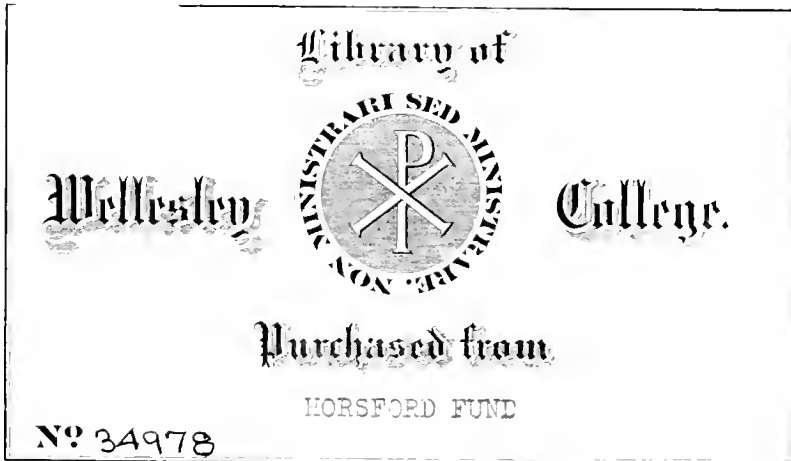


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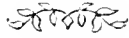




THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.



*Under the Sanction of the Science and Art Department of the
Committee of Council on Education.*



REPRODUCED IN AUTOTYPE PLATES.

WITH HISTORIC NOTES BY

FRANK REDE FOWKE.



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PREFACE.



FOR the following pages I can claim but little originality. The chief merit of the work is the excellence of its illustrations, which present a more accurate copy of the Bayeux Tapestry than has hitherto been procurable. I have not endeavoured to theorize nor to decide those vexed questions which have formed bones of contention amongst the erudite for upwards of a century, and upon which they are still at variance. Occasionally, if a point has struck me which I failed to discover in the writings of others, I have recorded it for what it is worth; but I have in general preferred to quote from the works of those whose position in the antiquarian world entitles them to speak with authority. If, then, I appear at times to have made too free with the writings of Dr. Bruce, Mr. Freeman, M. Jubinal, Mr. Planché, and others, it is because there was nothing to be said on the portion of the subject then under consideration which had not been already well said by them. The bulk of some, and the rarity of others of the memoirs which have been written upon the tapestry, together with the drudgery of bringing together such scattered notices as have appeared in newspapers and periodicals, are difficulties which beset the path of the student. To obviate these, as far as possible, I have condensed the matter of all the more important descriptions and elucidations which have come under my notice during a careful investigation; whilst, convinced that the interest awakened by the tapestry will be in proportion as we feel that beyond its direct story, it is a record of the manners and customs of our remote ancestors, I have added, in an

appendix, some brief notices which may serve to introduce this study to those who are unversed in such matters.

The plan upon which this book is arranged is as follows :—

I. A history of the tapestry from the earliest times to the present date.

II. A description of the method of its manufacture and of the materials of which it is composed.

III. An account of the story which it tells, the events depicted being explained *seriatim*.

IV. An appendix containing such notes upon architecture, arms and armour, bibliography, biography, costume, language and orthography, manners and customs, paleography and topography, as appeared necessary to its due appreciation.

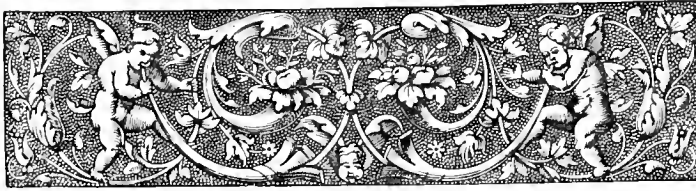
V. A statement of the opinions of various writers as to its age and authorship.

VI. An index.

I cannot conclude these remarks without recording my indebtedness to M. Bertot, the mayor-adjoint of Bayeux, for his kindness in communicating to me some interesting facts concerning the precious relic of which he is a custodian.

FRANK REDE FOWKE.





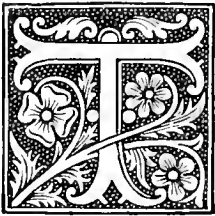
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*The Photographs were taken from the Tapestry at Bayeux under the direction of
Mr. J. Cundall ; and have been printed in autotype by
Messrs. Spencer, Sawyer, & Bird.*



HISTORY OF THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.



HE earliest known mention of this interesting work is made in an inventory of the ornaments of the Cathedral of Bayeux, taken in the year 1476. The preamble of this document is subjoined,¹ together with two entries from the third chapter and one from the fifth, as these passages are frequently cited by those who have written of the tapestry.

On the 12th May, 1562, the cathedral was pillaged by the Calvinists, who committed the most horrible devastations. During this rising the clergy handed over many of their treasures to the municipal authorities for safe keeping, and

¹ Inventaire des joyaulx, capes, reliquairs, ornemens, tentes, paremens, livres, et autres biens appartenans à l'église Notre-Dame de Bayeux, et en icelle trouvés, veus et visités par venerables et discrettes personnes maître Guillaume de Castillon, archidiaque des Vetz, et Nicole Michiel Fabriquier, chanoines de ladite église, à ce députez et commis en chapitre general de ladite église, tenu et celebré après la feste de sainct Ravent et sainct Rasph, en l'an mil quatre cent septante-six, tres reverend pere en Dieu Mons. Loys de Harecourt, patriarche de Jerusalem, lors évêque, et reverend pere maître Guillaume de Bailleul, lors doyen de ladite église; et fut fait ce dit inventaire en mois de septembre par plusieurs journées, à ce presens les procureurs et serviteurs du grand cousteur de ladite église, et maître Jehan Castel, chappellain de ladite église et notaire apostolique; et icy est redigé en françois et vulgaire langage pour plus claire et familière désignation desdits joyaulx, ornemens et autres biens, et de leurs circonstances, qu'elle n'eust pu estre faicte en termes de latinité, et est ce dit inventaire cy-après digéré en ordre, et désigné en distinction en six chapitres. . . .

Ensuivent pour le tiers chapitre les pretieux manteaux et riches chapes trouvés et gardés en triangle qui est assis en costé dextre du pulpitre dessous le crucifix.

Premièrement ung mantel duquel, comme on dit, le duc Guillaume estoit vestu quand il épousa la ducesse, tout d'or tirey; semey de croisettes et florions d'or, et le bort de bas est de or traict à ymages

M. Pezet has conjectured that the tapestry was placed for safety in the Town-hall, and carried thence by the mob. The Bishop of Bayeux, in his report upon this occasion, 19th August, 1563, mentions the preservation of some tapestry, and the loss of “*une tapisserie de grande valeur,*” which M. Pezet conceives to relate to the Bayeux tapestry missing from the time of its abstraction by the populace up to that date. This opinion appears erroneous, for the Bishop states that the missing hangings were used to surround the *choir* on solemn occasions, and that they were composed of cloths of different colours slid upon a cord. Whilst the tapestry is correctly described in the inventory as *toile à broderie*, and as used to decorate the nave.

Whether or not it was missing in these troublous times, it was soon afterwards in possession of the ecclesiastical authorities, being used as a festal decoration for the nave of the cathedral. Here it remained obscure and forgotten, save by those who lived within the walls of Bayeux, until, in the year 1724, a drawing which had formerly belonged to M. Foucault, Ex-intendant of Normandy, and a collector of antiquities, was presented to M. Lancelot, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions, by the secretary of that institution.

On the 21st July of that year M. Lancelot read a paper upon the drawing, but was ignorant of what it actually represented. He had failed, he said, to discover whether the original was a bas-relief, a sculpture round the choir of a church, upon a tomb, or on a frieze—if a fresco painting, stained glass, or even a piece of tapestry. He saw that it was historical, that it related to William, Duke of Normandy, and the conquest of England, and conjectured that it formed part of the Conqueror's tomb in the church of St. Etienne de Caen, or of the beautiful

faist tout environ ennobly de fermailles d'or emailles et de camayeux et autres pierres pretieuses, et de present en y a encore sept vingt, et y a sexante dix places vuides ou aultres-fois avoient esté perles, pierres et fermailles d'or emailles.

Item.—Ung autre mantel duquel, comme l'en dit, la ducesse estoit vestue quand elle épousa le duc Guillaume, tout semey de petits ymages d'or tiré à or fraiz pardevant, et pour tout le bort de bas enrichiz de fermailles d'or emailles et de camayeux et autres pierres pretieuses, et de present en y a encore deus cens quatre-vingt-douze, et y a deus cens quatre places vuides ausquelles estoient aultres-fois pareilles pierres et fermailles d'or emailles. . . .

Ensuivent pour le quint chapitre les tentes, tapis, cortines, paremens des autels et autres draps de faye pour parer le cueur aux festes solonnelles, trouvés et gardés en le vestiaire de ladiète église.

Item.—Une tente tres longue et étroite de telle à broderie de ymages et escripteaux faisans representation du conquest d'Angleterre, laquelle est tendue environ la nef de l'église le jour et par les octaves des Reliques. [At this date the feast of the Relics was kept on the 1st July.]

windows which are said to have formerly existed in that abbey. Following up these speculations, he caused investigations to be made at Caen, but his researches were entirely without success.

Father Montfaucon, a Benedictine of Saint-Maur, was more fortunate. Upon reading Lancelot's memoir he at once perceived the value of this curious representation, and determined to leave no stone unturned till the original was discovered. In the first volume of his "Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise," which appeared in 1729, he gave a reduction of M. Foucault's drawing in fourteen double plates, and added a double plate, divided into four parts, with the whole of the then-discovered work, drawn to a small scale. He saw that this fragment was but the commencement of a long history, and he therefore wrote to the Benedictines of St. Etienne de Caen and of St. Vigor de Bayeux to inquire if they were acquainted with any such monument. The Reverend Father Mathurin l'Archer, Prior of St. Vigor de Bayeux, answered that the original was a piece of tapestry, preserved in the cathedral, about thirty feet in length (nearly thirty-two English feet), and one foot and a-half broad, and that they had another piece of the same breadth continuing the history, the whole being two hundred and twelve feet long (nearly two hundred and twenty-six English feet). He copied all the inscriptions, and sent them to Montfaucon, who saw that the entire monument was now discovered.

Montfaucon sent a skilful draughtsman named Antoine Benoît to copy the tapestry, with instructions to reduce it to a given size, but to alter nothing. At the opening of the second volume of his "Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise," published in 1730, Montfaucon engraved the whole history in this reduced form,¹ accompanied by a commentary upon the Latin inscriptions which throughout explain the intention of the figures represented in the different compartments, and M. Lancelot now composed a second memoir, which was read in 1730. It will be seen that at the time of its discovery by Montfaucon the tapestry was in two pieces, the first ending at the word *Hic* of the inscription, *Hic venit nuntius ad Wilgelmum Ducem*, and the join, in spite of the beautiful manner in which it has been made, may still be detected.² At this period, too, the extremities began to suffer, and in order to save the work from destruction, the chapter caused it to be lined.

¹ These plates are, however, lamentably inaccurate.

² M. Lecchaude d'Anisy remarks upon the *absence* of any sign of a join.

The interest awakened by the discovery of the tapestry was not confined to France. In 1746 Stukeley writes of it as "the noblest monument in the world, relating to our old English History." He is followed by the learned antiquary Dr. Ducarel, who gives an account of the tapestry in the appendix to his "Anglo-Norman Antiquities," published in 1767, where he reproduced the drawings given by Montfaucon, and printed an elaborate description which had been drawn up some years previously, during a residence in Normandy, by Mr. Smart Lethieullier. Dr. Ducarel tells us that when he was in Normandy the tapestry was annually hung up on St. John's Day, and that it went exactly round the nave of the cathedral, where it continued for eight days. This mode of decorating the cathedral of Bayeux was a most ancient custom, as we learn from its statutes, which declare that, "Il est bon de favoir que le matin du samedi de Pâques, avant d'appeler les dignitaires et les chanoines au service, on pare le tour de l'église, dans l'intérieur, avec des tapisseries propres, au-dessous desquelles, entre le chœur et l'autel, on place des coussins et des draps de soie les plus beaux qui se trouvent dans l'église. . . . L'église se pare depuis la fête de Pâques jusqu'à le Saint-Michel, en septembre." When not employed as a decoration for the nave, the tapestry was carefully preserved, in a strong wainscot press, in a chapel on the south side of the cathedral.

Before we again hear of it the tapestry had passed through great dangers, and had nearly perished; but, as in 1562, escaped the revolutionary disorders by little short of a miracle. Kept in the depositories of the cathedral it remained intact, even during the events of the year 1792, until the day when the invasion of France called all her sons to arms. At the first sound of the drum in the town of Bayeux, which had already furnished a numerous contingent, rose the local battalion. Amidst the tumult of sudden departure, carts were improvised to transport the military equipage. One of these conveyances needed a covering; canvas was wanting; the tapestry was suggested as suitable for the purpose; and the administration pusillanimously ordered its delivery. It was brought and placed on the waggon, which was already *en route*, when M. le Forestier, commissary of police, learning the state of affairs, ran to the District Directory, of which he was a member, and himself issued the order to bring it back. This was no sooner done than he snatched the tapestry from its perilous position, provided some stout canvas to supply its place, and committed the treasured embroidery to the security of his own study.

Some of the citizens, viz. MM. Moiffon de Vaux, J. B. G. Delaunay, ex-

deputy of the States-General, Bouiffet, since professor of literature at the Lyceum of Caen, with Le Brisfoys-Surmont, an advocate, as secretary, now formed themselves into a commission for the protection of works of art in the district of Bayeux. They at once demanded the delivery of the tapestry, which they obtained in time to save it from a new danger. For from a letter dated "4 Fructidor an II" (21st August, 1794), we learn that "un zèle plus ardent qu'éclairé avait été sur le point de faire lacérer dans une fête civique cet ouvrage auquel on n'attachait plus d'autre mérite que d'être une bande de toile propre à servir au premier usage."

So jealous was this commission of the safety of the tapestry, that it was not mentioned in their first catalogue, probably from fear lest it should be wrested from their custody, since in a letter of the "10th Frimaire an XII" (30th November, 1803) they speak of the vigilance with which they had watched over this national monument, and the opposition that their great sollicitude had oft-times raised against its removal from the town.

It is not known for certain where the tapestry was kept during the time that it was in the custody of the commission, but as the books of the religious communities suppressed at the time of the revolution were deposited in the college, it is probable that the tapestry found a similar resting-place.

On the "29 Brumaire an XII" (19th November, 1803) the prefect of Calvados informed the commission that Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, desired the exhibition of the tapestry at the Musée Napoléon. To this wish the commission deferred, and it was deposited in the national museum for public inspection.

The First Consul himself went to see it, and affected to be struck with that particular part which represents Harold on his throne at the moment when he was alarmed at the appearance of a meteor which presaged his defeat: affording an opportunity for the inference that the meteor which had then been lately seen in the South of France was the presage of a similar event.

At the time of this exhibition, M. Denon, director-general of the Musée Napoléon, caused an explanatory hand-book to be prepared, entitled "Notice historique sur la Tapissérie brodée de la reine Mathilde, épouse de Guillaume-le-Conquérant."¹

¹ This notice forms a brochure in 12mo. of forty-six pages, of which two other editions exist; one in 4to., with Lancelot's plates, coloured; the other published at Saint-Lô, in 1822, by Élie.

The exhibition was popular : so much so, that three authors of vaudevilles, much renowned in that day, MM. Barré, Radet et Desfontaines, composed a one-act comedy in prose, entitled, "La Tapissèrie de la reine Mathilde," which was produced at the Théâtre du Vaudeville. In this piece Matilda, who had retired to her uncle Roger during the contest, was represented passing her time with her women in embroidering the exploits of her husband, never leaving her work except to put up prayers for his success. It related to passing events, and was of a very light character, as all such pieces are, but contained nevertheless many witty strokes, and some ingenious allusions to the projects of Napoleon.

When the time for the restoration of the tapestry to Bayeux arrived, more than one voice was raised in favour of its retention in Paris; but it was returned, after a hasty copy of it had been made by M. Denon, to the municipality of the town which had preserved it so well throughout all vicissitudes, with the following letter :—

" Paris, le 30 pluviôse, an XII (18th February, 1804).

" Denon, membre de l'Institut National, directeur-général du musée Napoléon, et de la reconnaissance des médailles, au sous-préfet de l'arrondissement de Bayeux.

" CITOYEN,—

" Je vous renvoie la tapissèrie brodée par la reine Mathilde, épouse de Guillaume-le-Conquérant. Le premier consul a vu avec intérêt ce précieux monument de notre histoire; il a applaudi aux soins que les habitants de la ville de Bayeux ont apporté depuis sept siècles et demi à sa conservation. Il m'a chargé de leur témoigner toute sa satisfaction et de leur en confier encore le dépôt. Invitez-les donc, Citoyen, à apporter de nouveaux soins à la conservation de ce fragile monument, qui retrace une des actions les plus mémorables de la nation française, et consacre pareillement le souvenir de la fierté et du courage de nos aïeux. J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer.

" DENON."

Incited by this letter to renew their zealous precautions on behalf of their trust, the Municipal Council of Bayeux held a deliberation 24th Ventôse, an XII (13th March, 1804). At this meeting it was decided that the tapestry should be deposited in the college library, and the director was charged to watch

over it with the greatest care, the mayor giving his supervision. Remembering its ancient use, the council further directed "that it be hung in the parish church during fifteen days in the finest part of the year"—a concession to the clergy to which I cannot discover that effect was ever given.

Nor does it seem that the decision to deposit it in the college was adhered to, as it was quickly transferred to the Hôtel de Ville, where the mode of its exhibition to the curious was to wind it from one cylinder on to another, after the manner of a panorama. This barbarous mode of showing it must infallibly have caused its destruction in a very short time; yet it continued with but slight protest under the Empire, the Restoration, and the first years which succeeded the Revolution of 1830.

From the new degree of publicity given to the tapestry by its exhibition in Paris, its origin again became the subject of discussion; and in 1812 the Abbé de la Rue, professor of history in the Academy of Caen, composed a memoir, subsequently translated and annotated by Mr. Francis Douce,¹ in which he contended that the manufacture of the tapestry should have been ascribed to the Empress Matilda, and not to the wife of the Conqueror.

The next notice of the tapestry is comprised in a short letter, dated 4th July, 1816, from Mr. Hudson Gurney, printed in the "Archæologia."² Mr. Gurney had seen the tapestry at Bayeux in 1814; it was, he says, then kept in the Hôtel of the Prefecture,³ coiled round a machine like that which lets down the buckets in a well, and was shown to visitors by being drawn out over a table. Mr. Dawson Turner, writing some two years later, adds that the necessary rolling and unrolling were performed with so little attention, that it would be wholly ruined in the course of half a century if left under its then management. He describes it as injured at the beginning, as very ragged towards the end, where several of the figures had completely disappeared, and adds that the worsted was unravelling in many of the intermediate parts.⁴ At this time the tapestry was known as the *Toile de St.-Jean*, which is explained by what Ducarel has said, that it was formerly exhibited upon St. John's Day. Remembering this its ancient use, the

¹ "Archæologia," vol. xvii. p. 85.

² *Ibid.* vol. xviii. p. 359.

³ This is an error; the prefecture is at Caen—Bayeux is a sous-prefecture. The building was the Hôtel de Ville, where the tapestry was deposited in 1804.

⁴ Dawson Turner, "Tour in Normandy," vol. ii. p. 242.

clergy, in 1816, claimed its restoration to the cathedral. To this request, however, the Municipal Council refused to accede, alleging that it had been returned to the *inhabitants*, who had never lost sight of it, but had preserved it through the exertions of their representatives. With the civil administration, then, the tapestry still remains.

In the same year that the clergy claimed the tapestry, the Society of Antiquaries of London despatched that excellent and accurate artist, Mr. Charles Stothard, to Bayeux, to make drawings; in this expedition he was accompanied by his wife, who cut off and brought home a small piece of the tapestry.¹ Within two years he completed the best copy of the tapestry that had been produced, which will be found in the sixth volume of the "*Vetusta Monumenta*."

The appearance of the first portion of these drawings gave rise to some remarks² (dated 24th February, 1818) by Mr. Amyot, intended to refute the idea that Harold had been sent to Normandy with an offer of the succession to William, which idea the pictures of the tapestry had been supposed to confirm.

These were followed by Mr. C. Stothard's own observations while at Bayeux, pointing out such circumstances as presented themselves to his notice during the minute investigation to which he necessarily subjected the tapestry. Mr. Amyot then took up a defence of the early antiquity of the tapestry, in which he invalidates the objections of the Abbé de la Rue to the opinion which makes the tapestry coeval with the events that it records.

In 1835 the Municipal Council began to occupy themselves with the idea that a permanent resting-place for the tapestry should be provided, and they then decided that it should be removed to that place which it now occupies.

Dr. Bruce saw the tapestry about this time, and says that it was then exhibited in eight lengths up and down the room in which it was kept. I do not know if the learned doctor means that it was cut into eight parts or folded backwards and forwards;³ but, at any rate, nothing was lost, and the tapestry, as far as it has come down to us, is complete.

¹ This fragment was, in 1825, seen by M. Allou, of the Société Royale des Antiquaires de France, in the library of Dr. Meyrick. Jubinal, "*Anciennes Tap. Hist.*," vol. i. p. 16.

² "*Archæologia*," vol. xix. p. 88.

³ This latter seems to be intended, as the Abbé Laffetay describes it as "*se repliant sur elle-même*." —*Notice, Hist. et Desc.* p. 17.

At a meeting of the Administrative Council of the Society for the Preservation of French Historical Monuments, held 30th January, 1836, Mr. Spencer Smith announced that he would shortly call the attention of the council to the tapestry of Queen Matilda at Bayeux, and offer recommendations as to the mode of its exhibition to visitors. The tapestry was gaining friends, its dangers seemed past, and men vied with each other who should most contribute to its well-being. But not content with the assurance of its safety, they were anxious to satisfy sceptical minds; and on the 15th February, 1840, we find M. de la Fontenelle,¹ together with several of his fellow-labourers of the "Revue Anglo-Française," about to form a commission of archæologists composed half of English and half of French savants, to give a final opinion as to the age of the tapestry. It does not appear that this commission issued any report, nor is it by any means certain that it was ever really formed.

In 1840 we find, in the "Bulletin Monumental,"² a report made by M. Pezet, President of the Civil Tribunal, to the Municipal Council of Bayeux, on behalf of the commission charged to take measures for the safety of the tapestry. In this report he announces that the building erected by the town for the reception of the treasured relic approached completion, the masons' work was completed, and the wainscoting commenced.

In 1841 M. de Caumont communicated to the Institut des Provinces a notice in refutation of Mr. Bolton Corney's remarks, and an extract from this notice was published the following year, entitled "Un Mot sur les Discussions relatives à l'Origine de la Tapissèrie de Bayeux."³

The Society for the Preservation of French Historical Monuments held a meeting at Caen, 12th May, 1853, at which M. de Caumont reported that the Bayeux Tapestry had received aid to the extent of 5,000 francs⁴ (£200).

The tapestry was not shown in a settled and permanent manner in the place which it now occupies until 1842. M. Ed. Lambert, librarian of the town of Bayeux, was named custodian of the tapestry, and he it was who undertook the task of superintending its re-lining; nor did he stop here, for, guided by the holes left by the needles, by the fragments of worsted adhering to the canvas, and by drawings executed at earlier dates, he successfully restored certain portions

¹ "Bulletin Monumental," vol. vi. p. 44.

³ Ibid. vol. viii. p. 73.

² Ibid. vol. vi. p. 62.

⁴ Ibid. vol. xix. p. 378.

which had suffered from age or from the friction of the cylindrical method of exhibition.

Since the above date the tapestry has been continuously shown to the public in the same manner as at the present time, and its history during this period of repose would be but a catalogue of savants, artists, and illustrious personages who, from every corner of the world, have made a pilgrimage to Bayeux.

The tapestry was not, however, to pass its old age without some renewal of danger, for in 1871 the Prussians were so near the town as to cause most serious alarm to the authorities for the safety of their precious treasure. The tapestry was taken from its case, so rapidly that many of the sheets of glass under which it was kept were broken; it was then tightly rolled up and packed into a cylindrically-shaped zinc case, the lid of which was soldered down. What next ensued is a secret which the authorities desire at present to keep; for, though they trust never again to be obliged to resort to a like expedient, they wisely remark that they know not what of danger the future may have in store for the tapestry, nor do they think that the proper moment has arrived to publish their hiding-place.

On the 3rd of August, 1871, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education authorized Mr. Joseph Cundall to proceed to Bayeux to consult with the authorities and endeavour to obtain permission to make a full-sized photographic reproduction of the tapestry. He was successful in his mission, and Mr. E. Doffetter, a skilful photographer, was despatched to Bayeux to commence the work, which he completed in the following year.

The local authorities courteously rendered every assistance, M. Marc, the mayor, M. Bertot, the deputy-mayor, and the Abbé Laffety, the librarian, vying with each other in their obliging attentions. The work was, however, attended with great difficulty, for, although the custodians finally permitted the removal of the glass, pane by pane, so as to free from distortion the portion of the work under manipulation, they would in no wise consent to the removal of the tapestry from its case. The tapestry is carried first round the exterior and then round the interior of a hollow parallelogram, and the room in which it is shown is lighted by windows at the side and at one end, so that the difficulty of cross lights and dark corners had to be overcome as far as possible; nor this alone, for the brass joints of the glazing came continually in the way of the camera, and great credit is due to Mr. Doffetter for the ingenious devices by which he successfully overcame the difficulties with which he had to contend.

Owing to the difficulties of manipulating a large camera in the comparatively small space of the chamber at Bayeux, the negatives first taken were but half the size of the original; from these transparencies were made, from which enlarged negatives were taken, and from these also the reduced negatives for the illustrations of this work were produced. It will therefore be seen that besides the series here given two sets of large reproductions exist, one the full size of the original, and one half that size, both of which are published by the Arundel Society. The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have presented a copy of each of these larger sets to the town of Bayeux, in recognition of the valuable aid and courteous co-operation of the authorities.

A copy of the full-sized reproduction was got ready for the International Exhibition of 1873 (Catalogue No. 2897 *d*), where it was exhibited in the Royal Albert Hall. This copy is now shown in the Architectural Court of the South Kensington Museum.

The South Kensington Museum purchased at the sale of Mr. Bowyer Nicholls, in 1864, that piece of the tapestry which had been brought away from Bayeux by Mrs. Stothard in 1817, and it was resolved by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education that this fragment should be restored to the custodians of the tapestry. The compiler of these notes was then, August, 1872, visiting the town of Bayeux to inspect the tapestry, and was so fortunate as to be charged with the return of the relic.

MODE OF EXECUTION AND THE MATERIALS EMPLOYED.

The Bayeux tapestry consists of a band of linen, probably originally unbleached, and which the lapse of ages has reduced to the colour of brown holland. The present length of this band is 70 mètres 34 centimètres (230 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{3}$ in. English measure), and its width 50 centimètres (19 $\frac{2}{3}$ in. English measure). It formerly consisted of a single piece of linen without seam; and although at one time divided into two parts, it has now been cleverly joined together again. In the upper margin a piece of cloth of a slightly inferior quality has been added at some time subsequent to the original manufacture of the tapestry. This additional strip, which is itself of a high antiquity, is joined to the main portion by a seam; it contains no figures, but displays blue stripes, as well as simple, double, and triple crosses; and before a kind of altar, a ladder, of which the sides are terminated by

a cross and a little banded standard, the staff of which is surmounted by a cross. The width of this strip is 20 centimetres (nearly 8 in. English measure), and it may have been added to facilitate the exhibition of the main work. The whole tapestry is divided into seventy-two compartments¹ or scenes, which are generally separated from one another by conventionally-rendered trees or buildings. The tapestry contains² representations of—

623 persons.
202 horses and mules.
55 dogs.
505 various other animals.
37 buildings.
41 ships and boats.
49 trees.
1,512 objects.

These figures are worked with a needle in wools of eight different colours, viz.: Dark and light blue, red, yellow, dark and light green, black, and dove colour. The intention of most of the compartments is explained by Latin inscriptions placed over them. The letters, like the figures, are stitched in wool, and are about an inch in height. The drawing of all the objects is rude, nor has any great attention been paid to the representation of things in their natural colours. Thus horses are shown as blue, green, red, and yellow, a circumstance no doubt due to the limited number of colours at the artists' disposal. Working with flat tints, the embroiderers had no means of giving effects of light and shade; and perspective is wholly disregarded. To indicate, therefore, objects at different distances from the spectator, they employed wools of different colours; thus a green horse has his off legs red, whilst those of a yellow horse are worked in blue, and so on.

If the drawing be rude the composition is bold and spirited, and is always

¹ That is, following the subjects; for the different divisions or lengths are indicated by large numbers from 1 to 56 marked on the canvas outside the border. The form of these numbers is such that they cannot be more than a couple of centuries old. They are of no special interest, and were probably added by some custodian of the tapestry for convenience of exhibition.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 13, note 4.

rendered with great truth of expression, which is at times, however, exaggerated. The really historical portion of tapestry is for the most part confined to a width of 33 centimètres 5 millimètres ($13\frac{1}{2}$ in. English measure); the top and bottom forming fantastic borders, containing lions, birds, camels, minotaurs, dragons, sphinxes, some fables of Æsop and Phædrus, scenes of husbandry and of the chase, &c. Occasionally the border is taken into the thread of the story, and it frequently contains allegorical allusions to the scenes enacting within its bounds.

The mode of working has been to cover the figures with worsted threads laid down flat side by side, and then bound at intervals by cross fastenings: seams, joints, and folds being indicated by a species of twist. The faces of persons, their hands and, when bare, their legs also, are simply outlined in red, green, or blue, the features being frequently executed in yellow.

From the above description it will be seen that historical embroidery would be a more accurate title than tapestry for this work; time has, however, consecrated the misnomer, and it is improbable that it will ever bear a different appellation.





THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

EDVWARD REX :

King Eadward.



ING Eadward the Confessor is seated on a cushioned throne ; his feet resting on a stool of three steps. A simple circlet ornamented with fleurs-de-lys forms his crown, and a similar decoration terminates the sceptre, held in his left hand. The embellishments on his ample robe are probably needlework of gold, for William of Malmesbury¹ informs us that the Lady Eadgyth was wont to embroider his state vestments after this fashion. With his right hand the King emphasizes the remarks that he addresses to two persons of rank standing before him. Of these one is undoubtedly Harold, who is taking leave of his master previous to quitting the court. Mr. Planché² has doubted the identity of this personage with Harold, on the ground that the Earl is depicted with mouftaches in the next compartment, and that here the figure supposed to represent him has none. The copies of the tapestry seen by Mr. Planché must have been inaccurate, as in the original both of Eadward's auditors are mouftached.

¹ Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 51.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 139.

Three reasons have been assigned as the cause of Harold's departure:—

I. That he begged permission to visit Normandy to release from captivity his brother Wulfnoth and his nephew Hakon, who had been given as hostages for Godwine's good conduct to King Eadward, and by him transferred for safe custody to his cousin, Duke William.¹

II. That Harold, bound on a fishing excursion, was driven by stress of weather upon the shores of Ponthieu.²

III. That Harold was commissioned to assure William of his nomination as Eadward's successor to the English throne.³

Where authorities are conflicting it is difficult to ascertain the truth, but it would appear that the last theory is that accepted by the designer of the tapestry, since it tends to strengthen the Norman claim, and to show forth in darker colours the perfidy of Harold; two points which he appears to have constantly kept in view.

VBI: HAROLÐ DVX: ANGLORVM: ET SVI MILITES:
EOVITANT: AD BOSHAM:

Where Harold, a chief of the English, and his knights, ride to Bosham.



AROLD is called Duke of Wessex and Earl of Kent by contemporary historians; it is evident that the word *Dux* is here used to point him out as one of the chiefs of the English nation, and not as conveying a specific title.

This Bosham, to which they rode, had been the property of the Archbishops of Canterbury till the Earl Godwine, being very desirous to obtain this manor, and meeting the Archbishop in a certain place, advanced towards him with feigned cordiality, exclaiming, *Da mihi Bafum*, give me the kifs (*i. e.* the kifs of peace), which, when the Archbishop had done, he interpreted it *Bofeham*, and immediately took possession of it, thanking the Archbishop for his generous gift.⁴

¹ Wace.

² Wm. Malm.

³ Wm. Malm.

⁴ "Mag. Brit." v. 492.

Harold, says Dr. Bruce, is represented twice in this group; once lifting up his hand in an attitude of command, and again with his hawk upon his fist to betoken his high rank; a simpler explanation, however, would seem to be that, during the audience which is depicted in the previous compartment, the mounted attendants have waited without the palace; they are now joined by Harold, who leads the way, his hawk perched on his fist, and his dogs scouring the country before him. It is well known to persons conversant with antiquity, remarks Mr. Ducarel, that the great men of those times had only two ways of being accoutred when they set out upon a journey, either in the habiliments of war, or of the chase. Harold, as going on an errand of peace, we find here represented in the latter. The knight's hawk and hound were cherished by him with a pride and care scarcely inferior to that bestowed on his destrier. Fabulous prices were paid for these birds, and so highly were they esteemed that the ancient statutes forbade any person giving his hawk as a part of his ransom. Amongst the Anglo-Saxons hawking was a favourite pastime, but it was reserved for the Normans to raise falconry to the dignity of a science, and thus we find that nearly all the words appropriated to the sport are old French. Severe and arbitrary laws were enacted by William, for regulating sports and protecting game, which continued to be rigidly enforced during the respective reigns of his several successors. None but persons of rank were allowed to keep hawks; and it was not until the reign of King John that any mitigation of this severity appears to have taken place, when the chivalrous barons forced from their liege master the Magna Charta, and by consequence obtained grateful immunities from this oppressive power, by which "every freeman was privileged to have eyries of hawks, falcons and eagles, in his own woods, with heronries also."¹

Though several hawks are introduced in the course of the tapestry, in no one case is the bird provided with a hood. The hood was introduced from the East about the year 1200, and as, after its introduction, it was considered an essential part of the equipment of the bird, its absence from the tapestry is conclusive evidence of its comparatively early date.² We see the jesses (or leather straps attached to the legs by which the bird was held on the hand) and, I think, also, the bewits (leather rings round the legs), but no indication of the long and thick white leather glove upon which the bird was always seated in after days.

¹ J. C. Belamy, "Treat. on Falconry," p. 59.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 31.

The hawks are depicted in the tapestry as of a size that could scarcely have been attained even by the gerfalcon, a bird appropriated to the use of Emperors. The size is no doubt to add importance to the bearers.

Horses were introduced into England long before the Christian era, and employed for both warlike and domestic purposes, saddle horses being first used about 631. The crossing of the English horses with those of the Romans and subsequently, in the reign of Æthelstan, with those imported from Germany, appears to have improved the breed, for it became so prized abroad that a law was made in 930 prohibiting exportation. About the time of the Conquest a horse cost 30s., a mare or colt 20s., and an untrained mare 60d. William took great pains to improve the breed by crosses with the horses of Normandy, Spain and Flanders, and in his reign the horse was first used in agricultural operations.

It will be observed that three of Harold's dogs wear collars fitted with leash-rings, and that the horses are hog-maned. Harold's horse seems to have some ornament entwined with its mane. Both saddle and stirrups are used, the former being high peaked and apparently made of wood.

It seems likely that the stirrup was a somewhat recent invention, for all the knights in the tapestry do not use them, and the only form of spur that occurs is the pryck.

ECCLESIA :

The Church.



HAROLD and an attendant, who is perhaps intended as a representative of the rest,¹ enter the church of Bosham, to perform their devotions and seek a blessing on their enterprise. They gaze earnestly towards the interior, and genuflect reverentially as they cross the sacred fill. Harold's show of piety contrasting strongly with the subsequent violation of an oath taken under the most solemn circumstances was here, Dr. Bruce thinks, uppermost in the artist's mind.

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 32.

Their religious exercises terminated, they adjourn to a neighbouring house, doubtless Harold's, to pass the remaining time of their stay on shore in one of those caroufes to which our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were singularly partial. In a solar or large upper hall, the place peculiarly set apart for eating and drinking, is the feast prepared. The tapestry does not show us the form of the table, but we know that it would then consist of a board laid on treffels, and covered with a cloth.¹

This seems not to be a regular meal, since the large joint of salted meat which in those days formed the chief dish does not appear. It was probably but a hasty collation of bread and baked apples washed down with beer or wine; in bowls and horns of which they are engaged in pledging one another when a messenger announces that all things are ready for their departure. It is, however, possible that the Earl's followers are alone feasting here whilst Harold and his esquire are at their devotions, and that it is Harold's readiness to go on board which the attendant communicates.

Be this as it may, the Earl and his retinue quickly strip off their nether garments and wade to their boat, carrying the hawk and hounds. They are followed by the seamen, oars in hand, one of whom also carries an implement of which, Dr. Bruce states,² no satisfactory explanation has been given, and which he conjectures may be a throwstick such as was used by the ancient Egyptian fowlers. It appears to me to be simply the leash, which, having been removed from one of the dogs, is now employed to overcome its reluctance to leave the shore; the bending being but the artist's device to express the flexibility of the material.

The border beneath the banquet scene shows two animals engaged in licking their paws, whilst that under Harold's embarkation is illustrated with the fables of the Fox and the Crow and the Wolf and the Lamb.

¹ Wright, "Homes of other Days," p. 33.

² P. 34.

HIC HAROLD.· MARE NAVIGAVIT.· ET VELIS:
VENTO: PLENIS VENIT: IN TERRA:
VVI8ONIS COMITIS

*Here Harold set sail upon the sea, and with sails filled by the wind
came to the land of Count Guy.*



HAROLD'S party occupy a large boat, a smaller one towing astern. These are shown twice; once as leaving England; and again as arrived at the coast of Ponthieu, of which the above-mentioned Guy was count.

The representation of the Earl's departure is very spirited, the anchor is weighed and the boat rides on the swell, two persons with poles keep her from grounding, another prepares to set sail, and three seamen rest on their oars ready to give way at a moment's notice.

The larger vessel is but an open boat, the bow and stern of which nearly resemble each other, as in the whaleboats and Maltese galleys of the present day. The single mast, apparently stepped each time that sail was made, is traversed by a yard on which the square sail is set. It is not clear if, like the smaller boat, she is furnished with thwarts for rowers, but the presence of a series of holes, answering to rowlocks, favours the supposition. A paddle over the windward quarter answers the purpose of a rudder. The sides of the vessel, which are very low, are heightened, when under sail, by an artificial bulwark, formed by the shields of the crew, locked one within the other, as we find them in the paintings of Herculaneum, and, as we see in the later scenes of the tapestry, the English were accustomed to form their "Shield-wall" in time of war.

From their form and fittings we may easily, says Lancelot, perceive that these are not fishing boats, which proves that Harold's voyage was not unpremeditated; and Dr. Bruce, supporting this view, remarks that all signs of a gale are wanting.

However this may be, the ship nears the land, a watch has been set at the

mast-head, and preparations are made for coming to an anchor. Harold, who has been all this time at the helm, now takes the sheet into his left hand; three of the crew stand by the back-stays, a fourth appears to be slacking the main halliards, a fifth prepares to unship the mast, another man hauls up the boat by its painter, whilst one of his mates is engaged in stowing the sail, and two more are vigorously backing water to keep the vessel from beaching.

HAROLD ..

Harold.



HAROLD, in full costume, next approaches the shore in the boat, the anchor is cast, and he prepares to land. He is ready to pay his respects to the lord of the land, but the spear which he carries seems to indicate his distrust of a pleasant reception. The sequel shows that his uneasiness was not ill-grounded, and affords an illustration of the barbarous rights of nations then recognized.

hic : APPREHENDIT : VVIDO : HAROLDV̄ :

Here Guy seized Harold.



IT was the custom, observes Monsieur Thierry, in his "*Histoire de la Conquête*,"¹ of this maritime country, as of many others in the Middle Ages, to imprison and hold for ransom all strangers thrown upon its coast by a tempest, instead of rendering them any assistance. We here observe the enforcement of this right, for no sooner is Harold's parley from the boat concluded, and he and his attendant have stripped and waded ashore, than they are arrested by a follower of the Count who points to him as authority for his act. Whatever the nature of the conversation held

¹ Vol. i. p. 295.

between Guy and Harold previous to his debarkation may have been, the latter was induced to relinquish his spear and to land, retaining only his faxe; that weapon that was never laid aside, but, half knife, half dagger, was used at meals, laid by the hand when sleeping, and ultimately deposited in the grave of its owner.¹ With this simple weapon Harold and his follower prepare to show fight, but the Count's mounted guard, fully armed with lance, sword, and shield, renders effectual resistance hopeless, and the Earl, together with his crew, is taken captive.

Guy is here represented as plainly dressed, but well armed. A large sword hangs at his side, a basilard or hunting-knife, which a writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine"² erroneously conceived to be a horn, is suspended from his saddle, and the pryck spur is on his heel. We may here point out that the Norman horses are depicted in the tapestry as larger than those of the Anglo-Saxons, and that, although the trappings are common to both nations, the uncut mane here falls on the neck, instead of being hogged in the manner already noticed as then customary in England.³ It will be noticed that throughout the tapestry entire horses are alone represented, the same opinion as to the inefficiency of mares and geldings to perform the more arduous kinds of work appearing to have been then common which still obtains in France.

ET DVXIT: EVM AD BELREM: ET IBI EVM: TENVIT:

And led him to Beaurain and there imprisoned him.



THE author of the Chronicle of Normandy, first printed in the year 1487, states that "He led him to Abbeville," but that writer is too inaccurate in other instances to be entitled to much credit here. Montreuil, not Abbeville, being then the capital of Ponthieu, and the residence of its counts, and finding, as we do, that Beaurain-la-Ville and Beaurain-le-Château (*Castrum de Bello-ramo*) were but some two leagues thence, we may safely identify them with the Belrem to which the Count is here mentioned as conducting his prisoner.⁴

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 42.

² Vol. lxxiii. p. 11, 37.

³ "Ladies' Newspaper," 1851-52.

⁴ Ducarel, "Ang.-Norm. Antiq." App. p. 7.

The capture shown in the last plate having been effected, the party turns about and proceeds towards the Count's château. Monsieur Jubinal,¹ Dr. Bruce,² and indeed most of those who have commented upon this picture, consider that the foremost horseman is intended to represent Guy; he has, say they, now that the chances of a fight are over, resumed his cloak, and bears on his fist his hawk, since his progress is now one of peace. His bearing is triumphant, his mantle is proudly trussed up on the shoulder, his falcon wears grilletts, or bells, a mark of honour then greatly esteemed, and turns its beak forwards as ready to take flight; whilst Harold's aspect is totally different, since he is stripped of his mantle and his falcon of its grilletts. The bird turning its head towards him appears to typify the unhappy condition of its master.

Before, however, endorsing the above theory it may be well to notice two or three points. The foremost rider is mounted on a mule,³ he wears a mouftache and mantle, but is neither armed nor spurred. He who follows rides a horse, is shaven, and has no cloak, but carries the basilar and wears the pryck spur, all which corresponds with Guy's portrait in the preceding scene. The absence of grilletts, though this is not very clearly shown in the tapestry, now simply indicates the inferiority of his rank. This would reverse the position of the characters. Harold's followers go first, escorted by some of the Count's retainers; then comes the captive Earl, riding an animal which offers him little chance of flight from his well-mounted guard; besides, thus placed, he is under the eye of Guy, who brings up the rear with his horsemen. I do not think that I stand quite alone in this view, for it appears to have been that of a writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine."⁴

¹ "Anciennes Tap. Hist." p. 32.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 44.

³ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. xxv.

⁴ "Gent.'s Mag." lxxiii. p. 1,138.

VBI: HAROLD: T VVIDO: PARABOLANT:

Where Harold and Guy converse.

HAROLD'S sword seems to have been but just returned to him, for he holds it in his hand as though he had not had time to gird it on. With one follower, he is introduced into Guy's presence chamber. Here the Count is seated on a throne, exhibiting the customary dog's-head ornament; the inferiority of his rank to that of a king being, seemingly, indicated by the absence of a cushion. His feet rest on a footstool of three degrees; his left hand grasps a huge sword of justice, whilst his right emphasizes his conversation with Harold, who bows slightly on entering, and appears to be expostulating. Their conversation, no doubt, relates to the amount of ransom required, which we find in this instance was very considerable, and perhaps permission was now sought for Harold's attendant to acquaint Duke William of Normandy with the critical position of his cousin's vassal.

An armed attendant touches Guy's left arm, and calls his attention to something passing without; possibly to the approach of William's messengers. A man in the doorway leans eagerly forward, his antic action, and the singularity of his costume, party-coloured and vandyked, suggested to Mr. Stothard the idea that this personage is intended to represent Guy's fool or jester.¹ Dr. Bruce conceives him an unobserved witness of the interview, and that he has found means to acquaint William with the untoward position of the English. But we shall shortly see that the messenger who came to the Duke was, as his moustache indicates, a Saxon; whilst the jester, if jester he be, is here portrayed as clean shaven. They cannot, therefore, be identical, and this man may be, after all, but the messenger who announces the coming of the Norman emissaries.

¹ "Archæologia," vol. ix. p. 189.

VBI : NVNTII : VVILLELMI : DVCIS : VENERVNT :
AD VVIDONĒ

Where Duke William's messengers came to Guy.



TWO knights are sent by the Duke to treat with Guy ; who, as soon as they are dismounted, receives them, and stands with a haughty air, axe in hand, to show, as has been thought, his power of life and death over his captive. The Count is partially habited in his war harness, having a tunic of scale armour beneath his mantle ; an armed attendant, who stands behind him, seems to be offering counsel, whilst William's messengers press the object of their mission with great vigour.

TVROLD

Turolde.



WHILE the ambassadors confer with Count Guy, their horses are held by a personage wearing a beard, but whose shaven head sufficiently proclaims his nationality. The artist appears to intend him for a dwarf, and Miss Agnes Strickland conceives him to have been *the designer of the tapestry*, who modestly introduces his portrait here rather than in a more important scene, but she does not furnish the grounds on which this singular speculation is based.¹ Over the head of this individual is the word Turolde, and to him it has generally, but as I think incorrectly, been considered as applying. To my opinion it has been objected that if this word had related to the hindermost of William's messengers it would have been placed over his head, in the same way in which we have already seen that Harold was indicated when landing ; but the objectors have overlooked the fact that the heads of the

¹ "Lives of Queens of Eng." vol. i. p. 59.

Norman knights already touch the running inscription, and that no room is left for the insertion of a name in that position. The artist has, however, been at great pains to prevent any mistake as to whom this word refers, and has taken the unusual course of enclosing it between two lines, attaching these to the back of the person whom the name is intended to indicate. This would seem to be sufficiently clear of itself, but the next compartment shows us that the messengers come on their errand unattended; and the dwarf must consequently be a retainer of the Count of Ponthieu. His name was not likely to be known to the designer of the tapestry, but with those of the messengers he would be doubtless acquainted. Turolde was a common Norman name at the time of the Conquest. Aluredus (*nepos Turolde*) grandson or nephew of Turolde, held lands in Lincolnshire during the reigns of Eadward the Confessor and of William. A Turolde was Sheriff of Lincolnshire after the Conquest, and founder of Spalding Abbey. His niece and heiress was Countess of Chester, and married Ivo Taillebois, the Conqueror's nephew. An Albert and a Richard Fitz-Turolde are mentioned in the Domesday Book. Duke William's governor or tutor was named Turolde—"Turolde *teneri Ducis pedagogus*"—but he was killed shortly after William became Duke of Normandy. Finally, a Gilbert Fitz-Turolde held, at the time of the survey, Watelege, which had previously been held by King Harold. This Gilbert appears to have been a feudatory of Odo.¹ Through the kindness of Monsieur Dubosc, the learned archivist of St. Lô, I saw a charter bearing the \ddagger marks of Duke William and of Turolde, *Constable of Bayeux*, which offers, I think, the most satisfactory solution of this difficult point that has been as yet suggested.

William, perceiving the importance of securing Harold's person, sends people of condition to negotiate his release, and that one in whom the inhabitants of Bayeux would take an especial interest, their Constable, alone is named. With him they would be familiar, and it is doubtless his son whose name, as we have seen above, occurs in "Domesday" as an under-tenant of Bishop Odo.

¹ "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 141.

NVNTII: VVILLELMI

William's Messengers.

WRITER in the "Gentleman's Magazine"¹ considers these two ambassadors as different from those whose interview with Guy has just been noticed; and to show it, says he, the groups are separated by a species of vaulted edifice. Entreaties and remonstrances having failed to procure Harold's release, William next employs menaces. The two ambassadors are knights, who arrive on the full gallop with the lances couched; appearing to announce that their embassy is of a less amicable character than the former. This view being supported by Dr. Bruce, it is with diffidence that I advance the opinion that the order of time is here inverted, a practice by no means uncommon, and of which we shall find other examples in this very work. I believe that we here see, on their journey, the same messengers whose arrival we have already witnessed, whilst the next compartment shows us their dispatch by William at the entreaty of the Saxon who has acted as Harold's envoy. It is as if the artist would say Guy was having a conference with Harold when the arrival of the Duke's messengers was announced to him; here you see him receiving the message; this is where they were on the journey; and they were sent by the Duke, as you will see in the next section. The building, on which so much stress has been laid as separating the supposed different embassies, is doubtless but the castle of Beaurain, which the horsemen approach as they proceed on their mission.

† HIC VENIT: NVNTIVS: AD WILGELMVM DVCEM

Here the messenger came to Duke William.

WILLIAM is seated on a throne, which, with the exception of its having a cushion and the footstool consisting of but two steps, nearly resembles that of Guy. He receives the suppliant Englishman, for such his mouftache proclaims him, with a cheerful expression of countenance, and issues orders to two of his retinue, who turn with

¹ Vol. lxxiii. p. 1,226.

alacrity to obey him whilst he yet speaks. We have already seen what duty they were called upon to perform ; its results were, however, of considerable importance, and a watchman, who is posted in a tree, looks eagerly forth, shading his eyes with his hand, to retain in sight as long as possible the retreating forms of the messengers.

The envoy approaches William with evident symptoms of awe ; his crouching posture was construed into deformity by Montfaucon, who was therefore of opinion that it represented the same dwarf whom we have just seen holding the horses of the Norman ambassadors. This opinion was adopted by Monsieur Léchaudé-D'Anisy, and even Mr. Planché goes so far as to say that the fact of one of the men-at-arms placing his hand on the head of the messenger indicates a familiarity only to be accounted for by the peculiar character of the individual subjected to it.¹ These learned writers appear, however, to have overlooked the fact that the beard and shaven crown which appear as such marked characteristics of the dwarf, are not reproduced here, whilst all those of a Saxon are present.

It is a matter of dispute whether the building that follows this scene forms a part of it,² or belongs to that which succeeds.³ If it related to the latter, it could be but the castle of Beaurain, which, as we have already seen, was a building of a totally different character ; moreover, the sentinels on the walls look towards William on his throne, whilst, had they been concerned with the transactions of the following compartment, they would hardly have turned their backs upon so important and interesting a spectacle as the meeting of their master with the powerful Duke of Normandy. Taking these points into consideration, we must, I think, regard this picture as a representation of William's castle of Rouen.

¹ "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 142.

² "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii. p. 1,226.

³ Jubinal, "Les anciennes Tap. Hist." vol. i. p. 33.

HIC : WIDO : ADDVXIT HAROLDVMO AD VVILGELMVM :
NORMANNORVM : DVCEM

Here Guy conducted Harold to William Duke of the Normans.



UY had been himself imprisoned for two years by William, and no doubt rejoiced to have in his power one whose person was of value to his powerful enemy, and who thus offered so delicious an opportunity for revenge. Having dallied with the dangerous luxury as long as he thought prudent, he yielded to William's menaces and the promise of a heavy ransom, and conducted his prisoner to Eu,¹ whither the Duke, with a troop of armed horsemen, was come to receive him.

Eadmer, Roger of Hoveden, and others, have stated that Guy sent Harold to William, but it will be seen that the tapestry supports the assertions of William of Poitiers, Matthew Paris, and William of Malmesbury, that the Count of Ponthieu himself surrendered Harold into William's hands, at the same time receiving the promised ransom. "*Grates retulit condignas, terras dedit amplas ac multum optimas et insuper in pecuniis maxima dona.*" Our friend Guy was far too wary to lose sight of his valuable prisoner before an equally valuable equivalent was forthcoming.

William sits firmly on his horse, and is represented as a strongly and squarely built man—in common with Guy and Harold, he wears the mantle of noble birth. His posture is indicative of decision of character, and we have here, in all probability, no fancy portrait of the Conqueror.²

Monsieur Jubinal, adverting to the remarks which he made upon the scene of Harold's journey to Beaurain, observes that his hawk is once more turned as if ready for flight, and that its grillets have been restored.³

¹ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii, p. 1,226.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 52.

³ Jubinal, "Les anciennes Tap. Hist." vol. i. p. 33.

HIC: DVX: VVILGELM: CVM HAROLDO: VENIT:
AD PALATIŪ SVŪ.

Here Duke William, together with Harold, came to his palace.



THE word *palatium* is ambiguous, and we must turn to William of Poitiers for the information that it was to Rouen that Harold was escorted by William. The tapestry shows us a spacious building, the roof of which is carried by seventeen semicircular arches. The architectural features of this edifice exactly resemble those represented in manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.¹ From an adjoining tower a watchman perceives the safe return of the Duke and his retinue.

No sooner are they arrived than William gives an audience to his guest, and we see the Duke seated on his throne listening attentively to a mustached person, recognized by common consent as Harold, who apparently introduces a troop of Norman soldiers.

What the subject of this conversation was we have now no means of ascertaining for certain, and it has been variously conjectured as representing—

1. Harold giving an account of his mission from King Edward, and assuring William of his succession to the crown of England.²
2. The announcement of Conan's threatened invasion.
3. Harold undertaking to marry William's daughter and to give his sister in marriage to one of the Norman nobles.³
4. Harold praying William to send messengers to England to acquaint his friends with the news of his safe release from the dungeons of Beaurain.⁴

¹ Jubinal, "Les anciennes Tap. Hist." vol. i. p. 33.

² Léchaudé-D'Anisy, "Desc. de la Tap." p. 352.

³ Ibid. p. 353.

⁴ Dr. Bruce, p. 53.

VBI: VNVS: CLERICVS: ET: ÆLFGYVA

Where a certain Clerk and Ælfgyva



WE have now reached what is unquestionably the most puzzling representation in the entire tapestry. Who is this lady, with a purely Saxon name, who is here introduced, seemingly at the gate of William's palace, with no apparent reference to anything before or after? As yet, nothing has been detected in the contemporary chronicles which throws the least light upon this subject, and in the absence of facts, the wildest conjectures have been hazarded.

Many of those who have commented upon this scene seem to have been unaware that *Ælfgyfu* is a very common English name,¹ and to have fancied that it was a sort of title, meaning queen or princess. Thus Ducarel² says that this word seems to have been rather titular than personal, and Dr. Bruce,³ whilst quoting Thierry⁴ as his authority for its signifying *a present from the genii*, appears to concur in Ducarel's opinion. These writers seem to have adopted the idea of Lancelot, who argued, from the double name of Eadward's mother *Ælfgyfu-Emma*, that *Ælfgyfu* was equivalent to *Hlæfdige*.

Starting with the erroneous opinion that this word was synonymous with the title of queen, some writers conceive that William's duchess is here portrayed,⁵ and that a secretary or officer informs her of the promise of her daughter's hand, which the Duke has just made, to Harold. But this is clearly absurd; for were the term descriptive, it is to a Saxon queen alone that it could apply. The correct titles of Harold, both before and after his coronation, are most carefully given, showing the pains taken by the designer to avoid anachronisms. So accurate an historian would never have called the Duchess "*Queen*" before her husband had ascended the English throne.⁶

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 696.

³ Dr. Bruce, p. 53.

⁵ Ducarel, "Ang.-Norm. Antiq." App. p. 10.

² "Ang.-Norm. Antiq." App. p. 10.

⁴ Thierry, "Norm. Conq." p. 41.

⁶ Dr. Bruce, p. 54.

Several other writers contend that one of William's daughters is here introduced to our notice,¹ but their opinions vary as to the lady's identity.

Mr. H. Gurney² thinks that Adeliza is represented. A devotee whose knees are said to have become horny from incessantly kneeling in prayer, and who died affianced, against her will, to Alfonso of Spain. Again another writer cautions us against such a supposition, and insists that it is on the head of her sister Agatha that a secretary lays his hand in token of her betrothment:³ whilst Monsieur Delauney⁴ asserts that it is Adela, another daughter, who was promised to Harold, and subsequently married to Stephen, Count of Blois. We need not, however, enter into their arguments, for none of these ladies could have been the "Ælfgyva" of the tapestry. Wace, indeed, speaks of Harold's promised bride as Ele; but, making every allowance for the varieties of their names, we can hardly conceive that a person so conversant with the minutest details, as the designer of the tapestry undoubtedly was, should so travesty the name of one of his master's daughters. As she was never queen the epithet, on the supposition that it was titular, could not with propriety have been applied to her. Moreover, at the time of Harold's visit to Normandy William's daughters were but children, to whom we cannot suppose that any formal embassy would be sent.

In the opinion of Dr. Bruce,⁵ the lady is Ealdgyth, the widow of Gruffydd, King of Wales, and sister to Eadwine and Morkere, Earls of Mercia and Northumberland, whom Harold married⁶ shortly after his return to England, as his second wife. Her name, as written by Florence of Worcester, differs little from "Ælfgiva," and as Harold's wife, even the supposed titular signification would be right. Dr. Bruce thinks that the clerk announces Harold's safety to his betrothed, who has been temporarily placed in a nunnery, and that an exhibition of the Earl's perfidy in thus dallying with his English sweetheart, at the time that he was engaging himself to another, is intended.

Harold's sister Eadgyth⁷ is here recognized by M. Léchaudé-D'Anisy,⁸ who conjectures that she was amongst the hostages sent to Normandy at the time of her father's rebellion, and that she now receives news of her deliverance, whilst

¹ Bolton Corney, p. 19; "Archæologia," vol. xvii. p. 101, and vol. xix. p. 200.

² "Archæologia," vol. xviii. p. 364.

³ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiv. p. 314.

⁴ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 74.

⁵ Dr. Bruce, p. 55.

⁶ "Monumenta Historica," 614-642.

⁷ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 697.

⁸ D'Anisy, "Desc. de la Tap." pp. 353-4.

Monfieur Thierry¹ thinks that the mysterious woman is but an embroidrefs, to whom a clerk gives orders to execute the tapeftry.

Mr. Planché² has pointed out that the infcription is left incomplete, and thinks that this fact, coupled with the occurrence of certain very grofs figures in the border, implies a fcandal which was fo well known at that period as to render a plainer allufion to it perfectly unnecelfary, and which, thus introduced, fays Mr. Freeman,³ goes together with Tuold, Vital, and Wadard, to prove the contemporary date and authority of the tapeftry.

Mr. Planché goes on to fay that there were only two contemporary perfonages popularly defignated Ælfgifu, concerning whom he has been able to trace a fcandal as attaching—Firftly, Ælfgifu-Emma, fifter of Richard II. Duke of Normandy, the Queen, firft of Æthelred, King of England, and fecondly of Cnut the Great, and mother by the former fovereign of Eadward the Confeffor. According to fome hiftorians, fhe was accufed by Godwine, Earl of Kent, and Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of being acceffory to the murder of her fon Ælfred, and alfo of a difgraceful intimacy with Ælfwine, Bifhop of Winchefter.

Secondly, Ælfgifu of Northampton, the miftrefs of Cnut, and the daughter of the Earldorman Ælfhelm, by the noble lady Wulfruna. Florence of Worcester tells us that fhe palmed off Swend, the fon of a certain prieft, upon the King as his, a like ftory being told in the cafe of Harold Harefoot, with the fubftitution of a cobbler for a prieft as the real father. But having confidered thefe cafes, Mr. Planché confefles that he is unable to connect them in any way with the picture under difcuffion.

We now come to the opinions of Mr. Freeman,⁴ who, having examined the different views that I have recapitulated, offers certain ideas, which, whilft he owns that they are but gueffes, he thinks fuperior to thofe of fome others in not being abfolutely *impossible*. He confiders it poffible that Ælfgifu, the name affumed by Emma on her marriage with Æthelred, was the name ufually adopted by foreign women who married Englifh husbands, and that a reference to the intended marriage of Harold with William's daughter may be here proleptically or farcaftically defigned. He ftates that Ælfgifu was the name of Ælfgar's widow,

¹ Jubinal, "Anciennes Tap. Hift." vol. i. p. 33.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Affoc." vol. xxiii. p. 142.

³ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 699.

⁴ Ibid. p. 698.

the mother of Harold's wife, Ealdgyth; that according to some accounts she was of Norman birth, and suggests that she might have been living in or visiting her native land at this time, and that her introduction may have reference to Harold's marriage with her daughter.

It is probable, he continues, that Harold had a sister named Ælfgifu, and she must have been the sister whom Harold promised, as part of his oath, to give in marriage to one of William's nobles. If, as he believes, Harold's voyage was a mere yachting expedition, he may have been accompanied by his sister, and Guy, not pressing his right of wreck on a woman, she may have found her way to Rouen before her brother. But he confesses that whoever we may identify with the "Ælfgiva" of the tapestry, the nature of the transaction depicted is still a mystery.

Where so long a catalogue already exists of conflicting theories, emanating from persons, many of whom are entitled to speak with authority, it may seem hazardous work to add another guess to those I have cited, but I cannot refrain from submitting an idea that has forced itself upon me during the somewhat protracted study that I have given to this subject.

The great difficulty which all seem to experience is the want of connection between this scene and those which immediately precede and follow it. We find depicted Harold, attended by some Norman soldiers, in conversation with William; then the unexplained representation; after which Harold departs as the Duke's ready ally on an expedition into Brittany. Wace has stated that Harold accompanied William on more than one raid into Brittany. In that which is here depicted, occur transactions of which we have no other record; do we then know the motive of *this* expedition? Mr. Freeman remarks that the governor of Dol, to which place the Normans first proceed, bears the genuine Celtic name of Rhiwallon, a family which seems to have been also connected with Dinan, the place upon which the Normans next advance, for in a list of the lords of Brittany who went to the crusade of 1096, mention is made of Rivallon de Dinan.¹

Now, the guess that I build on these premises is, that the interview between the clerk and the lady took a turn which the artist was reluctant to express in words, and has, therefore, suggested by the nude figure in the lower border, which

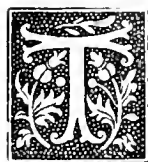
¹ Pitre-Chevalier, "La Bretagne Ancienne et Moderne," p. 178.

is in exactly the same attitude as the clerk, and perhaps by the erotic emblem of a dove-cote, for such I take the structure to be, on which his left foot rests; that the lady may have been Harold's sister, from her name we are certain that she was his countrywoman, and residing at Dol with the above-mentioned Rhivallon. Perhaps she accompanied Wulfnoth when he was sent by Eadward into Normandy; or afterwards became a sharer of his exile. If this be the true interpretation, the story will run as follows:—

Harold announces to William that violence has been offered to one in whose welfare he is interested, and begs his aid to rescue her whom he had promised as a bride to one of the Duke's nobles. We are then shown the cause of his solicitude and the departure of the expedition to seek revenge. As Mr. Freeman remarks,¹ their approach to Dol is not hostile; they come forward to secure the culprit, and it is only when he escapes by a rope from the walls and joins the duke's enemies at Dinan, that it becomes necessary to assume a hostile demeanour to ensure his capture. The reason of the introduction of this expedition may be, as Dr. Bruce suggests, to illustrate Harold's ingratitude and William's generosity, though the object of the English Earl's anxiety may not be his future spouse. I must own to having done nothing here but romance over a difficulty which has puzzled far wiser heads than mine, yet my view would at least make a connected story of these disjointed subjects, and contains besides, as I think, elements of probability.

hIC · VVILLEM : DVX : ET EXERCITVS : EIVS : VENERVNT :
AD MONTĒ MICHAELIS

Here Duke William and his army came to Mont Saint-Michel.



THE Duke, with his own followers and his English allies, start on their expedition. For the only detailed accounts of this campaign that we possess, we are indebted to William of Poitiers and to the tapestry. From the former we learn that the object of the undertaking was the deliverance of Dol from the besieging army of Conan of Brittany,

¹ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 700.

that Rhiwallon held the city on Duke William's behalf, and that on the approach of the Normans Conan fled. He tells us that the friendship of the Norman host was but little more advantageous than the hostility of the Bretons, and that Rhiwallon begged the Duke to withdraw his forces; but of the further progress of the allies he makes no mention, nor does he allude to Rennes or to Dinan. It will be seen, then, how much discrepancy exists between his version and that of the tapestry. Hence Lord Lyttelton assumed that the worsted-work was wrong for contradicting the Chronicle, whilst Mr. Planché argued the inaccuracy of William of Poitiers for being at variance with the tapestry. But, as Mr. Freeman¹ points out, there is no distinct contradiction between the two authorities, and the reconciliation of their accounts is easy if we suppose an omission on the part of the historian. Mr. Bolton Corney² thinks that the explanation of the seeming discrepancy is that the Norman army on its return halted at Bayeux; and that the warriors recounted their adventures, the memory of which was preserved by tradition and reproduced in the local handiwork, though it escaped the pages of the chronicler.

A view of Mont Saint-Michel, he continues, is introduced in this episode, but no events occur to require it. This circumstance also admits of explanation; for the priory of Saint-Vigor, which was re-built by Odo, had received its inmates from Mont Saint-Michel, and the nomination of its abbot was one of the rights of the Bishop of Bayeux.³

ET HIC: TRANSIERVNT: FLUMEN: COSNONIS:

And here they crossed the River Couesnon.



HIS river, in the department of *Ille-et-Vilaine*, enters Cancale Bay nearly opposite Mont Saint-Michel, after a generally northern course of some fifty odd miles, for the last twenty of which it is navigable. The Couesnon forms the boundary between Normandy and Brittany. The passage of this river, which the changing tides fill with a moving sand, is frequently attended with great danger. Shifting as it does, a knowledge of the locality is not always a safeguard against the treacherous sand, and to add to the

¹ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 700.

² Bolton Corney, p. 18.

³ Beziers, H.S.B. p. 129.

insecurity of the wayfarer, thick fogs¹ oftentimes close rapidly around him, so that he is unable to reach a place of security before the rising flood sweeps him to his ruin. Such is the spot in which the Normans find themselves. It is considered safest to cross on foot, and most of the riders have dismounted. One man attempts to ford the stream on horseback, the animal misses its footing and falls, whilst the unlucky rider is thrown. But despite these disasters order is observed, and great care appears to have been taken to prevent the wetting of arms. We see the soldiers bearing their shields above their heads, nor are their swords allowed to touch the water.

Fishes and eels form the subject of the lower border. The fish conjoined may be intended for the sign of the zodiac, *Pisces*, and to indicate the season of the year.

HC: HAROLD: DVX: TRAHĒBAT: EOS: DE ARENA

Here Harold the Earl dragged them out of the Quicksand.



SOME of the Norman soldiers were sinking deeply into the moving sands, or were being borne away by the flood, when Harold came to the rescue. He is here represented as a man of unusual stature and strength, and these personal advantages are of great service to his allies in this extremity. One man he catches up upon his back, whilst he drags another by the hand from the source of danger. These feats of bodily prowess, and the ease with which his unaided strength sufficed to sustain the sinking, were well calculated to impress the minds of his companions in days when brute force was so highly esteemed, and that it did so live in their memory the tapestry is witness; but besides this tribute to the English earl's thews and sinews, it seems that the designer was anxious not to omit the smallest circumstance which displays the strict union that existed, at this time, between Harold and William, in order that the former's subsequent conduct might appear the more disloyal.²

¹ Raoul, "Mont Saint-Michel," p. 27.

² "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii. p. 1227.

REDNES

Rennes.

IN the opinion of some writers,¹ the town of Rennes is here represented as the place to which Conan fled, or as the asylum, at least, of his forces from the pursuit of Duke William's army.² Rennes was the capital of Brittany, and the usual residence of Conan; it might, therefore, be naturally supposed that he would seek shelter there from the invading Normans. Mr. Freeman,³ however, thinks that a pursuit of Conan to Rennes is not intended, and that it is depicted for no other purpose than to indicate the point reached, in the same manner that we have just noticed the introduction of Mont Saint-Michel. In support of this view, it is to be observed that the scale upon which the town is shown, is less than that of Bayeux, Dinan, &c., the transactions connected with which immediately concern the progress of the history, and besides, the tranquillity with which sheep browse upon the fortifications is incompatible with the sustentation of a siege.

ET VENERVNT AD DOL: ET: CONAN:— FVGA VERTIT:—

And they came to Dol and Conan fled.



ANSWERING those who object that the advance upon Dol, as shown in the tapestry, is at variance with the written account of the expedition, Mr. Freeman remarks that there is nothing in the picture which at all contradicts the description of William of Poitiers, as to what happened at this place. Duke William's approach to the city is clearly not hostile; he himself, and those who immediately surround him, are not even in armour; nor are there any defenders on the walls, such as we shall presently see

¹ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii. p. 1,227.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 63.

³ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 701.

at Dinan. The inscription which the artist has used to explain his work is simply "*Venerunt ad Dol,*" they *came* to Dol; whilst in the other case it is "*Pugnant contra Dinantes,*" they *fight* against the men of Dinan.¹

On the mound upon which the town is built are two cockatoo-like birds; these seem to greet one another affectionately, and, following out the symbolism which many writers have discovered in the tapestry, would indicate the peaceful meeting of William and Rhiwallon. Mr. Freeman confesses his inability to offer any explanation of the man who descends from the walls by a cord;² but he has been thought to be a messenger sent to inform William of the extremity to which the inhabitants were reduced.³

At the approach of the Duke, the fame of whose prowess and cruelty had preceded him, Conan raised the siege and sought safety in flight.

HIC MILITES VVILLELMI: DVCIS: PVGNANT: CONTRA
DINANTES:— ET: CVNAN: CLAVES PORREXIT:—

*Here Duke William's soldiers fight against the men of Dinan, and
Conan reached out the keys.*



THE story of the siege of Dinan belongs wholly to the tapestry, for here alone is a record of such a transaction to be found. It is strange that William of Poitiers should have omitted all mention of so considerable an exploit; but the difficulty is a good deal lessened if we accept Wace's statement, to which I have already alluded, that Harold and William were companions in more than one of these Breton raids.⁴

Mr. Planché⁵ has advanced a rather startling proposition with reference to this subject. He thinks that Rennes, and not Dinan, may be the city that Conan is surrendering; since the inscription does not designate another place, but simply

¹ Freeman, "*Norm. Conq.*" vol. iii. p. 700.

² *Ante*, p. 35.

³ "*Gent.'s Mag.*" vol. lxxiii. p. 1,227.

⁴ Freeman, "*Norm. Conq.*" vol. iii. p. 701.

⁵ "*Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*" vol. xxiii. p. 145.

informs us that it is the soldiers of Dinan who are fighting against those of Duke William. Forces from Dinan might, he conjectures, have marched to the rescue of the capital, and on the defeat of Conan would be compelled to surrender.

This is ingenious, but I concur with Mr. Freeman that a siege of Dinan is really intended, and not a siege of Rennes.

The representation now under consideration offers an excellent illustration of the mode of warfare in that day. The attention of the defenders is occupied with a furious charge of cavalry, who hold their course to the very gate of the town, discharging missiles against the besieged. These gather to the spot where danger threatens, some venturing forth on to the bridge that crosses the ditch, and return the showers of javelins with right good will.

Two Norman knights, apparently men of consequence, since each has a banner, take advantage of the diversion. They dismount, drive their lances into the ground as supports for their shields, and are thus left free to act. Torch in hand, they approach the palisades which surround the town, and, seemingly unperceived by the garrison, succeed in firing them. This incident decides the fate of the day in favour of the Normans, and we see Conan handing over the keys on the point of a lance to a knight, probably Duke William, who receives them in the same way.

This mode of surrendering the keys of a beleaguered city doubtless gave rise to the well-known fabled derivation of the name of Percy.

hIC: WILLELM: DEDIT: hAROLDO: ARMA

Here William gave arms to Harold.



HAT is to say, he arms him after the fashion of knighthood, or knights him, as we should now express it.

Both Duke and Earl are shown armed *cap-à-pie*, and Harold holds in his hand the banner which by virtue of the dignity now bestowed upon him he is entitled to bear. William is seen placing, with one hand, the helmet on Harold's head, whilst with the other he braces the straps of his hauberk.¹

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 66.

The Anglo-Saxon order of chivalry was as strongly marked and as highly esteemed as that of the Normans, from which, however, it differed considerably, the former having the character of a religious ceremony, whilst the latter was regarded as a military distinction. The Saxon candidate for knighthood went through a probationary period of fasting and penance, when, having confessed his sins and received absolution, he was girded with a belt by the officiating priest, who laid the blade of a sword upon his shoulders. This ceremony was necessarily performed on foot, whilst that of the Normans, whose military strength lay in their cavalry, was always performed on horseback.

It has been noticed that the mode of conferring knighthood employed on this occasion is a compromise between the two uses. Both William and Harold are on foot, but the agency of a priest is dispensed with.

The tapestry seems here to corroborate Ordericus Vitalis, who tells us that William rewarded Harold's exertions with presents of splendid arms, horses, &c., in contradiction to Wace, who lays the scene of the ceremony of knighthood at Avranches, before the commencement of the campaign in Brittany.

“Quant il fu au Duc commenez

Qui à Aurences donc estoit
Et en Bretagne aler vouloit
Là le fist le Duc chevalier
Armes et dras li fist baillier
A lui et à ses compaignons
Puis l'envoya fus les Bretons.”¹

“When Harold was conducted to the Duke's
presence,

Who at that time was at Avranches,
And wished to go into Brittany,
The Duke created him, in that place, a knight;
Arms and clothing he caused to be distributed
To him and his companions,
And then sent him among the Bretons.”

It is more likely that William would confer such a dignity as a reward of services rendered rather than as an incentive to prowess. We can only reconcile the conflicting statements if we suppose that this incident occurred after one and before another of those Breton raids of which Wace has spoken; and that the two authors are thinking of two different expeditions.

¹ “Roman de Rou,” t. ii. 262, quoted by Sir S. R. Meyrick, “Crit. Inq.” vol. i. p. 4.

HIC VVILLELM VENIT: BAGIAS VBI HAROLD:
SACRAMENTVM: FECIT:-VVILLELMO DVCI:-

Here William came to Bayeux, where Harold made an oath to Duke William.



ACE tells us that to receive the oath William caused a parliament to be called. It is commonly said, that it was at Bayeux that he had this great council assembled. He sent for all the holy bodies thither, and put so many of them together as to fill a whole chest, and then covered them with a pall; but Harold neither saw them nor knew of their being there; for nought was shown or told him about it; and over all was a philactery, called the "bull's-eye," the best that he could select. When Harold placed his hand upon it, the hand trembled and the flesh quivered; but he swore and promised upon his oath to take Ele to wife, to give his sister in marriage to a Norman noble, and to deliver up England to the Duke; thereunto doing all in his power, according to his might and wit, after the death of Eadward, if he should live, so help him God and the holy relics there! Many cried, "God grant it!" and when Harold had kissed the saints and had risen upon his feet, the Duke led him up to the chest and made him stand near it, and took off the chest the pall that had covered it, and showed Harold upon what holy relics he had sworn; he was sorely alarmed at the sight.

Different writers have given most varying accounts of the time and scene of this celebrated transaction, William of Poitiers placing it at Bonneville, and Orderic at Rouen; whilst the statements of the nature of the oath range from an engagement to surrender the kingdom of England to William to a simple undertaking to marry one of his daughters.¹

The version of the story which has been commonly received I have quoted above, but much of it is doubtful, and a part is hardly in accordance with the picture in the tapestry.

Here we see Duke William seated in state upon an elevated throne, whilst

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 686, *et seq.*

the unfortunate Harold stands bare-headed between a reliquary and an altar, on which, with extended hands, he prepares to register his vow. He may have been surprised when he was shown how formidable a collection of faintly bones the wily Duke had collected, but he must have been previously sure that the reliquary, which is of an usual kind, contained some relics;¹ nor is it easy to imagine that any bodies could add to the sanctity of an oath taken upon the body of Christ himself; and if the concealment of the relics be insisted upon, it must be allowed that the Host is plainly exhibited on the altar. William had, indeed, no temptation to employ such an artifice, since, at this time, Harold was completely at his mercy; and later, when, before the battle of Senlac, Harold returned an answer to the Duke's message that his oath was void, he grounds its invalidity not upon its having been obtained fraudulently, but that it was made under compulsion.

HIC HAROLD : DVX : REVERSVS : EST AD
 ANGLICAM : TERRAM :—

Here Harold the Earl returned to England.



HE oath once extorted, William no longer hinders the departure of his quasi-guest, and the Earl was, no doubt, but too glad to escape from a court where the civilities shown were of so equivocal a nature. No sooner is the ceremony of doing homage completed, than Harold prepared for his re-embarkation. The ship in which he sets sail in no way differs from the others that occur in the tapestry, and on the peculiarities of which I have already offered a few remarks. The crew, from their cleanly shaven faces, are apparently Normans, unless indeed they are Harold's Saxon followers, who have followed the fashion which then obtained in Normandy. The vessel nears the land, and, whilst the seamen are busied in getting the running rigging ready to lower away, a tall personage, whom I conceive to be Harold, leans against the mast and gazes anxiously towards the shore. On the

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 68.

beach is a building, which Dr. Bruce¹ takes to be Harold's palace of Bosham, from which a watchman on the gate defcries the travellers' return, whilst by other writers² this individual has been thought to be a woman, rejoicing at the return of her lord. I am somewhat surpris'd that the learned doctor has not used this conjecture to support his theory, and identified her with Ealdgyth, whom he holds to be the "Ælfgyva" of the tapestry, and to have been left by Harold in England in a place of safety when he went forth on his expedition.

Whichever be the sex of the watcher on the gate, others share the anxiety to witness Harold's return, and every window is filled with heads, stretched out to scan the approaching vessel.

ET VENIT: AD: EDVWARDV̄:—REGEM:—

And came to King Eadward.



E sooner is Harold landed, than he starts on horseback for the court of his royal master. He is attended by a mounted squire, whom he appears to be sending forward, doubtless to announce his coming. The Earl, it will be observed, is now represented without a mouf-tache; this may be simply an omission on the part of the artist, or, as I have just suggested in the case of the ship's crew, from his having submitted to the customs of Normandy.

Harold is next shown as entering the presence chamber of Eadward, whose expression of countenance, as he listens to the account of his adventures, betokens anything but an agreeable reception for the unfortunate Earl. Here the tapestry illustrates the Norman view of the motive which prompted Harold's expedition; for had he simply failed upon an errand of his own, and against the execution of which the King had warned him, Eadward would rather have laughed at him than have taken serious notice of the misadventure.³ It has been suggested⁴ that the man who follows Harold is his esquire, who carries his battle-axe; but the opinion of Dr. Bruce is more plausible, that Harold's entrance is that of a guilty person,

¹ P. 71.

² "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii. p. 1,227; "Not. Hist. sur la Tap." p. 12.

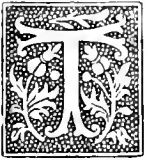
³ Dr. Bruce, p. 28.

⁴ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiii. p. 1,227.

and that the axe is borne by one of the King's attendants, and is turned towards the Earl to betoken that he had committed an offence worthy of death. We see that on his journey neither Harold nor his esquire carried such a weapon, whilst the man on the King's left hand, who is certainly one of his guards, bears an axe. This time, however, the edge is turned away from the culprit, to show that, after the rebuke had been administered, the interview terminated in a pardon. The King, it will be noticed, has reversed his sceptre, the emblem of his power, perhaps that Harold, like Esther, might draw near and touch it, and live.¹

HIC PORTATUR: CORPVS: EADWARDI: REGIS: AD:
ECCLESIAM: SCI PETRI APLI

Here King Eadward's body is carried to the church of S. Peter the Apostle.



HE body of the fainted king, his form shrouded from sight, but still uncoffined, is borne, head foremost, on the shoulders of eight of his nobles. The funeral procession is wonderfully simple. No gilded cross, no candles, no censers are visible. Boys ringing bells walk on either side of the bier; behind them follow a group of clergy, surrounding the two chief ministers of the ceremony, bearing their office books in their hands.

Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, does not appear to have officiated. At all events, the foremost of the priests wears a simple cope, and is unadorned with any badge of pontifical rank. It was, perhaps, the friend and bedesman of the deceased, Abbot Eadwine, who performs this last rite for his master.²

The procession moves to the church of S. Peter, at Westminster, where a sarcophagus was prepared to receive the royal corpse. The recent completion of the edifice is indicated by a young man, erroneously supposed by Lancelot to be a *bell-ringer*, who is still engaged in fixing the weather-cock at the east end.

Over the church hangs a cloud, from which issues a right hand, with the fore and middle fingers extended, in the act of benediction. A similar hand is

¹ Esther, iv. 11 and v. 2.

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 29.

found upon medals struck on the death of Constantine the Great. This emblem may be simply equivalent to the soul borne heavenwards, as represented on sepulchral monuments, or indicate that the house he had reared to the glory of his God was a fitting resting-place for the departed; it may represent the divine benediction of the deceased, or allude to the consecration of the earlier foundation, which had been attended by great and miraculous manifestations of divine approval. It is recorded¹ that the night before S. Mellitus was to dedicate the monastery erected to S. Peter, a man, clad in strange vesture, cried from hour to hour, offering a rich reward to him who should take him over the river. A fisherman, hearing his cries, ferried him across, and was permitted to witness a vision of angels, S. Peter himself ordering him to let down his net, which doing, he captured a large shoal of fish. The Greek alphabet, thrice written in the sand, was the sign by which he was to make known the truth of his vision to the priests, whom the saint commissioned to announce special absolution to the faithful in that edifice.

The representation of Eadward's obsequies, it will be remarked, precedes the pictures of his sickness and death. We have already noticed, in the course of our examination, similar transpositions, but here the arrangement has a peculiar significance. It indicates, not only the haste of the funeral, that the King was, so to say, buried before the breath had well quitted his body, but also that the preliminary portion of the history is terminated, and that we now enter upon a new subject, the right of succession to the vacant throne.

An important element of the title to the crown is Eadward's bequest, and therefore is it that his death bed is chosen for the opening of the section specially devoted to the substantiation of the Norman claim; to the death of Eadward, Harold's immediate coronation forms a striking sequel, the force of which would have been weakened by the introduction of an intervening scene.

¹ MS. Lib. Uni. Camb. circa 1245.

HIC EADVVARDVS: REX IN LECTO: ALLOQVIT̄:
FIDELES:-

Here King Eadward, in bed, speaks to his Vassals.



THE word *fideles* may be rendered *vassals*, for M. Paul Lacroix says,¹ that to the companions or *comites*, who, according to Tacitus, attached themselves to the fortunes of the Germanic chiefs, succeeded the Merovingian *Leudes*, who, when assembled, formed the King's council. These *leudes* were persons of great importance, owing to the number of their retainers, and did not hesitate to declare their opinion even when it was directly opposed to the royal will. The name of *Leudes* was abandoned under the second of the French dynasties, and replaced by that of *Fideles*, which soon became a common designation both of the vassals of the crown and of those of the nobility. M. Delauney, arguing the Norman origin of the tapestry, states that this expression is only met with in French authors, or in the charters of their kings—in those of Henri I., &c., and that in the English charters we read *ministri* in place of *fideles*.²

Before turning to the immediate subject of this scene, I may offer a few remarks, extracted from Mr. Wright's "Homes of Other Days,"³ upon the bed on which the dying king reclines; for, indispensable as we now consider this article of furniture, it is probable that what we call bedsteads were then rare, and only possessed by people of rank.

The bed itself seems usually to have consisted merely of a sack (*ſæccing*), filled with straw and laid on a bench or board. Hence, the words used commonly to signify a bed were *bænche* (a bench), and *ſtreow* (straw). All, in fact, that had to be done when a bed was wanted, was to take the sack out of the *cyſt* or chest, fill it with fresh straw, and lay it on the bench.

In ordinary houses, it is probable that the bench for the bed was placed in a recess at the side of the room, in the manner we still see in Scotland;⁴ and hence

¹ "Mœurs, Usages et Costumes du Moyen Age," p. 16.

² "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 75. ³ P. 59.

⁴ Vide T. Reid, "Art Rambles in Shetland," p. 60.

the bed was called *cota*, a cot; *cryb*, a crib or stall; and *clif* or *clyf*, a recess or closet.

Under the head was placed a *bolstar* and a *pyle* (pillow), which was probably also stuffed with straw; but on one occasion we read of *pulvinar unum de palleo*, that is, a pillow of a sort of rich cloth then made, and which I am inclined to think the tapestry here intends to represent.

The clothes with which the sleeper was covered were *scyte*, a sheet; *bed-felt*, a coverlet; and *bed-reaf*, bed-clothes.

Eadward is shown as fully dressed in his royal apparel to receive his sorrowing friends; we know, however, from a host of authorities, that it was the general custom of the middle ages to go into bed quite naked.

But to come to the subject of this compartment. The King had specially summoned the Witan of all England to his court at Westminster, to be present at the consecration of the newly-built church of S. Peter, on the feast of the Holy Innocents.¹ But the day had come that no man can escape, and Eadward drew near to die. His efforts to take part in the ceremony were futile, his part was performed by his wife; and when the news of the completion of the ceremony was brought to him, he sank back on his pillow as if to say, it is finished.

For five days his sickness increased, on the sixth his voice was inaudible, and for two days he lay in a state of complete exhaustion. At last, on Thursday, the 5th January, 1066, he awoke in full possession of his senses and of his speech. In the tapestry we see his nearest kin and the chiefs of his realm grouped around the dying man's bed. On either side are Harold the Earl and Stigand the Archbishop. At the bed's head, supporting the pillows on which his royal master rests, is Robert the staller, and on the ground, at the foot of the bed, the weeping Lady Eadgyth, apparently kneeling, cherishing in her bosom her husband's feet, chilled by approaching death.² One writer³ has doubted if indeed this woman can be either the Confessor's consort or his mother, since both had been disgraced by him; but we have the authority of the contemporary life of Eadward⁴ for the presence of Eadgyth.

We see that the King is raised up in bed, he had seen a vision, and prayed that, unless true, he might be powerless to declare it. Then, to the horror of his

¹ Fl. Wig. 1065.

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 10.

³ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiv. p. 314.

⁴ Vita Eadw. 431.

auditors, he foretold the sorrows of England, cursed by God, and harried with fire and sword, whilst fiends spread through the land in wild exultation. His prophetic visions related, Eadward gave orders for his burial in the newly-erected minster. He checked the grief of those around him, addressed words of consolation to his sorrowing wife, and begged that his death might not be kept secret, lest he should lose the benefit of his people's prayers. These matters arranged, he reverted to the subject of the succession. Wace tells us that it was forced upon him, for that Harold assembled his kindred and sent for his friends and other people, and entered into the King's chamber, taking with him whomsoever he pleased. An Englishman began to speak first, as Harold had directed him, and said, "Sire, we sorrow greatly that we are about to lose thee; and we are much alarmed, and fear that great trouble may come upon us. No heir of thine remains who may comfort us after thy death. . . . On this account the people weep and cry aloud, and say they are ruined, and that they shall never have peace again, if thou failest them. And in this, I trow, they say truly; for without a king they will have no peace, and a king they cannot have, save through thee Behold the best of thy people, the noblest of thy friends; all are come to beseech thee, and thou must grant their prayer before thou goest hence, or thou wilt not see God. All come to implore thee that Harold may be king of this land. We can give thee no better advice, and no better canst thou do." As soon as he had named Harold, all the English in the chamber cried out that he said well, and that the King ought to give heed to him. "Sire!" they said, "if thou dost it not we shall never in our lives have peace." Then the King sat up in his bed, and turned his face to the English there, and said, "Seigniors! you well know and have oftentimes heard that I have given my realm at my death to the Duke of Normandy; and as I have given it, so have some among you sworn that it shall go." But Harold, who stood by, said, "Whatever thou hast heretofore done, Sire, consent now that I shall be king, and that your land be mine. I wish for no other title, and want no one to do anything more for me." So the King turned round and said, whether of his own free will, says Wace, I know not, "Let the English make either the Duke or Harold king, as they please; I consent." So he let the barons have their own will.

Surely this account is unsupported by the tapestry; no packed meeting of Englishmen fills the chamber of death. Harold, pleading earnestly for the crown, might win from the dying Eadward a reluctant assent, but no pressure could have

induced him to exclaim, "To thee, Harold, my brother, I commit my kingdom," and to commend to his care the lady Eadgyth and his Norman favourites. And yet this is the scene that Mr. Freeman, after collating the statements of those who have written on this subject, has brought before our eyes in his graphic description of the Confessor's death-bed. The final moment was now at hand; all earthly matters must give place to the last rites of the Church; the holy viaticum was administered, and then Eadward sank to his rest, his body lying as if in a gentle sleep.

ET HIC : DEFUNCTVS EST

And here he is dead.



MUCH more joyous¹ was the ceremony of sepulture among the Anglo-Saxons than that of marriage. The house in which the body lay till its burial was a perpetual scene of feasting, singing, dancing, and every species of riot. This was very expensive to the family of the deceased; and in the north it was carried so far, that the corpse was forcibly kept unburied by the visiting friends, until they were certain that they had consumed all the wealth that the departed had left behind him in games and festivity. In vain did the Church exert itself against such enormities. The custom had prevailed during the times of paganism, and was much too pleasant to be abandoned by the half-Christians of the early centuries. In the picture before us, we see no such indecent revelling, probably because a better state of things obtained at this date, and perhaps also because time was precious. Attendants are engaged in performing the usual offices to the body, in the presence of an ecclesiastic, probably Archbishop Stigand, who bends forward in an attitude of benediction. These offices consisted, firstly, of washing the corpse, after which it was clothed in a straight linen garment, or put into a bag or sack of linen, and then wrapped closely round from head to foot in a strong cloth wrapper; the head and shoulders of the corpse were, however, left uncovered till the time of burial, that such relations and acquaintances as were desirous to do so might take a last view of

¹ "Ant. Portfol." vol. i. p. 14.

their deceased friend.¹ To this day we retain, in our way, this old custom, leaving the coffin of the dead unscrewed, unless the body be offensive, till the time of burial. Before the body was put into the sepulchre, the head and shoulders were also closely covered over with the wrapper. When the corpse was brought to the tomb, it was held by two persons, one at the head, and the other at the feet, while the priest perfumed it, or more accurately speaking the sepulchre, with incense; then those two who held the corpse knelt down and laid it in the grave, which while they were performing, the attendant priest prayed and blessed it.

Linen of the finest quality was prepared for the obsequies of Eadward; and his best mantle was appropriated to the envelopment of his body. When his tomb was opened about six and thirty years after his interment, the mantle which covered the corpse was found entire; and being removed, his body appeared clothed in the regal vestments, with the ornaments belonging to it, together with the *sudarium* which covered his face and head, in a perfect state. The old mantle was taken away as a precious relic, and the body, with all its other ornaments, was re-wrapped in a mantle of silk. In the year 1688, several pieces of gold-coloured and flowered silk were drawn out of the tomb, which probably were part of the envelopment just mentioned.²

This is the only compartment of the tapestry where two scenes are given in one breadth; nor probably is it thus arranged without a special design, to show how hard on each other followed the death and burial of Eadward and the election and coronation of Harold;—hard indeed, since all these events were comprised in the space of forty-eight hours.

There is a species of bird in the lower border,

“ Which, like a bird of Paradise,
Or herald's martlet, has no legs; ”

and is, perhaps, emblematic of the soul, stripped of all that rendered it fit to remain an inhabitant of earth, rising heavenwards.

¹ In the case of kings this was done for the further reason that all persons might see that they were actually dead.

² Strutt, “ Eng. Dresses,” vol. i. p. 66.

h̄IC DEDERVNT : h̄AROLDO : CORO · NĀ : REGIS

Here they gave the King's crown to Harold.



SOONER was Eadward dead, than the Witan of the whole realm of England assembled, and they unanimously declared in favour of Harold. The choice of the assembly had to be made known to the king-elect, and we here see that two of its members were sent to offer the crown of England, as the gift of the people of England, to the man whom they had chosen as their king. One bears the official axe; the other bears the crown itself, and points towards the chamber of the dead, whence the crown had doubtless been brought for the purpose of this symbolic offering.

The dangers of Toftig's vengeance and William's rivalry, together with the oath extorted from him, may well account for Harold's anxiety as expressed in the tapestry, regarding the crown at once wistfully and anxiously, and half drawing back the hand stretched forth to grasp the glittering gift. There was great danger in accepting, but greater danger still in refusing the crown, the danger of a division of the kingdom. Ambition bade him seize it. Duty in no way held back his hand. The offered gift was accepted.¹ It will be noticed that the crown offered to Harold is arched, whilst that of Eadward was a circlet heightened with fleurs-de-lys.

It is not difficult throughout the tapestry to discover symbolical representations if we are disposed to search for them, and Dr. Bruce calls attention to Harold's position between the two axes, as illustrating the dangers of his situation.

h̄IC RESIDET : h̄AROLD REX : ANGLORVM :

Here is seated Harold, King of the English.



IT was in those days usual for a coronation ceremony to be performed during one of the great festivals of the Church. Eadward's death occurred on the last day but one of Christmastide, and, under the circumstances, Harold could not postpone his consecration until Easter. Moreover, as we have just seen, the Witan was assembled at the moment of Ead-

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 20 *et seq.*

ward's death; to wait for another gathering of the people would have been madness, and therefore was it that the day of the coronation followed at once on that of the election. The coronation of Harold involved the previous burial of Eadward, whose interment must consequently follow at once on the day of his death; and thus we find that on the same day,¹ and probably in the same minster, the double ceremony of Eadward's burial and of Harold's coronation took place.²

Strong evidence that the tapestry is nearly contemporary with the events depicted is furnished by the representation of Harold as duly consecrated with the usual ecclesiastical rites, a fact which the Norman writers living nearest to that time allowed, but which those further removed from it distinctly deny, some going so far as to state that Harold placed the crown upon his own head.

In the *Domesday Survey*, says Dr. Bruce,³ Harold is mentioned as seldom as possible; and when his name does occur, it is not as king, but as Harold the Earl. The fact of his here being called Rex, he thinks, points to the tapestry having been designed during William's first visit to Normandy, and before he was independent of the goodwill of the Saxon nobles; but this is assuming the interest of William in the work, whilst it is certainly equally possible that its authors had no reason to disguise facts.

STIGANT ARCHBIEPS

Archbishop Stigand.



THE supercription here calls the Archbishop "Stigant," which may be taken as proof that the designer was not an Englishman. At the same time it goes far to establish the early date of the tapestry, since it accords to Stigand a title which, at a later period, when Lanfranc was settled in the see of Canterbury, would not have been accorded to him, whom William of Malmesbury calls "the pretended and false archbishop."

Accounts vary as to the person by whom the ceremony of Harold's consecration was performed. The Norman chronicles for the most part agree that Stigand officiated; Florence of Worcester and Roger of Hovedon say, that

¹ Friday, 6 Jan. 1066.

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 28.

³ P. 80.

Ealdred, the Archbishop of York, performed the ceremony ; whilst Roger of Wendover declares that the King placed the diadem upon his own head.

In the tapestry Stigand is shown standing by the newly-crowned monarch ; but it must be noticed that he is not placing the crown on Harold's head, nor does the inscription state that he did so. All is left vague. This Mr. Freeman¹ considers as due to Norman influence, and that the artist attempted, by the substitution of Stigand for Ealdred, to cast a slur upon the ceremony, the performance of which it was impossible to deny.

ISTI MIRANT STELLA

These men are dismayed at the Star.



WE learn that there appeared a sign in the heavens, of which no man had seen the like. Hardly was the octave of Easter past, when, on the ninth day, a "hairy star" shone over the land with a lurid and fearful glare. Its size equalled the full moon, and its train, at first small, increased to a wonderful length, with three long rays streaming earthwards. It was such a star, says Wace, as is wont to be seen when a kingdom is about to change its king. The appearance of this comet is recorded in nearly every chronicle of the day ;² it evidently made the deepest impression throughout Europe ; and it is very generally, even by men who have no special connection either with England or with Normandy, accepted as a presage of the conquest of England.³

The statements as to the term of its duration are conflicting, different accounts stating it at seven, eight, fourteen, fifteen, eighteen, and thirty days. Any of these periods are possible, since comets remain visible from the space of a few days to more than a year, two or three months being the most usual time. Much depends on the apparent position of the comet with respect to the earth, and especially on its own intrinsic lustre.⁴ A minute though not very lucid description of the comet in question is found in the Chinese annals, and the path

¹ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 613, *et seq.*

² Inter alios *v.* Guil. de Jumièges, Math. of West, "Tiberius," B. 1 and 4, B. M.

³ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 640.

⁴ Chambers' "Hand-book of Astronomy," pp. 202, 211.

there assigned to it agrees with elements having great resemblance to those of Halley's comet, with which it was probably identical.¹ The quaint representation in the tapestry is especially interesting, as affording the earliest known illustration of these erratic bodies.²

HAROLD

Harold.



ING HAROLD is seated on his throne, doubtless in the same palace in which we were first introduced to Eadward. He bends his head eagerly down to listen to a man standing at his right hand. This personage bears a large sword in his left hand, whilst Harold has exchanged his sceptre for a javelin. Lancelot imagines that a messenger here brings the news of the descent of Toftig on the northern coast of England, and to this expedition M. Delauney³ refers the vessels shown in the border; whilst Dr. Bruce⁴ maintains that William's intended invasion is the intelligence announced. Mr. Freeman⁵ dissents from these opinions, and believes that this group, immediately following the representation of the comet itself, shows the reception by Harold of the tidings of its appearance and of the interpretation of the omen. He points out the indirect connection of Toftig's raid with the subject of the tapestry, and that its introduction here would be completely inappropriate both as to time and subject. He calls attention to the fact, that the story of William's expedition begins in the next compartment, and that the present group ends the story of Eadward's death and Harold's succession. In his opinion, the speaker in this scene is the wise-man who interprets the sign, it being quite possible, he allows, that the border sets forth the nature of his prophecy, thus forming a connecting link between this and the following compartment.

Perhaps the birds on the housetop allude to the text:—"A bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter."⁶

¹ Hinde on Comets, p. 52.

³ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 76.

⁵ "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 644.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 85.

⁴ P. 78.

⁶ Ecclesiastes, ch. x. 20.

HIC : NAVIS : ANGLICA : VENIT . IN TERRAM
WILLELMI : DVCIS

Here an English ship came into the territory of Duke William.



HIS ship carried the news of Eadward's death and of Harold's succession, but whether it was specially sent by any of William's friends in England, or whether it went simply in the ordinary course of communication between two friendly countries, we are not distinctly told.

We know, however, that Eadward, when dying, commended his Norman favourites to Harold's care. Those who were willing to abide in the land as English subjects under Harold's allegiance he prayed him to keep and protect. Those who refused to become the men of the new king he prayed him to dismiss, under his safe-conduct, to their own land, taking with them all the goods which they had acquired by his own favour.¹ And since a special messenger brought the news to the Duke, we may conceive that some of the strangers whom Harold's clemency had allowed to remain in the land took the earliest opportunity of requiting his kindness by sending the news to their native sovereign.

HIC : WILLELM DVX : IVSSIT NAVES : EDIFICARE :

Here Duke William gave orders to build ships.



ILLIAM was hunting in the park of Quevilly, near Rouen, when the messenger from England led him aside and communicated the news of Eadward's death and of Harold's succession. He returned home in a moody silence, upon which none dared to intrude, till William FitzOsbern² bid the Duke not to mourn, but arise and be doing; cross the sea, and wrest the kingdom from the usurper.

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 15 and 257.

² William FitzOsbern was the Duke's second cousin.

William was, however, too crafty to spoil his game by indiscreet haste. He sent embassies to Harold, requiring the fulfilment of his oath. Harold answered that the sister whom he had promised in marriage to a Norman noble, and William's daughter whom he had agreed to marry, were both dead, nor without the consent of the Witan could he marry a foreign wife: and further that their consent was necessary to the validity of his oath, which was already nullified by the means used to extort it. Then it was that William threatened invasion and punishment, and set about his preparations vigorously. In the tapestry we have no record of any temporizing; here the messenger's tale is no sooner told than active measures are taken for the invasion of England. William, seated erect upon his ducal throne, wears an air of the greatest indignation, and the bearer of ill tidings, though a noble, approaches him with every symptom of fear. Beside him on the throne sits one whom Lancelot took to be Robert Count of Mortain, but whose tonsure declares him to be Bishop Odo. William confers with his half-brother, and orders are given to a workman to commence building a fleet.

The axe in the hand of this workman is of a peculiar shape, being double-pointed like a pickaxe, with a short handle. Under the name of the cornuted staff, *befague* or *bifacutum*, it was subsequently much used as a military weapon, but at this period seems to have been a double adze, and employed only as a tool.¹

We see the trees of a forest falling beneath the hatchets of the woodmen, whilst shipwrights, who are shown as bearded men, shape the felled timber into planks and with them construct small vessels. These little craft appear to be carvel-built, and have a row of holes in their sides, apparently as a substitute for rowlocks.

¹ Sir S. R. Meyrick, "Crit. Inq." vol. i. p. 3.

HC TRAHVNT : NAVES : AD MARE :—

Here they drag the ships to the sea.



THE small size of the ships is clearly shown by the primitive means employed to launch them. The only mechanical power employed appears to be a pulley fastened to a post fixed in the water. Through this a rope is reeved, by which they are dragged to the sea.

ISTI PORTANT : ARMAS : AD NAVES : ET HC TRAHVNT :
CARRVM CVM VINO : ET ARMIS :—

These men carry the arms to the ships, and here they drag a cart with wine and arms.



FOR an expedition of such magnitude, it may well be imagined that an ample supply of war material was necessary, and we are here shown men bearing those swords, axes, lances, helmets and hauberks which would be needed on the other side of the water. The hauberks are shown as carried on poles thrust through the sleeves; and the fact that two men are engaged in the transport of each, sufficiently indicates their weight. All is bustle; but in their haste, provision for the inward man is not neglected, and the picture displays some porters yoked to a waggon loaded with wine casks, whilst others bear liquor in skins on their shoulders. Wine, indeed, seems to have been all the refreshment of which any great quantity was thought needful; conquered England was to find the rest.

The barrel on the cart (which by an ingenious arrangement is made to carry rows of lances and helmets as well as wine, and thus do double duty), says M. Delauney, and that carried on the shoulder, resemble the brandy kegs of the Pays d'Auge. The ancient casks which we find in Montfaucon's "Antiquities," and those used in England, are much shorter, which goes, he adds, to prove the Norman origin of the tapestry.¹

¹ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 50.

It was not till the month of August that the Norman fleet was ready to sail on its great enterprize, and even then it was detained for a whole month at the mouth of the river Dive by contrary winds. During this delay, however, so great was William's administrative power, that not only were plunder and violence restrained, but regular pay and provisions were supplied to the army.

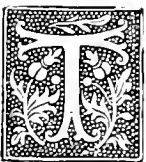
The numbers of William's army have been variously stated, and cannot be given with certainty. The sum-total is commonly given as sixty thousand.

On the 12th September¹ William sailed with his fleet to S. Valery, situated on the estuary of the Somme, and here, in the territory of his now faithful vassal, Guy of Ponthieu, awaited that south-west wind which should at once transport him and his host to the shores of Suffex.

It was not until the 27th September, after the shrine containing the body of S. Valery had been exposed to the devotion of the army, whilst they and their leader knelt in prayer and covered the reliquary with their offerings, that the south wind blew. Then the camp was in a tumult of joy, and William was foremost in urging the embarkation of his followers.

+HIC : WILLELM : DVX IN MAGNO : NAVIGIO : MARE
TRANSIVIT

Here Duke William crossed over the sea in a great ship.



HE word *Navigium* was then in use, and is to be found in the writings of even good authors of that day.²

This vessel, the *Mora*, was the gift of William's loving duchess, and exhibited an effigy of her little son Rufus, bearing a banner and raising a bugle to his lips. This figure has been differently described as shooting an arrow, and its position as having been at the stem, whilst the tapestry places it at the stern of the vessel.

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 391.

² "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 77.

His orifons concluded, William put himself at the head of his knights, and loſt no time in embarking. The evening ſky was overcaſt, and to guide his ſquadron the Duke exhibited a ſignal lamp, whilſt he required each ſhip likewise to diſplay a light. Towards midnight the expedition pauſed, but was again under way before dawn. The ducal veſſel, well built and well found, quickly outſailed her conſorts; in this ſhe was no doubt aſſiſted by her lighter freight, for in the tapeſtry horſes are ſeen in all the ſhips with the exception of the Mora and two others near her.¹ Alone upon the waters, the Duke was compelled to lay to until, after an anxious interval, the watch at the maſthead cried that he ſaw a foreſt of ſpars covering the waves. The fleet now joined its leader, the fair ſouth wind continued, and the morning light ſhone on the conſecrated banner and on the chequered colours of the Mora's ſails, which now replaced the ſignal lantern as the rallying-point of the armada. Of theſe ſails William of Malmſbury writes:—“*Omnibus itaque ad prætorie puppis vermiculatum velum convolantibus.*” The epithet would apply to the ſails of all the veſſels as depicted in the tapeſtry; but thoſe of the Duke's ſhip and of two others near her—poſſibly thoſe of his brothers—have a different arrangement of colours from any of the others.²

England was now quickly fought, and by nine on the morning of Thurſday, 28th September, her future lord had trodden her ſhores. In landing, that fall is ſaid to have occurred which the quick-witted William turned to ſuch good account, declaring that ſo far from foreſhadowing diſaſter, it but indicated his taking ſeiſin of his new domain.

ET VENIT AD PEVENESÆ:—

And came to Pevenſey.



EVENESÆ is a French word, the *æ* being given for the cloſed *é*, and is the name which is ſtill given to this little ſea-port, which authors of that day call *Penveſellum*, *Peneveſellum*, *Pevenſellai*, *Capellus* (Capey popularly), *Pevenſellum*, *Pevenſey*.³

A glance at the map of Suffex, ſays Dr. Bruce,⁴ will ſhow how fitting a

¹ Freeman, “Norm. Conq.” vol. iii. p. 399.

³ “Orig. de la Tap. de Bay.” p. 77.

² Ibid. p. 400.

⁴ P. 112.

place was Pevensey at which to effect a landing. Beachy Head, projecting considerably to the south, protects this ancient port from the swell occasioned by the south-west wind; the beach also is of a nature which permits vessels of small draught, such as composed the Norman fleet, to be drawn up on it.

No sooner was land reached than the disembarkation of the troops began. Not a blow was struck against them, yet everything was performed with a regularity that betokened the dread of a forcible opposition. First landed the archers, bow in hand; then the mail-clad knights, bearing their long lances and their double-edged swords; whilst in their turn followed armourers, carpenters, smiths, purveyors, and all the numerous retinue of a camp.

HIC EXEUNT: CABALLI DE NAVIBVS—

Here the horses go out of the ships.



UPON the peculiarities of the English and Norman horses I have already offered a few remarks; and it is therefore only necessary here to call attention to the highly primitive manner in which the horses of the cavalry are landed. The low bulwark renders any process of whipping or hoisting out unnecessary; the animals are simply urged to tumble over the ship's side, and are then led to the shore with a halter.

The horses no doubt occasioned considerable trouble, since the emphasis given by the artist to their transport and disembarkation manifests the impression made upon his mind.

The hawks shown in the upper border as flying over the heads of the disembarking forces may either represent the actual birds brought in the Conqueror's train or be emblematic of the Normans about to seize their human quarry.

ET HIC : MILITES : FESTINAVERVNT : HESTINGA : VT
CIBVM. RAPERENTVR :

And here the knights pushed on to Hastings to find food.



STROKE probably stood originally over the final A of *Hestinga*, indicating a contraction for the accusative case, *Hestingam*, required by the construction.¹ Again, *Raperentur* seems to have been used as a deponent verb, contrary to classical usage, though the same error occurs on a denier struck at Verdun under the Merovingian dynasty.²

The inscription at the head of this section of the tapestry reads *Hestinga* for Hastings, not *Hastinga*, as written by Dr. Bruce; it is, however, so named in authors of that day, who also give the orthography variously as *Hastingus*, *Hastingæ*, *Hastingos*, *Astingæ*, *Altingæ*, *Hastings*, and *Hasting*.³

It has been said that the army once landed, the Norman vessels were burned, in order that, all hope of retreat being cut off, a more desperate valour might animate the army of mercenaries. But of such an incident we have here no sign.⁴ On the contrary, ranks of ships, carefully drawn up upon the shore, stretch far away towards Beachy Head. Foraging parties set forth to gather in supplies, and, covered by the cavalry, footmen proceed to seize and slay sheep, oxen and pigs. The capture of the ox presents some difficulty, and appears to be attempted with a coil of rope used as a lasso.⁵ The deserted houses of the pillaged English, seemingly for the most part but rude wooden structures, form an appropriate background to the scene of rapine. The border above the end of the word *Raperentur* contains the head of an animal, from which issues the stem of a fleur-de-lys-like plant. This is interesting, as it shows that the heraldic

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 113.

² "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 77.

³ Ibid. p. 78.

⁴ That they were carefully preserved appears certain from the Conqueror's remark, when the building of Battle Abbey was under discussion, that his ships, now no longer required for war, should fetch stone from Caen.

⁵ This object has been conjectured to be a circular loaf of bread.

bearing of a beast's head *jeffant-de-lys* may have another origin than that transfixion by the iron of a lance or partizan, from which it is usually said to be derived.¹ This supposition is strengthened by the fact that some old manuscripts employ the word *vorant-de-lys*, doubtless a corruption of *devorant* (devouring), which appears sufficiently to indicate the derivation of the charge.²

HIC : EST : VVADARD :

Here is Wadard.



UNDER this heading is represented a knight, then so well known that a further description than his name appeared superfluous to the artist. This knight converses with a footman who leads forward a little pack-horse, which, as its small stature and hogged mane proclaim, is English bred. The varlet perhaps recounts the incidents of the capture; this and the animal's diminutive size seem to be the source of considerable amusement. Who this *Wadard* was we have now no means of ascertaining with certainty. Mr. Hudson Gurney³ surmised that he was the Duke's *dapifer*, a title equivalent to seneschal in a royal household,⁴ through whom alone, as William of Malmesbury informs us, he could receive or make communications in his parley with the English.

It has been suggested that he was the messenger of that noble Norman Robert, mentioned by William of Poitiers⁵ as domiciled in England, and as warning the Duke of the rashness of his enterprise and of Harold's strength and resources.⁶ Another opinion is, that Wadard himself was a Norman, resident near Hastings at the time of the invasion, that he assisted his countrymen on their arrival, and that we are thus to account for his abrupt introduction into the tapestry.⁷

¹ "Montagu Herald," p. 6.

² Robson, "Brit. Her." sub voc. *Jeffant*.

³ "Archæologia," vol. xviii. p. 368.

⁴ Abbé Migne, "Lex. Infimæ Latinitatis;" Spelman, "Gloss. Archæol." p. 162.

⁵ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 413.

⁶ "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 149.

⁷ Ibid.

Mr. Amyot¹ and Mr. Planché² suppose him to be one of Bishop Odo's officers who distinguished himself in this expedition, although no record of the precise nature of the services which he rendered has come down to us. In support of this view it may be mentioned that Sir Henry Ellis, in his "Introduction to Domesday," points out that a person named Wadard was an under-tenant of Bishop Odo, and held land in six counties, and this fact is cited by Mr. Amyot as a proof of the connection of that prelate with the manufacturers of the tapestry. The Abbé de la Rue insists that Wadard is another form of Waard, Weard, or Ward, and that if the word Wadard be here a proper name it is one adopted in allusion to the occupation of the owner as a warder.

HIC: COQVITVR: CARO ET HIC: MINISTRAVERVNT
MINISTRI

Here meat is cooked and here the servants serve.



WE are here introduced to the mysteries of Norman cookery, and can study the mode in which viands were then prepared, as well as the vessels and implements which formed the *batterie de cuisine*. The apparatus employed is even simpler than that represented in the miniatures which adorn the Household Rules of James II. King of Majorca.³

On the left-hand side of the picture two cooks are engaged in boiling meat, which, on account of its being usually salted, was the general way of cooking it. The appearance of the pots, suspended between two forked sticks, reminds Dr. Bruce⁴ of a plan mentioned by Froissart, of boiling an ox in its own hide, a method of dressing food which is traditionally said to have likewise obtained amongst the Sioux Indians,⁵ their extemporized skin caldron being slung in a similar way.

On a shelf in the background are fowls, and other descriptions of small provisions, spitted ready for roasting. A bearded personage, perhaps an English

¹ "Archæologia," vol. xix. p. 203.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 149.

³ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 78.

⁴ Dr. Bruce, p. 115.

⁵ "Schoolcraft," part ii. p. 176.

baker pressed into the service of the invaders, is engaged in removing, with a large pair of tongs, the bread, cakes, &c. from a stove on which they have been baking, to the trencher on which they are to be served up.

It appears that the cookery was conducted in the open air, and that the victuals were afterwards carried indoors. We here see some of the assistants handing the spits of roasted meats into a house which is doubtless one of the wooden buildings which were so speedily put together by the Normans after their landing. Thus far we can observe the mode of cooking prevalent in the Conqueror's day, but of the gastronomic mysteries of the period we possess but little information. It is probable, however, that the Normans relished highly-seasoned dishes, as passages of works which have come down to us make mention of garlic, sage, parsley, ditany, wild thyme, and other strong-tasting herbs, as flavouring ingredients.¹

Having no proper sideboard with them, the serving-men have extemporized one with the shields of the feasting warriors. All things being ready, the dishing-up is announced by a blast upon a horn. It has, indeed, been suggested that the man who places the horn to his lips is but the Duke's taster,² who is tasting the wine that is to be served to his master; but it will be noticed, on referring to the feast at Bosham, that when employed as a drinking-veffel the large end of the horn was that from which the liquor was drunk, which appears to sufficiently refute such a supposition.

HIC FECERVN̄: PRANDIVM: ET · HIC · EPISCOPVS:
CIBV̄: ET: POTV̄: BENEDICIT.

Here they make a feast, and here the Bishop blesses the food and drink.



OUND the convex side of a table, of that classic form which derived its name from the Greek letter sigma, are seated William, Odo, and four other personages. The bishop asks a blessing, the hungry warriors scarce waiting till he has ceased speaking to commence their repast. Who these four guests were we have now no means of ascer-

¹ Wright, "Homes of other Days," pp. 99-104.

² Dr. Bruce, p. 116.

taining. He who occupies the place of honour at the Duke's right hand wears a beard and mouftache, but few fpeculations feem to have been made as to his identity.¹ Dr. Bruce fays vaguely of him that he was probably William's Neftor, who refufed to comply with the tonsured fafhion of the day, whilst to Mr. Planché we are indebted for the fuggeltion that he is identical with the perfonage who affifted the Normans on their landing.² The favoured gueft and the knight next him pledge one another in flowing bowls; whilst of the two men on the bifhop's left, one calls his attention to fomething paffing without, the other continuing to eat a fifh which he tears to pieces with his fingers. On the well-covered table we fee knives, but neither forks nor fpoons; indeed, the earlieft paffage, adduced by Ducange, in which mention is made of the ufe of thefe implements, belongs to the end of the fourteenth century: *Johannis de Muffis chronicum Placentinum ad annum 1388. Vol. xvi. col. 583. Utuntur tatiis, cugiariis, et forcellis argenti, et utuntur fcutellis et fcutellinis de petra. Anonymi annal. Mediolan. ad an. 1389. Ibid. col. 812. Scudellæ xxv. albæ argenti cum diverfis operagiis. Forcella, vox Italica, Gallicè fourchette. Ms. thes. fed. Apoft. an. 1295. Item unam forcellam ponderis unius uncie.*

M. Delauney³ is of opinion that the fork was originally but the diminutive of the angon, and that the bundle of fkewers in the fervant's hand were intended to be ufed to eat with. He feems to bafe his opinion on their barbed conftruction, but I fail to perceive the barbing in the tapeftry itfelf. He adds that the fpoon represented in Montfaucon's "Antiquities" does not appear to have been intended to eat with—and we muft conclude that food was then conveyed to the mouth with the fingers, as fhown in this fcene, doubtlefs aided by fuch affiftance as the knife could afford.

Within the concavity of the table we fee a fervant, on his knee, prefenting a kind of open porringer or mazer-bowl; this vefel and this method of ferving on the knee are found in the miniatures of the King of Majorca's Rules before-mentioned, under the head of *scutelliferi regii*, and that of *de ferculis*.

¹ It feems to me poffible that this is Roger Earl of Beaumont, who accompanied the Conqueror on his expedition, and was an ally of fo great importance as to be mentioned third in the Duke's battle-roll, where his furname is fpecially noted as "*A la barbe*," this furname pointing to a peculiarity which the tapeftry reproduces.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Affoc." vol. xxiii. p. 150.

³ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay.," p. 79.

This utensil, as well as the cup in Odo's hand, is like the chalices held by the statues of ecclesiastics placed round the cathedral of Bayeux. Similar cups occur on the tombs of certain clerics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the same cathedral, a coincidence brought forward by M. Delauney as pointing to the Bayeuxian origin of the work. The dispenser, according to the laws of Ina, served the king with plate and cup during the whole repast, and offered each of them but once to those whom the king admitted to his table; his duty also it was to taste the liquors, and such doubtless is the officer whom we here see pourtrayed.¹

ODO : EPS :

ROTBERT :-

WILLELM :

Bishop Odo. Robert. William.



HE meal concluded, the three brothers hold a council of war. Odo, the warrior-priest, speaks, and William listens earnestly to his advice. The Duke points to his sword, as if to indicate his intention of prosecuting a vigorous warfare. Robert of Mortain turns toward the speakers; he clutches the handle of his blade, eager at once to execute those works which are determined to be necessary.

ISTE · IVSSIT : VT FODERETVR : CASTELLVM :

AT HESTENG^A

The latter commanded that a rampart should be thrown up at Hastings.



HE English word *at* is here used instead of the Latin *ad*, an error which has been noticed to support the theory of the English origin of the tapestry.²

Doubtless, as the result of the leaders' consultation, orders are issued to fortify the position occupied by the Norman army. A noble who,

¹ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay.," pp. 78-80.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 150.

banner in hand, directs the operations, is thought by Dr. Bruce¹ to be William himself; but as the inscription which heads this scene immediately follows the name of Rotbert, it would appear that it was he who was charged with this duty.²

The implements used by the intrenching party are pick, spade, and shovel. The pick is of a shape still in use in Normandy;³ the spade is evidently of wood shod with iron. It is peculiar as having a tread for the foot on one side only, and for the ring-shaped handle. The shovel is a paddle-shaped instrument, and is furnished with a handle like a modern spade. The earth seems to have been first loosened with a pick, then dug up with the spade, and the earthwork thrown up with the shovel.

Two of the workmen use their spades to fight with, and thus handled they appear to have been formidable weapons. This picture probably records a then well-known quarrel, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted.

CEASTRA

The Camp.



C*EASTRA* for *Castra* has been looked upon as another Saxon form; but M. Delauney points out that it is the same species of orthography as *Eadwardus* for *Adwardus*, which the author of the panegyric of Queen Emma employs; and that in modern French this mode of spelling is retained in *Jean, protégée*, and in all those words where the soft *g* precedes an *a*.³

The main works seem to have consisted of a mound, upon which was erected one of those wooden castles which the Normans had brought with them.

Dr. Bruce⁴ is of opinion, that some extensive intrenchments, which are still to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the railway station at Hastings, are the remains of this encampment.

¹ Dr. Bruce, p. 117.

² "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiv. p. 18.

³ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 80.

⁴ Dr. Bruce, p. 118.

HIC : NVNTIATVM EST : WILLELM̄ DE HAROLD :

Here tidings of Harold are brought to William.



THE Duke, seated, and with his consecrated banner in his hand, receives the visit of an armed nobleman. This is doubtless Robert the Staller,¹ who communicates the result of the northern campaign of Harold, which was doubtful at the time of William's landing, and counsels him, as a friend, to return home. To which advice the Duke replied, that he would not return unavenged of his enemy.²

It was about a week after the landing of the invaders that Harold reached London, where he awaited the gathering of his adherents.

Hugh Margot, a monk of Fécamp,³ was sent to demand of the King the surrender of his crown. Harold's indignation at this message was restrained by his brother Gyrth,⁴ and he returned a simple statement of his rights, offering William rich gifts to depart quietly, or challenging him to fight on the following Saturday. William accepted the latter alternative, and Harold marched from London, but with what force it is impossible, owing to conflicting accounts, to ascertain, and encamped on Friday, the 13th October, upon the heights of Senlac.

HIC : DOMVS : INCENDITVR :

Here a house is burnt.



HIS representation is, in Mr. Planché's opinion, not to be taken as a simple indication of the horrors of war, but as the record of a particular fact which occurred at the time. He observes that the house is one of some consequence, and argues that, as William strictly forbade plunder, the incendiaries are Harold's soldiers revenging themselves on

¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 413.

² Will. "Pict." 128.

³ The Duke's uncle William had also been a Fécamp monk.

⁴ "Rom. de Rou," 11,891, *et seq.*

some important personage, who had declared for, or was suspected of favouring, the invader; and offers the suggestion that it may represent the house of the bearded guest whom we noticed at the Duke's table.¹ Mr. Planché seems not to have observed that the men who fire the building are Normans, and to have forgotten that when Gyrrh proposed that he should march against the invaders whilst Harold harried the country, in order that the Normans might be starved into favourable terms, the king flatly refused to burn an English village or an English house, or to do hurt to the folk committed to his government.² This is doubtless rather one instance among thousands of the cruel destruction which was fast spread over the country, as far as William's plunderers could reach. Men fled everywhere with such of their goods and cattle as they could save, and sought for shelter in the churches and churchyards. In this case an unhappy woman, her eyes turned heavenwards, and clasping the hand of her little son, is leaving the basement of the blazing pile; their persecutors do not seem to have had the common humanity to assure themselves that the house was empty before commencing the work of demolition.

A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine"³ mentions the compensation made by William to the inhabitants of Dover, and suggests that the woman and child represent a similar act of humanity; but the ravages of William's army in Suffex stand confessed in the Norman writers, and there can be little doubt that they were systematic ravages, done with the settled object of bringing Harold to a battle. The lasting nature of the destruction wrought at this time is shown by the large number of places round about Hastings which are returned in Domesday as "wafta."⁴

¹ "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 150.

² "Rom. de Rou," 12,080.

³ "Gent.'s Mag." vol. lxxiv. p. 18.

⁴ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 412, 728.

HIC : MILITE^s : EXIERVNT : DE HESTENGA : ET : VENE-
RVNT AD PRELIVM : CONTRA : HAROLDVM · REGE :

Here the Knights left Hastings, and came to give battle to King Harold.

WHEN William's hauberk was brought to him that he might arm for the conflict, it was by accident put on hind part before.¹ His superstitious followers were awe-struck at the ill omen, but the Duke assured them, that as he turned his armour to its right position, so should he be turned from a duke to a king.² And now, fully equipped, he prepares to mount his noble Spanish steed, the gift of King Alphonso, led by the aged Walter Giffard,³ who brought the offering back, when he made the pilgrimage to the shrine of S. James of Compostella. No sooner is the Duke in the saddle than he, armed with a mace, traverses a small wood, which is shown in the tapestry, and places himself at the head of the Norman chivalry issuing from Hastings. Behind him Toustain of Bec⁴ bears the consecrated standard, whilst another knight carries a semicircular flag, charged with a bird within a bordure, which was identified with the danbrog by Herr Worfaae, whilst Mr. French considers it an emblem of the Holy Ghost within a nimbus of rays. This banner Sir Samuel Meyrick conceived to be the celebrated raven of the Danes, and which their descendants might still be supposed to venerate. For the valiant men of the Constantine peninsula, the descendants of the Danes of Harold Blaatand, were there under the command of Neal of Saint Saviour, and were the only men in William's host who came to revenge the devastation of their own land by English hands.⁵ Wace says, that these men of Bessin were high in favour of their lord; "may it not, therefore, be their ancestral banner that is here displayed? and does not the fact that the artist here knew the correct bearing, whilst elsewhere he has been obliged to call upon his imagination, point to the fact that the tapestry had its origin in that Bessin of which Bayeux was the capital?"

¹ "Will. Piët." 131.

² "Will. Malms." iii. 242.

³ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 456.

⁴ "Ord. Vit." 501 B.—"Rom. de Rou," 12,773.

⁵ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 461.

⁶ "Rom. de Rou," 13,486.

William's army was ranged in three divisions. On the left were the Bretons,¹ under the Duke's son-in-law Alain Fergant,² who marched where the ascent was easiest against the weakest of the English defenders; on the right the French and other mercenaries, under Roger of Montgomery,³ were to attack the eastern and north-eastern points of the hill; whilst in the centre marched the Normans, the flower of the host, under William himself,⁴ who took the dangerous duty of cutting their way to the royal standard. Each division was composed of three kinds of troops. The archers to the front harrying the enemy with showers of missiles; then the heavily-armed infantry, to breach the opposing palisades; the horsemen bringing up the rear, ready to avail themselves of any opening to charge that presented itself.

Some outlined figures in the margin of this part of the work, says Dr. Bruce,⁵ doubtless refer to those distressing immoralities which too often attend the march of armies. The learned doctor was probably thinking of the passage—

“Captivos ducit pueros captasque puellas,
Infuper et viduas et simul omne pecus,”⁶

but seems to have overlooked some important points. The men are mouftached, and bear the Saxon axe, whilst the women make no endeavour to shun them. This, to my mind, disproves the relationship between them of conqueror and victim.

We have already seen that it was not the custom at that period to wear a night-dress, and I look upon these representations as intended to indicate the haste with which the English were called upon to arm, and their sorrowful parting with the wives who might so soon be widows.

In the border, over the heads of the standard-bearers, is depicted a fox, who, from behind some bushes, watches a grazing ass. This may allude to the Norman spies watching the host of the English, who are said to have passed the eve of the battle in carousal. Again, the lower edge has a hawk chasing a rabbit, evidently as a comment upon the needlework history.

¹ “Will. Pict.” 133.

³ *Ibid.* 12,784.

⁵ *Dr. Bruce*, p. 120.

² “*Rom. de Rou*,” 12,795.

⁴ “*Will. Pict.*” 132.

⁶ “*Wid. Amb.*” 165.

HIC : VVILLELM: DVX INTERROGAT: VITAL: SI
VIDI-SSET HAROLDI EXERCITV̄

Here Duke William asks Vital if he had seen Harold's army.



THE Duke is represented interrogating a mounted warrior, who is named Vital, and who appears to be the chief of a troop of cavalry sent to reconnoitre, respecting the army of Harold. We have here a fourth person known to us but by name, who has not yet been positively identified. No mention of him occurs in the chronicles of the period;¹ but, as in the case of Wadard and Turolde, we find in the Domesday survey a Vital or Vitalis holding lands under Bishop Odo, and cannot doubt his having been an equally well-known personage at the time the tapestry was worked.² Vital points eagerly in the direction of his scouts, who have their hiding-place upon the brow of a wooded eminence; and in reply to William's inquiry as to the position of Harold, answered that the king stood among the thick ranks which crowned the summit of the hill, for there he had seen the royal standard. Then the Duke vowed his vow, that if God would give him the victory over his perjured foe, he would, on the spot where that standard stood, raise a mightyminster to his honour.

This vow was kept, and the Abbey of Saint Martin of the Place of Battle erected on the heights of Senlac.

It will be noticed that the device of a grazing ass being watched by a fox or wolf is repeated beneath this compartment.

¹ The name occurs as that of a witness in Bishop Odo's Charter for the enlargement of his episcopal palace in 1092, but without any description.

² "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 151.

ISTE NVNTIAT: HAROLDVM REGĒ DE EXERCITV
VVILELMI DVCIS

One informs King Harold concerning the army of Duke William.



DETERMINED to defend the Hill of Senlac, Harold surrounds it on each accessible side by a threefold palisade, with a triple entrance-gate; an artificial ditch to the south adding to the strength of his position.¹ Spies are sent out to reconnoitre, and some, penetrating into the enemy's camp, are captured and brought before the Duke, who, after making a display of his forces likely to impress their minds, sends them back to their master.

Ignorant of the Norman custom of shaving the back of the head as well as the face, the scouts report the presence of more priests than soldiers in the invading host; but Harold, better acquainted with the habits of the enemy, tells them that these shaven and shorn men are stalwart warriors.² He next rides round his lines and addresses his troops. He tells them of the disasters awaiting the breaking of their ranks, and of the impregnability of their position steadfastly maintained.³ Scarcely is his harangue concluded when, as we see in the tapestry, a scout, pointing behind him as he runs, descends the acclivity whence he has watched the Normans, and whence his comrade, shading his eyes with his hand and covered by a wood, still observes the approaching enemy; his tidings told, Harold seeks his standard, dismounts, and committing himself to the care of God, awaits the issue of the day.

¹ "Rom. de Rou," 12.106.

² Will. Malms. iii. 239.

³ "Rom. de Rou," 12.889, *et seq.*

HIC WILLELM: DVX ALLOQVITVR : SVIS : MILITIBVS :
VT· PREPARARENT SE : VIRILITER ET SAPIENTER :
AD PRELIVM : CONTRA : ANGLORVM EXERCITV :

Here Duke William exhorts his soldiers to prepare themselves manfully and discreetly for the battle against the army of the English.



THAT Duke William really said to his forces we cannot now with certainty say, but various accounts have come down to us of the speech which heralded this momentous battle. Mr. Freeman,¹ who has compiled his text of William's address from the accounts of William of Poitiers (132), Henry of Huntingdon (M. H. B. 762, 763), and Wace (12,531 *et seq.*) makes the Duke speak as follows:—

“ He came, he said, to maintain his just rights to the English Crown ; he came to punish the perjury of Harold and the older crime of Godwine against his kinsman Ælfred. The safety of his soldiers and the honour of their country were in their own hands ; defeated, they had no hope, and no retreat ; conquerors, the glory of victory and the spoils of England lay before them. But of victory there could be no doubt ; God would fight for those who fought for the righteous cause, and what people could ever withstand the Normans in war ? They were the descendants of the men who had won Neustria from the Frank, and who had reduced the Frankish kings to submit to the most humiliating of treaties. He, their Duke, and they his subjects, had themselves conquered at Mortemer and at Varaville. Were they to yield to the felon English, never renowned in war, whose country had been over and over again harried and subdued by the invading Dane ? Let them lift up their banners and march on ; let them spare no man in the hostile ranks ; they were marching on to certain victory, and the fame of their exploits would resound from one end of heaven to the other.”

Mr. Freeman thinks² that the word *sapienter* indicates that this oration was delivered at a later period of the day, when, as we shall see, the impetuosity of

¹ “ Norm. Conq.” vol. iii. p. 453.

² *Ibid.* p. 455.

some of the Duke's followers had imperilled his hopes of victory. Prudence, then, William had cause to urge, but his men appear to have required no incentive to bravery. In the tapestry we behold the Duke on his charger; a ponderous mace is in his right hand, whilst he gesticulates, as he speaks, with his left. So eager are his men for the fray that they wait not the termination of the harangue, but press forward to the battle, one horseman alone turning his head to catch his concluding words. The knights gallop to the conflict preceded, as we see in the picture, by the archers of Louviers and Evreux, to whose wooden bows and arrows Mr. J. Rouse especially attributes the victory of the Normans. He further states that they were not then used by the English, but this seems to be hardly correct literally; though, as but one archer is shown on the English side in the tapestry, the use of the bow as a weapon of war in our country was then probably rare.

The Norman chivalry moved onwards to assault the English position. We have a long roll of their names, but few of those of the Englishmen who fought at Senlac have come down to us. We know that the main forces of Northumberland and north-western Mercia came not to Harold's muster, but men from Wessex, East Anglia, and Eastern Mercia, his own and his brothers' territories, and from the route of his march, had gathered round him. Here on the heights stood the men of Kent, whose right it was to deal the first blow in the battle, and the men of London, privileged to guard the king's person and the royal standard.¹

Few of the English were armed with swords and axes. The greater part had but javelins and clubs, whilst some of the irregular levies found no better weapons than forks, sharpened stakes, and rude stone hammers. But even such weapons as these were serviceable, whilst the defence of the firm timber barricades erected on the slope of the hill was the point to be maintained. The battle was opened by the Normans at 9 a. m. with a shower of arrows, and the bucklers of the English were stuck full of them as they formed with their interlocking shields that "shield-wall" which was so strong a characteristic of their mode of warfare. The archers fought on foot, though, as we shall presently see, they took horse when it became necessary to pursue a routed enemy. Next, according to Wace, a minstrel, known as *Taillefer*, obtained the Duke's permission to strike

¹ "Rom. de Rou," 12.957.

the first blow. Singing the songs of Roland and of Charlemagne,¹ he rode towards the foe, whom he hoped to intimidate by the strange manner in which he juggled with his sword; then having run one Englishman through and having cut down another, he himself fell in the van of battle.

It has been much disputed whether or not this incident is represented in the tapestry, and we may, I think, safely say that it is not; for, as Mr. Stothard² has pointed out, the weapon which flies over the head of the foremost warrior is not a sword but a mace, to which observation Mr. Planché³ adds the remark, that it is directed towards the Normans, and has therefore been thrown by an English hand.

The heavy foot now pressed to the attack and the real struggle began. “*Dieu Aide!*” shouted the Normans as they charged, the English calling upon “God Almighty” and the “Holy Cross” as they thrust back the advancing foe.

In vain the Norman horse came to the charge, in vain were missiles hurled and swords wielded; the invading host was beaten back, and the Bretons on the left broke and fled. But what Norman valour could not achieve was accomplished by the want of discipline on the part of those raw English levies who, having resisted their attack, now yielded to the temptation of pursuit, and who, though throwing the entire Norman left wing for the time into disorder, turned the fate of the day against their own arms.

The borders of this long section of the tapestry contain further allegorical allusions to the incidents of the history.⁴ A fox advances calmly towards a pack of curs which yelp from behind a barrier; a leopard and a fox each bear off a fluttering goose; a wild animal confronts a goat; and then, as greater breadth is required for the representation of the battle itself, these mystic figures gradually give place to the dead bodies of Norman and Saxon which strew the ground.

¹ “*Rom. de Rou,*” 13, 151.

² “*Archæologia,*” vol. xix. p. 190.

³ “*Journal Brit. Archæ. Assoc.*” vol. xxiii. p. 152.

⁴ “*Acrior infurgit Normannus tigride fœta,*

Passim procumbit mitior Anglus ove.

Utque lupus, quem fœva fames ad ovile coegit,

Parcere non novit innocuis gregibus,

At non desistit, pecus usque peremerit omne;

Sic Normannorum non tepet asperitas.”

ABBÉ BAUDRI, p. 17 (481-486).

HIC CECIDERUNT LEOWINE ET : GYRD :
FRATRES : HAROLDI REGIS :

Here fell Leofwine and Gyrd, the brothers of King Harold.



LEOWINE, in his subscription to the charter of S. Denis, signs Leofwine.¹ In this picture five Englishmen are shown, two of whom are falling dead. Of the other three, one is manfully wielding his axe, another his spear; a third rushes up sword in hand. Mr. Freeman suggests that these may be the five *Wulfnothings* Ælfric, Harold, Gyrd, Leofwine, and Hakon; and adds, "Might not the Abbot, a man of a past generation, use the sword rather than the axe?" It should be noticed that it is only in this section, and again in the group immediately round Harold at the time of his death, that we see, either in the main picture or in the border, the round-shaped shield with the deep boss.² At any rate, here, in the centre of the ring of warriors who guarded the royal standard, Harold and his brothers fought on foot, and shared the toils and dangers of the meanest of their soldiers. William, Odo, and Robert pressed on to the attack. William fought out Harold, but had his charger killed under him by the spear of Gyrd. Rising to his feet, he pressed to the barricade, and, as Guy of Amiens³ tells us, Gyrd fell, crushed beneath the stroke of the Duke's mace; but in the tapestry he does not apparently meet his death by the hand of William. Gyrd did not fall alone; close at his side, and almost at the same moment, Leofwine, fighting sword in hand, was smitten to the earth by an unnamed assailant, and Harold was now left with the fate of England resting on his single arm.⁴ This is the story of the tapestry, Wace⁵ and Ordericus Vitalis⁶ maintaining that Leofwine and Gyrd survived Harold, though all our historians agree that both of them were slain in the battle.

¹ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 81.

³ "Wid. Amb." 471.

⁶ "Rom. de Rou," 13,947, *et seq.*

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. p. 749.

⁴ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 484-486.

⁶ "Ord. Vit." 501, D.

HIC CECIDERUNT SIMVL: ANGLI ET FRANCI: IN
PRELIO :-

Here English and French fell at the same time in the battle.



EXCEPTION has been taken to the use of the word *Françi*, and it has been stated that the Normans never so designated themselves; but this general term is the only word that would comprehend the whole of William's army, composed, as we have seen that it was, of Frenchmen, Bretons, and others.

Unhorsed by Gyrth,¹ William took a horse from a knight of Maine, and returned to the charge. Again he was unhorsed, and again he slew his adversary.² He now accepted the charger of Count Eustace of Boulogne, and continued the struggle, obtaining a partial success. The palisades on the French side were partly broken down, still the shield-wall remained firmly behind, and the onslaught was repulsed. Seeing the hopelessness of a direct attack, the Duke ordered the Bretons to renew in semblance their previous flight. The manœuvre was executed, and the undisciplined English on the right, imagining that the day was gained, broke their lines in pursuit.

The stratagem had succeeded, and the Bretons turned. Some of the English made a gallant stand upon a small wooded hill which fronted their position, destroying their immediate assailants, whilst others decoyed their mounted pursuers to a steep ravine, where horse and rider tumbled into the chasm until their corpses were level with the upper earth.

This scene is powerfully rendered in the tapestry, which shows us men and horses hurled together in a confused heap, their agonized bodies contorted in the writhings and pangs of death.

This heroic defence of the English was, however, useless to retrieve the error of the pursuit. The Normans had gained a position on the hill, and the shield-wall remained as the only bulwark between the contending armies.

¹ "Wid. Amb." 471.

² *Ibid.* 503-518.

HIC· ODO EPS : BACVLV· TENENS : CONFOR : TAT
PVEROS.

Here Bishop Odo, holding a club, rallies the young troops.



THE word *puer* had two significations amongst the Romans; it sometimes stood for a young man who was not yet come to the age of adolescence, and sometimes for a young slave. As the young people who were not yet admitted into the equestrian order rendered military service to those who had been, they were named knaves, or men-at-arms. This word *pueros* exactly expresses both their youth and their duties, and was no doubt chosen by the designer to obviate injury to the reputation of the older warriors who fought under the Norman standard.¹

Odo, seeing that William's left wing was thrown into utter confusion by the first flight of the Bretons, and that the Norman centre, disordered by the press of fugitives, was falling back, joined with the Duke in restoring confidence to the routed troops, riding after them mace in hand, and calling them back to their duty. The Norman troops rallied, and the too-daring English were cut in pieces. The Bishop's portrait, as shown in the tapestry, differs in some respects from the description given by Wace, who tells us²—

Forment y a cejour valu
Un hauberjon avoit vestu
Defouz une chemise blanche
Lé en fu le cors et la manche.

or

[De for une chemise blanche,³
Lé fut li cors, juste la manche.]
Sor un cheval tout blanc feoit
Toute la gent la congnoissoit.
Un baton tenoit en son poing
Là ou veoit le grand befoing,
Faisoit les chevaliers torner,
Et la bataille arreter;
Souvent les faisoit assaillir,
Et souvent les feoit ferir, &c.

Bravely on that memorable day he behaved,
A haubergeon had he put on,
Under a white frock.
Wide was its body and sleeve.

or

[Over a white frock,
Wide was the body, tight the sleeve.]
Seated on a milk-white steed,
Everyone recognized him.
He held a baton in his clenched hand;
Wherever he perceived urgent occasion,
Thither he made the knights wheel about,
And the line to halt;
Often, too, he made them attack,
Often he made them strike, &c.

¹ "Orig. de la Tap. de Bay." p. 82.

² "Rom. de Rou," ii. 220.

³ Mons. Pluquet's alternative reading.

In the tapestry the warrior-prelate is shown as clad in full armour, and riding a blue horse; his mace is in his hand, and his spur on his foot, whilst the white frock of his priesthood is not to be seen, and his sacred office appears for the time forgotten in the excitement of the conflict. At such a moment, though the use of sword and spear were forbidden by the Church, to dash out the brains of an enemy was in Odo's eyes no breach of the duties of a minister of peace. Dr. Bruce¹ contends that the implement carried by Odo is a baton of command, and not a weapon; but even if armed, the Bishop of Bayeux was not the only ecclesiastical combatant in the battle. On the English side, Ælfric, abbot of the new minster of Winchester, Harold's uncle, marched with twelve of his monks, wearing coats of mail over their monastic garb, to take their place in the ranks, where, braving the curse of Rome, they fought and fell. Besides these, several churchmen of lower rank were in the field, as also Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, who returned home sick and wounded.²

HIC EST :—WILEL̄ DVX

Here is Duke William.



REPORT was spread amongst the Normans that their valiant leader was slain.³ Learning the state of the case, William at once seized the nasal of his helmet and disclosed his features to those around him; whilst the words of the inscription—*Here is Duke William*—may have been the identical exclamation of which he made use as he endeavoured to restore confidence to his dispirited soldiery. The archers once again are seen in the margin creeping towards the front, and with their flank thus protected the cavalry return to the onslaught.

¹ P. 140.

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 463, 482, 483.

³ Will. Pict. 133.

E TIVS

Eustace.

ACCORDING to Benoît¹ de Saint-More, there was at William's side whilst the above-mentioned incident was occurring, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who, considering the battle lost, strongly urged the Duke to leave the field. There is in the tapestry a figure, on the Duke's left hand, with outstretched arms, bearing a standard. Above his head are the letters E TIVS, with a hiatus, formerly occupied by *four* letters. The number of missing letters is determined by the alternations of green and buff in the colours of those remaining. The recovery of three of the letters of the name, the suggestion that the entire word was Eustatius, and that he was the Count of Boulogne, are due to the researches of Mr. Stothard.²

M. Planché³ remarks that the standard held by the count, viz. a plain cross between four roundels, is a near approach to a positive heraldic bearing. Roundels (*boules*) were afterwards the allusive arms of the counts of Boulogne.

HIC: FRANCI PVGNANT ET CECIDERVNT QVI ERANT:
CVM HAROLDO :—

Here the French fight and those who were with Harold fell.



REANIMATED by the assurance of William's safety, the invaders returned to the charge with greater desperation than before; but, though all defences except the shield-wall were gone, this was nobly kept for hours. During this time prodigies of valour were performed on either side.⁴ The strain, however, of maintaining the shield-wall was so great that the English resistance gradually slackened, and resolved itself into a series of personal encounters all over the hill, in which man by man the English were despatched.

¹ Benoît, 37,414, 37,421.

³ "Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 153.

² "Archæologia," vol. xix. p. 184.

⁴ "Rom. de Rou," 13,387, *et seq.*

HIC HAROLD :—REX :—INTERFECTVS : EST

Here King Harold was slain.

HE evening was closing in apace, and still a heroic band, headed by Harold, fought gallantly around the English standards. To overcome this dauntless phalanx the Duke bethought him of a device which proved the most successful one employed that day, and which is clearly illustrated in the lower border of the tapestry, where the archers crouch beside their quivers and fire upwards. He ordered the archers to shoot up in the air,¹ by which means he prevented the English, obliged to shield their heads, from wielding their death-dealing axes, whilst they were compelled to expose their bodies to the lances of the Norman knights. One arrow, midst the falling shower, more pregnant with fate than its fellows, now pierced the king's right eye. Convulsively he clutched the weapon. The shaft broke in his agonized grasp. His axe fell from his nerveless hand, and in mortal anguish he sank at the foot of the standard. The Dragon was now borne off by a troop of horsemen, and the standard was beaten to the earth. Harold, though disabled, still breathed when Eustace and three others rushed upon his prostrate body.

One stabbed the dying king in the breast; another struck off his head; a third tore the entrails from the corpse, from which a fourth severed the leg. It is but fair to William to state that the perpetrator of this latter outrage is said to have been expelled from the army of the Conqueror.²

Mr. French denies the right of the dragons on the English lances to be regarded as standards, and conjectures that they are but ornaments torn from Norman shields. This opinion is not shared by Sir S. R. Meyrick and Mr. Freeman, and indeed two points militate against it; first, that these dragons occurring where the tapestry has been much injured, the outlines of the field may have been frayed away, and secondly, that the pole upon which one of the dragons is hoisted is far stouter than the English javelin. M. Lechaude d'Anisy suggests that these may have been inflated skins in derision of William's parentage.

The border shows the stripping of the dead, and the collection of arms and armour on the battle-field.

¹ Hen. of Hunt. M. H. B. 763.

² Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 497-500.

ET FVGA : VERTERVNT ANGLI

And the English fled.

N spite of Harold's death the heavy-armed Thegns and Houfecarls still fought on. Quarter was neither asked nor given. No prisoners were made ; and the personal following of the king fell to a man.

This desperate valour was, however, not shared by the light armed and irregular troops, who took to flight, some on foot and some on the horses which had brought their leaders to the field of battle, under cover of the approaching darkness, closely pursued by the conquerors, the archers taking horse to join in the chase. Their knowledge of the locality now stood the vanquished in good stead, and they led the Normans to the steep northern side of the hill, where they fell over the abrupt declivity, and were either suffocated in the morafs below or slaughtered by the flying English. This was the last reverse which the invaders experienced on that day, but it was so severe that for centuries afterwards the scene of its occurrence was known as the *malfosse*.¹ The work here begins to be much frayed and worn, and with the flight of the English the tapestry in its present condition ends, nor does it appear to have ever extended to a much greater length.²

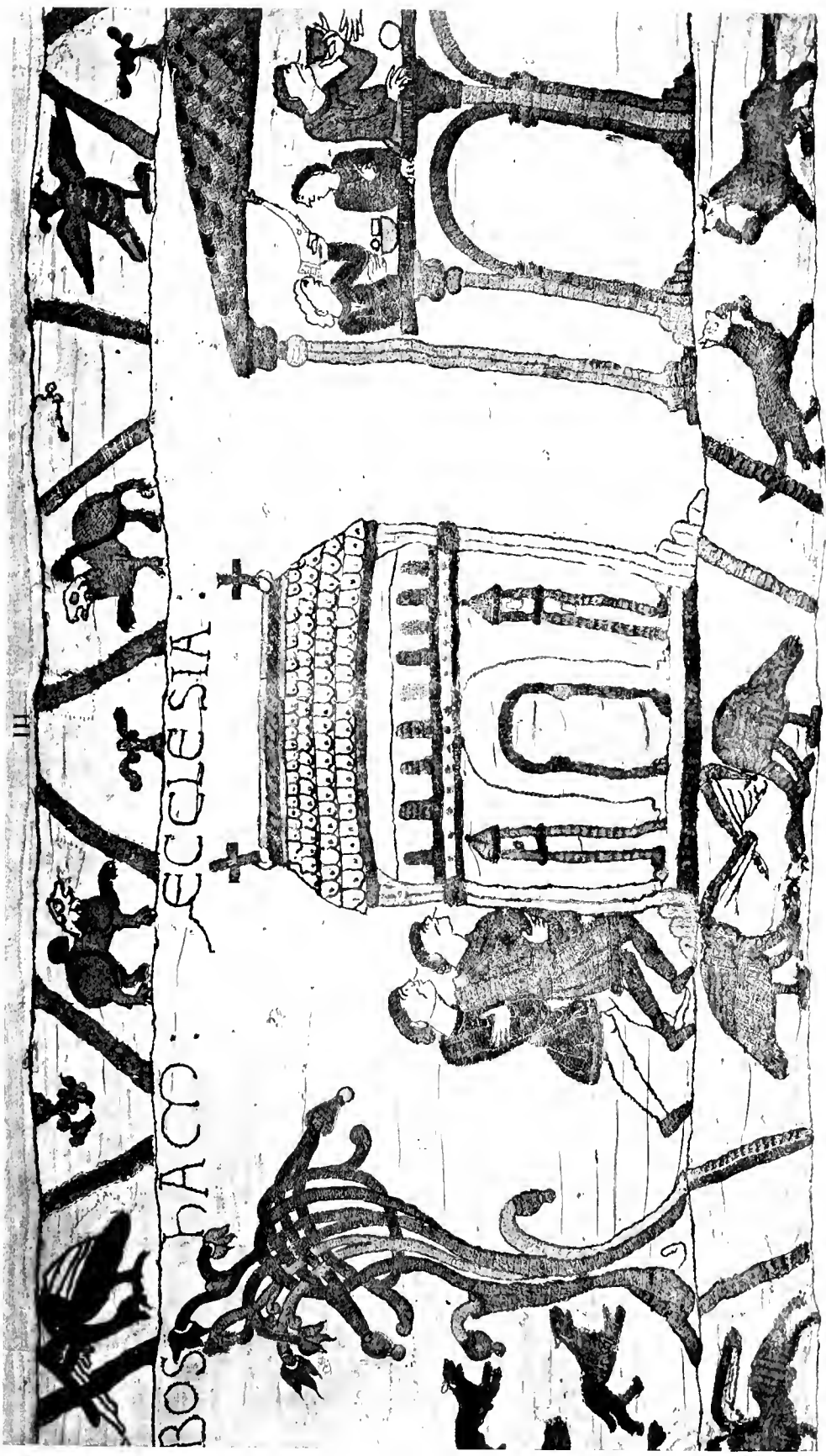
¹ Freeman, "Norm. Conq." vol. iii. pp. 500-503.

² In the tapestry described by Baudri, the battle is resumed on the morrow, and a town is captured, after which he winds up with a panegyric upon William.

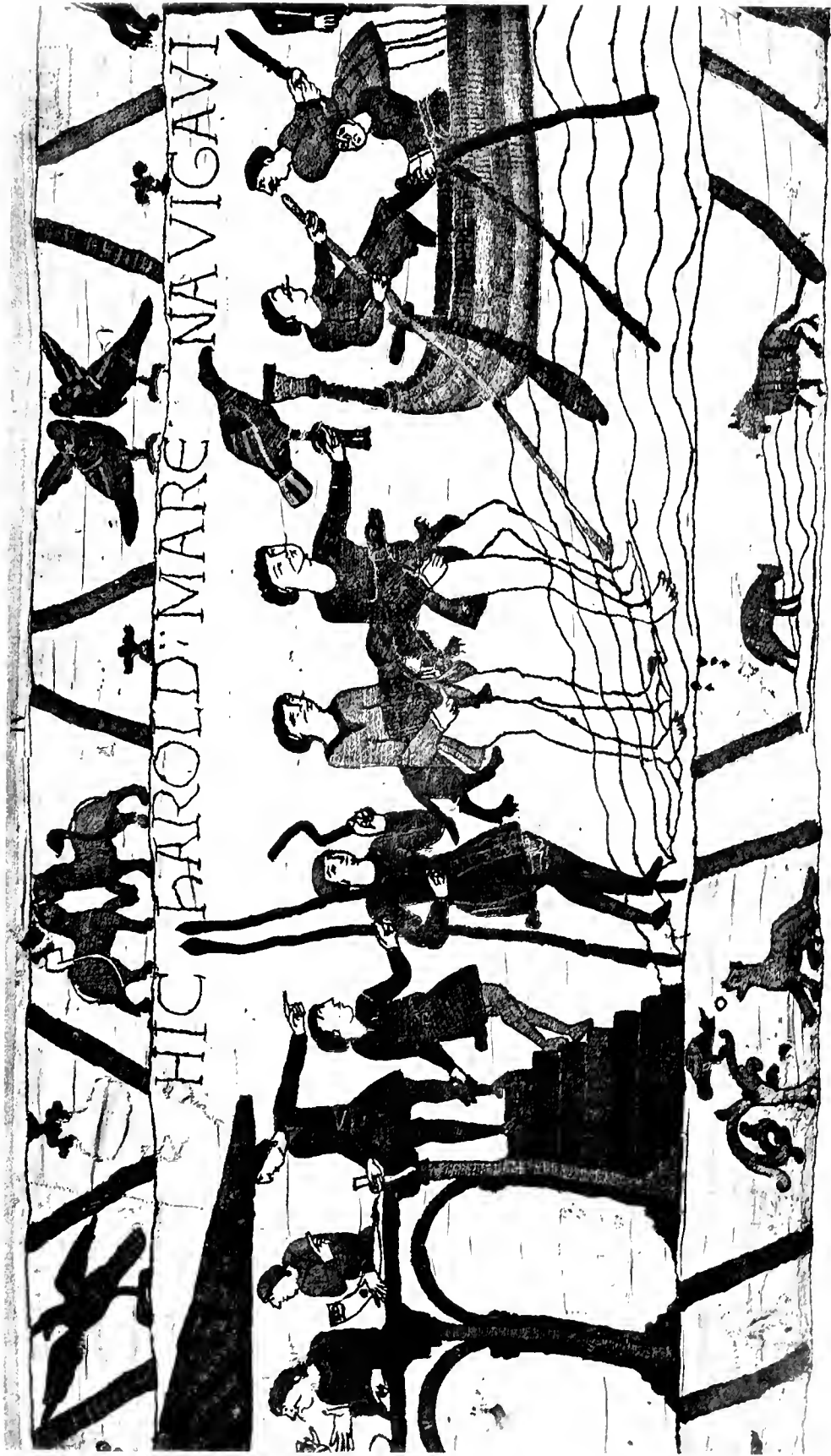


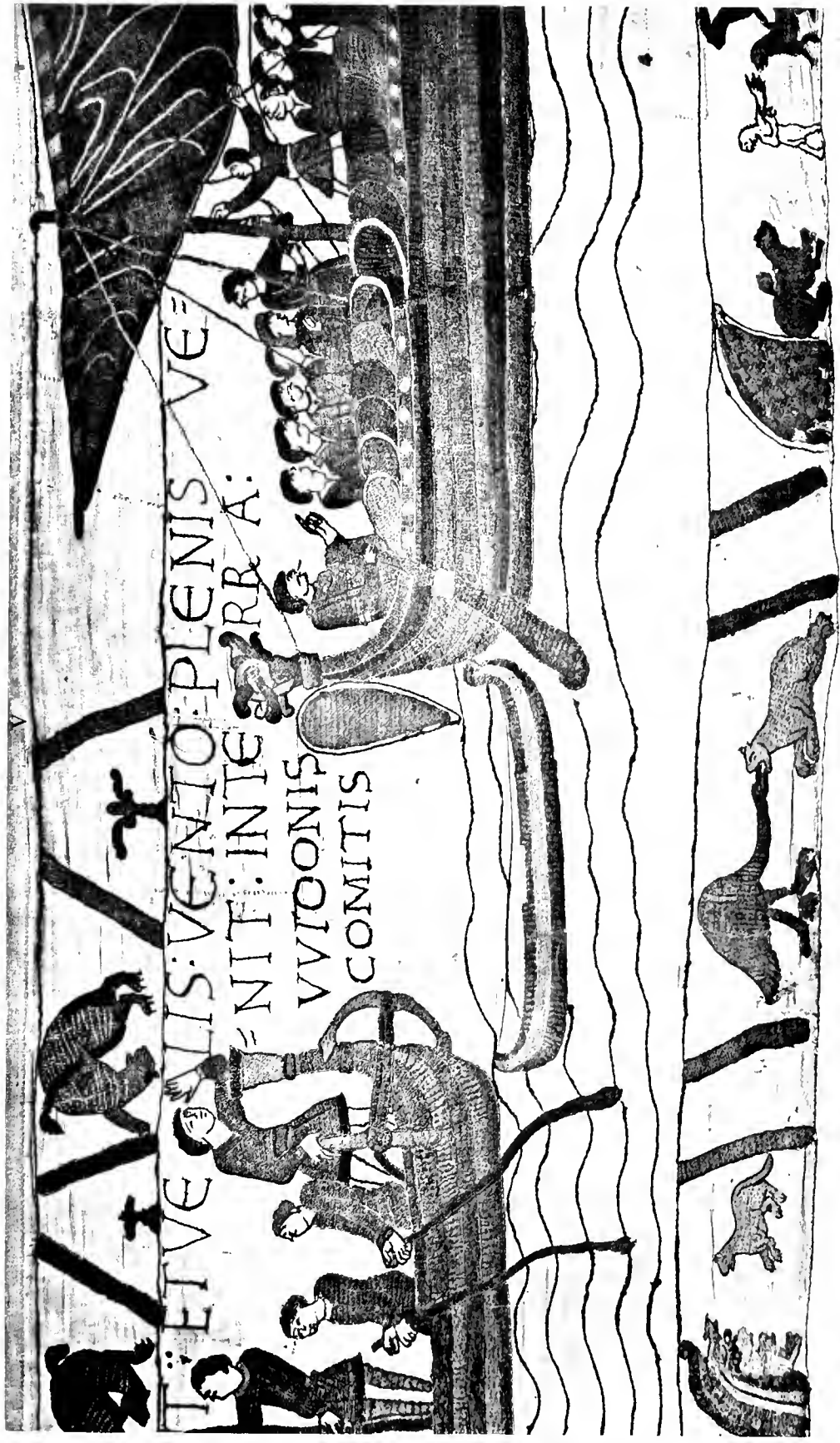
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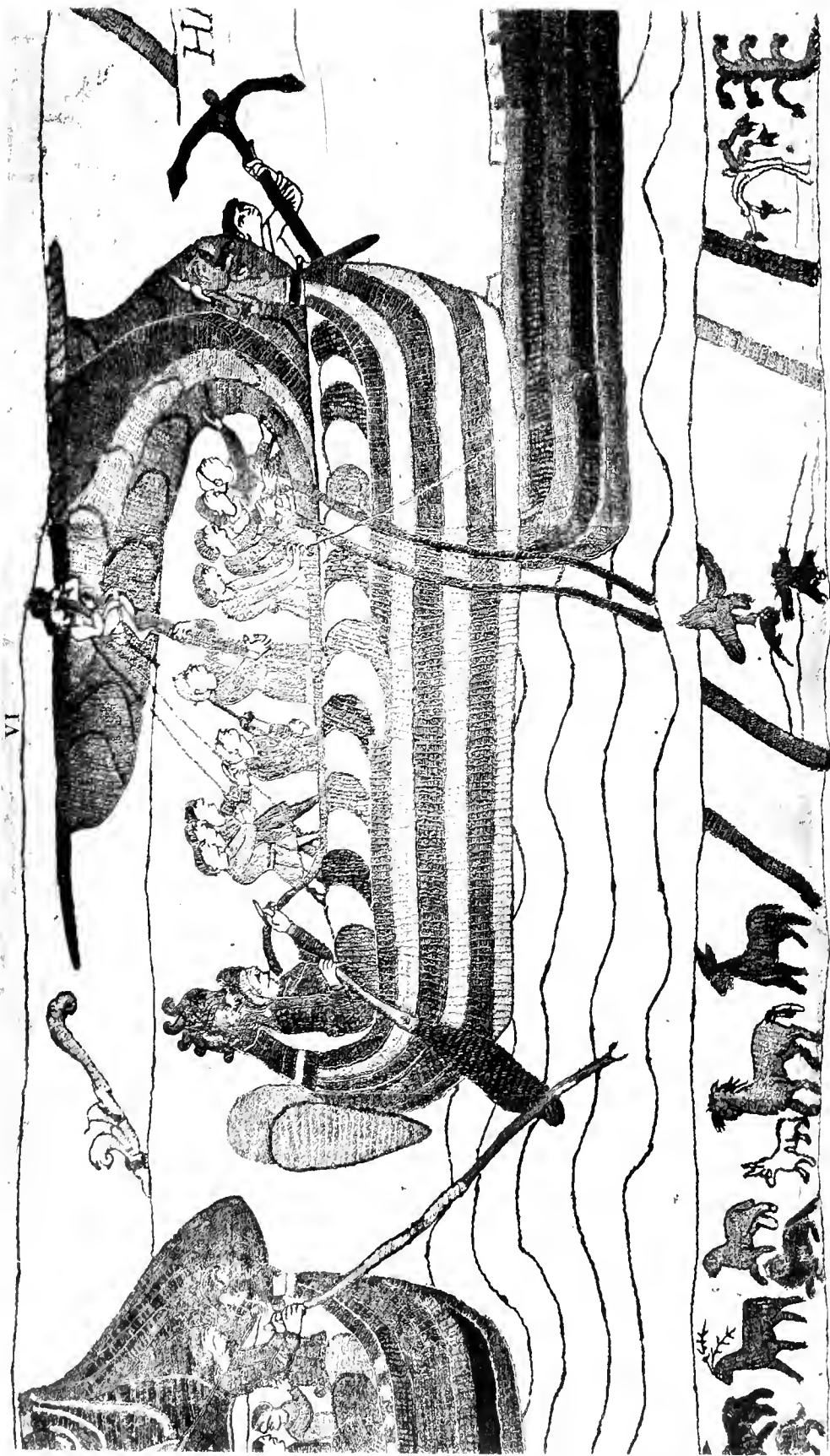


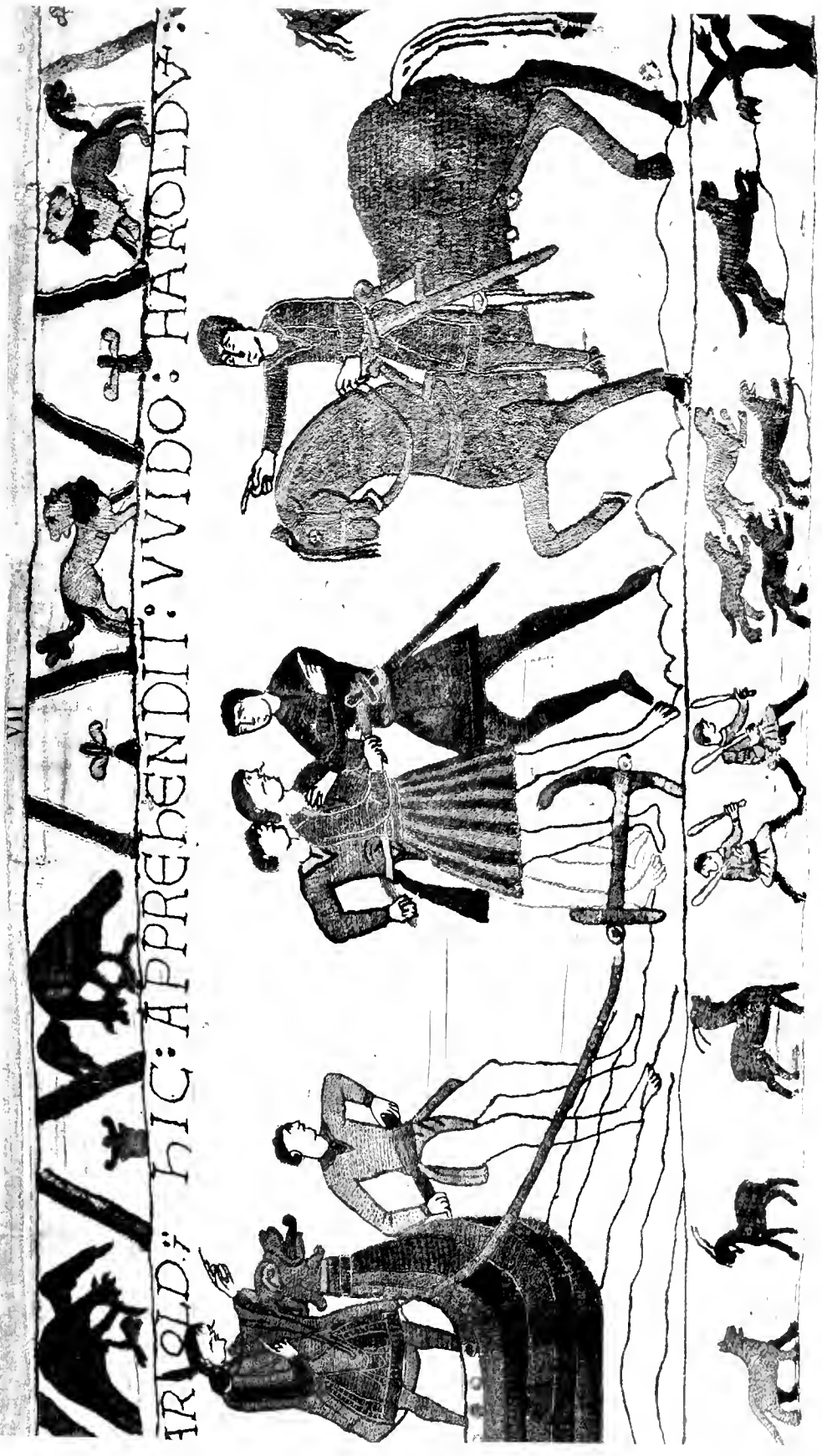
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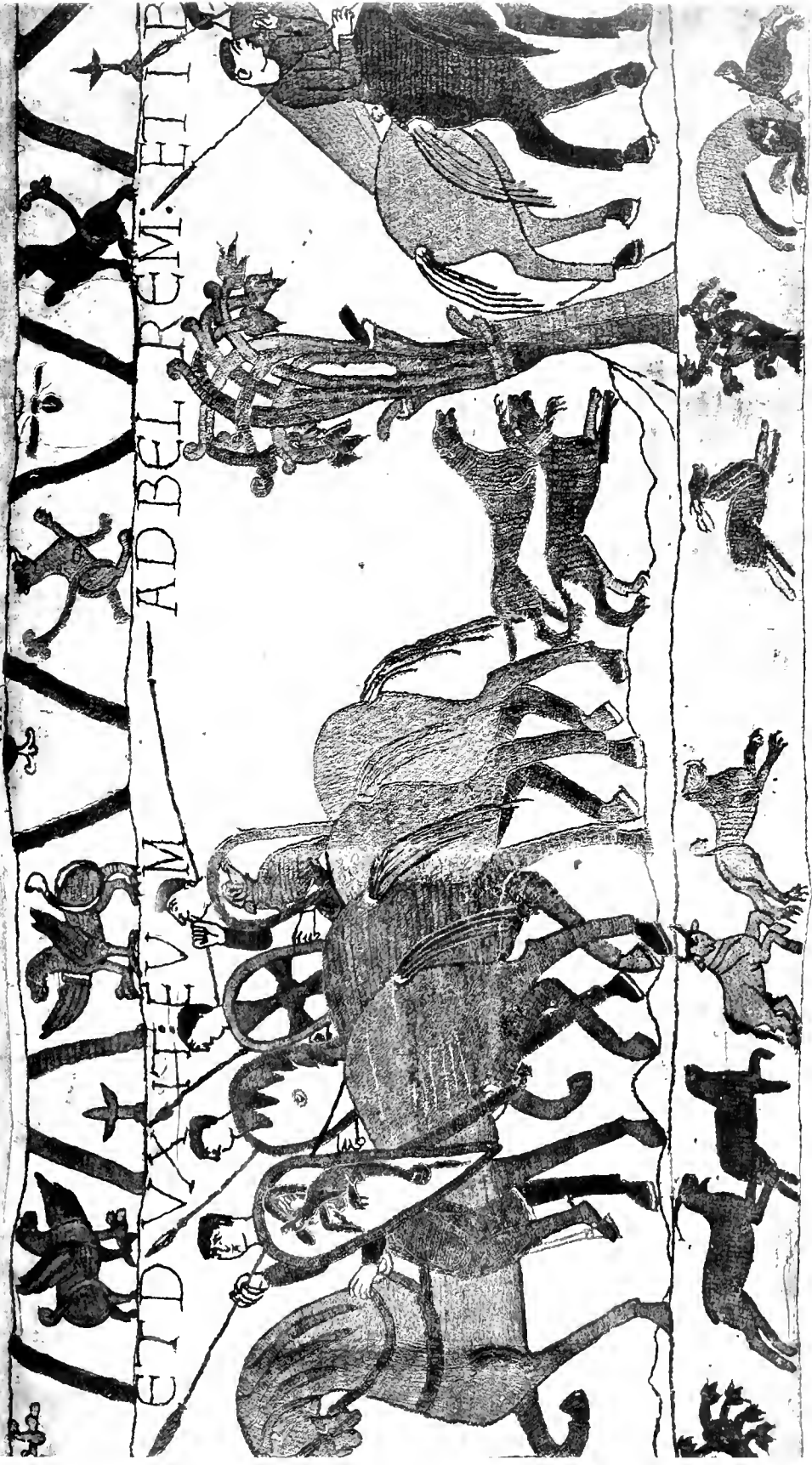


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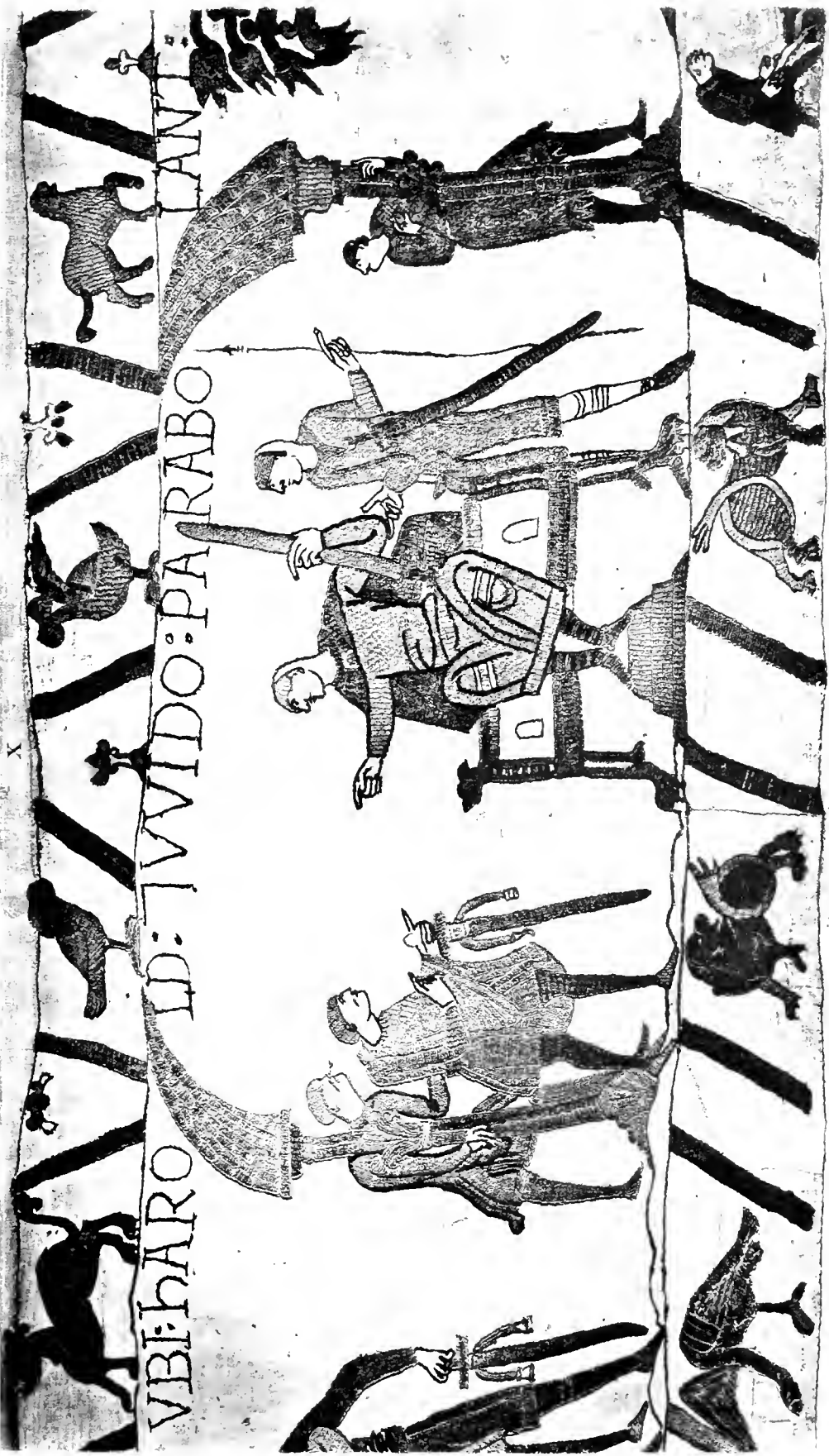




ET DVX SEV M AD BEL REM. HII





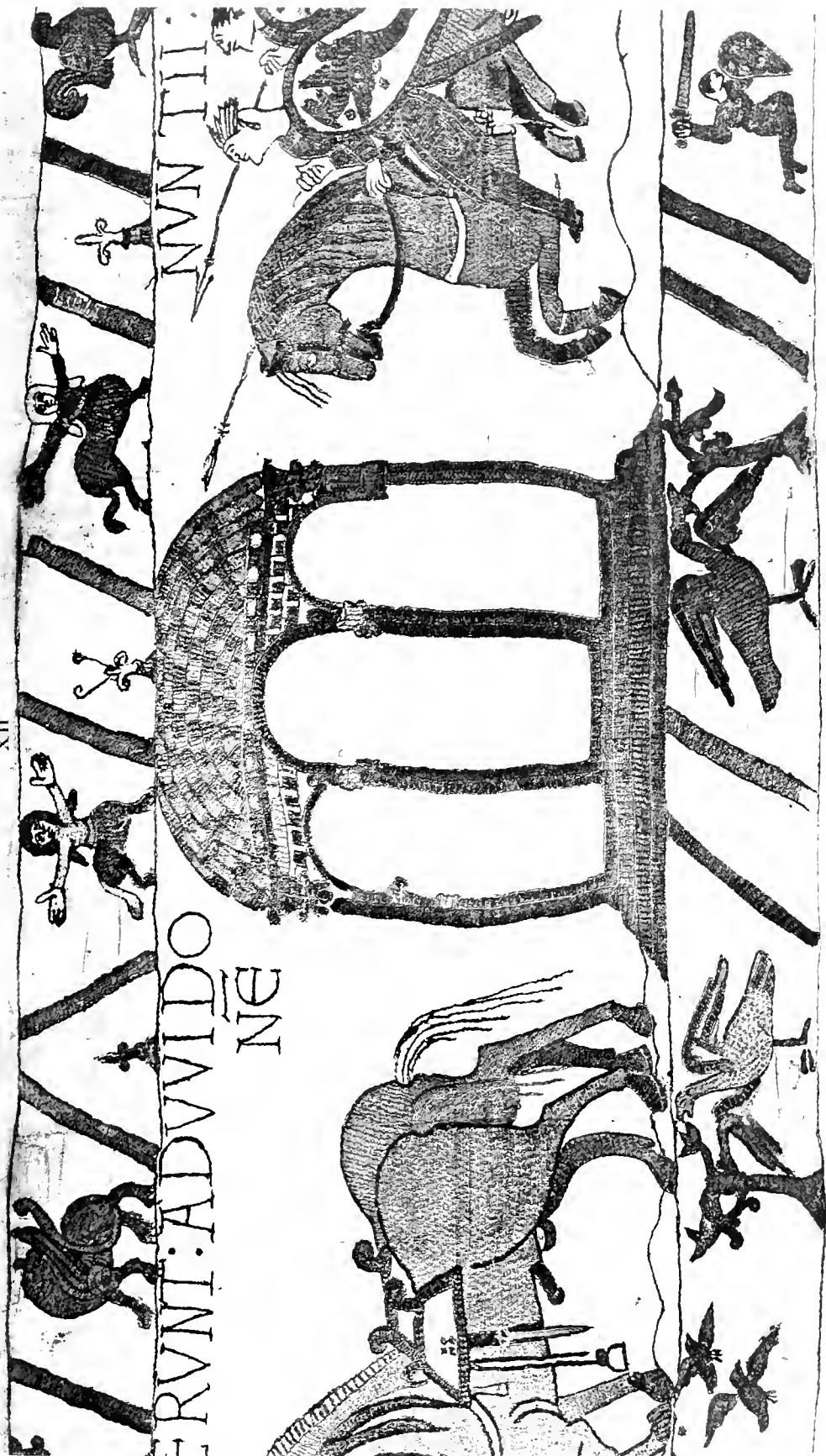


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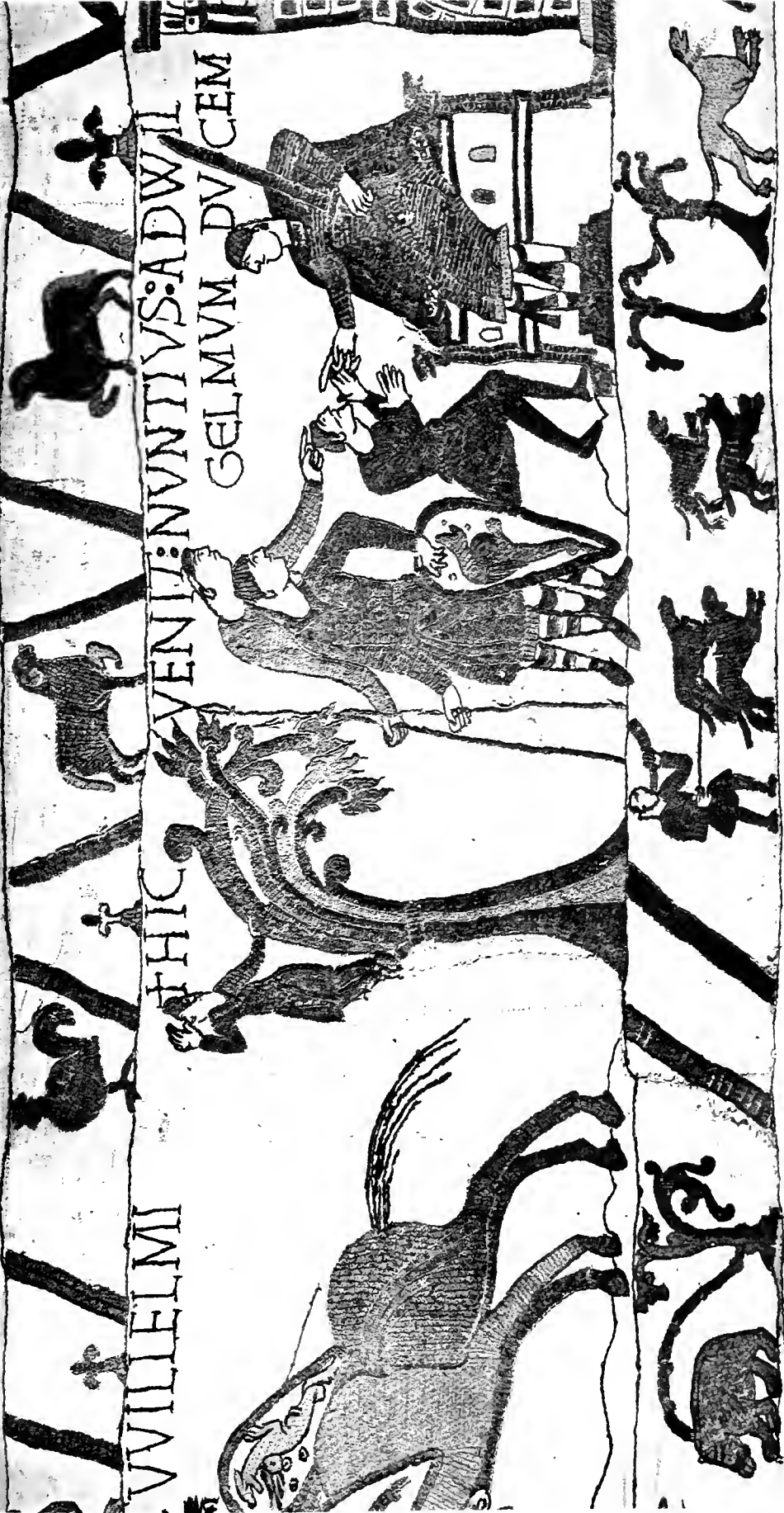
IVN III



WILLELMI

THIC

VENI: NVNTIYS: ADWIL
GELMVM DV CEM



HIC: WIDO: AD: DIXIT: HAR: OLDVOC



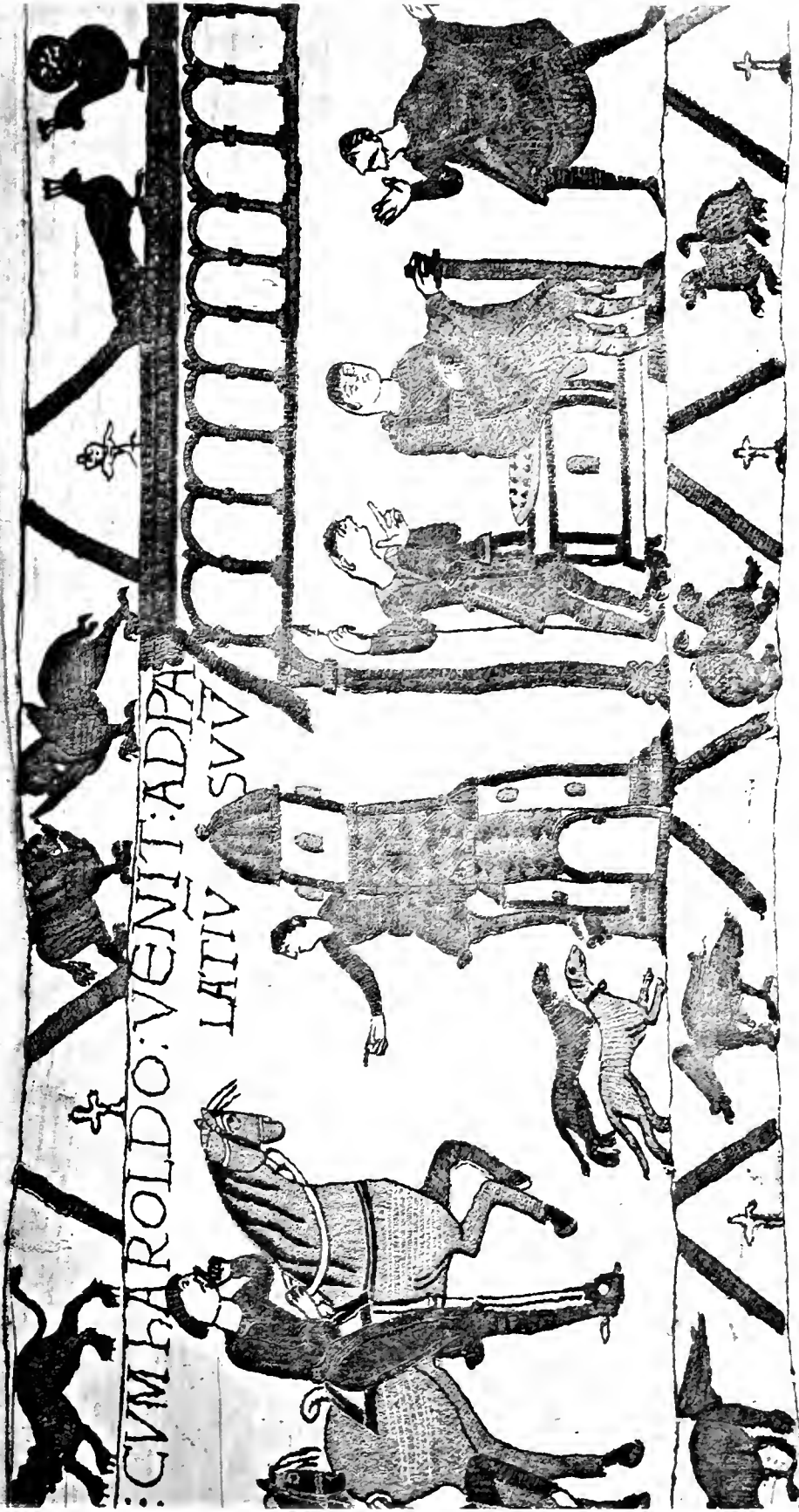
XV

AD VILGELMVM: NORMANNO RV M: DVCEM



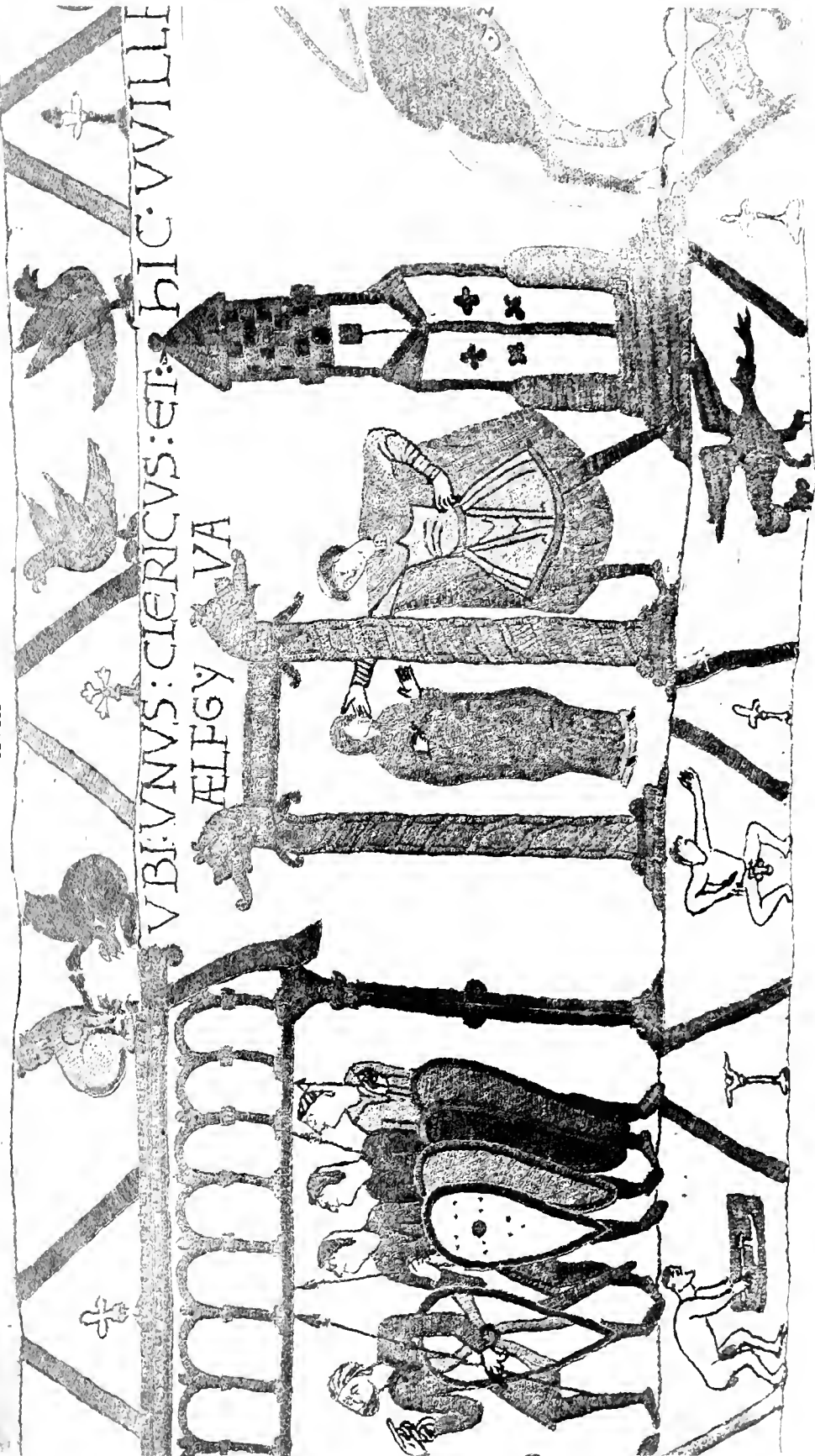
HIC DVX: WILHELM:



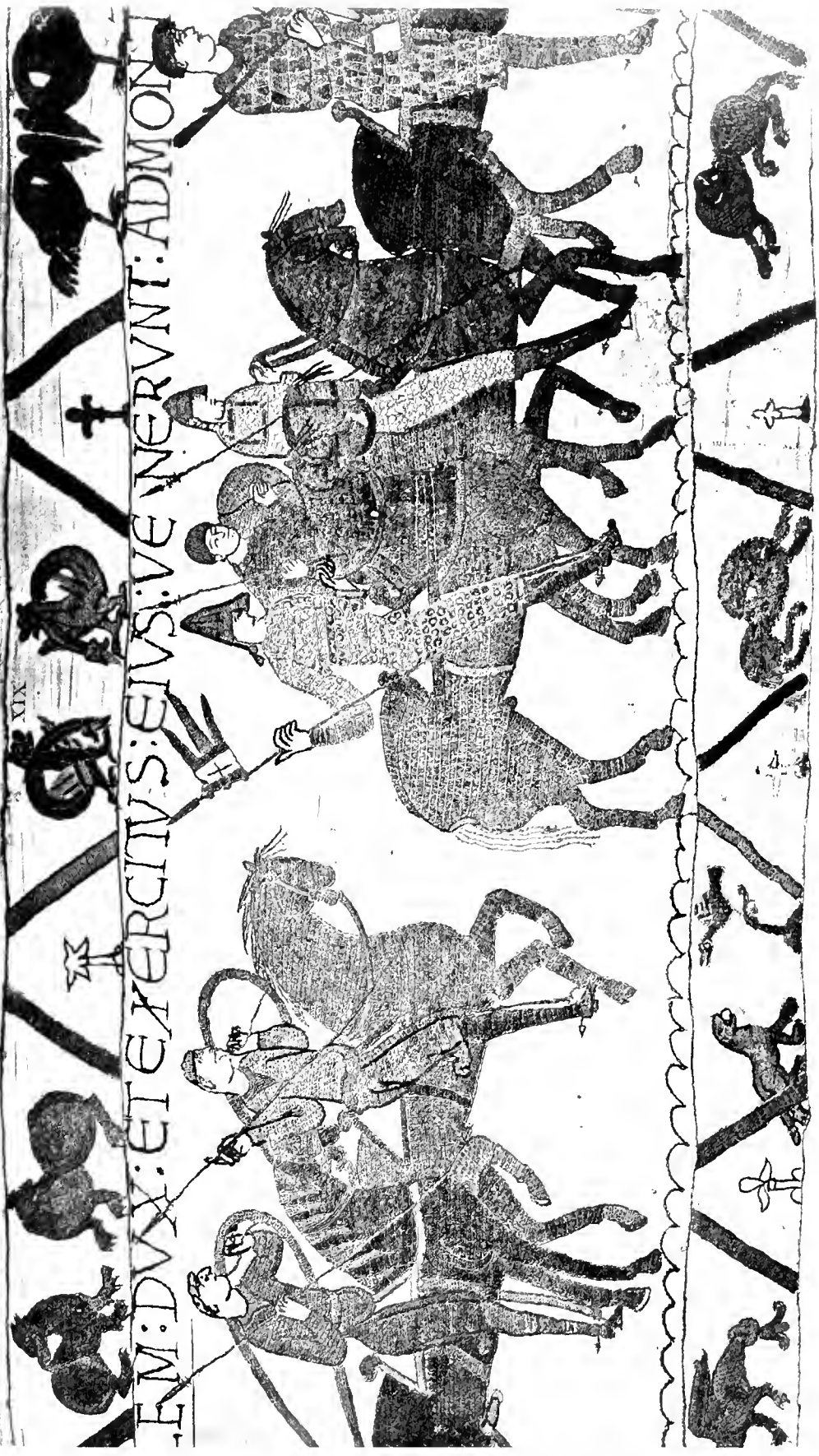


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ÆLFGY·VA



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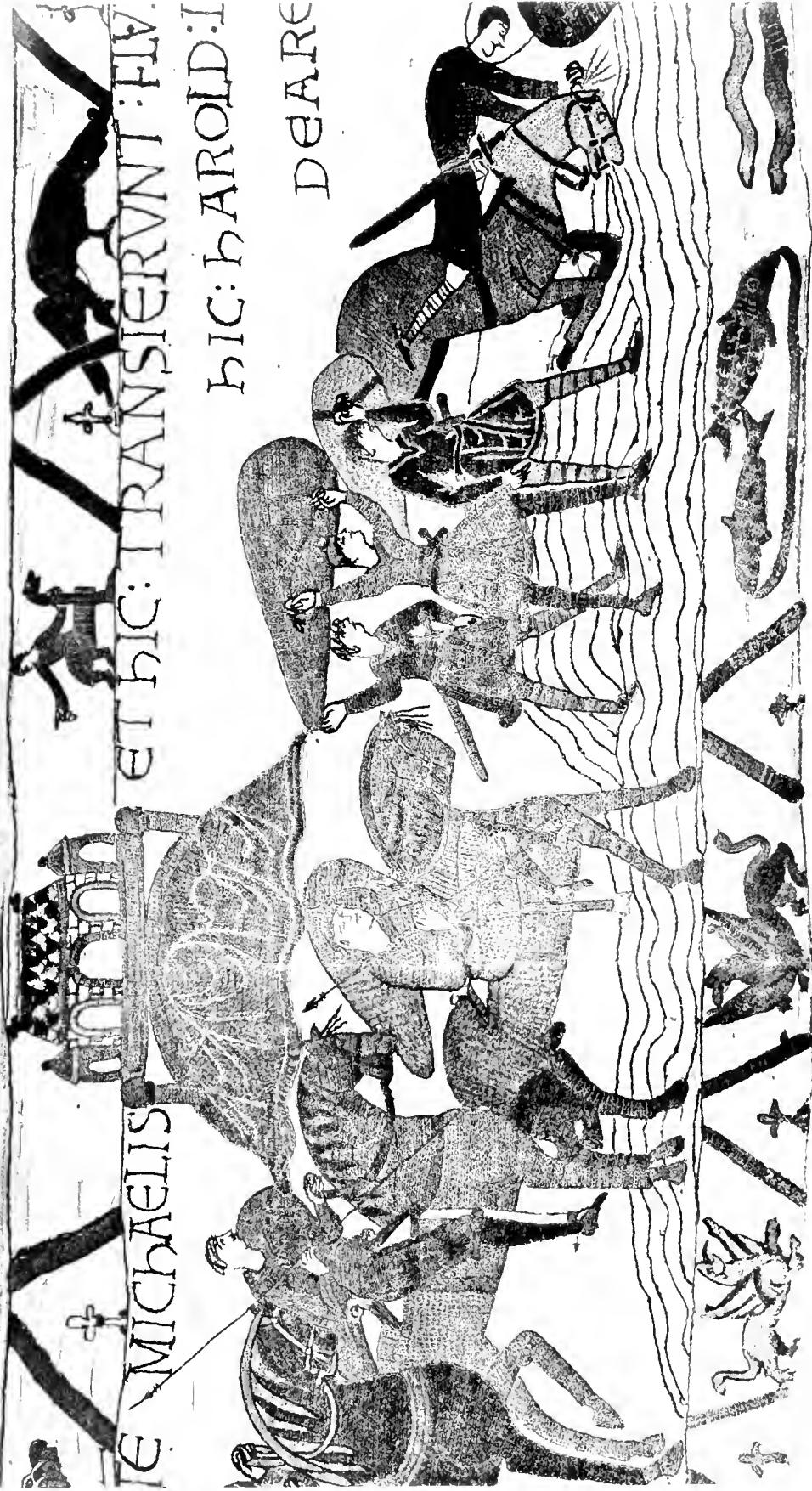


IE MICHAELIS

ET HIC: ITRANSIERVNT: FLV.

HIC: HAROLD: I

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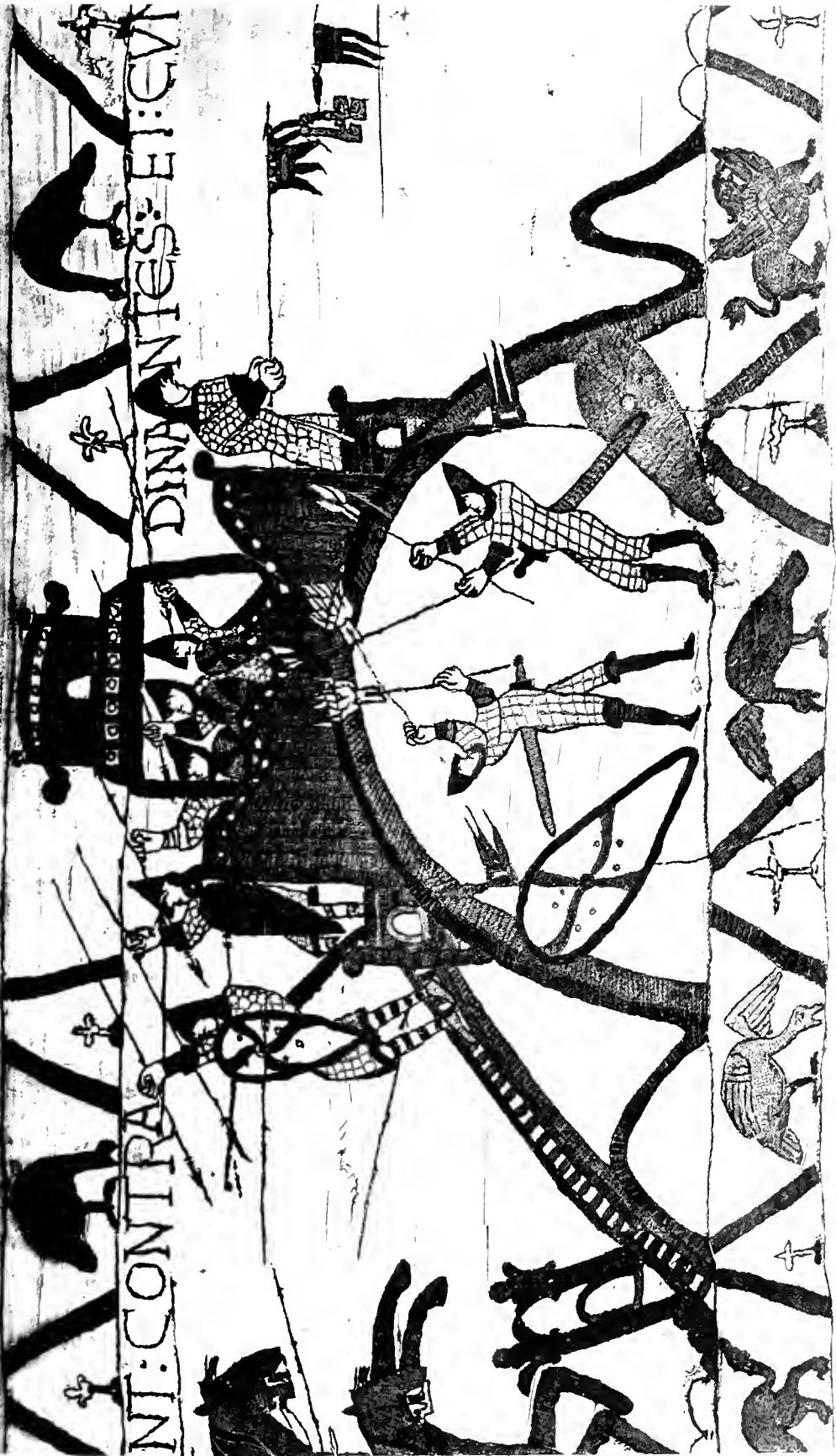


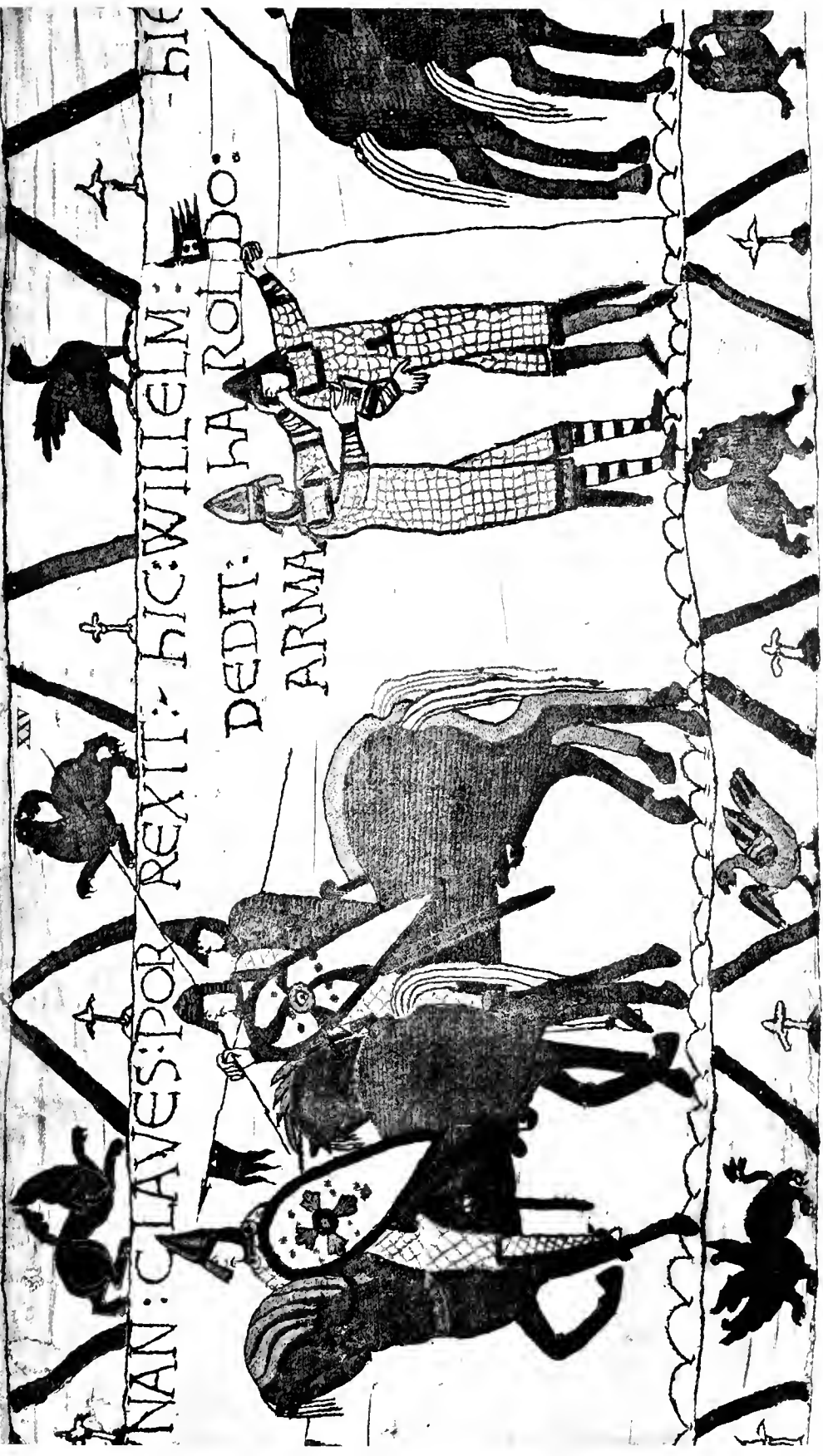
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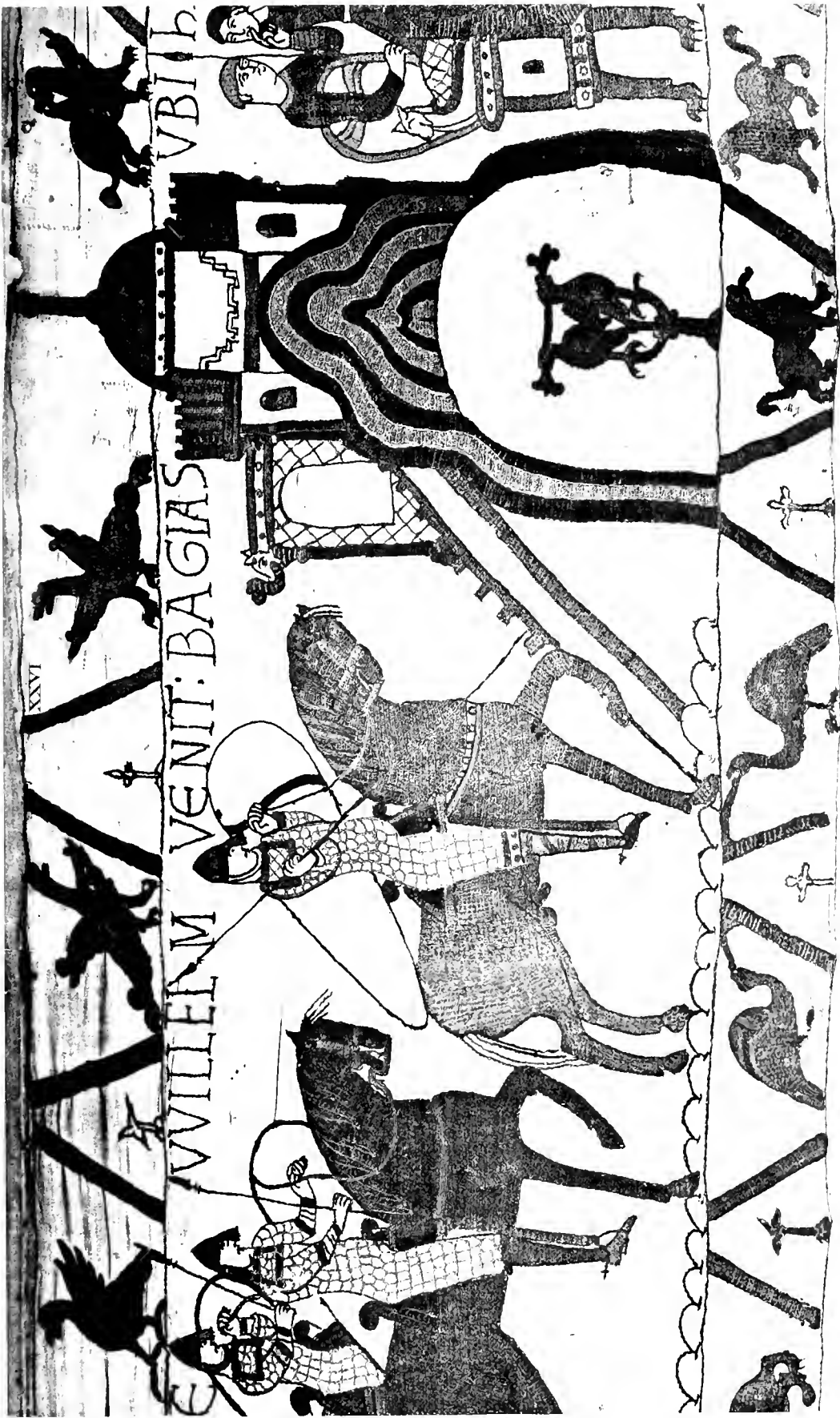
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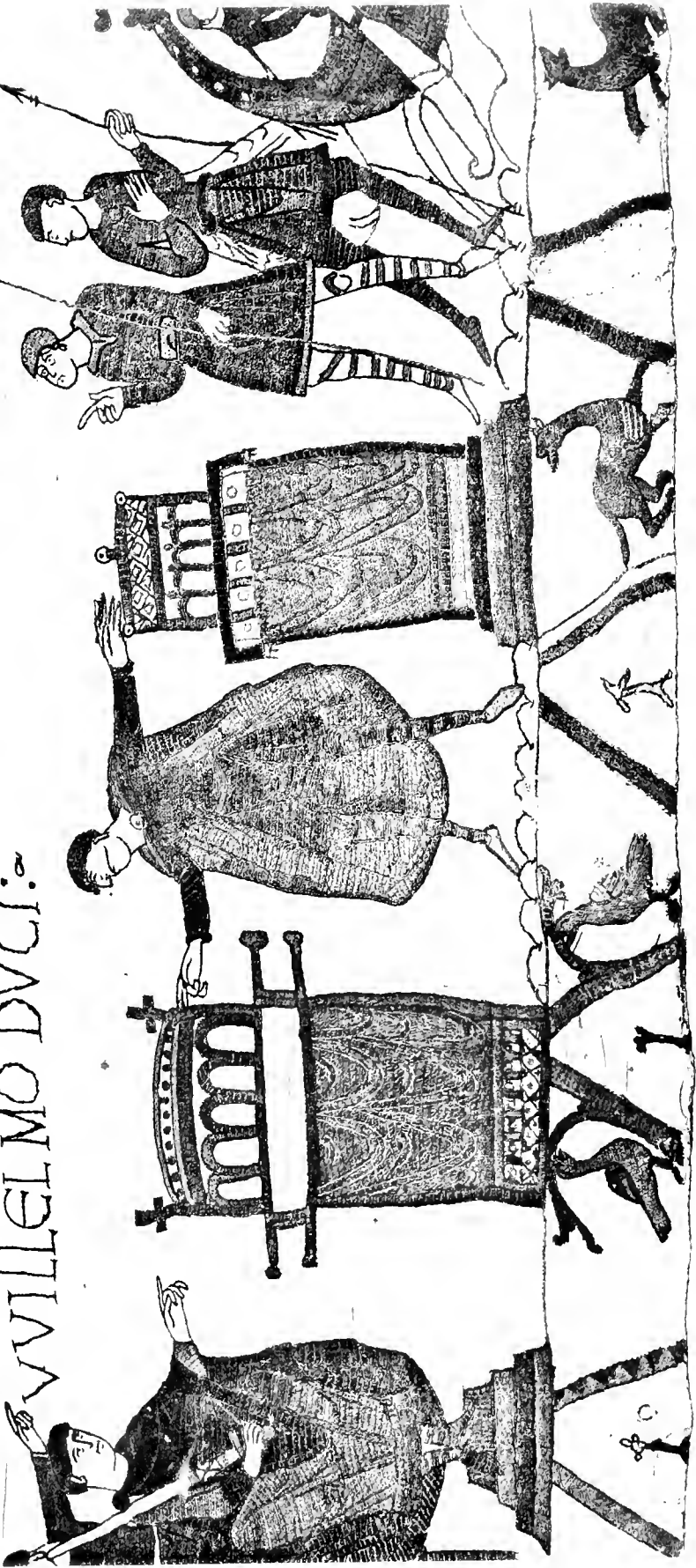




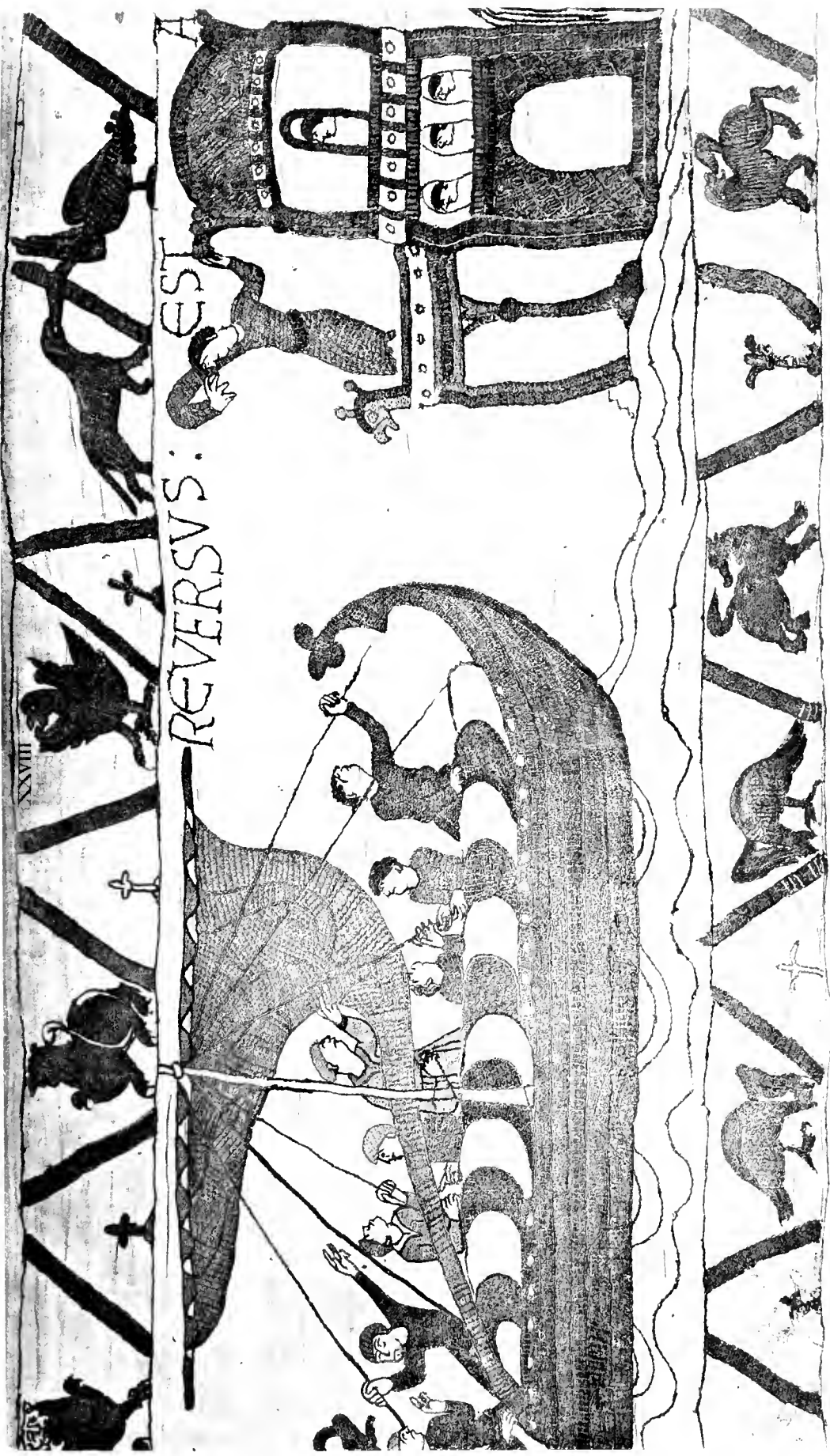




AROLD: SACRAMENTVM: FECIT: HIC HAROLD: DVX:
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REVERVS: EST



XVIII

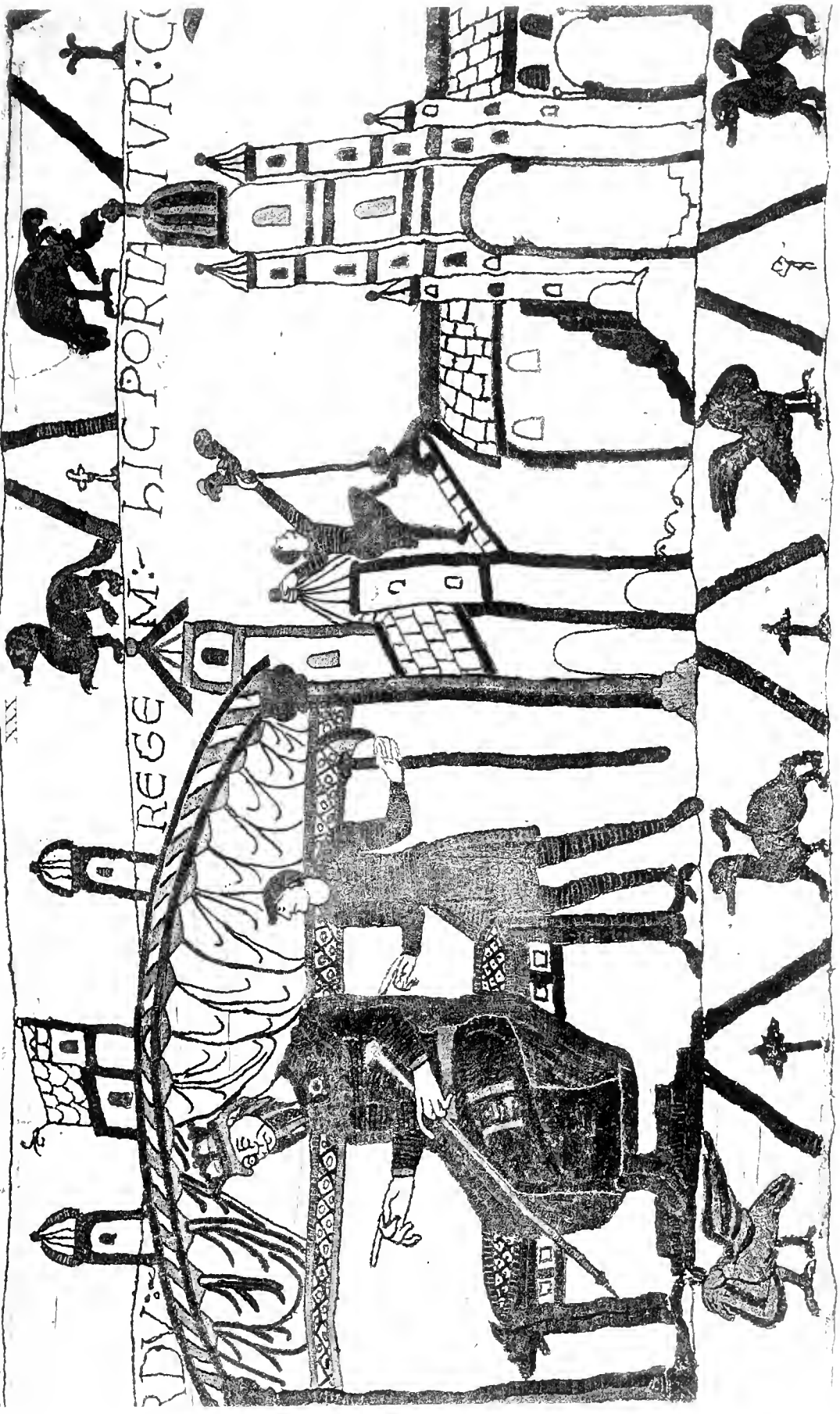


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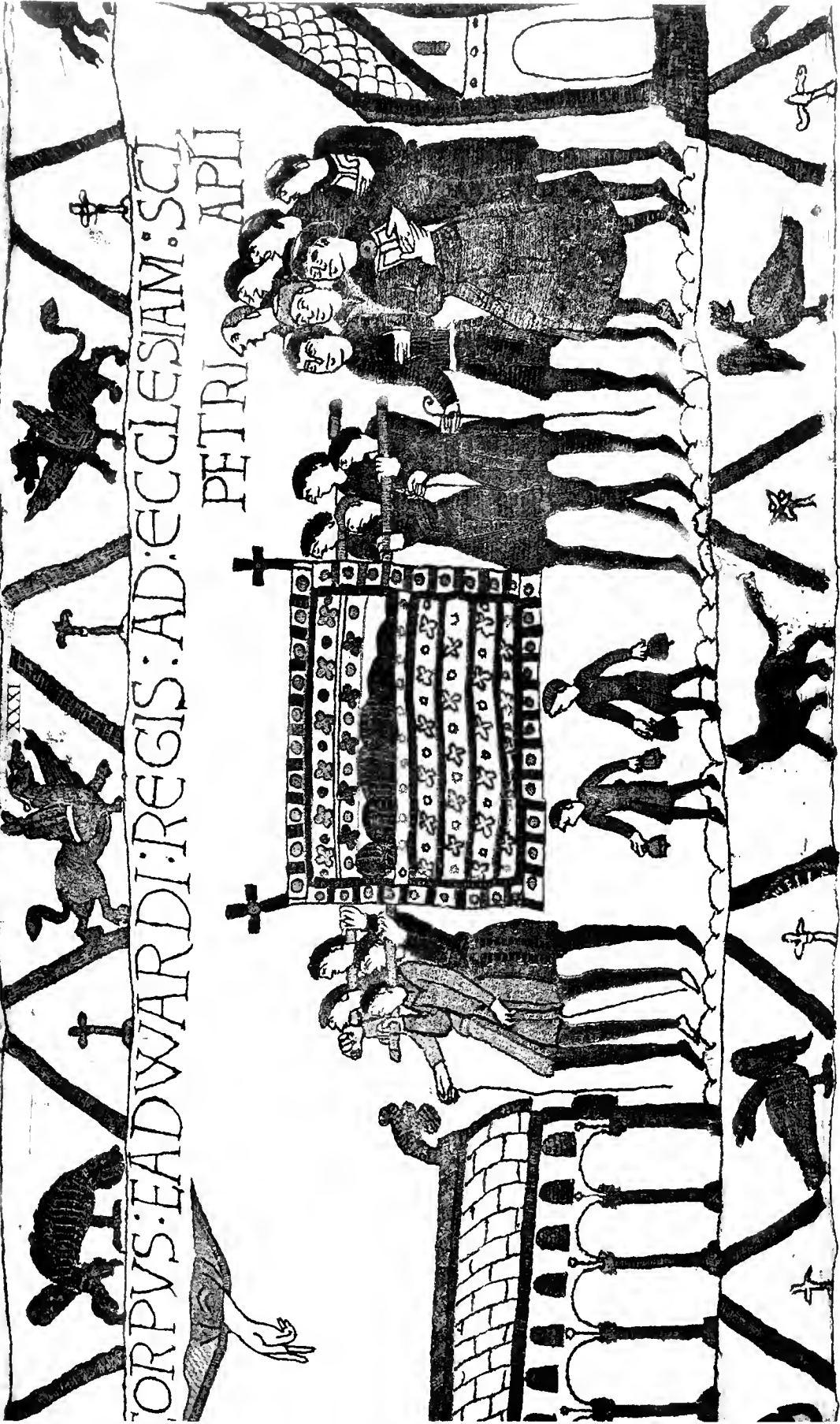
P: ANGLICAM: TERRAM: EI

XIX

REGE M: HIC PORTA IVR: C



XXXI
CORPVS: EADWARDI: REGIS: AD: ECCLESIAM: SCI
PETRI: APTI



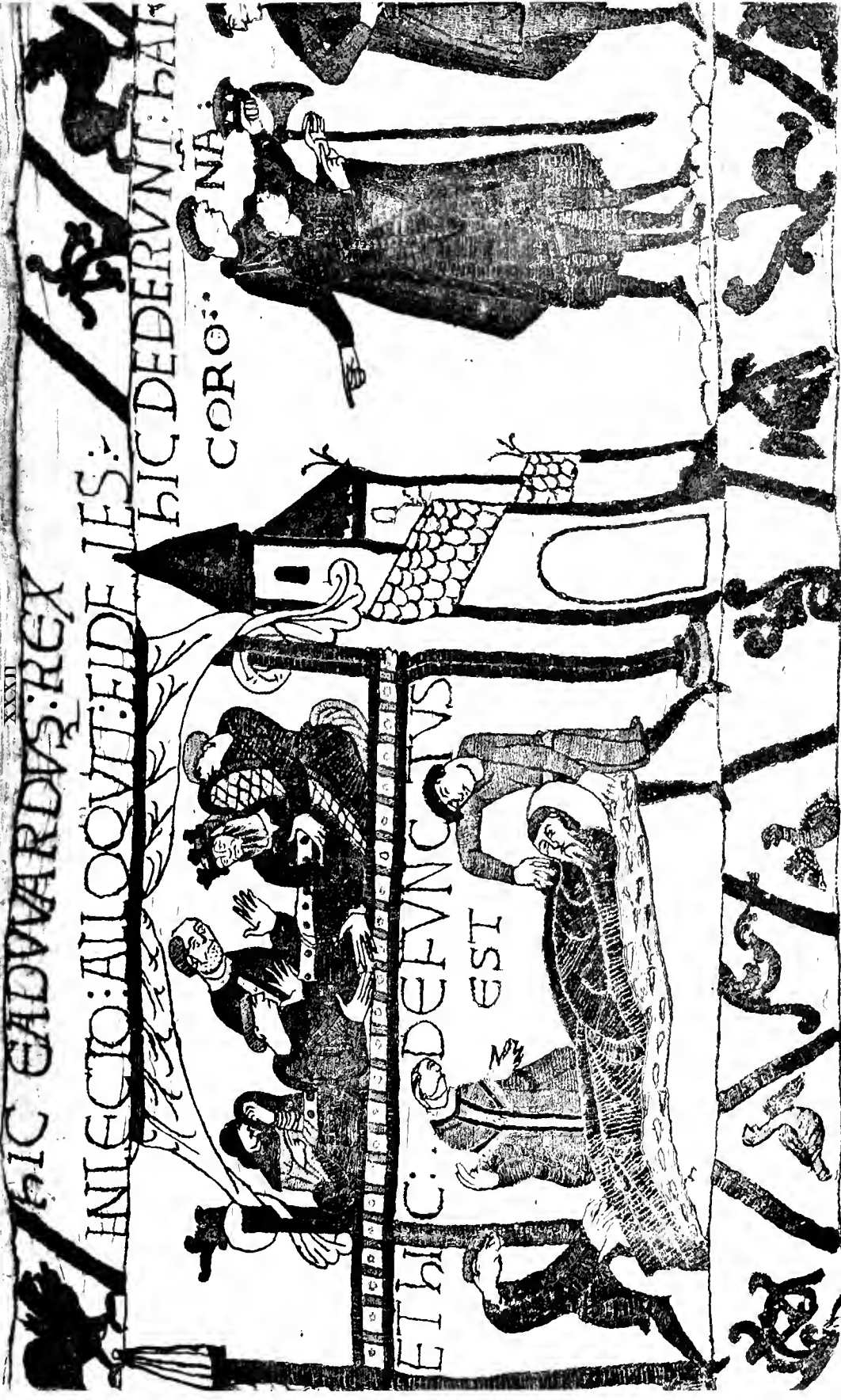
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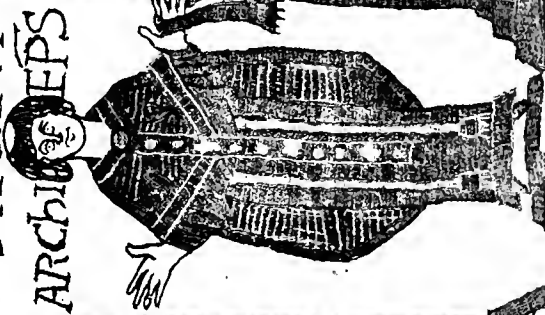
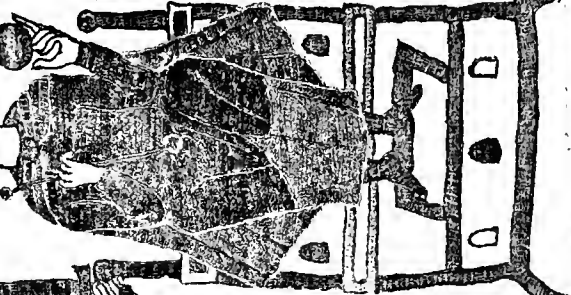
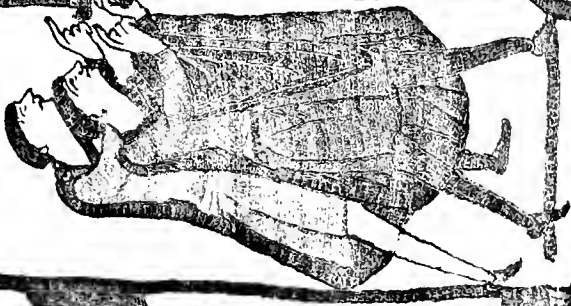
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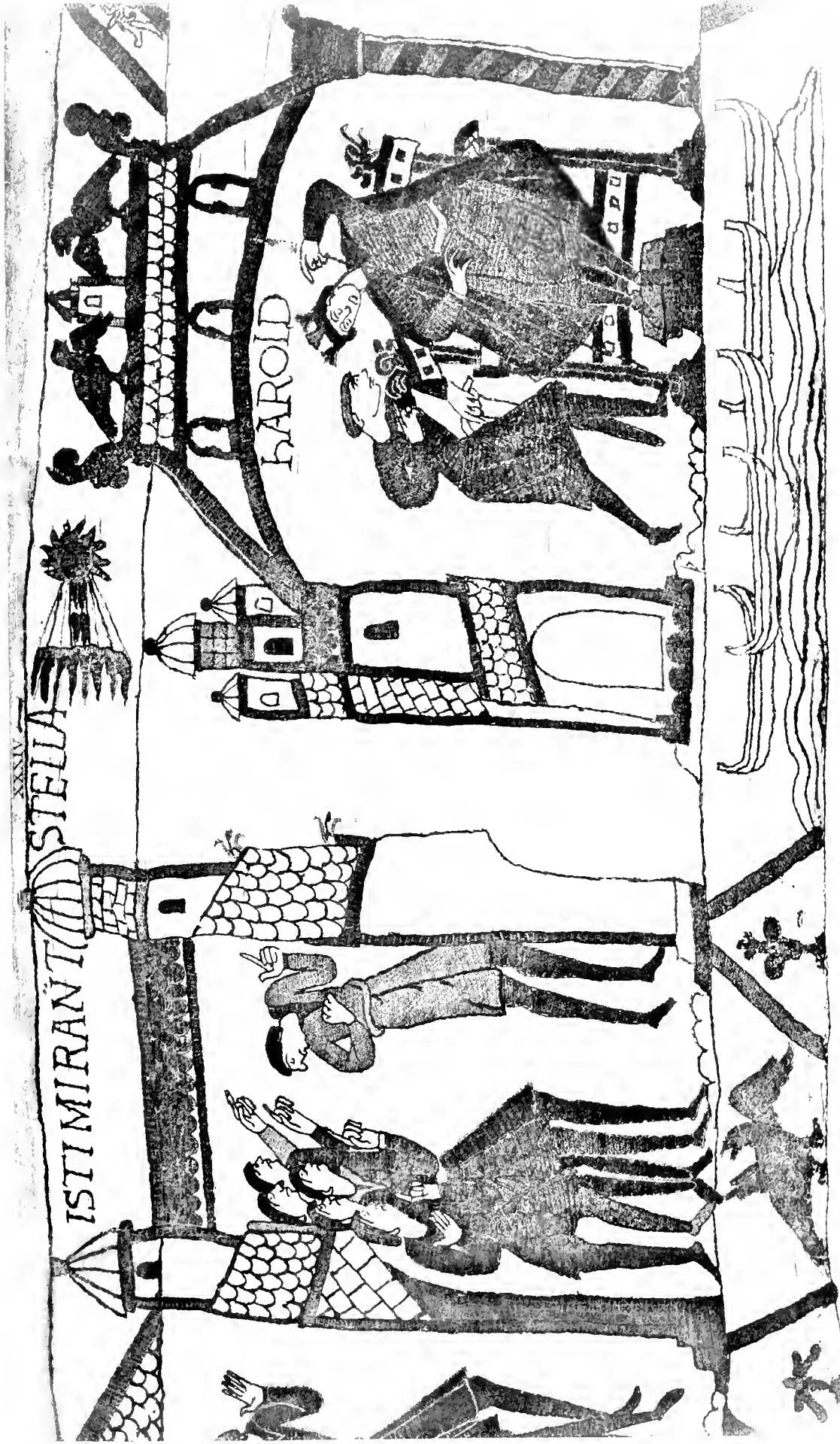


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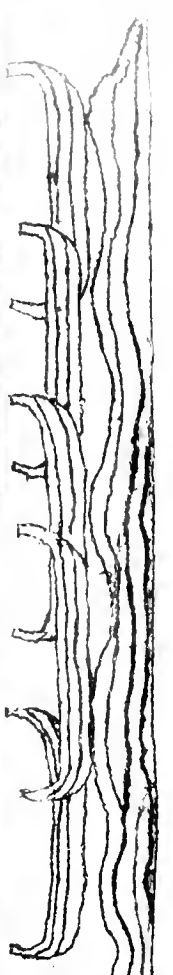
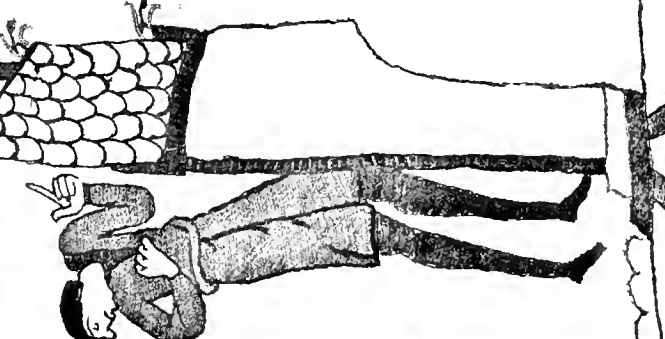
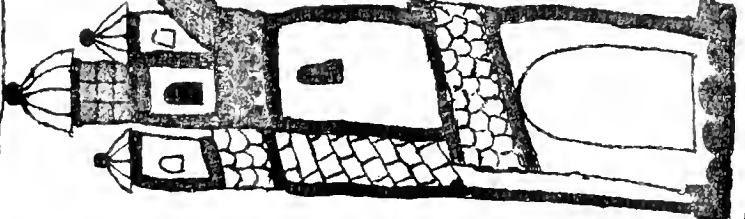
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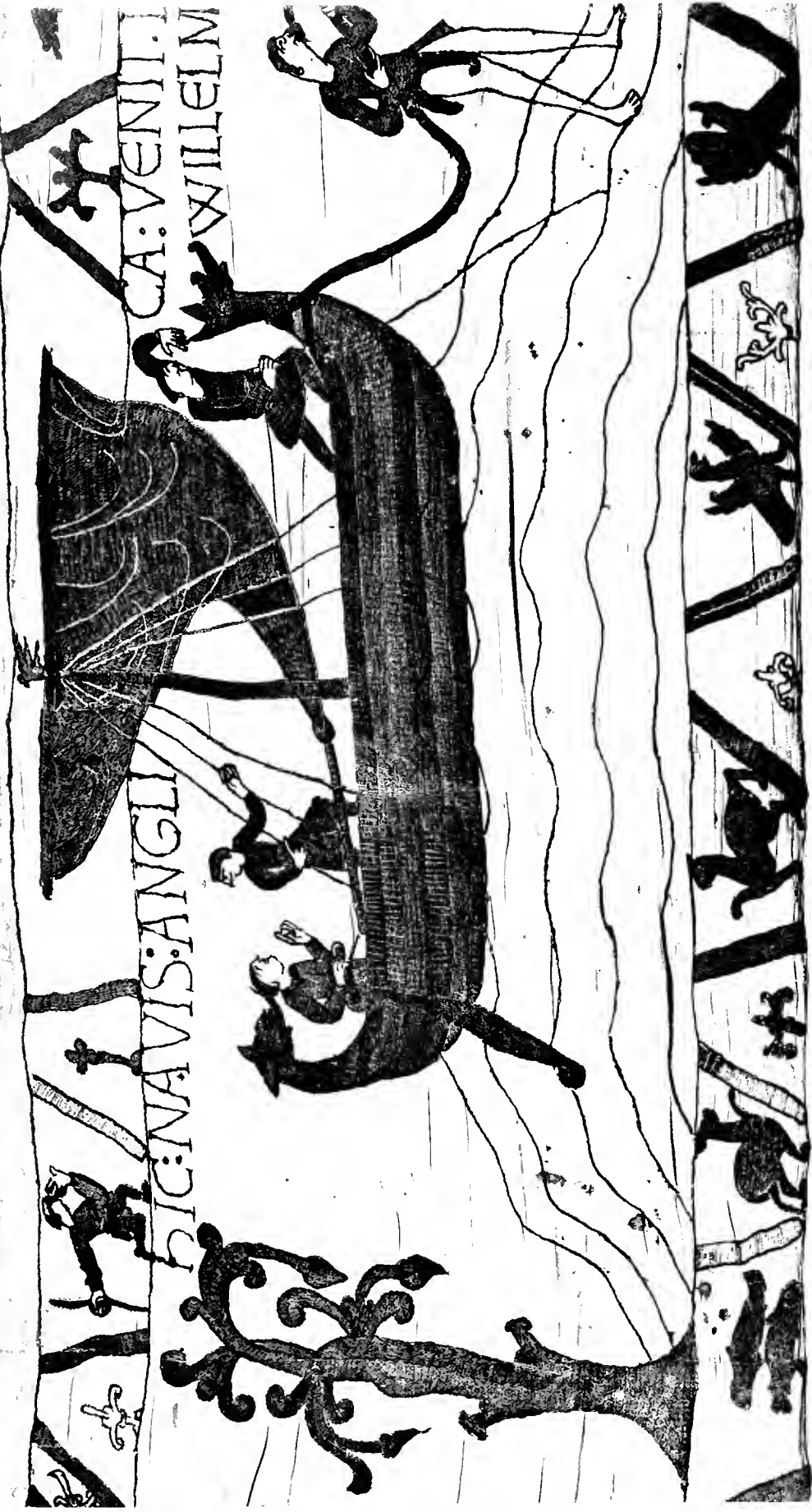




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XXIV
ISTIMIRANT

HAROLD





PIG:NAVIS:ANGLI

CA:VENITI
WILLELM

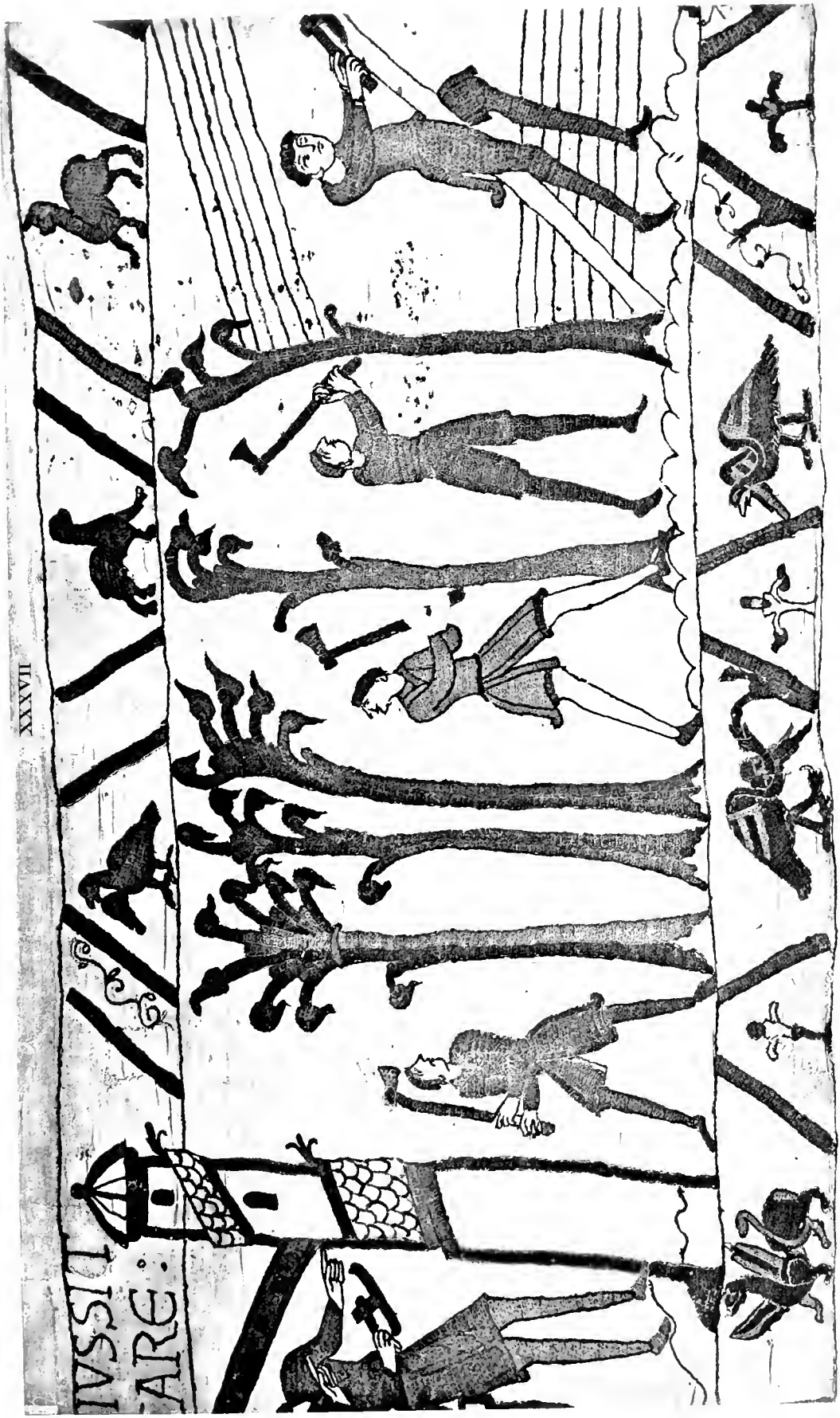


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XXV

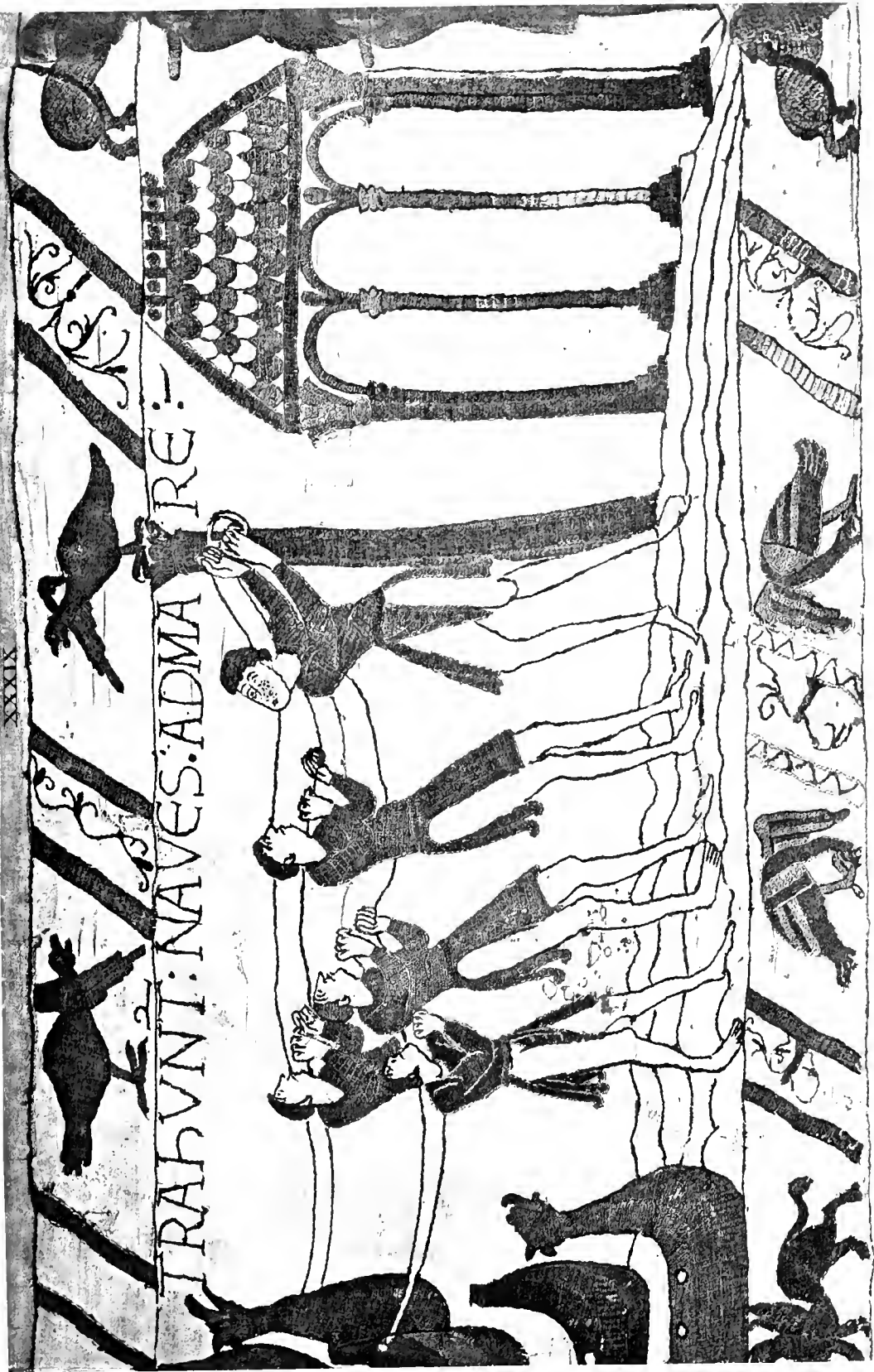


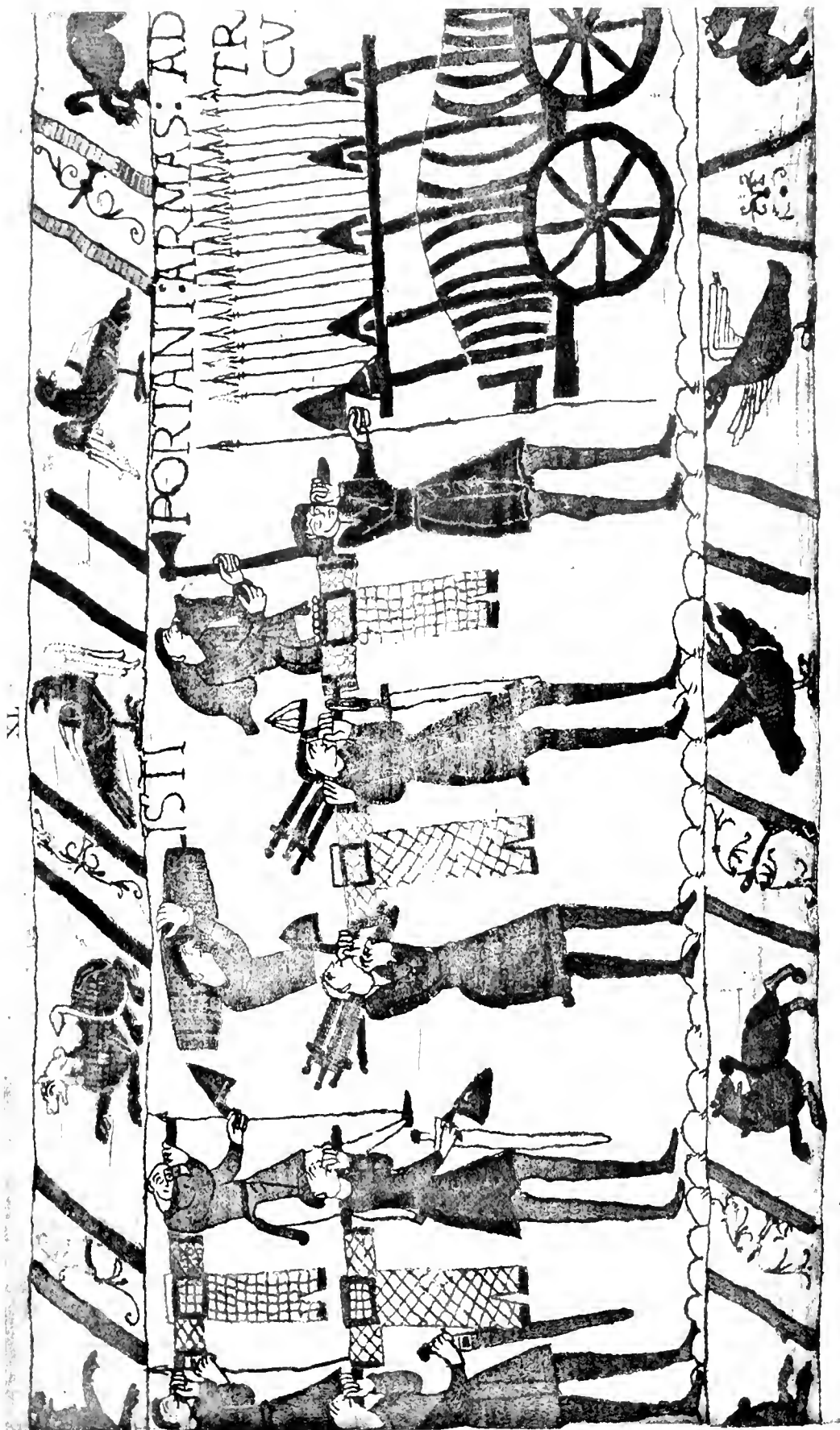
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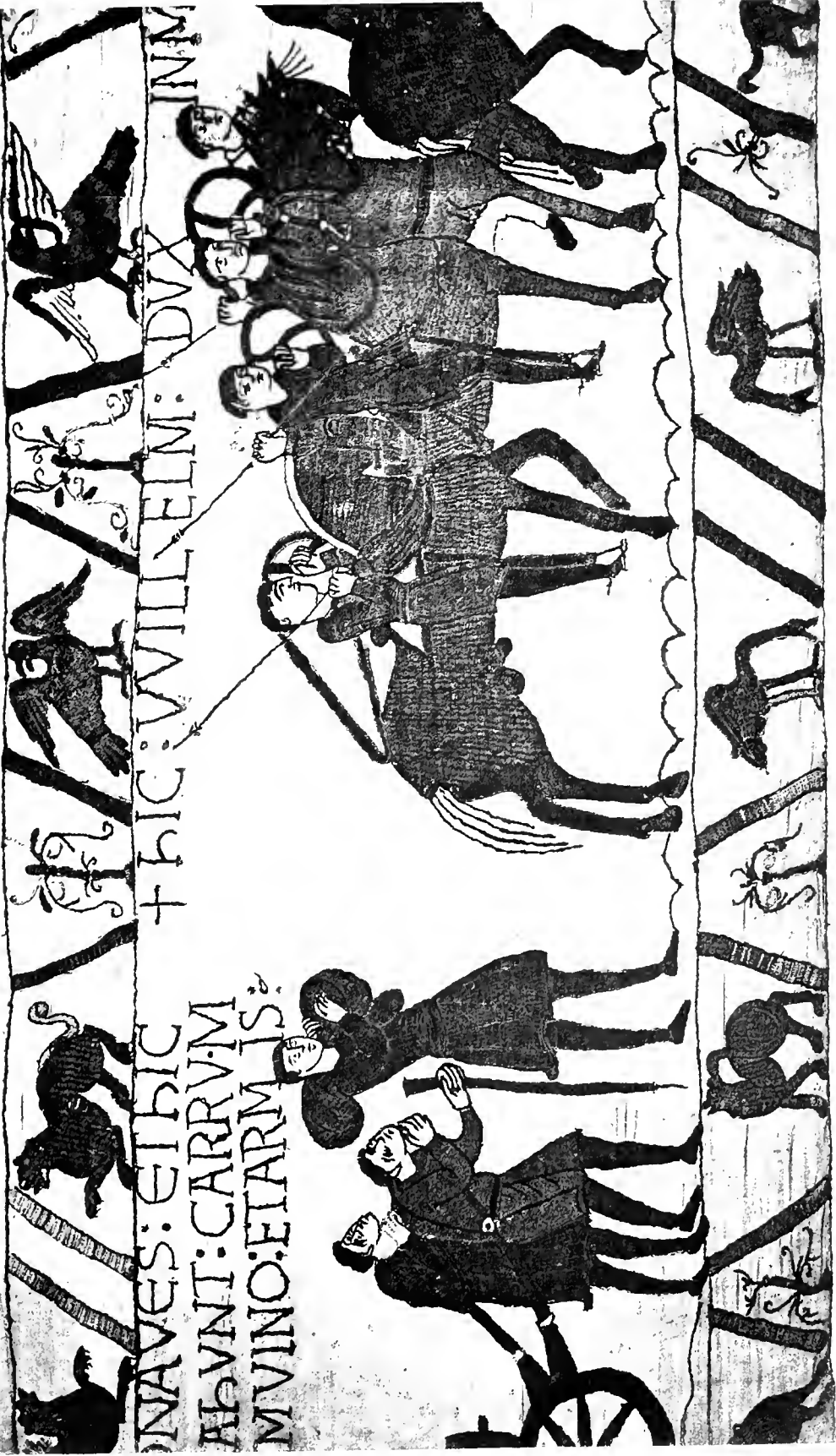




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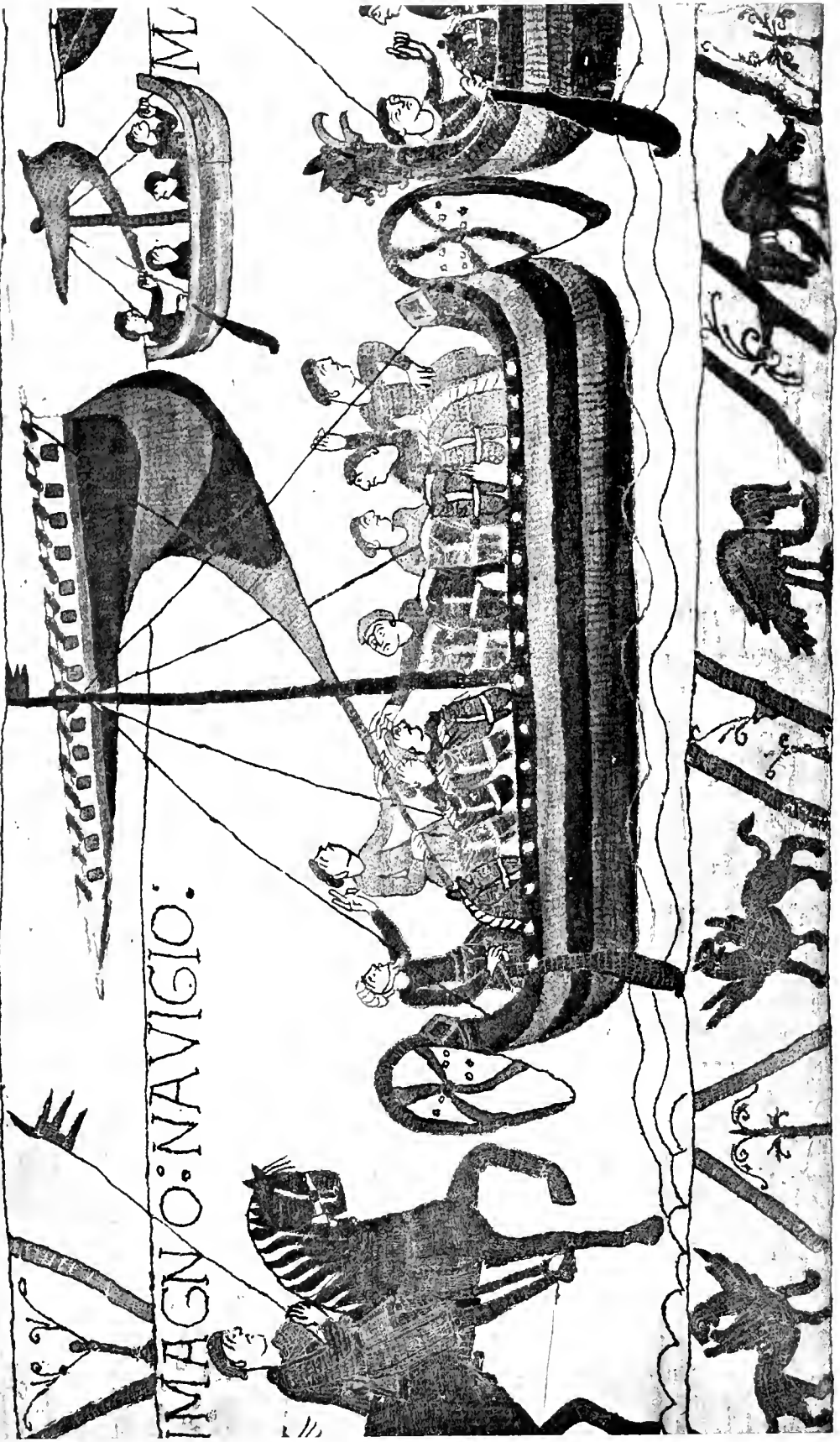
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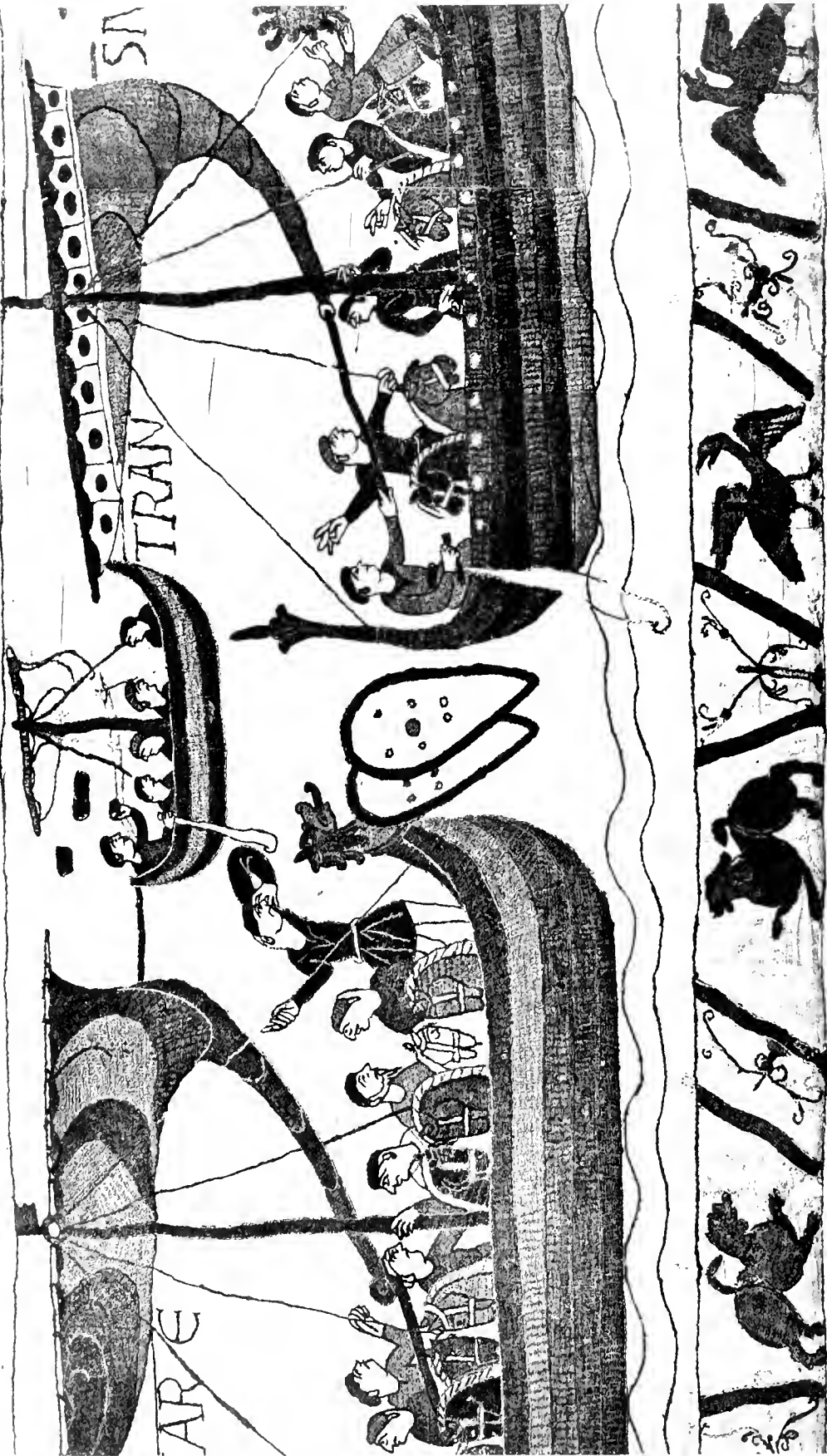


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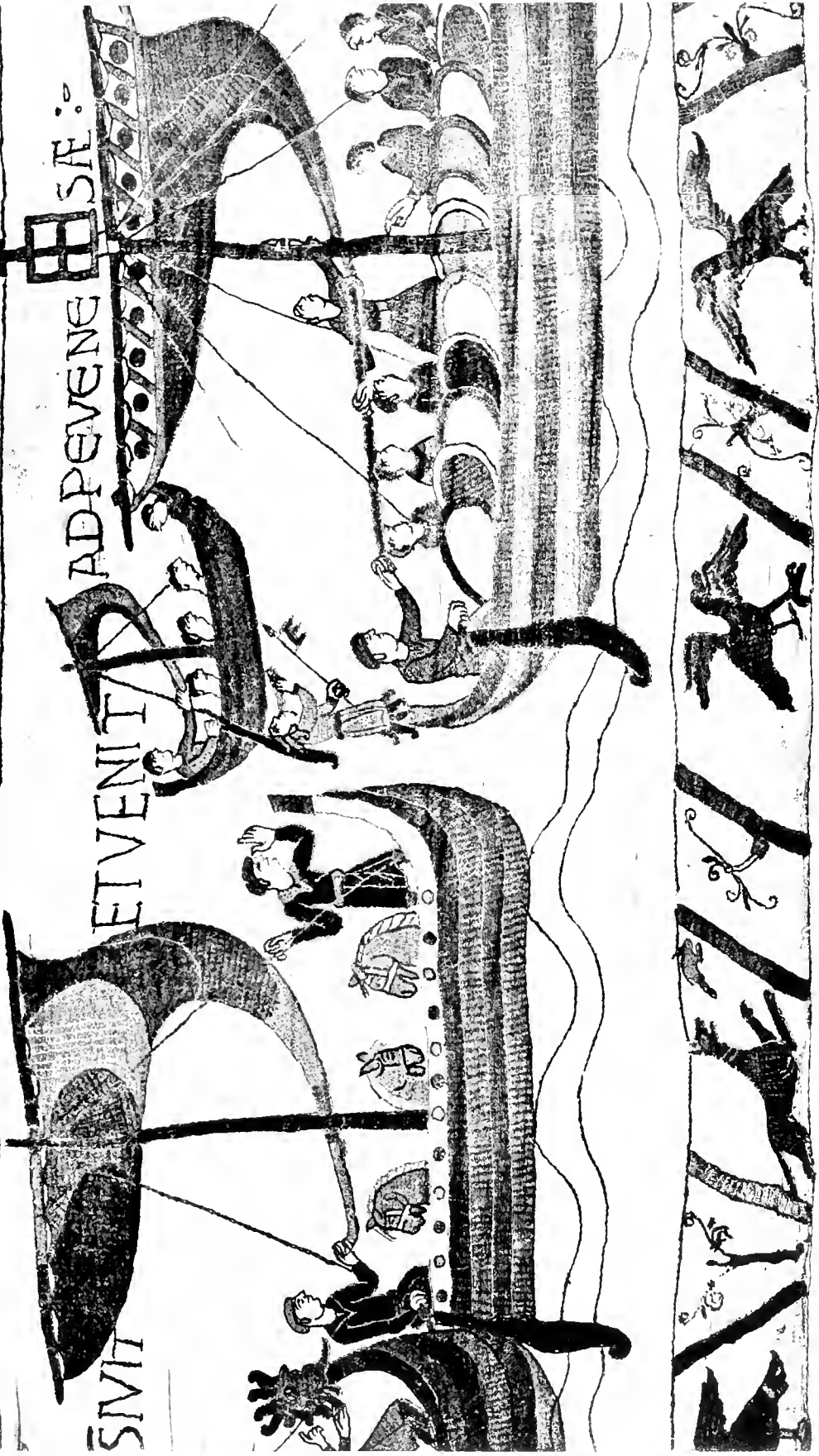
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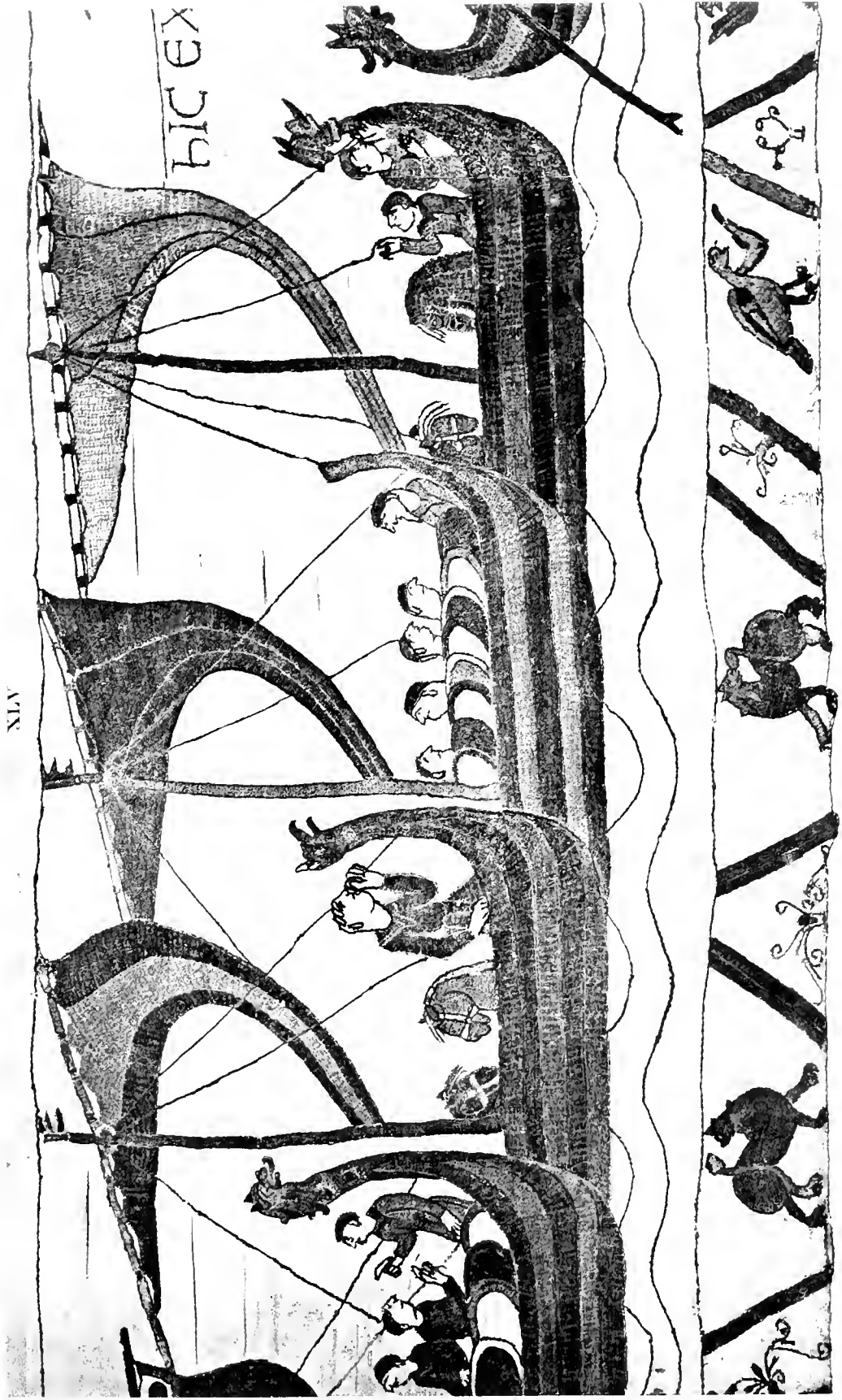
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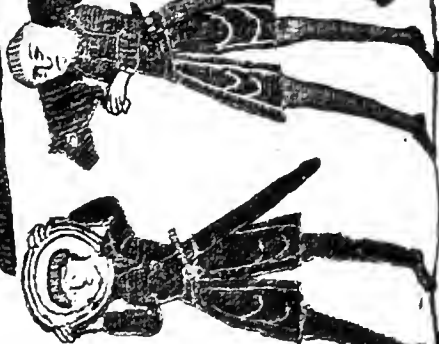
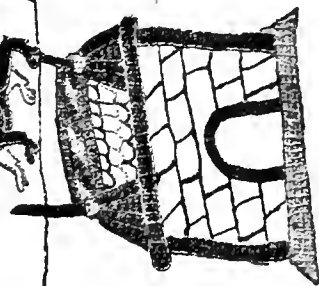
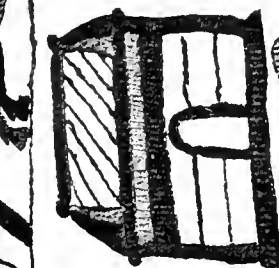
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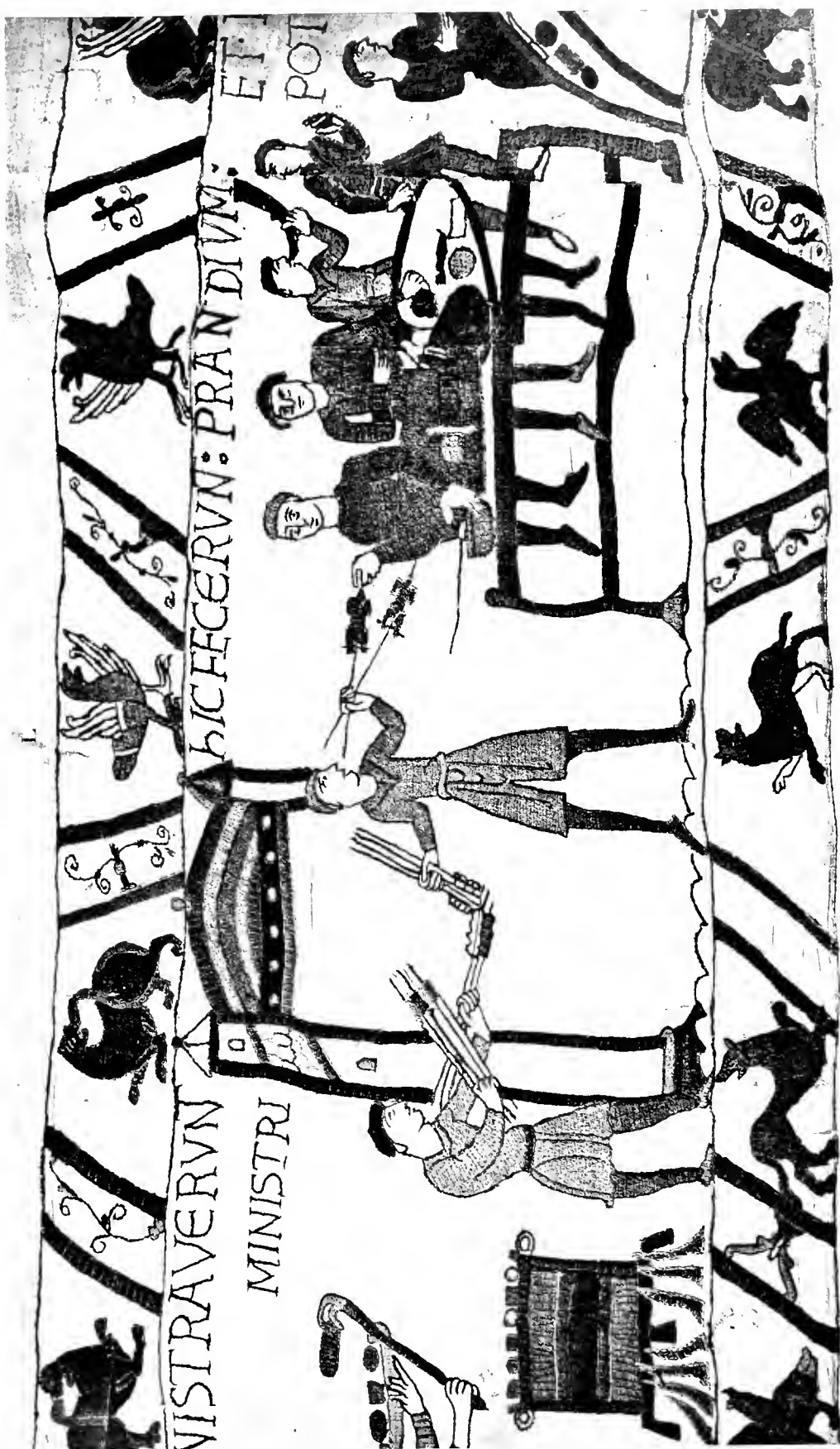
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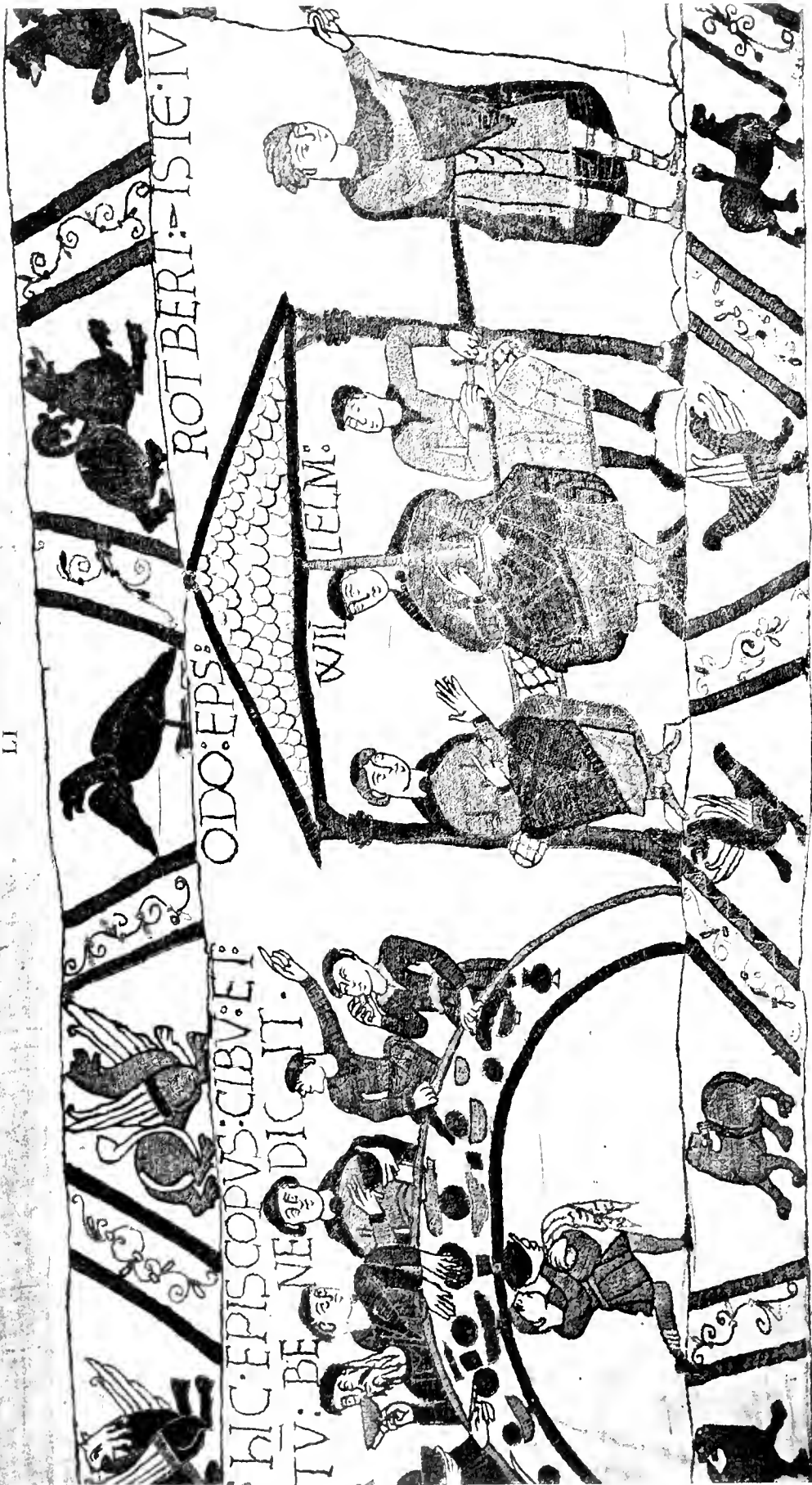


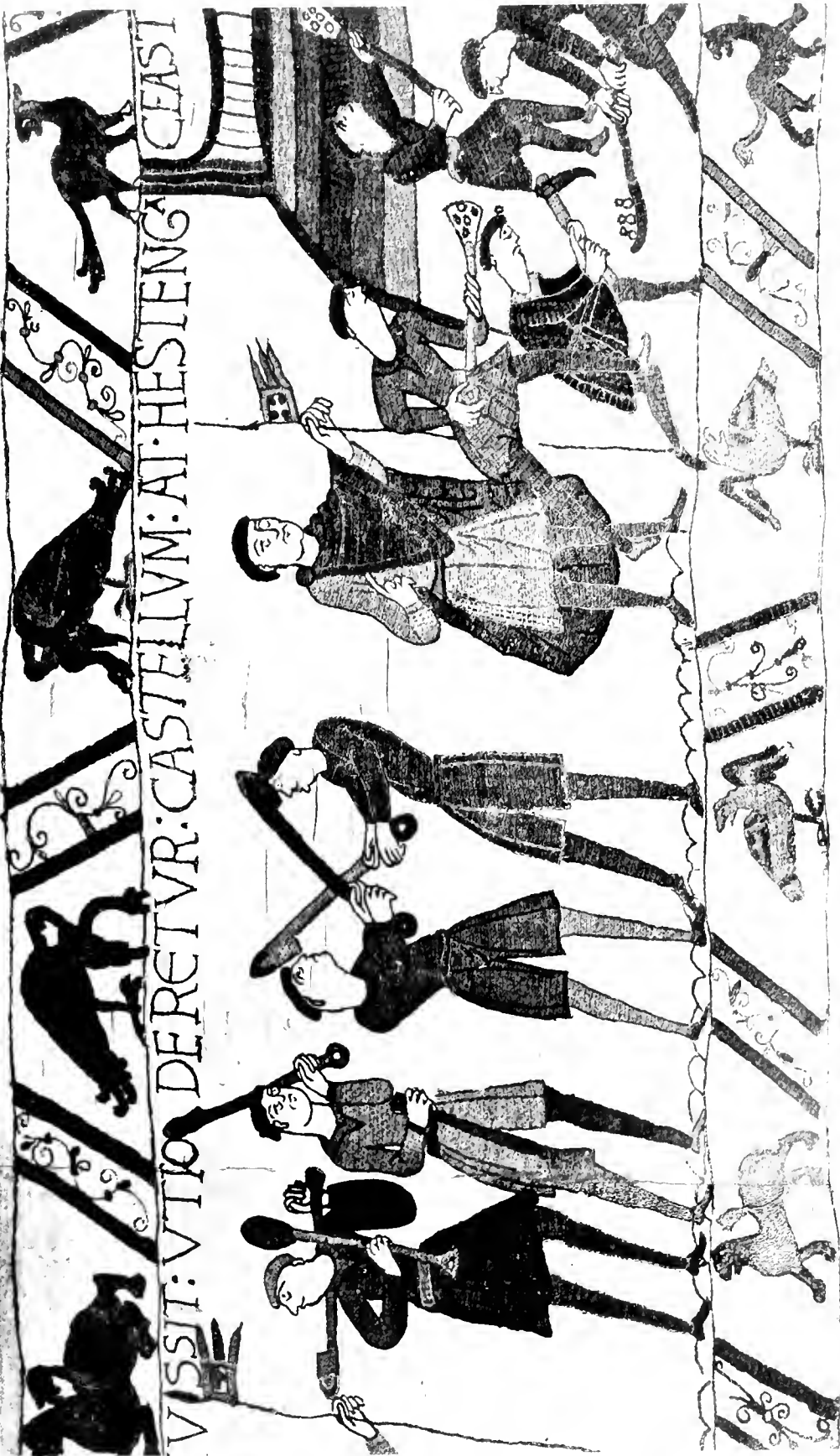
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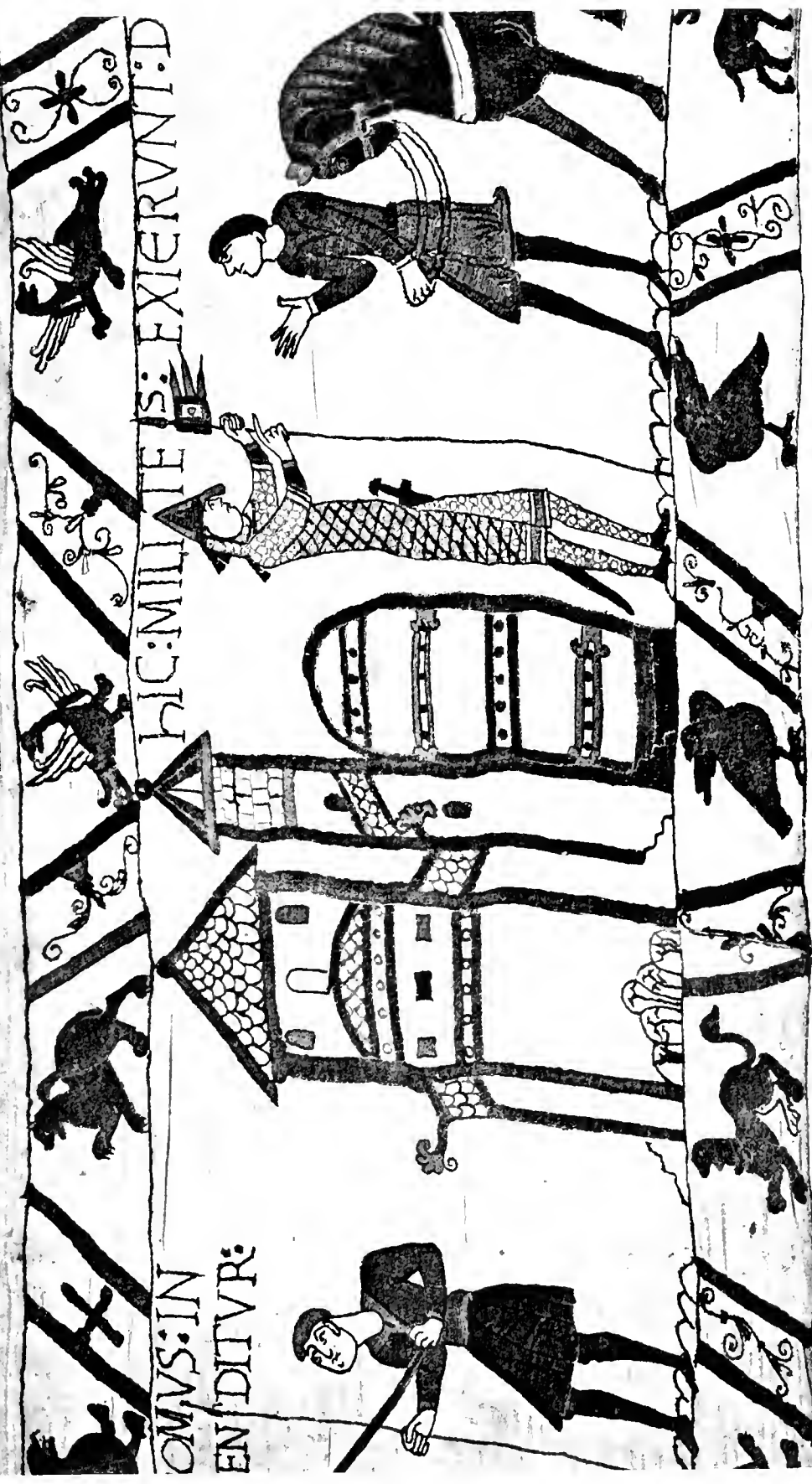


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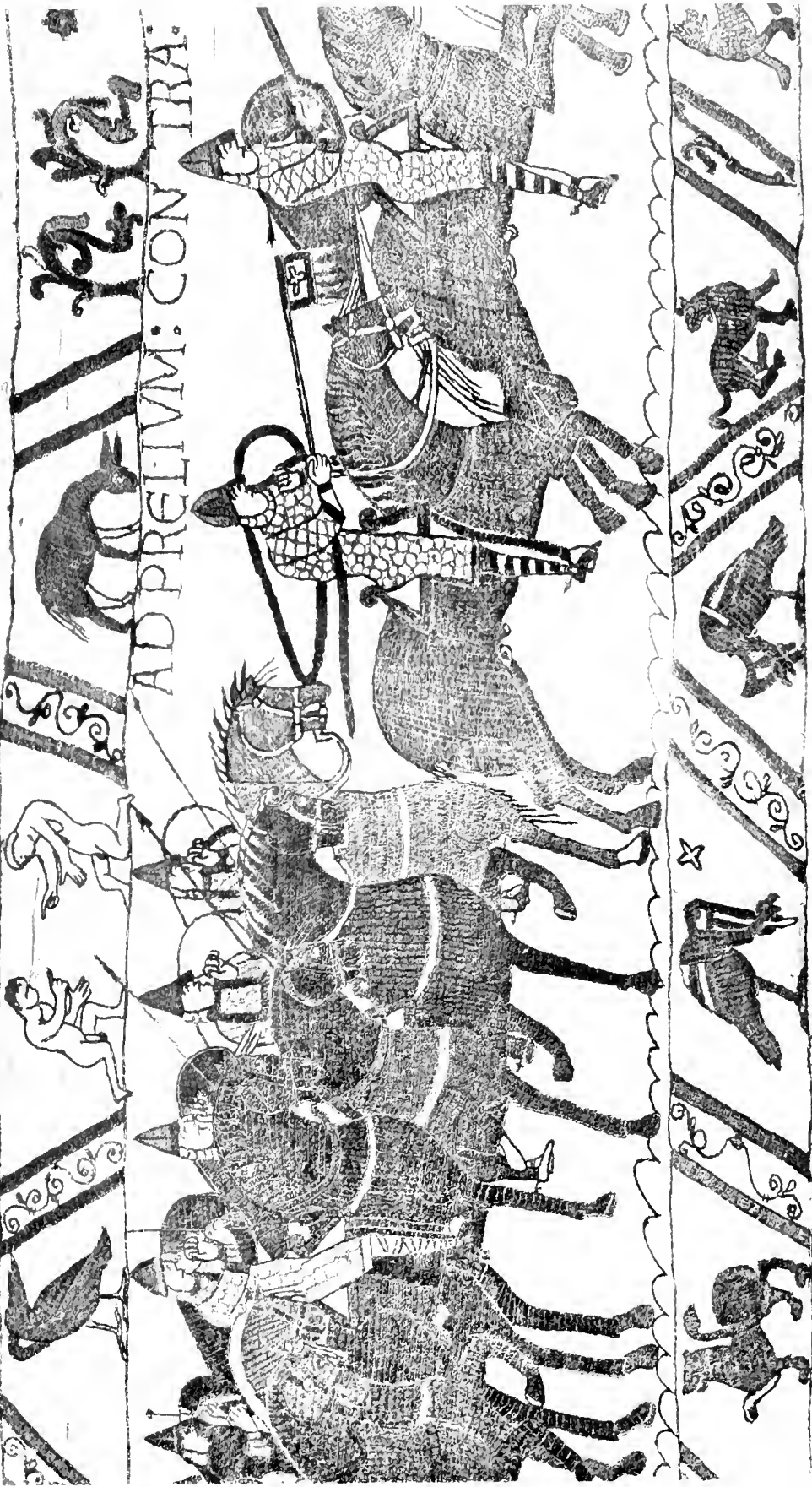
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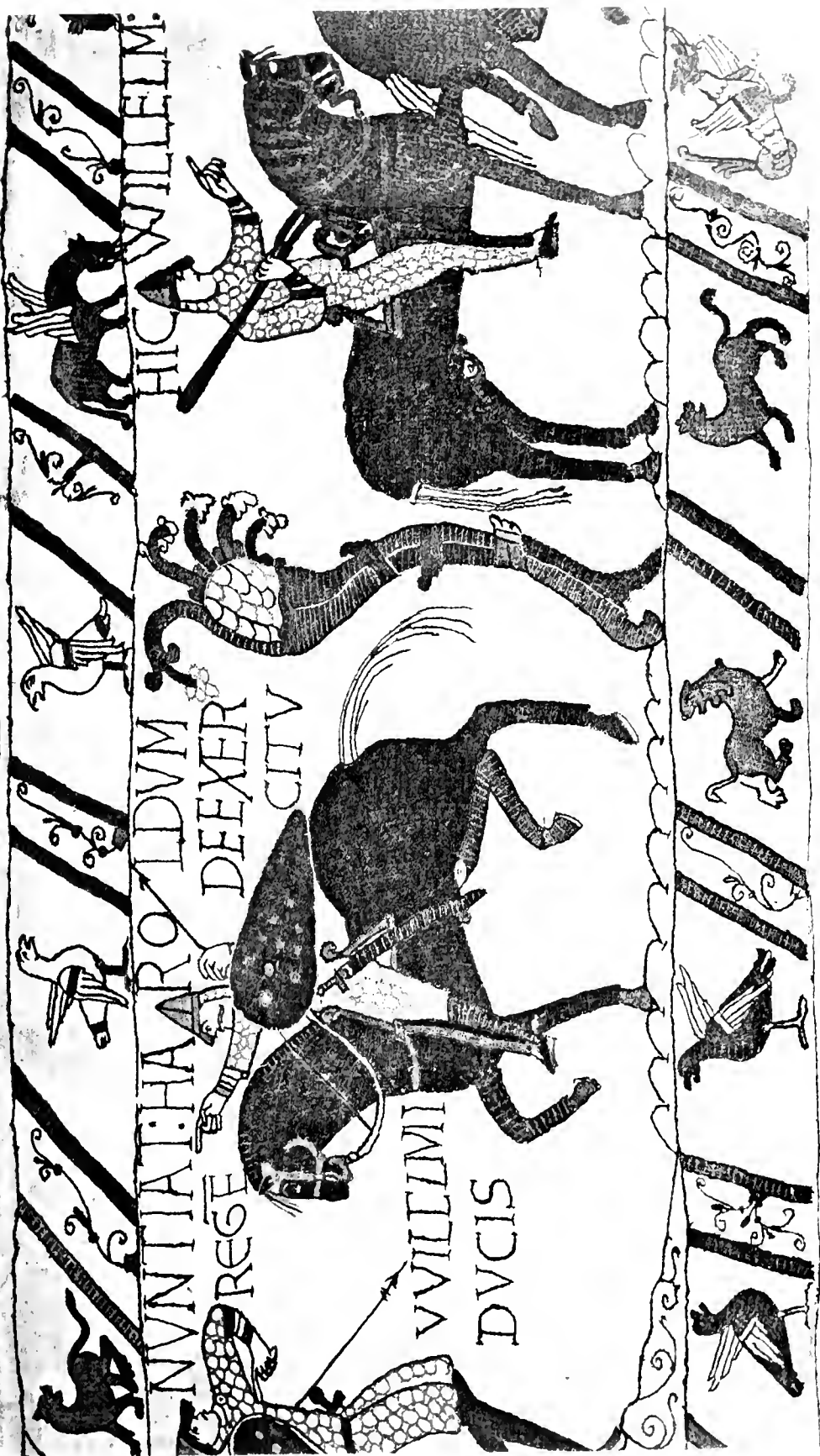
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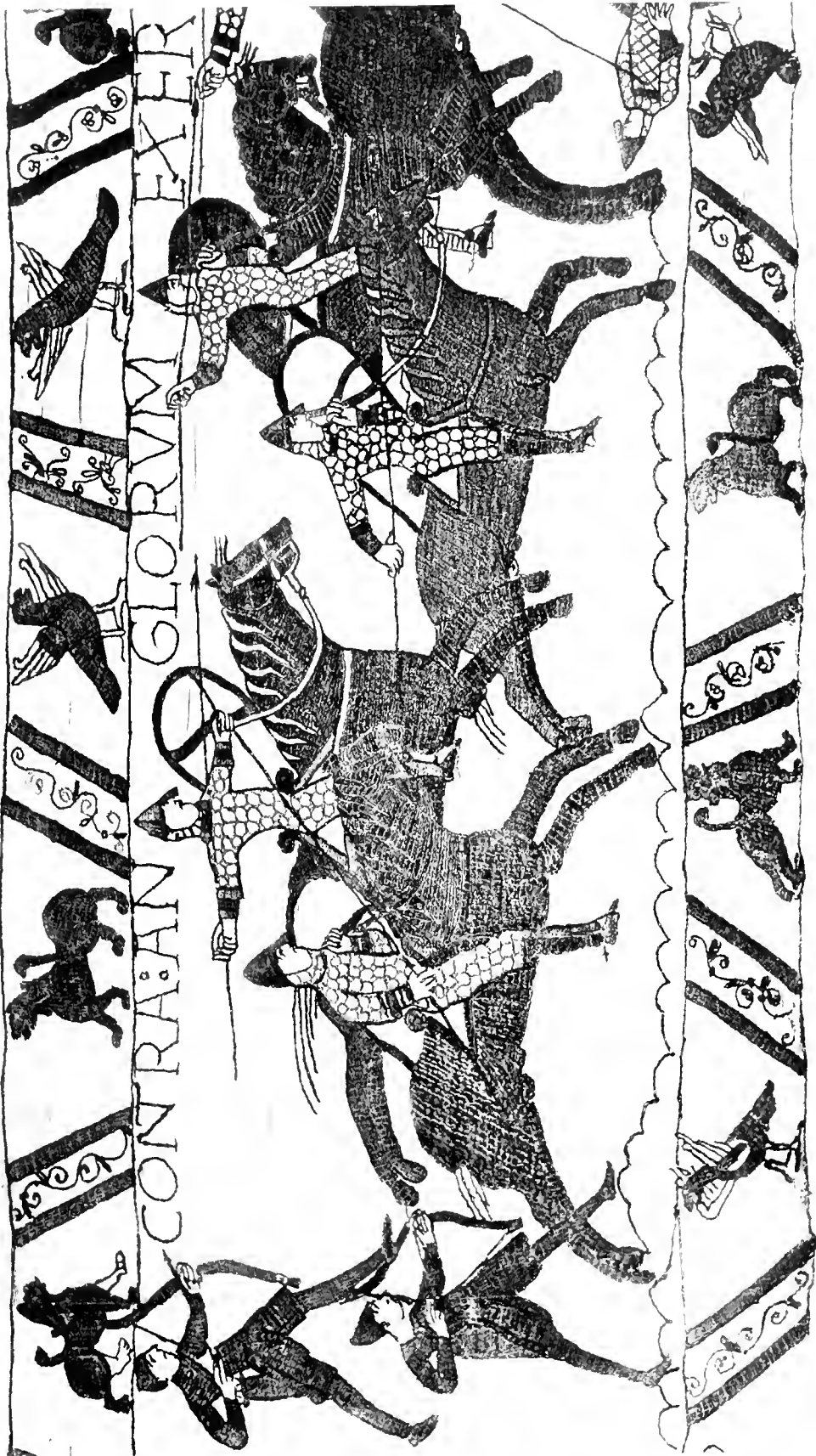


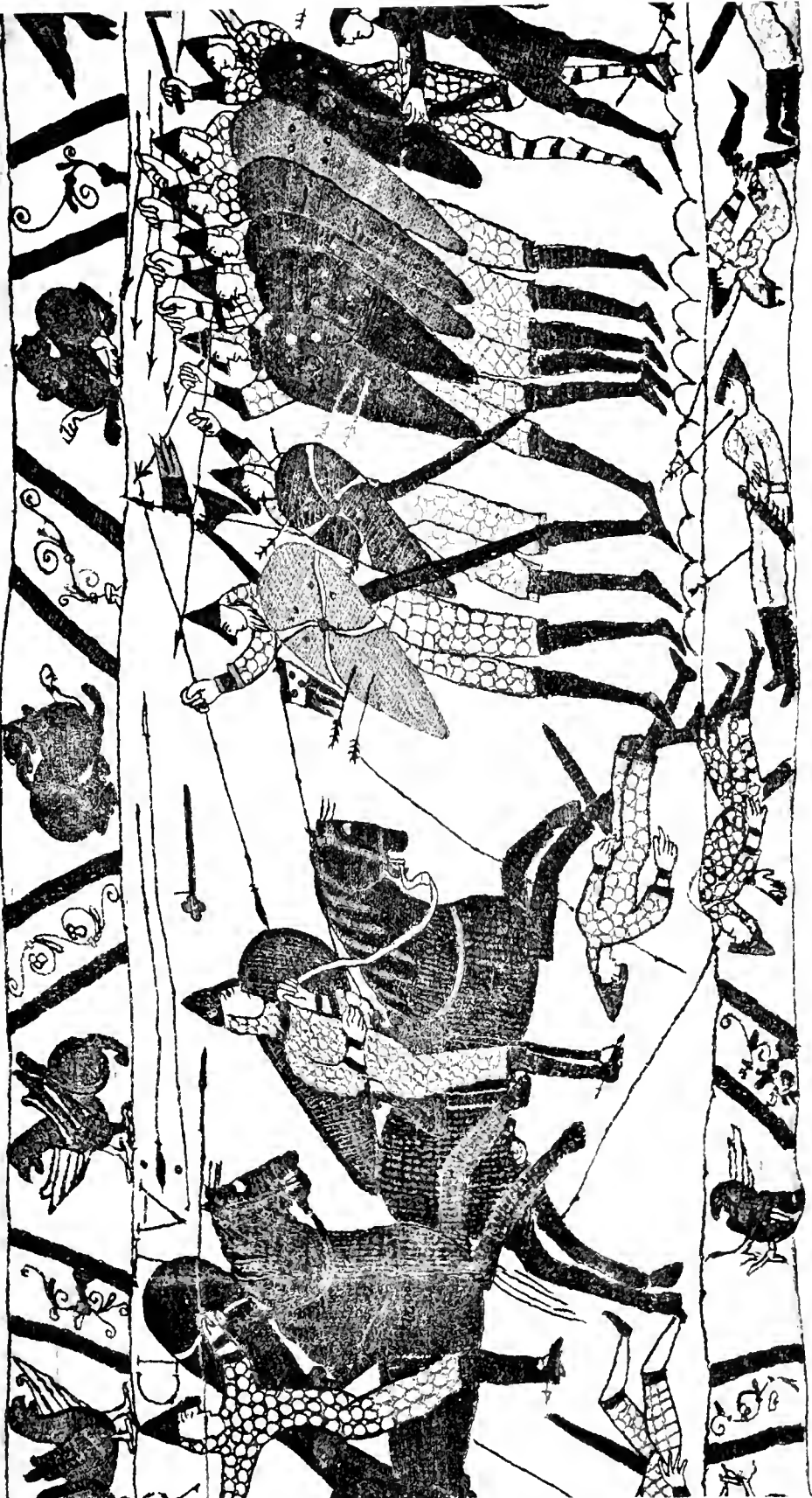
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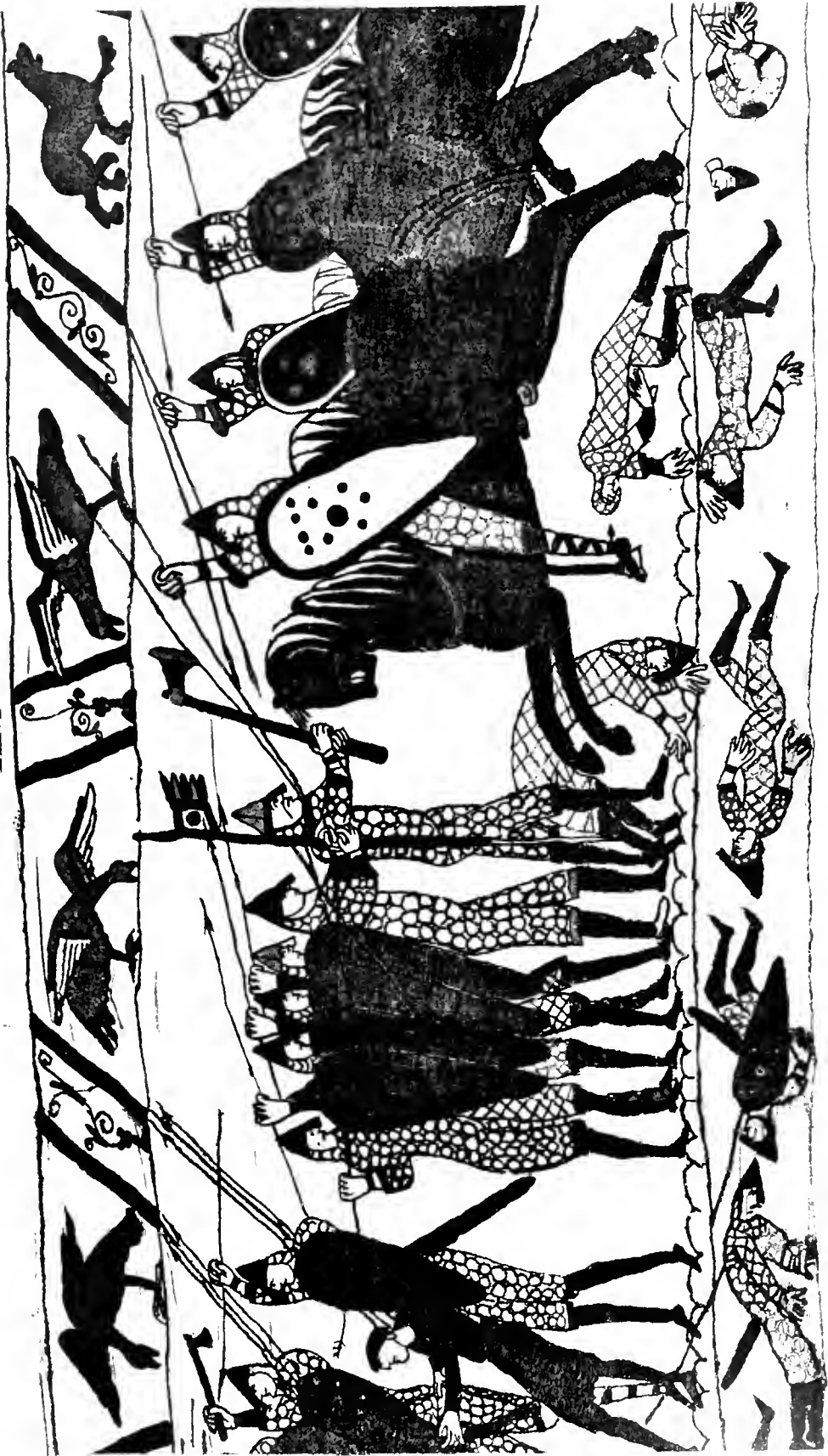
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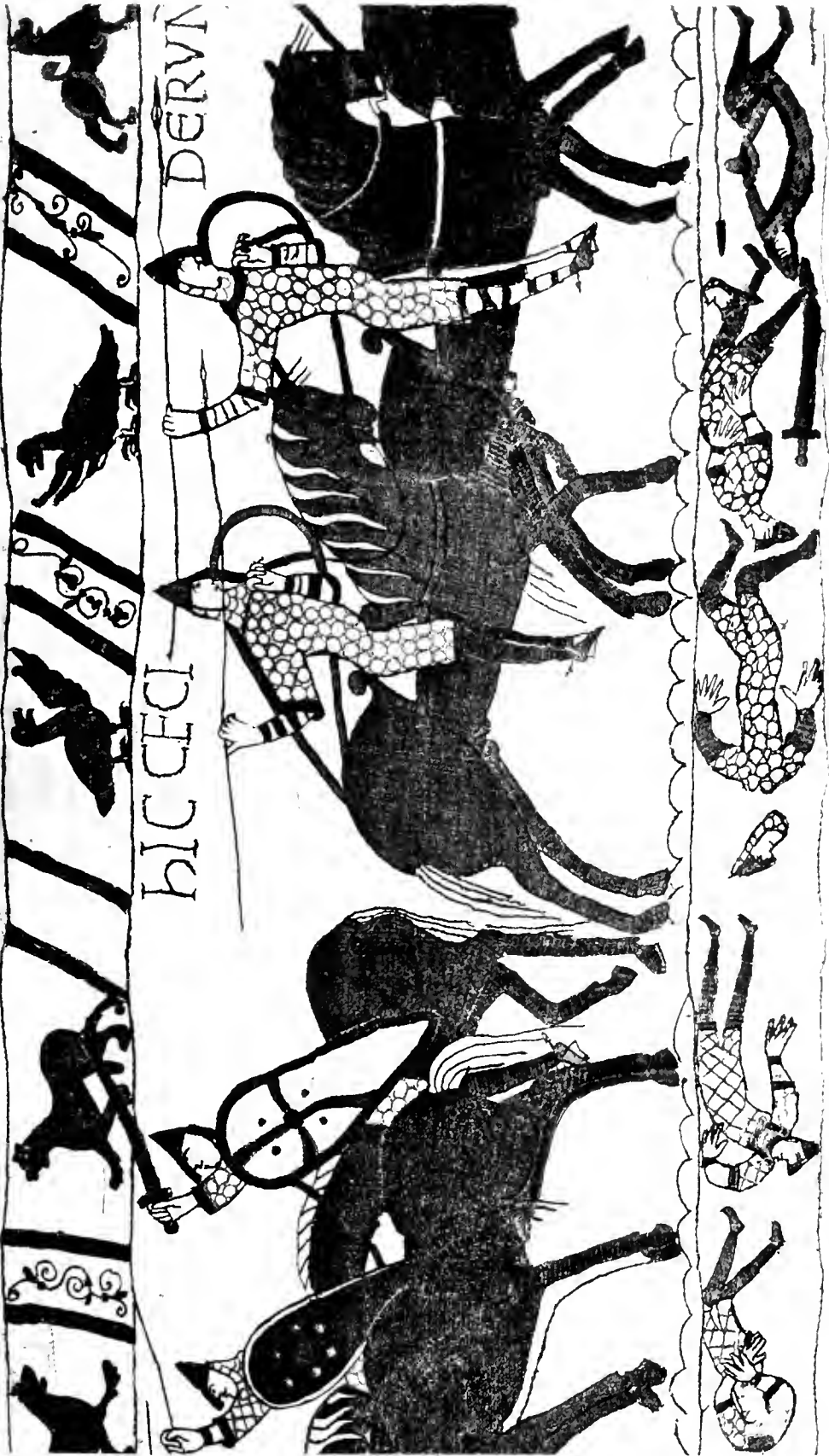


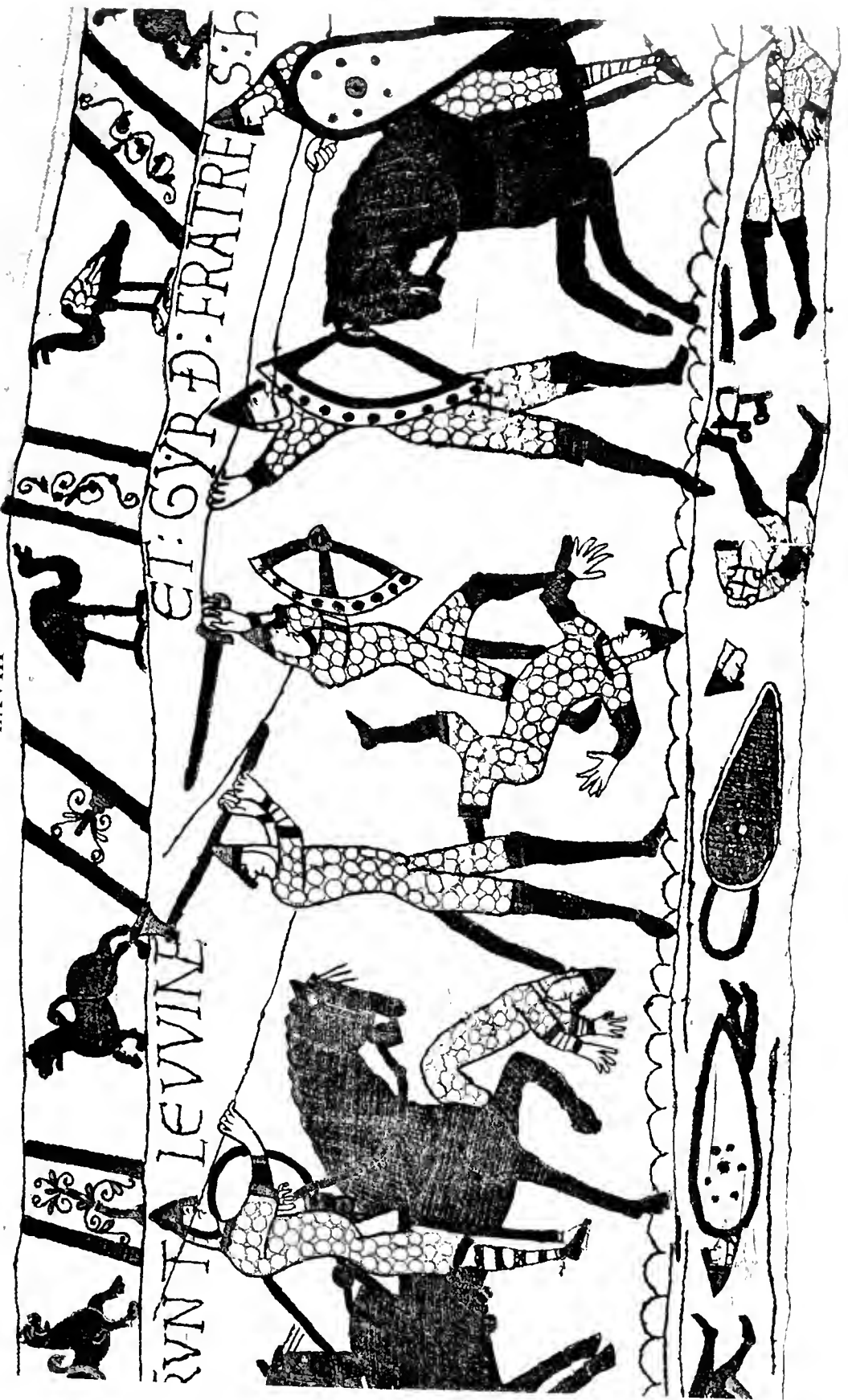


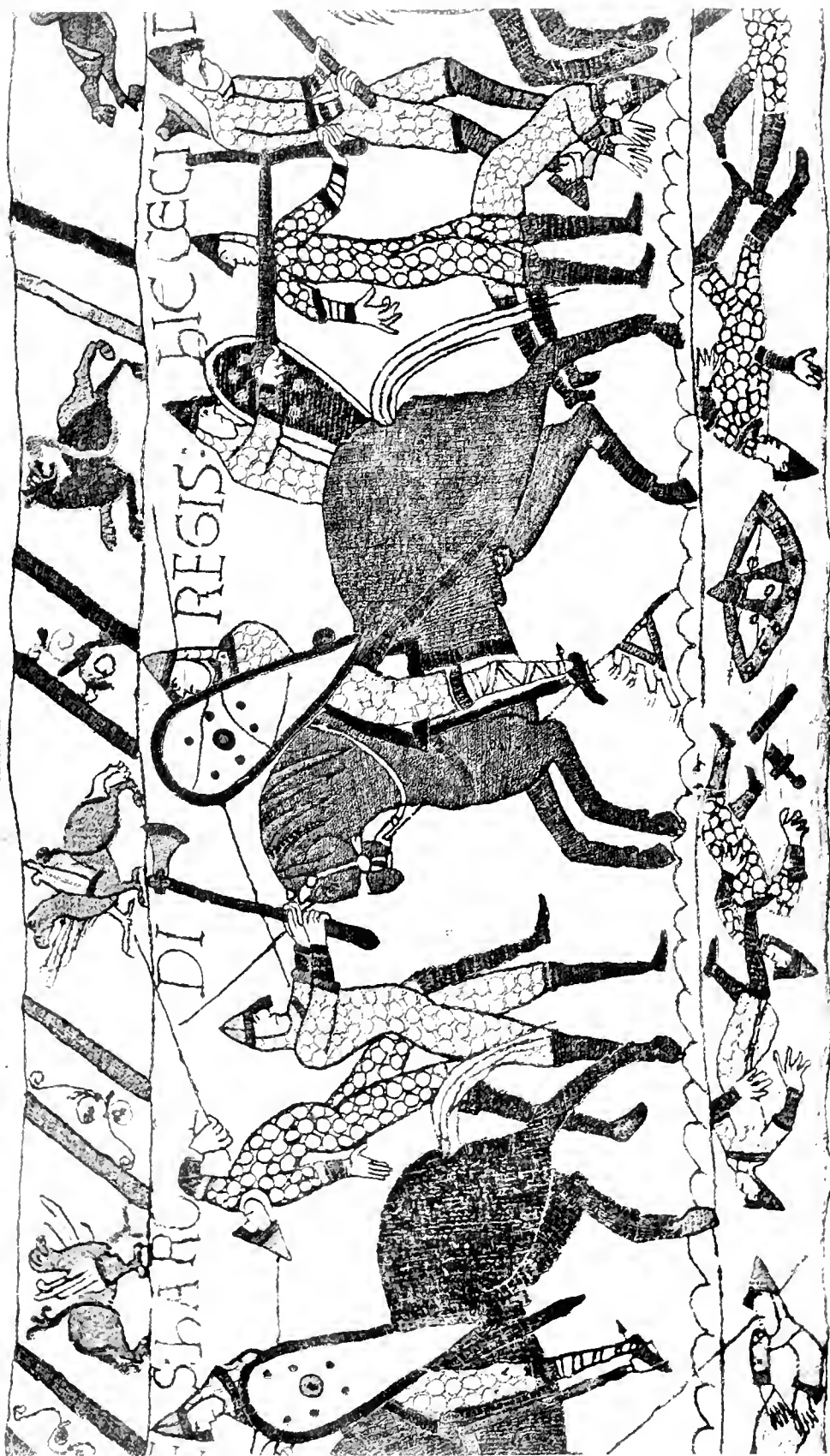


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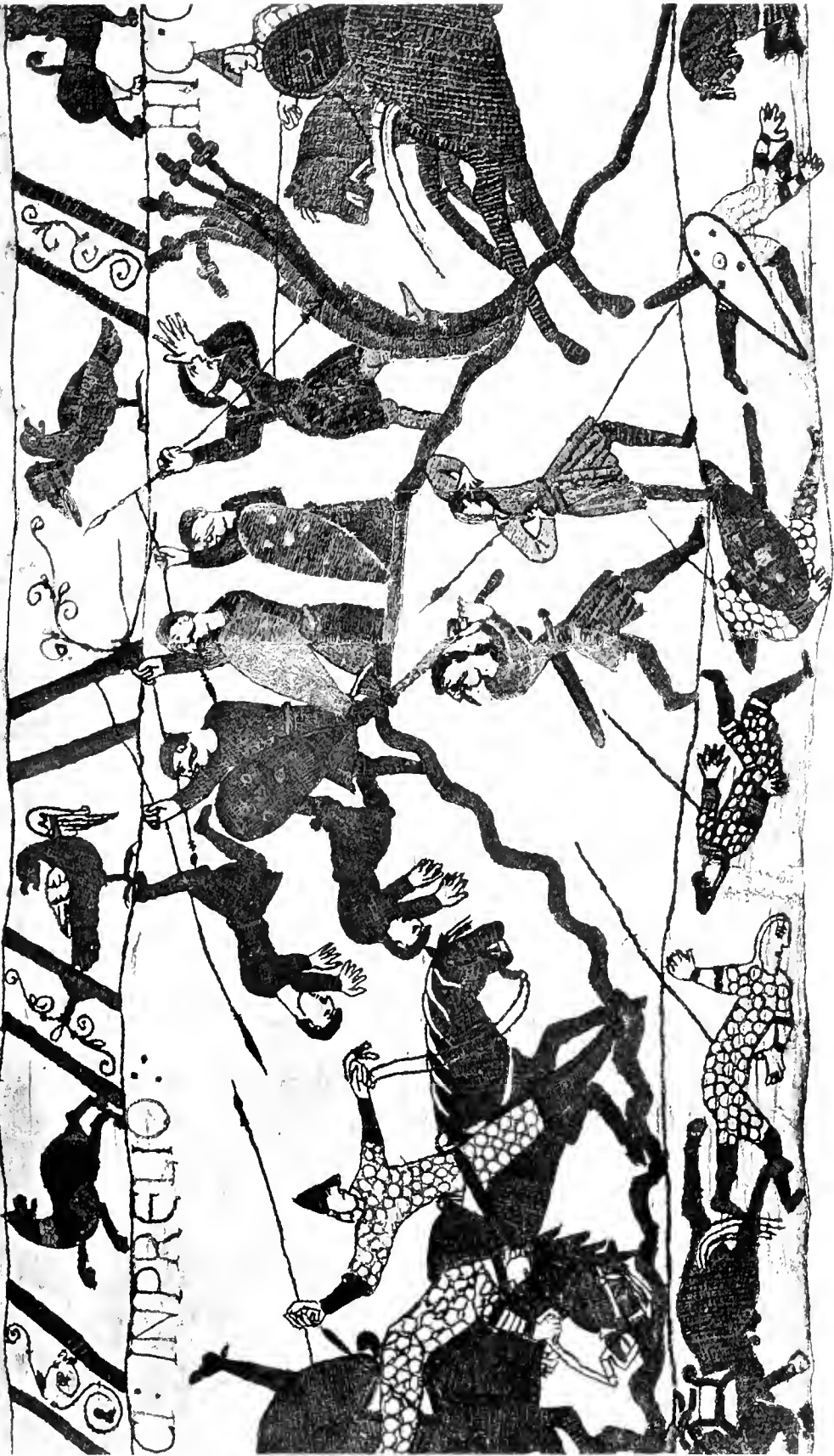
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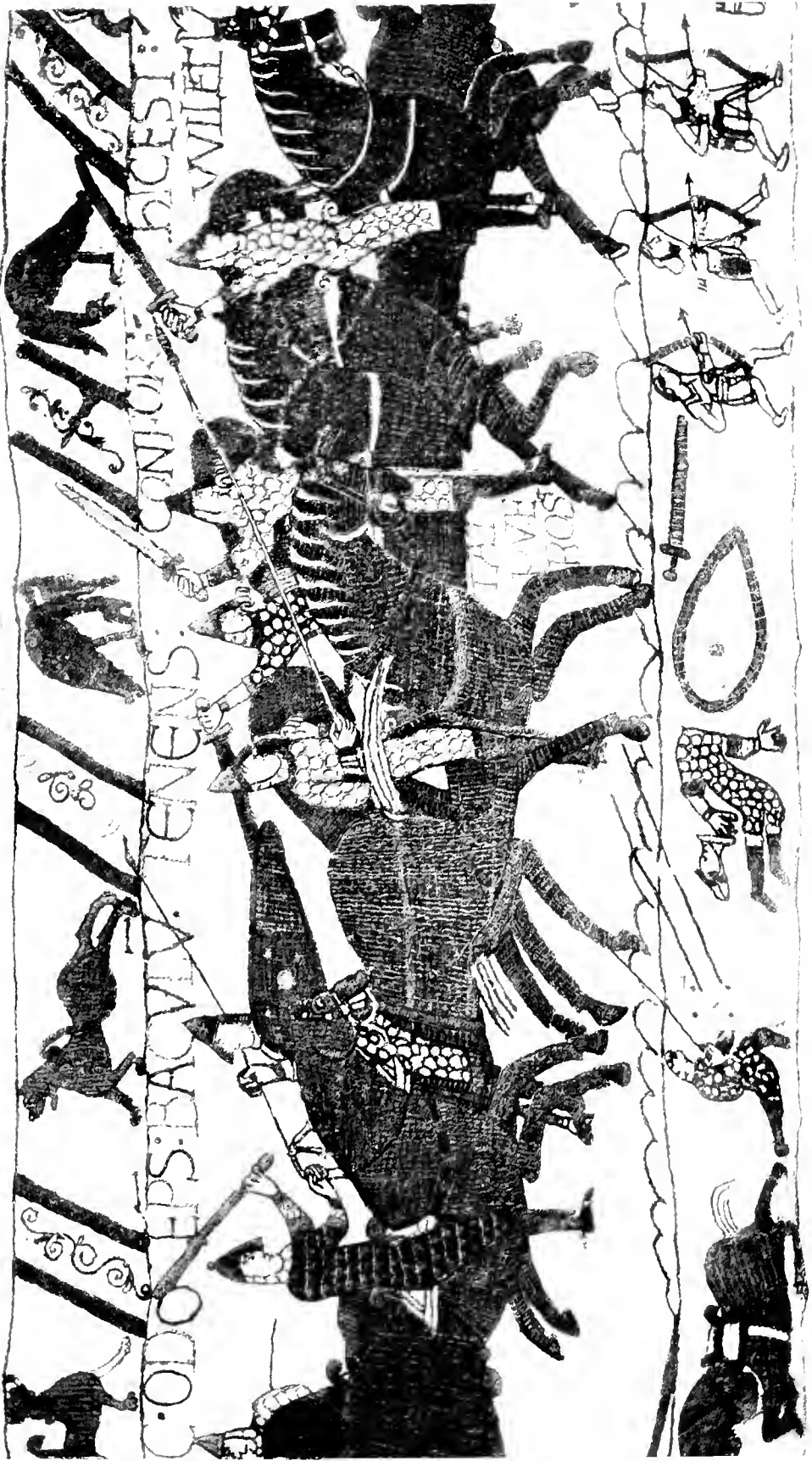


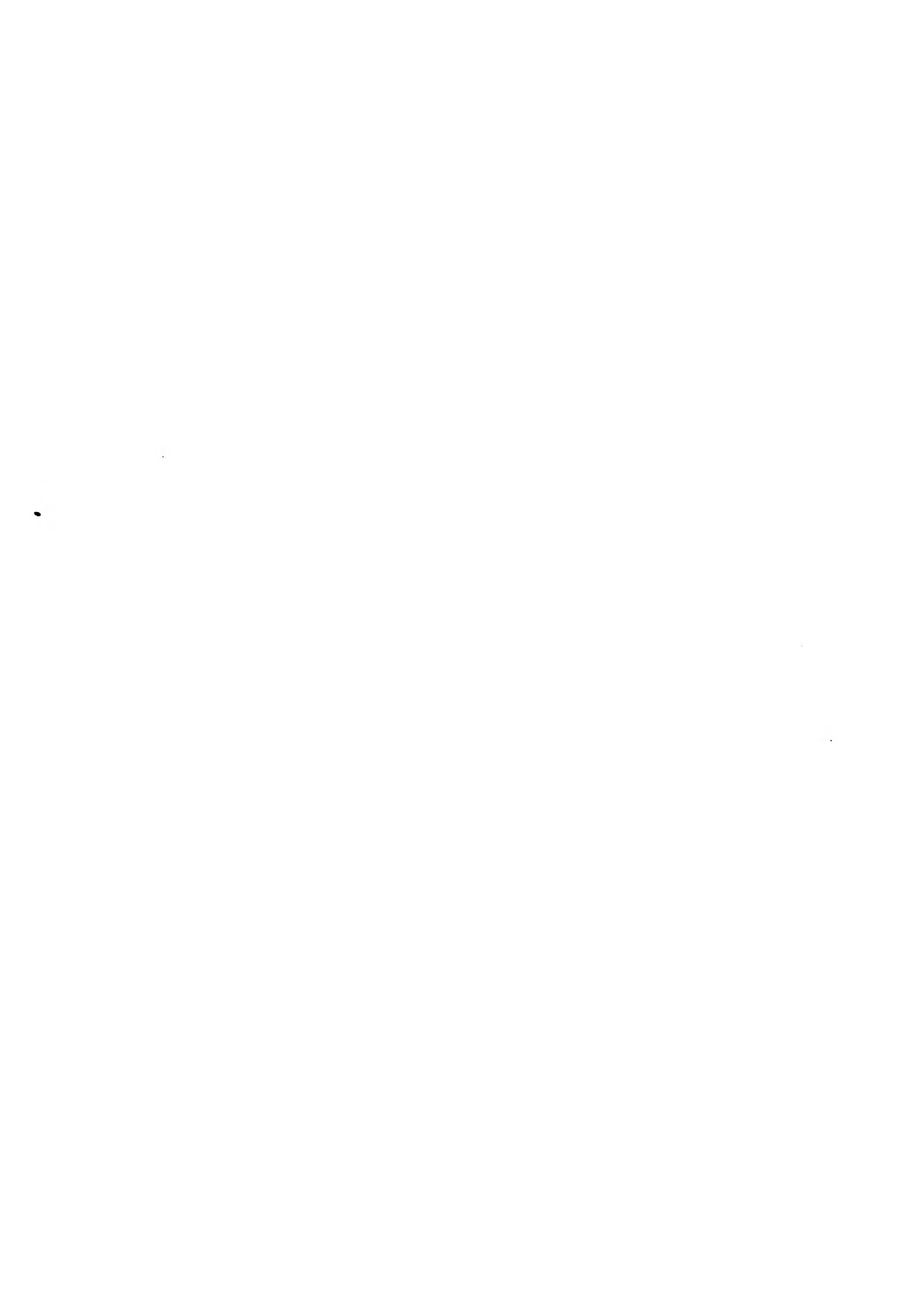






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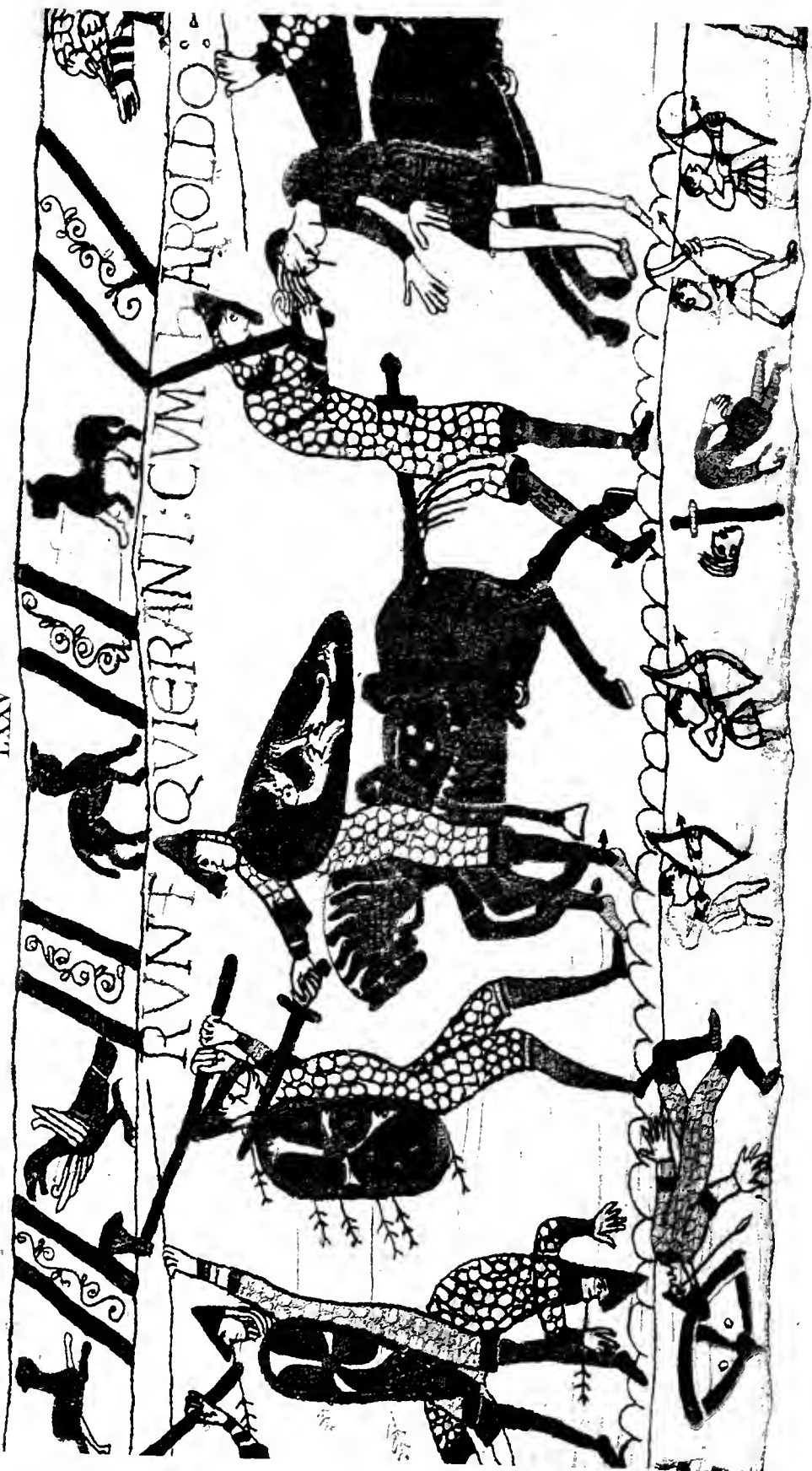






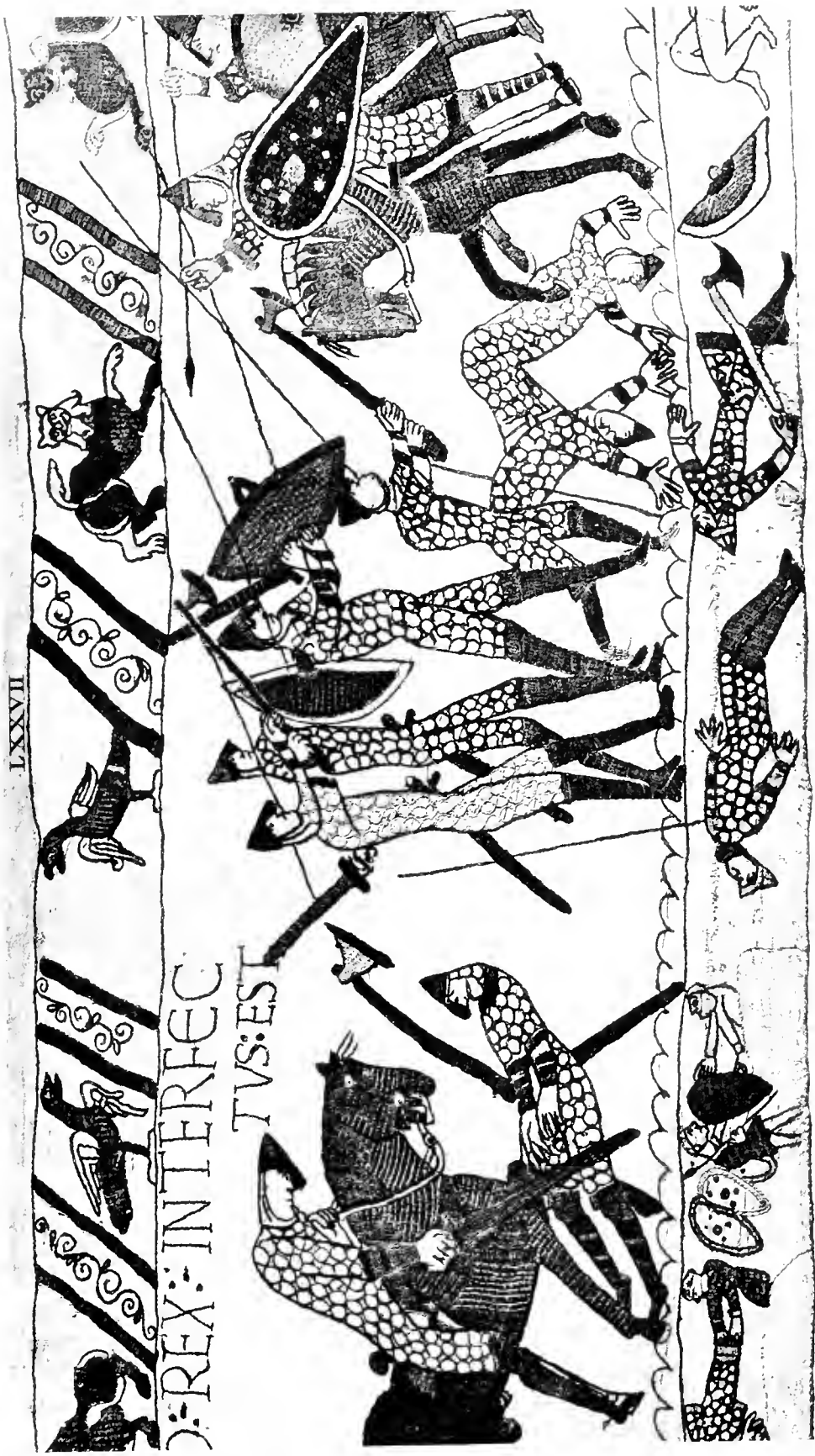


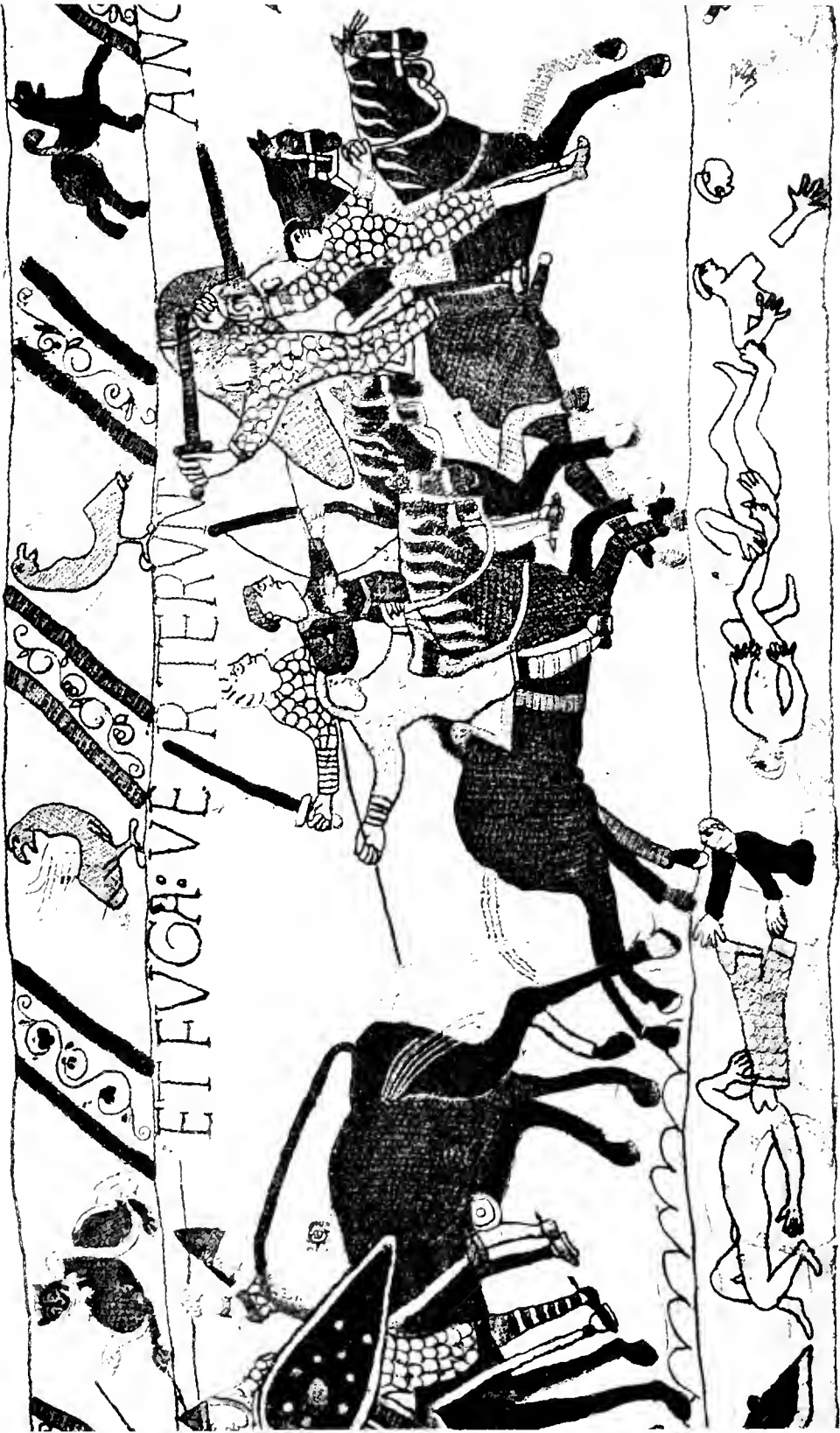
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APPENDIX.

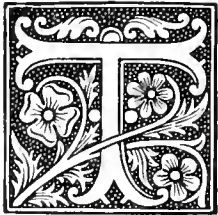




ARCHITECTURE.

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

NORMAN.



On its intercommunication with the Phœnicians, and to the Greeks who colonized Marfeilles, Gaul is indebted for its germs of art, though to the Romans she mainly owes a knowledge of its true principles, and to their dominion the erection of every species of public building.

The brightest days of Roman architecture are usually dated from those of Augustus to the close of the sway of the Antonines, but it was towards the end of this period that the purity of classic simplicity was lost in a rapid and complete decadence.

The palace of Diocletian, at Spalatro, presents a striking example of a debased style—arches for the first time springing from column to column without an intervening entablature, whilst many elements of Gothic architecture are shadowed forth in the quaint heads and figures which support the brackets, and the mouldings show that zig-zag ornament which was subsequently of such common occurrence.

The decaying architectural traditions of Greece and Rome were swept away by successive irruptions of the barbarians, and were replaced by what was, at best, but an imperfect and graceless imitation of the ancient work. Charlemagne did what was in his power to promote the establishment of artists in the north of Europe. His stay at Rome inoculated him with a certain love for architecture,

which occasioned him to elaborate the style subsequently known as Carovingian. Many pretentious works were executed in this manner, but the radical changes of proportion and intercolumniation which it introduced show it but a sorry development of its classic origin. Doric, with its severely sculptured capital, simple pillar, and solid base, modified to suit the exigencies of their day, may be considered the type of the architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries. The windows were round-headed and very narrow, being in the early work but a slit splayed inwards; the glass, when used, being fixed close to the outer edge of the wall. The buildings of these and the following century were inferior to the early Carovingian work, which, though debased, exhibited more talent and splendour in construction and detail than the later builders could produce. During the greater part of the ninth century France was in a state of hopeless confusion, whilst art was buried in the mists of ignorance and superstition. An opinion that the thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse would close with the tenth century spread with rapidity in Europe, and gained such entire credence that not only were no new constructions of importance commenced, but the existing buildings were suffered to fall into ruins.

With the eleventh century the reaction commenced, and town vied with province in the construction of public buildings; especially of ecclesiastical edifices. The churches then erected in Normandy display a sublimity in their great simplicity, grandeur of dimension and severity of style, often wanting in later and more ornate works. In these early edifices we first meet with that central tower of which such effective use has since been made in ecclesiastical architecture. The walls of these buildings were of the most massive description, built either in ashlar work of small square stones, the wide gaping joints filled with coarse mortar; or solid rubble with ashlar quoins; or casing walls were charged with a core of loose rubble. These latter were, however, so subject to the effects of the out-thrust that they were subsequently filled with a species of concrete. This improvement rendered the buttresses previously employed almost unnecessary, and its later use seems to have been as much for ornamental purposes as from a constructional necessity. The arrangement of long narrow stones diagonally in rows, in the manner technically known as *herring-bone* work, is a special characteristic of the work of this time.

The Norman columns were formed of vast masses of stone, and may be divided into four main groups; (1) round, either plain or ornamented, and with

square or round capital; (2) polygonal, most frequently octagonal; (3) a common pier, with shafts, usually set in the recessed angles of the pier, with plain or carved capitals; (4) a plain pier carrying a semi-circular arch.

The early Norman arch was very plain, its shape a half-circle, and composed of courses of voussiors corresponding to the thickness of the wall. The edges of these stones were left square. In later times the ornaments already noticed in the palace of Diocletian received a vigorous development, and entered largely into the decorations of the mouldings of the arch. Conspicuous amongst these were the alternate-billet, the beak-head, the bowtell, the chevron, the double-cone, the lozenge, and many others.

ANGLO-SAXON.

We have now briefly traced the rise and progress of Norman architecture to the period of the conquest of England, and turn to enquire for that of the Saxons. Here information is most meagre, and is confined to what may be gleaned from the illumination of missals and the obscure notices of contemporary authors. From these we discover that the framework of the houses was of wood, with plastered walls. In the better sort of buildings the quoins were of hewn stones set in long and short work, or the corners were faced with brick, which likewise ornamented the arches of the windows. The use of brick was rare, difficulty of manufacture rendering it an expensive material. As some of the chief characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon style we may mention the thick and unbuttressed walls, the arches of both doors and windows being rounded, or the tops of the openings being triangular; the jambs being of long and short work, and carrying either rudely carved impostes or capitals with square abaci; with, at times, rude and ponderous mouldings running round the arches. When two arches are conjoined they are borne by heavy low shafts, encircled with rude bands. When the arches are pierced in thick external walls the supporting shafts are set in the midst of the thickness of the wall, and carrying long stones traversing it. Arched openings in walls splay from both the exterior and the interior, the actual piercings being in the mid-thickness. The peculiar ornament made use of by the Anglo-Saxons points to traditional types of wooden construction and adornment, as in the architecture of Egypt, Greece, India, and Persia, the influence of a wooden original is similarly traceable. Probably much architectural detail was imitated from wooden originals.

It has been conjectured, indeed, from the absence of any remains, that the Anglo-Saxon churches were entirely built of wood; an opinion scarcely tenable, however, since Terrier, when enumerating seventeen hundred churches, specifies but one as built of that material; whilst Henry of Huntingdon specially notices this practice as a peculiarity of the Scots. From William of Malmesbury we learn that, whilst the frugal Norman was lavish in the construction of his castle, the Saxon cared little how he lodged if he had plenty to eat and drink; but this sarcasm, if true, does not apply to the churches, which were, we know, built at great cost and in a highly decorated manner, though information as to details of the style is wanting. It was doubtless derived from a Roman source, the design and execution being ruder than that of the Normans, whose contact with Roman influence was later continued.

MILITARY.

ANGLO-SAXON.



UNLIKE the Romans, who only threw up a bank around their camps, the Anglo-Saxons raised their entire station above the level of the surrounding land, the form which it assumed being usually circular. This hill was enclosed by a strong thick wall, within which were stations for the soldiers, whilst without it a deep and broad ditch encircled the whole, again encompassed by an exterior wall turreted in the Roman fashion, and resting on a strong vallum of earth. In the fortification of their temporary camps, as at Senlac, they were content to plant thick rows of strong stakes on hastily constructed earthen walls.

NORMAN.

The stronghold of the Normans was a more serious affair. A high mound of earth was surrounded by a vast *fosse*, on the inner margin of which a wall was built of squared logs, braced together, and strengthened by towers at convenient distances. On the central mound rose the citadel from which the whole works were visible, whilst to guard against surprise, the gate was approachable only by a wooden bridge carried on pillars over the ditch. In the tapestry such a bridge is clearly shown, whilst the wooden construction of the fortification is distinctly discernible.

The Bayeux tapestry contains thirty-seven representations of buildings, viewed from the exterior or interior, or treated in a conventional manner, which permits the inspection of the building within and without at the same time. Each class of architecture here finds its type, and we have examples of the domestic, military, and ecclesiastical architecture, the rise of which we have just traced.

1. Eadward's Palace, probably at Westminster, exterior. The simple semi-circular arch of early Norman work alone is seen; neither here, nor elsewhere in the tapestry does the interlaced arch of later Norman work occur. The face of the tower is covered with chequered work, of which examples still exist in Normandy.

2. Eadward's Palace. Interior.

3. Bosham Church. Exterior. A simple nave, lighted by a clerestory of small and possibly unglazed windows. The walls are buttressed. The door large in proportion to the size of the building, but is fairly in accordance with the usual Norman rule, viz., two squares in height, including the exterior ornaments. The roof is decorated with a cross at either end, and is covered with stone shingles, or tiles, rounded at the lower extremity and fastened to the framework with nails.

4. Bosham, probably the Manor House, showing both exterior and interior. Built like an ancient "peel-house," vaulted below and divided into aisles. The entrance to the large upper chamber, in which meals were served, being gained by a flight of steps without the building. If we may at all depend upon the accuracy of the proportions of objects as given in the tapestry, it will be seen that Eadward's Palace is larger than this house and Bosham Church.

5. Castle of Beaurain. Interior. A vaulted apartment carried on slender shafts, curiously floriated in the middle, and terminating in a heavy capital.

6. Castle, probably exterior view of the above. A flight of steps leads to a colonnade; plain semi-circular arches carry the vaulted roof, which is surmounted by a floral finial.

7. Castle, probably Rouen. Exterior. A strong square fortress, the ramparts of which are flanked with towers; in the centre rises a massive keep, the roof of which is vaulted. The ashlar work is very distinctly represented in this building.

8. Watch Tower. Exterior. A high building strengthened with buttresses; the roof is vaulted, and the face of the tower is covered with ornamental work. The windows appear to be furnished with shutters.

9. Palace. Interior. Probably interior view of No. 7. A vast apartment. The roof is carried on seventeen arches, which apparently represent a clerestory.

10. Ælfgyva's habitation. Exterior. Two columns, decorated with spiral ornaments, terminating at the top in conventionally represented dogs' heads, support a panelled lintel.

11. Tower. Exterior. Possibly a dove cote (see page 35), raised on steps. The lower portion is decorated with quatrefoil ornaments.

12. Mont S. Michel. Exterior. The ramparts are square and very massive, their foundations accommodating themselves to the surface of the rock. Above the walls rises the church of S. Michel de Tombelaine, an important building, flanked by towers, the roof being constructed in the same manner as that of Bosham Church. (See No. 3.)

13. Dol. Exterior. A citadel on a hill. The artist has so failed in his perspective that the details of the edifice are not easily made out. We appear to see the angle of a square tower; the palisades, fosse, and vallum being shown in section. The wooden bridge and entrance gate, already alluded to, will be noticed here.

14. Rennes. Exterior. On a mound, surrounded by a fosse and a strong stockade, stands a tower, the singular shape of which is probably due to the artist's imperfect knowledge of the laws of perspective; the walls are embattled, and higher still rises a quadrilateral tower crowned with a dome.

15. Dinan. Exterior. Would seem to have been a stronger place than either Rennes or Dol; the approach to the bridge is guarded by a gate, whilst its innermost end terminates in a kind of platform outside the main works. Holes cut in the palisades here take the place of battlements, and a massive keep of two stories tops the whole. The fosse, however, though surrounded by a vallum, is without an outer row of stockades.

16. Bayeux. Exterior. Approached by a bridge of the ordinary construction; above the walls rises the dome of the cathedral.

17. English House, at which Harold disembarks. Exterior. This is doubtless another view of the Manor House of Bosham, from which he started on his expedition. (See No. 4.) We again notice the vaulting of the lower portion, but in this view we have a feature, not observable in the previous one, viz., the pier or landing stage with its strange ornament.

18. A building on the road to London. Exterior. Only noticeable for the courses of masonry taking a diagonal instead of a horizontal direction.

19. Eadward's Palace, probably Westminster. Interior and exterior. A spacious chamber, the roof carried on rather slender columns. Curtains pendent from the roof meet a band of ornament running round the walls of the room.

Eadward's Palace. Exterior. Curious turrets crown the edifice, which appears to be actually joined to the newly-built minster.

20. Westminster Abbey. Exterior. A spacious building consisting of nave and chancel, the point of their junction being occupied by a lofty tower, terminating in a cross-crowned dome, and flanked by other towers of less dimensions. Two windows of a side are shown in the chancel, whilst the nave is lighted by a clerestory of eight windows, and its roof is carried by five arches. The roof itself appears to be of mason's work, and terminates in floriated decorations. A man is seen, as has been already observed (p. 45), fixing the weather cock, and, although it had doubtless been in use for some time, this is probably the earliest representation of such a machine.¹

21. Eadward's Death Chamber. Interior.

22. Room in which Eadward's body is laid out.

23. Apartment in which Harold holds his Court. Interior. Seems to be identical with No. 19, the little turrets being reduced in size for want of room, and the curtains and ornament omitted on account of the inscription.

24. An outer court or ante-room in Harold's Palace.

25. Another hall in the same.

26. Harold's Audience Chamber. Exterior and Interior. The roof is vaulted and borne by columns covered with spiral ornament. It is tiled and decorated with floriated finials, a small turret topping the whole.

27. William's Council Chamber. Exterior and interior. Seems to have been a spacious apartment, with the roof in the form of a compressed dome, the whole being lighted by a lantern or skylight in the centre.

28. Norman Store-house, from which arms are borne to the ships. A lofty building, with tiled roof, the ridge of which is curiously ornamented, carried by an arcade.

29. English Dwelling. Exterior. Apparently a stone building roofed with tiles.

¹ "Bulletin Monumental," vol. xv. p. 533.

30. English Dwelling. Exterior. A building entirely of wood, the planks used for the roof being laid diagonally.

31. English Dwelling. Exterior. A wooden structure seemingly roofed with shingles.

32. William's Temporary Banquet-Chamber at Hastings.

33. Apartment in which William holds his council of war. A simple building with sloping tiled roof.

34. Fort. Exterior. One of the wooden forts brought over in pieces by the Normans. The place of the mound of earth upon which forts were usually raised, seems to be filled by beams of wood braced together at the angles, earth being afterwards thrown up to give solidity to the whole.

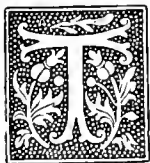
35. Tower. Exterior view. The blocks of which a part of it is built are laid in horizontal rows, and appear to be clamped together in a lateral direction.

36. English Dwelling. Exterior. The construction of this house is superior to Nos. 29 to 31, more resembling that of No. 4. The basement is occupied by a large vaulted apartment, over which rises a story lighted by a window of considerable dimensions; the tiled roof is decorated with pinnacles, and floriated ornaments adorn the edifice. Wood, however, must have entered largely into its construction, judging from the facility with which it is ignited.

37. An important building, which William appears to have adopted as his temporary residence. The massive door on its ponderous hinges is clearly shown.

ARMS AND ARMOUR.

DEFENSIVE.



HE armour in use at the period of the Conquest was of two kinds, formed respectively of leather and of steel.¹ The former was a modification of that used by the Anglo-Saxons. Of this description is the habit worn by Count Guy when he receives William's messengers. It consisted of a tunic, called *corium* or *corietum*, formed of numerous overlapping flaps of leather, with close sleeves reaching to the wrist. In the

¹ Sir S. R. Meyrick, "Crit. Inq.," vol. i. p. 2.

tapestry the Norman archers are clad in simple leather jerkins, with a cap to guard the head. A few, however, wear the defences common to the horse and foot of both armies.

The steel armour was formed of mafcles or flat rings, not interlocking but placed contiguously, and sewn upon a foundation of leather, or of some textile fabric. Such a garment was extremely heavy. (See p. 58.)

In the tapestry the Saxons frequently wear a tunic or cuirafs, whilst the Normans are usually clad in the haubergeon, which forms at once breeches, jacket, and hood. This garment was first drawn on to the legs, the arms were then passed into the sleeves, the capuchon was drawn over the head, and strapped tightly round the forehead, the opening over the chest being lastly covered by a square breast-plate, secured by leathern thongs, which fastened behind. The method of donning the haubergeon is best exhibited where Duke William arms Harold (see page 40), and where, in the concluding scenes of the work, the slain are being stripped on the battle-field. The head was protected by a conical steel helmet, without crest or ornament, and much resembling in shape that worn by the Danes of Cnut's day. Its sole defence for the face was a projecting bar, technically known as the *nasal*, which guarded the nose of the wearer.

The legs of the combatants in the tapestry are mostly bound with those coloured bands or hose which frequently formed a part of their ordinary costume, the most important personages alone being mailed to the ankle.

Besides the harness which he wore the knight of that day carried a shield to ward off the attack of his foes. Amongst the Normans this defence took the shape of a boy's bow-kite, with a point of exaggerated length. The inside of this shield was fitted with *enarmes*, two loops of leather by which it was borne on the arm, and with the *guige*, a leather strap and buckle by which the shield was, when not in use, slung from the warrior's neck, both hands being thus left free to wield the two-handed sword, the mace, or the battle-axe.¹

The best equipped amongst the English wear, in the tapestry, helmets and coats of mail, hardly differing from those of the Normans, from whom, indeed, the idea of their construction was probably borrowed. Most of their shields are likewise kite-shaped, but those which are round, with a boldly projecting boss in the centre, must be regarded as the truly national type.

¹ Sir A. Malet's *Wace*, p. 225.

Nowhere is a horse depicted in armour, a strong argument in favour of the tapestry's antiquity when Wace's description of the same incidents clothes the horses in steel after the custom of his day.

OFFENSIVE.

The offensive weapons used by either army were :—

NORMANS.	ENGLISH.
Bow and arrow.	Bow and arrow.
Lance.	Javelin.
Mace.	Club.
Sword.	Sword.
	Axe (mostly two-handed).

The archers wore their quivers at the waist, or shoulder, on the right side. The short wooden bow was drawn to the hip. Important as a part of the Norman armament, the bow can scarcely be reckoned amongst the English weapons of the day (see p. 76). The lance of the Normans, long but tolerably light, was borne aloft in mid-air instead of being laid in rest after the manner of later days, thus more nearly resembling the English javelin. The long broadsword, straight and cross-hilted, was common to both armies, whilst William and Odo alone bear that crushing mace for which the club of their adversaries was so poor an equivalent. The only exclusively English arm was the battle-axe, fixed to a long handle and wielded with both hands—a deadly weapon, but leaving the body of the striker exposed. A one-handed axe of smaller construction is likewise shown in the tapestry.

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It is not pretended here to cite all works in which a reference to the tapestry is to be found, but an endeavour has been made to bring together the titles of such works as are either entirely devoted to the subject or contain references to it of some importance.

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The latter reproduced under the title Letters written during a Tour through Normandy, Brittany, and other parts of France, in 1818: including local and historical descriptions; with remarks on the manners and character of the people. By Mrs. Charles Stothard. With numerous engravings, after drawings by Charles Stothard, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1820.

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Les Anciennes Tapisseries Historiées, ou collection des monumens les plus remarquables de ce genre qui nous sont restés du moyen âge, à partir du xi^e siècle jusqu'au xvi^e inclusivement. Texte par Achille Jubinal, gravures par les meilleurs artistes, d'après les dessins de Victor Sanfonetti. 2 vols. 123 coloured plates. Oblong fol. Paris, 1838-9. *Vide* vol. i. p. 7.

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Normandy Picturesque, by Henry Blackburn. With numerous illustrations. 4to. London, 1869.

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Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'époque de la Renaissance, par Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob). Ouvrage illustré de dix-sept planches chromolithographiques exécutées par F. Kellerhoven, et de quatre cents gravures sur bois. Imp. 8vo. Paris, 1869.

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Notice Historique et Descriptive sur la Tapifferie dite de la Reine Mathilde exposée à la Bibliothèque de Bayeux par l'abbé Laffetay, conservateur de la Bibliothèque. 8vo. pp. 75. Bayeux, 1873.



BIOGRAPHY.



THE following fifteen persons are mentioned by name in the tapestry :—King Eadward, Harold, Guy of Ponthieu, Duke William, Conan, Archbishop Stigand, Bishop Odo, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Mortain, Leofwine, Gyrrh, Tuold, Wadard, Vital, and Ælfgyva. Of the seven latter personages little more can be said than the incidental mention made in the text ; but of the others short biographical notices are subjoined, to which is added a genealogical table showing the connection which existed between many of the principal actors in the story of the conquest.

EADWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Eadward, who about a century after his death was honoured with the appellation of “The Confessor,” was the elder son of Æthelred II. by his second wife, Emma, daughter of Richard I., Duke of Normandy. Eadward was born about A.D. 1001, and resided during some twenty-seven years at the Norman court, where he contracted the predilection for the people and manners of that nation which proved subsequently so hurtful to the interests of England. Eadward was, on the death of Harthacnut in 1042, crowned in his stead, being largely indebted to the influence of Earl Godwine, whose daughter Eadgyth he took in marriage, for his elevation to the throne. French fashions and language were introduced at court, to the great displeasure of the English nobility, who were thus ripe for that rebellion which was brought to a head when the unarmed citizens of Dover, a town under Godwine’s protection, were butchered by the mail-clad Eustace of Boulogne. Godwine and Eadward met with their armies, but the matter was referred to the arbitration of the Witan, who found for the king, and included Harold, Sweyn, and Toftig in the sentence of their father Godwine. The Earl flew to Flanders with one of his sons, the others taking refuge in Ireland, whilst his unfortunate daughter, Eadgyth, was consigned to the convent of Wherwell. In 1052 Godwine and his sons returned at the head of an armed band,

marched upon London, and compelled the king to reinstate them in their honours and to rid the country of the Norman intruders. Godwine died in the following year, but his son Harold succeeded to his title and estates. Having no child of his own, for his gentle wife had been made the victim of his mistaken religious zeal, he recalled Edward the Outlaw from Hungary, who, dying in 1057, left Eadgar Atheling the sole survivor of the race of Cerdic. He was too far off to assert his claim upon the death of Eadward (5th Jan. 1066) by which the throne of England became vacant.

The chief acts of Eadward's reign were the compilation of a code of laws and the remission of the *Dane-geld*. In appearance Eadward is described as having been handsome, moderately tall, with a face full and rosy, and snowy white hair and beard. His beard he wore long, according to what seems to have been the older fashion both of England and of Normandy, and he was remarkable further for the length and whiteness of his hands. When not excited by passion, he was gentle and affable to all men; he was liberal to the poor and to his friends; but he had the special art of giving, even a refusal, graciously. In public he always preserved his kingly dignity, though he took little pleasure in the pomp of royalty. In private company, though he never forgot his rank, he could unbend, and treat familiar friends as an equal.¹

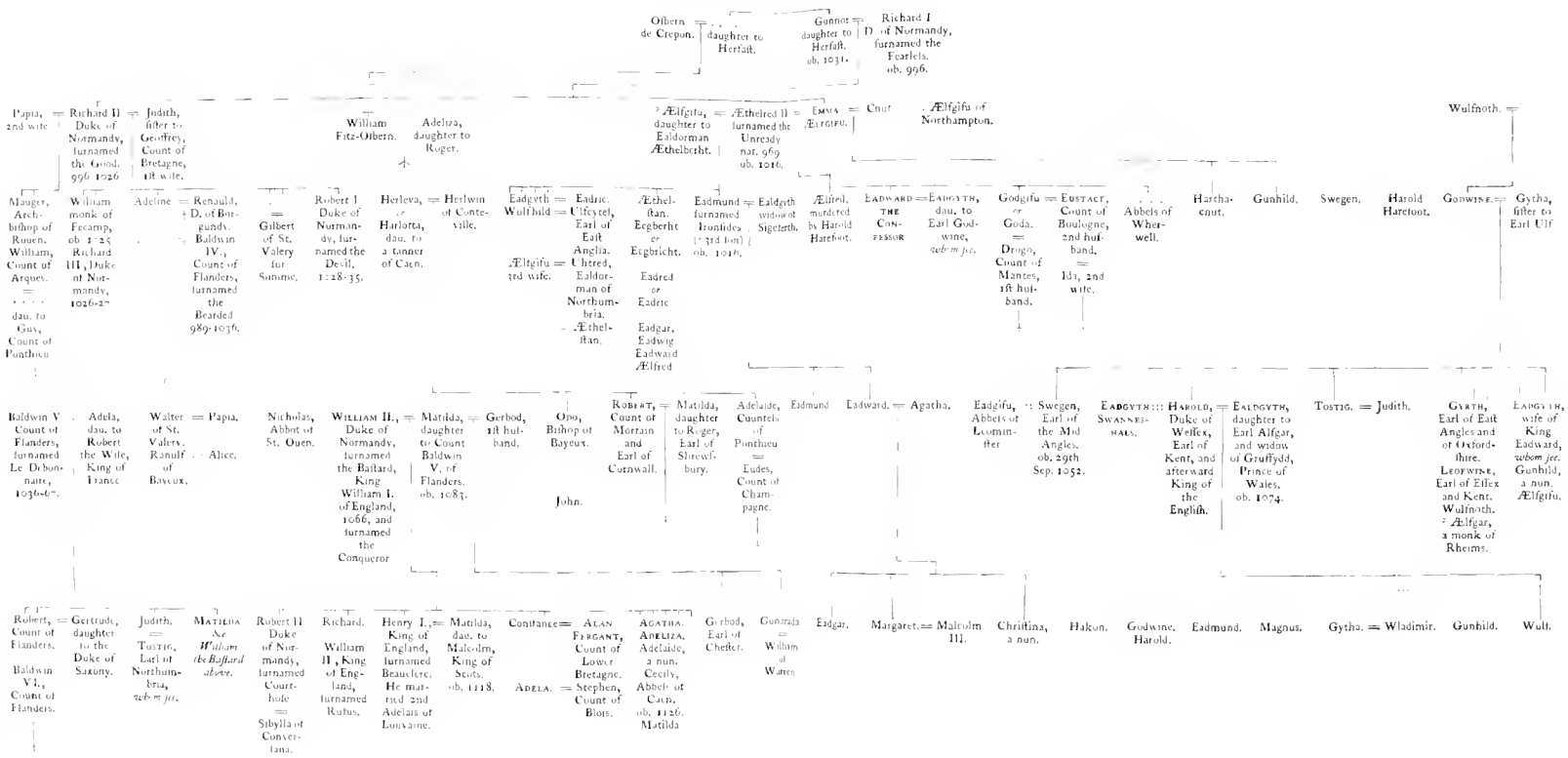
HAROLD.

Harold, second son of Earl Godwine by his wife Gytha, became on his father's decease Earl of Kent, a position which included jurisdiction over Suffex and Wessex. His earldom of the East-Angles was transferred to Ælfgar, but Harold obtaining his outlawry on a charge of treason, he fled to Ireland, whence he led a Danish horde to harry the English coasts; the Welsh proving his ready allies. Harold marched against the rebels, but no fighting ensued, Ælfgar being restored to his honours, which he lived but a year to enjoy. Harold now applied himself so vigorously to the punishment of the Welsh for their share in the insurrection, that it was only when, in 1063, he received the head of Gruffydd, Prince of Wales, in token of submission, that hostilities ceased. Some two years later the expedition was undertaken which resulted in Harold's shipwreck and captivity,

¹ Freeman's "Norm. Conq." vol. ii. p. 27.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

Showing the connection existing between some of the persons represented in the Tapestry.



from which he was but just returned when he was sent against the Northumbrians, who had revolted against their earl, Tostig. Whether his brother's conduct was indefensible, or whether the forces of Morkere and Eadwine, with the men of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, together with a Welsh contingent, were overpoweringly strong, it is certain that the elder son of Ælfgar was left in possession of the earldom; whilst Tostig retired to Flanders to concoct those schemes of vengeance which he afterwards carried out in concert with his brother-in-law of Normandy. With the particulars of Eadward's death and burial, as well as of Harold's election and coronation, we have already dealt, together with the invasion and battle in which he met his death on the 14th October, 1066. By his wife Ealdgyth, daughter of Earl Ælfgar and widow of Gruffydd, he left a son Wulf, who is said to have been knighted by Rufus. Genealogists also credit him with four sons, Godwine, Harold, Eadmund, and Magnus, as well as two daughters, Gytha, wife of Wladimir, and Gunhild, who became blind and died in a nunnery. All these were probably his children by his leman Eadgyth Swannefhals, the brief period of his married life scarcely allowing of so large a legitimate issue. His queen survived him many years, living in seclusion at Westminster.

Wido or Guy I., Count of Ponthieu, son of Hugues II. and brother of Enguerand II., whom he succeeded in 1053. To avenge his brother's death at the hands of William the Bastard, he entered (1054) into a league with Henry I. of France and Geofroi Martel which was unsuccessful, and being captured in the following year at the battle of Mortemer, he was carried to Bayeux. He was restored to liberty in 1056, on doing homage to William for his county, with service of a hundred knights, who sent him away with rich gifts to secure his fidelity. Guy assisted at the coronation of Philip I. in 1059; the following year he subscribed the foundation charter of the monastery of S. Martin-des-Champs, made by King Henry. He was one of the most assiduous of King Philip's courtiers, as is proved by the great number of that prince's deeds which bear his signature. In the year 1062 Guy captured Harold and held him a prisoner according to the law of Lagan, *jus Lagani*, a barbarous right not peculiar to Ponthieu, but shared by all the seigneurs from the mouth of the Somme to that of the Rhine, who seized both the persons and possessions of those whom stress of weather cast upon their inhospitable shores. But if Guy exacted the uttermost tittle of his rights from the stranger, he was just and beneficent to his subjects.

He abolished, in 1074, many evil customs which his predecessors had established to their profit. In 1075 he founded the Priory of S. Pierre d'Abbeville, for the preservation of his daughter Agnes's life; he gave certain rights of fishery at Etaples and Vaben to the Abbey of S. Joffe, the patron of Ponthieu; and he likewise freed from servitude, both for himself and his successors, such strangers as established themselves at the village of Rue, a dependency of this abbey. In 1077, after Simon, Count of Valois, Vexin, and Amiens, had renounced the world, Guy is said to have appropriated a portion of the latter county. About the year 1097 he knighted Prince Louis, son of Philip I., at Abbeville. Guy died on the 13th October, 1100 or 1101, his wife having pre-deceased him, as well as his son Ives, whom he had associated with himself in the government of the county, which therefore passed to Robert de Bellême in right of his wife, the above-mentioned Agnes. Guy was buried in the church of S. Pierre d'Abbeville.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

William the Bastard, subsequently surnamed the Conqueror, the natural son of Robert the Devil, fifth duke of Normandy, by Harlotta (or Herleva), the daughter of a tanner or furrier, was born at Falaisé in the year 1027. He was reared at the court of France, and, although he nominally succeeded his father when but eight years old, it was long before his authority was established. As he grew up he exhibited much strength, shrewdness and decision, with vigour to subdue refractory vassals. These qualifications, the success of his raids upon his neighbours, and his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V. Earl of Flanders, placed him in the first rank of the minor monarchs of his day.

In 1051 William visited King Eadward, then doubtless conceiving that project of obtaining the crown of England which forms the subject of the tapestry. The events of his life, from this time to the battle of Senlac, have been noticed in the text, and need not be recapitulated. After Harold's death, William rested his troops for a few days; then subdued Dover, received reinforcements from Normandy, and marched upon London to confront the newly-proclaimed king, Edgar Atheling, who, with Stigand, Eadwine, and Morkere, had hastily assembled an undisciplined army. A body of Londoners was routed by the Norman cavalry;

Kent submitted without resistance; English chiefs tendered their adherence to the usurper, to whom London now opened its gates, and on Christmas Day, 1066, William was crowned in Westminster Abbey. A tumult raised by his Norman guards, at the time of this ceremony, formed a pretext for the inauguration of those cruelties which he practised with increasing rigour upon his conquered subjects to his dying day. The larger towns were disarmed and kept in check by fortresses garrisoned by the invaders; the property of the natives was transferred to foreign holders; the widows of the fallen English were forced to wed the slayers of their husbands; and the churches of Normandy glittered with the spoils of England.

In March, 1067, William visited Normandy, carrying with him the chief English nobles as guarantees of tranquillity in his absence, Odo and Fitz-Osbern being left as joint regents. Inspired with hope at their Conqueror's absence, the English rose in many quarters, avenging themselves, where too weak for open warfare, in private assassinations. William returned from Normandy 5th December 1067, only to cope with renewed revolts, Devon, Oxford, Worcester, Nottingham, Leicester, and Lincoln, being the scenes of conflict. He now overran all the Midland counties as far as York, instituting the curfew as a check upon sedition. In 1069, York being captured by the English, and Eadgar Atheling again proclaimed king, William's vengeance was so merciless, that the country thence to Durham was reduced to a blackened waste. More English estates were confiscated, the fees and livings being filled by foreign bishops and clergy, whilst Norman became the sole language of the court and of the legal tribunals.

Despite his success, William's later life was unhappy. The conspiracies of his Norman followers, his brother Odo's ambition and the rebellion of his son Robert, whom he had entrusted with the regency of his duchy, and by whom he was wounded in the hand at the siege of Gerberoi, were amongst his chief causes of grief. His corpulence necessitating a course of medicine, he was said by the King of France to be lying in. To this William rejoined that all France should blaze with the tapers of his churching, and when able to fit his horse he carried fire and sword as far as Mantès. Whilst watching the burning of that city his horse reared over some embers, and threw him heavily forward. He received an internal injury from the peak of the saddle, which caused his death on the 9th September, 1087. He was buried in the church of S. Etienne, at Caen,

which he himself had founded, and where a black marble slab in front of the high altar has been placed to his memory, with the following inscription:—



HIC SEPULTVS EST
 INVICTISSIMVS
 GVILLELMVS
 CONQUESTOR,
 NORMANNIÆ DVX,
 ET ANGLIÆ REX,
 HVJVSCE DOMVS
 CONDITOR
 QVI OBIIT ANNO
 MLXXXVII.

CONAN II., COUNT OF BRITTANY.

Conan II., son of Alain III. (*or* V.) was but a child at his father's death: his uncle, Count Eudon, seized upon the government, holding his nephew for seven years in captivity. Fearing for the child's life, the Breton nobles, in 1047, forced the palace, and delivered Conan, who was in the following year recognised at Rennes as sovereign of Brittany, Eudon's regency being continued for eight years. In the year 1057 Conan came of age, and quarrelled with his uncle, whom he took prisoner. Geofroi, Eudon's eldest son, together with Hoël, Count of Nantes, continued the war for five years, peace being finally made in 1062. Other revolts of Conan's vassals were assisted by William of Normandy, and resulted in a series of retaliative sieges, of which the tapestry affords an illustration.

In 1066 Conan prepared a raid upon Normandy, which he claimed as descendant of Duke Richard I. His chamberlain, who was likewise a Norman landowner, by poisoning his master's horn and gauntlets, rid the Bastard of an awkward check upon his expedition. He was buried in the church of S. Méline de Rennes. His epitaph states that he died 11th December, 1066; but if, as is probable, his death preceded William's departure for England, it cannot have occurred after September. His natural son Alain alone survived him. Whether Conan was ever married is unknown.

ARCHBISHOP STIGAND.

Stigand, first mentioned in 1020, as priest of Affandun, was successively chaplain to Cnut and Harold Harefoot. In April, 1043 he was consecrated bishop of Elmham, but deposed on Queen Emma's fall in the following November. In 1044 he was reinstated, and appointed Eadward's chaplain, being translated in 1047 to the see of Winchester. The see of Canterbury, vacant by the outlawry of Robert de Jumieges, was in 1052 bestowed by the king's writ upon Stigand, who held Winchester in plurality, lest Robert's restoration should necessitate his retirement from the archiepiscopate. The exile visited Rome and laid his grievances before the Pope, Stigand's appointment being subsequently used by William to prejudice the English cause. In England the ecclesiastical position of Stigand was very doubtful. He was *de facto* archbishop; acting as such in all political matters, and so addressed in royal writs. For six years the Pope refused him the pallium, and one of the charges against him was that he used that of his predecessor. A schism occurring in the Romish Church Stigand was invested by Benedict the antipope. This only aggravated matters, and men held aloof from ecclesiastical rites performed by him, most of the bishops of his province being, during his incumbency, consecrated by other hands. He, however, assisted at the consecration of Westminster Abbey, and was present at the coronation of Harold, if his hands did not place the crown upon his head. Stigand anointed Eadgar Atheling, for whom he afterwards secured a safe retreat in Scotland, himself submitting to the Conqueror, whose regard he never enjoyed. William refused to be crowned by him, carried him a hostage to Normandy, and finally prevailed upon the Pope to institute an inquiry, which resulted in Stigand's deposition and degradation from the clerical order. He retired to the Camp of Refuge in the Isle of Ely, where he was captured by the Normans, put in chains, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Winchester. Here he soon died a victim to starvation, the secret of the whereabouts of vast hoards of treasure being said to have died with him.

BISHOP ODO.

Odo, son of Herlwin de Conteville by Herleva, and uterine brother of William the Bastard, was born in Normandy about 1036, and was appointed to the

bishopric of Bayeux in 1048, a fee which he held for fifty years. His part in the invasion of England is pictured in the tapestry, and its reward was the earldom of Kent. He was joint-regent of England in William's absence, putting down by wholesale massacre the risings which his despotism occasioned. Odo amassed great wealth in England, much of which was lavished upon Bayeux, where he rebuilt the cathedral in 1077, increased the number of clergy, and founded in the outskirts a monastery dedicated to S. Vigo. In 1080 he was sent to Durham to devastate, to burn and to slay the unfortunate inhabitants, whose frequent insurrections had incensed the Conqueror. Unsatisfied by his almost regal power, Odo, on the appointment of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury, determined to secure if possible the papal chair. He built a palace in Rome, whence his emissaries distributed bribes with no niggard hand, and whither he was bound, attended by many powerful nobles, when he was seized by William at the Isle of Wight. Awed by a dread of the penalties which awaited such as should lay hands on an ecclesiastic the officers shrank from making the capture, but the Conqueror quickly solved the difficulty by explaining that he attacked, not the Bishop of Bayeux, but the Earl of Kent, who, shorn of his lands and honours, was held a close prisoner at Rouen until his brother's death. In 1087 he was restored to liberty and re-instated in his earldom, but, joining the conspiracy of the following year, was captured at Rochester and banished to Bayeux. In Normandy he was yet potent; it was by his advice that Prince Henry of England was made a prisoner in 1091, and to his custody that he was committed. Odo set forth with his nephew, Duke Robert, to the first crusade, but died in 1098 at Palermo, and was buried there.

EUSTACE II., COUNT OF BOULOGNE.

Eustace II. Count of Boulogne, surnamed, from his large moustaches, *aux grenons*, succeeded his father Eustace I. about 1049. He married, 1050, Goda or Godgifu, daughter of Æthelred II., and widow of Drogo, Count of Mantes. Eustace visited his brother-in-law Eadward in September, 1051. On his return one of his suite slew a burgher of Canterbury, whose fellows flew to arms, and the irritated count spared neither age nor sex in the ensuing mêlée. Overwhelmed by the populace he fought the King at Gloucester, who ordered Godwine to chastise the men of Canterbury. He, however, raised an army and demanded the surrender of Eustace, but the troops were disbanded and Godwine and his sons exiled.

In 1053, Eustace sheltered William of Arques, whose territories had been seized by the Bastard, and in the following year succeeded, on the death of his brother Lambert, to the county of Sens. Eustace now lost his wife, and in 1056 escorted Pope Victor II. from Cologne to Rome. On his return he espoused (December, 1057) Ida, daughter of Duke Godefroi le Barbu, with whom he got the castle of Bouillon as a dowry. In 1066 he joined the Bastard's host, was placed *hors de combat* by a blow from an axe at Senlac, and was largely rewarded for his services. His gratitude was of short duration, for in the following year he leagued with Philip I. of France against William, and, assured of the good will of Kent, attempted to surprize Dover, but the place was stoutly defended, and he saved but a remnant of his forces. In spite of this expedition he regained William's favour, and received new estates in England. In 1071 he declared for Richilde and Baudouin, his son, against Robert le Frison, taking the latter prisoner at the battle of Montcaffel. He was released, and captured Eustace in the same year at the battle of Broqueroie, who was shortly ransomed by his brother Godefroi. Eustace joined Odo's league to place Robert on the English throne, in consideration of a gift of the forest of Bethlo and the castle of Sperli, but after a temporary success they were obliged to beat an ignominious retreat. The exact date of Eustace's death is uncertain (it was not earlier than 1093), as also whether he had issue by his first wife. By Ida, who died 13th August, 1113, and was buried at S. Vaft d'Arras, he left Godefroi, Marquis of Anvers, Duke of Bouillon, and King of Jerufalem; Eustace III., Count of Boulogne; and Baudouin, Count of Edeffa and King of Jerufalem.



C O S T U M E.

I. CIVIL.



THE heads of the Anglo-Saxons appear to have been usually bare, a custom which will seem less extraordinary if we remember that, whilst the Normans shaved both face and head, the Saxons not only allowed their moustaches to grow, but indulged in luxuriant crops of hair; bitterly inveighing against the conquerors who forced them to abandon these cherished ornaments. The Normans, however, seem to have become infected with the love of long hair, and to have carried it to an extravagant extent, of which the Saxons had not dreamed; for, in the reign of Rufus, men wore their hair long, parted on the brow, perfumed, and frizzed with hot irons, whilst they walked abroad with their flowing locks confined by a fillet. It will be seen how very accurately the tapestry reproduces fashions which were so shortly to be changed, and, had it not been coeval with the events represented, it is hardly conceivable that it should omit all notice of those effeminate absurdities. When a hat or a cap was worn by the Anglo-Saxons its most common form was that of the ancient Phrygian bonnet, made apparently of skins with the hair turned outwards.¹ But they also had felt or woollen hats at this period, as their own records testify.² The little hat of the Norman lords was distinguished from that of the people by a band of gold or colour which encircled it.

The body-garments of the Anglo-Saxon soldiers and the common people were confined to a short tunic girded at the waist and reaching but to the knee, open at the neck and put on over the head like a shirt. This garment, known as the *roc* or *rooc*, was probably derived from the Romans. There is sufficient authority to prove that the shirt itself was known to the Anglo-Saxons as early as the eighth century, although then but the luxury of the wealthy. Over the shirt the upper classes wore the tunic, their rank being indicated by its increased length; its sleeves were sometimes loose and open, at others close to the arms, and most commonly to the wrist. This *roc* was bound about the waist with a belt or girdle

¹ Antiq. Portfo. vol. i. p. 16.

² Lyle's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, *sub voce hæc*.

and descended in loose and graceful folds to the ancles. The short tunic of the Norman nobles was somewhat longer than that of the Saxons, but the tunics of the rustics and slaves of both nations were identical.

The super-tunic or over-froc was a state dress, worn only by persons of the highest distinction. Its sleeves were large and open, descending only to the elbow. In length the over-froc sometimes reached as low as the middle of the leg and was usually decorated with an embroidered border. This garment was worn by the Normans also, and by them known as the *fur-cote* or furcoat. Over all was worn by both nations the cloak or mantle of gentle birth, which was fastened with a *fibula* or brooch upon the right shoulder, whence it descended a little below the skirts of the over-froc, and, covering all the back, was gathered into sweeping folds over the left arm and breast. This mode of wearing the mantle gave perfect liberty to the right arm, whilst the various actions of the left arm beneath it afforded a succession of forms often of great elegance. When worn as a robe of state the nobles were accustomed to don a more ample cloak, reaching, at times, as low as the ancles, and on such occasions the fibula was transferred to the breast, the mantle covering both shoulders equally.¹

As to the material of which these garments were made, linen formed the underclothing, when worn, of both the Saxons and Normans; whilst the outer habits were of woollen cloth, often lined with rich furs and bordered with gold. After the Conquest silk was more worn by the clergy and persons of high rank, especially upon solemn occasions.²

Now with regard to the coverings of the legs and feet it is certain that stockings formed a part of the Anglo-Saxon habit as early as the eighth century. Those worn by the wealthy reached to the middle of the thigh and were made of linen, whilst the poor wore them reaching but to the mid leg and made of worsted or leather. The long stockings of the noble were met by linen drawers, which were made to fit the thigh with great precision, and were usually fastened some distance above the knee; but several instances may be cited in which they descended below it, and they then resemble the breeches of the present day. Both these kinds of hose were worn by the Normans, without any great appearance of variation. In place of drawers and stockings, trowsers were some-

¹ Strutt's "Dress and Habits of People of England," vol. i. p. 8.

² Gough, "Sepul. Mon." vol. i. p. 48.

times worn, and it seems probable that a species of sock was worn with them, but the use of trowsers was after the Conquest confined to the lower orders. The outer covering of the foot was a boot or buskin, and it is somewhat curious that in the eleventh century, at a time when the shoemaker's art was reaching a higher state of perfection than it had hitherto attained, certain ancient fashions were capriciously revived. Normans of distinction ornamented their shoes with little leather straps, three cubits long, reaching to the knee, the legs being covered with bands of different colours; and the Kings of France arrogated to themselves the privilege of starting theirs from the tips of their toes, like those of the Roman *soleæ*.¹ These leg bandages were worn in three different ways:—

1. Crossing each other diagonally; this fashion of cross-gartering being apparently confined to kings, princes, or the clergy of the highest order.

2. Wrapped round upon themselves; every turn rising higher than the preceding one, until it extended to the middle of the leg, or in some instances beyond it; the two ends were then crossed upon each other in the front, and turned down on either side below the calf, where they were severally fastened beneath the former windings of the bandages. This mode of gartering seems to have only been adopted by persons of superior rank.

3. A fillet or garter simply fastened upon the stocking, about the middle of the leg, either horizontally or obliquely, was the common way of wearing the leg bandage.

After the Conquest the use of the leg bandages seems to have fallen into disuse. Laced shoes, shoes with buckles and a species of light boot (*tibialia*) were worn at this period. The high laced shoes, reaching nearly to the middle of the legs, differ only from the high shoes of the ancients in being laced but to the instep. The Saxon shoes were generally made of leather, and were fastened beneath the ancles with a thong which passed through a fold upon the upper part of the leather encompassing the heel, and was tied upon the instep. The soles were generally formed of wood, often rendered more durable by the assistance of nails. A kind of clog as well as slippers appear to have been also used.

Now with regard to the dress of the women, a *smoc* was worn as the innermost garment, and over this the *kyrtle*, which, amongst the rich, was generally of linen. The sleeves of the *kyrtle* descended to the wrists, and were plaited in

¹ "Hist. de la Chaussure," par Paul Lacroix et Alphonse Duchesne, p. 32.

small folds to the elbow, whilst the kirtle itself was bound about the waist, and fell to the feet, the greater part of which it covered. It was occasionally ornamented with borders of needlework. Over the kirtle came the *gunna* or gown, which seems to have changed its fashion little except with regard to its sleeves, which, towards the conclusion of the tenth century were made wider at the bottom, in some instances resembling a half-opened fan. The gown was bound about the waist with a girdle, and when permitted to fall to its full length descended to the ground. It seems to have been often lined with a different material to itself, and was frequently decorated with ornamental borders to the skirt and sleeves. The outermost garment was the mantle, and as in the case of men indicated high rank in the wearer. Of mantles two kinds were worn by the Anglo-Saxon ladies of the ninth and tenth centuries, the first appears to have been oval in shape with an aperture in it at some distance from the middle, through which the head was passed, the garment being thus longer and more ample behind than at the sides and in front. The second was bound about the waist, and thence was passed over the right or left shoulder, and flowed loosely at the side.

The head was covered with the coverchief or, as it was often contractedly written, kerchief, which formed an indispensable part of the dress appropriated to the Anglo-Saxon ladies. Its breadth was sufficient to reach from the top of the forehead to the shoulders, in such a manner as to cover the head completely, so that no part of the hair could be seen; it was then passed over both shoulders, and, when it was loose, hung down on each side as low as the knees. It was sometimes gathered very close to the chin, sometimes it fell more loosely, usually it was wrapped round the neck in such a manner as to cover the whole of the bosom; though one end of it was at times left loose. The Anglo-Saxon women seem to have been great admirers and beautifiers of their hair, for which they had golden hair-tiers and crimping needles. Gold chains and bracelets were the favourite ornaments of both sexes.

The dress of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon ladies seems, in the main, to have been identical.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL.¹

THE following list shows the garments appropriated to each rank of the Clergy, to which a description of the various vestments is added.

SUB-DEACON. Cassock, albe, tunicle, and veil at the Eucharist.

DEACON. Cassock, albe, dalmatic, stole, and maniple.

PRIEST (*Eucharistic*). Amice, subucula, albe, girdle, stole, maniple, and chafuble, rational, veil.

PRIEST (*Processional*). Cassock, surplice, almuce, and cope.

BISHOP OR MITRED ABBOTT. Cassock, albe, amice, subucula, stole, cingulum, sub-cingulum, succinctorium, tunicle, dalmatic, maniple, chafuble, rational, stockings (*caligæ*), shoes (*sandalia*), gloves, ring, mitre and pastoral staff.

ARCH-BISHOP. Cassock, albe, amice, subucula, stole, cingulum, sub-cingulum, succinctorium, tunicle, dalmatic, maniple, chafuble, rational, pall, stockings (*caligæ*), shoes (*sandalia*), gloves, ring, mitre and crozier.

The tonsure alone distinguished the clergy in early days, and they had no distinctive dress, when unengaged in their sacred office, until the thirteenth century, after which time the cassock became the common garment of every order, varying only in colour according to the dignity of the wearer.

ALBE OR TUNICA ALBA. A long white linen garment or ample tunic reaching to the heels. It is not open in front, but girded at the waist. During the Anglo-Saxon period, and for some time afterwards, the albe was smaller at the waist than at the bottom. Usually of fine linen, the Anglo-Saxon albe was sometimes made of rich silk, and ornamented with a peculiar round decoration of gold called a *sigillum*. The lower part of the albe was anciently ornamented with one or more scarlet stripes, and was always hemmed with a brightly tinted filken or golden border, which formed the apparel. Similar apparels edged the wrists. These were subsequently modified into quadrangular plaques, and were so worn

¹ The following notices of Ecclesiastical Vestments are compiled from Walcott's "Sacred Archaeology." 8vo. London, 1868; Rock's "Hierurgia." 8vo. London, 1851; Marriot's "Vestiarium Christianum." 8vo. London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1868; Pugin's "Ecclesiastical Ornament." 4to. London, 1846; Rock's "Church of our Fathers." 8vo. London, 1849.

from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The word albe is from the Latin *alba*, white, which the albe should always be.

AMESS or ALMUCE originated in the hood of the cope, which in primitive times formed part of the super-vestment, from which it was afterwards separated. It was then lined with fur both as affording a warm covering and as a mark of dignity. This custom is still observed in the hoods of the different universities.

AMICE or AMICTUS was, in primitive use, an oblong piece of fine linen, worn either open or once doubled, which covered the neck and shoulders, keeping the outer vestment from contact with the skin. Whilst the vestments themselves were of linen the amice was unneeded, and it is accordingly unmentioned before the ninth century. Its name is derived from the Latin *amicire*, to cover, *i. e.* to cover the hitherto bare neck.

CHASUBLE, CHESIBLE or CHESABLE, originally known as the *casula*, has been identified with the *pænula* and *planeta*, and except in texture and ornament differed but little from them. The name is derived from *casubula* or *casula*, a small dwelling, which this wide-spreading garment was supposed to form for the wearer. It took its origin from the *pænula*, a species of cloak in use amongst the Romans, and was alike the habit of cleric and layic until the sixth century. The secular fashion now changed, but the *casula*, abandoned by the lay people, remained the ordinary dress of the clergy. Priest and deacon alike wore it, nor was it until the end of that century that its use was restricted to the sanctuary. The deacon was now directed to lay aside his *casula* in the robing room that his hands might be free to hold back that of the celebrating priest, and thus in process of time the chasuble lost its original use, and became essentially the eucharistic vestment. Its primitive form was circular, with a hole in the centre for the head. When on, it fell in ample and graceful folds, entirely enveloping the person of the wearer. Its thin and flexible materials did not hinder the movements of the celebrating priest, and only when this vestment became so crusted with ornament as to acquire a boardlike rigidity, was it gradually shorn of its fair proportions. This clipped and open-sided chasuble made its first appearance in England after the reign of Queen Mary the First. It had, however, slightly altered in form though not in amplitude during the middle ages, the circular shape having been replaced by that of the *Vesica Piscis*, in consonance with the pointed architecture of the day. There were anciently two forms of chasuble, the ordinary and the processional, but they

differed only in the addition of a hood to protect the head of the wearer when he was required to pass into the open air. A very beautiful ornament on the Anglo-Saxon chafuble was known as the "flower," it consisted of a mass of rich golden embroidery behind the shoulders sometimes extending to the breast. Other ornaments of the chafuble were the orphrey and the rational. The orphrey or orfrey derives its name from *aurifrigium* or *aurifrisia*, and, as the term implies, the ornamental border which bore this name was formed of some richer material than the vestment itself. A cross is now seen on the back of the chafuble in England, France, and Belgium, and on the front elsewhere, but a true cross formed no part of the early vestment, in which a band rose from the back, parting in two between the shoulders in the shape of a letter Y, a similarly shaped band rising from the front and meeting it on the shoulders. The orphrey doubtless had its origin in the *clavus* of the original Roman garment.

COPE, CAPPÀ or CAPA. A processional vestment originating in the Roman *lacerna*; it is a large flowing cloak open in front and fastened upon the breast by a clasp called the morse. At first a garment for open-air processions, it was furnished with a *caputium* or hood for the wearer's head, but amongst the Anglo-Saxons, or at any rate after the Conquest, this hood, though still bearing the name, became but a flat piece of ornamental embroidery, which could be removed from the vestment, its place being occasionally taken by plates of thin beaten gold set with gems. The shape of the hood amongst the Anglo-Saxons was that of an isosceles triangle, its form was afterwards modified to that of a truncated spherical triangle, the semi-circular form now in use being then unknown. Rich orphreys descended in front from either side of the neck, and so gorgeous did this vestment become that it was regarded as one of the most precious of the church's possessions. Its name is derived from *cop*, a covering.

CROZIER or ARCHIEPISCOPAL CROSS. A staff topped by a cross, often richly ornamented. It is unmentioned throughout the Anglo-Saxon epoch, but by the end of the eleventh century it was customary for all archbishops to have it carried before them by one of their chaplains, called the "croyser."

DALMATIC, so called from Dalmatia, the nation by which it was first used, is a long loose tunic, robe, or frock reaching at times but to the knee, not open in front but slit up a little way on each side and having long and wide sleeves falling almost to the wrist. In this it differs from the *colobium*, which had a very short and close sleeve, extending but a few inches below the shoulder. The

dalmatic is usually white. Broad bands of crimson, with a number of short, narrow branches of the same colour, or of gold, shooting out of their edges, fall from each shoulder to the hem of the garment both before and behind. These originated in the *angustus clavus* of the ancient Romans. The cuff of the left sleeve, as well as the opening on the left side, were both fringed, but there was no fringe on the right side of this garment.

Like many other ecclesiastical vestments, the dalmatic was worn by secular dignitaries before it was adopted by the Church. It is first mentioned as worn by Commodus and Heliogabalus, and still continues one of the lay coronation robes, though it is regarded as specially the eucharistic vestment of the deacon. Until the eighth century the dalmatic, as a vestment of Christian ministry, was regarded as specially belonging to the Roman Church, and in Anglo-Saxon times it was not worn by the deacon at high mass on the eves of festivals, on ember-days, nor when mass was sung for the dead. In Lent and on ember days priest, deacon, and sub-deacon alike wore the chasuble at mass. The shape of the dalmatic now in use is the same as that of the early ages of the Church. To wear the vestment below the chasuble was once the exclusive privilege of the Pope, but it is now accorded to all bishops.

GIRDLE or CINGULUM, now a mere cord, was anciently flat and broad, girding the albe at the waist, and restraining its superfluous length when the wearer officiated. The girdle, often of woven gold, and occasionally richly set with precious stones, had always some kind of ornament.

GLOVES formed a part of the sacred attire, and were worn by all bishops in the northern part of the Latin Church. Though no positive mention occurs of them in our Anglo-Saxon evidences, there can be little doubt that they were then in use in the English Church.

MANIPLE or MAPPULA originated in a narrow strip of linen thrown over the outstretched fingers of the left hand of the minister, by whom it was used for all the purposes of the modern pocket-handkerchief. This simple napkin was soon enriched with fringes of gold, needlework, and even gold or silver bells at its extremities, till it became more ornamental than useful. It was transferred to the left wrist, where it is still worn. Till the close of the eighth century it was a processional vestment, distinctive of the Roman clergy, but from the beginning of the ninth it has ranked among the sacerdotal vestments.

MITRE or MITRA. In primitive days a fillet of gold was bound round

the head of a bishop during Divine service, to which the Anglo-Saxons soon added a fine white kerchief, both being worn together in the eighth century. The golden circlet was subsequently abandoned, but no mention of the mitre proper, with cleft top, occurs amongst the sacred vestments until the middle of the twelfth century. The ribbon or bandage which had surrounded the head, and been knotted behind to keep the mitre fast, dwindled, now that that covering was nothing more than a closely fitting linen cap, into mere ornamental lappets or pendants. The dimensions of the mitre increased in later days, whilst silk and jewels took the place of linen as its material.

PALL or PALLIUM. A circular scarf, the peculiar mark of primates, metropolitans, and archbishops, is worn about the neck, having two ends falling over the chafable to which it is fastened by three golden pins fixed respectively on the breast, the left shoulder, and the back. It was made of a seamless piece of plain white linen, ornamented at first with a single cross, next with two or four red or purple crosses, until the eighth century, since which time it is made of fine lambs' wool, and is adorned with six black crosses.

PASTORAL STAFF. Originally a walking stick with a crooked or tall cross-shaped handle, afterwards took the form of a shepherd's crook. Formed at first of wood, it was subsequently composed of several materials; its stem was of wood, shod with iron, and surmounted by a knot of gold, silver, or crystal, from which sprang the crook itself. Precious stones and enamels were used in its embellishment. The Anglo-Saxon workmen's excellence in this work excited the cupidity of Bishop Odo, who filched a magnificent pastoral staff from Durham Cathedral. A bishop carried his staff in the left hand, and an abbot his in his right, when giving his blessing.

RATIONAL. An ornament like a large brooch, occasionally in the shape of a trefoil or quatrefoil, but usually oblong. It was worn on the breast over the chafable, and was perhaps derived from the breastplate of the Jewish High Priest.

RING. An ornament adopted by the bishops of the Western Church in the fourth century, by whom it was worn on the left hand until A. D. 827. Gregory IV. then required it to be worn on the right hand, where it was placed on the middle finger, except during mass, when it was shifted to the third finger. It is worn over the glove and originally between the first and second joints of the finger, but is now placed, in the usual manner, below the second joint. Until the eleventh century these rings were usually engraved, and served

as signets, at which date they consisted of an uncut gem in a massive gold setting; the sapphire, beryl, or ruby, being the stones most in use.

SANDALS (*sandalia*) became an episcopal ornament in the ninth century, bishops having previously worn black shoes. The sandals were put on immediately over the buskins; they were often of costly materials, richly embroidered and even enriched with precious stones. The sandals worn by the priest of the ninth century whilst saying mass wanted the latches which were peculiar to those of the bishop.

STOCKINGS or BUSKINS (*campagi* or *caligæ*) first appear amongst the sacred vestments in the eleventh century. They were made of linen and reached from the foot to the knee, where they were closely fastened.

STOLE, known for the first eight centuries as the *orarium*, was originally an oblong piece of fine linen hung over the left shoulder of the deacon and over both shoulders of the priest, serving them as a pocket-handkerchief. These *oraria* were sometimes used by lay people as party badges or favours, but were declared ministerial vestments by the council of Toledo, and have ever since been so considered. First ornamented with a purple stripe, next with embroidery, and finally with woven gold work, incrustations of precious stones, fringes and bells of precious metals, it was soon rendered totally unfit for its original office. It was now superseded by the maniple, which was in its turn ornamented till it became a mere adjunct to the ecclesiastic's dress. The name Orarium was derived from the Latin *ora* (face) in allusion to its use in wiping away perspiration, &c. Nor was it until its true office was obsolete that it was called a stole, *στολή* (an upper garment). Now only worn in the sacred offices of the Church, the stole was once always on the shoulder of the cleric, who was indeed forbidden to journey unless so distinguished from the laity. The Anglo-Saxon stole reached to the feet, and was sometimes slightly widened towards the ends. It was worn hanging straight from the shoulders of the officiating priest when vested for mass until the end of the fourteenth century since which time it has always been worn crossed at that sacrament.

SUBUCULA, a long garment reaching to the heels, probably made of linen, worn by the Anglo-Saxons beneath the albe.

SUCCINCTORIUM or SASH, anciently worn by all bishops in addition to the girdle, is now reserved for papal use.

SURPLICE (*super-pellicem* or over-pelisse), a large and loose garment of

white linen falling to the feet, as it were a developed albe. It is worn by all who officiate at Divine service. The long surplice nearly resembles the sacred vestment which the apostles are traditionally recorded to have worn, and although it became at one time much curtailed, the Council of Basle decreed that it should at least reach below the middle of the thigh.

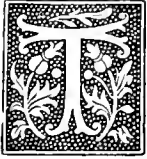
TUNICLE, the vestment appropriated to the sub-deacon at the Eucharist, differs only from the diaconal garment in its smaller dimensions and its less conspicuous ornaments. Until late in the thirteenth century, it was generally called a *subtile* or *roc*, being known under the latter name to the Anglo-Saxons. It was worn by bishops, under the dalmatic and chasuble, at Pontifical masses.

UNDER-GIRDLE or SUB-CINGULUM represents the old girdle of primitive usage, without ornament, and altogether out of sight; it was retained when the ornamented girdle was introduced at a later date as a vestment.

VEIL, a species of scarf of an oblong shape, usually composed of the same material as the vestments, and employed to prevent the hand from touching the sacred vessels. At solemn high masses it muffles the arms and shoulders of the sub-deacon during a part of the service, and the hands of the priest when giving the benediction with the blessed sacrament.



HERALDRY.



THE date at which armorial bearings were first used has formed the subject of almost endless discussions. Various opinions have been advanced as to the origin of heraldry, and different authors have severally derived it from the siege of Troy, the conquests of Alexander, the founders of the feudal system, the feats of the tournament and the crusades, whilst enthusiasts have been ready to blazon the coats of Adam and Eve, to say nothing of Joseph and the other patriarchs.¹ This discrepancy of opinion appears to arise from the different meanings attached to the word; some holding it to be a term expressing the science only as defined by the rules of the Herald's College, and others, as including the most ancient forms of Symbolism.

There is abundant evidence to prove that in the earliest times signs or devices were employed as signals for the distinction of parties, and for marking out the rallying points under which they assembled in the field of battle. Thus the Israelites, on their march from Egypt to the Land of Canaan, were commanded² to pitch each man by his own standard, with the ensign of his father's house. These ensigns may have depicted the allegorical characteristics of the patriarchs described by Jacob on his death bed;³ such devices afterwards becoming personal bearings. In Europe, with the first dawn even of historical tradition, the existence of a heraldry may be distinguished. Nearly six hundred years before the Christian era, Æschylus described the heraldic blazonry of the chieftains who united their forces for the siege of Thebes, with all the minute exactness of our First Edward's chronicler of Caerlaverock.⁴ Tacitus speaks of the shields of certain Celtic tribes as ornamented with figures of bulls, bears, wolves, horses, dogs, and deer; whilst Plutarch states that the Cymbrians of Denmark, Norway, and North Germany, although a barbarous people, charged their bucklers with the figures of wild beasts and other objects.⁵

¹ Sylvanus Morgan's "Sphere of Gentry," books i. and ii.

² Numbers ii. 2.

³ Genesis xlix.

⁴ Boutell's "Herald. Hist. and Pop." p. 7.

⁵ Newton's "Display of Heraldry," p. 11.

As a nearer approach is made to the ages of Chivalry, the realistic representations of natural objects give place to those geometrical figures which were soon systematized as ordinaries, whilst the animals assume the more conventional form in which they were subsequently borne. Thus the place of the wild beasts are taken by crosses, rounds or besants, dragons, interlacing bands and simple tinctures; and this stage is most clearly shown in the tapestry. We do not here find any particular or distinguished person represented twice as bearing the same device,¹ and we must therefore conclude that they are not intended to represent the arms of any individual, or only in some cases and that appropriately, but their representation at all, of course, implies the existence of a system of bearings by which the wearer was known. And this we gather also from Wace, who says:

“E tuit ovent fet cognoiffances
Ki Norman alter conult
El ke l'autre portuer neuet.”

These were cognizances to distinguish one Norman from another, and no man dared to use another's,—showing that the assumption of arms was not the subject of mere caprice.

It appears, then, that Heraldry, like most human inventions, was insensibly introduced and established, and that after having been rude and unsettled for many ages, it was at last methodised, perfected and fixed by the requirements of later ages.

It was my first intention to have given the blazon of all the escutcheons which are shown in the tapestry, but a careful examination of the work has convinced me that, except to controversialists, it would be devoid of interest.

FLAGS.

The flags which are shown in the tapestry are of two kinds, the Gonfanon and the Pennon, and by them is the rank of the bearer determined. Wace tells us:

“Li barons ourent gonfanons,
Li chevaliers ourent penons.”

The gonfanon was a peculiar standard, generally borne near the person of the commander-in-chief; such an one occurs thrice in the tapestry, and is invariably Argent, a cross or, in a bordure Azure.²

¹ “Archæologia,” vol. xix. p. 188.

² Sir J. E. Meyrick, “Crit. Inq.” vol. i. pp. 5 and 6.

The number of ensigns borne on the lances and vessels of the Normans is thirty-one, one on the lance of Conan, a Breton, and on those of the English, seven. Of these no less than thirty are triparted, a style of ornament very prevalent with Christian warriors of that period, and considered by Mr. French¹ as emblematic of the Blessed Trinity, and in these points he sees the germ of the pile, a bearing of much disputed origin. An English standard beaten down in the scene of mutual slaughter is triangular in form, four streamers issuing from its base being terminated in triparted tassels. But for the absence of any charge, it resembles the banner on the coins of the Anglo-Danish King Anlaf, or Olaf, which were minted in England.

¹ "Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc." vol. xiii. p. 113 et seq.



LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY.



THE language both of science and of monumental inscriptions was, from the days of Gregory of Tours¹ to those of Charlemagne,² a Latin full of solecisms, barbarisms, and orthographical errors. These, from the latter epoch until after the commencement of the eleventh century, become more frequent in private charters, but rarer in public documents.

The orthography of the proper names which occur in the tapestry is peculiar; for, whilst it deviates from that of contemporary authors, it resembles, by its different readings, the spelling of the monumental inscriptions; bearing, at the same time, decided evidence of the locality in which it originated.

Of this such words as *Bagias*, *Wilgem*, and *Willelm* furnish examples. *Willelm* is French. We read in Mouskes:—

“ Willelmes ses fires li ainfnés
Fu d’Angleterre couronnés.”

Willelm is found on William the Conqueror’s coins, but *Wilgelm* is undiscoverable.

Lancelot says that the tapestry is the only record in which Bayeux is written *Bagias*. The town of Seès, in the “Notices de l’Empire,” is named *civitas Saiorum* and *civitas Sagiorum*. The *g* is clearly substituted for *i* in this case. *Bagias* is a crasis of *Bajocas*; and, following the orthography of the notices, *Bagias* is equivalent to *Baiias*, and approaches the style of those monuments which term that town *Baia*, *Baiæ*, or *Baiarum*. In saying that it is in the tapestry alone that Bayeux is spelt *Bagiæ* Lancelot is mistaken; for, a year before the publication of his second memoir, a silver bowl had been dug up in the middle of England bearing in uncial letters the inscription, *Exuperius Episcopus dedit Ecclesiæ Bagiensi*. He was doubtless ignorant of its discovery, and the hypothesis is unaffected by it.

Accepting this hypothesis *Wilgelm* stands for *Willielm*; this is the orthography of William of Poitiers, Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon; and it should be observed that the newer spelling *Guillaume* with the liquid *l*, which has passed from contemporary authors into the common

¹ Born 554, died 595.

² Born 742, died 814.

language of France and England, involves the *i* in the *pronunciation* of the French name, though it is only written in the English.

From the foregoing facts the most important deductions may be derived. Grammarians tell us that dialects are turns of expression departing from the common usage, and which belong exclusively to a province, a canton, or a town. We see that the inscriptions on the bowl and on the tapestry are couched in the same form of expression, a form not to be found elsewhere; they necessarily belong then to a common dialect, and that dialect the dialect of Bessin,¹ one of those numerous forms of rustic Latin which were spoken in the provinces subjected to the Roman Empire, and which gave birth to the modern *patois*. If it be considered that the bowl was abstracted from the church of Bayeux, to which it had been given by its bishop; that the worsteds in which the tapestry is executed are Bessin worsteds; that it was, allowing for the portion now missing, of a length exactly to surround the nave of the cathedral at Bayeux, in which it was formerly exhibited, without the possibility of assigning any certain date at which this custom originated; that the writing of the inscriptions is of the kind in use in the country at the time when the events recorded took place; and that the strongest presumptive evidence attributes the tapestry to Odo; we can scarcely arrive at any other conclusion than that these two monuments, without being contemporary, have a common place of origin in Bayeux, the one having been made there for the services of the church, and the other for its decoration.

¹ Bessin, a small country of France, situated in the ancient province of Basse-Normandie, not far from the sea. Bayeux was its capital. At the present day it forms part of the department of Calvados.



MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.



THE temporal laws enacted by the Saxon Kings were subsequently ratified by the Witan, those relating to ecclesiastical matters being submitted to the Synod. To enforce a due observance of these edicts progresses were made by the monarch, in time of peace. Capital punishment was infrequent, but hanging on a gallows was at times resorted to. Scourging with a cat a victim held in a cleft stake, was a common form of correction. Most offences were to be condoned by payment of a fine, failing which a hand or foot was forfeited.

The Anglo-Saxons were a people of rough and simple but social manners, who carried devotion to the verge of credulity and hospitality to drunken extravagance. The Normans previous to the Conquest affected a more abstemious regimen, but subsequently added an epicurean extravagance to the gluttony of the vanquished.

The Saxon was ever ready to share his food with others; to dine in private was accounted disgraceful; and at the boards of all classes the stranger found a welcome.

The table was covered with a cloth, and spread with such utensils as dishes, pots, bowls, basins and cups, with spoons and knives. Both sexes ate together, the rank of the guests being strictly observed; and the head of the table, as now, accorded to the lady of the house, then styled the bread-giver (*leaf-Lien*). Bread, in conjunction with milk, butter and cheese, formed the staple food, though vegetables, especially beans, as well as fish, poultry and bacon were largely consumed; the cooking of which was usually performed on the *heorth* or hearth. To these simple meats the Normans added many made dishes; the recipes for which have not come down to us. These were washed down, by both nations, with draughts of ale, wine, spiced ale, pigment (*i. e.* wine, honey, and spice), morat (*i. e.* honey and mulberry juice), mead, hypocras and perry.

The Anglo-Saxon meals were breakfast at 9 a. m., noon-meal or dinner, at 3 p. m., and supper, the hour of which is uncertain; whilst those of the Normans were breakfast at 9 a. m., and supper at 5 p. m.

The lady of the house spun with her maids whilst the lord superintended the work of his men afield; for, though the ancient Germans deemed husbandry disgraceful, as detaining at home those whose place was in the battlefield, the Anglo-Saxons, softened by the spread of Christianity, were industrious in the cultivation of the ground. They ploughed the land, raised barley, wheat and vegetables, cultivated the vine, and reared both cattle and sheep, the wool of the latter being employed in the manufacture of their garments. Graphic illustrations of the labours of the plougher and sower will be found in the lower border of the tapestry, and, as the month of January was devoted to such occupations, they may there record the season during which the transactions which surmount them took place.

Here also bear-baiting occurs, which, with bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and horse-racing, was a favourite diversion of the populace; their betters further rejoicing in the more aristocratic amusements of hunting and hawking. Within doors vocal music was a usual pastime, the voice being generally accompanied by the harp. Music was indeed almost universally studied by the Anglo-Saxon youth,¹ and the prevalence of this taste no doubt accounts for the introduction of peals of bells into the churches instead of the single bell used in England in the seventh century.²

Amongst the Anglo-Saxons the father of a family had the right to dispose of his children as he saw fit; and his choice of a husband for his daughter was governed by the number of head of cattle that the husband was prepared to pay for her, the lady's consent being considered unessential. An old chronicler bitterly complains, "that wardes are bought and solde as commonlye as are beastes," and that "they are forced to see with another mannes eye, and say yea with another mannes tongue." This being the state of things, it is to the credit of the ladies at least, that once handfasted, both sides respected the nuptial tie.

¹ Wheloc's "Bede," vi. xxiv. 327.

² Antiq. Portf. i. 35.

PALEOGRAPHY.¹

THE form of the double V occurring in the tapestry has been held as sufficient alone to prove it contemporary with the events which it records. Whether the two V's of which it is composed are divided (VV), are touching (W), or have their limbs crossed (W), the double V is a Roman character, and found on the most ancient monuments.

Mabillon asserts that *united* this character is not met with before the twelfth century, but he himself cites a document of Clotaire III.,² in which it occurs. It is also to be found on the coinage and charters of Louis-le-Débonnaire³ and in the charters of Otho III., 997; of Henry IV., 1066; and in the bull of Benedict VIII.,⁴ who was pope in the eleventh century.

The double V exhibits, in many instances, a decided type, which enables us to refer it to the age in which it was written; in the eleventh century the two V's fairly crossed each other without raising either of their members above the other; in England their left sides, always equal and sharpened, or bowed with a certain elegance, were down strokes, whereas their right-hand members appear either separate and having their ends half cut off; or terminating in a sweeping curve; or almost equal with the other members. Mons. Delauney remarks that this form is foreign to the tapestry, and consequently proves that it was not of English manufacture.

In the twelfth century the French W was much of the same fashion; but the Germans carried the left limbs higher than the right, though in the earlier part of that century the height of the limbs corresponded. With regard to the antiquity of this character, the two V's which touch each other without crossing their members (W) may be traced to the earliest times; the other forms, very rare in the ninth and tenth centuries, begin to come into use in the eleventh century.

If we now proceed to examine the inscriptions of the tapestry by the aid of these data, we find the major part of the letters W divided, VV, or touching each

¹ Extracted from the "Origine de la Tap. de Bay. prouvée par elle-même," p. 11.

² A.D. 660-668.

³ A.D. 814-840.

⁴ A.D. 1012-1024.

other, W, and a less number crossing each other, W; we do not find their down strokes thickened, nor do the up strokes cease to be level with them. These variations point to the retention for the most part of the earliest forms, but interspersed with a small number of the newer form, which was then beginning to be introduced, the whole taken together pointing to the work as one of the eleventh century. The letters of the tapestry are identical with those on the tomb of Queen Matilda; with those on an inscription placed over the gate of Blois by order of Count Stephen and his wife Adela, daughter of the Conqueror; and with those on the seal and money of Eadward the Confessor.

It may surprise us to recognise in the characters of so barbarous a period, the beautiful simplicity of form which belongs to the golden age of the fine arts; but it must be remembered that it was not until the twelfth century that they were degraded by the eccentric and ridiculous forms to which the prevalence of Gothic reduced them. We do indeed find in the tapestry characters of a peculiar form which might at first sight appear to be Gothic, having a tendency to points, angles, and superfluous ornaments. These are, however, but uncials, or round Roman letters, examples of which are to be met with upon the most ancient monuments.

To divide words by means of points, whether done in a regular manner or not, is, alike with the practice of writing them without interval, a custom of ancient times, the former plan remaining in use so lately as the fifteenth century, and this, therefore, affords no proof either for or against the antiquity of the tapestry, which the arguments advanced above appear, however, sufficiently to settle.



TOPOGRAPHY.



BATTLE or Battel, anciently Epiton (eight miles north-west of Hastings), is a parish and market-town in the hundred of the same name. Previous to the Conquest it was a wide heath-covered waste, called Herste by the Anglo-Saxons, the spot which formed the battle-field being marked by a "Hoare Apple tree." The field of Senlac won,

" King William bithought him alfoe of that
 Folke that was forlorne,
 And slayn also thoruz him
 In the bataile bi forne.
 And ther as the bataile was,
 An Abbey he lete rere
 Of Seint Martin, for the foules
 That there slayn were.
 And the Monkes wel ynoug
 Feffed without fayle,
 That is called in Englonde
 Abbey of Bataile."¹

It was not until 1071 that William was sufficiently secure to begin the abbey by erecting temporary dwellings for four monks, who acted as clerks of works, appointing Robert Blanchard first abbot of the foundation. The monks objected to the sterility of the site and its lack of water, but the king refused to build except where Harold fell, promising that his munificence should compensate for barren soil, and that wine should be more plenteous with them than water elsewhere.²

¹ Rob. de Glouc. Bodl. MS. fol. 98a.

² Domesday recites the possessions of the abbey as—the manor of Wi, in Kent, rated at 7 folins; the soc and sac of 22 hundred appertaining to it; Alfitone, in Suffex, which paid geld for 44½ hides [1 hide = 100 acres]; 4 hides in Totenore hundred; 6½ hides, including Bocheham, in the Abbot's own rape; with smaller lands rented by the Earls of Mortain, Ow, and other tenants in Bece, Bollington, Cedefeld, Crowhurst, Holintan, Hov, Nirefeld, Pencheft, Pilefham, Wasingate, Witinges; 25 hides at Limnesfeld, in Surrey; Harold's manor of Britoldeltone, in Berkshire, rated in his time at 10 hides, 5 houses in Wallingford; the church of Redinges with 8 hides; in Devonshire the church of Colitone with 1 hide and that of S. Olive in Exeter with 7 hides; in Oxfordshire 5 hides at Cravmareis, previously Harold's; in Effex 1 hide at Atahov and 1 hide at Herfa.

He kept his word, making ample provision for one hundred and forty monks, although the foundation never numbered above sixty. The first occupants were imported from the Norman monastery of Marmoustier. The abbey was commenced with Caen stone, but a devout woman providentially dreaming that the native stone was equally good, it was continued with that material. The abbey, unfinished at his father's death, was completed by Rufus, who, in 1094, was present at its dedication to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and S. Martin, when, in accordance with the founder's wish,¹ he presented the Conqueror's corona-

¹ Of the numerous charters granted by William and his successors to this abbey, the following is the most important :

CARTA FUNDATIONIS ABBATIÆ SANCTI MARTINI DE BELLO.

IN NOMINE SANCTÆ ET INDIVIDUÆ TRINITATIS. Ego Willielmus, DEI gratiã, rex Anglorum, notum facio omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus, Francis et Anglis : quod cum in Angliam venissem et in finibus Hasting' cum in exercitu applicuissem contra hostes meos, qui mihi regnum Angliæ injustè conabantur auferre ; in procinctu belli, jam armatus, coram baronibus et militibus meis, cum favore omnium ad eorum corda roboranda, votum feci, ecclesiam quandam ad honorem DEI construere pro communi salute ; si, per DEI gratiam, obtinere possemus victoriam. Quam cum essemus adepti, votum DEO solvens, in honore sanctæ Trinitatis et beati Martini confessoris CHRISTI, ecclesiam construxi pro salute animæ meæ, et antecessoris mei regis EADWARDI, et uxoris meæ MATHILDIS reginæ, et successorum meorum in regno, et pro salute omnium quorum labore et auxilio regnum obtinui ; et illorum maximè qui in ipso bello occubuerunt. Et quia in hoc loco ubi sic constructa est ecclesia, DEUS mihi victoriam præstitit in bello, ob victoriæ memoriam, ipsum locum BELLUM appellari volui. Huic igitur ecclesiæ sancti Martini de Bello, hanc in primis dignitatem regali auctoritate concedo, ut habeat curiam suam per omnia, et regiam libertatem et consuetudinem tractandi de suis rebus vel negotiis, et justitiam per se tenendam, sitque libera et quieta in perpetuum ab omni subjectione episcoporum ; et quarumlibet personarum dominatione, sicut ecclesia Christi CANTUARIÆ. Et si quis latro vel homicida, vel aliquo crimine reus timore mortis fugiens, ad hanc ecclesiam pervenerit, in nullo ledatur, sed liber omninò dimittatur. Abbati verò ipse ecclesiæ liceat ubique latronem vel furem de suspendio liberare, si forte supervenerit. Concedo etiam eidem ecclesiæ leugam circumquaque adjacentem, liberam et quietam ab omni geldo, et scoto, et hidagiis, et denegeldis, et opere pontium, et castellorum, et parcorum, et claufuris, et exercit' et omnibus auxiliis et placitis, et querelis, et firis, et hundredis ; cum faca, et foca et tol, et theam, et infanganetheof, et warpeni, et lestagis, et hamfocne, et forstal, et blodwite, et cildwite, et latrocinio ; et liberam ab omni consuetudine terrenæ servitutis, et ab omni exactiōe episcoporum. Huic iterum ecclesiæ sancti Martini de Bello, do regale manerium quod vocatur Wi, cum omnibus appendiciis suis, ex meâ dominicâ coronâ, cum omnibus libertatibus et regalibus consuetudinibus, ita liberam et quietam, sicut liberius et quietius tenui, vel ut Rex dare potui ; scilicet ab omni geldo, et scoto, et hidag' et denegeld' et opere pontium, et castellorum, et claufuris, et parcorum, et exercit', et omnibus auxiliis, et placitis, et querelis, et firis, et hundr', cum faca et foca, et tol, et theam, et infanganetheof, et warpeni, et lestagis, et hamfocne, et forstal, et blodwite, et cildwite, et latrocinio, si acciderint. Similiter, do duos denarios de omnibus forisfacturis et placitis, omnium hundredorum quæ pertinent ad ummonitionem de Wis. In Denge

tion pallium, the sword he used at Senlac, and his Norman feretrum, doubtless that upon which Harold took his oath.

The abbey buildings, quadrangular in form, were a mile about, three of their sides being yet traceable. Of the splendid church the walls and piers of an eastern crypt, containing three chapels, the walls of the high altar, and the steps by which it was reached now alone remain; their discovery was due to excavations undertaken in 1817. Third amongst the twenty-six mitred abbeys of England its abbots were summoned to Parliament until the Dissolution; its monks and tenants were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction; they possessed rights of inquest, treasure-trove, and free warren; the church itself was a sanctuary for the homicide, and the whole was fortified by the royal permission of Edward III. On 27th May, 1538, Abbot Hamond surrendered his abbey to the king, when Commissioner Layton describes it as "the worst that ever I see in all other places; whereas I see specially the blake sort of dyvellyshe monks;" and when its income was valued at £987 os. 10½d. The monks were pensioned, and the property granted to a person named Gilmer, who sold much of the abbey for building materials; from him it passed to Sir Anthony Brown, who commenced its conversion into a mansion, his son, the first Lord Montacute, completing the undertaking. The fourth lord sold the estate to Sir Thomas Webster, from whose descendants it passed in 1857 to Lord Harry Vane.

mareis verò, quod est unum membrum de Wi, concedo eidem ecclesiæ omnes maritimas consuetudines quas illic habui; cum omni WEREC. Et si piscis qui Craspeis vocatur, illic advenerit, abbatis et monachorum sit totus. Si verò intra terminos de Blachewafe, et Horsmede, et Bradelle usque whitburne appulerit, duas partes ejusdem piscis et linguam habeat ecclesia sicut ego semper habui. Do etiam eidem ecclesiæ hæc maneria; Alfristona, Limenesfeld, Hov, Craumareis, Bristwoldintona, cum omnibus appendiciis suis, libera et quieta, cum supradictis libertatibus et regalibus consuetudinibus. Si infra luegam, vel in maneriis ecclesiæ murdre evenerit, vel thesaurus inventus fuerit, abbatis et monachorum sit utrumque. Warrennam propriam in ipsâ leugâ habeat ecclesia, et in omnibus suis maneriis. Do etiam eidem ecclesiæ sancti Martini, ecclesiam de Radingis, et ecclesiam de Culintuna, et ecclesiam sancti Olavi de Exonia, cum terris et decimis, et omnibus ad eas pertinentibus. Et si aliquis ex baronibus meis, vel hominibus, aliquid de suo eidem ecclesiæ in elemosinam dederit easdem libertates quas concessi rebus quas ego eidem ecclesiæ dedi, eis concedo, et presenti scripto, ut supradicta, regali auctoritate confirmo.

WILLE ✠ LMUS REX.	WALKE ✠ LINUS ep's Wint.	HUGO 1 ^r	estr'.
	WILLEL ✠ MUS filius Osb'.		
LANFR ✠ ANCUS Arch'. Cant'.	TOMAS ✠ Archiep' Ebor.	OSBER 1 ^r	Exon'.
	ROGER ✠ Am' de Muntgum'.	WILLEL ✠ MUS DE Bi	
MAUR CIUS ep's Lund'.	GUNDU ✠ LFUS eps' Ros'.	WILLEL ✠	e War.
	BERN ✠ ARDUS DE NOVA MERE'.		

BAYEUX.



THE first mention of Bayeux is as a place of Druidic sacrifice, the Priory of S. Nicholas *de la chefnaye* occupying the site of the sacred grove. In the vicinity stood the famous Temple of Mount Phaunus, and here later was the cemetery of S. Floxel and S. Vigor.

The foundation of the town is said to be anterior to the domination of Gaul by the Romans, who converted it into a military station under the title of Arægenus. It seems to have been the Næomagus Viducaffium of Ptolemy, the term Viducaffes or Biducaffes being early changed to Baiocaffes, by contraction Baiocæ, Baiocas; in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Baiæ and Bagiaë; in the fourteenth century Baex and Bajeves; in the sixteenth century Baieux, soon afterwards modified into its modern form of Bayeux.

The Roman town was captured, burnt and rebuilt, about the third century, by the Saxons, who settled here and in the surrounding country of Bessin; whilst under the Merovingian and Carolingian kings a mint was established here, at which both gold and silver coins were struck. The church, built by S. Exuperius, who introduced Christianity into Neustria, about the year 260, is accounted the oldest place of Christian worship in the country. Too small for the growing band of disciples, it was rebuilt and enlarged by S. Regnobert, and was erected into a bishopric in the fourth century. The Northmen made descents in 884 and 890, burning both church and town, but, on the place being colonized by them, Rollo, their leader, not only rebuilt the cathedral, but endowed it with great munificence on his baptism. The invaders differing but little from the invaded, formed with them a mixed race, preserving until the union of France and Normandy, a speech and customs distinct from those of their neighbours. Proud of their ancestry, the Norman dukes regarded Bayeux as the second place in their duchy; here their children were educated, in order that they might acquire the Danish language, which, until the eleventh century, was the vulgar tongue of the Bayeuxians; here they had a palace, and enjoyed in perfection their favourite pastime of hunting.

In 1046, Rollo's cathedral was burnt; its restoration was commenced by

Bishop Hugh III., and at his death completed by Bishop Odo. At the dedication in 1077, he presented amongst other gifts, in which the tapestry may have been included, an enormous Corona lucis, which was destroyed in 1562 by the Huguenots. William and Matilda assisted at the consecration, and enriched the cathedral with their gifts.

The crypt of Odo's structure alone remains, the church having been burnt by Henry I. of England, who besieged the town in 1105. He, however, undertook the cost of its re-erection, and the present nave dates from his time. In 1159 it again suffered by fire, but the bishop, Philippe d'Harcourt, did much towards its complete restoration.

In 1183, Henry II. appointed funds for carrying on the work, for the completion of which Bishop Henry de Beaumont agreed with a brotherhood of masons, and as in 1205 he was buried in the choir, we may assume that it was finished at that date.

Bayeux and its cathedral suffered much during the invasions of the English, who on their final retreat bore off its charter, which is still in the Tower of London.

The excesses of the Calvinists at Bayeux were of the most revolting and indecent description, their work of spoliation being ably completed by the Revolutionists. The cathedral, victim of many disasters, presents a patchwork of styles from that of the eleventh century to the present day.

The age of its more important divisions have been already indicated; it may therefore suffice to attribute the western towers to Bishop Richard de Douvres and Philippe d'Harcourt, the central towers to Louis II., and to mention that the transepts are early fourteenth-century work. The cathedral is cruciform, its extreme internal length, 315 ft.; width, 105 ft.; and height, 81 ft. The transepts are 120 ft. long by 35 ft. wide. Its style, too mixed, and in parts too florid, for the architectural purist, presents a picturesque ensemble, heightened by the old and ill-built town which surrounds it. Bayeux stands on the Aure, in the middle of a large fertile plain, at a distance of five miles from the coast. Formerly a stronghold, it is now an open town; its castle, an ancient and spacious fortress, the last relic of its military character, having been entirely demolished in 1773.

BOSHAM.



BOSHAM, called by the Anglo-Saxons Bosen-ham (the *ham* surrounded with woods), is a parish in the hundred of its own name, distant three and a half miles west of Chichester. The neighbourhood was inhabited as early as A.D. 43, and Roman remains and coins were discovered here in 1832. Formerly a place of considerable merchandise, Bosham is frequently mentioned by the ancient chroniclers; the map annexed to the MS. Saxon Chronicle showing it as one of the five places of sufficient importance to be marked in the county of Suffex. During the Roman occupation of West Suffex and, as is supposed, in the fourth century, a basilica was built on part of the site of the present church, in which the bases of the columns that now carry the chancel arch are undoubtedly Roman. The church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and is built partly in the early style of English architecture and partly in that which prevailed in the fourteenth century. There is a small crypt under the south aisle, and the font is Saxon. The Saxon church probably consisted of the present tower and nave, with a chancel terminated by an apse. About the year A.D. 681, Dicul, an Irishman, founded a small cell here, which afterwards grew into great importance. Later King Cnut had a palace at Bosham, and one of his daughters who died here was buried in the church. In Bosham manor house Earl Godwine occasionally resided. On his death this property passed to Harold, from whom it came to the crown, being at the date of Domesday held in demense of the king. It then consisted of 66½ hides of land, with 39 villeins, 50 bordarers, and 19 ploughs. There was a church, 17 ministri, 8 mills, 2 fisheries, and a wood. Its value was £40 in the time of the Confessor. The ecclesiastical part, consisting of a church with 112 hides of land, 3 mills, and a salt-pan, and valued in Eadward's day at £300, was held by Osbern, Bishop of Exeter.

Soon after the Conquest Roger de Montgomeri, Earl of Arundel and Chichester, had the privilege of six annual fairs at Bosham. Before the death of the Conqueror the manor became the fee of William Fitz-Aucher. A secular college, founded in 1129, continued till the dissolution of the lesser monasteries.

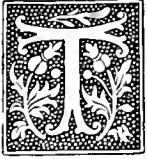
In 1189 John Mareſchal obtained a grant of the manor from Henry II., and at his death William Mareſchal, Earl of Pembroke, had a like grant. In 1252 the manor was poſſeſſed by Hugh Bigod, from whom it paſſed to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Edward II. granted it to Thomas de Brotherton, whoſe daughter brought it in marriage to the Mowbrays, ſubſequentlly Dukes of Norfolk. They held it until 1475, when it paſſed to Iſabel, wife of James, Lord Berkeley, by which family a conſiderable portion of Boſham is yet held.

COUESNON RIVER.



THE river Couesnon, the boundary of Normandy and Brittany, riſes at a diſtance of about ſix miles and a quarter to the eaſt of Fougères, when, taking a weſterly direction, it paſſes to the ſouth of that town. Turning northwards, and leaving Antrain and Pontorſon on its eaſtern bank, it enters the Bay of Cancale. Here, after a courſe of fifty miles, through the latter part of which it divides the department of Ille et Vilaine from that of la Manche, it empties itſelf into the ſands of Mont Saint Michel. For a diſtance of ſome thirteen miles from the Bridge of Angle, at which point it receives the waters of the Loyſance, to the ſea, the Couesnon is nominally navigable; but ſo numerous are the ſandbars that obſtruct its bed, and ſo ever-ſhifting their character, that it is practically uſeleſs for trading purpoſes. The dangers of its conformation are increaſed by the natural phenomena of the diſtrict, the moſt dangerous of which is a denſe fog, which rapidly ſurrounds the traveller, enveloping him in ſuch complete obſcurity as to render the light of a lantern inviſible at the diſtance of a few paces. Add to this the rapidity and force with which the tide riſes in this confined bay, where the fine white ſand, covered with water, offers no ſecure foothold, and we ſhall be at no loſs to comprehend the dangers which beſet the expedition of William and Harold in their invaſion of Brittany.

DINAN.



THE town of Dinan, amongst the most ancient in Brittany, occupied part of the territory of the *Curiosolites*, though the title of *Dinannum* is first applied to it in the eleventh century. Its castle was then built by Viscount Hamo (A.D. 1000 to 1040), who assumed the title De Dinan.

Dinan submitted to William and Harold in 1065, and subsequently suffered from the attacks of Henry II. of England in 1166, and of Robert d'Artois in 1243.

In 1096 Viscount Geoffroy de Dinan, and in 1190 Olivier de Dinan assumed the cross, and dying without issue in 1199 was succeeded by his cousin Gervaise de Vitré, the wife of Juhel, Baron of Mayenne. Their daughter Marguerite brought it in marriage to Henry d'Avaugour, Count of Goëlle; and, in 1265, it was sold by their son, Alain d'Avaugour, to Duke Jean le Roux, who had burnt the castle ten years previously.

In the wars for the succession, Dinan declared for Charles de Blois, and was captured and burnt by the English in 1344. The town was again besieged by the Duke of Lancaster in 1359; its small garrison under Bertrand Du Guefclin held out valiantly, but was at last compelled to promise a surrender in forty days, failing succour in the meanwhile.

During this time of truce occurred the celebrated duel that took place between Bertrand Du Guefclin and an English knight named Thomas of Cantorbie, who, in spite of the cessation of hostilities, had seized Du Guefclin's brother Oliver. The Englishman was vanquished, and on the conclusion of a general truce between Charles and Montfort, the English army retired.

In 1364, Dinan submitted to Montfort after a vigorous resistance, but was retaken in 1373 by Du Guefclin.

The States-General of Brittany assembled here in 1314, 1352, and 1464.

In 1488, Dinan was besieged by the Vicomte de Rohan, and occupied by Charles VIII.

In 1585, Henri III. gave over Dinan as a hostage to the Duc de Mercœur, who carried thither the presidential chair from Rennes, and made it the seat of a

mint ; but the inhabitants, weary of his rule, surrendered it to Henri IV. in 1598. This monarch confirmed the inhabitants in their ancient privileges, and at this date the political history of Dinan closes. The most remarkable monument of which Dinan can boast is the church of S. Sauveur, an edifice, of which the Roman facade, covered with bas-reliefs, is of an imposing character.

The southern wall of the nave is supported between each of the windows by masked piers, with capriciously ornamented capitals.

The doorway and the south wall alone remain of the original structure. The remainder, of the fifteenth century, is mean and graceless. Here is the heart of Du Guefclin, and an inscription—"Ci gift le cueur de messire Bertran Du Gueaquin, en son vivant connestable de France, qui trespassa le XIII^e jour de juillet, l'an mil III^e IIII^{xx}, dont le corps repose avec ceux des roys à Saint Denys en France."

The walls of the town are fourteenth century work. The castle, now a prison, is an enormous pile flanked by two towers, separated from the ramparts by a deep ditch. It occupies the most picturesque position on the edge of a ravine, and was inhabited by the Dukes of Brittany and by the Duchefs Anne.

The town of Dinan rises above the left bank of the river Rance ; its narrow winding streets and fantastically sculptured house-fronts still imparting to it a mediæval air.

DOL.



DOL, anciently *Dola* or *Dolum*, is a remarkable town of great antiquity. Here S. Samson, Archbishop of York, found an asylum, when, about the year 515, he fled from the invading Saxons. He is said to have founded the abbey, over which he presided. In 844 the see was erected into an archbishopric by Hoë le Grand, and so continued for three centuries ; but in 1199, Pope Innocent III. placed Dol under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Tours. Its bishops retained certain ceremonial prerogatives until the close of the last century, when the bishopric was itself suppressed. In the ninth and tenth centuries Dol served as the bulwark of Brittany against the

Normans, who, profiting by the internecine strife of their neighbours, made frequent raids across the border.

They were defeated in 937 near this town, which they seven years after carried by assault and fired. Unable to hold the place the Normans were quickly driven out, but in 996 they again took and burnt the town. During the eleventh century Dol was frequently besieged, William the Bastard being amongst its invaders. From this period the town was ruled by local seigneurs, who assumed the title of Count. Of these Rhiwallon¹ (*see* p. 34) is the first of whom a record has come down to us.

In 1487 Dol was captured by Gilbert de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, for the King of France, who retained possession of it.

During the wars of the League it was often besieged, and as often gallantly defended, by its bishop Charles de l'Espinau, who assumed command of the garrison.

In 1758 the English effected a landing at Cancale and penetrated as far as Dol, but meeting with reverses elsewhere they were obliged to abandon their success in this quarter and to re-embark.

In 1793 the Vendéens were besieged here by the Republican army and defended the place successfully, beating off their enemies and forcing them to retreat.

The town of Dol is situated in what is now the Department of Ille et Vilaine, on a mount which rises from the midst of a vast plain. In 709, this eminence, which had till then been surrounded by the great forest of Scicy, was transformed by an irruption of the sea into a little island of some mile and a quarter in circumference. The sea retired, but the land was left a swamp in which lay embedded the *débris* of the ancient forest. These marshes, extending for a length of twenty-four miles from east to west, were in great part reclaimed, when, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the waters again burst their barriers and overwhelmed the country. Human industry has, however, been again at work, and endeavours have been made to raise the level of these plains; the ocean is now, for the second time, held at bay, and at the present day Dol stands at a distance of some three miles from the shore.

The old walls and the fosse by which the town is yet encompassed, are in a

¹ Living 1030.

fair state of preservation. Within them rises the town, dreary looking and ill built, but exhibiting indications of its great antiquity. Here in the middle ages the monks of Mont Saint Michel built a chapel and hospital, of which no traces remain, but enough is left us in Dol to recall its past history. A building known as Le Palais or La Maison des Plaids is apparently Romanesque, whilst the cathedral is amongst the most beautiful as it is one of the most remarkable in Brittany. It is of vast dimensions, with a lofty nave, and, unlike most of the churches of the country, is almost entirely in the early pointed style of architecture, at once bold and elegant.

The northern tower and the doorway differ from the rest of the building, being the work of Abbot James of Le Hon, who died 1507. The date of the choir is also probably later than that of the nave, and most of the chapels surrounding it appear to have been reconstructed in the fourteenth century.

The appearance of antiquity which pervades the town is heightened by the singular shade of gloom which is imparted to the place by the dark colour of the granite of which it is built, aided by the heavy projecting gables of the ancient houses, and by the deeply arched colonnades from which they rise.

HASTINGS.



HASTINGS is the chief town of the rape to which it gives its name. Its origin is obscure, and the derivation of its name uncertain. It has been traced to the river Asten, which flows west of S. Leonards; to a tribe called the Hæstingas, who fought against Offa, King of Mercia, in 792; and to Hasting, the Wiking, who pillaged this district and erected a fort here in 893. It is said to have been fortified (A.D. 40) by Arviragus against the Romans, and appears to have been a Celtic station appropriated in turn by the Romans and Saxons. The name of Hastings-cæster, which is given to it in the Saxon Chronicle, shows that it was, at any rate in those days, a fortified place.

Æthelstan established a mint at Hastings in 924, and the coins of succeeding reigns bear its mark. Of its subsequent history until the Conquest we only know

that in 1011 the Danes overran Hastings; that in 1049 its inhabitants fought and captured two of Swegen's ships, whose crews had been concerned in the murder of Beorn, and that two years later its butsekarks followed the fortunes of Godwine.

Hastings, the place from which William drew his earliest supplies, was also the centre of the operations of his campaign, and embankments are yet traceable on the right of the road leading from the Priory Meadows towards Bohemia, which probably mark the site of the Norman camp.

The Domesday notices of Hastings are singularly meagre and obscure, stating only that it contained 4 burghesses and 14 bondmen, yielding 63 shillings to the Manor of Rameslie; and that Robert of Hastings held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides from the Abbot of Fescamp, who held Rameslie of the king, and Herolf a $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. They had 4 villains, 4 cottagers, and 32 ploughs. In the Confessor's time the whole manor was valued at £34.

After previous unsuccessful attempts in 1217 and 1340 the town was fired by the French in 1377.

The castle, which crowns a cliff 400 feet above the sea, seems to have been built about this time on the site of earlier works. Its construction is attributed to the Conqueror, by whom it was given to the Earl of Eu, and was perhaps built on the spot where the wooden fort (*see* p. 68) had stood.

Ruins of the circumscribing walls, which are eight feet thick, of the eastern gate, and of the tower, yet remain, to attest the ancient strength of the works. These massive walls, with a precipice to the south and wide moats on the other sides, rendered the place impregnable before the days of siege artillery. Excavations, the most important of which were conducted in 1824, disclosed much of the original design of the structure.

Here in 1094 Rufus assembled a vast army to invade Normandy, which he disbanded after appropriating the subsidies levied for its maintenance; and here, in 1095, he stayed during the time of the consecration of Battle Abbey. Hastings also possesses an old barn, marking the spot where the Black Priory, founded by Sir Walter Bricit, temp. Richard I. once stood; and the remains of a chapter-house belonging to a college founded temp. Henry I. by Henry de Eu, of which Thomas à Becket was a dean and William of Wykeham a prebendary.

MONT SAINT MICHEL.



MONT Saint Michel lies in the Bay of Cancale about a mile from the coast. The Archangel himself appeared in a vision to Bishop Aubert and directed the foundation of the abbey.

The doubting bishop failed to at once obey the mandate, and received in the third vision a warning touch from the archangel's finger which cracked his skull. He was now directed to go clad in his pontificals, and accompanied by his brethren, bearing a small child named Bain, beneath whose feet the hard rock should crumble into dust at the site of the future abbey. All was done according to the celestial command, and the levelling of the summit of the rock commenced, whilst a deputation sought a table and carpet on which the archangel had alighted during one of his manifestations. Other accounts consider that the strong arms of the bishop and his brethren, aided by the peasants of the neighbourhood, under a ganger named Bain, were more potent than the feet of the heaven-appointed child. Anyway the church was rapidly built, for the pilgrims returning, in 709, with the holy objects above-mentioned, found the barren rock crowned by a handsome chapel. This building was destroyed in 963 or 965, and a large church built in its place by Duke Richard I., who substituted regular Benedictine monks for the debauched clergy of Avranches, who, in revenge, bore off all the charters and parchments belonging to the church. The new church was destroyed by fire almost as soon as completed, but in 1023 Duke Richard II. constructed a large basilica, probably designed by Hildebert, the third abbot, parts of which are yet extant. Additions to this structure were made by Raoul de Beaumont, the eighth abbot and his successor.

On Easter Eve, 1103, the roof of the nave fell in after morning office.

On Good Friday, 1112, during matins, the church was struck by lightning and consumed; but no one was hurt, and a wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin was recovered uninjured.

Roger, the eleventh abbot, commenced the rebuilding of the church, which was completed about five years later, as well as some additions which were then made.

In 1135, Bernard, the thirteenth abbot, rebuilt that part of the nave which

remained in ruins, and added a belfry with two bells cast expressly for the church. He built a cell on the Cornish Mount S. Michael by a charter of Edward the Confessor's, confirmed by Robert Earl of Cornwall.

1138. The dwellings of the monks were fired by the people of Avranches, but the church escaped the conflagration.

1155. A smart shock of earthquake was felt.

1177. Robert de Torigny, fifteenth abbot, repaired the damaged edifices and increased the number of monks from thirty to sixty. In 1200, one of Abbot Robert's towers fell, burying his library and the manuscripts which he had prepared for the instruction of his people.

In 1203, the period at which Normandy passed under the dominion of France, Jourdan, or Jourdain, the seventeenth abbot, faithful to the last to John Lackland, sustained an obstinate siege by Guy de Thouars, Duke of Brittany, who, as an ally of Philip Augustus, invested the place and carried the palisades, which then formed the sole bulwark of the town, but failing to reduce the castle he retired after firing the place. On the subsequent subjugation of the country Philip Augustus sent a considerable sum of money to aid its restoration.

In 1300 the monastery was damaged by lightning and the bells melted. Abbot Guillaume restored it in a magnificent manner, but most of his work was destroyed in 1350, when the place was again struck by lightning.

Nicolas le Vitrier, the twenty-eighth abbot, threw heart and soul into the rebuilding of his monastery, which in spite of the constant raids of both Bretons and English, he effected in a manner which outdid his predecessors. In 1374, the greater part of the new edifice was consumed by lightning and the newly-cast bells melted; but the twenty-ninth abbot, Geoffroy de Servon, again rebuilt the monastery. He was succeeded by Pierre Leroy, one of the most celebrated and certainly the most remarkable of all the abbots of Mont S. Michel, who spared no pains in the decoration of the newly-erected buildings, which he embellished with workmanship of the most exquisite taste.

Robert Jolivet, thirty-first abbot, beguiled by the honours heaped upon him by the Duke of Bedford, espoused the English cause, whilst his monks remained faithful to France, nominating Jean Gonnault in the room of their renegade abbot. In 1423 they successfully withstood, as they had previously done in the years 1417 and 1418, the attack of the English forces, whose siege guns remained in their hands.

In 1421, the entire roof of the choir fell in, a disaster which, as Robert Jolivet had got the revenue of the monastery, they lacked means to repair. Charles VII. indeed gave money for the work, and obtained indulgences for such pilgrims as offered at S. Michael's shrine, but these sums were required to resist the attacks of the English, who harassed the poor monks until finally expelled from Normandy. An appeal to the council of Bâle failed to obtain a restitution of the abbatial revenue. Jean Gonnault was appointed abbot, but Louis Destouteville, captain of the Mount, obtained that post by intrigue for his brother the Cardinal Guillaume Destouteville, who became its first commendatory abbot. He directed the repair of the ruined choir and chapels, which was commenced upon a scale of great magnificence, but visiting his monastery in 1452 for the first and last time, he took fright at the expense incurred and left the work incomplete.

André de Laure, thirty-third abbot, filled the windows with stained glass, and his successor Guillaume de Lamps, thirty-sixth abbot, continued the work of restoration. At his death, in 1523, the line of the regular abbots closed. In 1576 the monks joined the League; the abbey was seized in 1577 by Dutouchet and its occupants massacred, but it was at once recaptured by Louis de la Moricière, Sieur de Viques, who was appointed governor by Henri III. In 1589 the place was surprised by the Sieur de Lorges de Montgomery, but retaken, and attempts upon the mount made by the Huguenots in 1591, 1592, and 1594, failed, although in the following year they succeeded in burning the town. In 1694 the spire, reputed the highest in the kingdom, was destroyed by lightning; the restorations made by the commendatory abbot François de Joyeuse were in turn wrecked by lightning and rebuilt. The last works conducted at the abbey were undertaken in 1616, by order of the Duc de Guise, on behalf of his son Henri de Lorraine, who, though but six years old, was its commendatory abbot. The ravages of a fire in 1776 were not made good, and the buildings, which have been used as a prison, are now relegated to the antiquary and the tourist.

PEVENSEY.



PEVENSEY, ten miles west of Hastings, is a decayed market-town, on the bay of the same name. Now but a village street, it was, as *Portus Anderida*, an important fortified station under the Romans, on the site of the British settlement *Andradswald*, and was again occupied by the Britons on the retirement of the Romans from the country. Ælla, the first king of the South Saxons, captured the town, which he named *Andredes-ceaster*. In 792 Pevensey appears for the first time under its modern appellation, when given by Bertwald to the abbey of S. Denis for his cure by that saint's relics.

In 1042 Swegen visited his father at Pevensey, to endeavour to obtain a reconciliation with the king, and in 1049 Godwine and Harold fired the place, and took away many ships. Here the Conqueror landed on 28th September, 1066, and hence he returned to Normandy in 1067. The Rape of Pevensey, more than one-sixth of the county of Suffex, fell to Robert, Earl of Mortain. Portions of the castle walls of the most massive construction remain, as well as the towers and the gateway, and a moated keep.

Domesday contains a detailed account of Pevensey in 1086. In the reign of Eadward the Confessor, that king held 24 burghesses in domain, the toll producing 20s., port dues 35s., and the pasturage 7s. 3d. rent. The Bishop of Chichester had 5 burghesses, and 3 priests had amongst them 23; total of burghesses in the domain, 52. At the time of the earl's succession to the manor there were but 27; at the time of the making of the record, the number had risen to 109, and the toll produced £4. Thus it would appear that the Normans improved the condition of Pevensey in the early days of their rule, its importance being increased by the establishment of a mint. The Earl of Mortain espoused the cause of Robert against Rufus, by whom, in 1088, Odo was here besieged for six weeks. Robert of Mortain was succeeded by his son, who, siding against the king, and falling into his hands at Tenerchebrai, was deprived of his liberty and sight, together with his estates.

Pevensey Castle, escheated to the crown, was granted to Gilbert de Aquila, the descendant of a distinguished family, from Aquila, in Normandy, whence originated

the Honour of the Eagle, of which Pevensey Castle was the head. He was succeeded, in 1118, by his son Richard, who rebelled against Henry I., but regained his forfeited estates through the intercession of his uncle. Next year his town and castle of Aquila were burnt by Louis, whose forces, however, he subsequently joined, using his position as a means of plunder. In 1127 he again rebelled against Henry I., and his escheated estates were granted to Henry Fitz-Empress.

Stephen besieged Fitz-Empress at Pevensey, which was only reduced by famine. Henry, obliged to compound with Stephen, assigned these estates to William, his third and youngest son; but, on coming to the throne, Henry II. reinstated Richard de Aquila in the title and possessions which he had forfeited by rebellion, and William received in exchange, from the king, whatsoever his father Stephen had enjoyed before he was king.

In 1176 he was succeeded by his son Gilbert de Aquila, of whom we only know that the scutage levied for his knight's fees in Suffex, for the redemption of Richard I., who had been taken captive when returning from the Holy Wars, amounted to £21 17s. 6d. He died 1204, and was succeeded by his son, Gilbert de Aquila, whose estates were seized by the crown for his visiting Normandy without permission.

In 1208 John granted license to build a new town between Pevensey and Langney, but there is no evidence of the design having been carried out.

In 1216 William, sixth earl of Warenne, was in possession of the castle, but siding with the Dauphin against John, he received a precept to deliver it up to Matthew Fitz-Herbert.

In 1235 Henry III. granted it to Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, until the same should be restored to the right heirs thereof; but after a few years he was prosecuted on some criminal charges by the king, to whom he redelivered Pevensey, and a year later was killed in a tournament at Ware.

In 1241 Henry III. granted the barony to Peter de Savoy, uncle to Queen Eleanor. Hither fled John, Earl of Warenne, on his way to France after his desertion of Henry at the battle of Lewes in 1264, and in the same year the castle was unsuccessfully besieged by Simon of Montfort. In the following year it was occupied by Savoy's troops, and by his testament, dated 53rd Henry III., Peter de Savoy bequeathed to Thomas Amadeus and Lewis the Honour of the Eagle and Hastings; but in the same year it would seem that the whole Honour of Pevensey was given to Prince Edward and his heirs, so that it should never be

severed from the crown. It continued in the crown during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., and until the 44th of Edward III., when John of Gaunt obtained a grant in general tail of the castle and leucate of Pevensey.

In 1394 John Pelham, Esq. was appointed constable of the castle, and during his absence in 1398 his wife bravely defended it, being, as she says, in a letter which is supposed to be the earliest specimen of epistolatory correspondence by a lady in the English language, "layd in manner off a sege, wyth the counte of Suffex, Sudray, and a greet parfyll off Kentte." On the accession of Henry IV., for the important services which he had rendered, the king granted to Sir John Pelham and his heirs the office of constable of the castle of Pevensey, with the Honour of the Eagle and all profits whatsoever within the Rape.

In 1405 Edward, Duke of York, was confined in the castle, for his share in the escape of Edward, Earl of March, and his brother, from Windsor, but he was well treated, and soon set at liberty. Here in the same year Prince James of Scotland was imprisoned by King Henry IV.; nor did he regain his full liberty until 1424. Sir John Pelham dying about 1428, was succeeded by his only son, Sir John Pelham, and from this time the office of Constable of Pevensey Castle seems to have been held by the Pelham family, till West, Lord de la Warre, seized the Honour of the Eagle.

In 1419 Queen Joan of Navarre, the last wife of Henry IV., was also imprisoned here on a charge of forcery, but was released by Henry VI. in 1423, and reinstated in her possessions.

In 1461 Sir William Fynes was appointed Constable of Pevensey Castle, and in 1478, the castle and its appendages were settled on Elizabeth, Queen Consort of Edward IV.

As early as 1620 the Honour of Pevensey was in the crown. About the commencement of the eighteenth century it became the property of William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, who sold it, in 1730, to the Hon. Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, from whom it descended, in 1755, to his son, Charles Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton, whose daughter, Lady Elizabeth Compton, marrying, in 1782, Lord George Augustus Henry Cavendish, Earl of Burlington, carried the Honour to that nobleman.

The castle lies westward of the town of Pevensey. In shape it is an irregular pentagon. The outward enclosure contains about eight and a half acres, and the inner about one and a half. The external walls are nearly entire, except to the

fouth. The principal entrance is flanked with two towers of horseshoe form, and there are six other towers of similar shape on the north side. Part of the moat remains. The outer or Roman walls are of vast thickness, and above twenty feet in height; they exhibit, in various parts, strata of Roman tiles. The Normans evidently added to the height of the walls in some places, and one of the towers has a remarkable superposition of a Norman structure upon it, which, as it commands a view landwards over a great tract of country, was evidently designed as a watch-tower.

PONTHIEU.



PONTHIEU, originally *Pontivus pagus*, of which Abbeville was the capital, anciently formed a part of the country of the Morini. It extends from the river Canche, on the north, which separated it from the county of Boulogne, to the Somme, on the south, which separated it from Vimeu; on the east it was bounded by Artois and Amiénois, and on the west by the sea.

It had formerly much more extended boundaries, and, under the early Carolingian kings, comprehended Boulogne, Vimeu, Ternois, Guines, Ardres, and other lands on the sea-board. The erection of Ponthieu into a county dates from the seventh century at the least, and it would seem that Vimeu remained annexed to Ponthieu as long as it remained under the government of its own counts.

RENNES.



RENNES, *Rhedones*, *Rhedonum Civitas*, or *Civitas Rhedonenfis*, the Roman Condate, is the ancient capital of Brittany, situated at the confluence of the Ille and the Vilaine. The date of its origin is unknown, but before Cæsar's invasion of Gaul it was the chief town of the Rhedones, one of the six nations of Armorica. It was conquered by him in 56, and surrounded with walls, vestiges of which yet remain. It was one of the first towns to accept Christianity, and became a bishopric in 280. The names of the predecessors of Moderan, who filled the see in 358, are unknown.

In 383 Rennes was taken by the Bretons, Duke Conan making it, after Nantes, his principal residence, and entirely abolishing Druidical and pagan worship.

About 402 Rennes fell into the power of a body of Franks, which had invaded the country at the mouth of the Loire.

About 475 S. Amand was chosen bishop of Rennes. He is regarded as the patron saint of the town.

Rennes was captured by the Frisians in 417, besieged by Charles le Chauve in 843, captured by him in 849, and dismantled by Noménoé, to whom it soon after surrendered, "that (as he said) he might not have to retake it," Charles le Chauve being compelled, in 851, to confirm him in the possession of Rennes, and permit him to enjoy all the marks of royalty.

In 875 it repelled the attack of Pasquiten, Comte of Vannes, the Pretender of Brittany, who laid siege to it at the head of thirty thousand Normans; Gervand was the conqueror, and remained Count of Rennes. The place was likewise invested by Conan le Petit in 1155.

Here, in 1032, Duke Alain III. founded the Benedictine abbey of Saint Georges, to which his sister Adela retired, with the daughters and widows of many illustrious families. This convent has been rebuilt many times, the present building, with the exception of the cloister, which is in the Pointed style, being of seventeenth-century work.

In 1180 the bishop Philippe himself commenced the rebuilding of the ancient cathedral, which was at that time eight hundred and sixty-one years old. Charles de Blois completed the new structure in 1345, and Pierre de Guémené consecrated it 3rd October, 1359. The new building was cruciform, with rich chapels, and a curiously-carved reredos.

Rennes sided in turn with Charles de Blois and John of Montfort, and was more than once the spoil of the temporary conqueror.

In 1310 was built the first church of S. Sauveur, and on the 2nd February, 1369, Jean V. laid the first stone of the Jacobinic church, known as Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle.

In 1355 the Duke of Lancaster besieged Rennes, which was defended by Penhoët le Boiteux, who permitted the English to plant their standard, for a few moments, on the wall, that their leader, who had taken a rash vow to do so, might retire unperjured.

In 1373 the inhabitants expelled their Duke, Jean V., recognizing the sovereignty of Charles V. of France; but in 1379 they atoned, by a magnificent reception, for this insult.

On the 22nd March, 1401, Jean VI. made his solemn entry into Rennes, receiving, though he was but eleven years of age, the honour of knighthood from Olivier de Clifton.

Here S. Yves, (born 1253, canonized 1347,) founded an hospital, and here a chapel was erected under his patronage towards the close of the fifteenth century. Hither, in 1754, it was found necessary to transfer those services which had, for the space of fifteen hundred years, been celebrated in the ancient church of S. Pierre; for the falling of a stone from its roof gave warning of the dangerous condition of the fabric. S. Yves' chapel proved too small for the congregation, and the services were consequently shifted to the church of S. Melairie.

Under Pierre II. (1450-1456), Rennes was visited by Jean II., King of Navarre, and by his son, Don Carlos, when beaten at Estella by his father.

In 1484 the printing-press was introduced to the city by Pierre Bellefculée and Joffes.

In 1489 the inhabitants of Rennes solicited the presence of the Duchess Anne, in whose face the town of Nantes had closed its gate. She came, and here was, two years later, secretly courted by Charles VIII., gratefully obtaining for her late protectors, on her marriage with him shortly afterwards, the privilege of holding

noble fiefs without being subject to arrière-ban, provided that in time of war they took arms in defence of their city.

François I. visited Rennes on the 9th October, 1518. Here Calvinism was established in 1558; it took root but slightly, and made little progress. Three years later this city was fixed upon by Charles IX. as the permanent seat of the parliament.

Taken, in 1589, by the Leaguers, and occupied by Mercœur, Rennes was, thanks to the courage of its inhabitants under their brave sénéchal, Guy de Meneust, soon restored to Henri III. The loyal city was the first to recognize, 11th September, 1589, Henri IV. as King of France, and that monarch made his entry into the city in 1598.

The rebuilding of the old towers of the cathedral was commenced by the Dukes Anne, but they were not completed until 1541.

On the 22nd September, 1720, at midnight, there broke out a fire, which raged until the 29th day of the same month, destroying twenty-seven streets, five public places, a part of the church of S. Sauveur, and eight hundred and seventy-three houses.

In 1774 Louis XVI. authorized the construction of a third cathedral upon the site of its predecessors, which was commenced in 1784 by Mathurin Crucy, but which is a bad specimen of a bad style. Rennes has entirely lost its mediæval aspect, and its ancient privileges have likewise gone, having been shorn off at the time of the Revolution despite the opposition of its inhabitants.



ROUEN.



ROUEN, first mentioned by Ptolemy, who lived in the early part of the second century, was then known as Rotomagus, a name as to the derivation of which numerous speculations have been hazarded. It was the chief town of the country inhabited by the Velocasses, and became, under the Roman dominion, the capital of the province of Lugdunensis Secunda and the residence of the Præfectus Militum Urfariensium. Excavations, conducted in 1789, have brought to light the remains of the walls which originally formed the bulwarks of the Roman city.

S. Melon, the first bishop, dedicated a chapel to Our Lady. Under his successor, S. Victrice, the population increased, and churches were multiplied. Under the episcopate of S. Godard, who died 529, Clovis conquered the provinces between the Somme, the Seine and the Aisne, and Rouen became a French town. The abbey of S. Peter, now of S. Ouen, was founded by Clotaire I. about 540, under Bishop Flavius, who was succeeded by Pretextat, murdered in the cathedral, during the celebration of the mass, by order of Fredegonda. The episcopate of S. Romain, in the seventh century, was remarkable for the destruction of pagan temples, and that of S. Ouen for the number of religious establishments in Rouen and its neighbourhood, which were then founded or enriched. Ansbert succeeded S. Ouen in 683, and a great famine occurring during his occupation of the see, he distributed its treasure to relieve the poor. Under the Frankish kings, who ruled Rouen in the sixth century, the old Roman walls remained its boundary, but in 841, Rollo and his Northmen appeared at the mouth of the Seine, and from that time until the conclusion of the treaty of Saint-Claire-sur-Epte, Rouen was a continued scene of carnage, fire, and slaughter. When they had sated their lust for plunder, the Northmen settled it as their capital; its ancient bounds were found too narrow, and accordingly, by damming the river, they were enabled to annex many islands to the land, and the city at once greatly increased both in size and importance. Rollo is also said to have built the first castle, which is recorded to have existed here, shortly after he had made himself master of Neustria; but of this structure we only

know that it stood near the quay, at the northern extremity of the town, on the site subsequently occupied by the church of S. Pierre du Châtel.

After a lapse of less than fifty years, Rouen saw rising within her walls a second castle, the work of Duke Richard I., and long the residence of its Norman sovereigns. This, from a tower of great strength, which formed part of it, and which was not demolished till 1204, acquired the appellation of La Vieille Tour, the name remaining to this day, although the building was razed by the French on their annexation of Normandy. Under the early dukes the city extended westward as far as the old market-place, the Porte Cauchoise being erected in the time of Richard II. Under the late dukes, it reached on the north to the height of the Rue Pincedos, and on the east to the Rue de la Chèvre. These two streets occupy the ground where at that time the fosse was situated. Rouen was, as has been mentioned, the scene of the Conqueror's death in 1087.

After the Norman conquest of England, Rouen continued in the hands of the English until the year 1204, when Philip Augustus of France took the Duchy and its capital from John Lackland. He caused the Old Castle to be built, which was included in the interior of the town, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. In the reign of S. Louis, Rouen was enlarged by the greater portion of ground forming the parishes of S. Patrice, S. Nicaise, S. Vivien, and S. Maclou. The gates of Mortainville, S. Hilaire, and Bouvreuril also date from this period. In the fourteenth century the Jacobinic monastery was enclosed by the city walls, as well as the church of S. Peter le Portier.

In 1418 Henry V. recaptured the city, and it remained in possession of the English until the year 1449, when it was finally lost. During their occupation it was, on the 31st May, 1431, the scene of the execution of Joan of Arc. In the year of its restoration to France, the Exchequer was established here by Louis XII. and it was made the seat of a parliament by François I. in 1515, which after a brief interdiction in 1540 was reinstated in the following year.

Since the Revolution all Rouen's fortifications, but one tower, have been destroyed, but besides the early sieges of the Northmen, it has been often beleaguered. It was besieged in 949 by Otho, Emperor of Germany, Louis IV. of France, and Arnould, Count of Flanders; by Philip Augustus in 1204; by Henry V. of England, 1418; by Charles VII., when in 1449 he re-took the city from the English; and in 1591 by Henri IV. during the religious wars: on all of which occasions its inhabitants exhibited great valour and constancy.

Before the year 1790 Rouen could boast of thirty-seven parish churches and thirty religious houses, but at the present time but fourteen of the former remain. Its fine cathedral occupies the site of S. Melon's chapel, and here Rollo was baptized in 912. This structure was enlarged in the tenth century by Duke Richard I., the improvements being continued by Archbishop Robert, but no existing parts of the present edifice can be ascribed to these dates. In 1055 William the Bastard put the famous Maurillus into the archiepiscopal see, by whom the cathedral was completed and dedicated in 1063, the duke being present at the ceremony. In 1117 the cathedral was struck by lightning, and in 1200 was destroyed by fire. John Lackland furnished a large portion of the funds necessary for its re-construction, and from his day the main body of the present structure dates. It is, however, the work of many periods, beginning with the eleventh century, and ending with the sixteenth century, the tower of S. Romain being the oldest portion now remaining. The internal length of the present building is 435 ft. and the height of the nave $89\frac{1}{2}$ ft., the whole being lighted by one hundred and thirty windows. Here were interred the heart of Richard Cœur de Lion, the bodies of his brother Henry, of his uncle Geoffery Plantagenet, and that of John, Duke of Bedford and Regent of Normandy. The early manuscripts of the church were destroyed in 1200, and the library, which had been founded about the year 1424, fell, in 1562, a victim to the mistaken zeal of the Calvinists.

In the midst of a valley surrounded by hills, the city of Rouen stands on a gentle acclivity on the right, or northern bank of the Seine, which is here 750 ft. wide, and which separates it from the suburb of S. Sever on the opposite bank. The shape of the town is that of an irregular oval, having a circumference of about four miles, the contour of which is marked out by the site of the old ramparts, now levelled and converted into boulevards. Modern Rouen is a busy seat of manufacture, especially of the cotton goods which bear its name, and which have gained for it the sobriquet of the Manchester of France.



SAINT VALERY.



VALERY, thirty-three miles and a half N.W. by N. of Rouen, stands at the end of a narrow valley which breaks the line of high perpendicular cliffs between Dieppe and Fécamp. The origin of the town is unknown, but the few houses round the port being known as the *bourg* and the suburbs on the adjacent hill as the *ville*, has led to the suggestion that the latter marks the site of an old town which has now disappeared with the river by which it was formerly watered.

The disciples of S. Valery, forced to abandon their first monastery, sought an asylum at this point of the Norman coast in the seventh century, and hither the relics of the saint were translated when, in 1197, the town and abbey of Saint Valery-sur-Somme were destroyed by Richard Cœur de Lion.

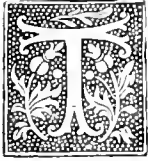
The main interest which attaches to Saint Valery is its having been the port from which the Conqueror's armada started. Wace says of it—

“ Mez ceu oi dire a mon pere
 Bien men souvien mes vallet ere
 Quer sept cents nesf quatre mains furent
 Quant de Saint Valery s'esmurent.”

At the present day S. Valery is but a small fishing-town, with some coasting trade. Eight to ten vessels of 120 to 160 tons, and manned by 140 to 150 hands each, are engaged in the Newfoundland cod fishing, whilst a fleet of smaller craft carry on the fishery off the coast.

The harbour is small, the narrowness of the mouth of the river being a bar to its enlargement. It is, however, a secure port, especially since the construction of a sluice to retain the sea-water, and since, in 1846, the Chambers voted a subsidy of 1,200,000 francs for its improvement. The tide here rises 12 feet during the lowest tides and 18 feet to 20 feet during the highest. It is accessible with any wind, but is most easily entered when the wind passes from west, by the north, to east. An old tower which stood at the entrance of the port has now been dismantled, and the town possesses no object of special interest.

WESTMINSTER.



THE West Mynstre, so called to distinguish it from S. Paul's or the East Mynstre, was founded by Sebert, King of Essex, on a spot called Thorney Island, the supposed site of a temple of Apollo. Sir Christopher Wren failed to discover any Roman remains, when restoring the abbey, and therefore decided against the tradition. The first church was of wood, neglected by the pagan sons of Sebert, and subsequently burnt by the Danes. It remained in ruins until 958, when Eadgar restored it as a Benedictine abbey, but it was soon replaced by Eadward's magnificent structure. He likewise granted it a new charter, confirmed its former endowments and anathematized all who should deface and demolish the structure or infringe the rights of its priests.

In 1245, Henry III. enlarged the structure and added a lady chapel, pledging for his expenses the jewels of S. Eadward's shrine.¹ A fire in 1297 did great damage, but the restoration of the ruined portions was commenced by Abbot Langham (1376-86), who built the college hall, Jerusalem chamber, deanery, and south-west cloisters, the work being continued by Abbot William (1420), by Abbot Harweden (1420-40), who built the nave, and by Abbot Estney (1474-98), who reconstructed the east window, Henry VII. erecting the beautiful Lady chapel known by his name. At the dissolution, when it was valued at £3,471, it was made a secular college by Henry VIII., and from 1541 to 1550, a fee filled by Bishop Thirlby. Its abbatial character was restored by Mary, but Elizabeth reconstituted it a college. Nothing having been done since the days of Henry VII. to repair the abbey, which had suffered much in the civil wars, Parliament voted a sum for its restoration and embellishment, the work being carried out by Wren, who added the western towers. The length of the present church is 530 feet; the width, through the transepts, 203 feet; and the height 101 feet; the height of Wren's towers is 225 feet. The proportions of this venerable pile are most harmonious, and the ensemble is of great beauty, but it is to its historic associations that we accord our highest admiration, since it is the scene of the coronation of more than thirty sovereigns, and of the sepulture of all that England has possessed noblest in birth, valour and genius.

¹ These fetched £2,557 4s. 8d.



APPENDIX II.

OPINIONS.



THE following is an abstract of the various opinions which have been advanced with respect to the antiquity and authorship of the tapestry, with notes of the points adduced in their support.

Whilst ignorant of what the sketch which he possessed represented, M. Lancelot, in 1724, came to the conclusion that the original was a monument of William the Conqueror, and nearly contemporary with the events represented.¹ After the Abbé Monfaucon's discovery of the tapestry, Lancelot states² that the Bayeuxians styled it *la toilette du duc Guillaume*, asserting that it was traditionally the work of his duchess. Arguing from the exactness of the details that the design was due to an eyewitness of the scenes recorded, from the form of the arms, costume, &c., that the work was of her epoch, and from the prevalence of needlework as an employment for ladies, he endorses the tradition. He thinks Bishop Odo's influence, which secured the marriage mantles of the duke and duchess, obtained the tapestry as a gift for his own church of Bayeux. In its incompleteness he sees evidence of Matilda's death before the fulfilment of her self-appointed task.

Father Montfaucon, when reproducing M. Foucault's sketch,³ advanced no opinion as to the age or authorship of the tapestry, but, on publishing the remainder of the work in his "Monumens de la Monarchie Française,"⁴ he decides, on the evidence of the style of the work, the form of the armour, &c., that the

¹ "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions," vol. vi. p. 739.

² Ibid. vol. viii. p. 602.

³ "Monumens de la Monarchie Française," vol. i. p. 371.

⁴ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 1.

work is a contemporary one. He considers it probable that it was wrought by Queen Matilda, which, he says, was the common opinion at Bayeux, and thinks that the tapestry was designed to go on to the coronation of William, and that its imperfect state was owing to the queen's death in 1083.

Stukely, apparently the first English writer who notices the tapestry,¹ cites the above-mentioned tradition, which he appears to endorse, an opinion shared by Messrs. Smart-Lethieullier and Denon, and, indeed, generally received until Lord Lyttleton² rejected the authority of the tapestry on account of the supposed discrepancy between it and the narrative of William of Poitiers with regard to the details of the Breton war; and, apparently assuming that the tradition which ascribed the work to a Matilda must have some bases, he judged that it was made by the orders, not of William's queen Matilda, but of her granddaughter the empress. This view was adopted without examination by Mr. Hume, and later by the Abbé de la Rue, who prepared a paper on the subject in 1812.³ In this he brings several arguments against the tradition which attributed the tapestry to the wife of the Conqueror. After noticing the manner in which Duke William and his wife were accustomed to recite their gifts to mother Church he points out that neither the duke on his death-bed, nor the duchess in her will, mention the tapestry, nor is it noticed in any of those charters recording the redemption by William's children of their father's effects from the hands of the clergy. He argues from the unfinished condition of the tapestry that it could not have been disposed of before the duchess' will was made, and observes that, whilst William's donation of the forest of Ele to the church of Bayeux at the time of its dedication in 1077 has been particularized in two thirteenth-century manuscripts, the tapestry is unnoticed. Bayeux Cathedral was burnt in 1106, when the place was sacked by Henry I., and had it then been in the church it would certainly, he thinks, have been consumed; for, although the treasures were saved, a roll of tapestry was not likely to be cared for in the turmoil nor would English soldiers assist in the preservation of a record of their countrymen's defeat. Wace, himself a canon of Bayeux, and the historian of the Conquest, though he cites other monumental evidence, makes no allusion to the tapestry, with which his account is indeed occasionally at variance. From this,

¹ "Palæographia Britannica," vol. ii. p. 2.

² "Hist. Henry II." vol. i. p. 353.

³ "Archæologia," vol. xvii. p. 85.

says the Abbé, it follows either that the tapestry did not exist at Bayeux in his day, or that he considered its evidence untrustworthy, which, were it Queen Matilda's work, he could not have deemed it. From the occurrence in the inscriptions of such words as *Ælfgiva*, *Ceastra*, *Franci*, &c., he argues the English manufacture of the tapestry, but not under Matilda's auspices, who would assuredly have introduced her own portrait; would not have accredited the French with the valorous deeds of the Normans; and could not have ingrafted those *Æsopian* fables of which no French translation was made until after her death. On the other hand, the learned Abbé contends that various circumstances point to the Empress Matilda as the author of the tapestry. She, the last shoot of the family, possessed the requisite incentive to undertake so considerable a work, in a desire to perpetuate the glorious achievements of her ancestry. She would employ English artists, who would include the Normans in the generic title of Frenchmen. She would introduce *Æsop's* fables as a memento of her father, by whom they were translated. Whilst Wace's silence would be accounted for by the facts that his work was begun in 1162,¹ and the tapestry was unfinished at the time of the Empress' death in 1167. The difficulty of accounting for its getting to Bayeux the Abbé overcomes by supposing that it may have been a donation by one of her grandsons to that church.

From the foregoing theory Mr. Hudson Gurney, in a letter written in 1816,² dissented, arguing in favour of the antiquity attributed to the work by local tradition. Insisting on various points of costume, and on the evident attempt at preserving a likeness in the figures, especially in that of William. He concludes that it was made for Queen Matilda by English workwomen, and looks upon it as a finished apologetical account of the Bastard's claim to the English Crown, furnishing also, he thinks, a proof of Harold's mission to the Norman Court as Eadward's ambassador. Mr. Stothard,³ whose pencil had so ably rendered the tapestry, formulated the opinion which he had formed of the tapestry during his work, an opinion strongly in favour of its antiquity, but without committing himself to any connection between it and Queen Matilda. He appears to have been the first to perceive that the one position did not involve the other. He enlarges on the costume as belonging to the eleventh century and not to the

¹ Mr. Planché says it was finished in 1160. See p. 171.

² "Archæologia," vol. xviii. p. 359.

³ Ibid. vol. xix. p. 184.

twelfth, and on the utter improbability that any mediæval artist of a later age should attend to antiquarian accuracy in these matters. He remarks also on the obscure persons represented on the Norman side, Turolde, Vital, and Wadard, as distinct proof that the tapestry was contemporary Norman work.

Mr. Amyot wrote two papers,¹ in the first of which he does not deal with the question of the age of the tapestry, but only with the evidence which it gives as to the cause of Harold's voyage to Normandy, and in the second, whilst disposing of most of the arguments of the Abbé de la Rue against the antiquity of the tapestry, he still seems to think that if it were a contemporary monument, it must have been the work of Queen Matilda, or wrought by her order. That the tapestry is not mentioned amongst William's possessions is accounted for if we remember that it is said to have been *given* by his queen to Bayeux Cathedral, and, as she died four years before her husband, it could not have been included in his personalty. Besides, although it is not mentioned as given at the dedication, it may have been presented at some time in the six years which intervened between that ceremony and her death, the objection founded on its supposed incompleteness being answered by Mr. Gurney's arguments in favour of its being a finished work. It certainly is not mentioned in the manuscripts which record William's bounty bestowed at the dedication; but a man writing two centuries after the fact may have written in ignorance of full particulars, or have forborne to couple such dissimilar things as a forest and a roll of needlework. The destruction of the cathedral was but partial; the Abbé himself admits the preservation of many treasures of a greater age in this church; whilst to his argument that the tapestry would not be regarded as of similar value to these by the ecclesiastics, nor with a like superstitious dread by the invading soldiery, to whom, indeed, it would be but a record of England's defeat, Mr. Amyot rejoins that if it were the work of their dukes a struggle for its safety might well have been made by the Bayeuxians, and that many of the English invaders were descendants of those Normans whose valour the tapestry commemorates. It is not quoted by Wace, but in this he sees but a disregard for minor sources of evidence whilst other sources of information were available. He admits the Saxon aspect of the word *Cæstra*, but looks upon *Franci* as the only term that could accurately describe the heterogeneous army of the Bastard; he points out

¹ "Archæologia," vol. xix. pp. 88 and 192.

that Wadard is not only, as Stothard had seen, a proper name, but that it is the name of a real man who appears in *Domesday*, and also that Wadard, Tuold, and Vital were all tenants of Odo. The argument founded upon the ignorance in France of *Æsop's* fables anterior to the Crusades he regards as resting upon an unproven hypothesis.

Mrs. Stothard,¹ in her letters, gives an interesting sketch of the tapestry, but adds no new speculations as to its age or author.

Mr. Dawson Turner's² remarks are chiefly descriptive. He points out the inexactness of Lancelot's and Montfaucon's plates. He recapitulates the points of the controversy as to authorship and date, and thinking that internal evidence proves it the work of the Queen or Empress Matilda, he inclines to the opinion that it was the work of the former.

Dr. Dibdin describes his visit to the tapestry, which he calls a curious monument of the Duchess Matilda's enthusiasm for and devotion to her spouse, a record of more political importance than at first appears, but whether this unique and priceless relic be late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century work, he considers a question of secondary importance.

M. Léchaudé d'Anisy, in 1824, translated "*Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities*," with the plates redrawn and with the addition of some important notes. He points out that the authorship of the tapestry has been attributed to a Matilda described as the first abbess of the Holy Trinity, but sees little more in favour of the theory than coincidence of name. After recapitulating the Abbé de la Rue's arguments he answers his objection to the introduction of *Æsop's* fables by indicating a translation of the thirteenth century in the Romance language,³ which attributes to *Ælfred* their previous rendering into Anglo-Saxon, and points out that the preservation of the tapestry from its ancient dangers is no more marvellous than from those of modern times.

M. Daunou points out the absence of any thirteenth or even fourteenth-century record which notices the tradition that the tapestry was the work of Queen Matilda; he shows that the tapestry did not bear her name in the sixteenth century, and contends that the tradition dates but from 1724. That it

¹ "Letters written during a Tour through Normandy."

² Dawson Turner's "*Tour in Normandy*," vol. ii. p. 234, et seq.

³ Harl. MS. 978, p. 87.

was the work of the Empress Maud he regards as a simple conjecture, adding that whilst the costume and armour of successive centuries are insufficient to determine the date with accuracy, the preservation of the tapestry in the fires of 1106 and 1160 would have been a miracle; and he therefore regards the precise date of its manufacture, the name of its author, as well as the mode of its advent to Bayeux as indissoluble mysteries.

The Abbé de la Rue,¹ in 1824, again took up the cudgels, in reply to Messrs. Stothard and Amyot, as follows:—The inventories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention the tapestry as *La Grand Telle du Conquest d'Angleterre*; later it was called *La Toilette de Saint Jean*; during the last century it was known, from its subject, as *La Toilette du duc Guillaume*; but it is only since its exhibition in Paris that it has acquired the designation of *Le Tapis de la Reine Mathilde*. Here, then, is no confirmation of the supposed tradition, in which the acquiescence of Lancelot and Montfaucon may be accounted for, if we remember that they had not even the original, and that they possessed but very imperfect copies upon which to base their opinions. The abbé states that his own researches amongst records of the gifts of the Conqueror and his spouse had been fruitless as far as the tapestry was concerned. Passing from the question of authorship to that of date, he observes that besides the fire of 1106, the cathedral of Bayeux again succumbed to the flames in 1160, and he contends that the escape of an embroidery, of no special sanctity, from both conflagrations, favours of the miraculous. Considering the details of the tapestry, he persists in identifying the foremost of the Norman knights in the first onslaught as Taillefer; whilst in Ælfgiva he recognizes William's daughter Adélaïs, considering the orthography of the period too vague and the proofs of her impubescence insufficient to outweigh his opinion. That Wace, a critical historian, should disregard the evidence of the tapestry, if in his day it was deposited in his cathedral, he deems impossible, pointing out that he could not, were it made for Matilda or Odo, have refused to accept its account of the bishop's battle costume. That Æsop's fables were known in Western Europe before the Crusades the abbé denies, stating that they are first mentioned by Ébrard de Bethune, who wrote in 1212, whilst he accuses of inaccuracy and of misquotation those who, on the authority of Saxon chronicles, attribute their translation to King Ælfred. The *pallium* worn by Stigand is in his eyes a proof of the later date of the tapestry, for so grave an

¹ "Réponse aux mémoires publiés à Londres contre les Recherches sur la tapisserie de Bayeux."

error as its representation could never have been committed in an age when the pope's refusal to recognize the archbishop was notorious. Seeing in the dragon standards of the English an allusion to the prophecies of Merlin, he drags these unfortunate animals into the controversy, contending that, as these predictions were not published until the twelfth century, the work cannot be of an earlier date; whilst Eustace of Boulogne, instead of Touftain de Bec, being shown as the ducal standard-bearer, precludes in his mind the possibility of the design having been furnished by an eye-witness. Passing in review the architecture and armour depicted in the tapestry, he maintains that both semi-circular and pointed arches are common to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that the armour during each of those periods was similar, with this exception, that the ventail was an invention of the twelfth century, to which, as occurring in the tapestry, he refers the execution of the work.

To the objection that the early date of the tapestry is indicated by the absence of true armorial bearings, he replies that these were unknown until the thirteenth century, and that their absence cannot, therefore, determine to which of the preceding ages the tapestry belongs; but he observes the letters of the inscription are all Roman, whilst on the Conqueror's seal these are mixed with Saxon characters.

In the representation of the shaven-headed Normans and mouftached Saxons, he traces nothing but the antiquarian proclivities of the artist. Answering those who hold the work too obscene for the empress' needle, that the same argument is applicable to the queen; but in reality he conceives that very little attention would be paid at that time to such a matter, citing lewd carvings, &c., in churches in support of his opinion; besides, regarding the scenes as representing the excesses of a brutal soldiery, he holds their grossness excused by their pertinency. Perhaps, after all, the border was an afterthought, added when the original canvas failed to afford sufficient space for the battle-field, and the original designer may be guiltless of its impurities. Above all, he brings forward this point, which he looks upon as conclusive: the tapestry does not show Harold's standard charged with the fighting man which William of Poitiers tells us was the spoil of the victor. How, he asks, if Queen Matilda or Bishop Odo had been the moving spirit of the work, could they have permitted inaccuracy in so important a matter?

M. Augustin Thierry considers the tapestry a work of the eleventh century, and suggests that the puzzling Ælfgiva is but a needlewoman from whom one of Odo's priests orders the tapestry.

M. Delauney¹ considers that to attribute the authorship of the tapestry to a woman is to outrage the laws of decency; he points to the reputation for chastity enjoyed by William's spouse, and argues that both she and the empress must be put out of the question. The reigns of William's children were too troubled to admit of the years of steady work which so vast an undertaking must have required, and if we are thus obliged to refer it to some person living in the twelfth century, other than the Empress Maud, not only have we no apparent motive for the undertaking, but we must account for the recollection of a host of minute details which would naturally have been forgotten. The tapestry's annual exhibition during the feasts of the Relics and of the Dedication is clearly commemorative of its first use as an ornament presented by its bishop when the church was consecrated. Odo alone in that age of ignorance, when the Conqueror himself was unable to write his name, could have originated such a work. He had an interest in the expedition from the part which he took in it; the requisite knowledge, for he was *au courant* with passing events, being at the same time Regent of England, Earl of Kent, and Bishop of Bayeux; and the taste, for he was a liberal patron of the arts and well versed in the learning of antiquity. As the bishop of the diocese he could procure that exhibition of a secular work within the sacred precincts of the cathedral which would have been denied to a lesser authority, and if the indecency of the tapestry be here brought forward as an objection, it must be owned that it has not the same force as before. Odo's morals were not immaculate, as evinced by his having a natural son, and further, the introduction of obscenities into the adornments of ecclesiastical edifices was then, unhappily, too frequent to enable us to reject Odo's authorship on their account.

Costume again supplies a strong argument, for that on monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries shows a distinct line of demarcation betwixt their fashions. The Conqueror once dead, the old customs were abolished. The manly garb, fitting closely to the person and permitting a free use of the limbs, was discarded in favour of trailing robes, the simple round-toed shoe was elongated and curled into fantastic coils, whilst the shaven head protected by a modest cap was replaced by a fillet binding those flowing tresses which the enervated beaux

¹ Such of M. Delauney's arguments as are based upon the form of the letters and the spelling of the inscriptions, are quoted under the headings of "Orthography" and "Paleography."

delighted to dress in the most womanly modes. None of these later gewgaws are seen here—the tapestry is the work of the tenth century. Again, the figures of William and Eadward resemble those graven on their seals, leading us to assume that they are portraits; if this be the case, it is strong evidence of the contemporaneity of the work.

Allowing that Harold's standard as shown in the tapestry does not accord with its historic description, he points to the accuracy of the tapestry in other points, particularizing the simplicity of Eadward's funeral, so different from the pompous ceremonial of later days, and the care with which the royal insignia of subordinate princes is distinguished from that of the sovereign. He thinks that the jugglery of Taillefer, a Norman knight related to William on his mother's side, is shown in the tapestry; that the Saxon names are accounted for by the Danish descent of the Normans, remarking that as the Danish language was closely allied to the Saxon, their proper names might well be identical; and that the shape of the barrel carried to the ships of the invaders stamps the Norman origin of the work. He points out that both Matilda and Henry I. constantly call the Normans *Franci*, and that Æsop's fables were, according to Ingulf, translated by Ælfred.

M. Léchaudé d'Anisy,¹ in answer to the Abbé de la Rue, maintains the existence of several Saxon chronicles, and replies to his objection that the English original of Mary of France's translation of Æsop's fables could not have been the work of Ælfred because it contains allusions to feudal customs, by showing that Saxon expressions were actually so rendered into Latin by Asser.

M. Pluquet² considered the tapestry a contemporary work, and was the first person distinctly to assert that the work had nothing to do with either Matilda, but executed by Bishop Odo's orders, who alone possessed the power to deposit and display a subject from profane history in a sacred edifice.

To the chief objections to his view he replies:—

The silence of historians, notably of Wace, is accounted for, as it was not the custom of mediæval historians to cite monumental evidence.

Æsop's fables were not unknown in the eleventh century, for Freulf,

¹ "Réponse du traducteur des Antiquités Anglo-Normandes de Ducarel au postscriptum imprimé à la fin des recherches sur la tapisserie de Bayeux."

² "Essai Historique sur la ville de Bayeux et son arrondissement."

Bishop of Lisieux, mentions them as translated by order of the Confessor, whilst Ingulf says that they were translated out of the Greek by Ælfred.

Wace, himself a Norman, speaks of his countrymen as *Franci*, most frequently when treating of the battle of Senlac.

The tapestry need not have perished in the burning of Bayeux Cathedral, as Wace positively states the rescue of the valuables.

The tapestry never having been the Conqueror's property will account for its having no place in that list of his treasures made in 1087.

M. G. de la Renaudière¹ in an analytical article, and M. Roujoux² in an explanatory and critical notice, maintain the theory which ascribes the tapestry to Queen Matilda, but advance no new arguments.

To Mr. Bolton Corney³ is due the theory that the tapestry was made by the Chapter of Bayeux after the French Conquest of Normandy. He argues that during the union of England and Normandy, the *conquest* of England, which William took such pains to disguise under the semblance of legal rights, would not be thus ostentatiously set forth in Normandy. Wace only gives a report as the authority for fixing on Bayeux as the scene of Harold's oath, but had he seen the tapestry he could have had no doubt on the point.

Bayeux Cathedral was restored at great expense by Philippe de Harcourt, after the conflagration of 1160, but in the inventory submitted to his relative no mention of the tapestry occurs, as Mr. Corney thinks it would have done had it survived the fire. Further, the letters of the inscriptions are unlike those on the seals of our kings of the Norman line, but resemble those on seals of the thirteenth century.

Dealing next with the question of its authorship, he notices the celibatic influence in the design, indicated by the paucity of women depicted; and the special purpose of the work, shown by its going exactly round the nave of the cathedral. He observes that neither the anniversary of William's nor Matilda's deaths was fixed as the time of its exhibition; that of the two distinguished prelates who accompanied the Bastard, Odo and Geoffroy of Coutances, only the former figures in the tapestry; and accounts for the fullest description of the Breton war being found in the tapestry by supposing that the army halted at Bayeux on its return,

¹ "Revue des Provinces," 1 Dec. 1834.

² "Histoire Pittoresque de l'Angleterre," vol. i.

³ "Researches and Conjectures on the Bayeux Tapestry."

and that the details were due to tradition. *Ælfgiva* he assumes to be a title of honour equivalent to *dame*, and that it refers to William's daughter promised to Harold, whom by the "*Saxons Bayeuxfains*" would be regarded as *la dame par excellence*. The accuracy of the costume he attributes to some learned person having been charged with the work.

M. Thierry thinks the tapestry is a contemporary work, designed for the ornament of the church of Bayeux.

M. Paulin Paris thinks that the tapestry was made in the middle of the twelfth century from some *chançon de gestes* then current, but long since forgotten.

M. Jubinal¹ says that in face of conflicting opinions he can commit himself to no more than assigning the tapestry to the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, and affirming that it is not, as some antiquaries have supposed, the hangings of a tent; he adds, however, the conjecture that it was the work of Dame Leviet, embroideress to Queen Matilda.

Miss Agnes Strickland gives in her adhesion to the Queen Matilda theory, and is quite indignant that antiquaries should meddle with needlework.

Dr. Lingard² thinks the tapestry was specially made for Bayeux Cathedral, but by none of the Matildas, arguing from the prominence given to such men as Turol, Vital, and Wadard that the tapestry originated in their personal vanity or in that of their descendants.

Dr. Bruce leans to Queen Matilda as the authoress of the tapestry, by whom he thinks it was executed on the occasion of her lord's first return to Normandy, when noble Saxons swelled his train, whose wives and daughters may have given their assistance. As he had not then manifested the tyranny of his nature, there would be nothing, the doctor thinks, unpatriotic in such conduct, and superstition might lead them to regard Harold's fall as the punishment of perjury. This would account for the Saxon words in the inscriptions. The intention of the tapestry—viz., to furnish an apologetical explanation of William's claim to the English crown, would have been useless at a later date, and it must have been given to the cathedral of Bayeux during Odo's episcopate, for we can name no other time at which we can suppose, with any probability, that it could have got

¹ Jubinal "On Tapestry." Lacroix and Seré's "Moyen Age et Renaissance," vol. ii. chap. xvi. p. iv.

² "Hist. of England," vol. i. p. 547.

³ "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. i. pp. 65, 66.

to Bayeux. The absence of allusions to Matilda as the authoress is but negative evidence, which has been found faulty in similar cases. Whilst the tapestry generally accords with Wace, it does not, as he does, clothe the Norman horses in armour, the avoidance of the anachronism proving its earlier date.

M. Edélestan du Ménil, whilst allowing the contemporaneity of the tapestry, thinks that the fairy Mafez, to whom the Bayeuxians attributed marvellous powers, may have lent her name to its unknown author, and that the appellation was gradually corrupted into Maheuz, which, in the Norman dialect, would be an equivalent to Mathilda.

Mr. Planché remarks¹ upon the mass of misapplied erudition through which the student of the tapestry is compelled to wade, and turning from such theories as those of the Abbé de la Rue, whom he stigmatizes as perfectly ignorant of costume, he adopts the views of M. Pluquet. He observes that the line from Wace—"E la richesse fors conduite," has been quoted by the Abbé and interpreted by him in the sense of plunder. But even so its destruction is not necessarily implied. The very absence of intrinsic value would go far to insure the safety of the tapestry. The Abbé asks, who would care to rescue a piece of needlework? Mr. Planché replies, who would care to destroy it? But, he continues, the valuable property was not destroyed, for the inventory of 1476 mentions the mantles of William and his duchess; and in 1767 other treasures, of a date anterior to that of the fire, were in the cathedral.

Much stress has been laid on the silence of Wace, who as a prebend of Bayeux, *must*, it is contended, have seen the tapestry had it existed in the cathedral in his time; but independently of the satisfactory reason given by M. Pluquet, there is no *must* in the case. Wace, who died in 1184, was born in Jersey, and educated at Caen, where he wrote his "Roman du Rou," in 1160. He never could have seen the old cathedral out of which the treasures were taken in 1106; and who can say when the tapestry, if a portion of them, found its way back to the new edifice, rebuilt, or rather restored, for it was not entirely destroyed, by Philippe de Harcourt in 1159? Nor can this silence or ignorance of Wace, who had finished his poem in 1160, be much wondered at, when we find M. Ducarel, in 1767, telling us that the clergy of the cathedral, to whom he applied for permission to inspect this remarkable relic, knew nothing about it.

¹ "Journal Brit. Archæological Assoc." vol. xxiii. p. 134.

Wace's poem was finished five years before King Henry II., his patron, sent him to Bayeux; for, as the records of the cathedral tell us, he enjoyed his prebend nineteen years. It follows that, if he died in 1184, he could not have been appointed before 1165.

Mr. Planché considers that the tapestry was executed as closely as possible on the events portrayed and whilst the most minute particulars were matters of public notoriety; but, beyond the fact of its having been made in her lifetime, there is no ground for believing it to be the work of Queen Matilda, whilst the theory which attributes it to the Empress Maud is refuted by the internal evidence of the tapestry itself. And he thinks that if we add to M. Pluquet's arguments the facts that, next to the royal personages, Bishop Odo is one of the most prominent figures in the tapestry; that the officers whose names alone are mentioned, are found after the Conquest holding large estates under him in England, and therefore must have been in his service, and consequently well known to the people of Bayeux; that the dialect spoken in Bayeux was a mixture of Saxon and Norman, which would account for the characters of the inscription; that the width and length of the tapestry show it to be specially adapted to the purpose for which it is known to have been used and presumed to have been intended by those who projected or executed the work; and lastly, that with the exception of its one visit to Paris, by order of Napoleon I., it appears never to have been out of the city with which it is so closely associated; we can have no rational doubt either as to the age or origin of the tapestry.

Mr. Freeman accepts the tapestry as a contemporary work made for Odo and the church of Bayeux. He considers Stothard's arguments, based on the accurate representation of eleventh-century costume, unanswerably prove its early date. It is impossible to conceive such importance being given to Wadard, Vital, and Tuold, except in local work, and it is at the same time an argument in favour of its contemporaneity and against its being the work of Matilda. It is, he thinks, plainly a gift from Odo to his new cathedral, and possibly made in England, for though the evidence is very slight the word *Cæstra* goes a good way to mark its English origin, as he has failed to find such a form in the *Bessin* dialect or its source. Mr. Freeman demurs to Mr. Planché's quoting *Freculf*, Bishop of Lisieux, to prove the translation of *Æsop's* fables by Eadward the Confessor's order, pointing out that the bishop died about 853, but adding that Mary of France attributes their translation to an English king styled in different copies of

her works Henris and Auvert, or Auvres, which, says he, is equivalent to Ælfred. If the latter be the right reading there can be no doubt of the early knowledge of the fables in England, and if the former, Henry I. must be intended; but as such an occupation would be the work of his youth the translation would have been made about the same time as the tapestry. The occurrence of the fables in which, however, Mr. Freeman looks upon as a sufficient proof of their being known.

The external evidence seems to be complete. The work is a contemporary one; there is no evidence to connect it with Matilda; there is every evidence to connect it with Odo. It was probably, but not certainly, made in England. The tapestry contains the story told from the Norman point of view, but without much invention or exaggeration. These were introduced by later writers, and their absence is an additional proof of the tapestry's early date. Had it been made at a subsequent period its account could hardly have been so simple and accurate. A work of the twelfth or thirteenth century would have introduced, as honest Wace does in some degree, the notions of that period. Nor can one conceive an artist of Henry II.'s time, much less one later than the French Conquest of Normandy, agreeing so remarkably with the authentic writings of the eleventh century.

The main object of the work, to set forth William's rights, was important to him and to his contemporary partizans, but was not a matter which greatly occupied men's minds in the reign of Henry II.; and later still William and Harold were alike regarded as usurpers, and the monarchs claimed descent from the ancient kings of England.

The mere fulness of detail, the evident delight with which the artist dwells on all the little incidents of the campaign, points it out as the work of one in whose memory they were all vividly retained. The notices of insignificant persons, whilst indicative of locality, also point to a time when they yet lived, for in the Empress Maud's day their fame would be but scanty, even at Bayeux. Again, every antiquarian detail is accurate and bespeaks the contemporary artist; for the idea of Mr. Corney that the Chapter of Bayeux in the thirteenth century would especially order its artists to attend to such points is ludicrous beyond measure.

But the tapestry is accurate in greater matters. The two classes of warriors—the *here* and the *fyrð*—are shown; horses are only used to gain and leave the field; the king fighting on foot; and the ensign of the West Saxon Dragon are all touches from a contemporary hand. The English army is an English army of

the eleventh century and nothing else, and it is inconceivable to imagine so accurate a representation the work of a later artist.

Dr. Rock¹ observes that there is not the slightest reason for believing that this embroidery was the work of Queen Matilda, or any of her ladies of honour or waiting maids, but all the probabilities are that it was done by English hands, it may be in London, by order and at the cost of one or other of three knights from Bayeux, who came over with William, and on whom he bestowed much land in England.

M. Léopold Delisle, in his preface to Abbé Baudri's poem in honour of the Princess Adèle, daughter of the Conqueror, points out that a piece of tapestry representing all the details of the Conquest surrounded the walls of the alcove which contained her bed. In this tapestry every scene was accompanied by a description, but whilst pointing out this resemblance to the Bayeux tapestry, he denies their identity, observing that the only legitimate inference is that such a work was, in the early part of the twelfth century, considered a fitting decoration for the royal chamber,—a matter to be borne in mind when discussing the origin of the Bayeux Tapestry.

The Abbé Laffetay, after a careful résumé of the arguments of other authors, decides in favour of the Queen Matilda theory.

It may be expected that in conclusion I should state the opinions at which I myself have arrived. I may therefore briefly state that I regard the tapestry as a contemporary work, and as probably made under the orders of Bishop Odo by Norman workpeople at Bayeux.

¹ "Textile Fabrics," p. 7.





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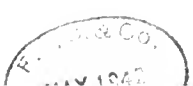
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