

violent occupation of the abbey in the days of Stephen (pp. xi, 814). Yet Geoffrey's charter is found *in extenso* in vol. ii. p. 196 of the 'Chartulary,' while the confirmation of the grant by St. Thomas of Canterbury is printed at p. 806 of the 'Chronicle' and at p. 197 of the second volume of the 'Chartulary.' Again, a charter of Edward the Confessor is printed in Latin at p. 167 of the 'Chronicle,' which occurs both in Latin and in English in the first volume of the 'Chartulary' (pp. 188, 191). This is the less excusable as the latter volume was published two years before Mr. Macray's book. It is needless to multiply examples of what can only be called deplorable mismanagement.

Apart from these points Mr. Macray has performed the work of editor with the thoroughness and care which his long experience in such work enables him to command. His preface is helpful, his marginal summaries correct, his index full, and, so far as I have used it, scrupulously accurate. He has laboriously collated many of the charters with the originals that are still preserved in the muniment room of Ramsey Abbey. He has printed as appendices Goscelin's 'Life of St. Ivo,' from a Bodleian MS. that gives a much better text than that of the 'Acta Sanctorum;' some lives of later abbots of Ramsey than those dealt with in the history; a very curious catalogue of the abbey library, and valuable fragments of the letter-books of abbots Sawtry and Eye. These letters, found in a chaotic state in the MS., he has digested into chronological order. It is a pity the same process was not applied to the whole of the Record Office MSS. I have noticed but very few mistakes made by Mr. Macray, and those not very important ones. He can hardly be right in describing Ramsey as situated in East Anglia (p. vii), or in saying that the townsfolk of Ramsey accused abbot Eye in 1326 to the king of being a partisan of the Despensers (p. xlix). The only king in 1326 was Edward II, and to him friendship for the Despensers was hardly a crime. On p. 74 Mr. Macray speaks in his marginal summary of a bishop of Ely in the tenth century: the see was of course established in the twelfth. On p. 99 he describes pope John XII as John XVI. On pp. 849-50 he wrongly assumes that abbot Eye obtained his charters of confirmation and *in speximus* from Edward II, when reference to the 'Chartulary,' vol. ii. pp. 50-110, would have shown that it was from Edward III that they were procured. This is abundantly clear from the text itself, for Edward II certainly made no journey from Ipswich to Brabant and thence towards France in the thirteenth year of his reign.

T. F. Tout.

*Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria; with Cettigne in Montenegro, and the Island of Grado.* By T. G. JACKSON. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887.)

WHEN an accomplished architect devotes his vacations to investigating the buildings of remote and imperfectly explored regions, and afterwards communicates the results to the public, he deserves the sincere thanks of all true lovers of art. The experience possessed by a practical worker is of the first importance in such researches, because it renders him familiar with the difficulties which in each case had to be overcome, and enables him to divine the reason of a departure from the ordinary method of

treatment, and to trace originality where it might otherwise escape notice. The late Mr. Street's book on the Gothic architecture of Spain was an admirable instance of what may be effected in this way; and Mr. Jackson's work on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, which is now before us, is worthy to be classed with that splendid volume. The author has spared no pains to make his study of the subject as complete as possible. He visited the country three times, in 1882, 1884, and 1885; and in the course of these journeys he penetrated into some of its remotest districts in the hope of finding the remains of former civilisation—a hope which was seldom falsified by the result. He consulted on the spot printed books relating to Dalmatia, which are rarely to be met with elsewhere, and obtained access to original documents illustrating its history and antiquities—a source of information the importance of which in this instance is even more than usually great, because the tendency of the artists at different periods to imitate earlier works often renders it difficult to fix the date of a building on architectural grounds alone. The illustrations introduced into the work are numerous and varied; comprising views of towns, plans and drawings of edifices, details of ornament, and representations of objects of art, especially in wood-carving and metal-work, which in many cases are minutely elaborate. The buildings of Dalmatia deserve all the attention which Mr. Jackson has devoted to them. Not only are some of them fit to take rank with the finest specimens of architecture in Europe, but most of the European styles are represented among them, while at the same time certain local features are usually present, which modify the ordinary mode of treatment. The peculiar conformation of the country, and the remarkable sites of many of the towns in which these objects are found, contribute an additional element of interest to the study. The long and rocky coastline of Dalmatia, backed on the land side by steep and bare mountains, which separate it so completely from the interior of the country, that it has been described as 'a face without a head;' the innumerable islands that fringe its shores, and towards the north are clustered in the Quarnero, as the north-eastern gulf of the Adriatic is called; and the peninsula of Istria—form a land in which curious forms of civilisation might easily arise; and on remote parts of its coasts, or at the head of its deep inlets, ancient cities remain, now in many cases only half inhabited, which have almost or entirely escaped observation. Such a place is the town of Lesina, on an island of the same name in the Quarnero, which has been deserted as a centre of commerce for the modern capital, Cittavecchia; but which Mr. Jackson, who visited it on speculation, without knowing beforehand what it might contain, found to possess most interesting structures, both civil and ecclesiastical, and other works of art, which he has beautifully delineated in his second volume. The history, also, of Dalmatia is important, because that country was contended for by many different empires; and it was mainly through their influence that the various styles of architecture were introduced. Hence this work contains both a general account of its fortunes, which forms the early part of the first volume, and also a more detailed notice of the annals of each community, which is prefixed to the description of its antiquities. The student is thus enabled to find his way clearly through the mazes of

Roman, Byzantine, Slavonic, Venetian, and Hungarian influence. Mr. Jackson fully acknowledges that a considerable portion of this district had already been examined by Professor Eitelberger of Vienna, and illustrated by him in his '*Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens*;' but most of the islands were still left as an open field for investigation, and, as far as English readers are concerned, he is justified in claiming to have been the first to reveal the art treasures contained in a great part of the entire country.

The first occasion on which Illyria becomes of importance in history was during the interval between the first and second Punic wars, when the piracies of its inhabitants caused the Romans to interfere in behalf of the traders of the Adriatic. This was the commencement of that advance of the Roman arms in this direction which ended in the subjugation, first of Greece, and afterwards of the other countries that border on the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. In B.C. 180 the Dalmatians, who were an Illyrian tribe, rendered themselves independent; and though from time to time they became tributary to Rome, yet they were not finally subdued and incorporated in the Roman empire until the ninth year of the christian era. For several centuries after that time their country enjoyed great prosperity, and traces of Roman splendour are still found even in remote localities. It is necessary to dwell on this early period of Dalmatian history, because so many points in the fortunes of the people during the middle ages, and in their politics at the present day, depend on their early association with Rome. The next event of importance was the retirement of the emperor Diocletian to the neighbourhood of Salona, which place had become the capital of the province, followed by the erection of his palace, the remains of which embrace within their circuit, to all intents and purposes, the modern town of Spalato. After the extinction of the western empire, Dalmatia for a time was subject to the Gothic monarchy, but in the time of Justinian it was reconquered, and was attached to the exarchate of Ravenna. Two centuries later, in the year 689, the crisis of its history arrived in the irruption of the Avars and Slavs, by whom the country was desolated and most of the cities ruined. When this tempest had cleared away, seven only of the old Roman municipalities recovered themselves, the inhabitants either returning to their old homes, or founding new towns in secure positions. The names of these are given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in one of the most interesting portions of his work '*De Administrando Imperio*,' where the imperial author describes the condition of this province; they are, in their modern forms—on the mainland, Zara and Traù, which retain their original position; Ragusa, which was established by fugitives from Epidaurus; and Spalato, where the former inhabitants of Salona found a refuge within the walls of Diocletian's palace; and, in the islands of the Quarnero, the towns of Arbe, Veglia, and Ossero. When the exarchate came to an end through the capture of Ravenna by the Lombards in 752, the imperial prefects of the Adriatic transferred the headquarters of the fleet to Zara, which thenceforward became the capital; and the organisation that followed recognised the dual element which has ever since continued to exist in Dalmatia. The ancient Roman colonists, with their Latin civilisation, continued to inhabit the cities, and retained their municipal system; while the Slavs, who had overspread the country

districts, and had organised themselves according to their traditional method, were allowed to administer their own affairs and pursue their own mode of life, while they accepted titles from the Byzantine government. At a later period the Slavs became also the lower class of the population in the towns; but it is the Latin element which all along has been the chief source of the culture and the consequent interest of Dalmatia. The contrast which is formed by these two nationalities existing side by side is one that cannot fail to strike every visitor to the country; and it is to be remembered that the Italian which is spoken there, however much it may have been modified by contact with Venice, is not derived from that city, but has descended directly from the Latin tongue.

It is not part of our purpose to follow Mr. Jackson further in his sketch of Dalmatian history, though the succeeding portion contains much that is interesting. After the final cessation of Byzantine influence towards the end of the eleventh century, this country was for three hundred years an object of contention between Venice and Hungary. Even at the present day, it would seem, the recollection of the predominance of those powers seems to have survived, to judge from a story which the author tells of his having bidden a peasant in a remote district to guess from what country he came, whereupon he suggested in reply first Italy and then Hungary. At the expiration of that period, not long before the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, Dalmatia became permanently incorporated in the Venetian dominions, with the exception of Ragusa, which succeeded in maintaining its independence. Mr. Jackson, indeed, does not allow the boast of the Ragusans that they never were subject to Venice, because from 1221 to 1858 they were under the government of Venetian counts regularly appointed by the republic of St. Mark; but during the later and more important period they remained a free republic. Among the incidents which varied the kaleidoscopic history of the country, not the least curious are the fortunes of the two piratical communities which existed there, worthy successors of those predatory Illyrians who first attracted the attention of the Romans. In the ninth century the Narentines—as those still pagan Slavs were called whose headquarters were the valley of the Narenta—were able to contest with the Venetians the command of the commerce of the Adriatic, and for a hundred and fifty years the republic paid them tribute in order to insure liberty of navigation. Again, in the sixteenth century, the Uscocs arose, who originally were refugees at the time of the advance of the Mussulmans, and established themselves at Clissa, near Spalato, as an outpost to defend the country. Being expelled from that fortress, they betook themselves to Segna, on the mainland of the Quarnero, and, having equipped a fleet of light barques, proceeded to pillage Mahometans and Christians alike, until at last, in consequence of the protection accorded to them by those powers who found them serviceable in injuring their opponents, they embroiled the Venetians, the Austrians, and the Turks in open warfare. The original colony seems to have become a centre of attraction for other restless spirits, for adventurers from various countries, including not a few Englishmen of good birth, were to be found in their number. The difficult navigation of the intricate channels among the

islands, which facilitates both sudden attack and escape from a pursuing foe, renders this region a natural home of piracy.

We may now turn to the architecture of Dalmatia, the history of which, as Mr. Jackson says, is an epitome of that of southern Europe. In tracing this we can hardly do better than follow the author in his valuable summary, and at the same time illustrate the subject by reference to some of the leading buildings which he has described in the course of his work. This art, like the rest of the civilisation of the country, commences with the Roman period. The palace of Diocletian at Spalato, which time has only partially availed to destroy, exercised a powerful influence even on the later styles in Dalmatia; but, beyond this, it marks a new departure, because here, among other relaxations of the strict rules of ancient classic art, the arches are made to spring immediately from the capitals of the columns without an intervening entablature. To use the words of Professor Freeman in his 'Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice,' this was 'the greatest step ever taken, the beginning of all the later forms of consistent arched architecture, Romanesque or Gothic or any other.' The Byzantine style, which comes next in order, is well represented both in its earlier and its later period. Of the former a splendid example remains in the basilica of Euphrasius at Parenzo in Istria, which belongs to the age of Justinian, and is therefore coeval with the best works of that school at Constantinople and Ravenna. In plan it is a basilica, and its walls are richly decorated with mosaics of marble, glass, and mother-of-pearl, while of its sculptural ornament Mr. Jackson remarks that many of the capitals 'might have been carved by the same hand that wrought those at S. Vitale or S. Apollinare in Classe.' The buildings of the later period, when the decay of civilisation had induced rudeness in art, and ancient columns and capitals were employed without much reference to their fitness, are nevertheless interesting from their originality and the promise of future development which they show. Some of the churches of this age, which commences with the ninth century, are of the basilican, some of the domed, type. The latter is finely exemplified in S. Donato at Zara, a round building with the same general arrangement as S. Vitale at Ravenna and the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. This edifice is mentioned, and its general features described, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the interest attaching to it has been recently augmented by the discovery that its simple piers and coarse masonry are supported on splendid remains of Roman buildings.

'In 1877 the old pavement of the christian church was taken up and the area excavated to the depth of about four feet. At this level was found the ancient pavement of a Roman street or forum, and running diagonally across the area of the church were the two lower steps of what had evidently been a flight leading up to a portico. But the most surprising spectacle revealed by this excavation is that of the foundations of the christian work. They consist of huge fragments of more than one magnificent classic building, entablatures with Corinthian enrichments, marble columns cut or broken into lengths and laid simply on their side, rich friezes with running scroll-work in the best style of Roman architecture, dedicatory inscriptions, mouldings, and stringcourses, all thrown

flat on the pavement of the Roman town, some on their sides, some upside down, and some arranged corner-wise or awry with a rough approximation to the plan of the superstructure. The whole mass of these fragments was filled in with earth and rubbish, and covered over with the pavement of the christian church, so that till now their existence was not even suspected.'

From the year 1100 onward a mixture of Venetian and Hungarian influence appears in the architecture, corresponding to that which prevailed also in the political world of Dalmatia. The art of Venice, though still Byzantine in character, was distinguished by numerous local features; but Hungary had adopted the Romanesque style of France and Germany, and in this way a western type was strongly imprinted on the buildings of this time. In order to illustrate the Hungarian influence, Mr. Jackson has devoted a chapter to describing the church of Jak in that country, and pointing out the correspondences between it and the cathedral of Traù, which was probably of the same date, the middle of the thirteenth century. Of that magnificent cathedral his second volume contains an elaborate account, and he speaks of the western portal of the nave as 'a work which in simplicity of conception, combined with richness of detail and marvellous finish of execution, has never been surpassed in Romanesque or Gothic art.' We should be disposed to plead for an exception in favour of the Portico de la Gloria of the cathedral of Santiago in Spain, ornamented as it is by the exquisite sculpture of Master Matthew. To this Romanesque period belong many other of the finest structures on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, including the campaniles of Arbe in the Quarnero and of Spalato, and the cathedral of Zara. It is noticeable also that the round-arched style was retained in Dalmatia long after the pointed style had become predominant elsewhere; in fact, far into the fourteenth century. The main cause of this seems to have been the influence of Diocletian's great building at Spalato, and Mr. Jackson points out several peculiarities in the architecture of that palace which were imitated at this time.

When Dalmatia was finally occupied by the Venetians at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Venetian Gothic, with its ogee windows and graceful balconies, became the dominant style; and to this we owe many of the charming objects that delight the eye of the visitor as he threads the narrow streets of the maritime towns. But the reign of Gothic architecture in the country was very brief, for within half a century the Renaissance style was introduced, and received a warm welcome there, long before it was adopted by most of the other nations of Europe. This was due to the genius of one man, Georgio Orsini, the architect of the cathedral of Sebenico (A.D. 1441). In that most original building elements of Gothic still remain: for instance, in the windows of the principal apse, though they are divided in the middle by a fluted column with a Renaissance capital, the heads are filled in with trefoil cusps and Gothic tracery, the effect of which is singularly pretty and devoid of any appearance of incongruity. But the wonder of this edifice is its roof, a construction which no one who has seen it can ever forget. It is thus described by Mr. Jackson: 'At Sebenico the whole of a great cruciform church is covered by a waggon roof of stone, the underside of



which forms the ceiling, the stone covering being visible both internally and externally, without the outside roof of timber and tiles or lead which exists in ordinary cathedrals above the stone-vaulted ceiling. The effect both within and without of these simple waggon vaults over nave, choir, and transepts, interrupted only by a dome at the crossing, is very simple and imposing, and the design is not less successful architecturally than it is original.' This early phase of Renaissance art maintained itself until the period of decline, for the Palladian development of that style is hardly found in Dalmatia.

The outline which has thus been traced of the history and architecture of this remarkable region may give some idea of the wealth of information to be found in Mr. Jackson's volumes. But we have by no means exhausted their contents. The representations of wood-carving and metal-work have been already referred to; but, in addition to these, the reader will find notices of inscriptions, vestments, and other antiquities and art treasures. Accounts also of the present condition and the superstitions of the various races that inhabit the country are interspersed throughout the work, and just so much personal narrative is introduced as may relieve the details of architectural description.

H. F. TOZER.

*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*

Arranged and catalogued by JAMES GAIRDNER. Vol. V. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1887.)

*Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.* By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

Vol. I. (London: John Hodges. 1888.)

THE tenth volume of the 'Calendar of State Papers' for the reign of Henry VIII covers only the first half of the year 1586; and it may fairly be doubted if there were ever six months in English history which raised questions of greater interest, or which required more careful and accurate study. The death of Catharine of Aragon, the trial and sentence of Anne Boleyn, and the reports of the visitation of the monasteries are all subjects of much debate; while the cumulative importance of the growing mass of evidence for the character and policy of Henry VIII steadily tends to elucidate the great changes which transformed England in the sixteenth century. This volume of the calendar enables us to judge, as we could not judge before, of Canon Dixon's 'History of the Church of England' and of Mr. Friedmann's 'Anne Boleyn,' both of them works of importance which have led to diversity of opinion.

Mr. Gairdner in his excellent preface calls attention to the chief questions which are illustrated by the documents which he publishes. Foremost among them is Mr. Friedmann's contention that Catharine died of poison. Yet when the evidence is all put together, it will hardly carry this conclusion. Catharine's illness lasted nearly six weeks: she suffered from sickness, pain in the stomach, and sleeplessness. Before her death the imperial envoy Chapuys was permitted to visit her and stayed with her four days: an old servant, Lady Willoughby, who made her way to Kimbolton, managed by an artifice to gain admittance to her former mistress. Chapuys left Catharine ten days before her death in the belief