# Adam, the Devil and the Supernatural: An unusual English lantern clock revisited 

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The unusual lantern clock, previously described in Antiquarian Horology, September 2010, with unique pillars that include a male figure wearing breeches, has been re-examined. He has now been identified as representing a Puritan image of Adam. Comparisons are made with other depictions of Adam in a similar pose, but this is the only known example of him wearing breeches, as mistranslated in the Breeches Bible. An apotropaic saltire cross was included to ward off witches and prevent evil spirits from causing malfunction, while a Devil's head was a reminder of his evil influence. Examples of other apotropaic marks on the ironwork of lantern clocks are also discussed, as are its possible date, origin and the wigglework on the dial.

## Introduction

The technical and constructional features of the very unusual - and so far unique lantern clock shown in Fig. 1 have already been discussed. ${ }^{1}$ These will not be repeated, except to summarise: it has English-style brass cruciform movement bars, brass wheels with iron top and bottom plates, while the original balance escapement has been converted, firstly to a short verge pendulum then to a long pendulum and the running duration increased. Despite various specialist opinions the significance of the cast-brass figure and other features on the corner pillars (Figs 2-3) was inconclusive. Though there were some who thought that the pillars were purely decorative without any special significance, the clock dates from a period when most art forms, no matter how naïve, contained some symbolism, often of a religious nature.

Since then alternative suggestions have included a caricature of Oliver Cromwell, who liked to present himself as the common man,

Fig. 1. Lantern clock with unique corner pillars. The chapter ring and hand are restorations, while the frets are missing.


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Fig. 2 (left) Cast brass figure of Adam wearing breeches and boots, forming the top part of the clock pillars.

Fig. 3 (above). An apotropaic cross below Adam, with the Devil's head, horns and flames at the bottom of the pillars.
or perhaps the figure represents a local folk hero. An exotic or native figure from Africa, Asia or the Americas was considered to be a possibility, but the European breeches and boots make this improbable. A serious contender was a pseudo-Anglo Saxon figure to represent the beliefs of some extreme radical Puritans, such as the Diggers and the Levellers, that life had
been better under the rule of King Alfred the Great, before the 'Norman Yoke'. None of these suggestions could be substantiated, nor could they account for the inclusion of the other symbolic features, and although a religious connection had previously been considered unlikely, this is now regarded as the most probable explanation for this interesting example of seventeenth-century folk art.

It had been thought that the male figure was wearing a sleeveless tunic or jerkin with very small buttons down the front. However, closer inspection reveals that these marks only appear on one of the four pillars and are actually slight defects in the casting, not buttons - he is actually naked apart from breeches and short boots. It would be most unusual at this period for any fashionablyclothed figure to have a bare upper torso or naked arms or legs, unless representing a classical or mythological figure.

It has now been suggested that this is a figure of Adam after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, but wearing contemporary breeches rather than the usual fig leaf, a loincloth or a skirt of leaves. ${ }^{2}$ Above his head are what may be the stylised branches of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden, tied together to form a finial on which the bell frame is attached, but this is by no means certain. Below the figure is an apotropaic cross to ward off misfortune that might occur with the mechanism, while at the bottom is the Devil's head surmounted by two scrolling horns surrounded by flame-like forms. The significance of these three different elements depicted on the pillars is discussed below.

## Adam wearing breeches and boots

The pose of the figure, with his arms and hands in the 'Venus pudica' or modesty position is found on medieval images of Adam and Eve, such as stone carvings throughout the Christian world (Fig. 4), later in printed books (Fig. 5) and on a few pieces of sixteenthand seventeenth-century English country furniture (Figs 6 and 7). ${ }^{3}$ On this clock the

[^1]3. Victor Chinnery, Oak Furniture, The British Tradition (Woodbridge, 1979), pp. 90-91, Plates 5-6.


Fig. 4. Life-size statue of Adam on the portal of St Laurence Cathedral, Trogir, near Split, Croatia, carved in 1240.

Venus pudica pose would reinforce Puritan morals.

Whereas Protestant nonconformists such as Baptists, Independents (later known as Congregationalists), Unitarians, and other sects,


Fig. 5. Woodcut of Adam and Eve in Paradise before and after the Fall, from Supplementum Chronicarum, by Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, Venice, 1492.


Fig. 6. Naïve carving of Adam and Eve on an oak chest dated by dendrochronology to 1495-1505. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).
wanted to break away from the Anglican Church of England, Puritans desired to reform it from within and do away with the corrupting influences of ritual and the hierarchy of bishops. In particular the story of Adam and


Fig. 7. A bearded Adam painted on an oak chest of drawers, about 1550-80, with his arms in the modesty position and wearing a very large fig leaf. There are similar figures of Eve on the lefthand side and in the centre of the lower drawer. (J. Chinnery).


Fig. 8. The Breeches Bible showing Genesis, Chapter III, verse 7. (Janet Spavold)

Eve played a large part in Puritan views of Salvation and reminded them of their original sins. It also supported their view that women were inferior, both spiritually and intellectually, subordinate to men and that all women were suspected of evil, some even being witches.

The story of Adam and Eve, as told in Genesis Chapter III, recounts that after their banishment from the Garden of Eden (the 'Fall') they covered their nakedness with clothes made from leaves. In Protestant England the version of the Bible most widely used was that known as the Geneva Bible, a translation made in 1560 for the benefit of English Protestant refugees who had fled to that city to escape the persecutions of the Catholic Mary Tudor. In this translation, influenced by Calvinistic susceptibilities, Verse 7 reads: 'Then the eyes of them both were opened and they sewed figge leaves together and made themselves breeches'. While a much earlier translation by John Wycliffe about 1382 also used the word 'breeches', it was the Geneva Bible that became known as the Breeches Bible (Fig. 8). It was the version taken by the Pilgrims to the New World in 1620, after which it was also called the Pilgrim's Bible. Though King James I ordered a new translation in 1611, only about one tenth of it differed from the Geneva Bible, one of the changes being to replace 'breeches' with 'aprons'. However, the Geneva/Breeches Bible was reissued many times until 1644 and copies were still in use throughout the seventeenth century. Hence the concept of Adam wearing breeches would have been ingrained in the minds of many Protestants, especially Puritans. Since the words of the Bible were accepted literally by most people, a figure of Adam wearing breeches would not have appeared incongruous, even though no other such image (either printed or in any other medium) is known.

As used in the Wycliffe and Geneva bibles the word 'breeches' is not gender-specific and does not mean 'trousers' but rather 'coverings of the loin area'. It was a not very accurate translation of the Hebrew text and its Greek and Latin versions, all of which suggest a loosefitting garment tied about the waist, such as a loin cloth, and was usually depicted as such in contemporary illustrations (Fig. 9). During the temptation of Adam by Eve before the Fall the


Fig. 9. The expulsion from the Garden of Eden, by Claude Paradin of Lyon, published in an English translation of a French Bible in 1533. Adam is wearing a loin cloth and Eve a skirt of leaves.
couple are usually depicted without clothes (Fig. 7). It was only in the late sixteenth century that breeches began to mean short trousers worn by men as opposed to women's clothing, so the maker of this figure has interpreted the word as men's apparel rather than what the translators intended, a confusion that has continued to this day. He is also unlikely to have been aware of the moralising Puritan pamphleteers who reminded readers that the clothes of Adam and Eve were only to protect them from the cold and cover their shame and warned against wearing fashionable 'Italianated, Frenchified, nor Duch [sic] and Babilonian breeches' but to dress simply and plainly. ${ }^{4}$

Most representations of the Fall show both Adam and Eve, but there are some stainedglass church windows that depict Adam toiling alone, usually digging (Fig. 10), so the inclusion of Eve was not universal. The portrayal of Adam as a peasant with work being his curse represents the fate of humanity exiled from Eden - a view that confirmed Protestant work ethics. In any event not only is it most improbable that the owner would possess two similar clocks, one with Adam and the other with Eve on the pillars, but there would have been the added expense of carving another wooden pattern even if both figures were portrayed on the same clock.

All the costume experts consulted during


Fig. 10. Stained glass window in Canterbury Cathedral, about 1176, depicting Adam working the land.
the earlier investigation of this clock remarked on his deliberately unfashionable footwear. This is not the expected shoes or long boots, but short boots worn by labourers and farm workers to indicate that he was an ordinary man. The lower part of Adam's legs are noticeably thin to give emphasis to his boots. This is a further allusion to the Puritan beliefs that after the Fall Adam's fate was to work as a peasant. This inspired short-lived groups of radical Puritans known as the Diggers, who set up communities to work the land. Though their aims were as much political as religious, and they were suppressed by 1650 , the maker of this clock may have had sympathies for

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Fig. 11. Simple Adam and Eve automaton in the arch of a longcase clock of about 1840. Only Eve's arm moves.
these ideals, even if he was not an actual member of this particular sect.

Images of Adam and Eve also appear in the arch of some late eighteenth and early nine-teenth-century longease clocks, usually with painted dials. ${ }^{5}$ These normally take the form of a simple automaton with Eve's swinging arm offering an apple to Adam (Fig. 11), whose arm may also move, with the serpent appearing to slither round the tree on more mechanically complex versions. These are unlikely to have been used to promote a religious message, rather they were included just for the novelty of seeing arms swinging in time with the movement of the pendulum and the ticking of the escapement.

## The apotropaic saltire cross

Since medieval times and throughout the seventeenth century and later, there was a widespread belief in evil spirits, witches and other supernatural influences that might cause harm to individuals and their way of life. A common means of providing protection from such imagined malevolent forces was to put apotropaic (evil-averting) marks at the openings to buildings through which evil spirits might enter, such as on door and window frames, latches and hinges (Fig. 12). The example in Fig. 13 is on a cellar door, which
would have been regarded as an entry point for harmful spirits to come in through the vents, so a protective mark was included on the latch. Since this is on the cellar side and not visible when the door is closed it is unlikely to be just for decoration. As chimneys had to remain open they were thought to be especially vulnerable and apotropaic symbols (popularly known as 'witch marks') often occur on chimney beams, or in Lancashire on the supporting timbers of fireplaces (Fig. 14), and elsewhere even on cast-iron firebacks. ${ }^{6}$ The most commonly found symbol on metalwork


Fig. 12. Apotropaic mark in the form of a saltire to ward off evil spirits on a medieval door hinge. (Timothy Easton).


Fig. 13. An X-mark on the latch of a cellar door, about 1720.
over many centuries is an X form or saltire cross, often bounded by a single or double line on two or four sides to represent the frame of the opening, with the cross acting as a 'no entry' sign. ${ }^{7}$ In sixteenth-century England crossing the fingers was commonly used to ward off evil, while knocking or touching wood was used to request good luck or distract spirits with evil intentions. These actions persist to this day, even though their origins are not usually appreciated. Alternative apotropaic marks may take the form of the letters M, W or V (upright or inverted), sometimes associated with I, A, and R, which before the Reformation, represented some of the letters that make up the Virgin Mary's name or her role as Virgin of Virgins. On timber, plaster or stone an hexafoil or 'daisy-wheel' pattern was the most common of all. ${ }^{8}$

On the Adam clock in Fig. 1 the saltire might have been chosen as a barrier mark to prevent


Fig. 14. Apotropaic symbols carved on the timber posts supporting fireplaces in Lancashire.
evil spirits from upsetting the mechanism and causing unexplained malfunction, especially since one at each corner would provide extra protection. While these marks have long been recorded on buildings, few have been noted on clocks, primarily because their significance has not been recognised in horological contexts. An exception is the clock in Wells Cathedral, which is reported to have chisel marks on the frame and burned patches (another form of apotropaic mark) on the rear of the wooden dial that are thought to be to ward off evil spirits. ${ }^{9}$

A number of posted-frame clocks, mainly lantern clocks and some thirty-hour longcase clocks, have Xs filed into the hammer spring and/or the hammer stop, also known as the counter (Figs 15a-e). They do not occur on plated-frame clocks as these components are much less receptive to marking in this manner. Of 377 clocks surveyed where the hammer and stop are shown, a mere seventeen have saltire marks. ${ }^{10}$ This is regarded as a representative sample of clocks, mostly from
6. Timothy Easton, 'Ritual Marks in Secular Buildings', in Ronald Hutton (ed), Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchraft in Christian Britain: A feeling for Magic (2015), pp. 39-67; Timothy Easton \& Jeremy Hodgkinson, 'Apotropaic Symbols on Cast-Iron Firebacks', Journal of the Antique Metalware Society, Vol. 21, 2013, 14-32.
7. Easton, 'Ritual Marks', pp. 54-55.
8. These also appear on a rare engraved bone snuffbox dated 1647 with later hexafoils, in a private collection.
9. Report of a talk by Bob Frost to the Bristol Branch of the British Horological Institute, Horological Journal, Vol. 158, No 7 (July 2016), 325.
10. Brian Loomes, Lantern Clocks \& Their Makers (Mayfield, 2008); George White, English Lantern Clocks (Woodbridge, 1989); W. F. J. Hana, Lantern Clocks (Poole, 1979); Jeff Darken \& John Hooper, English 30 Hour Clocks (Woking, 1997); W. F. Bruce, Early English Lantern Clocks 1615-1700 (Lewes, 2004); W. F. Bruce, Early English Lantern Clocks 1600-1700 (Lewes, 2013); Tim Marshall, The Quaker Clockmakers of North Oxfordshire (Mayfield, 2013); also the author's picture collection. As well as this representative sample sixteen other clocks have been identified that are similarly marked.
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Figs 15a-e (on this and next page). A selection of saltire crosses on the hammer springs and stops of posted-frame clocks. (Brian Loomes).
the mid-seventeenth to the early-eighteenth centuries, and indicates that only 4.5 per cent have a saltire. Apart from the first example illustrated (Fig. 15a) the others are clearly the work of the clockmaker and are similar to the marks found on both timber posts, door latches and hinges, which are widely accepted as being apotropaic. Both the cross and its bounding lines are double on both the second example (Fig. 15b) and the Adam clock, as if to emphasise its significance. The third example (Fig. 15c) has not only three crosses on the hammer stop, but also two sideways Vs, which were also regarded as having apotropaic powers.

But were they included to prevent evil spirits causing unexplained malfunctions or are they just decoration? Though the hammer springs and stops on some clocks are plain, many are decorated, this usually taking the form of stopped chamfers, lines filed across the components and shaped ends to hammer stops. The addition of a cross on a small proportion of clocks was a deliberate act and usually takes the same basic form, though double lines (similar to those on the 'Adam' clock, Fig. 3) are known. It is highly likely that these X marks were applied for the same purpose as on blacksmith-made door latches and hinges. It was part of their tradition which
10. Brian Loomes, Lantern Clocks \& Their Makers (Mayfield, 2008); George White, English Lantern Clocks (Woodbridge, 1989); W. F. J. Hana, Lantern Clocks (Poole, 1979); Jeff Darken \& John Hooper, English 30 Hour Clocks (Woking, 1997); W. F. Bruce, Early English Lantern Clocks 1615-1700 (Lewes, 2004); W. F. Bruce, Early English Lantern Clocks 1600-1700 (Lewes, 2013); Tim Marshall, The Quaker Clockmakers of North Oxfordshire (Mayfield, 2013); also the author's picture collection. As well as this representative sample sixteen other clocks have been identified that are similarly marked.

stems from the belief that the marks acted as a barrier, and were intended to keep the apertures safe from unwanted malign spirits and were apotropaic in their intent. ${ }^{11}$

The cross on the first example illustrated (Fig. 15a) does not fit neatly between bounding lines and may have been added later by the owner as an apotropaic mark. Such marks might have been added as a matter of course by some clockmakers since three lantern clocks of about 1650 made by Thomas Milles of London, ${ }^{12}$ and two early eighteenth-century lantern clocks by Benjamin Stribling of Stowmarket, Suffolk, ${ }^{13}$ have the X symbol. While the Milles marks are quite similar to each other the two Stribling ones differ. Although no clocks without saltire crosses are
known by either maker, this is not a large enough sample to enable firm conclusions to be drawn. Interestingly, a number of wellknown London makers of lantern clocks have only one example of their known work identified so far with an apotropaic mark. These include Peter Closon, John Ebsworth and Andrew Prime. The apotropaic symbols may have been included on these clocks at the request of the customer.

## The Devil's head

It had been suggested that the head at the base of each pillar of the unusual lantern clock in Fig. 3 was a lion with a flowing mane that represented God whom Adam had disobeyed, but it has now been identified as the Devil. God or his representatives (such as Angels) is always depicted at the top, never at the bottom. Carvings of the Devil are known on fonts with Angels at the top to represent the power of God over evil; and other depictions show the Devil being crushed by the weight of the font itself (Fig. 16). ${ }^{14}$ Puritans believed that Satan and his agents were active in causing evil and responsible for many of the hardships they encountered in their daily lives, but he could be resisted by leading a simple and pious existence (Fig. 17).

Puritan attitudes to women were based on their interpretation of the Adam and Eve story, and the belief that some women were completely lost to God and had turned to witcheraft to serve the Devil. This was at a time when Puritan fears and terror of the power of witches were spurred on by King James I, who made a special study of witchcraft, wrote a book on the subject and encouraged its persecution. This culminated in the hysteria of the witch trials that took place in both Europe and the American colonies. In England Matthew Hopkins, the 'Witchfinder General', was responsible for the deaths of about 300 women accused of being witches during 1644-47, mainly in East Anglia. His pamphlet (Fig. 18) was only one of several contemporary
11. Opinion of Timothy Easton.
12. Brian Loomes, ‘Thomas Milles, gentleman clockmaker', Clocks, Vol. 39, No. 6 (June 2016), 11-16.
13. Brian Loomes, 'Early clockmakers of Stowmarket', Clocks, Vol. 35, No. 11 (November 2012), 11-15; the other example photographed by the author.
14. Examples include Blythbrough, Suffolk; Newark (St Mary Magdalen), Nottinghamshire; Castle Frome, Herefordshire; Southrop, Gloucestershire and South Milton, Devon. Information from Janet Spavold.


Fig. 16. A Devil-like figure being crushed by the weight of the font in St Michael's Church, Castle Frome, Herefordshire.
publications and illustrations concerning witches.

The date and origin of the Adam clock The quality of construction of the clock shown in Fig. 1 indicates that it was not made in a major clockmaking centre such as London or Bristol, and stylistically it is unlike any other known lantern clock, which was the only type of domestic clock made in Britain before about 1660 . It was probably constructed by a rural worker in metal for his own use, perhaps one who also repaired both domestic and church clocks. It is difficult to envisage it having been made for general sale, though it might have been a special commission. As discussed previously, the fixing of both the dial (by a method only known on very early lantern clocks) and the chapter ring had caused problems, indicating that the maker was not very experienced and this may even have been his first attempt at making a complete clock.

The implication of these unique pillars is that it is the work of a devout Puritan, accustomed from his reading of the Breeches Bible to the concept of Adam wearing breeches. It is likely that the clockmaker had seen portrayals of Adam in the Venus pudica pose in a local


Fig. 17. Puritans believed that the Devil could appear in many forms.


Fig. 18. Frontispiece from Matthew Hopkins, The Discovery of Witches (1647), showing witches identifying their familiar spirits.
church or on furniture, such as illustrated in Figs 6 and 7, and gave him a Puritan interpretation by adding breeches and boots.

Adam may have been incorporated into the design of this clock to remind the clockmaker and his family of their original sins, also the Devil so that they did not forget that he was ever present and his evil could appear in many forms. For good measure apotropaic marks were included to protect the clock movement from malfunction by the supernatural. This portrayal of Adam identifies the clock's owner as being familiar with the Breeches Bible and hence a Puritan at a time when there were still


Fig. 19. Distribution of the makers of English lantern clocks. The shading indicates the density of makers, while the numbers represent the total for each historic county. Data compiled from Loomes, Lantern Clocks, pp. 434-520.
tensions between the Catholic and Protestant population.

The identity of the maker or where he lived are unlikely ever to be known for certain, but lantern clocks were predominantly made south of a line from the Severn Estuary to the Wash, with the greatest density of makers outside London being in the counties of Kent, Suffolk, Oxford and Somerset (Fig. 19). The large number of provincial clockmakers in East Anglia, combined with counties such as Essex being a centre of both Puritanism and antiwitch hysteria during the mid-seventeenth century, suggests that East Anglia is a possible
origin of this unique clock. At present this is the closest we can get.

Since there are no stylistic features that would enable a date to be established, can the movement, especially the alterations made to it, provide any evidence as to when it was made? Before the announcement in London in 1658 of the application of the pendulum to control clocks, a balance escapement was the only option available. But change was very slow and balance clocks were still being made, even in the capital, as late as $1696,{ }^{15}$ long after the first use of not only the verge escapement with a short pendulum but also its successor, the anchor escapement with a long pendulum, introduced about 1670.

Some indication of how fast the new pendulum technologies migrated from London to the provinces can be estimated by considering dated early pendulum clocks, these dated examples mostly originating in the counties neighbouring Bristol. While the most progressive London clockmakers were using the verge escapement and the short pendulum within a year or so of its introduction, ${ }^{16}$ it is not until 1670, about ten years later, that it is first recorded in the provinces. ${ }^{17}$ By the 1680 s it was widely used on lantern clocks made in Somerset and Gloucestershire, and no doubt elsewhere as well. The anchor escapement and long pendulum, first developed around 1670 , was used within five years in Somerset, ${ }^{18}$ but this appears to be an isolated exception and, based on the small number of dated lantern clocks, ${ }^{19}$ it did not become widely accepted outside London for another ten years. It is very unlikely that any balance clocks were converted to verge escapement after the 1680 s, ${ }^{20}$ especially as the anchor escapement was much easier to make than the verge.
15. Loomes, Lantern Clocks, p. 126. This gives other examples of the very late use of the balance and discusses conversions to pendulum control.
16. Lantern clocks with original verge escapements are known by Peter Closon, who died in 1660 or early 1661, see Loomes, Lantern Clocks, p. 95; Clocks, Vol. 39, No. 2 (February 2016), 41.
17. Verge lantern clock by William Holloway, Stroud, Gloucestershire, dated 1670, see White, English Lantern Clocks, p. 246.
18. Eight-day posted-frame longcase clock by Lawrence Debnam, Frome, Somerset, dated 1675, see Jeff Darken (editor), Time \& Place (Ticehurst, 2006), pp. 30-33.
19. Other early anchor escapements are dated: 1684, 1685 (2), 1689, 1692 and 1693 , all from the West Country. It was widely used on longcase clocks by this time.
20. Excepting travelling timepiece alarms which usually used a verge escapement.

Hence the clock under discussion is likely to have been converted to a verge pendulum in the mid-1670s and to a long pendulum after the 1690 s, probably in the early eighteenth century.

As noted in the previous article, there is a good deal of wear on the crossings of the going great wheel caused by the spring winding click. This must have occurred before the click was removed when the clock was converted to run with a single weight and there is as much, or more, wear than often found on lantern clocks that have been running for more than three centuries with two weights. Of course, the strength of the click spring, lubrication and other factors mean that the amount of wear is not an exact measure of age. The conversion to single weight probably took place at the same time as one of the two pendulum conversions, but which one is not known. Hence the clock could have been in constant use for at least thirty to forty years and probably very much longer, indicating that it was made in the 1640 s or even earlier. This clock has a good claim to be one of the earliest surviving provincial English clocks.

A feature of the dial is the 'wigglework' decoration inside the chapter ring and surrounding the very simple hatch-work in the corners (Fig. 20). This would have been done with a flat-ended graver that was simply 'walked' across the brass surface to give a zigzag pattern - a technique used by those with limited engraving skills. This type of decoration was used on medieval armour and was popular on seventeenth-century pewter, but it was not normally used on clock dials until the early eighteenth century. It is characteristic of the work of the Gilkes family of Quaker clockmakers working in north Oxfordshire. ${ }^{21}$ This is the earliest known example of wigglework on a clock dial.

All the other seventeenth-century clockmakers, even those who are known to be nonconformists or Puritans, including some who were officers in Cromwell's army, produced lantern clocks with conventional decoration. The engraving on none of these clocks is particularly plain, nor have they any known religious or mystical symbolism. This


Fig. 20. Simple wigglework decoration in the corners of the dial and inside the chapter ring.
contrasts with Continental wall clocks of the period which often have painted dials illustrating the Virgin and Child or Catholic saints. In this respect the Adam clock is a unique example of horological folk art, even though the movement is very conventional. Despite it being an unsophisticated clock it has been regarded highly enough to justify the successive installation of the latest pendulum technologies, and it was probably still running in the twentieth century when a new chapter ring and hand were added. These anachronistic parts have since been replaced, but it emphasises that during the last three and a half centuries this clock has been esteemed as something rather special. It has drawn attention to an aspect of horology that has previously not been recognised: the inclusion of symbols to prevent malevolent spirits from causing unexplained disorders of the mechanism. It also gives a brief insight into the beliefs of some seventeenth-century clockmakers.

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    1. John Robey, 'An Unusual English Lantern Clock', Antiquarian Horology, Vol 32, No 3 (September 2010), 405-16.
[^1]:    2. Attribution by Janet Spavold, BA, MA, MSc, historian with a specialist interest in Christian symbolism in art and architecture.
[^2]:    4. Philip C. Almond, Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought (Cambridge, 1999), p. 200, quoting the poet William Vaughan writing in 1600.
