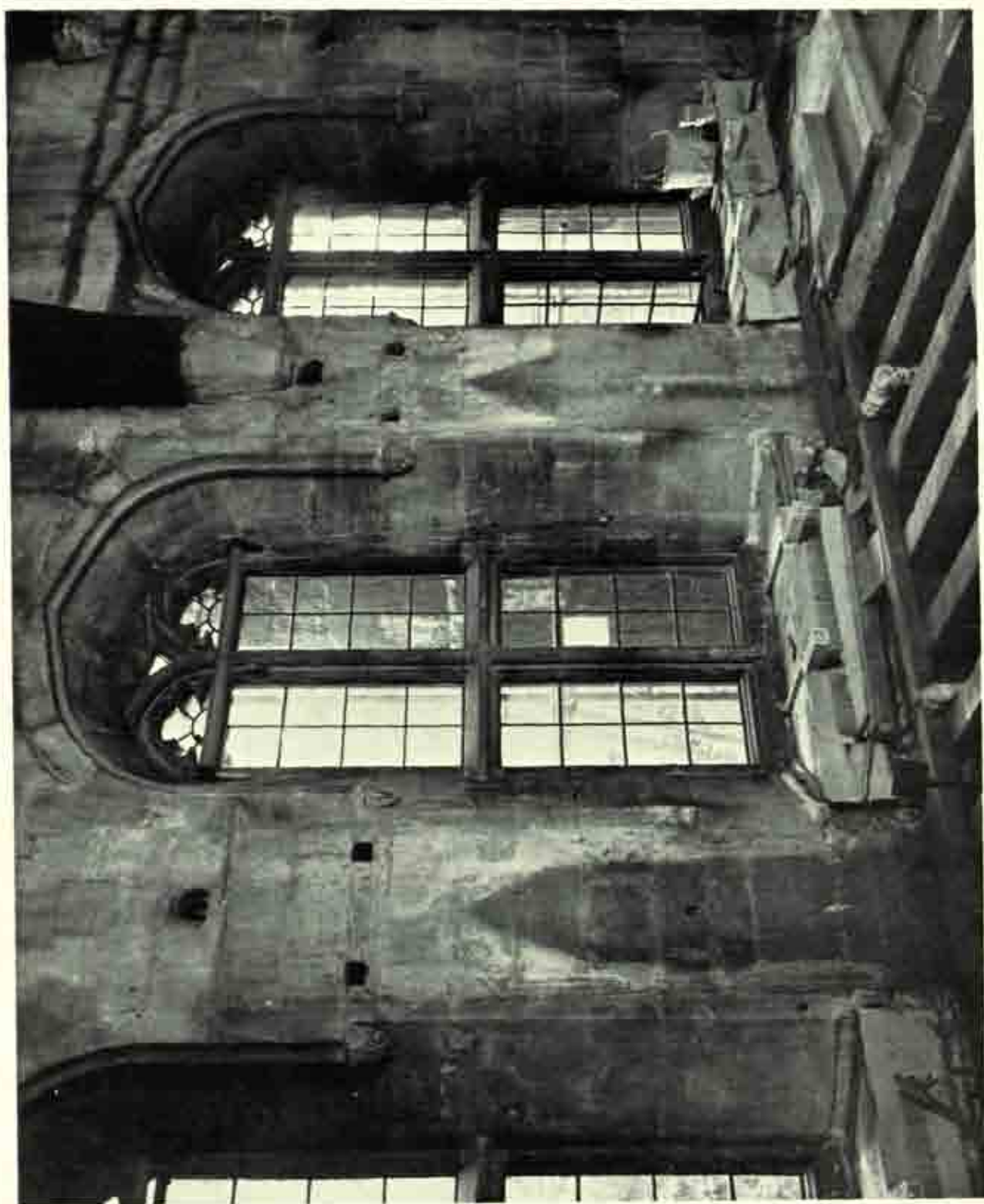
The 'drilled eye' craftsman

The window corbels of Duke Humphrey's Library are lettered N or S to indicate their positions on the north or south walls. The windows are numbered on each wall from the east end, and the small letter, a or b, indicates the east or west side of each window. Thus N 5 a is the east corbel of the fifth window from the east on the north side.

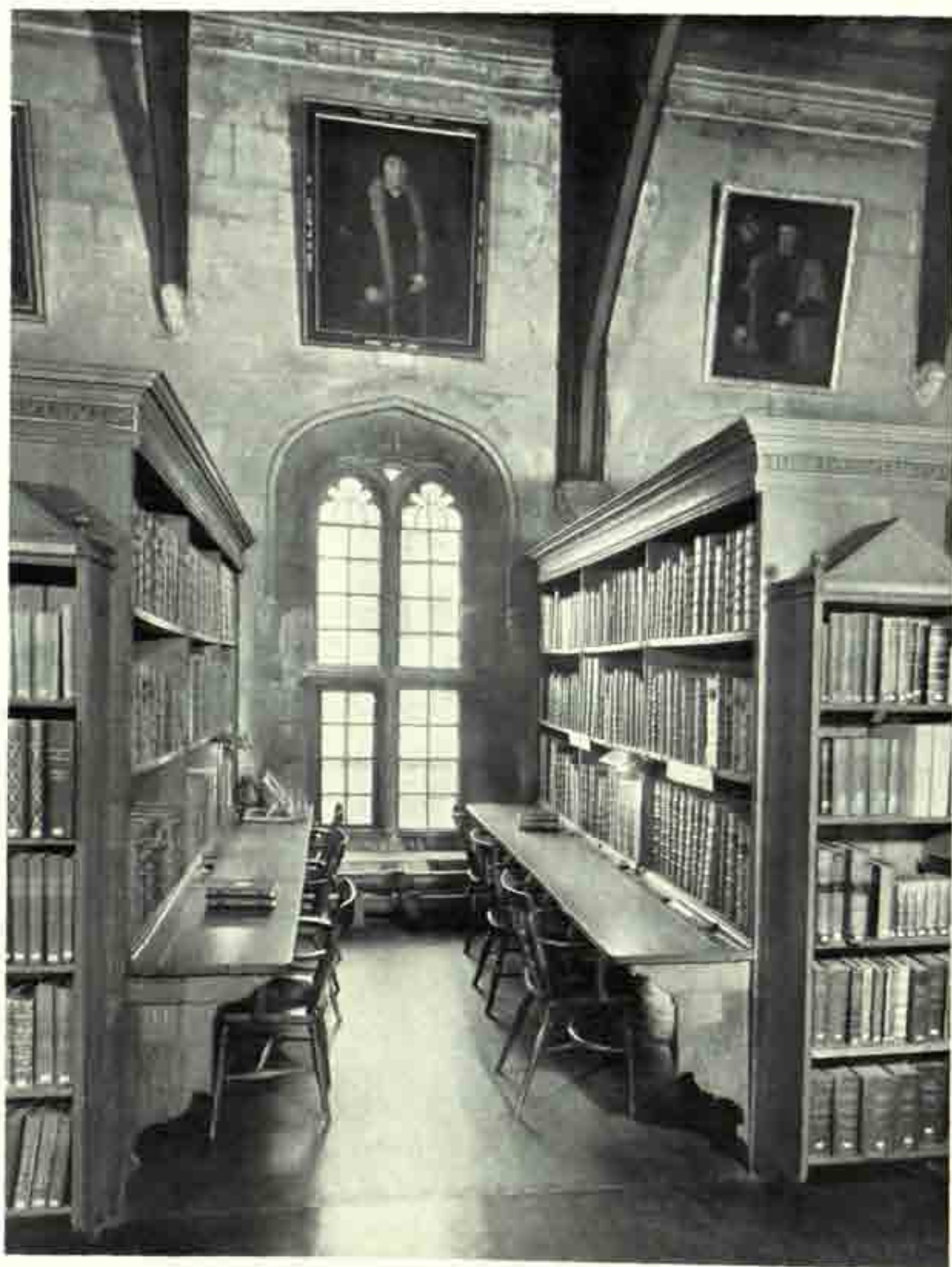


Roof of Duke Humphrey's Library, showing principal timbers and stop-moulded rafters of the fifteenth century, with Bodley's painted panels concealing or replacing the rafters. The relationship of the main trusses and the later intermediate brackets is also shown



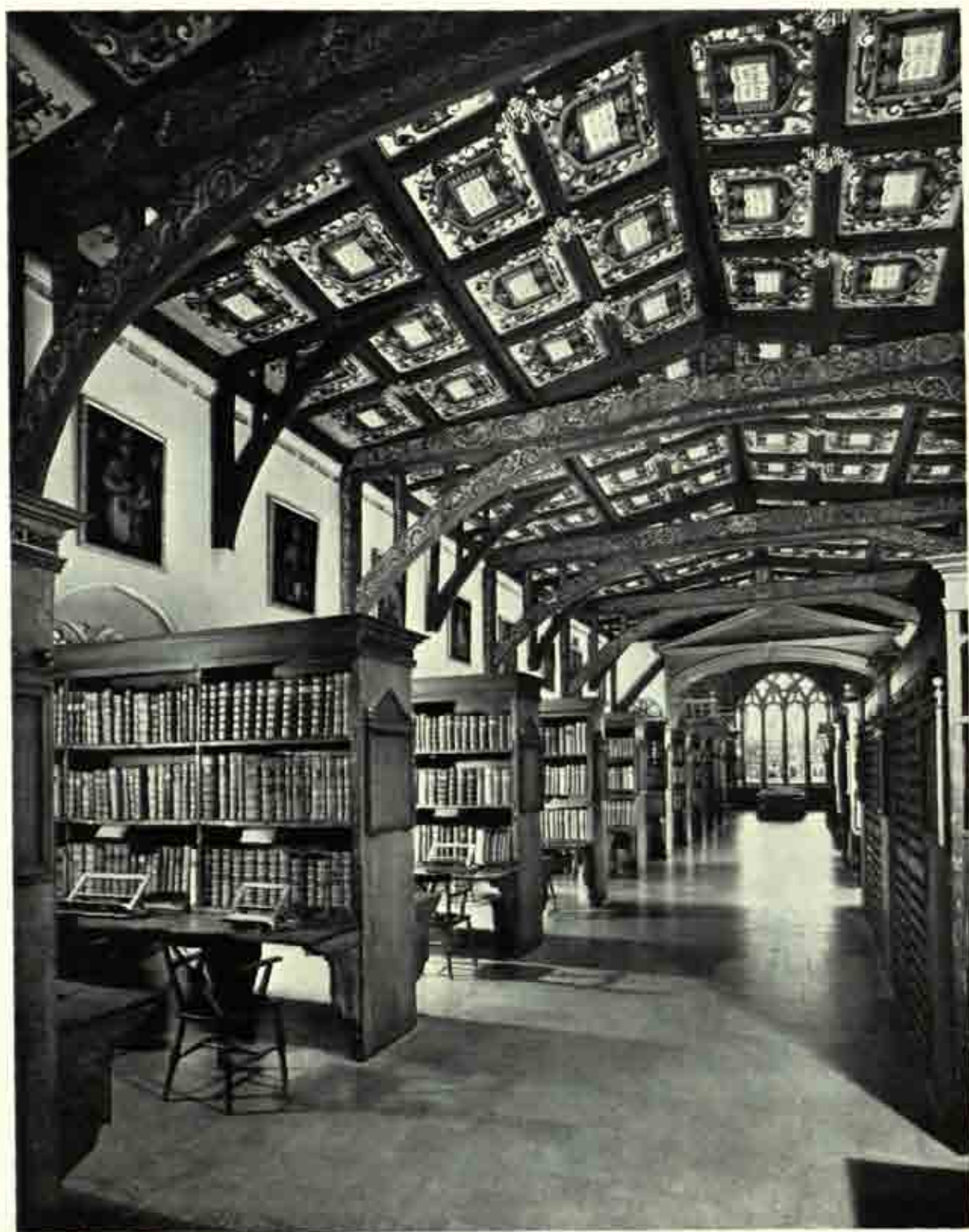


Silhouettes of lecterns formerly standing between the windows of Duke Humphrey's Library

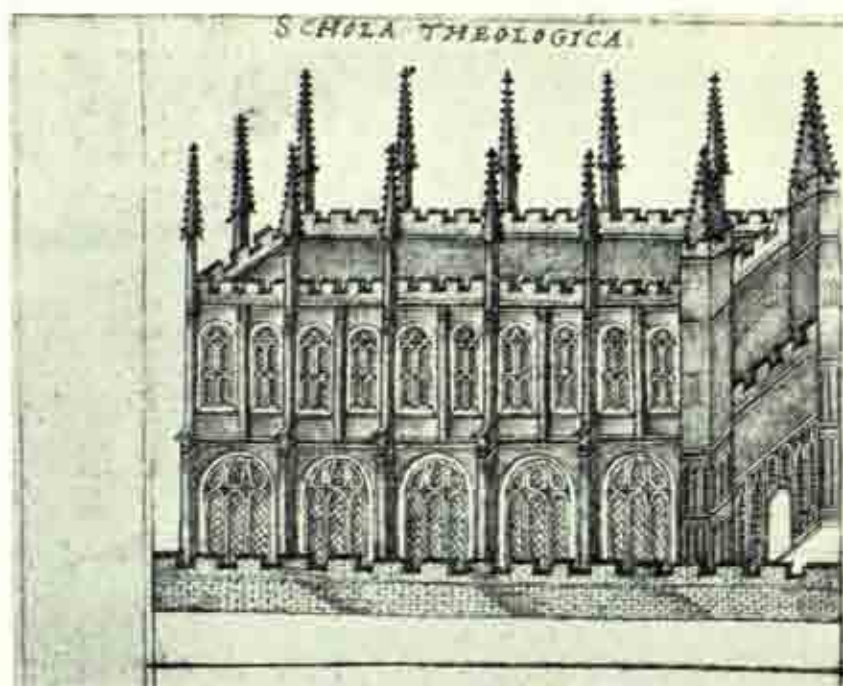


Alcove in Duke Humphrey's Library, showing relationship between the windows and Bodley's book-presses, and between the main roof-trusses and the intermediate brackets



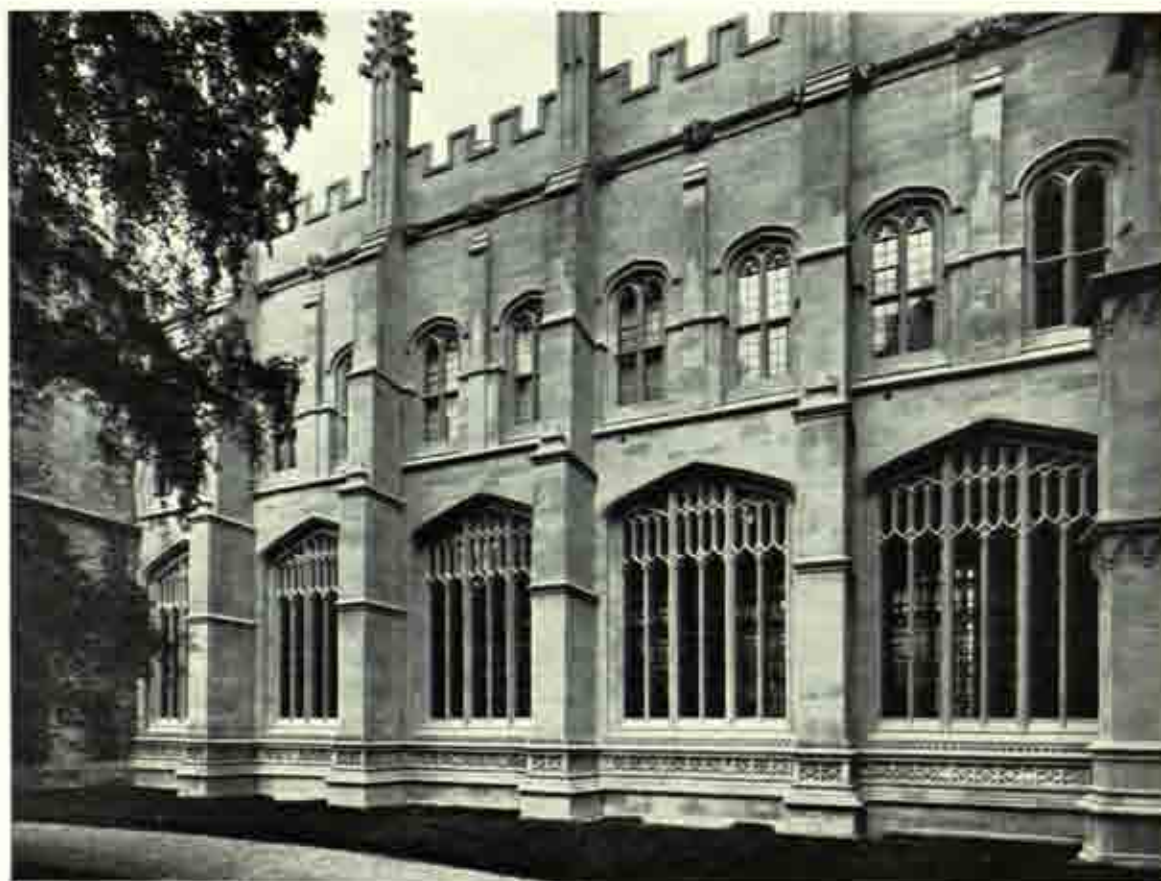


Duke Humphrey's Library, looking west, after restoration



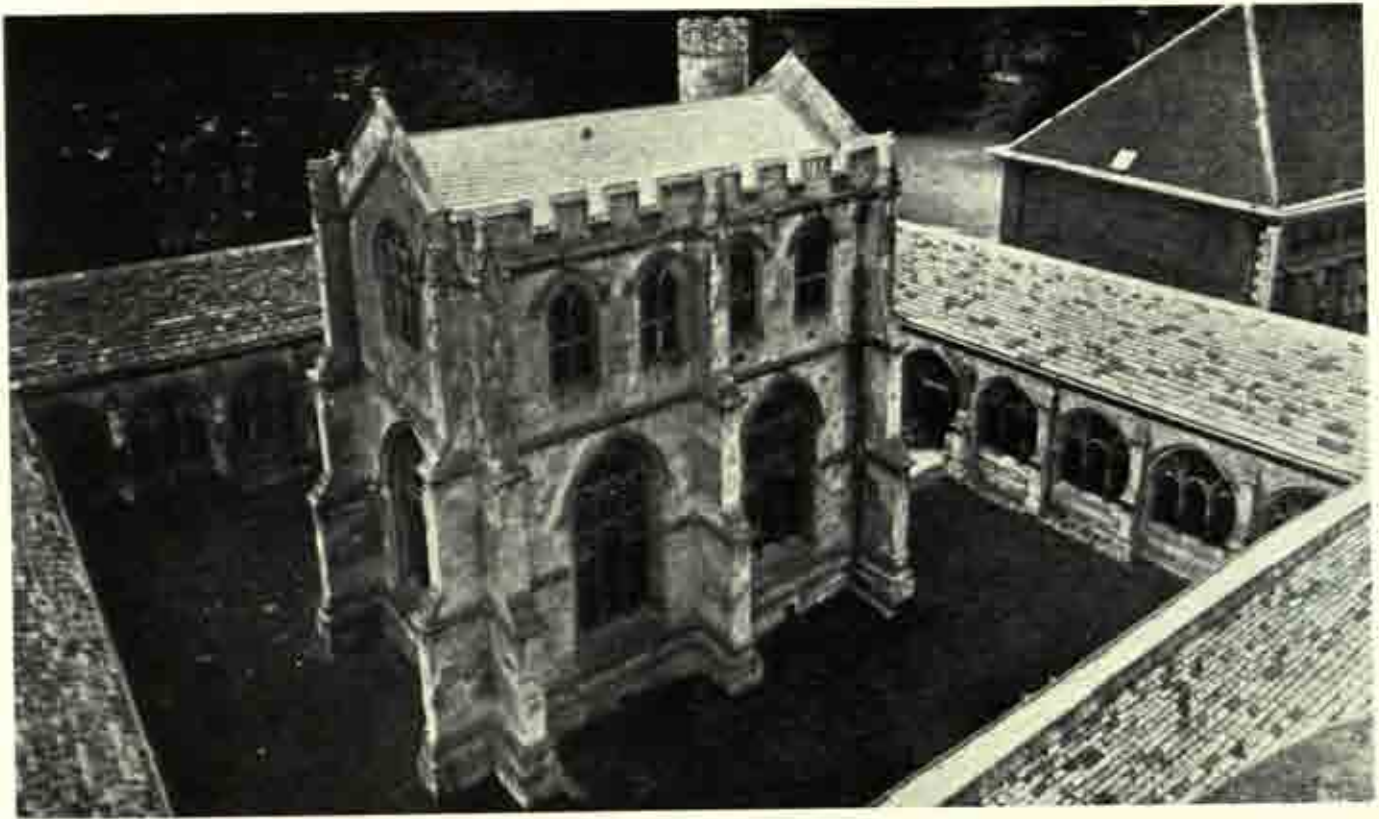
(By courtesy of the Curators of the Bodleian Library)

a. Drawing by John Bereblock of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library from the north-west in 1566. (MS. Bodl. t3 fo. 16v.)



b. South side of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library after restoration; the buttresses are not panelled above the plinth





Winchester College: Fromond's Chantry. (From *Archaeologia*, lxxv (1926), pl. XXI, Fig. 1)

Duke Humphrey's Library: corbels carrying roof trusses



*a.* S 1, with later capstone



*b.* S 6, with mutilated abacus



*c.* S 3, The University Arms, mutilated at the top and fitted with new capstone



*d.* N 3, Supporters and original abacus have been mutilated

Early set (mid fifteenth century)

The roof corbels have been lettered and numbered on the same principle as the window corbels. Thus S 3 and N 3 are the corbels below the south and north ends of the third truss from the east wall of the library.



Duke Humphrey's Library: corbels carrying roof trusses



*a. N 2*



*b. N 5*



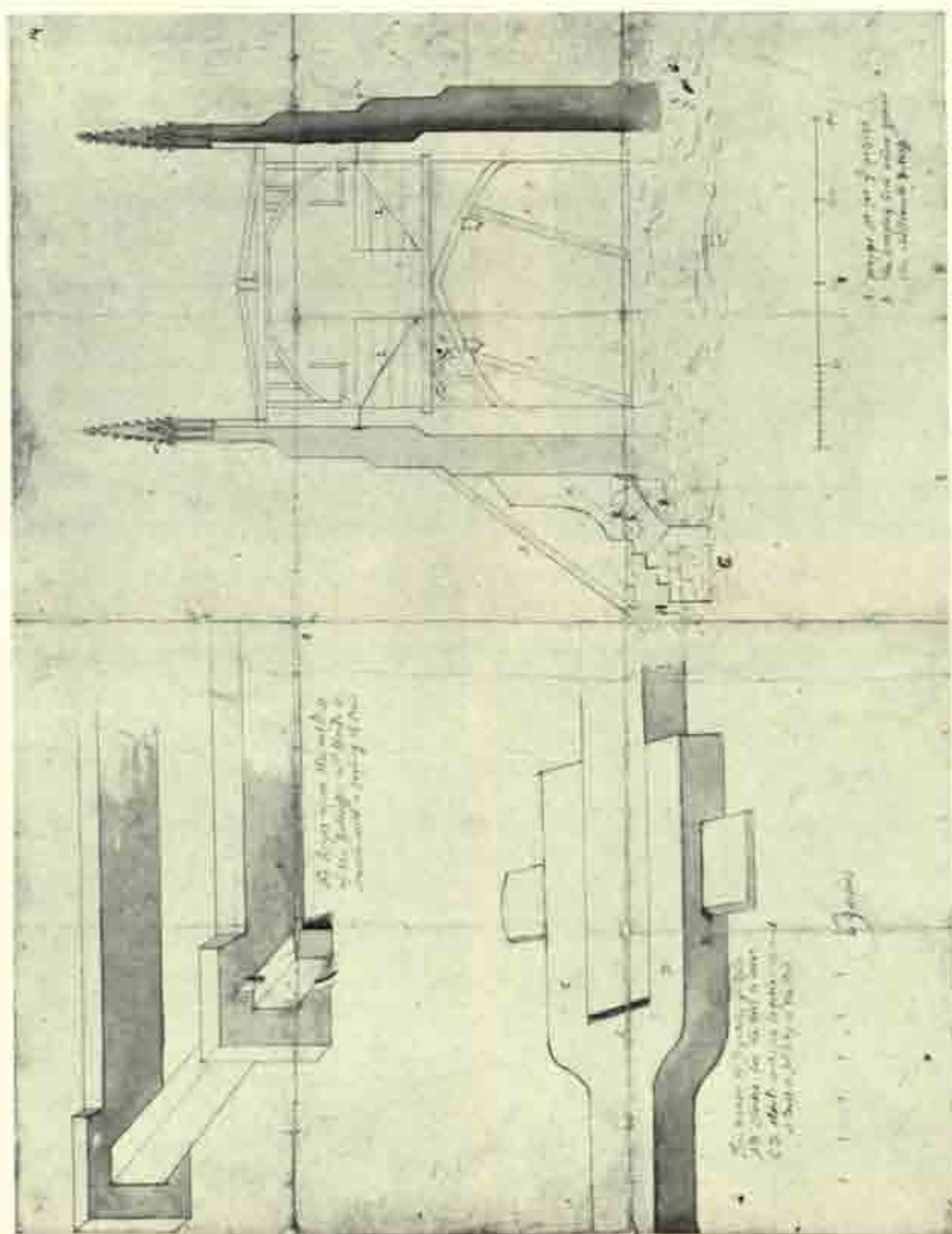
*c. N 4*



*d. S 4*

Later set, with no capstones (about 1600)

The roof corbels have been lettered and numbered on the same principle as the window corbels. Thus N 4 and S 4 are the corbels below the north and south ends of the fourth truss from the east wall of the library



(By courtesy of the Curators of the Bodleian Library)

Sir Christopher Wren's proposals for strengthening the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's Library. (MS. Bodl. 907 fo. 14)









The evidence from the existing structural features, and from Bereblock's drawing, has made it reasonably certain that the east façade in its final form was the result of remodelling by William Orchard in connexion with his insertion of the Divinity School vault. It remains to inquire whether Duke Humphrey's Library itself when stripped of its books, furniture, and fittings (pl. xxxiv) revealed any features illustrating the stages through which it must have passed before it finally came into use as a library in 1488. The evidence for consideration concerns chiefly the related levels of the floor and the windows, the form of the latter, the height of the walls, and the nature of the roof.

We do not know for certain what the state of the upper room was before the Divinity School vault was put in. It has been suggested above that the position and size of the windows had been determined in 1453, because they are evidently related to a floor which, whether actually constructed or not, was planned to be lower than it is now. The sills of the windows are certainly set too low to have been designed in relation to the present floor. Moreover, there are traces of slots or ledges in their reveals, apparently intended to support wooden window seats which are too near the floor for use at the present level.

There are other features of the windows which suggest their later adaptation to suit a room of different proportions from that for which they were first designed. All the transoms are insertions at their present level, though it is reasonable to assume that transoms were intended from the start, for this was the normal practice in English library windows of the later Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the internal window corbels are at a level too low to fit the present height of the windows or the present type of window heads. They are set close to the point where the thickness of the wall is reduced by an external offset matched by an internal change of build, which it has been suggested above may represent the intended height of the original walls before the decision to build the library was taken. It would be natural to fix this existing point as that from which the new window arches were to spring, and it may well have been intended to make them of similar four-centred form to those of the Divinity School with their heads filled in the same way with the 'drop tracery' characteristic of Oxford architecture in the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 2 a).<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the windows of the Old Library at Balliol, which was completed in 1477, while work on this phase of Duke Humphrey was still in progress, are of this type.

The window-corbels themselves, with one or two possible exceptions which may be later replacements, seem all to be typical work of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, though several different craftsmen with distinctive styles were evidently employed in carving them. They comprise, besides foliage and simple architectural designs (pl. xli a, b) at least three sets of spirited grotesque heads, one group characterized by the use of deeply drilled circular eyeballs (pl. xlii c, d), the second by slit eyes (pl. xli c, d), and the third by prominent undrilled eyeballs of lentoid

<sup>1</sup> As, e.g., at New College, Winchester, Balliol, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> For the phases through which perpendicular architecture passed in Oxford during the fifteenth century see the stimulating article by R. H. C. Davis in *Oxoniensia*,

xi/xii (1946/7), 75-89. I borrow from him the term 'drop tracery' for the type in which the heads of windows, generally four-centred, are filled with rectilinear tracery from well below the spring of the arch.



shape (pl. XLII *a*, *b*). The low type of horned head-dress worn by the lady in pl. XLII *a* was in fashion in the 1460s.

Above the present window heads, whose height and mouldings do not fit these corbels,<sup>1</sup> a further break in the build was visible on the internal face of the walls before they were cleaned down after the recent operations (pl. XXXIII). It would appear that this is the point for the wall-plate in the first design for the library, the point indeed for which the 'corbell tabull' mentioned in the 1452/3 accounts was intended. Above this level most of the wall is built of Headington stone in contrast to the Taynton stone mainly used below it, and it has been pointed out by our Fellow, Mr. Ralph Davis, that the masons' marks found on the upper courses of the library wall belong to a different and later series than those noticed on the lower part of it. Now William Orchard is known to have owned quarries at Headington, and, though some use of Headington stone in the building is recorded as early as 1452/3,<sup>2</sup> most of the material then employed came from Taynton and Burford. It is therefore natural to associate the change of material in the upper walls with the general raising of levels that followed Orchard's construction of the Divinity School vault. As already noted, it seems certain that the upper stages of the main buttresses and their heavy pinnacles must be related to the new stresses imposed on the building by the thrust of this vault, and therefore form part of Orchard's work. That they are wider and more substantial at this level than was intended when the library windows were first designed is suggested by the fact that the windows do not appear to be set centrally in relation to the external bays and that their hood-moulds break against the projecting buttresses.

The conclusion then seems inescapable that Orchard was responsible for adding part of the area of blank wall above the library windows, and this is, after all, consistent with the fact that, as already shown, he must have built or remodelled the upper stages of the east façade. But if this was so, he evidently lifted the 1452/3 internal 'corbell tabull' from its position above the windows and reused it to top off his heightened walls. For not only is this feature made of Taynton rather than Headington stone, but a number of the small grotesque sculptures on it seem to be identical in style with one group of the window corbels, which have been shown to belong to the pre-Orchard phase of the building.

Whether it was Orchard who altered and probably raised the window heads and moved the transoms to their present positions is less certain. On the one hand, it could be argued that something of this sort was necessary, both on aesthetic and practical grounds, to improve both the look and the lighting of the heightened room. On the other hand, the present windows are in proportion and detail quite unlike the rest of Orchard's work in the building: they entirely lack the delicacy and sophistication which he displayed elsewhere, and it is perhaps only their familiarity as a well-known feature of Duke Humphrey's library which blinds us to the contrast which the coarseness and rusticity of their detail present to the refinement and distinction of the building as a whole.

In looking for an alternative explanation it may be as well to consider the evidence

<sup>1</sup> The seating for a different set of mouldings can be seen above several of the corbels on pls. XLI and XLII, especially XLI *b* and XLII *d*.  
<sup>2</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xxi (1956), 58.





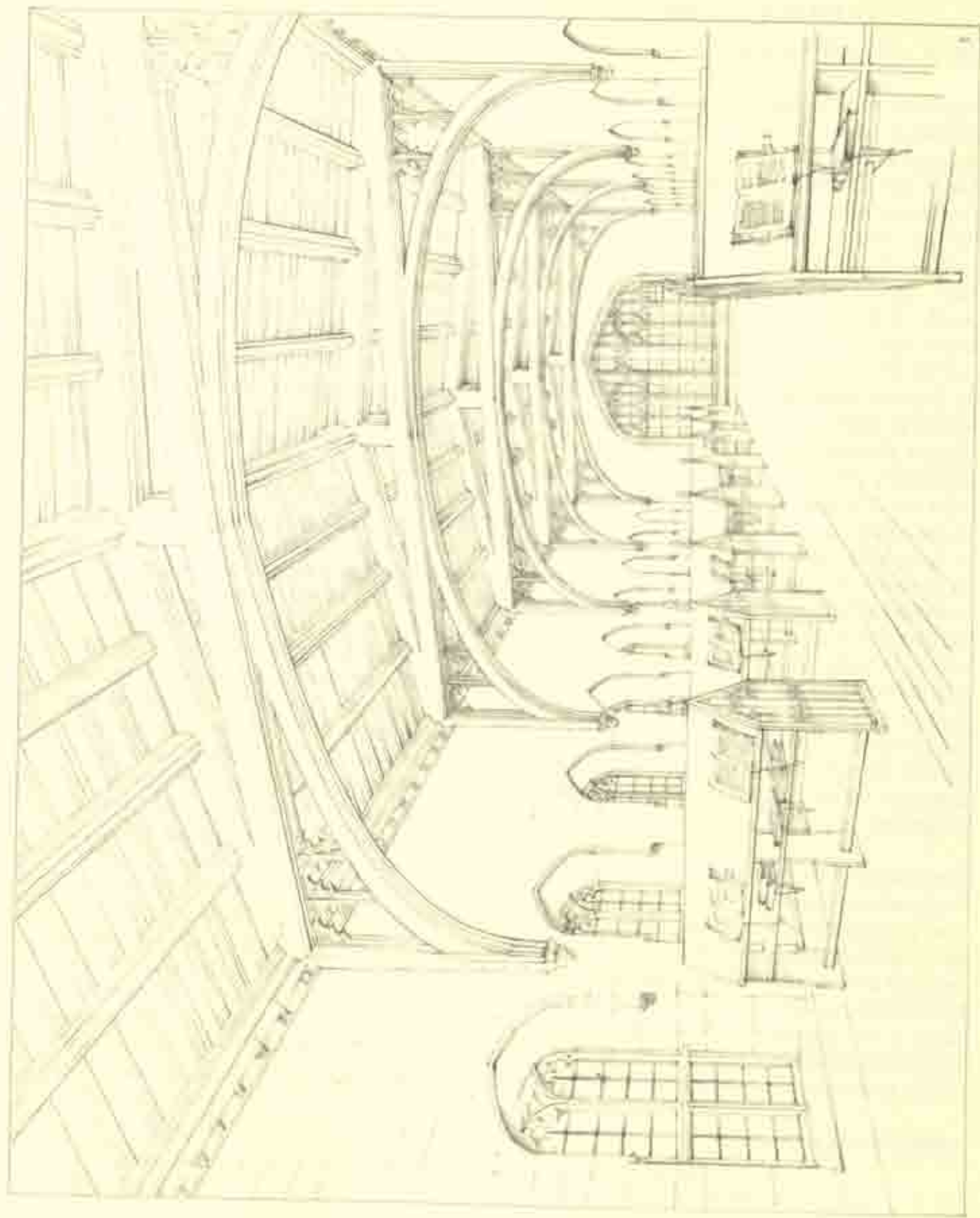


FIG. 4. Probable appearance of the interior of Duke Humphrey's Library in 1488



which the recent operations have provided for the furnishing of the fifteenth-century library before the present great book-presses were introduced in Sir Thomas Bodley's restoration. When these were taken out the silhouettes of standing lecterns with their steeply triangular heads were to be seen between many of the windows (pl. XLIV), very similar to the marks which had been found when the fourteenth-century Founder's library at New College was stripped of its later fittings some years ago.<sup>1</sup> Although we do not know how far these lecterns stood out into the room, their height, about 5 ft. 6 in. from present floor level, was quite clear. This has made it possible to reconstruct a visual impression, as Mr. Potter has done on fig. 4, of what Duke Humphrey's library looked like when first opened to readers in 1488.

There are two points of interest about these lecterns. First, they were related to a floor at much the same level as now, thus confirming the literary evidence that the room had not been used as a library until after the Divinity School vault was inserted and the building had assumed substantially its present proportions. Secondly, they were standing lecterns, and could have had one or even two shelves below the sloping desk on which chained manuscripts could be stored lying on their sides. Since the readers stood to read, no fixed seats or benches would be required, though there could have been some high-legged stools to increase their comfort. Now we happen to know that the old library of the university in St. Mary's Church was not furnished in this way, but with 'benches and bookcases set in front of them', in other words, with sitting, rather than standing, lecterns.<sup>2</sup> It is thus possible that this difference of principle in the furnishing of the old and new libraries may be related to the alteration of the window heads, if that alteration was part of the work carried out in the library between 1481 and 1488. When its proportions were first planned in 1452/3 it would be natural for the designers to assume that the furniture of the old library would be transferred along with the books (which after all were chained to it) or at least that the new library would be furnished on the same pattern as the old. With sitting lecterns no great wall height was required and windows could be low also, or with tracery heads which did not admit much light in the upper part. But with standing lecterns, a main source of light well above 6 feet from the floor was desirable, and this meant that the window heads should be higher, and free of 'drop tracery' below the springing of the arch. There could thus be a connexion of cause and effect between the decision to provide a taller type of reading desk than had been familiar to users of the old university library and the raising or alteration of the windows. Moreover, if this decision was not taken until very shortly before the library was due to be opened, Orchard's responsibility for the structural work may already have come to an end. This might well explain why the alterations to the windows, if made at this time, were carried out to a design much simpler and rougher than he would have been likely to follow had he still been in charge. This, however, is no more than conjecture.

An alternative explanation is to attribute the raising of the window heads to Sir

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Smith, *New College, Oxford, and its Buildings* (1952), pp. 53-54. Here too the lecterns were 5 ft. 6 in. high.

<sup>2</sup> In 1489 the bishop of Lincoln wrote to suggest that these old fittings, 'illas quidem sediculas cum antepositis receptaculis librorum quibus in veteri biblioteca Universi-

tatis supra domum congregationis omnes jam diu usi fueramus', might be used to furnish the new School of Canon Law. The university replied, with typical bureaucratic caution, that no decision would be taken about their future use which disregarded the bishop's admirable suggestion.



Thomas Bodley, as part of his refurbishing of 'the greate desolate roome'. His work in Arts End, and, as will be seen shortly, on the roof of Duke Humphrey's library itself, was carried out to traditional designs of sub-medieval character, such as were usual in the Oxford architecture of his day. The window heads of Duke Humphrey, with their coarse detail and the awkward arrangement of their simplified tracery, are fully in tune with the aesthetic standards exhibited by the Oxford masons of his time. Moreover, the great book-presses, which in Bodley's scheme of furnishing took the place of the former lecterns, were over eight feet high and would have cut out all direct light from each alcove except that provided by its own window. Although therefore readers now sat at low desks and no longer stood at high lecterns to read the books, there was still need for light to reach each alcove from a point at least as high as the bookcases if the top shelves were to be tolerably lit (pl. XLV). There is indeed evidence that Bodley was dissatisfied with the natural lighting of the library as he found it, and took steps to improve matters. In a letter of 10th May 1605 he wrote of his intention to introduce 'some more casements to the Libr . . . in suche windows . . . as shall be thought fittest'.<sup>1</sup> There is no direct mention of altering the window heads, but it is difficult to see how his purpose could have been achieved without altering them. It is therefore possible that in their present form the windows are as late as the first decade of the seventeenth century.

It remains to inquire what evidence exists for the form of the original roof, how much of the present covering of Duke Humphrey's library is of the fifteenth century, and what alterations, if any, were made to it in the course of Bodley's restoration. We have seen that the first, probably temporary, roof known to have been on the building was being paid for in part as early as 1457 and that it was thatched in 1464/5. Both this and the presumably more substantial affair whose leadwork required repair in 1472/3 must have been related to the low level set for the overall height of the building by the survey in 1452/3. This, as we have seen, corresponds now to the break in the build above the heads of the library windows. Now the stone corbels, which support the tall wall-posts beneath the main trusses of the present higher roof, are set low enough in the walls to have supported originally the trusses of an earlier roof at this lower level. In the nature of the case we cannot know what this first roof was like, since it has been wholly removed. All that can be said is that, if it rested on corbels at the level of the present set, it cannot have had the tall wall-posts or the large arched braces of the present roof. These, however, or something like them, were presumably features of the higher roof after the walls had been raised to their present height.

Now it is significant that the present corbels are clearly of two different dates. What appears to be the earlier set (of which six remain) are finely wrought work apparently of the mid-fifteenth century (pl. XLIX *a-d*). But they have either been provided with entirely new capstones, presumably to fit the present rough and massive wall-posts, or they have been mutilated or cut down for the same purpose. It may also be significant that these six original corbels form three pairs, two secular heads, two heads of religious or academics, and two heraldic or semi-heraldic in character. But

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James*, ed. G. W. Wheeler (1926), p. 139.



only one of these pairs at present acts as such. This is the pair of semi-heraldic character, one of which shows a cut-down version of the university arms with angel supporters, the other the mitred head of a bishop likewise with angel supporters (pl. XLIX *c* and *d*). They carry the wall-posts of the third truss from the east end. It is therefore possible that at least two of the other four survivors have at some time been moved from their original positions, while all the rest of this original set have entirely disappeared. Of the later set, which in part replaced them, four remain. They are quite different in character; sketchily carved caricatures of kings and queens in a sub-medieval style (pl. I *a-d*). They have no separate capstones, but simply moulded *abaci* all of a piece with the corbel itself. They have not been renewed or removed and appear designed to fit the present wall-posts.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier set of these corbels must have been designed for one or other of the fifteenth-century roofs. Their position in the walls suggests that they belong to the pre-Orchard period, for, if they were newly made to suit a roof at the high level, it is difficult to understand why they ever came to be set so low in the wall. It is true that another late fifteenth-century Oxford roof, that of the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, had a somewhat similar scheme with very low corbels supporting trusses at a much higher level by means of very tall wall-posts and very large arched braces. But it would be more natural for Orchard to rest his new roof on corbels set in the upper parts of the walls which he had himself built, unless there were existing corbels ready to use at a lower level. A suggestive parallel is provided by the nave roof of the University Church which, as we have seen, is also probably Orchard's work. Here the wall-posts are of normal length, considerably shorter than those in Duke Humphrey. The battered state of the early corbels in the library, with the facts that they all needed building up or cutting down to fit their present function, and that their number is in any case incomplete, combine to suggest that they may have passed through all the vicissitudes which the building has encountered since its first permanent roof was designed.

The later set of corbels are a reminder of the period of neglect which the library suffered in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is known that when Sir Thomas Bodley undertook to refit the library in 1598 the roof was in a very poor condition and required, at the least, substantial repairs. Considerable sums of money were spent by the university on timber and labour for this purpose in the three years 1597-9, and it is known that Bodley also spent money on it.<sup>2</sup> In a letter of 3 April 1599 Sir Dudley Carleton explains that Bodley had been faced with unexpected expense because 'the timber works of the house were rotten and had to be new made'.<sup>3</sup> It seems highly probable that the four corbels of the later set are Bodley's, and that some of the damage to the earlier ones, in the course of which at least four may have become unusable, and had to be replaced, occurred during his overhaul of the roof. That this included the replacement of most of the wall-posts and braces to the principal trusses is strongly

<sup>1</sup> In addition to these two sets of corbels, totalling ten in all, there are two which are rough, uncarved blocks, evidently later replacements for earlier ones damaged at some stage in repairs to the roof.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. I. G. Philip, Deputy Keeper of the University

Archives, kindly tells me that the University Accounts between 1596 and 1612 contain three items indicating structural expenditure on the roof. These all occur in the years 1597-9 and total £54. 10s. 2½d.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1598-1601*, p. 174.



suggested by their very crude and unmedieval appearance, lacking all refinement both in form and mouldings (pl. xxxiv).

Yet the roof which they supported remained in all essentials the late medieval roof, however much renewal was necessary and however much it was embellished by Bodley with heraldic panels and painted decoration of all kinds. It was possible during the recent work to examine the timbers in detail and to check in particular a point originally noticed by Galton in 1877, which is decisive for its date. He observed that Bodley's painted panels were no part of the original design but had been inserted in front of the original oak rafters which were 'stopmoulded, indicating that they were originally visible from inside' the room.<sup>1</sup> This was found to be the case, and, although most of the moulded rafters had gone, some were still in position behind the panels, and the former presence of others was proved by the remaining holes where they had been morticed into the purlins (pl. xliii). There were other details also, such as the slots for carved spandrels, now lost, which once filled the triangular spaces above the main tie-beams, which make it certain that this is basically the fifteenth-century roof, renovated and decorated by Bodley, but not wholly rebuilt by him.<sup>2</sup>

One feature of the present roof is in all probability even later than Bodley's time. Between each pair of main trusses there is now a large intermediate bracket supporting the purlin from a small plain corbel set in the upper part of the wall. Unlike all the rest of the structural timber these intermediate supports are not decorated with painted designs of Bodley's period. This in itself makes it probable that they are a later addition, but it is not possible to suggest an occasion when they may have been constructed. In 1691 it was decided to build galleries above Bodley's presses to take the large number of books received by bequest from Bishop Barlow. The fronts of these new galleries were suspended from the purlins and their weight evidently placed a severe strain on roof and walls, especially on the south side which was already leaning outwards in an alarming manner. Macray writes that in 1692/3, after the new galleries were filled with books, 'as the beams of the roof . . . were observed to give from the wall, they were anchored on both sides under the direction of Dr. Aldrich'.<sup>3</sup> But these braces cannot represent that distinguished amateur's effort to strengthen the structure since a glance at Loggan's view of the interior shows them already in position by 1675.

One final thought may be offered in conclusion. It has often been assumed that the Divinity School with Duke Humphrey's library over it constitutes a unique combination, a structure created by a kind of inspired accident, without parallel elsewhere in the architecture of the fifteenth century. Exceptional it certainly is, and outstanding in its interest, both for the sophisticated splendour of the Divinity School as William Orchard left it, and for the part Duke Humphrey's room has played, through the accident of its later association with Sir Thomas Bodley, in the evolution of our learned libraries. But hardly unique, or even indeed original. In addition to

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford University Gazette*, 20th March 1877, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> A very similar conversion was effected at this time, and for the same reason, on the somewhat similar fifteenth-century roof of the refectory at St. Frideswide's Priory. This was refurnished as a college library for Christ

Church in imitation of Bodley's work in Duke Humphrey by Otho Nicholson in 1610-12. *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 215-43.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (ed. 1890), p. 168. The galleries can be seen in section in Wren's drawing, pl. 11.



the university's experience of its own earlier library built in the fourteenth century over the old Congregation House in St. Mary's Church, Archbishop Chichele's library set over a pre-existing chapel at Canterbury almost certainly precedes it in date.<sup>1</sup> But there is in fact no need to look further away than Winchester to find something so closely parallel in conception and appearance as to suggest that the design of the Oxford building was inspired in more senses than one. In the cloisters of Winchester College stands Fromond's Chantry, a two-bay vaulted chapel, and over it a four-bay room with a timber roof and two-light transomed windows, which was described as a library in the college accounts as early as 1438<sup>2</sup> (pl. XLVIII). This library room was reached, as was Duke Humphrey's, by a turret staircase at the west end. Now this enchanting little building, anticipating in miniature all the essentials of our Oxford complex, was planned as a single unit soon after John Fromond's death in 1422,<sup>3</sup> some twenty years before the university reached the momentous decision to build a library over the unfinished Divinity School in 1444. And if we ask who, with the thought of Fromond's Chantry in his mind, might have inspired that decision, the answer, as Dr. A. B. Emden has kindly pointed out to me, is quite clear. For in 1444 the Junior Proctor was Thomas Chaundler, formerly scholar of Winchester and New College, later successively Warden of both foundations, and from 1472 to 1479 the last resident Chancellor of the University. He became Dean of Hereford in 1482 and died in 1490. At that period it was customary for the Proctors to play a leading part both in decisions of policy and in the conduct of the university's correspondence. It is therefore highly probable that Chaundler was intimately concerned not only in the proposal to build the library but also in drafting the letter which conveyed the idea to Duke Humphrey. But Thomas Chaundler was not only among the most notable academic Wykehamists of the fifteenth century: he was also, as his well-known drawing of the buildings of New College shows, a man of quite remarkable sensitivity in his appreciation of contemporary architecture, with a skill in the accurate delineation of building detail hardly reached again in this country before the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> He must have been very familiar as a boy with the special quality of Fromond's Chantry, for it was still being built when he was a Winchester scholar between 1431 and 1435. He could certainly have had its plan and detail in mind during the discussions that led, when he was Proctor, to the proposal to build Duke Humphrey's library. In 1466 Chaundler, as Commissary General, was among the university officials who arranged for the furniture to be made for the Divinity School.<sup>5</sup> And later on, when he

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. H. Harvey has reminded me that Chichele was one of the group of 'prehistoric Wykehamists', the band of scholars established by William of Wykeham in the Soken at Winchester before the college buildings were ready for their occupation in 1394. He probably was well aware of what was going on thirty years later in providing a library over Fromond's Chantry.

<sup>2</sup> Money was paid in 1438/9 (custus domorum) 'Johanni carpentario London laboranti circa facturam valvarum hostij capelle Fromond hostij librarij in eadem capella'. At that date the staircase, too, is mentioned in payments 'Galfrido plumbario laboranti per 1 diem supra tectum ascensorii capelle Fromond'. I owe these references,

which establish the priority of the library at Winchester over that at Oxford, to the kindness of Mr. J. H. Harvey.

<sup>3</sup> See the article by the late Herbert Chitty, F.S.A., in *Archaeologia*, lxxv (1926), 139-58, who does not, however, deal with the library side of the structure, except to note that trouble was experienced with its windows in 1457/8 when five shillings were paid to Stephen Glasyer, 'emendanti diversos defectus in capella Fromond et in superiore domo eiusdem ordinata pro libraria, destructa et deturpata per columbas et alios volucres'.

<sup>4</sup> Reproduced as the frontispiece to A. H. Smith, *New College and its Buildings* (1952), and discussed *ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Canc.* ii, 185.



was Chancellor of the University between 1472 and 1479, he was still in the centre of affairs when the Kempe benefaction made it possible to bring the long story of its building to a happy ending. It is known that a party of officials visited him in 1478 in connexion with an oath to be taken by William Orchard, and, in view of the date, this must have been connected with the contract for the Divinity School vault,<sup>1</sup> on which indeed Chaundler's initials, rebus, and canting coat of crossed candles occur in several places among the carved bosses.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps fitting that another and much later Wykehamist, who also has had some personal concern for the ancient buildings both of Winchester and of the Bodleian (pl. XLVI), should end this study of the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey's library with a grateful tribute to the memory of Thomas Chaundler, who cared for the same things to such good purpose 500 years ago.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Med. Arch. Univ. Oxon.* ii, 324.

<sup>2</sup> *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that Fromond's Chantry was provided with an elaborate stone vault decorated with a wealth of heraldic and other carved bosses. Herbert Chitty argued (*op. cit.*) that the carving of these bosses was being done as late as 1445, the year after Chaundler was Proctor.

He was no doubt aware of what was going on at Winchester in those years. The Winchester vault may thus have been still in his mind when money at last became available to complete the Divinity School with even greater splendour and an even more elaborate heraldic display than had been devised for Fromond's Chantry over thirty years before.



## *Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces*

By HUGH MURRAY BAILLIE, Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

[Based on a paper read 24th March 1966]

THE origins of this inquiry lie in my work after the war as a Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Officer in Germany when, during a joint inspection of a large eighteenth-century palace under our care, a German colleague, struck perhaps by the realization of the ugly, indeed the insolent, contrast between its battered splendours and the surrounding desolation, said to me almost apologetically: 'After all, it was built in imitation of Versailles!'

I stopped in my tracks, because I could see no real resemblance between the two palaces, nor, as I went round the German house, did its plan appear to me to bear any relation to what I remembered of that of Versailles. From that moment I began to note with increasing attention the plan of the State Apartments of any palace that I was able to visit and I found that very few, if any, might be said to conform to the pattern of Versailles. For example, only in one instance, the special case of the Electoral Palace at Bonn, was the Bedchamber the central and focal point of the enfilade, as at Versailles. The plan of Versailles itself raised problems and it was increasingly borne in upon me that if I were to be able to make any useful comparisons, I should have to know a great deal more about the uses of individual rooms than one is able to gather from names such as, say: 'the Red Drawing Room' or 'the Ante-chamber of the Hunts'.

This aspect of the problem struck me forcibly during a visit to Hampton Court Palace, made shortly afterwards, when I noticed what seemed to me to be a discrepancy in their furnishing between certain rooms in the King's State Apartments. If, after mounting the King's Stairs and passing through the King's Guard Chamber, the visitor enters what is now called 'the King's First Presence Chamber' (pl. LII a), he is confronted with a fine and recently restored Canopy and Chair of State. The next room in the suite, which is called 'the King's Second Presence Chamber' has neither Canopy nor Chair, but the following room, which contains an even richer, if un-restored, Canopy and Chair than that in the First Presence Chamber, is called 'The King's Audience Chamber' (pl. LII b). What, therefore, is meant by a *Presence Chamber* and what by an *Audience Chamber*? How do they differ? Why should one *Presence Chamber* contain a canopy and the other none?

I need not stress the importance of the canopy or Cloth of Estate in this period. It was always the symbol of the highest rank, implying some degree of sovereign status. In the king's houses it was reserved for members of the royal family, but its use in their own houses was conceded to certain classes of great nobles, whose origins or whose titles were regarded as entitling them to some share of royal privileges. It



was, with the monarch's portrait, chapel furniture and plate, issued to an ambassador as a sign that he represented his prince in person.<sup>1</sup> Sir Amias Poulet, when he took over the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots at Tutbury in 1585, had a heated quarrel with her over a canopy of hers that she had put up in the Great Chamber where his predecessor had usually dined, and which Poulet regarded as English territory, as distinct from the Queen of Scots' own apartment.<sup>2</sup> On Monday, 21st November 1586, after sentence had been pronounced and Mary Stewart was considered to be legally dead, Poulet had the satisfaction of taking down the canopy in her own rooms at Fotheringhay.<sup>3</sup> In England certainly the king and the queen each had two canopies in their respective apartments, and the Prince of Misrule, elected at the Middle Temple in January 1635/6, who traditionally modelled his entourage on the court at Whitehall, was furnished with two canopies by the Lord Chamberlain.<sup>4</sup> We cannot be indifferent to the location of this furniture.

Further study of the plan of Hampton Court Palace (fig. 1) raised another point. Why, in a period of strict conformity to symmetrical planning, should the *King's Audience Chamber* occupy the central position on his Side that is held on hers by the *Queen's Drawing Room*? That Ernest Law in his excellent History points out that Wren in 1699 calls the *King's Audience Chamber* the *King's Drawing Room*, thus giving the King the same central position as the *Queen's Drawing Room*, and implying that the canopy was removed to this room at some later date from the *Second Presence Chamber*, which Wren calls the *Privy Chamber*, merely complicates matters without answering the question.<sup>5</sup>

It seemed to me that here was a field of study that, though it had to base itself not only on accounts, inventories, and plans, but upon the subjective analysis of such dispersed and fragmentary material as memoirs and correspondence, might possibly lead to some understanding of the principles lying behind the interior planning of palaces, and perhaps as well ultimately to a clearer understanding of the sort of life lived within them.

Although the European courts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries display a considerable degree of similarity in their organization and customs, we should, I suggest, be careful not to over-estimate the amount of imitation that took place between them; we should rather ascribe these similarities to their common origin in the medieval household, which was a practical organization with departments designed

<sup>1</sup> D. B. Horn, 'Rank and Emoluments in the British Diplomatic Service 1689-1789', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., ix, 1959, 32.

<sup>2</sup> 'Wherein I have considered that, in my simple opinion, her Majesty's subjects may not with their duties allow in this realm of any more cloths of Estate than that which is due to her Highness. And therefore this chamber being applied to the use of the governor here, and so employed in all this time, I could not but resolve with myself here that the same was to be accounted as her Majesty's side, as they call it commonly in the Court, and therefore no cloth of Estate representing any foreign Prince to be allowed in the said chamber.' John Morris, S.J., *The Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, 1874, pp. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 313-16.

<sup>4</sup> W. Knowles, *The Earl of Stafford's Letters and Dispatches*, 1739, i, 506-7. Reference kindly supplied by Mrs. M. P. G. Draper, F.S.A. Sir Lewis Lewkenor, accompanying the Spanish Ambassador, the Constable of Castille, to Oxford, thought it worth while to report to Lord Cecil that 'He is lodged in Christ's Church, which he has already trimmed with his hangings and furniture. In 2 of his rooms he has hanged up cloths of estate, equal every way both in breadth and length, to those of the King which are usual in our court', *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. xv, 1930, 245.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, 1891, iii, 65.



to meet practical needs. Local conditions, the varying rhythm and speed of political and social development in different countries, will account for the difference in the position of certain officials,<sup>1</sup> but the same sort of physical demands call for similar organizations to satisfy them and perhaps eventually evoke the same sort of

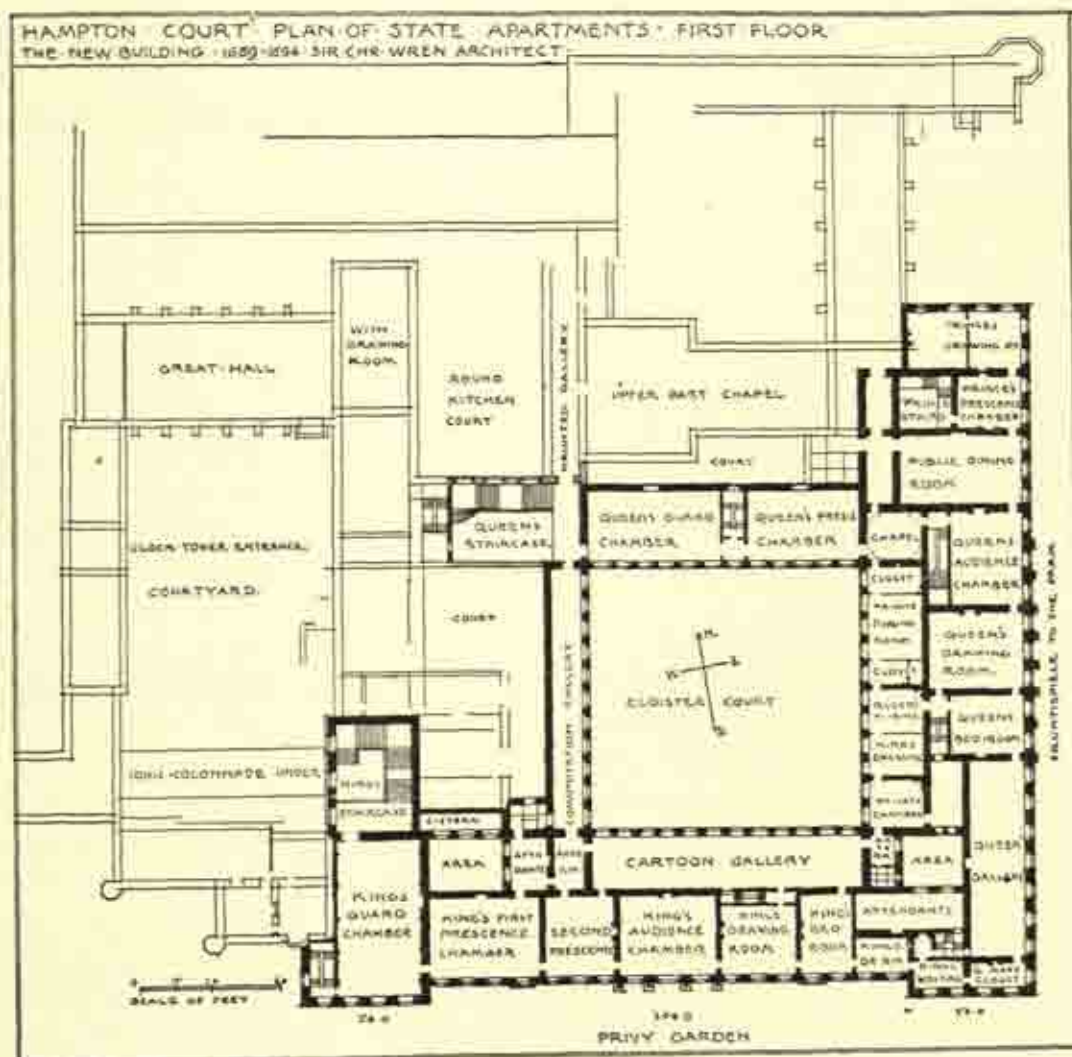


FIG. 1. Plan of the State Apartments in Hampton Court Palace (*Wren Society*, vol. iv, p. 12).

setting. For this reason I should prefer to deal as little as possible with the problems of remote origins, to avoid as far as possible the sacral aspect of ceremonial, its anthropology. I want to try to establish, by comparison, its logic, if that is possible. It is very tempting to compare the division of the courtiers of the Caesars into three

<sup>1</sup> Abroad, Ushers were not gentlemen but yeomen and were not, as a consequence, able to control the staff of the rooms for which they were responsible to the same extent as they did in England, where they were gentlemen. The senior Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter not only controlled the Presence Chamber and the Great Chamber but, in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household

and the Vice-Chamberlain, acted as their deputy. When many Household Appointments, particularly those of the Bedchamber, became political, the Gentlemen Ushers with the Equerries took over many of the functions exercised at foreign courts by Chamberlains or Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.



admissions<sup>1</sup> with the *entrées* at Versailles or to seek the origins of the *lever* in the obligatory morning salutations of Roman clients to their patron, but it would be difficult to establish the continuity of these customs, and it is perhaps sufficient to remember that attendance on the prince's first public appearance has a sound practical reason: to find out what he intends to do, to try to remain in his company and hope to enjoy its attendant advantages. A further point is that if we can manage to relate ceremonial to its social setting, some light may be thrown on it by contemporary customs outside the court. The Tudor king dining in his Presence Chamber, his Lord Chamberlain dining in the Guard-Chamber next door and the court, in so far as they do not dine at separate tables, dining in the Great Hall, present the same pattern as that up-and-coming civil servant, Sir William Cecil, dining in the Great Chamber with his family, his senior servants dining in the Parlour and the rest of the servants dining in the Hall at Wimbledon Manor.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE ENGLISH SYSTEM

In England the development of the State Apartment can be traced fairly easily from documentary sources,<sup>3</sup> but because we do not have the first-floor plans of Tudor palaces it is often difficult to relate the descriptions of certain rooms that have come to us to the ground-plans that have survived or been discovered by the spade. The general line of development, however, is clear, particularly if we think of the State Rooms as deriving from the medieval Great Chamber, behind and above the Great Hall, and multiplying as their functions become more specialized and complex. By the seventeenth century, the State Apartment had reached its fullest extent and Pegge,<sup>4</sup> a hundred years later, described the pattern:

'The Arrangement of the State-Rooms above Stairs in Royal Palaces (*de suite*), uniformly consists of *The Great Chamber, The Presence Chamber, The Privy-Chamber, The Withdrawing-Room, and The Bed-Chamber.*'

This pattern is confirmed by Sir Christopher Wren's estimates for finishing the King's Side at Hampton Court in 1699 (*Great Stairs, Guard Chamber, Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Drawing-Room, Ante-Room, Great Bedchamber, Gallery*),<sup>5</sup> as well as by Talman's estimates for finishing the closets and back-stairs rooms in 1700,<sup>6</sup> Wren's draft 'Explication of the Plan of Winchester Castle',<sup>7</sup> various sketches for alterations to Palaces,<sup>8</sup> and descriptions of Windsor Castle as Charles II had left it and before the alterations of George III.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'The *Amici* (Augusti) were graded (by a practice which, in private families, dated from C. Gracchus and Livius Drusus (*Sen. B. 6 34*) as *primae, secundae* or *tertia admissio*'), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1949, p. 43. 'Amicus Augusti.'

<sup>2</sup> Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*, 1955, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Particularly in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary, also Receipts in Ancient Cookery*, 1790.

<sup>4</sup> S. Pegge, *Curialia, or an Historical Account of some Branches of the Royal Household*, 1791, part iii, pp. 62-63.

<sup>5</sup> 'Estimate of Finishing part of Hampton Court April 28 1699', *Wren Society*, iv, 1927, 58-59.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iv, 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vii, 1930, 17-19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* iv, pl. x.

<sup>9</sup> George Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae or the Curiosities of Kensington, Hampton Court and Windsor Castle delineated*, 1756, pp. 135 seq. *The Windsor Guide, containing a description of the Town and Castle* . . . 1798.



Very briefly, the *Great Hall* was the principal ceremonial room of the early Tudors, who 'kept their hall' and dined there in state on certain occasions with elaborate ceremony.<sup>1</sup> As late as 1559 it was furnished with tapestry and a Cloth of Estate for the reception of the French ambassador who passed through it to the Great Chamber and the Presence-Chamber.<sup>2</sup> Under Queen Elizabeth and the early Stuarts the Hall declined in status, though it was still used for extraordinary ceremonies, such as the investiture of the Prince of Wales in 1616.<sup>3</sup> The frequent use of temporary banquetting houses is perhaps significant,<sup>4</sup> and even more so the references to cooking smells and the activities of greasy scullions in a pamphlet of the Civil War.<sup>5</sup> It seems clear that in the palace as in private houses the Hall had become the dining place of the lower servants. The permanent Banqueting House had become the best venue for public ceremonies,<sup>6</sup> and the reduction in the diet of the court and the increasing tendency under Charles II to put lower servants on to board wages left the way clear for the erection of a permanent theatre in the Hall,<sup>7</sup> where since Queen Elizabeth theatrical performances had been held with increasing frequency.

Originally, and this was reflected in the continuing organization of the Household, the State Rooms upstairs had consisted of the Outer Chamber and the Inner or Privy Chamber; the Outer Chamber being the main public room of Audience and Assembly, and the Privy Chamber the private room and bedroom. The Outer Chamber or, as it came to be called, the Great Chamber, took on many of the Hall's ceremonial functions. Here the Lord Chamberlain dined, at first every day and later only on certain important days, and for a long time a raised platform survived as a reminder that a Cloth of Estate had hung here when it was the Great Chamber of Presence.<sup>8</sup> In this room peers were feasted at the sovereign's expense on the day of their creation,<sup>9</sup> and parliaments were often convened and prorogued.<sup>10</sup> The first of the two palace guards, the Yeomen of the Guard, was stationed here and it was from this circumstance that the room came to be known as the Guard Chamber.<sup>11</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century the only sign that it had been anything else was the fact that at Windsor Garter Feasts in the king's absence were still held in the King's Guard Chamber.<sup>12</sup> Under the Tudors it had been the principal place of assembly of the court, but by the time of Charles II all that was necessary to obtain admittance was to be respectably dressed. The waiting women of peeresses and the attendants out of livery of peers waited in this room, and the only liveried servants allowed in were those of the royal family.<sup>13</sup> Peers and privy councillors had a way cleared for them through the throng

<sup>1</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 110-11, 'Articles Ordained by King Henry VII . . . 1494'.

<sup>2</sup> The Embassy 'entered the great hall on the ground floor, hung with very choice tapestries, with the canopy, throne and royal cushions'. Then 'mounting the Stairs they went to . . . do reverence to the Queen, who received them, . . . going as far as . . . the Guard Chamber at the head of the Stairs, and being conducted to the presence chamber, they presented their credentials . . .'. *LCC Survey of London*, xiii, 1930, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 50.

<sup>4</sup> As in 1572, 1581, and 1613, *ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> 'A deep sigh breathed through the lodgings at White-

hall', 1642, *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 1955: 'Touching for the King's Evil', iii, 250; 'Creation of Peers', iii, 276; 'Reception of Ambassadors', iii, 256, 412, 506, 513.

<sup>7</sup> 1665. *Survey of London*, xiii, 47, 53.

<sup>8</sup> *Curialia III*, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> As in 1553, 1607, and 1620/21, *Survey of London*, xiii, 67.

<sup>11</sup> For the identification of the Great Chamber with the Guard Chamber see, *Curialia III*, pp. 61-64 and *Survey of London*, xiii, 64-66.

<sup>12</sup> *The Windsor Guide*, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Household Ordinances*, p. 354.



by what were called the *Honours of the Great Chamber* (pl. LIII),<sup>1</sup> so as to allow them to proceed directly into the next room, the Presence Chamber.

This room, served by a staff who belonged to the establishment of the Outer Chamber and directed by the Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter, who also controlled the Great Chamber,<sup>2</sup> was certainly until the time of Charles II the main chamber of Audience of the palace. Here stood the throne under its canopy, bowed to even when empty and guarded by the second palace guard, the Gentlemen Pensioners.<sup>3</sup> The Maids of Honour and Courtiers were expected to be on duty there at stated hours of the day.<sup>4</sup> The procession to the Chapel was marshalled here;<sup>5</sup> the king dined in public here, received ambassadors and, as in 1610, sometimes feasted them here;<sup>6</sup> in this room he created peers and entertained the court.<sup>7</sup> As I have said, peers and privy councillors had direct access to this room and this preferential treatment was to have an interesting result.

Under Henry VIII the Privy Chamber was what its name implies: the king's private room. He spent most of his time in it with a few chosen and trusted companions, the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, who dressed him when he came in from his bedroom and served him when he ate in private, though still under conditions of extreme formality, the king being served on bended knee and seated under a canopy. Only about fifteen persons had access to the Privy Chamber while access to the Bedchamber was restricted to the king's personal servants.<sup>8</sup> The institution of the Privy Chamber and its Establishment was kept up by Henry VIII's daughters, though under a female prince the actual service was performed by Ladies of the Privy Chamber. As a consequence the Gentlemen became decorative, less useful and more numerous, and their status began to decline as the Bedchamber and its staff became distinct and its chief officer, the Groom of the Stole, began to assume great importance. Subsequently Queen's Consort kept the *Privy Chamber* in addition to the *Drawing Room*. This was either a new room introduced between the Bedchamber and the Privy Chamber, or perhaps in its origin the female equivalent of the Privy Chamber. Be that as it may, this Withdrawing Room became part of the king's apartments as well as of the queen's in the early part of the seventeenth century. It remained, like the Bedchamber and the private closets behind it, under the control of the Groom of the Stole,<sup>9</sup> so that by the reign of Charles II the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber ended by being independent of both the Bedchamber and the Outer Chamber, and in control of the Privy Chamber and the Privy Gallery but of no other room in the Privy Lodging.<sup>10</sup>

To begin with, access to the Withdrawing Room was extremely limited. Under

<sup>1</sup> *Curialia III*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 355, 371, 379.

<sup>3</sup> *Curialia II*, p. 69; *Household Ordinances*, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 338, 341, 347; the last two for the Queen's Side.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>6</sup> The Venetian Ambassador for instance in 1610, *Survey of London*, xiii, 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth*, ed. G. H. Powell, 1905, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 154-7. On 20 July 1550

King Edward VI noted that the special French Ambassador had been present while he was being dressed and had been shown the Bedchamber, making it clear that this was unusual. The object was probably to allow the ambassador to report on the king's health and appearance to his prospective father-in-law, *The Journal of King Edward's Reign, Written in his Own Hand*, Clarendon Historical Society, 1884, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> *Curialia I*, p. 67; 'Orders for the Bedchamber by James II', *Oxfordshire County Record Office* (Dil. xx/a/2).

<sup>10</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 360-2.



Charles I peers were allowed into the Privy Chamber but no further. Privy councillors could enter the outer Withdrawing Room at Whitehall but only persons specifically given permission to do so could enter the Withdrawing Room proper, the Vane Room.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence the outer Drawing Room became known as the Lords' Room. At the Restoration, however, these rooms lost even more of their private character. Military and naval officers and persons 'of good rank and note' were allowed into the Privy Chamber,<sup>2</sup> while it was in the King's Drawing Room at Whitehall, the 'Room of the Winds' or Vane Room, that the suite of the Grand Prince of Tuscany was presented to Charles II in 1669.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the Grand Prince took care to attend the nightly circle of Queen Catherine of Braganza, when she sat near the door of her Drawing Room to receive her visitors. The ambassadors attended these receptions and the King and his brother never failed to put in an appearance.<sup>4</sup> The increasing importance of this room in which the king and queen receive Society is shown by the size of the new building designed by Wren to accommodate it at Whitehall<sup>5</sup> and the central position he gave it in the *enfilade* at Hampton Court.

Access to the Bedchamber, limited until the Restoration, seems to have been more open in the earlier years of Charles II, who appears to have received in it. This may have been due to his stay in France but also to his policy of being accessible to as many people as possible,<sup>6</sup> and perhaps even more to the various and necessary building operations going on at Whitehall at the time. In 1683, however, the King limited access to the Bedchamber to his brother, his Ministers, and Secretaries of State. No peers or privy councillors were allowed in unless called for or asking for leave. Even the Lord Chamberlain found his way barred as would have the Lord Steward.<sup>7</sup> The Bedchamber Orders of James II confirm this restriction and in fact give elaborate instructions about keeping the door to this room locked and as to who was to be allowed a key.<sup>8</sup> Equally stringent instructions were issued by William III.<sup>9</sup> A remark of James Vernon, on becoming Secretary of State in 1697, 'What figure I shall make in the House and the Bedchamber . . .',<sup>10</sup> seems to confirm that the attendance of Ministers was not so much at the *Lever* as waiting for admission to the King's Closet, which was his study and the effective seat of government. There was no other suitable place of assembly for Ministers as a group, since the Closet gave on to the Backstairs and the private rooms which were small.

What then has been happening? Since the Tudors the court is principally based on Whitehall and this centre of power, favour, and influence inevitably attracts a large number of persons whose object and interest it is to catch the prince's eye, or, better still, to catch him off his guard: Henry VIII found it necessary to forbid the court to follow him when he was hunting.<sup>11</sup> Anyone who has held even a minor official position

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> L. Malagotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England*, 1821, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Survey of London XIII*, pl. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, iii, 406, 430, 465, 562. Evelyn was also received in her Bedchamber by the Princess Henrietta in 1660, iii, 261, and in his by the Duke of York in 1664, iii, 389. In modern terms, however, Evelyn

had the status of a junior Minister.

<sup>7</sup> *Hatton Correspondence* (Camden Society, n.s. xxiii), 1878, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Oxfordshire County Record Office* (Dil. xx/a/2).

<sup>9</sup> *British Museum*, Stowe MSS. 563.

<sup>10</sup> *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury by James Vernon*, ed. G. P. R. James, 1841, i, 380.

<sup>11</sup> *Household Ordinances*, p. 158.



today knows how useful it is to have a secretary, typist, or clerk in an outer room to deal with visitors. The sixteenth-century prince surrounded, and to a certain extent besieged by, a court traditionally large and on the increase, was forced to regulate the distance between himself and his courtiers in order to obtain any privacy at all. Between his courtiers and himself he put an increasing number of rooms and guarded their access strictly. He only emerged from his private rooms for specific reasons, such as going to Chapel or on his way to the Council or some public entertainment or ceremony, and was careful to make even these daily public appearances as magnificent as possible. The process culminated in the astonishing epiphanies of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> However, the court maintained its unceasing pressure and it is less easy for a male prince than for a female monarch to resist the process of erosion; hence, as the court and the public penetrate further into the palace, so does the king withdraw into its interior.

The increasing size of the court and its hangers-on resulted in the growth of an active social life centred, in the first instance, on the monarch. Thus to his role as Head of State and Head of Government the king adds that of Head of Society. The Duke of Newcastle makes it clear in his notes for Charles II<sup>2</sup> that the late king, perhaps as a reaction from the sleazy atmosphere of James I's court, had lived as privately as he could within the framework of a large Household, surrounding himself with a small clique of intimate friends, and had entirely failed to understand the importance of this new role. Charles II needed little prompting in this direction but few of his successors were capable of sustaining the part adequately. The State Apartment then may be divided into the rooms designed to serve the different aspects of the royal *persona*: the rooms for State, the Public Rooms for Society, and those private rooms which also served the purposes of government; and we may try to decide into which category a particular room may fall at any given moment. We may be helped in this task by noting which official presents a man to the king. Matthew Prior kissed hands in 1700 for an appointment on the way to the Chapel, i.e. in the Privy or the Presence Chamber, because he was presented by the Lord Chamberlain. He would have had to be presented by the Lord of the Bedchamber-in-waiting in order to kiss hands in the Bedchamber or Drawing Room.<sup>3</sup>

A further consequence of the increase in the numbers of the Court is that some differentiation must inevitably be made between the most important and the less so among those seeking access to the prince. Peers and privy councillors had originally been given free passage through the Great Chamber to the Presence Chamber. At their public reception ambassadors were usually asked to wait in an outer room in order to allow the stage to be set and the king to settle himself on his throne.<sup>4</sup> Obviously, both ambassadors and peers needed a room to wait in, apart from the mass of

<sup>1</sup> For the arrogance of Queen Elizabeth's public manner, see A. Hurault de Maisse, *Journal of all that was accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse, Ambassador of Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth*, ed. G. B. Harrison and R. A. Jones, 1931, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. Strong, *A Catalogue of Letters and other Historical Documents, exhibited in the Library at Welbeck*,

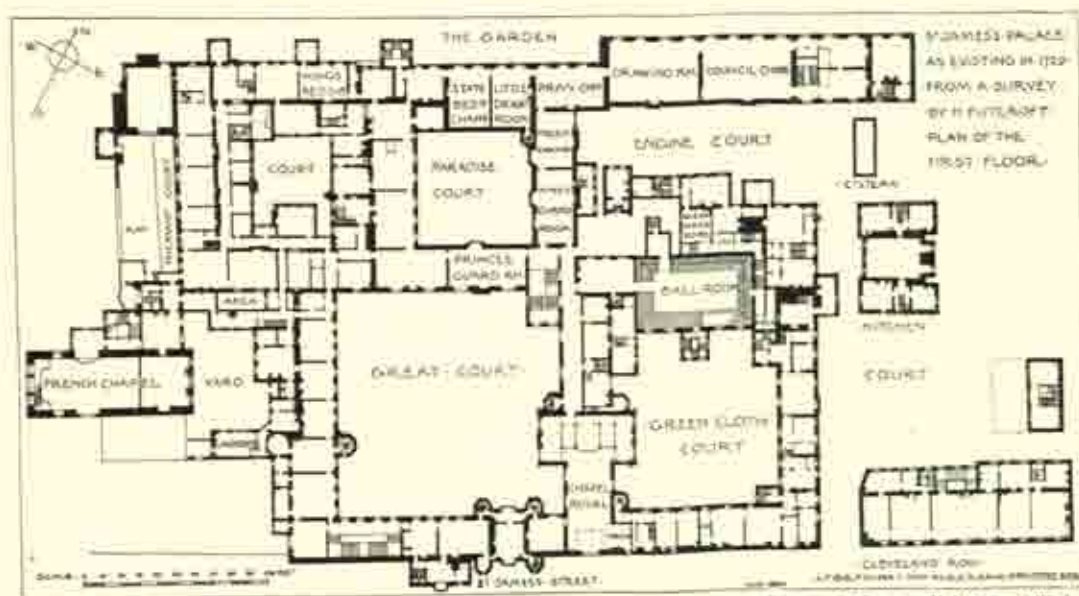
1903, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *Historical Manuscripts Commission*: Downshire MSS. vol. i, pt. i, 1924, 79; Dr. O. Wynne to Sir W. Trumbull, 21 Dec. 1685. See also Sir John Finet, *Philoxenis*, 1656, for the general ceremonial of ambassadors presenting their credentials.



courtiers, and this was all the more needed at a period when no great man would appear at court without a large retinue of clients, and when it was regarded as a point of honour to have a well-attended court.<sup>1</sup> This particular room came to be known in England as the *Entrée Room* and we can see its establishment in Henry Flitcroft's plan of 1729 of the State Apartments in St. James's Palace (fig. 2).



St. James's Palace. First Floor Plan in 1720.

FIG. 2. Plan of the State Apartments in St. James's Palace, mid-18th century. After Henry Flitcroft (*Wren Society*, vol. vii, p. 245).

Here we have the normal set of State Rooms but, because of their exiguity, a new wing has been added at right angles to the main block, forming a 'T'. The old Privy Chamber forms the junction. To its left lie the Drawing Room and the State Bedchamber; to its right, a new and larger Drawing Room, followed by the Council Chamber with its room for the Clerk of the Council, a waiting room and its own stairs.<sup>2</sup> In 1725 César de Saussure speaks of the court waiting for the opening of the king's apartment in the central room (the Privy Chamber). Thus the old and lesser Drawing Room had become the *Entrée Room* to the Bedchamber. Saussure says that the central room has a Chair and Canopy of State, as has the Great Drawing Room on the right 'where the King gives Audiences and receives Ambassadors'.<sup>3</sup> This position of the canopies is confirmed in a contemporary plan.<sup>4</sup> In effect, the Privy Chamber, which kept its canopy until George III,<sup>5</sup> has become the outer or *Presence Chamber*,

<sup>1</sup> 'The gentlemen ushers . . . shall have a care to see the said (Presence) chamber well furnished with gentlemen that strangers and men of quality that shall resort unto his Highness's court may not finde it emptie', *Household Ordinances*, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, Ministry of Public Building and Works G.A/S.I: Gen/3.

3 César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the*  
VOL. CL.

*Reign of George I and George II*, ed. and transl. Mme Van Muyden, 1902, p. 41.

\* *Wren Society*, vii, pl. XXXI.

<sup>8</sup> George III received the Quakers under the canopy in the Privy Chamber. D. Hughson, *London, being an Accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis*, iv, 1807, 321.



though it is not called so, and the Great Drawing Room has become the Privy Chamber and main chamber of Audience, though it never takes the name. Interestingly, Saussure says that the old Presence Chamber was the room of the Gentlemen Pensioners who thus appear at this stage to have been dissociated from their duty of attendance in the outer chamber of Audience.<sup>1</sup> George III completed the process by setting up the Chair and Canopy of State in the Council Chamber, leaving the Great Drawing Room to become the *Entrée Room* on this side.<sup>2</sup> Later levées were to be transferred to this new throne room as well as Drawing Rooms. By this process the old Presence Chamber had lost all meaning and became a waiting or ante-room.

The importance of the Presence Chamber has clearly declined sharply since the Ordinances of Charles II,<sup>3</sup> in which it was still regarded as the main chamber of Audience. These ordinances may have been summing up past practice rather than looking to the future but, though Charles II used the Banqueting House at Whitehall for many of the ceremonies previously performed in the Presence Chamber,<sup>4</sup> he restored the custom of dining in public in this room.<sup>5</sup> It was in the Presence Chamber that the Yeoman handed the Sword of State to the Gentleman Usher, who put it in the Chair of State before handing it to the peer who was to carry it before the king in the procession to the Chapel.<sup>6</sup> Here too, the Gentlemen Ushers and Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber were expected to come in procession after dinner to pay homage and give thanks to the empty throne.<sup>7</sup> There were never any directions of this kind for the Privy Chamber. When the Esquire of the Body slept in the Presence Chamber at night, he turned the Chair of State to the wall, thus neutralizing it, and slept under the Canopy.<sup>8</sup> There are no such directions for the two Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber sleeping in that room.<sup>9</sup> So we return to the problem of the relative importance of the Presence and the Privy Chamber at Hampton Court Palace that was raised at the beginning of this paper.

The clue to the decay of the Presence Chamber lies in the opening of the Great Chamber to the general public, the consequent admission of the court to the Privy Chamber and in the requirement for an *Entrée Room* for peers. The immediate cause may have been the method of receiving ambassadors. In ordinary social intercourse superiors were received as they alighted from their coaches or at the foot of the stairs; equals were received at the head of the stairs or in an outer room and inferiors were expected to make their own way to the reception room. These principles were applied

<sup>1</sup> Saussure, pp. 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> 'This apartment [i.e. the Council Chamber] is the Grand Drawing Room . . . the nearer room being a kind of anti-chamber in which the nobility are allowed to sit down while their Majesties are present in the further room . . .', Hughson, iv, 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Household Ordinances*, pp. 352 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 173, n. 6, above.

<sup>5</sup> 'Now did his Majestie again dine in the Presence in antient State with Music and all the Court ceremonies which had been interrupted since the late Warr', 7th Aug. 1667, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, iii, 490. This took place in the Queen's Presence Chamber and was to do so three

days a week. See *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Le Fleming MSS.* 1891, 52. In England and France, when the king dined alone in public it was on his side; when the queen dined in public with him, they ate on her Side. Cf. the position of the Music Room or Public Dining Room at Hampton Court, which is on the Queen's Side.

<sup>6</sup> *Household Ordinances*, p. 370. As these instructions are issued to the Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter and not to the Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber, it is clear that this ceremony took place in the Presence Chamber.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.



to ambassadors. In 1625 the Danish ambassador was received in the Presence Chamber at Hampton Court,<sup>1</sup> and in October the French ambassador, Marshal Bassompierre, was received in the same room;<sup>2</sup> but, again in September, between these two embassies, the envoys of Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, a remote prince of the second rank, had been received in the Privy Chamber of the same palace.<sup>3</sup> This was not the only time that the Privy Chamber had been used to receive envoys.<sup>4</sup> It was becoming usual at the solemn reception of ambassadors to conduct them through palaces along as circuitous a route as possible, partly to impress them with the size of the palace and partly to accommodate the numbers of persons in attendance. As the custom became more frequent, it is not surprising to find the second of the chambers of Audience, the Privy Chamber, becoming at first the most important and eventually the only one. Not only was the Drawing Room taking over its social functions, but the provision of a private dining room, as at Windsor, deprived it of the last of its private uses and left it open for use as a room of State. A plan of Wren's for the unfinished part of Hampton Court gives the name of *Privy Chamber* to what is now called the *Queen's Audience Chamber*.<sup>5</sup> A list of lights for a theatrical performance in the Great Hall at Hampton Court in 1718 mentions the First and the Second Presence Chambers (the modern nomenclature) and the *Privy Chamber*.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the accounts for furnishing the palace in December 1699,<sup>7</sup> a few months later than Wren's 'Estimat' for finishing the State Rooms, mention the *Bedchamber* (i.e. the present 'State Bedchamber'), the *Drawing Room* (Wren's 'Ante Room' and the present 'Drawing Room'), the *Privy Chamber* (Wren's 'Drawing Room' and the present 'Audience Chamber'), the *Next Room* (Wren's 'Privy Chamber' and the present 'Second Presence Chamber') and the *Presence Chamber* (which is obviously the present 'First Presence Chamber'). Thus the modern *Audience Chamber* is what was formerly called the *Privy Chamber*, and the canopy set up in it has always been there and was not, as has formerly been suggested, moved there at an unknown date from what is now the 'Second Presence Chamber' (identified by Ernest Law from Wren's estimate as being the *Privy Chamber*).

It is an interesting example of the tension often existing between the architect's ideas and the practical needs of the patron that this change of user in the rooms at Hampton Court should have taken place in so short a space of time as eight months, the time in fact during which the rooms were being prepared and furnished. We may perhaps trace its cause to the requirement for an *Entrée Room* in addition to the waiting room for the main body of courtiers. It should be noted, although the fact is obscured by the recent very successful restoration of the canopy in the First Presence Chamber, that of the two the canopy in the Audience Chamber is the more elaborate and the richer.<sup>8</sup> Placed as it is at the end of the gallery communicating with the Queen's Staircase, the Second Presence Chamber is less suitable as a place of audience than as

<sup>1</sup> *Philoxenis*, pp. 181-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> 15th Dec. 1597, Hurault de Maisse, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Wren Society*, iv, pl. x.

<sup>6</sup> In the possession of Mrs. J. Keen, London, in 1953;

photostat in the author's possession.

<sup>7</sup> *The Connoisseur*, xiv, no. 55, March 1906, E. F. Strange, 'The Furnishing of Hampton Court in 1699'.

<sup>8</sup> *The Connoisseur*, ciii, no. 453, May, 1939, G. F. Wingfield Digby, 'Damasks and Velvets at Hampton Court'.



one of waiting and assembly, and there is no possibility of the throne occupying its usual place facing the door of the preceding room because that position is occupied by the fireplace. In becoming the principal room of Audience, the Privy Chamber tends to lose its designation, since it is in fact no longer private. The fact that the Presence Chamber had been degraded to the status of a waiting room, causes the word *Presence* to lose all meaning to the extent that, in his plan of the first floor of Hampton Court Palace, Lysons uses the term as a synonym for *ante-room*.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, by 1700 the State Apartment in England consists of a chamber of Audience, preceded by two ante-rooms, one of which is reserved for the more important courtiers, and followed by a room reserved for social life, the Drawing Room. Beyond this room lies the State Bedchamber, closed to all save a few, and the Closet in which the monarch transacts business. There is also a tendency for the court to be divided into grades or classes and for these classes to have rooms reserved for them to wait in.

How far does this pattern conform to that of the distribution of rooms abroad? It is interesting to note that in a period when the Ordinances of Eltham in 1526 define the use of the Privy Chamber as the king's private living room and distinguish it from the Bedchamber and Closets, the contemporary pattern of rooms in our two nearest neighbours is less developed. In Scotland the palace in Stirling Castle (fig. 3), completed in the 1530s, and the Palace at Linlithgow (fig. 4), altered at about the same time,<sup>2</sup> both provide a Royal Apartment consisting only of a *Garde Hall*, *Presence Chamber*, and Bedchamber with a garde-robe and oratory behind it. As there is no room to enlarge or develop these closets, it is clear that the King and Queen of Scots were expected to live, as their ancestors had done, in their Bedchamber. In France François I, with all the space that he could wish for at his disposal in rebuilding the Château of Fontainebleau in 1533 (fig. 5), only felt the need for a *Salle*, or Great Chamber in which he ate, a *Chambre* in which he lived and slept, and behind it a *Grand Cabinet* or Closet into which he could withdraw.<sup>3</sup> Even if he did spend a great deal of his time in it, the fact that this Closet was behind and not in front of the Bedchamber inevitably led to the Bedchamber becoming an ante-room to the Closet and so more public than private in character. This is made extremely clear by the fact that the gallery that he built to link the old with the new castle and which he used for balls and entertainments leads straight from the entrance vestibule of the new Château into his Bedchamber.<sup>4</sup> Even at this date we can note not only the trend to a multiplication of rooms with a specialized purpose in England, but also the feature that was always that most remarked upon in the French court: the publicity in which the king lived.

<sup>1</sup> D. Lysons, *An Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex . . . not described in the Environs of London*, 1800, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Richardson and Margaret Root, *Stirling Castle*, H.M.S.O. 1948, and J. S. Richardson and James Beveridge, *Linlithgow Palace*, H.M.S.O. 1948.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. R. Coope, F.S.A., for drawing my attention to two plans for a *Regia* or Royal Palace, probably drawn for the French Court, by Sebastiano

Serlio. [*Sesto Libro delle Abitazioni di tutti gli gradi di Nomini*, di Mario Rosci, presentazione di Anna Mario Brizio, Milan I.T.E.C. 1966.] Although great attention is paid, possibly for the first time, to the requirements of a court, in housing guards, horses and kitchens as well as in furnishing places of assembly, the apartment consists simply of an *ante-camera*, *camera*, and *retro-camera*.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Dimier, *Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1925, pp. 18-23.



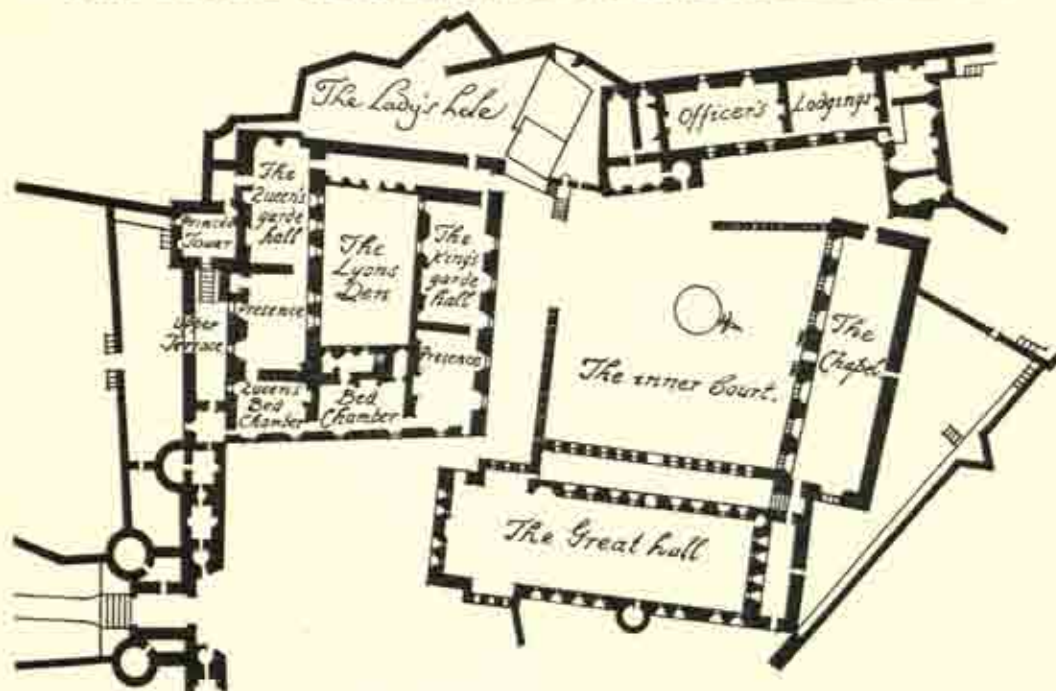


FIG. 3. Plan of the State Apartments in the Palace at Stirling Castle, from a seventeenth-century plan. (Crown Copyright, reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.)

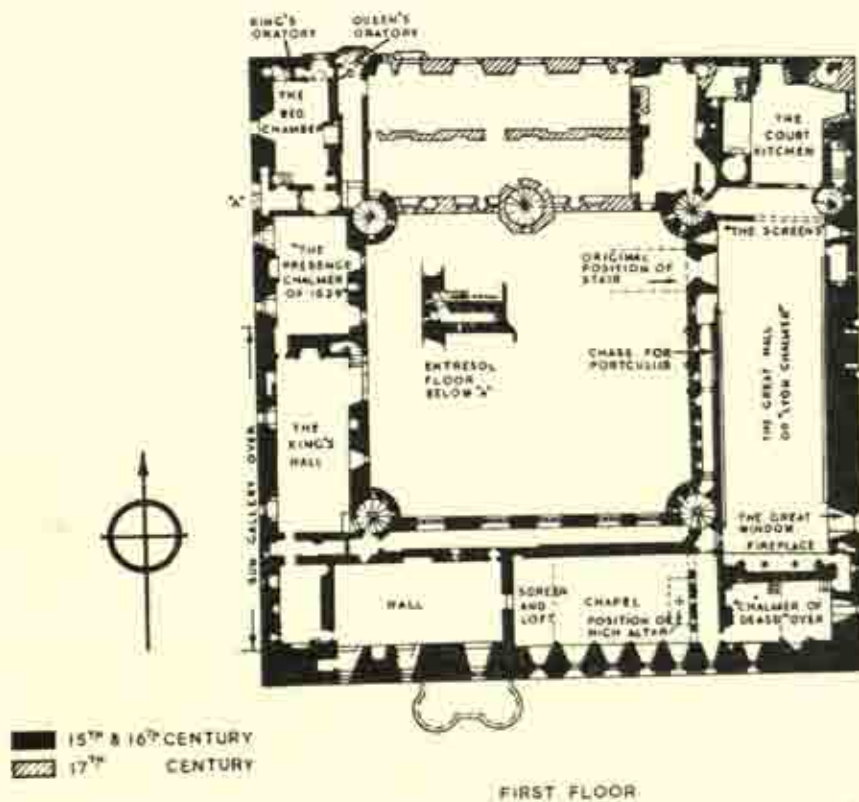


FIG. 4. Plan of the State Apartments in Linlithgow Palace. (Crown Copyright, reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.)

## THE FRENCH SYSTEM

The French court presented a great contrast to the English in that it was, superficially at least, less ceremonious and often more easy-going. In contrast to the wealth and pomp of the court of Henry II of England all that he could offer, said the king of France, was bread, wine, and gaiety.<sup>1</sup> Philippe le Bel, the most powerful king in Europe, is described as walking round Paris and talking to any one who wished to

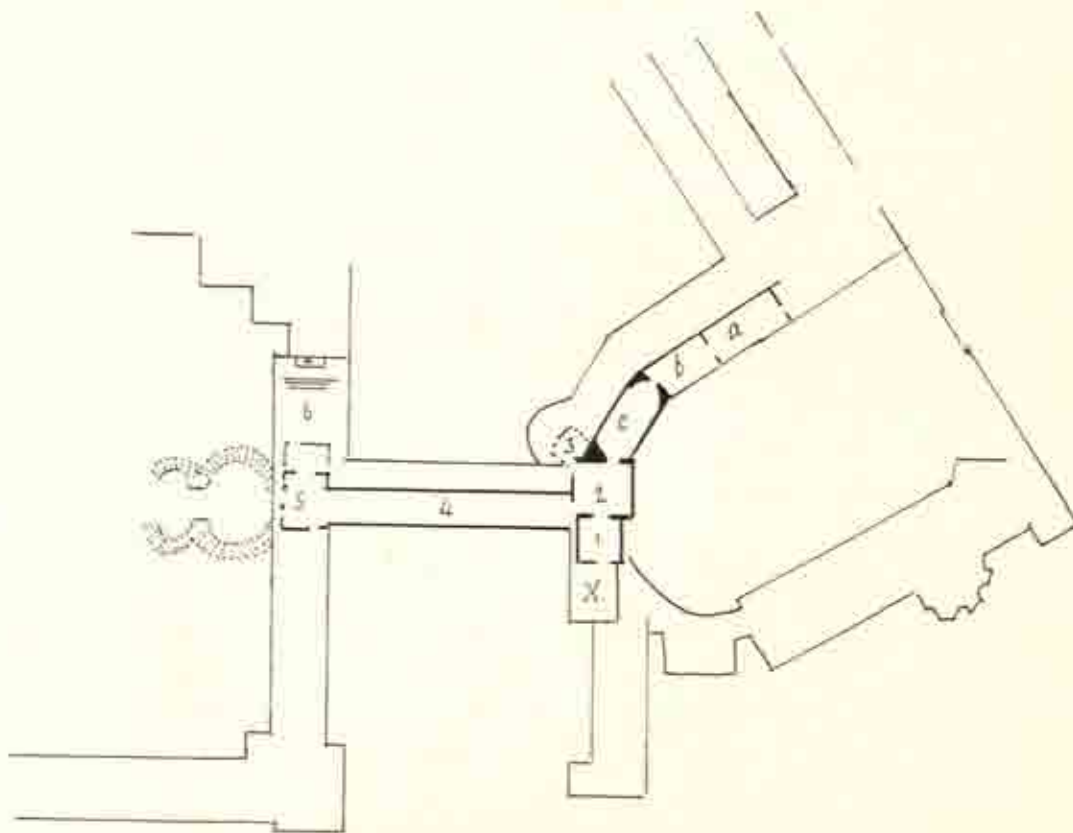


FIG. 5. Sketch plan of the Château of Fontainebleau. The apartments of François I in thick outline; 1, *Salle*; 2, *Chambre*; 3, Site of the *Cabinet* in dotted outline; 4, Gallery; 5, Vestibule; 6, Chapel. x, Guard Chamber added by Charles IX. The Queen's Apartments; a, *Salle*; b, *Chambre*; c, *Cabinet*.

approach him. 'Familiarity has never harmed a King of France', was one of the *dicta* of Chancellor de l'Hôpital, and these kings, though they could be magnificent on occasion and never more so than when they were in desperate straits, tended to combine extremely far-reaching claims of political and social superiority with personal habits of great simplicity. The king lived in the midst of his nobles. Burchard, Papal Master of Ceremonies, was shocked by the manner in which the French of all ranks crowded into the Consistory held by Pope Alexander VI at the request of Charles VIII,<sup>2</sup> and the general impression that he gives of the King is that he was always

<sup>1</sup> *Gualteri Mapes, De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Thomas Wright (Camden Society L.), 1850, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *At the Court of the Borgias, being an Account of the*

*Reign of Pope Alexander VI . . . by . . . Johann Burchard*, ed. Geoffrey Parker, London, 1963, p. 116.



closely surrounded. Louis XIV observed in his *Memoirs and Instructions* for his son that the free access of any subject to his prince was the distinguishing mark of the French monarchy.<sup>1</sup> Foreigners always remarked on the ease with which the lower classes were able to enter the palaces in France, and right up to the end of the *Ancien Régime*, sightseers were able to enter the king's rooms the moment he had left them.<sup>2</sup> The palace gardens were open to the public and the mob pushed its way into the palace as a matter of course. Even so reserved and ceremonious a king as Henri III was spoken to by anyone who wished to do so when he dined in public,<sup>3</sup> and in moments of crisis the crowds became intolerable. The reports of the Venetian ambassadors repeatedly make the same point. At festivities the populace expected its share and the Grande Mademoiselle says that everybody in Paris came to Court Balls without invitations and that the rabble filled the upper tiers of the benches lining the ball-room.<sup>4</sup> This was unthinkable in England even in the earlier and more open days of Charles II. The kings of France expected, and were expected by their own countrymen, to live in the full view of their subjects, and the publicity of the life of Louis XIV, so often the subject of comment, was neither new nor remarkable in France: what was remarkable, indeed astonishing, was that he never tried to change it, never until his very last years even took advantage of the few hours of privacy allowed to him by custom.

The respect that surrounded a king of France was expressed in the way in which he was addressed rather than in gesture. No one knelt, as in England, or bowed as he passed by,<sup>5</sup> but all rank disappeared in his presence and no one, not even his heir, received any mark of respect or title or other distinguishing form of address. The kings of England, like the emperors, opened and dismissed their Parliaments sitting on the throne, robed, crowned, and holding the orb and the sceptre. The king of France only wore his regalia twice; at his coronation and when he, or rather his effigy, was lying in state after his death. He only spoke from the throne when dealing with his turbulent Courts of Justice or when receiving important embassies he thought it as well to try to impress. The pretensions of the nobility and the turmoil of the Wars of Religion had not only impaired the authority of the Crown but also diluted the respect shown to its wearer. By the end of the sixteenth century it was no longer customary to kneel when first addressing the king of France. An extremely low bow, executed as if one was about to kiss the top of his boot, had taken its place but the kings found it expedient to keep up medieval practice and insist that formal delegations from the

<sup>1</sup> 'Il y a des nations où la majesté des rois consiste à ne point se laisser voir et cela peut avoir ses raisons parmi les esprits qu'on ne gouverne que par la crainte et la terreur; mais ce n'est pas le génie de nos Français et s'il y a quelque caractère singulier dans cette monarchie, c'est l'accès libre et facile des sujets au prince.' Luc Benoist, *Versailles et la Monarchie*, Paris, 1947, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> 'In viewing the King's apartment, which he had left not a quarter of an hour, with those slight traits of disorder that shewed that he *lived* in it, it was amusing to see the blackguard figures that were walking uncontrolled about the palace and even in his bedchamber; men whose rage betrayed them to be in the last stage of poverty, and

I was the only person that stared and wondered how the devil they got there.' Arthur Young, *Travels in France*, ed. M. Betham-Edwards, 1889, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pendant le dîner du roi de France, presque tout le monde s'approche de lui et lui parle comme s'il le ferait à un simple particulier.' Jeronimo Lippomano in 1577, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, transl. and ed. Tommaseo, 1838, ii, 567.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Hauteceur, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1930, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> 'The English do not consider their King to be so much above them that they dare not salute him, as in France.' Saussure, p. 41.



Parlements should address them in accordance with previous practice on their knees. Even so powerful and respected a monarch as Henri IV had the greatest difficulty in enforcing the rule that no one should enter his *Chambre de Parade* or State Bedchamber with his hat on.<sup>1</sup> After his experience of the Imperial Court at Vienna, its decency, order, and the protection it gave to the privacy of the prince, Henri III had tried on his return to France in 1574 to introduce some of its usages and codify French ceremonial,<sup>2</sup> an attempt renewed in 1584,<sup>3</sup> but his attempts to divide his courtiers into classes only succeeded in alienating his nobles and in raising scandal: the French have always put the worst construction on any desire for privacy evinced by their royal family. Under these circumstances ceremonial could not develop. A further cause of conservatism lay in the frequency of royal minorities and their attendant abuses. On reaching his effective majority each king had to reassert his authority and tighten up ceremonial, reverting naturally to past practice. Moreover, as all rank came from the king, no innovation introduced by Queen's Regent was considered valid. Finally, one should not forget the strict security precautions that had to be taken after the murders of Henri III and Henri IV, the first of which would not have happened had not the King received Jacques Clément while he was on the close-stool. In the Louvre Louis XIV could not go from one part of the palace to another without guards being posted along the passages.<sup>4</sup> For a long time the Chapel was in the Petit-Bourbon outside the palace and when the king went there for his daily devotions, or to the parish church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois a little further on, the courtyard of the palace and the streets outside were lined with troops. It is not surprising that the early Bourbons felt imprisoned and confined in Paris. This military deployment was continued at Versailles long after it had ceased to be necessary, and the Dauphine Marie Antoinette used to be teased by her tutor, the Abbé Vermond, about the fact that she was paid the honours of a general by a whole regiment of guards that turned out every time she went out for a walk.<sup>5</sup> Outside his rooms the king's footsteps were dogged by the Captain of the Guard-in-waiting who never left his side until he returned to the Closet and then sat on guard at its door. The security of the king's person among the crowds that surrounded him and the fact that the court had had to take refuge so frequently in the Louvre were probably the major contributory causes to the stability of French court usage.

<sup>1</sup> Louis Batifol, *Le Louvre sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, Paris, 1930, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> For the dispatches of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors and the *Memoirs of J. A. de Thou* describing these changes, see P. Champion, *Henri III, roi de Pologne*, Paris, 1951, ii, 173.

<sup>3</sup> 'The King beginneth to reform marvellously the order of his house and maketh three chambers afore they come to his inner bedchamber; in the first, gentlemen to be modestly apparelled; in the next, men of great quality; in the last, Princes and Knights of the Holy Ghost, with himself when he cometh abroad. Into his private bedchamber nobody to be allowed, unless called in, but Epemon and Joyeuse.' *Historical Manuscripts Commission*; Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. 1889, iii, 75, Sir E. Stafford to Sir

F. Walsingham, 8th Dec. 1584. See also the summary of the *Règlement Royal* of January 1585 in Batifol, pp. 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> 'Les tragiques exemples des rois, ses ancêtres, ont augmenté sa défiance naturelle. . . . Il est certain que jamais aucun Souverain ne fut protégé avec une vigilance plus soignée. Les nombreuses gardes françaises et suisses qui gardent le Louvre, les gardes du corps répartis dans les salles, ne suffisent pas. Sa Majesté ne passe jamais d'un appartement dans un autre que ne soient disposés des gardes dans les corridors, dans les escaliers et dans les angles qui servent aux communications.' Venetian Despatch of 1683, quoted Hauteceur, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Jacques Levron, *La Vie quotidienne à la cour de Versailles aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1965, p. 215.





*(Reproduced by Gracious Permission of H.M. The Queen)*

*a. Hampton Court Palace: The King's First Presence Chamber*



*(Reproduced by Gracious Permission of H.M. The Queen)*

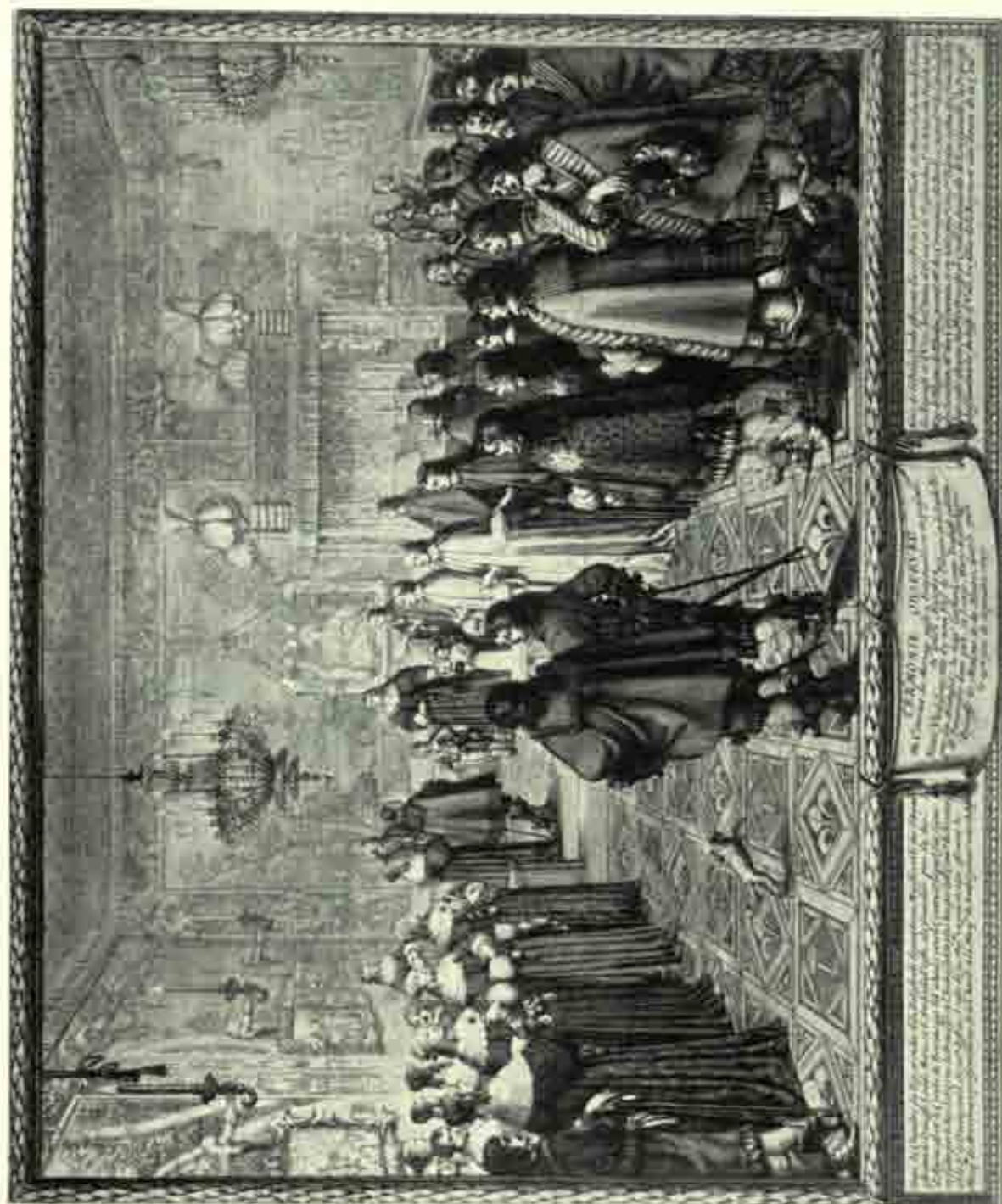
*b. Hampton Court Palace: The King's Audience Chamber*



T. Rowlandson. 'A Drawing Room at St. James's Palace.' The Guard Chamber at St. James's Palace before it was divided into two rooms. In spite of the inaccuracies of detail, e.g. Beefeaters' uniforms and orders, this drawing gives a good impression of the Honours of the Guard or Great Chamber

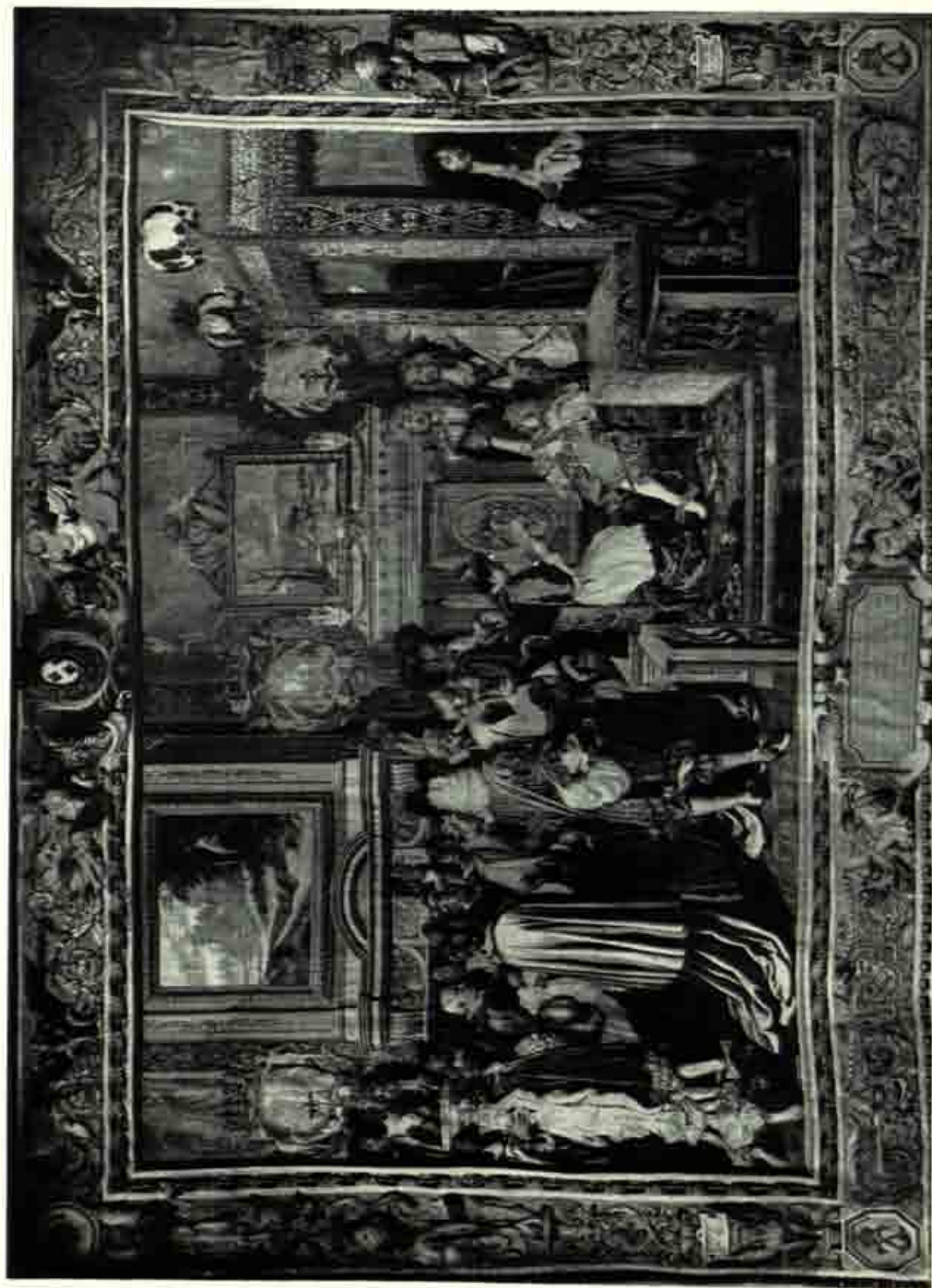
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the London Museum)





A. de Bosse, "The reading of the Marriage Contract of the King of Poland and Marie de Gonzague-Nevers, 25 September 1645,"  
 The King's Bedchamber at Fontainebleau. The Royal Family, the Ambassador and the Bride behind the balustrade with the Secretary of State, the Captain of the Guard and the King's Governor. Note on extreme right the Yeomen of the Bedchamber on duty within the balustrade to guard the bed, and the table at the foot of the bed. Cardinal Mazarin with the rest of the Court outside the balustrade

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Gobelins Tapestry, *Histoire du Roy*, "Audience of the Cardinal-Nephew at Fontainebleau, 29 July 1664." The King's Bedchamber at Fontainebleau, the Cardinal seated in front of the King behind the balustrade. The opening at the side may be due to artistic license to display the main persons. Note the table at the foot of the bed

(Archives Photographiques)





(Photographie Giraudon)

Gobelin Tapestry. Histoire du Roy. 'Audience of the Spanish Ambassador, 24 May 1662.' The King's Great Closet in the Louvre between the State Bedchamber and the Salon du Dôme. The King and the Ambassador behind a balustrade



(Archives Photographiques)

a. Versailles. The State Bedchamber, present state



(Photographie Giraudon)

b. Louis de Sylvestre. 'Audience of the Electoral Prince of Saxony, presented at Fontainebleau by Madame, Dowager of Orleans, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, 27 September 1714.' Chateau de Versailles. As the Court was in mourning for the Duc de Berry, the pictures had been removed and curtains hung before the looking glasses





(Service Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

a. F. Marot, 'The First Investiture of the newly-created Order of St. Louis, held in the King's Bedchamber at Versailles, 10 May 1693.' Château de Versailles. Although this ceremony took place in the old Bedchamber, now part of the Antichambre de l'Œil de Bœuf, it is depicted in this reconstruction of the early 18th century as happening in the present Bedchamber, which in 1693 was the *Salon où le Roi s'habille*.



(Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trustees of the Portrait Gallery)

b. Peter Angelis, Investiture of Knights of the Garter by Queen Anne in 1713. The Queen on the throne in the Presence Chamber at Kensington Palace



(*Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne*)

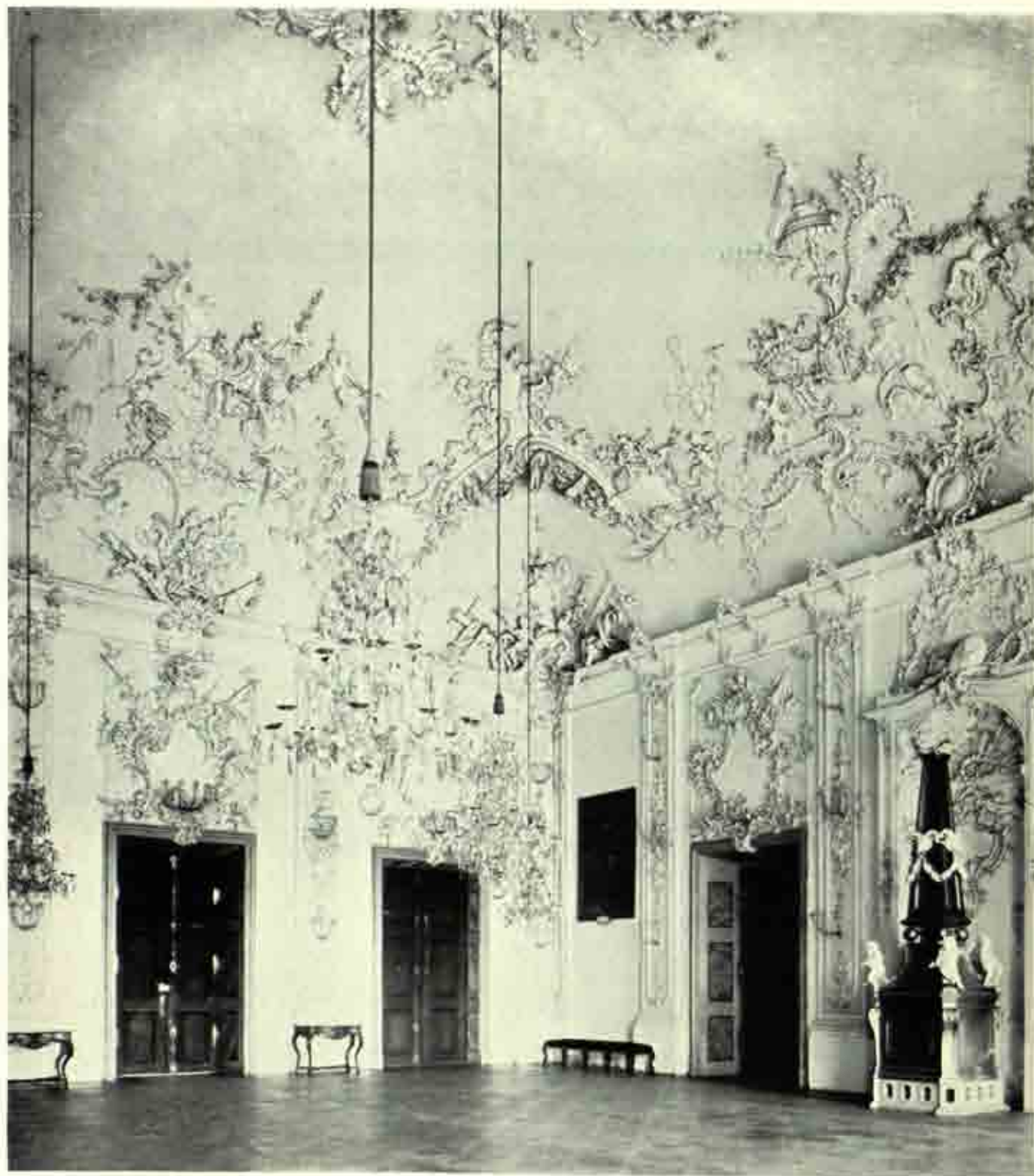
J. H. Metz, engr. F. Mettely. The Electoral Palace at Bonn, c. 1755, now the University. The south front, seen from the garden. The palace, flanked by four towers, was built by Zucalli in the 1690s. After 1714 the façade was corrected and wings added after plans by Robert de Cotte. On the left, the *Buen Retiro* wing containing the Privy Lodgings with a terrace garden. On the right, a long gallery, taking in one of the town gates, leading to the Rhine and a villa, which in the event was never built. In a cartouche on the right, under the Star of the Magi, a view of Cologne Cathedral





*(Photo Gundermann, Würzburg)*

The Looking-Glass Closet in the Margrave's Suite, Ansbach, Residenz. Built in 1737 to the designs of P. A. Biarelle, the carving by J. Wezler of Munich and the ceiling by J. A. Biarelle. This closet, though not the latest in date, is one of the finest surviving examples of the fashion set by the original decoration of the Grand Cabinet du Roi at Versailles



(Photo Gundermann, Würzburg)

The Great Guard Chamber in the Prince-Bishop's Palace at Würzburg. Known as the WEISSER SAAL, its colour in broken white was designed to contrast with the elaborate colour-scheme of the KAISERSAAL into which it leads. The stucco by A. Bossi was carried out in a few months in great haste in order to have the room ready for the Emperor's visit in 1744





(Photo Gundermann, Würzburg)

The Great Saloon in the Prince-Bishop's Palace at Würzburg. Known as the KAISERSAAL or Imperial Hall. A combination of the Great Hall and the *Salon à l'Italienne*, it was built by B. Neumann in 1741 but only received its final decoration between 1749 and 1753. The decoration by Neumann and Bossi, who also produced the statues. The paintings by G. B. Tiepolo and G. D. Tiepolo. The theme is that of the Christian Prince, exemplified by the relations of the Empire and Würzburg. The large painting by G. B. Tiepolo shows the marriage of Barbarossa with Beatrix of Burgundy celebrated by the Bishop of Würzburg, a portrait of Tiepolo's patron





When he returned to take up residence in Paris after the *Fronde*, Louis XIV went to live in the Royal Pavilion built by Henri II on the site of the medieval King's Tower on the waterfront (fig. 6).<sup>1</sup> On one side the queen's apartments stretched out to the east and on the west a short gallery (the *Galerie d'Apollon*) went down towards the river bank where it joined the great gallery that, following the line of the Seine, linked the Louvre to the Château of the Tuileries outside the city wall and made a

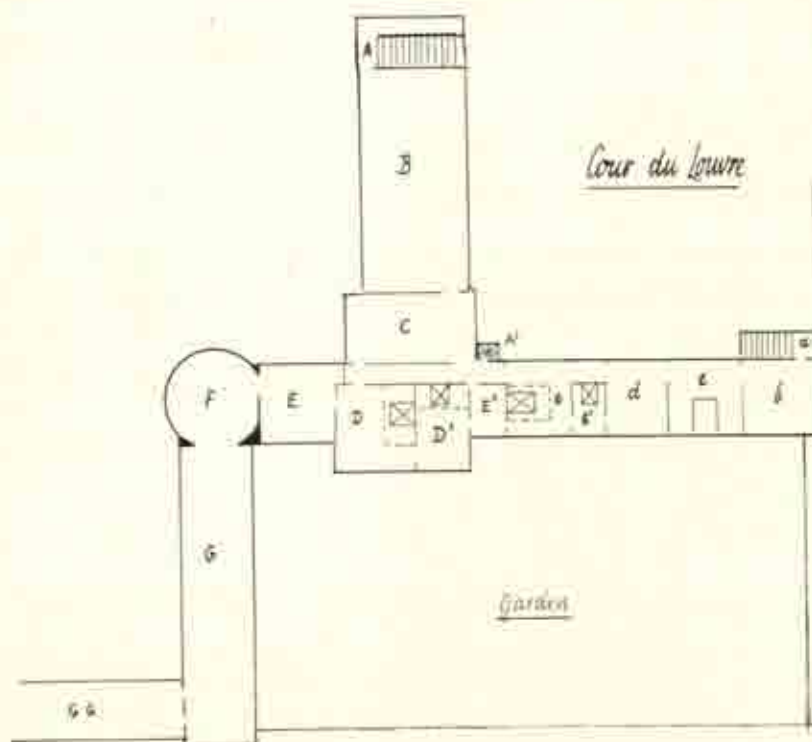


FIG. 6. Sketch plan of the State Apartments of the Louvre under Louis XIV: A. The King's Stairs; A'. The *Petit Degré du Roi*; B. *Salle des Gardes*; C. *Antichambre*; D. *Chambre de Parade*; D'. *Chambre d'Alcôve*; E. *Grand Cabinet*; E'. *Petit Cabinet*; F. *Salon du Dôme*; G. *Petite Galerie* (*Galerie d'Apollon*); gg. Gallery leading to the Tuileries. a. The Queen's Stairs; b. *Antichambre*; c. *Chambre de Parade* with canopy; d. *Grand Cabinet*; e. *Chambre* with the State Bed; e'. Winter bedroom.

convenient escape route. The Valois had spent lavishly on the rooms but in spite of their size they were inconvenient and cramped. They were reached by the Great Stairs of Henri II in the central pavilion of the palace courtyard at the end of the old Great Hall of St. Louis on ground level (the present '*Salle des Cariatides*'), then known as the *Salle Basse*. The stairs led to the king's *Grande Salle* or *Salle Haute*, which corresponded in size to the *Salle Basse*. The Swiss Guards stood here, the Maundy Ceremonies were held here, and in 1593 the Duc de Mayenne had held his illegal States-General here when he had tried to convey the Crown of France to his nephew, the Duc de Guise.<sup>2</sup> In English terms, it was the Great or Guard Chamber. The next

<sup>1</sup> The following description is based on Batifol and Hauteœur, *op. cit.*

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<sup>2</sup> A. Babeau, *Le Louvre et son histoire*, Paris, 1895, p. 88.

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room towards the river was the Great Antechamber, where the king ate in public. This room gave on to a dark passage that led to the King's State Bedchamber and to the queen's rooms and communicated with the *Salle Basse* on the ground floor and with the floors above by a narrow spiral staircase, the *petit Degré du Roi*.

The King's State Bedchamber or *Chambre de Parade* filled the whole of the corner pavilion of the Louvre. Under Henri IV a canopy hung over the fireplace which was then on the north wall dividing the room from the passage behind the Great Antechamber. Louis XIV removed the canopy and moved the fireplace to the west wall. Along the east wall of the room a balustrade surrounded a raised step or half-pace. This platform was called the *Parquet* and on it, under its own canopy, stood the State Bed. This arrangement, called *en tribunal*, was normal until the introduction of the alcove, when the canopy was dispensed with but the balustrade retained. The bed was saluted by everyone who entered the room, not even the king's sister being exempted from this duty. A Valet-de-Chambre was on duty within the balustrade to see that no one entered the space behind it or touched the bed.<sup>1</sup> To the east the *Chambre de Parade* gave on to a closet which had been turned into a bedroom by Henri IV, who had built one of the new fashioned alcoves in it. Louis XIII and Louis XIV used this bedroom which gave on to the queen's rooms, going into the *Chambre de Parade* to dress in public.<sup>2</sup> The King's Closet, where Louis XIII had lived and kept his workshops and collections, was on the floor above. It was a room with a magnificent view but not conveniently placed for business. As a consequence, the passage linking the State Bedchamber to the Little Gallery, which had contained an aviary, was enlarged to form a Great Closet and joined to a round room (*Salon du Dôme*) which had been built on to the end of the Gallery.<sup>3</sup>

The *Chambre de Parade* was the principal reception room of the Palace. In this it was no different from the *Chambres de Parade* in the houses of the great nobles, embellished with all the means at their command; the duc de Chaulnes going so far as to include a large fountain in it.<sup>4</sup> Many used it for formal dinners. The king ate privately in his and in many small country houses in the remoter parts of France the custom lasted well into the eighteenth century. The balustrade round the bed, like the canopy, was a royal privilege that was shared by princes of the blood and dukes.<sup>5</sup> No one was supposed to lean upon it or sit on it<sup>6</sup> and the space it surrounded was sacrosanct. To a certain extent the king's bed and his throne might be regarded as interchangeable or undifferentiated in matters of respect. The throne set up in the Parlement for a royal session was called a Bed of Justice and it was in fact composed of five large cushions, among which the king reclined rather than sat; and for the

<sup>1</sup> Batifol, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed description of the King's day as a boy, see Marie Dubois, seigneur de Lestournière et du Poirier, Valet de Chambre de Louis XIV, *Mes petites curiosités*, éd. Louis de Grandmaison, Paris, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> These works were started on the return of the court to the Louvre in 1654.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques Wilhelm, *Le Marais, âge d'or et renouveau*, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, n.d., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> When the Duc de Guise recognized Tancrède as the

duc de Rohan, '... il le mit dans son carrosse et le mena à l'hôtel de Guise, le fist passer devant lui, le mit dans une chambre avec le balustre et le dais, et fist servir avec le cadenas,' *Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson*, éd. Chérueil, Paris, 1860, i, 342.

<sup>6</sup> 'En la chambre d'une personne de grande qualité où le lit est clos, c'est une incivilité de s'asseoir sur la balustrade.' A. de Courtin, *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité*, 1672, quoted in A. Franklin, *La Civilité, l'étiquette, le bon ton, la mode depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1908, ii, 252.



betrothal ceremony of Madame Henriette Marie with King Charles I the State Bed in the *Chambre de Parade* was removed from the *parquet* and a throne set up in its place with chairs for the Queen, Queen Mother, and the princesses.<sup>1</sup> In ordinary social life, visits of ceremony were received by ladies reclining on their state beds. The importance attached to the bed probably led to a disregard of the canopy as such. Possessors of the privilege of having a canopy took care to have it in an ante room where everyone could see it but, at least among the nobility, it does not appear to have been used very much for receptions, which were held in an inner room.<sup>2</sup> Certainly ambassadors were not received in the *Antichambre du Roi* but in the State Bedchamber. For instance, the marriage contract of Marie de Gonzague-Nevers with the king of Poland (pl. LIV) was read in the State Bedchamber at Fontainebleau in 1645; the bride and the ambassador standing with the royal family behind the balustrade that cut the bed off from the rest of the room. In the same Bedchamber, seated with the King behind the balustrade, the Cardinal-Nephew Chigi read an apology for an affray in Rome in 1664 (pl. LV). When the Crown of Spain was forced to apologize for an incident in London and recognize the diplomatic precedence of the French Crown, this humiliation of 1662 was commemorated by a tapestry showing the King and the Spanish ambassador behind a balustrade in the Great Closet at the Louvre (pl. LVI). The king received the credentials of the ambassador of Savoy, who ranked with those of the major powers, in the same Closet, but it was in the next room, the *Salon du Dôme*, that the Danish ambassador and those of the Swiss Cantons were received, also behind a balustrade.<sup>3</sup> As we have noted, the more important envoys are received in an outer, the lesser in an inner room, but it is interesting to note that in each instance a balustrade is mentioned, thus implying that the audience is supposed to take place in a bedchamber. One could almost say that the space behind the balustrade in the *Chambre de Parade* represents a symbolic bedchamber within a room that in English terms is at once Bed, Privy, and Presence Chamber. In other words, the balustrade only represents a very small advance on the medieval undifferentiated Chamber.

The same pattern obtained in Versailles.<sup>4</sup> During the first building period, when the court only paid short summer visits to the Château, the apartments of the king and queen are in opposite wings of the building (fig. 7, 1), reached by symmetrically placed stairs and linked by a terrace which is itself backed by a set of private rooms, centred

<sup>1</sup> Batifol, p. 218. How far the identification of the Bed and the Canopy had gone can be judged by the fact that the King of France received the condolences of the ambassadors on the death of his mother-in-law, the Queen of Poland, in 1747 in his bedchamber, *derrière le balustrade* but that the Queen, the Dauphin, and Mesdames de France did so, standing on a black half-pace under a black canopy, in their *Antichambres*. C. P. Duc de Luynes, *Mémoires 1735-58*, viii, Paris, 1862, 180.

<sup>2</sup> The princes of Rohan-Soubise tended to make much of their princely status and had canopies in the apartment of every member of the family, yet the inventories of the eighteenth century make it clear that the *chambres du dais* were used as waiting rooms for footmen. See C. V. Langlois, *Les Hôtels de Clisson, de Guise et de Rohan-*

*Soubise*, Paris, 1922, pp. 226-48.

<sup>3</sup> Hauteceur, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> The following description is principally based on P. de Nolhac, *Création de Versailles*, Paris, 1925; *Versailles, résidence de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1925; *Versailles au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1927; and his biographies of Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour and Marie Antoinette. Comte F. de France d'Hézeuques, *Souvenirs d'un page de la cour de Louis XVI*, Paris, 1895, and Henri Brocher, *A la cour de Louis XIV, le rang et l'étiquette sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1934, have both been frequently consulted. C. Mauricheau-Beaupré, *Versailles, l'histoire et l'art*, Guide Officiel 1949, contains useful summaries of the history of each room and the events that took place in it.



on a Saloon opening on to the terrace. The King's Stairs, unfinished but in use, gave on to the *Salle de Diane* and then on to the *Salle de Mars*, where appropriately enough the Guard was stationed. The next room was the *Salle de Mercure*, in which stood an extremely elaborate silver throne and embroidered canopy. The next room, called

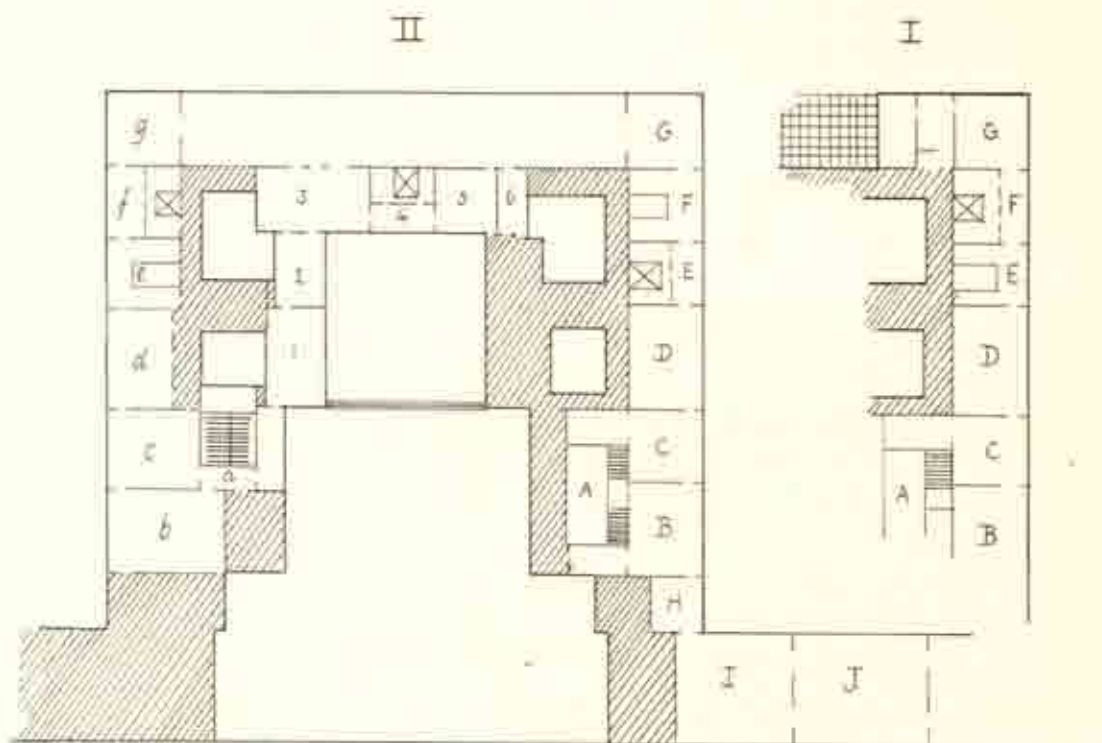


FIG. 7. Sketch plan of the State Apartments at Versailles.

- I. The King's Apartments until 1682: A. The King's or Ambassadors' Stairs; B. *Salle de Vénus*; C. *Salle de Diane*; D. *Salle de Mars* or *Salle des Gardes*; E. *Salle de Mercure* or *Antichambre*, with the Throne; F. *Salle d'Apollon* or *Chambre du Lit*; G. *Grand Cabinet*, giving on to a smaller Closet and Bedchamber looking on to the Terrace.
- II. The Apartments after 1701: A. The King's Stairs; B. *Salle de Vénus*; C. *Salle de Diane* or Billiard Room; D. *Salle de Mars* or Concert and Ballroom; E. *Salle de Mercure* or *Chambre de Parade où du Lit*; F. *Salle d'Apollon* or *Chambre du Trône*; G. *Salon de la Guerre* giving on to the Great Gallery; H. *Salle de l'Abondance*; I. *Salon d'Hercule*; J. Ante-Chapel. a. The Queen's Stairs; b. The Great Guard Chamber; c. The Queen's Guard Chamber; d. *Antichambre*; e. *Grand Cabinet* with the Canopy; f. *Chambre de la Reine* with the State Bed; g. *Salon de la Paix* giving on to the Great Gallery.
1. The King's Guard Chamber; 2. *Antichambre* or *Salle du Grand Couvert* where the King ate in public; 3. *Antichambre de l'Œil de Boeuf*, composed of the old *Antichambre des Bassans* and the King's old Bedchamber; 4. The King's Bedchamber, until 1701, the *Salon où le Roi s'habille*; 5. The *Grand Cabinet* or *Cabinet du Conseil*; 6. *Cabinet des Termes* giving on to the Backstairs and private closets, used mainly for keeping the King's collections of pictures and precious objects.

the *Salle d'Apollon*, was the State Bedchamber and beyond it, in the pavilion that was to house the *Salon de la Guerre*, were the king's real bedroom and a great and a little Closet, giving on to the terrace. As they were completed the *Salles de Diane*, *de Vénus*, and *de l'Abondance* were opened and used with the remainder of the rooms in the State Apartments for evening receptions. Basically, there is no change in the layout



of the king's rooms. It is the same as in the Louvre, the only difference being that the rooms are *en enfilade*. In spite of all the space available, there has been no attempt to increase the number of rooms between the Guard Chamber and the Bedchamber.

In 1682, while the terrace was being replaced by the *Galerie des Glaces*, Louis XIV took up permanent residence at Versailles (fig. 7, II). The State Apartment was barely habitable in summer. Modelled on Pietro da Cortona's rooms in the Pitti Palace, it was suitable only for show, and marble walls and floors put its occupation in a northern winter out of the question. So the King moved to his father's old rooms in the central courtyard in 1684. At the same time he began to use the Queen's Staircase. This gave on to three guard chambers. The great *Salle des Gardes* was at first used as a temporary chapel, but it was later reserved for great ceremonies such as the Maundy Ceremony or the holding of the *Lits de Justice*. As such it had the residual functions of the Great Chamber. To the south the Queen's Guard Chamber gave on to her rooms, and to the west was the King's, overlooking the courtyard. This room gave on to the First Antechamber, where the King ate in public and received written petitions on Mondays, first in person and later by deputy. In the Second Antechamber, hung with paintings by the Bassani, the court gathered for admittance to the Bedchamber, which lay between it and the central Saloon. In this last room the King dressed in public, received the court, and performed certain ceremonies like receiving the homage of the Duke of Lorraine for the Duchy of Bar. Beyond lay his Closet. The distinctive pattern of Versailles was evolving. From his rooms the King would go into the *Galerie des Glaces* and proceed with his court to hear mass in the Chapel in the wing beyond the King's Staircase. Thus the whole direction of the palace was reversed. This and the fact that the King's Stairs were now opened only for the most solemn occasions explains an otherwise incomprehensible change in the *Grands Appartements*. The State Bedchamber had been moved to the *Salle de Mercure* and the throne had been set up in the *Salle d'Apollon*. The identification of Louis XIV with the Sun-God makes the installation of the throne room in the *Salle d'Apollon* so appropriate that it is possible to overlook the fact that, if the approach from the *Salle de Mars* and the King's Stairs had been maintained, the throne room would have been behind the bedchamber. This is illogical but less noticeable in France because of the respect paid to the Bed in that country. When the Duc d'Anjou occupied the *Grand Appartement* on becoming king of Spain, the *Salon de la Guerre* was his Guard Chamber; the *Salle d'Apollon* was his throne room or antechamber; he slept under the dubious protection of Mercury and, perhaps prophetically, his Closet was in the *Salle de Mars*. By this reversal the logical sequence of rooms was maintained. After the destruction of the King's Stairs by Louis XV, this direction was the only one that could be used in the palace. In 1778, in order to impress the envoys of Tippoo Sahib, they were made to go up the Queen's Stairs, through all her rooms, the *Galerie des Glaces* and the King's State Apartments, all of them filled with stands and spectators, in order to be received by the King on a throne in the last room before the Chapel, the *Salon d'Hercule*.

In 1701 the press of the courtiers being very great, Louis XIV moved his State Bedchamber into the Central Saloon and decided to make it his real Bedchamber as



well. The old State Bedchamber was thrown into one with the Second Antechamber, which doubled its size and became known as the *Antichambre de l'Œil-de-Bœuf*. At the same time the Closet behind the new State Bedchamber was enlarged and redecorated.

After passing through the First Antechamber, the visitor entered the *Œil-de-Bœuf* and, if he was not of sufficiently high rank to join the *grande*es near the fireplace, was gently urged into the Gallery to wait for the king's passage to the Chapel. There was no other distinction in waiting. Primi Visconti had been horrified to see cardinals, treated in Rome with very great respect, elbowing their way through the throng of courtiers jostling in the anteroom. He was told that there were too many persons of high rank at court to allow distinctions to be preserved.<sup>1</sup> In fact, distinctions between ranks could be, and were, maintained at other courts. The real reason was the idea that in the king's presence no one had a right to any distinction of rank. At the different stages of the king's *Lever*, the courtiers entitled to be present at that particular phase of the proceedings, the putting on of the shirt or the waistcoat, were called in, stayed a while in the Bedchamber, allowed themselves to be noticed and passed on into the Closet to make way for their less privileged successors and to wait to form the procession to the Chapel. Thus the access to the royal person may be said to be measured, not in the number of rooms that have to be traversed, as in England; not in *spatial* but in *temporal* terms: the exact moment when the king's dressing or undressing had reached a given stage. Indeed, except for the numbers that had to be accommodated, there was no need for more than one anteroom for the court to wait in. This crowding in the antechamber explains why it was not possible to pay the same respect to the throne there as to the State Bed. It is interesting to note that Louis XIV disliked thrones. When his mother and wife sat on one at balls, he contented himself with sitting on cushions on its steps, and kept this habit late in life when there was dancing in the *Salle d'Apollon*.<sup>2</sup>

By the move of the *Chambre de Parade* into the central Saloon at Versailles and the king's decision to make it his real bedroom, the State Bedchamber became physically as well as morally the focal point of the Palace (pl. LVII a). Even though they gave up sleeping there, Louis XIV's successors dressed and undressed publicly in it. They ate there in private, received ambassadors and minor sovereigns and their eldest sons (pl. LVII b) and accepted the addresses and remonstrances of their Courts of Justice. The first creation of the Knights of the new Order of St. Louis took place there (pl. LVIII a). In contrast, Queen Anne created Knights of the Garter in her Presence Chamber (pl. LVIII b). The State Bedchamber was the principal room of Audience in France. Beyond in the *Grand Cabinet* or Closet, lined with looking-glass in order to show the rare objects on its shelves (an idea that was to be widely imitated), the kings lived and worked. The Councils were held on different days of the week, ministers reported, and the Chapters of the Order of the Holy Ghost were held. In this room courtiers of both sexes were presented to the king, and he occasionally did them the honour of signing their marriage contracts as a witness.

<sup>1</sup> Primi Visconti, *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XIV.*, ed. Jean Lemoine, Paris, 1908, pp. 75-76.

<sup>2</sup> Mlle de Scudéry describing a ball in the *Salle d'Apollon*, Mauricheau Beaupré, p. 39.



The remonstrances of the Courts of Justice, when they were delivered by deputy, were presented to him in this room. Beyond this Closet was a smaller one in which, after supper and in full view of the court through all the open doors, Louis XIV sat rather uncomfortably with his immediate family. The privy lodgings between the Palace courtyard and the State Apartment were used to house the private collections and library.

The contribution of Louis XIV to the development of ceremonial is a very personal one. Easy-going, indeed almost Bohemian, in his youth,<sup>1</sup> in his forties he became increasingly rigid both in his habits and policies. His permanent settlement at Versailles coincides with the beginning of his persecution of the Protestants, the promulgation of the Four Articles of the Gallican Church against the Papacy, and such shameful episodes as his bullying of the Republic of Genoa. In returning to sleep in his State Bedchamber he took a retrograde step. In the same way he always ate with a knife and his fingers, though forks were becoming common, and forbade his grandson to use them in public. There is no doubt that had he cared to do so, he could have moved towards privacy in some of the details of his daily life, but he did not. As a result he confirmed the natural tendency of court life to conservatism and, at a time when manners were evolving rapidly, gratuitously widened the growing gap, barely existent in his childhood, between court usage and the usages of polite society. By the end of the eighteenth century Bourbon kings were receiving people, as their ancestors had done, on the close-stool. It was not only shocking; it had become ridiculous. This fossilizing tendency was all the more dangerous in that Louis XIV had obliterated the possibility of distinguishing between the state, the social, and the private roles of the prince. More than any of his line, he performed the functions of Head of State in his character of Head of Society, of the first Gentleman of France. There were dangers in this trend. When his successors received the remonstrances of the Parlements, tradition insisted that their spokesmen should deliver his speech on his knees. This might be barely tolerable before a crowned monarch seated in State; it was very different in front of a king seated among a lounging court before the fireplace in his bedroom, however formal the circumstances.

In contrast to the king's apartment, the queen's developed on more normal lines. Her *Grand Cabinet*, which had originally contained a canopy, lay between her Antechamber and her Bedchamber. Presentations were made to the queen in her *Grand Cabinet* and she received the court on certain occasions under a specially erected canopy in this room,<sup>2</sup> which fulfilled most of the functions, as it occupied the position in the *suite*, of the English Drawing Room.

In France, unlike England, the king was rarely out of the public view. The principal room of audience is the Bedchamber, not a throne room, and the social as well as the business life of the prince is conducted, at least in Versailles and under Louis XIV in the Louvre, in the Closet behind the Bedchamber. It is interesting to

<sup>1</sup> On her return from exile after the *Fronde*, the Grande Mademoiselle was shocked by the informality with which the King expected to be treated at a supper-party given by the Comtesse de Soissons and was told by the Queen that the King 'n'aimait pas les cérémonies', *Mémoires*,

éd. Petitot et Monmergue, xlii, Paris, 1825, 275.

<sup>2</sup> A black canopy was put up for the death of the Queen of Poland in 1747: '... c'est l'usage, par la même raison, il devoit toujours y avoir un dais de couleur', Luynes, viii, 152.



note that at Fontainebleau, where the State Apartments had been enlarged by Henri IV, the king's working and social life takes place in a large room, the *Cabinet du Conseil*, and that in order to keep this room *behind* the new Bedchamber, a complicated and circular route of access through the old rooms of François I had to be evolved. It seems as if the change of emphasis had been brought about by the peculiar layout of the Louvre. At all events, only the hours devoted to business can be said to be at all private, though Louis XV was to remedy this to a certain extent. Finally, access to the royal person is measured in temporal, rather than in spatial, terms. It is in such essential points that the French system of etiquette should be distinguished from others, not in the superficialities that loomed so large at court at the time and which Louis XIV was so ingenious in multiplying: questions of who was to be allowed to sit in front of whom or whose hassocks were set straight and not obliquely at Chapel.

The personality of Louis XIV was so overpowering that it is natural that he should have acted as a model for the imitation of other princes, but the extent of his patronage is so great that it is easy to overlook its limitations. For one thing, until his reign the French court had done little since the death of Henri IV except follow in the wake of the ministers and nobles who were actively building town and country houses in and near Paris. Their architects were experimenting with ways of combining the number of rooms traditionally required by the rank of their employers with comfort, convenience, and the exigencies of an often awkward site. The theory based on these experiments was to have a very great influence in the eighteenth century but it was not, in this respect at least, based on royal palaces, which offered little scope for ingenuity in planning, since grandeur was always the first consideration. External elevations and interior decoration, apart from gardening, were the fields in which the personal interest of Louis XIV lay, and the continual changes which he directed in his palaces did much to further the rapid evolution of interior decoration. What struck contemporaries in Versailles was its size, the decorative programme of the palace and in particular the gardens. Indeed, the great reputation of Versailles arose in its early years when the gardens were the scene of large scale and much publicized entertainments, such as the seven days of the *Plaisirs de l'Île Enchantée* which were reproduced in widely distributed engravings. The last of these festivities took place in 1674, ten years before the move of the court to Versailles and nothing of the kind took place again in the reign. Life at Versailles had become a set routine of increasingly stiff receptions and there was very little there to detain anyone who did not particularly depend on the king's good graces: in other words, the visiting foreign prince.

Foreign princes, in particular the Germans, did not find very much to encourage them to make a prolonged stay at Versailles. If they were connexions of the royal family they might be received amiably but in all cases they found that, though their families had been sovereign from time immemorial, they would have to yield precedence in public not only to the most remote and junior of the king's cousins but also to the most recently created of French dukes, some of whom notoriously hardly knew who their grandfathers were. So on the whole, once they had made their court, they did not tarry among the stiff and formal receptions at Versailles which only



brought them humiliations, but went off to the infinitely more amusing and stimulating atmosphere of Paris. If they sowed their wild oats there, they also brought back memories of elegant and comfortable living among a society of financiers and diplomatic representatives.<sup>1</sup> From Versailles they obtained ideas of grandiose planning and garden design, an interest in villas like Trianon and Marly (probably the most influential house in Europe at the time)<sup>2</sup> and, more than anything else, a contagious example of selfish and conspicuous extravagance. Though they might bring home some French manners, they were not, on the whole, tempted to alter the usages of their own courts for two very good reasons: fond of their comforts, they were not willing to sacrifice to grandeur all the time; and however willing they were to accept French bribes they had been brought up in a strong tradition of personal loyalty to the Emperor to whom they still had to pay homage before they could inherit their lands. Old-fashioned as it was, it was the Imperial Court that still set the standard for the German princes. They might import French mistresses, French cooks and dancing-masters, perhaps eventually French craftsmen and architects but, if they felt any urge to assert their independence of their suzerain, they did so not by following the customs of the French court but by imitating those of the Imperial Court even more closely than before. What France exported was fashion, not ceremonial.

## THE GERMAN SYSTEM

The case of the Elector Joseph Clement of Cologne (1671-1723) is particularly well documented since we have his correspondence with his architect, his Court Regulations, and the inventories of his successors in the See of Cologne,<sup>3</sup> all of which build up a picture to illustrate the limits of the influence of Versailles and to make the differences between the German system and that of Louis XIV extremely clear. His ties with France were close: his sister was the daughter-in-law of Louis XIV and he, with his brother the Elector of Bavaria, had lost his lands supporting the French during the War of the Spanish Succession. Both brothers had spent long years of exile in France, whiling away the time by planning the rebuilding of their ruined or unfinished palaces. When, with French support, Joseph Clement was restored to his

<sup>1</sup> Ambassadors were not allowed to live at Versailles and apart from visits of ceremony only came up on business from Paris once a week. C. G. Picavet, *La Diplomatie française au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1930, chap. II, on foreign envoys in France.

<sup>2</sup> Peter the Great had his Marly in the gardens of Peterhof and the Italian princelings their *Marlia*. More direct imitations can be found in the *Favorite* of the Elector of Mayence which copied the layout of the central pavilion and its ancillary buildings, all now destroyed, and in the surviving derivatives of the main building at *Clemensthorst* in Westphalia, at Rastatt in Baden, and, in Bavaria, at Fürstenried and the *Pagodenburg* in the gardens of Nymphenburg near Munich.

<sup>3</sup> (a) *Letters of the Archbishop-Elector Joseph Clement of Cologne to Robert de Cotte* (1712-1720), ed. John Finley Ogleve, Bowling Green State University, 1958.

(b) *Hofordnung* of 7th Nov. 1717, promulgated in the Cologne Court Calendar of 1718 and published in L. Ennen, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg und Kurfürst Joseph Clemens*, Jena, 1851, pp. 225 seq.

(c) *Düsseldorf Staatsarchiv*, Kurköln Erzbf. Clemens August Nr. Ia 'Documentum Notariale super facta inventarisatione deren zu hiesiger Residenz befindlichen Meublen und Effecten. Bonn 17 Feb. 1761 f.'

The following have also been used: *Bonner Jahrbücher*, pp. 99-100, Bonn, 1896-7. E. Renard, 'Die Bauten d. Kurfürsten Joseph Clemens u. Clemens August v. Köln' and *Annalen d. hist. Vereins f. d. Geschichte d. Niederrhein*, pp. 153-4, Düsseldorf, 1958. M. Braubach, 'Von der Schlossbauten u. Sammlungen d. kölnischen Kurfürsten d. 18. Jhs.' Much useful information is also to be found in Wend Graf Kalnein, *Das kurfürstliche Schloss Clemensruhe in Poppelsdorf*, Düsseldorf, 1956.



Electorate in 1715, he took no step in rebuilding his palace at Bonn (fig. 8), the present University Building, without consulting his architect in Paris, the successor of Hardouin-Mansart, Robert de Cotte. Yet when he promulgated his Court Ordinances in 1717, he stated in the preamble that he was modelling them on those in use at the Imperial Court and at the Court of Munich, so it may be convenient to take them as an indication of the procedure at Vienna. The palace was divided into six places for

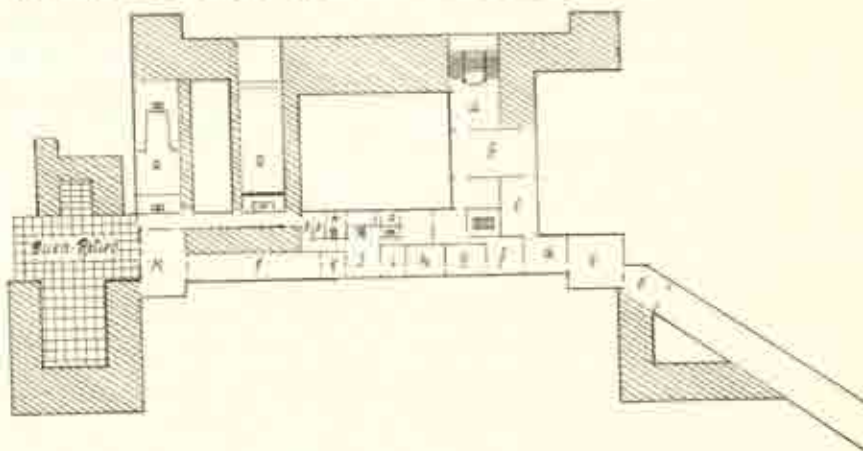


FIG. 8. Sketch plan of the State Apartments in the Electoral Palace at Bonn, c. 1740: a. Vestibule; b. Great Guard Chamber; c. First *Anti-Salle*; d. Second *Anti-Salle*; e. Public Dining Room; e'. Buffet leading to the Rhine Gallery; f. First Antechamber; g. Second Antechamber; h. Audience Chamber with the Canopy; i. Council Chamber; j. State Bedchamber; k. Great Closet; l. Gallery; m. Music Room giving on to the Privy Garden and leading to the Privy Lodgings in the *Buen Retiro* Wing; n. The real Bedchamber; o. Privy Chapel; p, p. Closets; q. Chapels.

French influence can be seen in the placing of the State Bedchamber in the centre of the flight of rooms, but the basic principles of German planning are adhered to by the placing of all the public rooms in front of it and by the fact that the Gallery and Music Room are treated as private rooms and placed behind it. When they were thrown open for any public occasion, they could be reached by the guests, not through the State Bedchamber, but by stairs leading directly into the Music Room (not shown on the plan).

waiting: the Vestibule on the ground floor, that on the first floor at the head of the stairs, the Guard Chamber, the Electoral *Ritter-Stube* or Hall of Knights, the Electoral Antechamber, and the Electoral Throne Room or Audience Chamber. The courtiers were pedantically divided into four grades or types: ecclesiastics, court officials and servants, the military, and foreign travellers; and these types were each divided into classes, each allocated to a place of waiting and not allowed to penetrate further unless called for. No one was allowed to go beyond the Audience Chamber into the Council Chamber and, in the State Bedchamber, where the Elector was dressed by his lay chamberlains and vested in his sacerdotal ornaments by his ecclesiastical chamberlains, no one was admitted except a few privileged persons.

The court is, in short, spatially differentiated among itself and access to the prince is in spatial terms. Moreover, when he writes to his architect in 1713 that in order to be decently housed he must have at least for his own use a 'Great Staircase, a Vestibule, a Saloon, a Guard Chamber, a further room, two Anterooms, an Audience or Throne



Room, a Great Closet for use as a Council Chamber, a State Bedchamber, and a few private Closets behind it for his collections',<sup>1</sup> he shows how far removed his thoughts are from Versailles, however anxious he may be for his rooms to be decorated in the approved French mode. It is true that the State Bedchamber is situated in the centre of the Garden front, probably the only example in Germany of so direct an imitation of the king's bedroom at Versailles, but all the rooms reserved for state, social life, and business are placed in front of it and not behind it. Beyond are the private lodgings, galleries, and terrace gardens which formed for all practical purposes a summer residence within the same building. The point is further made in a letter of 1714.<sup>2</sup> The palace (pl. LIX) was to be linked by a long gallery to a house on the banks of the Rhine, where the Elector could wait in comfort to receive visitors arriving by water. He also used this building as a summer villa. De Cotte had arranged for the long gallery to open directly into the bedroom of the villa. A courtier had pointed out that this would entail the whole reception party and guards passing through the bedchamber, access to which in Germany, unlike France, was reserved to very few persons. The difference could not be summed up more neatly.

In his requirements set out in the letter of 1713, the Elector was not only thinking of the number of rooms in the suites of the Residenz at Munich, which usually contained a Guard Chamber, two Anterooms, Audience Chamber, Closet, and Bedchamber, but, in his demand for a vestibule and saloon at the head of the stairs, he showed how much he was influenced by the current trends in the planning of French town houses, where these features were becoming increasingly common. Though these projects, so easy to draw up in exile, had to be scaled down when it came to putting them into execution, there is very little of Versailles in them, except perhaps the luxury with which the rooms were decorated by Joseph Clement and his successor.<sup>3</sup> In the event, the Elector decided to sacrifice the saloon at the head of the stairs and to enlarge the Guard Chamber, as he needed a very large room in which to hold his Diets and to perform the Maundy Ceremonies. In Berlin and Vienna the corresponding rooms were used for the same purpose of opening Diets or Parliaments until 1918, in the same way as the Tudor and Stuart kings opened their Parliaments in the Great or Guard Chamber at Whitehall. At Bonn the Elector indulged himself with four anterooms, instead of the more usual two or three, but, if he had the excuse that he had a very large building to fill up, he was also slightly prone to exaggeration as he intended to have in his Audience Chamber a throne raised on eight steps (two more than Solomon's) from which he could grant fiefs and receive ambassadors.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of . . . Joseph Clemens*, pp. 4-11.

<sup>2</sup> 'Il m'a donc fait remarquer, que lorsque, suivant votre plan, je recevray au Rhin quelque Prince etranger, s'il veut venir a mon Palais par cette gallerie, il faut qu'il monte l'escalier, qu'il entre dans le Salon, et que de là il passe avec toute sa suite, et mes gardes qui l'accompagnent par honneur, par le Cabinet et par la Chambre de retraite de ma maison d'Eté, qui pourtant doivent être des lieux tout à fait de retraite, et ou peu de personnes doivent avoir accès. Il y a cette difference dans nos usages, qu'en France tout le monde entre et passe par les appartemens

du Roi et des Princes, et que chez Nous tres peu de gens jouissent de cet honneur, et ont cet avantage. Je dois donc me conformer, étant en Allemagne, aux coutumes du Pais, pour ne point choquer la Nobless, qui est fort jalouse de ces sortes d'entrées, et qui pretend que ce privilege n'est dû qu'aux gentils hommes titrez . . . Valenciennes le 15<sup>e</sup> Aout 1714. *Letters of . . . Joseph Clemens*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, ed. J. Home, Edinburgh, 1889-90, ii, 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of . . . Joseph Clemens*, p. 108.



Council Chamber adjoining there was another reminiscence of Versailles: it was lined with looking-glass. The State Bedchamber beyond was merely for show or for visitors to use. The Elector slept in a smaller and warmer room behind. The State Dining Room lay between the two sets of anterooms, but that the original dining place has been, as usual, in the first anteroom is shown by the regulation that when he supped privately, only those with the right of access to the first anteroom were allowed to be present in the State Dining Room.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the proliferation of rooms, the underlying pattern of Bonn Palace follows the normal one of dining in an outer room and receiving in an inner room. It is in effect simply an elaboration of the contemporary rooms of the Bishop of Münster in the converted convent that he used as a palace (Stairs, Guard Chamber, Dining Room with a canopy, Audience Chamber with a canopy, Great Closet, Bedchamber).<sup>2</sup>

No other palace in Germany, large as many of them were, contained as many anterooms in one apartment as did the Palace at Bonn but they all kept to the same basic pattern of Guard Chamber, two or sometimes three anterooms, Audience Chamber, Drawing Room, and Bedchamber, sometimes introducing a Council Chamber between the Audience Chamber and the Drawing Room. The palaces of the Electors of Saxony at Dresden, of those of Brandenburg at Berlin, and of Bavaria at Munich all conform to this pattern. The Margraves of Anspach, modernizing an old castle, or the Margraves of Bayreuth hastily turning a row of commandeered town houses into a palace after a fire had destroyed their castle, do not deviate from the pattern. As far afield as Denmark and Russia the pattern of the state apartments is the same and has little to do with Versailles, though many of these palaces contained modish elements such as great galleries or looking-glass rooms (pl. LX) that had been imitated from the French.

The Germans, however, did imitate and adapt one feature of French country-house planning. This was a large saloon, often oval or circular in shape, at least two stories high, placed in the centre of the house, reached by a large vestibule and flanked by two similar flights of rooms. This type of *Maison de Plaisance* had been popularized by Vaux-le-Vicomte and in its later form, as used in La Malgrange, was widely copied in Germany. But it is not with its imitations, the Upper Belvedere, Sans-Souci, Amalienburg, Solitude, Mon-Repos, and, latest and most complex of all, Benrath, that we are concerned here, since these are all small houses, but with its adaptation to palace building. German princes had always kept the great halls of their old castles even when they brought them up to date. In their new buildings they modernized this great hall into the shape of the French *Salon à l'Italienne* and made it the focal point of two flanking apartments. The idea is used in the palaces at Mannheim and at Schleissheim (in this case combined with a gallery), and more fully developed in the plans for rebuilding the castle at Schwetzingen,<sup>3</sup> but the finest

<sup>1</sup> 'Wann Ihro Churfuerstl. Durchl. des Abends auf die gewöhnliche Weise nicht öffentlich speisen, soll man keinen andern den Zugang zum Tisch gestatten, als jenen, so in die Churfuerstl. Anti-Camera kommen duerffen,' Hofordnung, Nota xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> The only description that survives is in a Survey and

Inventory of about 1761, *Kurfürst Clemens August, Landesherr und Mäzen des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, Cologne, 1961, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Max Schmechel, *Nicolaus von Pigage's Schwetzingen. Entwürfe und Bauten*, Darmstadt, 1923, pl. 14.



surviving example is the *Kaisersaal* in the Residenz at Würzburg. It lies on the garden front and is flanked by two flights of guest rooms, each composed of an ante-room, an audience chamber, a bedroom, and a closet. It is approached by a great staircase and a large room (the *Weisser Saal*) in the centre of the palace (pl. LXI), facing the town. In fact, the *Kaisersaal* (pl. LXII) and the *Weisser Saal* together take up the whole depth of the central building. The *Weisser Saal* gives on to the staircase on one side and on the other to the apartments of the prince-bishop of Würzburg. Now, the guest rooms only contain one ante-room each and this is the most rudimentary apartment possible for a German prince in the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> When the emperor and

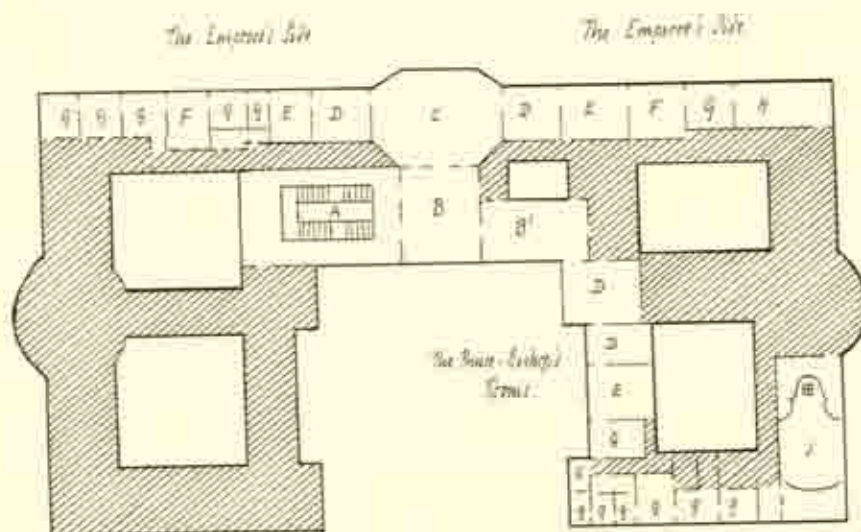


FIG. 9. Sketch plan of the State Apartments in the Bishop's Palace at Würzburg, c. 1750. A. Stairs; B. Great Guard Chamber; B'. The Prince-Bishop's usual Guard Chamber; C. The *Kaisersaal* or Banqueting Hall; D. Antechambers; E. Audience Chambers with the Canopy; F. Bedchambers; G. Closets; H. Gallery; J. Chapel.

empress stayed at Würzburg on the way to their coronation in Frankfurt, the guard was stationed in the *Weisser Saal*, which thus became the joint Guard Chamber for both the Imperial suites and that of the prince-bishop (fig. 9). By this arrangement the *Kaisersaal* becomes the first ante-room for both the guest suites, which then have the usual two ante-rooms before the audience chamber. This arrangement is perfectly normal, since the other use of the *Kaisersaal* was as a banqueting hall and it is in the first ante-room that every prince in Europe ate in public.

The accompanying table (see p. 199) has been drawn up to show the similarities and differences between the distribution of rooms and the various uses to which they were put in different European countries. What stands out is the similarity between the English system and that of the Germanic countries, a similarity that may have extended to nomenclature if Madame, Princess Palatine, can be believed. 'Sagt man jetzt

<sup>1</sup> 'Pour les appartemens des Princes de moindre consequence Il ne faut seulement Qu'une Salle des Gardes. Une anti-chambre. La Chambre du Lict. Un Cabinet. Une

Garderobbe.' Joseph Clemens of Cologne to Robert de Cotte, Valenciennes 25 Juin 1713, *Letters of . . . Joseph Clemens*, p. 8.



Audienzkammer, zu meiner Zeit sagte man Presenz . . . Alles aendert.<sup>1</sup> The similarity extends also to the Spanish court, about which nothing has so far been said, because it seemed preferable to discuss the court of Cologne, in which the Court Ordinance of 1717 could be checked against contemporary plans of the Palace at Bonn and against the inventories describing the interior.<sup>2</sup> We know that this ordinance was based on the usage of the Imperial court, itself a derivative of the Spanish. Both the Spanish and the Imperial courts had developed their systems from that of the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century. The House of York in England had had close ties with that of Burgundy and some of the similarity between the English and the Burgundian systems may have arisen from this alliance; but it is more likely to have been caused by the fact that they both developed during the same period, whereas the French system, stunted at the time, could only develop at a later date and under different conditions. The similarities between all three systems, the Burgundian, the English, and the French must surely stem from one common source, the medieval household, which was organized in the same way in all countries of Europe.

Each of the three systems solved a major problem, that of the control of the court, in a different way. In the Burgundian court and those derived from it, the complete control of the court lay in the hands of the Lord Steward, or the *Mayordomo Mayor* as he was known in Spain, where the office of Lord Chamberlain disappeared when the Burgundian Etiquette was introduced, the *Primer Sumiller de Corps* or First Gentleman of the Bedchamber taking his place. It was the Mayordomo Mayor's duty to maintain tradition against anybody, even the king, if necessary. This officer was known in Germany as the *Landeshofmeister* and was always a minister, sometimes the chief one. While his powers were never as rigidly exercised as those of the Mayordomo Mayor, because his sovereigns were, on the whole, more energetic and less disciplined than the Spanish Habsburgs, under his watchful care and the shield of ceremonial the German princes, oddly enough, could lead a relaxed and often bourgeois private life. Examples can be found in the private life of Philip II of Spain and that of Charles VI of Austria.

In England the personality of the monarch was always too strong to allow a single officer to take control of the whole court and the division of officials and servants into those 'below stairs', under the control of the Lord Steward, and those 'above stairs', under that of the Lord Chamberlain, gave the predominance to the latter. The control exercised by the Lord Chamberlain was moreover limited to purely ceremonial matters by the introduction of the Groom of the Stole, or First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, in whom the control of the private rooms of the monarch was absolutely vested. By this division, the kings of England could keep their independence of action and, at the same time, use the interest of these officers in their functions as a shield against encroachment.

The French kings had learnt the lesson of keeping their independence of a Mayor of the Palace very well, almost too well. The difficulties of Henri III can only be fully appreciated when it is realized that the control of his palace was in the hands of his Lord Steward or Grand Maître de France, the Duc de Guise, who was intriguing

<sup>1</sup> Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, Princess Palatine to the Raugräfin Louise, 10 Feb. 1707, quoted in E. Vehse, *Geschichte der Deutschen Höfe*, xviii, Hamburg, 1853, pt. i, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 193.



to obtain the Crown for himself and whose brother, the Duc de Mayenne, was Great Chamberlain. Louis XIV solved the problem by reducing the functions of his great officers to purely symbolic acts, by using their deputies in their place and by being served by Grooms of the Bedchamber of middle-class origins and footmen. He dispensed with the custom of having one of his Gentlemen of the Bedchamber sleeping at the foot of his bed and replaced him by one of his body servants. At the same time he satisfied the vanity of his nobility by converting the most trifling service rendered to him, such as holding a candlestick for a few moments, into an envied honour. Except for great occasions, the ceremonial control of the palace lay in the hands of the First Gentleman of the Bedchamber-in-Quarterly-Waiting, who referred everything to the king. By keeping all ceremonial decisions in his own hands, Louis XIV deprived himself of a useful buffer against social pressure. As a consequence, his successors were involved in endless troubles about precedence and privileges, never satisfied anyone, and lost prestige, as well as popularity.

The subject is a vast but neglected one, and this paper can only touch upon its fringes; but it is hoped that, by treating palaces not as empty architectural shells but as machines for living in, and by suggesting the general lines of the *mécanique des différentes cours*, some light may be thrown on to specific problems of architecture, some adjustment made to the estimate of certain influences and that, by the accumulation of these often trivial details, it may be possible, in the words of Marc Bloch, out of anecdotes to write history.

## COMPARATIVE SYSTEMS OF ROOM PLANNING

SPAIN [under Philip II]	GERMANY	FRANCE	ENGLAND
1. <i>Stairs</i>	<i>Stairs</i>	<i>Stairs</i>	<i>Stairs</i>
2. <i>Sala</i> [Guards, Maundy Ceremonies]	<i>Hall</i> [Guards, Diets, Ceremonies, and Feasts]	<i>Salle des Gardes</i> [Guards, Liés de Justice, Ceremonies]	<i>Great Chamber</i> [Yeomen Guard, Convening of Parliament, Garter Feasts]
3. <i>Saleta</i>	<i>1st Ante room</i> [Public Dining]	<i>Antichambre</i> [Public Dining, Throne, Receipt of Petitions, Balls, waiting room for State Bedchamber]	<i>Presence Chamber</i> [Pensioner Guard, Throne, Public Dining, Reception of Ambassa- dors, Creation of Peers, Balls]
4. <i>Anticamera</i> [Throne, Council, Audiences]	<i>2nd Anteroom</i>	<i>State Bedchamber</i> [Lever, Private Dining, Public Reception of Ambassadors, and Parlements]	<i>Privy Chamber</i> Private Dining, takes over functions of Presence which becomes waiting room]
5. <i>Anticamarilla</i> [Waiting room for Grandees and Major Ambassadors, Public Dining]	<i>Audience Chamber</i> [Throne, Reception of Ambassadors, etc.]	<i>Grand Cabinet</i> [Social functions, presentations, Audiences of Ambassadors, Homage, Councils, King's Study]	<i>Drawing Room</i> [Social Functions, Wait- ing Room for Levées]
6. <i>Aposento de S.M.</i> [King's Study, Private Dining]	<i>Council Chamber or Drawing Room</i>	..	<i>State Bedchamber</i> [limited access, waiting room for ministers to closet]
7. <i>Bedroom</i> [Limited access]	<i>State Bedchamber</i> [Limited access]	..	<i>Closet</i> [King's Study]





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