THE

Archaeological Album;

OR,

MUSEUM OF NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES.

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sounding their horns? Sometimes you may see many bodies under one head; at others, many heads to one body. Here is seen the tail of a serpent attached to the body of a quadruped; there the head of a quadruped on the body of a fish. In another place appears an animal, the fore-half of which represents a horse and the hinder parts a goat. Elsewhere you have a horned animal with the hinder parts of a horse. Indeed there appears everywhere so multifarious and so wonderful a variety of diverse forms, that one is more apt to con over these sculptures than study the Scriptures, to occupy the whole day in wondering at these rather than in meditating upon God's law." The pious writer concludes: "For God's sake! if people are not ashamed of the extravagance of these follies, why should they not at least regret the expense required to produce them?"*

These ornaments are repeatedly forbidden by the councils of the church, held in different ages. In the decrees of the second Nicene Council (A.D. 787), as quoted by M. Langlois in his *Essai sur la Calligraphie*, it is declared to be "not only puerile, but altogether foolish and impious, to attempt to fascinate the eyes of the faithful in the holy place with the figures of animals or fishes, or other such devices."† Similar decrees will be found in the acts of other councils.

* This passage is so curious and valuable, that it may not be thought unadvisable to give it in the original language:—

"Cæterum in claustris coram legentibus fratribus quid facit illa ridicula monstruositas, mira quædam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas? quid ibi immundæ simiæ? quid feri leones? quid monstruosi centauri? quid semi-homines? quid maculosæ tigrides? quid milites pugnantes? quid venatores tubicinantes? Videas sub uno capite multa corpora et rursus in uno corpore capita multa. Cernitur hinc in quadrupede cauda serpentis; illinc in pisce caput quadrupedis. Ibi bestia præfert equum, capram trahens retro dimidiam. Hic cornutum animal equum gestat posterius. Tam multa denique tamque mira diversarum formarum ubique varietas apparet, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando. Proh Deo! si non pudet ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum?"—S. BERNARDI *Apolog. ad Guil. S. Theodorici abb. Oper.* tom. i. col. 545.

† "Non solum puerile, sed plane stultum et impium est, imaginibus animalium aut piscium aut ejusmodi rerum in sacro loco fidelium oculos fascinare velle."—*Concil. Nic.* act. 4 et 5.

BURGH CASTLE, SUFFOLK.

BURGH CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

BURGH CASTLE,

AND THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ROUND TOWERS OF SUFFOLK AND NORFOLK.

Burgh Castle, in Suffolk, one of the finest of the Roman remains in our island, has recently received an additional interest from the circumstance of its having narrowly escaped destruction by a railway, although it is hoped that it is now out of danger. When antiquities of minor importance stand in the way of public utility, we can only lament over a necessary loss, and do our best to preserve them in faithful drawings and descriptions; but the hand of government should be held out to protect national monuments of such extent and interest as the one which is the subject of the present remarks. It is to be wished that a clause for the preservation of such ruins should be inserted in all railway bills.

Burgh Castle stands on the edge of a table-land, overlooking the marshy level through which the river Waveney flows, and which was in the times of the Romans covered with the waters of the Garenis Ostium. There can be little doubt that the sea once washed the foot of the bank on which the castle stands, both from the present aspect of the country and from the circumstance that parts of anchors, rings, and other pieces of iron belonging to ships, with large beds of shells, particularly those of oysters, have been found in digging in the marshes and in the immediate vicinity of the castle.

The history of this castle is very obscure, it being not even mentioned in the ancient Itineraries; but it seems to be now generally agreed among antiquaries that it is the station mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, under the name of Gariannonum, as occupied by a *præpositus* of the Stablesian horse (*præpositus equitum Stablesianorum*) under the command of the count of the Saxon shore (*comes limitis Saxonici*). The remains of another fortification are found at Caistor, on the opposite side of the marshes, between five and six miles from Burgh, which is supposed to have been a

station dependent on that of Gariannonum. John Ives, a young and promising antiquary of this neighbourhood in the last century, who published in 1774 a book entitled "Remarks upon the Garianonum of the Romans," supposes that this fortress was built by Ostorius in the reign of Claudian; but this appears to be nothing more than a conjecture, supported by no authority. It is more probable that it was built at a later period, as one of the chief garrisons to secure this part of the island against the piratical incursions of the Saxons.

The walls of Burgh Castle are more extensive than those of Richborough, though not so lofty. Like that station, also, its form is a parallelogram, having walls on three sides, the fourth side lying open to the shore, and defended only by the steep cliff. The eastern, or longest wall, parallel to the cliff, and in the middle of which is the decuman gate, is about 650 feet long, and the lateral walls are about half that length. They are fourteen feet high and nine feet thick, and the area within contains four acres and two roods. The walls are faced with cut flints, between horizontal layers of bricks of a fine red colour. The view in our plate is taken from the breach in the southern wall of the castle: that given in the cut above is taken from the south-east, and exhibits the whole range of the eastern wall, with the church and village of Burgh in the distance. On the east side (including the corner towers) the wall is supported by four round towers, or, rather, round masses of masonry; for they are solid, with the exception of a hole in the centre of the upper surface, two feet deep and as many wide. There is a similar tower in the middle of the north wall, and there was one to the south wall, but the latter was overthrown nearly a century ago. These towers are quite detached from the wall to about one-half of their elevation, but the diameter of the upper part being enlarged they are there made to join the wall of the fortress, which is rounded off at its junction with the corner towers. It has been supposed, from the circumstance just alluded to, that the towers are a subsequent

addition to the original building. It has been conjectured, also, that the holes at the top of these towers were intended for the erection of standards and signals, or of temporary wooden structures to serve as watch-towers.

The tower attached to the south wall was undermined by continual floods of rain, the water of which cut a channel in the earth in making its way through a breach of the wall into the area, in its course to the low ground: by its fall it exposed to view the remarkable character of the foundation. Here, as at Richborough, the walls are simply built upon the plain ground. The chalk and lime of the original soil was covered with earth hard beaten down; upon this were laid oak planks nearly two inches thick, and upon them a bed of coarse mortar, on which the first stones of the superstructure were placed. The tower on the north side is also partly undermined.

We give in the margin a view of the south-east angle, which will best explain the manner in which the tower was attached to the wall.

Within the area of the castle great numbers of Roman coins have been found, chiefly of the Lower Empire, and almost entirely of copper. At the south-west corner of the area, near the cliff, are the remains of a circular mound of earth, the purpose and date of which appear to be equally doubtful. But when, in the last century, some labourers were employed in clearing part of it away, they discovered, besides considerable quantities of ashes and broken pottery, a stratum of pure wheat, black as if it had been burnt. Among other articles found at the same time was a silver *cochlear*, or spoon. Rings, keys, buckles, fibulæ, &c., have been frequently met with in the fields around the walls, with vast quantities of broken urns, apparently made of the coarse blue clay which is found in the neighbouring village of Bradwell. From the number of these urns found in the field to the east of the castle, it has been supposed that it was the cemetery of the Roman garrison.

There appear strong reasons for believing that Burgh Castle is the fortress called by the Saxons, in the seventh century, Cnobheresburg, from the name of some Saxon chief named Cnobhere. In the year 633 an Irish monk, named Furseus, left his native country and came to settle in East Anglia, then governed by king Sigebert, who gave him the ruined castle, and he erected a small monastery within the area, which

was afterwards enlarged and adorned by king Anna, but appears to have been destroyed in the Danish invasions. It was in this place, according to Bede, that Furseus had the vision of the rewards and punishments of the other world which made so strong an impression on the imaginations of the Saxon Christians, and which is fully related in a tract that must have been composed very soon after the time in which the dreamer lived. There are now no traces of the monastery of Furseus; but the church of the village of Burgh, a little distance to the north of the castle, is interesting, as having one of those curious ROUND TOWERS which occur so frequently in this part of the kingdom.

These round towers are most numerous in Norfolk and Suffolk, but a few also are found in the adjoining counties of Cambridge and Essex, as well as in Sussex and Berkshire. Mr. Gage Rokewode, who communicated a paper on the subject of these ecclesiastical round towers to the Society of Antiquaries (printed, with numerous plates, in the twenty-third volume of the "Archæologia,") observes that they are not scattered indiscriminately over the counties in which they occur, but that they are generally found in clusters. Many of them are seen bordering on the Roman Ikenild Street, and some are found along the line of the coast. They are, in some instances, met with in towns; thus we find three in Norwich, one in Bungay, and one at Lewes in Sussex. From the circumstance of these towers being found almost entirely within the limits of the ancient kingdom of East Anglia, they have been frequently ascribed to the Danes; but this is certainly an erroneous assumption, as the style of their architecture shews that they were nearly all built during the Norman period. It has also been suggested that these towers, always built of flint boulders, owe their form to the necessity arising from the want of freestone in the districts where they occur most frequently; but this does not appear to be satisfactorily proved, and square towers are found mixed with them in the same counties. The circumstance of their appearing in clusters would lead us to suppose that the round tower had been a style preserved by the builders (perhaps from father to son) in certain localities. Historical documents seem to shew that, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Norfolk and Suffolk were districts looked upon as far behind other parts of the island in the march of improvement and fashion.

As it has just been observed, these towers are almost always built of rough flints. The flints are generally laid in regular courses, as at Hadiscoe in Norfolk, and at Little Saxham and Heringfleet in Suffolk. Sometimes, however, as at Norton in Norfolk, they are not in courses. In the churches in Norwich, and in some other instances, the towers have been recased with cut flints. In some instances, the church to which the tower is attached has the semicircular apsis at the east end, as at Heckingham and

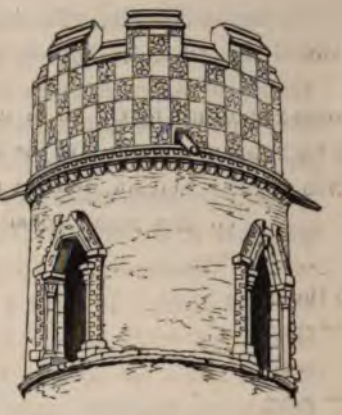
Fritton in Norfolk. The loftiest towers of this description are those of Little Saxham and Blundeston in Suffolk, each of which is fifty-six feet high. The upper parts of the towers seem generally to have undergone alterations subsequently to the period at which they were built, and sometimes they have evidently been raised a story higher: in some this upper story is octangular, instead of being round like the rest of the tower. In some instances the diameter of the tower exceeds fourteen feet; in a few instances it is not more than eight: the general average, however, is from ten to twelve. The walls are in general very massive, being, in most cases, from four to five feet thick. In Sussex they are sometimes not more than two feet and a half thick.

By much the greater number of these round towers were evidently built in the twelfth century: many of them exhibit rather late Norman work. The towers of Little Saxham in Suffolk, and Great Leighs in Essex, contain elegant Norman arches; the latter in the doorway, the former in the upper story of the tower, which is surrounded by an arcade, as shewn in our first cut, the windows being placed under larger arches, which are connected by smaller ones. The tower of Hadiscoe Thorpe has windows resembling those of Little Saxham.

Mr. Gage Rokewode considered the tower of Taseburgh church, in Norfolk, to be by much the most ancient of any of those which he had examined. In its original condition, the tower was ornamented with a double tier of recessed round arches, with semicircular-headed loops instead of windows. When the upper part of the tower was rebuilt, the heads of the second tier of recessed arches were cut off, so that the building has at present a very singular appearance. The modern upper story of the tower has pointed windows. The tower of Hadiscoe Thorpe, in Norfolk, presents a somewhat similar appearance to that of Taseburgh, though probably more modern; the second story is surrounded by a row of shallow buttresses, resembling pilasters.

The upper story of the tower of Heringfleet church, in Suffolk, represented in our second cut, has windows consisting of two triangular-headed arches, separated by a small supporting column, within a round arch, not unlike those which are supposed to be peculiar to Anglo-Saxon buildings. It is somewhat curious that

churches with round towers are found in early Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts: there is one in an illustrated Prudentius in the British Museum (MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, C. VIII. fol. 7). It is not impossible, after all, that, although such of these towers as now remain appear to have been erected in the age of Norman rule, they may have been built after an older Saxon style, which still lived in the memory of the native builders of these districts. Another instance of the triangular-headed window, in this case blunted at the top, is found in the tower of Hadiscoe in Norfolk, as shewn in the accompanying woodcut.



The last cut also furnishes an example of the style of the more modern terminations of some of these towers. In a few instances, as at Great Leighs in Essex, and Piddinghoe in Sussex, the round tower terminates in a spire. We have no means of ascertaining the original characters of the terminations of these towers, on account of the modern alterations. In drawings in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, church-steeples are sometimes represented with spires and with a weathercock. It may be observed, that very few instances of church-steeples with spires are said to be found in Ireland.

Some of the later round towers, built, probably, about the end of the twelfth century, or beginning of the thirteenth, have windows with arches of the early pointed style, often mixed with round-headed windows: as at Little Rushmere in Suffolk, Bartlow in Cambridgeshire, Norton in Norfolk, and West Shefford in Berkshire. In Norton church, pointed arches are found in the windows in the lower part of the tower, and semicircular arches at the top. In many instances, however, the pointed arches appear to be more recent additions to the original building.

Internally these towers have sometimes been divided into stories, and sometimes (particularly the smaller ones) they were open from the ground to the top. In one instance, at Thorpe Abbots, in Norfolk, there is a fireplace on the north side of the basement of the tower, with a flue nine inches square, coeval with the rest of the building, which runs up the wall, and gives vent to the smoke through a small loophole. From their massive constructions and from other peculiarities, these towers appear to have been built as places of refuge and defence in sudden hostile incursions. It will be observed that, in almost all instances, the windows within reach of the ground are mere loopholes, and that the large windows are in the upper story, as in the towers of a Norman castle. This explains why they are found along the coast and rivers running imme-

diately into the sea, and on the Roman road, which was in early times the chief line of communication, as these were the situations most exposed to predatory invasions. The earlier chronicles, and other documents, furnish instances of people seeking shelter in churches and defending themselves in the steeple; and the village church appears always to have been regarded as a place of security for depositing treasures and articles of value. It has been supposed that the round form, used in these early towers, was laid aside on account of its inconvenience for the reception of bells.

The round tower of the church of Burgh, in Suffolk, the subject of our plate, is not distinguished from the others by any very remarkable characteristic of style. It is a plain building, with simple loop-holes for windows, the heads of the lowest of these windows being surrounded with an arch of Roman bricks or tiles; taken, no doubt, from the ruins of Burgh Castle, or from some Roman building dependent upon it, which has now disappeared. The upper part of the tower is modern brickwork. The church is a small building, possessing no very remarkable features; but in the interior an interesting Norman font is still preserved.

OBSOLETE PUNISHMENTS.

THE STOCKS AND THE PILLORY.

ONE of the most common modes of punishment for lighter offences in the middle ages was by exposing the offender, in a disgraceful posture, to the gaze of the public during a certain length of time. He was attached by the neck, or by the feet, or by the hands. In the first instance, the instrument of punishment was a pillory; in the others, the stocks.

The time is not long past when every parish was furnished with a pair of STOCKS, and they still remain in some of our country villages. They generally contained merely a row of holes for confining the legs, but sometimes they had a second row of smaller holes for imprisoning the hands. They were generally placed in the churchyard or market-place, or on the village-green: the persons confined in them were chiefly drunkards, idlers, turbulent vagrants, &c. In more ancient times there were stocks in the prisons, particularly in those of private establishments, such as monastic houses, hospitals, and the like. We have already seen that, by the old laws of the hospital of St. Nicholas at Harbledown, the inmates of either sex were, for certain offences, liable to be confined in the stocks for as long a period of time as three days and three nights.* Sometimes the stocks were placed beside or within the pound, as was the case with those in which Hudibras and his squire were confined:—

> "And 'twas not long before she found
> Him and the stout squire in the pound,
> Both coupled in enchanted tether
> By farther leg behind together."

In an earlier part of the poem these stocks are described in burlesque phraseology:—

> "Thus grave and solemn they marched on,
> Until quite through the town th' had gone;
> At further end of which there stands
> An ancient castle, that commands

* See page 34 of the present volume.

Th' adjacent parts: in all the fabric
You shall not see one stone nor a brick;
But all of wood; by powerful spell
Of magic made impregnable.
There's neither iron-bar nor gate,
Portcullis, chain, nor bolt, nor grate;
And yet men durance there abide
In dungeon scarce three inches wide;
With roof so low, that under it
They never stand, but lie or sit;
And yet so foul, that whoso is in
Is to the middle leg in prison,
In circle magical confin'd,
With walls of subtle air and wind,
Which none are able to break thorough,
Until they're freed by head of borough."

In Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" we find two or three cuts of interiors of prisons, with very massive stocks within, having a row of larger holes for the feet, and above them a row of smaller ones for the hands. One of these prisons was "within the Lolardes Tower at Paules." We learn the position of this tower from old Stow:— "At either corner of this west end" [of St. Paul's church], he says, "is, also of ancient building, a strong tower of stone, made for bell-towers: the one of them, to wit, next to the palace, is at this present to the use of the same palace; the other, towards the south, is called the Lowlardes Tower, and hath been used as the bishop's prison for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the church." Another similar prison, with stocks within, was also in the vicinity of St. Paul's, and was called "The Bishop's Colehouse." Foxe (p. 1690) gives the personal narrative of John Philpots, a sufferer for his religious opinions, of which the following is an extract. The persons who had arrested Philpots are introduced conversing about him:—

"*Cooke.* He saith he is a gentleman.

"*Story.* A gentleman, quoth he? He is a vile heretike knave: for an heretike is no gentleman. Let the keeper of Lollardes Tower come in, and have him away.

"*The keeper.* Here, sir!

"*Story.* Take this man with you to the Lollards Tower, or els to the Bishops Colehouse.

* * * * *

"After this, I with four others moe were brought to the keepers house, in Paternoster Rowe, where we supped. . . . . And with that we were brought through Paternoster Row, to my lorde of Londons Colehouse: unto the whiche is joyned a litle blind house, with a great payre of stocks appoynted both for hand and foot, and there we found a minister of Essex."

The punishment of the stocks, in these cases, must have been very painful. The manner in which offenders were confined in them seems to have varied considerably. In the woodcut accompanying the narrative just quoted, the "minister of Essex" is seated, with his right foot and his left hand confined. On a previous page (p. 1608), in "the picture describing the strayt handlyng of the close prisoners in Lollardes Tower," we have four men in the stocks together, two on one side and two on the other. Of these, two have all their hands and feet confined; one has his right foot and left hand only confined; and the other is held by his two feet. The latter is laid on his back with some straw under him; of course, without the possibility of rising or changing his position. The other three are seated on stools.

The oldest representation of stocks that we have yet met with is engraved by Strutt (vol. ii. plate 1), from an illumination in a very early manuscript of the Psalter (apparently of the earlier half of the twelfth century) in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The cut we give in the margin is copied from Camille Bonnard's work on the Costume of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries (Paris, 1830), who took it from a miniature in a manuscript of Livy, supposed to have been executed about the year 1380, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The offender is here confined only by the right leg, and, although a chair is placed behind him, it does not appear that he could possibly sit down. The other figure is evidently a spectator mocking and insulting him.

In the year 1472, Sir William Hampton was lord-mayor of London: he appears to have been a strict reformer of the morals of the citizens, and it is recorded of him, among various other benefits which he conferred upon the city, that he "caused stocks to be set in every ward to punish vagabonds." This punishment is frequently alluded to in the satirical writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thomas Nashe, in his "Strange Newes" (published in 1592), speaking of one whom he wished to represent as holding a very low position in the town of Saffron Walden, says of him, "He hath borne office in Walden above twenty yere since; *hoc est*, had the keeping of the towne stocke, *alias* the stocks."

Stocks for the hands were placed at a greater elevation, so that the sufferer, with his legs at liberty, was held in an upright position: the delinquent, in this case, was

often subjected to the lash during his confinement, and the machine to which he was attached received the name of a WHIPPING-POST. This is another popular punishment now entirely obsolete. One stood beside the stocks in which Hudibras was confined, and is thus described:—

> "At th' outward wall, near which there stands
> A bastile, built to imprison hands;
> By strange enchantment made to fetter
> The lesser parts, and free the greater;
> For though the body may creep through,
> The hands in grate are fast enough:
> And when a circle 'bout the wrist
> Is made by beadle exorcist,
> The body feels the spur and switch,
> As if 'twere ridden post by witch
> At twenty-miles-an-hour pace,
> And yet ne'er stirs out of the place.
> On top of this there is a spire."

The punishment of the PILLORY appears to have been in use among the Germanic tribes from a very early period. In the Anglo-Saxon laws of Wihtræd (of the end of the seventh century) a punishment is mentioned called *Healsfang*, a word which signifies literally *a catch-neck*, and which is supposed to have been a kind of pillory; although, even at that early period, it seems to have been regularly compensated for a fine. Strutt (vol. i. plate 15) gives a figure, from an Anglo-Saxon MS., representing a man fixed by the middle in a kind of forked post, the two branches of the fork being fastened together over his back; and he considers this to have been the Saxon pillory, and supposes that, while in this posture, the offender was flogged. In the early Byzantine illuminated history of Joshua (mentioned at p. 66 of the present volume) a number of spies are represented as being hanged by the neck in similar forked posts, without any cord: so it is, perhaps, only the earlier form of the gallows—the real *furca*, or *fourche*, as it was called in Latin and French.

The shape of the pillory was extremely varied: sometimes it consisted of a mere pair of stocks, with holes for the head or hands instead of the feet, placed upon an upright post, at an elevation to allow the offender to stand upright. This was the form retained longest in modern times: an example of it is given by Strutt (vol. ii. pl. 1), from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, with two sets of holes for two persons. Douce, in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," gives a cut from Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," in which Robert Ockam, convicted of perjury, is placed in a pillory of this description, with a paper over his head, on which his name is written. Douce has given several examples of pillories of different forms. In one, taken from the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius (published in the first half of the seventeenth century), woman is

confined with her back to a post by a ring, which passes round her neck. In another, taken from the margin of a table of the standards of weights and measures in the time of Henry VII., preserved in the Exchequer and engraved in the "Vetusta Monumenta" of the Society of Antiquaries, a forestaller, or regrator, is placed in a pillory consisting of an upright column, with a slit in the middle, through which the head of the offender protrudes, which seems to bear some resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon pillory engraved by Strutt. Douce gives another pillory, from a manuscript of the French Chronicle of St. Denis, preserved in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 16 G. VI.), of the fourteenth century; it consists of a round hoop or ring, supported by posts, on a circular substructure of stone: the hoop is pierced with holes for heads and hands, and four persons are represented as undergoing the punishment. The same writer has also given an engraving of an ancient pillory formerly standing in the village of Paulmy, in Touraine, consisting of two such hoops, the upper one containing the holes for the heads, and the lower one those for the hands. It is raised, like the former, on a circular substructure, and is covered by a roof terminating in a spire. The accompanying woodcut is copied from an illuminated MS. of Froissart, of the fifteenth century (preserved in the British Museum, MS. Harl. No. 4379), and represents the execution of Aymerigot Mancel, in the fourteenth century. The locality is a market-place in the French capital; and we see there a large and curiously formed pillory, on a rather lofty substructure, covered by a roof, with a spire. The substructure in this pillory was, probably, as in many other instances, a small prison, often called the *cage*. The frame within this pillory appears to revolve on a pivot. Aymerigot Mancel was one of the leaders of bands in the great companies which devastated France during the

English wars in the fourteenth century, and, falling into the hands of his enemies, he was carried to Paris, and condemned as a traitor. We learn from the text of Froissart that "he was first carried in a cart to the pillory in the market-place, and *turned round within it* several times. The different crimes for which he was to receive death were then read aloud, after which his head was cut off." A large pillory of this description appears to have been of frequent occurrence in towns, where it was formerly in constant use, and where it was often necessary to "accommodate" several persons at the same time. In London there was a pillory of this kind on Cornhill, of which we shall have occasion to speak further on in the present article. Douce informs us that, towards the end of the last century, there was still remaining in the Section des Halles, at Paris, an old triangular building of stone, with open Gothic windows, through which appeared an iron circle, with holes for receiving the necks and hands of several persons at the same time. A square building, of a similar character, once stood in the Cornmarket of Dublin, of which we give a representation, copied from a drawing in a manuscript of the beginning of the seventeenth century, preserved in the Herald's Office, Dublin Castle. The old books of accounts, of nearly all our corporate towns, contain items relating to the building or repairing of the pillory. In those of Banbury we have the following scattered entries, under the year 1556, when the cage and pillory belonging to that town appear to have been moved from the spot where they had previously stood, and to have been rebuilt near the town-hall:—

"Item, received of Huge Sly, for olde tymbre of the pyllore, vj^{d}.

"*The charge.*

"Imprimus, for takynge downe of the pellyry, ij^{d}.

Payde to the carpendar for workenge of the pyllrye and att ower hall for vj. dayes and nyghtts, vj^{s} viij^{d}.

Payd to the massones for taykynge downe of the pyllrye and workenge downe of the particcion of ower halle, ij^{s} ij^{d}.

Payd for carynge partt of the cage fro the castell, vj^{d}.

Payd to Northan Jhon for caryge of tymbar of the cage from the castell, vj^{d}.

Payd for v. dayes worke of ij. mencs for to make the kockestoll, viij^{s} iiij^{d}.

Payd to Jhon Awod for makinge of sartun stapulls and hokes for the kockestoll, ij^{s}.

Payd for settynge up of the cagge, to Nycolas Sturgon and Jhon Carpendre, vj^{s} viij^{d}.

Payd to Thomas Yoyke for carryge of the tymbre of the cage to the court hall from the castell, vj^{d}.

Payd for a peace of ashe to Nycolas Sturgon for the kockstoll, vj^{d}.

Payd for makynge the castell walle agayne that was brokon doune in havyng out the cage, iiij^{d}.

Payd for ij. horsse lokes for the cagge dore, and the stokes, xx^{d}."

This would appear as if the cage, pillory, cucking-stool, and stocks, had all the same locality, and were connected with each other; and accordingly, in a later account-book of the same town (for 1593), we have combined in one entry of expenses, "Item, stocks, pillory, cooking-stoole, and tumbrell." *

The punishment by pillory was one of the manorial rights of feudal times, and it appears, with the stocks, to have been one of the instruments for tyrannising over the peasantry or servial class of the population. Similar modes of punishment were formerly practised against the slaves in America and the West Indian islands. In the medieval towns the pillory was used chiefly against dishonest traders. A satirical poet of the reign of Edward II. (in the "Political Songs" published by the Camden Society, p. 345), complaining of the remissness with which justice was then executed against offenders of this kind, exclaims:—

"But bi seint Jame of Galice, that many man hath souht!
The pilory and cucking-stol beth i-made for noht."

It appears from the statutes of the church of Anjou, promulgated in 1423 (quoted in Ducange, v. *instalare*), that blasphemers and irreligious men were at that period placed in the pillory. It was in very common use on the continent, and is frequently mentioned in old documents. From one of these, dated in 1336 (quoted by Ducange in v. *pilorium*), we learn that it was ordered by a council that a pillory should be erected in cemeteries and holy places (*in cœmeteriis et locis sacris*). In 1407, as we learn

* See Beesley's "History of Banbury," pp. 224–226, and p. 248.

from Monstrelet, during the quarrel between the rival popes, Gregory XII. (Angelo Corrario) and Benedict XIII. (della Luna), the latter excommunicated the king of France: — "Master Sausein, and the messenger from Pietro della Luna, who had brought the letter and bull of excommunication to the king, with mitres on their heads and having surcoats emblazoned with the arms of Pietro della Luna reversed, were carried most disgracefully in a dung-cart from the Louvre to the court of the palace; and shortly after, near the marble tables, at the end of the steps, were set on a pillory. They were thus exhibited for a very long time, having labels on their mitres, on which was written, 'Disloyal traitors to the church and king.' They were then carried back in the aforesaid cart to the Louvre." Stow, in his "Survey of London," gives the following quaint account of the pillory on Cornhill: — "By the west side of the foresaid prison, then called the Tun, was a fair well of spring water, curbed round with hard stone; but in the year 1401, the said prison-house, called the Tun, was made a cistern for sweet water, conveyed by pipes of lead from Tiborne, and was from thenceforth called the Conduit upon Cornhill. Then was the well planked over, and a strong prison made of timber, called a cage, with a pair of stocks therein, set upon it; and this was for night-walkers. On the top of which cage was placed a pillory, for the punishment of bakers offending in the assize of bread; for millers stealing of corn at the mill; for bawds, scolds, and other offenders. As in the year 1468, the 7th of Edward IV., divers persons being common jurors, such as at assizes were forsworn for rewards, or favour of parties, were judged to ride from Newgate to the pillory in Cornhill, with mitres of paper on their heads, there to stand, and from thence again to Newgate; and this judgment was given by the mayor of London. In the year 1509, the 1st of Henry VIII., Darby, Smith, and Simson, ringleaders of false inquests in London, rode about the city with their faces to the horse tails, and papers on their heads, and were set on the pillory in Cornhill, and after brought again to Newgate, where they died for very shame, saith Robert Fabian. A ringleader of inquests, as I take it, is he that, making a gainful occupation thereof, will appear on Nisi-priuses, or he be warned, or procure himself to be warned, to come on by a tales. He will also procure himself to be a foreman when he can, and take upon him to overrule the rest to his opinion: such a one shall be laboured by plaintiffs and defendants, not without promise of rewards, and therefore to be suspected of a bad conscience. I would wish a more careful choice of jurors to be had; for I have known a man carted, rung with basons, and banished out of Bishopsgate ward, and afterward in Aldgate ward admitted to be a constable, a grand juryman, and foreman of the wardmote inquest: what I know of the like, or worse men, proffered to the like offices, I forbear to write, but wish to be reformed." "In the year 1546," Stow adds, "Sir Martin

Bowes, mayor, dwelling in Lombard Street, and having his back-gate opening into Cornehill against the said conduit, minded to have enlarged the cistern thereof with a west end, like as Robert Drope before had done towards the east: view and measure of the plot was taken for this work; but the pillory and cage being removed they found the ground planched, and the well aforesaid worn out of memory, which well they revived and restored to use: it is since made a pump. They set the pillory somewhat west from the well, and so this work ceased."

After the accession of the Stuart dynasty to the English throne the pillory was used as a punishment for political offences, more especially for the publication of books and pamphlets that were considered objectionable by the ruling powers. From this period it obtained greater celebrity, and its history is connected with the names of Prynne, and Bastwick, and De Foe, and a host of other names which occupy a place, in one way or other, in the annals of our country. It was now frequently exercised with great cruelty, and was often accompanied by the amputation or mutilation of the ears of the offender, who was sometimes attached by the ear instead of the neck. The satirical writers of the time make frequent allusion to this punishment. Thus, in Hudibras:—

"Each window like a pillory appears,
With heads thrust through, nail'd by the ears."

And again, the same writer speaks of—

"Witches simpling, and on gibbets
Cutting from malefactors snippets,
Or from the pillory tips of ears
Of rebel saints and perjurers."

We have seen a very curious pack of playing cards, apparently of the reign of Charles II., now in the possession of Mrs. Fitch of Ipswich, in which every card has a picture relating to some one of the conspiracies and other events of that period: one of these pictures—on the knave of clubs—represents "Reddin standing in y^{e} Pillory." The pillory, in this picture, is of the common simple form, resembling that of Robert Ockam already described.

When the pillory became notorious as a political punishment, it was looked upon as an instrument of martyrdom, and soon lost most of its terrors. De Foe, as a political partisan who had experienced its effects, published an "Ode to the Pillory" in 1703, which he apostrophises thus:—

"Hail, hieroglyphic state machine!
Contrived to punish fancy in:
Men that are men in thee can feel no pain,
And all thy insignificance disdain."

He describes it as serving political purposes, and punishing party and not crime, and therefore no longer attended with shame:—

" Thou art the state-trap of the law,
But neither canst keep knaves nor honest men in awe;
These are too hardened in offence,
And those upheld by innocence."

He goes on to enumerate some of the men who had suffered unjustly:—

" How have thy *opening vacances* received,
In every age, the criminals of state?
And how has mankind been deceived,
When they distinguish crimes by fate?
Tell us, great engine, how to understand,
Or reconcile the justice of the land;
How Bastwick, Pryn, Hunt, Hollingsby, and Pye,
Men of unspotted honesty —
Men that had learning, wit, and sense,
And more than most men have had since,
Could equal title to thee claim
With Oates and Fuller, men of later fame.
Even the learned Selden saw
A prospect of thee through the law:
He had thy *lofty pinnacles* in view,
But so much honour never was thy due.
Had the great Selden triumph'd on thy stage,
Selden, the honour of his age,
No man could ever shun thee more,
Or grudge to stand where Selden stood before."

The *pinnacles* have been mentioned more than once in our foregoing descriptions of pillories. De Foe adds:—

" Thou art no shame to truth and honesty,
Nor is the character of such defaced by thee,
Who suffer by oppressive injury.
Shame, like the exhalations of the sun,
Falls back where first the motion was begun:
And he who for no crime shall on thy brows appear,
Bears less reproach than they who placed him there."

From those who had suffered, the satirist turns to the classes of offenders who ought to be subjected to this punishment, and he goes on to enumerate the principal vices of his age, averring that—

" Justice is inverted, when
Those engines of the law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe."

Accordingly, we find that the pillory had very little effect in stopping the mouths of the crowd of libellous writers who fed upon the vicious manners and taste of the last century. It was looked upon as little more than a sure means of acquiring notoriety—a public advertisement. Foote alludes, more than once, to the benefits an author or publisher derives from this source; and, in his farce of "The Patron," Puff the publisher advises Dactyl the poet to forsake the Muses and write "a good sousing satire:" to which the cautious author replies, "Yes, and so get cropped for a libel!" The publisher indignantly exclaims, "Cropped! ay, and the luckiest thing that can happen to you! Why, I would not give twopence for an author that is afraid of his ears! Writing, writing is, as I may say, Mr. Dactyl, a sort of warfare, where none can be victor that is the least afraid of a scar. Why, zooks, sir! I never got salt to my porridge till I mounted at the Royal Exchange: that was the making of me. Then my name made a noise in the world. Talk of forked hills and of Helicon! Romantic and fabulous stuff! The true Castalian stream is a shower of eggs, and a pillory the poet's Parnassus."

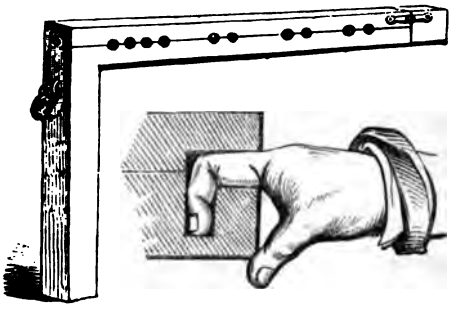
As might be expected in this state of things, in moments of political excitement, the pillory was sometimes a triumph rather than a punishment. We learn from the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1765, that "Mr. Williams, bookseller in Fleet Street, stood on the pillory in New Palace Yard, Westminster, pursuant to his sentence, for republishing the 'North Briton,' No. 45, in volumes. The coach that carried him from the King's Bench prison to the pillory was No. 45. He was received by the acclamations of a prodigious concourse of people. Opposite to the pillory were erected four ladders, with cords running from each other, on which were hung a jack-boot, an axe, and a Scotch bonnet.* The latter, after remaining some time, was burnt, and the top of the boot chopped off. During his standing, also, a purple purse ornamented with ribands of an orange colour was produced by a gentleman, who began a collection in favour of the culprit by putting a guinea into it himself; after which, the purse being carried round, many contributed, to the amount on the whole, as supposed, of about two hundred guineas. Mr. Williams, on getting into the pillory and getting out, was cheered by the spectators: he held a sprig of laurel in his hand all the time."

At a much more recent period, in March 1812, a bookseller of Ave Maria Lane, named Eaton, an aged man, was convicted of having published the third part of Paine's "Age of Reason," a work equally repugnant to morality with the writings of Wilkes, and he was condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment and to be exposed once on the pillory. He stood in the pillory on the 25th of May, and was received with de-

* All these articles bore allusion to Lord Bute, then minister.

monstrations of sympathy and respect, the mob taking off their hats and cheering him, while some individuals offered him wine and refreshments.

In later times, however, the pillory has been chiefly used as a punishment for the crime of perjury. The mutilation of the offender's ears was no longer practised; but another practice, hardly less disagreeable, was persisted in to the last—the throwing of rotten eggs, mud, and other articles, at the offender while in the pillory. When the culprit had rendered himself or herself (for it was not confined to one sex) particularly obnoxious, harder substances, and even stones, were used as missiles by the mob; and the results were often very painful, and in some instances fatal. This circumstance caused so degrading and barbarous a punishment to be gradually laid aside, and it is now many years since it was put in practice, although it was not formally abolished until the year 1837, by the statute of 1 Vict. c. xxiii. It had previously gone out of use in France and in Germany. In the latter country the pillory was called a *pranger;* in France it bore the medieval names of *carcan* and *pillori.*



The annexed cut represents a FINGER PILLORY, still preserved in the church of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire. It is three feet high, and has, as here shewn, holes for holding at once four fingers of the hand, or only two fingers. The diagram underneath shews the manner in which the finger was confined, and it will easily be seen that it could not be withdrawn until the pillory is opened. If the offender were held long in this posture, the punishment must have been extremely painful.

SKETCHES OF ANCIENT STREET ARCHITECTURE.

No monuments of past ages are now disappearing so rapidly before the innovations of modern improvements, as those masses of picturesque buildings which adorned the streets of the medieval towns. How many plain monotonous lines of modern brick-work have, within our own time, usurped the place of the varied outlines of the old timber-houses, with their peaked gables and their elegant carvings! The street architecture of Old England appears never to have equalled in richness that of the continental cities; but some of our country towns still furnish occasional examples which possess no ordinary degree of beauty, which, it is hoped, may be long preserved, and regarded in their true light—as national monuments. The specimens given in the plates which illustrate the present article have been chosen as combining, in some degree, historical associations with architectural features. They will give us an opportunity of saying a few words about the localities to which they belong.

Few towns are more interesting to the antiquary than IPSWICH. Situated in an advantageous position for carrying on the trade with Flanders, it became from an early period a rich mercantile emporium; and some of the most profitable manufactures of the continent were brought to it, at a subsequent period, by the Protestants who fled from the bitter religious persecution with which they were visited at home. From its intercourse with the Low Countries, where a considerable degree of freedom of religious and political opinion had prevailed during the middle ages, Ipswich, with some of the other towns on the same coast, was in advance of other parts of the island in these matters; and it was distinguished at the time of the reformation for the zeal of the townsmen in the cause of protestantism, several of whom suffered martyrdom in the reign of queen Mary. Commerce and manufactures are the certain sources of riches; and Ipswich once contained many fine mansions of its wealthy inhabitants, of which there are still some remains. The two most remarkable buildings of this description now existing are known by the names of *Mr. Sparrowe's House* and *The Tankard.* The former is a remarkably fine specimen of early Elizabethan architecture.

The subject at the foot of our first plate of Street Architecture is a view of the southern end of St. Lawrence's Lane in Ipswich, with the corner of Mr. Sparrowe's

SAFFRON WALDEN. ESSEX

ANCIENT HOUSE IN CHURCH STREET

IPSWICH. SUFFOLK

House opposite. The lane in the foreground is formed of old timber-houses, and has on the left-hand side the church of St. Lawrence, an uninteresting building of the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Within this church is the vault of the Sparrowe family, which is entitled, in a brief but singularly quaint inscription over the entrance, NIDUS PASSERUM—*a nest of sparrows!* This family has been in possession of the old house of which we are speaking during many generations, it being at present occupied by John Eddowes Sparrowe, Esq., town-clerk of the borough. The *Sparrowes* bought it of G. Copping in 1573.

Mr. Sparrowe's House stands in the Butter Market. From a document mentioned by Mr. Wodderspoon,* and from the initials G. C. which occur in the interior, with the date 1567, it appears that this house was built in that year by George Copping, who is mentioned in the document as occupying it in 1570. According to a tradition in the family, but which is corroborated by no historical evidence, this house afforded a shelter to Charles the Second in his wanderings after the disastrous battle of Worcester, before he made his escape to the continent. The story has, perhaps, originated in the circumstance that portraits of Charles and of one of those individuals who aided in his escape (Mrs. Lane of Staffordshire) have been preserved in the family; but it was believed to have been confirmed in the year 1801 by the accidental discovery of a secret chamber, which was immediately fixed upon as the place of the monarch's concealment. This room is supposed to have been part of a chapel belonging to an older building, which was closed up in Elizabeth's reign. It was brought to light by the falling away of a part of the plaster of the partition, and, when first discovered, "the floor was strewed with wooden angels and such figures as usually serve to decorate a catholic oratory." Within this chamber are the arched timbers of a slightly ornamented roof.

The appearance of the external front of the house, extending in breadth about seventy feet, is very striking, from the profusion of ornamental carving with which it is covered. The windows of the basement story are separated by carved pilasters and panels, and crowned with strings of pendent fruit. The second story has four bay-windows in front, and one at the end looking into St. Stephen's Lane, which is seen opposite St. Lawrence's Lane. Under the front windows are carved panels, representing respectively emblematical figures of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, accompanied with their several attributes; which have been supposed to intimate that the trade of Ipswich was carried through the four quarters of the globe. The spaces between these windows are covered with sculpture, representing animals, fruit, and flowers,

* In a carefully compiled "Guide to Ipswich," published in 1842, and in his "Historic Sites of Suffolk." A cut of the front of Mr. Sparrowe's House is given in the former work.

with wreaths of roses and various other devices. Among the ornaments on the corresponding part of the house looking towards St. Stephen's Lane, is a representation of Atlas supporting the globe; and below this a group, supposed to represent the first Eclogue of Virgil—a shepherd, surrounded by his flock, sitting under a spreading tree (the *patula fagus* of the poet); while another shepherd, leading a flock of sheep, approaches him, with his hat in one hand and his crook in the other. It is suggested that this pastoral scene was designed in part as an emblem of the extensive wool trade then carried on in Ipswich. The whole extent of the front and end of the house is crowned by a very wide projecting platform, above which rise from the roof four attic windows, corresponding with the windows below, with sculptured figures of cupids in different attitudes under their gables. Extensive gardens and other premises were formerly attached to the back of the house.

The rooms in the interior of Mr. Sparrowe's House are no less richly ornamented than the exterior walls. On the first floor a fine room, forty-six feet long by twenty-one feet wide, extends over the whole front part of the building, and is lighted by the five bay-windows already mentioned. The ceiling is traversed by heavy beams of oak, and divided into compartments ornamented with wreaths of fruit, the corners containing shields bearing the crests of the family. The dining-room is panelled with dark oak, beautifully carved. The fireplace is ornamented with wreaths of vine and fruits, with the arms and crest of the Sparrowe family in the centre, and on each side fanciful designs in wood of a lighter colour than the panels on which they are placed. The beams of the ceiling, as well as the wainscot and door, are richly carved. This room measures twenty-two feet by twenty-one. A bed-chamber on the first floor also exhibits some good specimens of carving, the ceiling being ornamented with fleurs-de-lys and the family badges of the Sparrowes. Several old portraits of members of the Sparrowe family and others are contained in this house, most of them connected with traditions preserved in the family. Among them are original portraits of James I., of his favourite Villiers duke of Buckingham, of queen Henrietta Maria, and of Charles II.

The Tankard, to which we have alluded above, and which was for some time occupied as a public-house, is chiefly remarkable for a fine wainscotted room on the ground-floor. This house was the residence of Sir Anthony Wingfield in the reign of Henry VIII., whose arms are still visible among the ornaments of the ceiling of the room alluded to, which is twenty-seven feet long, sixteen feet nine inches wide, and nine feet five inches high. The ceiling, intersected in its length by one large beam and in its breadth by two smaller transverse ones, is divided into ninety-six panels, each panel bordered with a band, and alternately emblazoned with a coat of arms, or occupied by a carved pendent, projecting six inches from the ceiling, and

terminating in a point tipped with a leaf or rose. The oak wainscot of the walls is beautifully carved in festoons of flowers and various devices, formerly gilt, but now painted blue and white. Over the fireplace is a remarkable carved bas-relief, which, like the other ornaments of this apartment, has suffered much from mutilation. The old tradition of the place made this, very absurdly, to be a representation of the battle of Bosworth Field; but it has been supposed, with more probability, to represent the judgment of Paris, carved by some workman who was acquainted with the outline of the story, but who was not sufficiently well informed to avoid some singular anachronisms in costume, &c. This explanation is certainly more in bearing with the taste for classical subjects which prevailed in the sixteenth century.*

Many other houses in Ipswich contain, externally or internally, fragments of carving of considerable antiquity and interest; and there are a number of curious ornamental corner-posts. On one of these is seen the effigy of queen Elizabeth, with a figure equipped as Mars, and a cupid. On an inn called the Half-Moon appears a somewhat grotesque carving of the old fable of the fox preaching to the geese, one of the never-failing shafts of satire against the monks and the medieval clergy. The town is full of remains of Tudor and Elizabethan architecture.

The range of buildings represented in the first sketch on the same plate may be reckoned among the most interesting remains of the old street architecture of Saffron Walden in Essex, and appear to be of the end of the reign of James I. or beginning of that of his successor, Charles. Saffron Walden was formerly a town of much more importance than at present; it received its name from, and owed its prosperity to, the cultivation of saffron—a plant used extensively as a medicinal ingredient in the olden time, when it was believed to possess very great healing virtues. A few years ago this town was full of interesting old timber-houses, but many of them have disappeared, and others are gradually disappearing, to make way for a more convenient style of building. But while the houses are improving in internal comforts, the picturesque character of the streets is entirely destroyed. Over one of the chamber-windows of the house represented in our plate is the date 1625, with the letters I. W. These initials are found on other houses in the town known to have belonged to a family of the name of Wale, once of great respectability in Saffron Walden, but now extinct. On one of the gables, as shewn in the plate, appears the date 1676; when, probably, the house underwent extensive repairs. It appears to have been used as a public-house from a period very near approaching to that in which it was built, and as early as 1646 it was

* An engraving, somewhat rudely executed, of this carving, is given in the sixty-sixth volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine," drawn, apparently, when it was less mutilated than at present. A view of the interior of the apartment is given in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1831.

the principal inn in the town, and known by the same name which it bears at present —*The Sun*. In that year Oliver Cromwell, who was occupied in this district, made it his head-quarters. The external character of this house differs considerably from the older Elizabethan buildings. The ornaments are no longer carved in wood, but they are moulded in plaster-work: they are more grotesque than elegant. It is impossible, at the present day, to say what the builder intended to represent by the two armed figures over the gateway leading into the stable-yard; but they are of rather gigantic proportions, and the popular tradition of the place has designated them by the titles of Gog and Magog.

The first subject on our second plate of Street Architecture is taken from the ancient city of NORWICH. It represents a picturesque group of buildings, apparently of the seventeenth century, known by the name of Rosemary Lane, and opening towards the church of St. Mary. This church is remarkable as possessing one of the curious round towers which have been described in a former article in the present volume.

Our last sketch of Street Architecture is taken from a district of the metropolis which has been long known to fame by the name of SPITALFIELDS, and presents a style, not unpicturesque in some instances, which is peculiar to this locality. Spitalfields owes its population, in a great measure, to the horrible persecutions of the Protestants in France at the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In early times this district appears to have been one of the burial-places of Roman London, if we may judge from the extensive discoveries of Roman sepulchral deposits, discovered there in the time of the historian Stow.* At the end of the twelfth century, a small priory and hospital was founded near the spot now occupied by Spital Square. In the churchyard of this priory (the present Square) was subsequently erected a pulpit cross, in which the famous Spital Sermons were originally preached. In 1534 the priory was dissolved, and the site was given to a gentleman of the name of Vaughan. The sermons, however, continued to be preached in the pulpit; a house was built for the

* "On the east side of this churchyard," says Stow, "lieth a large field, of old time called Lolesworth, now Spittle field, which about the year 1576 was broken up for clay to make brick; in the digging whereof many earthen pots, called *urnæ*, were found full of ashes and burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romans that inhabited here: for it was the custom of the Romans to burn their dead, to put their ashes in an urn, and then bury the same, with certain ceremonies, in some field appointed for that purpose near unto their city. Every of these pots had in them, with the ashes of the dead, one piece of copper money, with the inscription of the emperor then reigning: some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Anthoninus Pius, of Trajanus, and others. Besides those urns, many other pots were there found, made of a white earth, with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs: these were empty, but seemed to be buried full of some liquid matter long since consumed and soaked through; for there were found divers phials and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, such as I have not seen the like, and some of crystal; all which had

Drawn & Engraved by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.

ROSEMARY LANE, NORWICH.

WHITE'S ROW, SPITALFIELDS, LONDON.

London, Published by Chapman & Hall, 186, Strand, May 1845.

accommodation of the city authorities who came as auditors, and other houses were gradually erected around the spot. The pulpit was subsequently destroyed in the time of the civil wars; and the sermons were preached at St. Bride's church from the restoration to the year 1797, and since that time at Christ Church in Newgate Street. Even in Stow's time, and long after, the whole of the ground to the east, which was properly called Spital Fields, and which originally bore the name of Lolesworth Fields, was literally open ground covered with grass; part of it was granted by Henry VIII. on a lease to the Artillery Company, and was known as the "Old Artillery Ground" as late as the time of Charles II. It would appear that, at the end of the sixteenth century, the buildings which occupied the site of the Spital were places of no very good report. The satirist Nashe, in his tract entitled "Have with you to Saffron Walden," published in 1596, says, "The third brother (John) had almost as ill a name as the Spittle in Shorditch." Some remains of the old priory appear to have been standing so late as the beginning of the last century.

It would appear that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the district of Spitalfields was the residence of astrologers and fortune-tellers, and that fairs were held there. A satirical tract against the almanack-makers was published in 1652, under the title of "A Faire in Spittle Fields, where all the Knick-knacks of Astrology are exposed to open sale." It appears, also, by the map of London at the time of the great fire of 1666, that the field properly so called was then nearly surrounded by a boundary of houses. Shortly after this latter period the French Protestants began to fly from the persecutions which threatened them in their own country, and a large portion of them being weavers, they brought that manufacture into England, and established themselves in great numbers in the Spital field. In 1687, two years after the breaking out of the great persecution consequent on the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, there are said to have been between thirteen and fourteen thousand of the refugees in London alone. Strype, in his additions to Stow, says:—"Spittlefields and parts adjacent, of later times, became a great harbour for poor Protestant strangers, Walloons

water in them, nothing differing in clearness, taste, or savour from common spring water, whatsoever it was at the first. Some of these glasses had oil in them, very thick and earthy in savour; some were supposed to have balm in them, but had lost the virtue. Many of these pots and glasses were broken in cutting of the clay, so that few were taken up whole. There were also found divers dishes and cups of a fine red-coloured earth, which shewed outwardly such a shining smoothness as if they had been of coral; those had in the bottoms Roman letters printed: there were also lamps of white earth and red, artificially wrought with divers antiques upon them, some three or four images made of white earth, about a span long each of them: one, I remember, was of Pallas; the rest I have forgotten. I myself have reserved, among divers of those antiquities there, one urn, with the ashes and bones, and one pot of white earth very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint, made in shape of a hare squatted upon her legs, and between her ears is the mouth of the pot. There hath also been found in the same field divers coffins of stone," &c.

and French; who, as in former days, so of late, have been found to become exiles from their own country for their religion, and for the avoiding cruel persecution. Here they have found quiet and security, and settled themselves in their several trades and occupations—weavers especially; whereby God's blessing is surely not only brought upon the parish, by receiving poor strangers, but also a great advantage hath accrued to the whole nation, by the rich manufacture of weaving silks, stuffs, and camlets, which art they brought along with them." A considerable portion of the present population is descended from the French emigrant families.

Our sketch represents what must have been some of the original buildings which received the first Protestant refugees: they form the northern end of a street called White's Row. The houses on the right-hand side form one side of a square mass of buildings lying between White's Row and another small street, called Dorset Street. One house in Dorset Street bears the date 1675, which was probably the year when the whole pile of buildings was erected. They are of bricks and wood, and differ from those of the other streets in having fewer of the broad lines of windows in the upper stories, which serve to throw light on the work of the weavers. A considerable body of Jews is now intermixed with the population of this neighbourhood, and the small and crowded streets have little to invite the visitor, except their historical associations and the important branch of national industry which has so long flourished there.

F.W.Fairholt,F.S.A.

ANCIENT PATINE

CLIFF CHURCH, KENT

PATINE

IN CLIFF CHURCH, KENT.

The fine old church of Cliff, at a short distance from Rochester, stands in a bold situation on the brow of the chalk cliffs which overlook the extensive marshes known as the Cliff Marshes, and commands a view of the wide estuary of the Thames. The parish formerly belonged to the priory of Canterbury, and it was on that account named Bishop's Cliff or Clive. It is situated in the hundred of Hoo, and is sometimes called Cliff at Hoo. Many antiquaries have supposed it to be the place called by the Anglo-Saxons Clofesho, or Cleofesho, at which so many councils were held in the earlier ages of the Anglo-Saxon church.

The church of Cliff is a massive building, in the form of a cross; its windows were formerly adorned with a profusion of stained glass, much of which has now disappeared; but there are still many interesting remains in the windows of the chancel. On one of the walls are some fragments of a painting representing the Day of Judgment. There are several old monuments in the church, among which is an early coffin-shaped slab, with the inscription,—

"Jone la femme Johan Ram gyst pd
Deu de sa alme eit merci." ✠

There remain also six wooden stalls, which were formerly appropriated to monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who visited or resided at their manor of Cliff.

The elegant *patine* represented in our engraving is preserved with the communion plate. It is six inches in diameter, of silver gilt, with the following inscription round the margin, in characters apparently of the latter part of the fourteenth century, or possibly of the fifteenth:—

"Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum spiritu sancto."

In the centre a medallion, in blue and green enamel, represents the Father seated

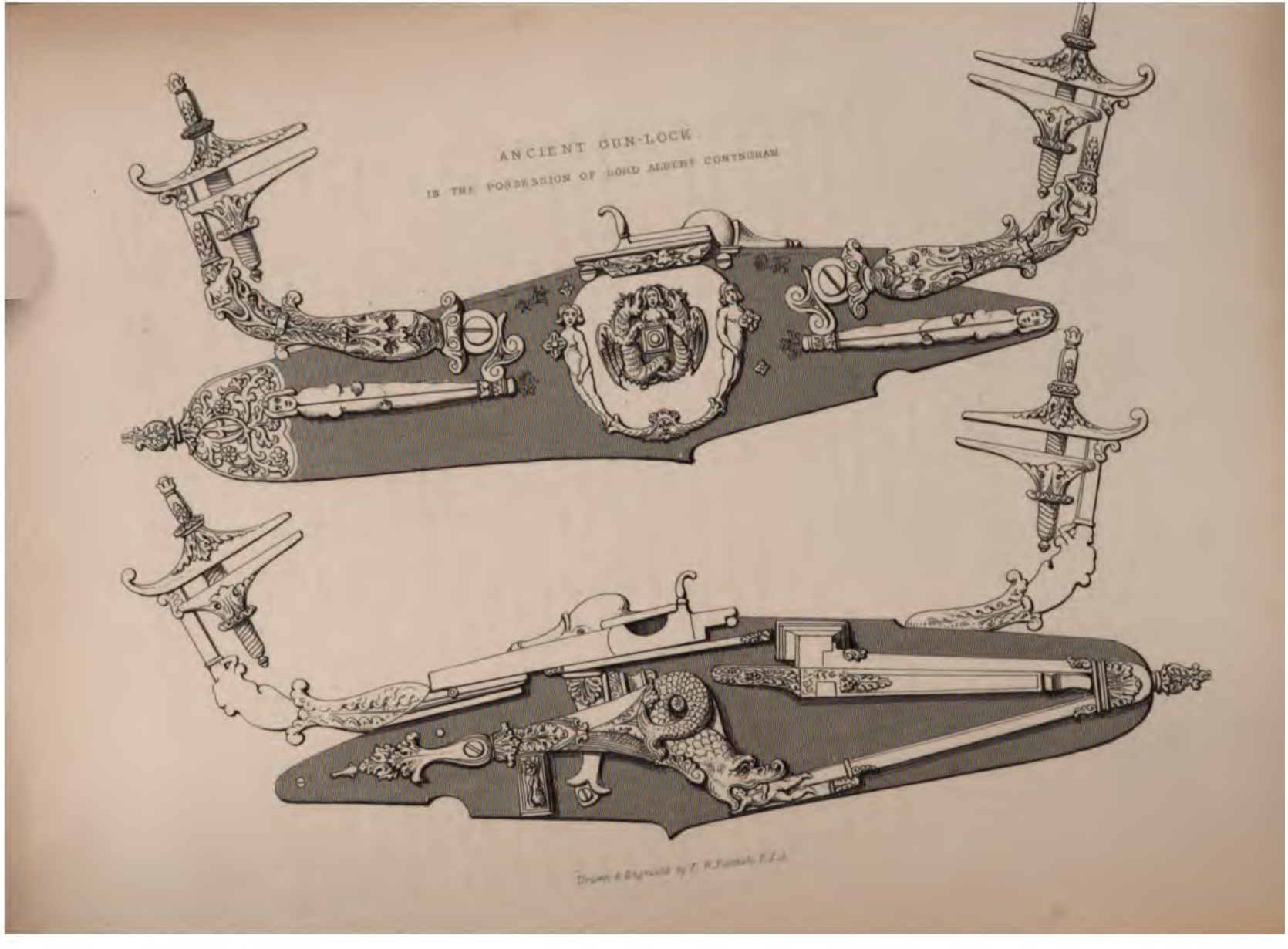
on a throne, with his arms extended, and supporting a cross on which is affixed the Son. This patine has, in recent times, been used for collecting money at the offering, or at the church-door; by which the enamel has been destroyed, leaving only enough to indicate the colour and material of which it was composed.

Most of our readers will remember the beautiful passage in Shakespeare:—

> "How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!
> Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music
> Creep in our ears; soft stillness and the night
> Become the touches of sweet harmony.
> Sit, Jessica: look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with *patines of bright gold;*
> There's not the smallest orb, which thou behold'st,
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins:
> Such harmony is in immortal souls."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, act v. sc. 1.

The patine and the chalice were the two vessels used in Roman Catholic times to administer the consecrated bread and wine in the holy sacrament, and were always of gold or of silver gilt, which explains the poet's simile. They were often richly ornamented. In the "Provinciale" of Lyndwood, a compendium of the Canons and Constitutions of the Romish Church in England, it is particularly ordered that the eucharist shall not be consecrated in any other metal except gold or silver; and it is interdicted to any bishop to *consecrate tin.**

* "Precipimus ne consecretur eukaristia nisi calice de auro vel argento; et ne stanneum calicem aliquis episcopus ammodo benedicat interdicimus."—LYNDWOOD, "Provinciale," lib. iii. tit. 23, *De celebratione missarum*. The patine is, of course, included as belonging to the chalice.


ANCIENT GUN-LOCK
IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD ALBERT CONYNGHAM

ON THE EARLY USE OF FIRE-ARMS.

By the kindness of Lord Albert Conyngham we are enabled to give an engraving of an early and beautifully ornamented gun-lock, recently purchased by his lordship at Warwick. It is of the kind called wheel-locks, and was placed temporarily in a socket or groove, in the stock of the gun, at the moment of firing. There can be little doubt that it is of Italian workmanship; and the device of the dragon swallowing a child, which is repeated in different parts of the ornaments, seems to prove that it was made for some member of the Italian family of Visconti, of whom this was the badge. The same device is found on the monument of Bernabo Visconti at Milan, engraved in the eighteenth volume of the "Archæologia."

The history of the introduction of fire-arms into Europe is a subject by no means devoid of interest; and, at the same time, one which has been thrown into great confusion by some writers who have blindly followed old prejudices, and by others who have argued upon passages of writers who were not strictly contemporary with the events they relate. Historians like Froissart, describing events which happened some years previously, were (in that age particularly) too apt to apply to them the manners and usages of the time in which they were writing. A very learned and careful French antiquary, M. Lacabane, has recently collected together some most important *contemporary* documents relating to the early use of gunpowder in France,* of which we shall make free use in the following observations.

There can be no doubt that the use of gunpowder in Europe was derived from the Arabs, but it is not so easy to determine the exact source from whence they borrowed the invention. Even among the Arabs it appears to have been long used as an explosive agent, before its projectile force was understood. Recent researches seem to leave little room for doubt that the celebrated Greek fire was a composition closely resembling, if not identical with, gunpowder. M. Reinaud has discovered, among the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Paris, a treatise in Arabic, written at the end of

* In an essay published in a recent number of that very interesting and valuable antiquarian periodical, the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes," the publication of which has now been successfully continued through several years: it is supported by the literary contributions of some of the best antiquaries in France.

the thirteenth century, containing receipts for making gunpowder of different degrees of force; which, as M. Lacabane observes, shews that the art was then far from being in its infancy among that people. Three of these receipts are,—1, Saltpetre, 10 drachms; sulphur, 1 drachm; charcoal, 2 drachms:—2, Saltpetre, 10 drachms; sulphur, 1¼ drachm; charcoal, 2½ drachms:—3, Saltpetre, 10 drachms; sulphur, 1½ drachm; charcoal, 2¼ drachms. We learn from Condé ("History of the Arabs in Spain"), that in 1252 the Moors, besieged in Niebla, "defended themselves by throwing at the besiegers stones and darts with machines, and throwing of thunder with fire." This, perhaps, means only explosive masses, like bombs, thrown with the balista, or some similar warlike machine.

It seems clear, from the allusions in the writings of our countryman, Roger Bacon, that some of the effects of gunpowder were well known in Europe in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the "Opus Majus" of that writer, written between 1165 and 1168, he mentions crackers made of gunpowder, "about the size of one's thumb," as being "in many parts of the world" used as playthings for children.* It appears from another passage that Bacon was perfectly well acquainted with the composition of the powder which produced these effects, but it seems to have been considered as a secret to be communicated to the initiated alone, for in the only place where it is described he has concealed his meaning under an anagram; from which, however, it appears that two of the ingredients were saltpetre and sulphur.†

The application of powder as a projectile force seems to have originated in Italy. A document in the archives of Florence, dated the 11th of February, 1326, speaks of the nomination of two officers to oversee the making of iron balls and cannons of metal (*pilas seu palottas ferreas et canones de mettallo*), for the defence of that city and of the towns and fortresses dependent upon it. From this time cannons are mentioned, not unfrequently, by the Italian historians. At the siege of Cividale, in 1331, the enemy made use of instruments named by the historian *vasi*, which appear to have been the same bomb-shaped vessels that were afterwards called by the French writers *pots de fer* —iron pots, and from which were shot arrows and other missiles. The first mention of fire-arms in France occurs in the year 1338, on the breaking out of the war between that country and England. On the 2d of July in that year, Guillaume du Moulin of

* The passage alluded to is so curious that it deserves to be given in a note:—"Et experimentum hujus rei capimus ex *hoc ludicro puerili*, quod fit *in multis mundi partibus*, scilicet ut instrumento facto ad quantitatem pollicis humani ex violentia illius salis, qui sal petræ vocatur, tam horribilis sonus nascitur in ruptura tam modicæ rei, scilicet modici pergameni, quod fortis tonitrui sentiatur excedere rugitum et coruscationem maximam sui luminis jubar excedit."—*Opus Majus*, ed. Jebb, p. 474.

† "Sed tamen salis petræ *luru vopo vir can ulriet* sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artificium."—Bacon, *Epistola de secretis operibus Artis et Naturæ*, cap. xi.

Boulogne gives a receipt for munitions drawn from the arsenal of Boulogne; among which are "an iron pot to throw fire-darts, forty-eight darts in two cases, a pound of saltpetre and half-a-pound of sulphur, to make powder to fire off the said darts." These materials were probably used in the attack upon Southampton, which was plundered and burnt by the French fleet.

It appears, at first view, somewhat singular that in this document no mention is made of charcoal among the ingredients for the powder; which is the case, also, in some other similar records: but M. Lacabane has very fairly explained the omission by supposing that the charcoal was a thing always ready at hand, and not necessarily bought for the occasion or sought from a distance. The charcoal was always an essential article in the composition. The following is an English receipt for making gunpowder, taken from a manuscript of the fifteenth century:—"Take the poudre of ij. unces of salpetre, and half an unce of brymston, and half an unce of lynde-cole [*charcoal of the linden-tree*], and temper togidur in a mortar with rede vynegre, and make it thyk as past til the tyme that ye se neyther salpetre ne brymstone, and drye it on the ffyre in an erthe pan with soft ffyre; and when it is wele dryed grynde it in a morter til it be smalle poudre, and than sarse it throow a sarse. And if ye wil have fyne colofre poudre, sethe [*boil*] fyrst your salpetre, and fyne it well, and do as it is said afore."

We next find, from a document cited by Ducange, that cannons were used in the siege of Puy-Guillem in Périgord, in the spring of 1339. At the end of September, 1339, Edward III., who had landed in Flanders, began the siege of Cambray, which he was eventually compelled to relinquish. Among the documents relating to this event preserved in the French archives, are two receipts for munitions of war for the defence of the city, the first of which relates to "ten cannons, five of iron and five of metal," which had cost "25 livres, 2 sols, and 7 deniers," in money of Tours: the other relates to saltpetre and sulphur to make powder. A French scholar has compared the price of these cannons with the value of iron at the same period, and has arrived at the conclusion that the weight of each cannon was only about forty-six pounds; so that they must have been of very small dimensions. M. Lacabane gives several other documents relating to the use of cannon between this date and 1346, the year of the battle of Crecy, which shew that they had then been generally adopted as instruments of war. It appears, however, that for a long time after the invention of cannon they were used chiefly to throw fire-darts and combustibles of different kinds, and that, at the date last mentioned, cannon-balls had not been long known.

Hitherto cannon had only been used in sieges of towns; the English have the

credit of having first used them as field-pieces in a battle: to which circumstance they are said to have been indebted, in a great measure, for the victory at Crecy. The English army had on this occasion three cannons, which, as we learn from an Italian historian of the time (Villani), were loaded with iron balls (*pallottole di ferro*).

About this period ingenious men appear to have been occupied, in different parts of Europe, in attempts to perfect or improve the construction of cannons. The early registers of the city of Tournay furnish a curious anecdote. In the month of September, 1346, a manufacturer of metal pots in that city, named Pierre de Bruges, had contrived a sort of engine called a 'conoille,' (cannon?) "to shoot into a good town when it should be besieged;" and the consul of the city ordered him to make one, promising that if it answered their expectations he should be employed to make several others. Pierre de Bruges made the 'conoille,' and, for the satisfaction of the municipal authorities, it was carried out of the city to be tried. Pierre loaded his machine, placed in it a dart, with a piece of lead weighing about two pounds at the end, and took aim at a postern in a part of the city wall. The 'engine' went off with a "cruel" and great noise, but the maker appears to have so far underrated its strength that, instead of striking the wall, it went right over it and traversed a large portion of the city, and in the place before the monastery of St. Brice it struck a fuller named Jakemon de Raisse on the head, and killed him on the spot. When the inventor of the 'conoille' heard this, he took refuge in a sanctuary. The magistrates of the city, however, assembled, and, after long deliberation, came to a determination that,—considering the machine had been made and tried by their orders,—that Pierre de Bruges, the maker, had aimed at a wall and not at a man,—and, as it was proved, that he had no personal enmity to Jakemon de Raisse,—he should be entirely acquitted of the death of the said Jakemon, which could only be considered as purely accidental.

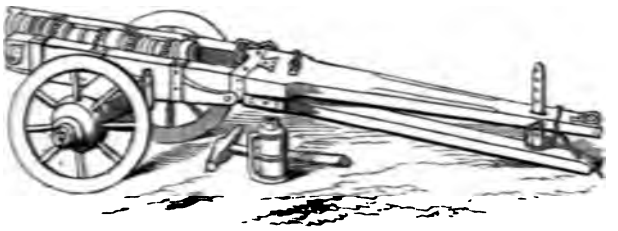
A great improvement in artillery appears to have been made in Germany, about the middle of the fourteenth century. M. Lacabane has given an extract from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris (written in the sixteenth century, but the truth of which is supported by various collateral circumstances), which states that "on the 17th of May, 1354, our lord the king being informed of the invention for making artillery discovered in Germany by a monk, named Berthold Schwartz, ordered the generals of the mints to make diligent inquiry what quantities of copper were in the said realm of France, as well to advise of the means to making the said invention of artillery as to hinder the same from being sold to strangers and carried out of the realm." This Berthold Schwartz, who has been represented as holding communication with the evil one, long enjoyed the reputation, totally unmerited, of having been the inventor of gunpowder; but, that notion having been easily exploded, people

began to look upon him as a fabulous personage, when this document was brought to light to bear testimony to his existence. M. Lacabane conjectures, and we think with great probability, that Schwartz's invention was the casting of large cannons, which had been previously made with bars of iron held together with strong hoops. It is evident that the new cannons were to be made of brass. The opinion of M. Lacabane is corroborated by the fact, that after this period we have continual mention of these great cannons, and of the importance which was attached to them. In 1359, as we learn from one of the documents he has published, two great cannons (*deux grand canons*), "furnished with powder and charcoal and leaden balls" (*plommées*), were carried from Paris to Melun. In 1373, the fortress of the bridge of Charenton had two great cannons (*gros canons*) for its defence. At the siege of Saint-Sauveur le Vicomte in 1374 and 1375, the *gros canons de Paris* were again in use, for the use of which two hundred pounds of powder were bought, and a *canonnier*, named Gerard de Figeac, was directed to cause to be made "certain great cannons for throwing stones." The same man is afterwards entitled *canonnier et gouverneur du grant canon qui fut fait à Saint-Lô pour le fait de Saint-Sauveur*, and was paid the same high wages as a man-at-arms. In England these large cannons also occur under the name of *great guns:* the 'grete gonne' of the city of Canterbury is mentioned in 1477. It is hardly necessary to observe that the balls for these great guns were sometimes made of iron, but more frequently of stone. Great quantities of stone balls were made in some of the quarries in Kent.

In the latter years of the fourteenth century the use of cannon had become so general, that it is unnecessary to point out particular instances. They seldom, however, make their appearance in illuminated manuscripts till the fifteenth century, when we have many interesting pictures, representing not only the forms of the guns but also the manner of mounting and using them. Our two first cuts are taken from an illuminated historical manuscript of the end of the reign of Edward IV., preserved in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 14 E. IV.). All these cannons appear to be strengthened with hoops. The smaller cannon in the first cut is very curiously mounted in a frame, contrived so that the mouth

of the gun might be raised or lowered as the occasion required. The two cannons in the second cut appear to be of much larger dimensions, and one of them is mounted in a rude wheel-carriage.

The loading and firing of these guns was a very simple process, the priming being placed on a small hole pierced through the breech of the cannon, and, as it appears, ignited by the application of a red-hot wire or lighted match. A new method of loading was, however, invented, by making the portion of the cannon which received the charge movable; giving to the cannon some resemblance to a modern rifle. The movable part of the gun was called the *chamber*, and, when charged, was fixed to the end of the barrel, which served only to give a direction to the shot. Some of these guns with chambers are to be seen in different museums of ancient artillery. The accompanying cut, taken from an engraving by Israel van Mechlin, executed in the latter part of the fifteenth century, represents a cannon of this description, mounted on a carriage much superior to any of those represented in the illuminations: the chamber is lying on the ground, beside the hammer used for fixing it in its place.



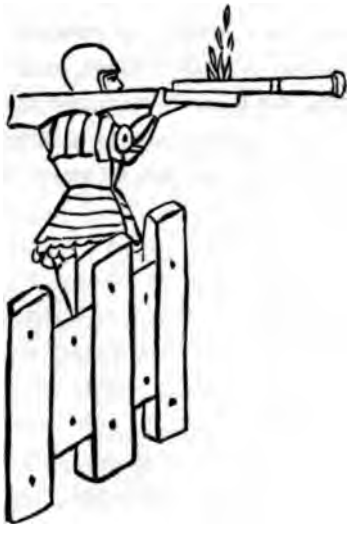
We have seen that many of the cannons in use in earlier times were of very small dimensions: they were, in fact, sometimes so small, that the cannonier held his gun in his hand, or supported it on his shoulder, while firing it. The inhabitants of Lucca are generally supposed to have first made use of what were called hand-cannons (or, rather, as they would be called in England, hand-guns), near the beginning of the fifteenth century. They are at first rarely mentioned by contemporary writers, but they must have been quickly adopted in other parts of Europe, and they certainly were common in England before the middle of the century.* In a roll of expenses of the

* A learned paper on the subject of hand fire-arms, by Sir Samuel R. Meyrick, will be found in the "Archæologia," vol. xxii. All the different kinds of guns used from their first invention, down to modern times, are there minutely described.

castle of Holy Island, in the county of Durham, for the year 1446, the following items occur:—

"Bought ij. hand-gunnes de ere . . . . . iiij^{s}
Item, gonepowder . . . . . iiij^{s}."

The material of these hand-guns appears to be brass; and the price, two shillings each, would seem to indicate, notwithstanding the difference in the value of money, that they were of very small dimensions. We give a cut, from a manuscript of the reign of Edward IV. (MS. Reg. 15 E. IV.), representing a soldier discharging one of these hand-guns, which he holds with one hand on his shoulder, while with his right hand he applies the match to the touch-hole. For the better convenience of holding it (for after a few discharges the metal would become too hot) the gun was afterwards attached to a wooden stock, and took the rude form of a modern musket. In a treatise on warlike inventions, entitled *De re militari*, by an Italian named R. Valturius, the *editio princeps* of which was printed at Verona in 1472, we find a number of bold woodcuts of military engines. A description of this work will be found in Mr. Chatto's "History of Wood-engraving."



One large cut in this work represents soldiers firing from a kind of floating battery, with hand-guns fitted on stocks. The woodcut in our margin is a fac-simile of one of these figures.

It does not appear distinctly in this latter cut by what means the soldier fires the priming; but the application of the match by the hand must have been found extremely embarrassing, and this soon led to the addition of a contrivance for applying the match to the touch-hole by moving a trigger. By this device, instead of having only one hand to hold the gun, the soldier had more power over his gun by holding it in both. This addition to the gun, which was the origin of the match-lock, we also owe to the Italians. The gun-lock was carried rapidly through a succession of improvements, but it is not our intention to describe the different forms of guns used in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries. An attempt was soon made to dispense with the match; and sparks were communicated to

the priming by the friction of a furrowed wheel of steel against a piece of sulphuret of iron, fixed in the same way as the flint in modern guns. The wheel was moved by a spring, and was wound up with a chain like a watch to prepare it for use. This was, of course, rather a tedious process. The wheel-lock was invented in Italy early in the sixteenth century. Sometimes the single lock had two cocks, each of which was placed at the same time against the wheel; and it was often richly ornamented, as in the beautiful specimen we have engraved from the collection of Lord Albert Conyngham. It was not fixed on the gun, but was fitted in a groove when ready for firing. From old inventories of the goods and chattels of great people in the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., some of which are quoted by Sir Samuel R. Meyrick in his paper on guns in the "Archæologia," it would appear that the wheel-lock, when not in use, was generally carried in a velvet bag.

Before we leave the subject, it may be stated that the work of Valturius above mentioned contains, among other destructive engines, a figure of a bomb-shell, of which we give a fac-simile in the margin. It is not generally supposed that shells are of this antiquity: however, they seem a very natural improvement upon some of the older projectiles. It appears certain that some kind of explosive balls and other inflammable articles were thrown into besieged towns by the military engines long before the invention of cannon, and that for a long time these, with darts, were almost the only missiles thrown from the cannons. These, as we have already stated, were afterwards displaced by cannon-balls made of stone, iron, and lead, and not unfrequently of a large stone enveloped in an outer coating of iron or lead, to make it heavier.

Bronzes from Roman London.

THE ROMANS IN LONDON.

The busy citizen as he paces the streets of London absorbed in his speculations of the day, or the stranger who wanders about in admiration of the wonders of the modern Babylon, little thinks that a few yards beneath his feet lie the floors and streets of far distant ages, in the same position as when they were trodden by Roman footsteps. From ten to thirty feet of heavy mould appears here to represent the period of darkness which separated antiquity from modern civilisation. The necessity of making a sewer, or sinking a deep foundation, has from time to time given us an accidental glimpse of the remains of this city of the past; but, too often, the ignorance and prejudice of those to whom such operations have been intrusted have robbed the world of the knowledge which might have been gleaned from them. It is only within a few years that public attention has been called to the subject, since which several zealous antiquaries have partially watched the public works of the city, and formed rich and interesting museums of the Roman remains which have been exhumed. Among these stands pre-eminent the name of Mr. Charles Roach Smith, to whom we may justly apply the well-earned title, *par excellence*, of the Discoverer of Roman London. To Mr. Smith's rich cabinet, and to his valuable papers in the "Archæologia,"

with a few contributions from the collection of Mr. William Chaffers, we are chiefly indebted for the materials employed in the following necessarily slight attempt at shewing the light which the antiquities already discovered in, or rather under, our metropolis, throw on the manners of the Roman inhabitants of this island.*

The principal discoveries made within the last few years have been in Finsbury, Lothbury, the vicinity of the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange, the approaches to London Bridge, and in the streets bordering on Cheapside. The remains of houses and floors found in other parts of the city shew, that in the latter days of Roman London the whole space occupied within the ancient walls was covered with habitations. The wall, as it is well known, extended from the Tower through the Minories to Aldgate, Houndsditch, Bishopsgate, along London Wall to Fore Street, through Cripplegate churchyard, and thence between Monkwell Street and Castle Street to Aldersgate, and so through Christ's Hospital by Newgate and Ludgate towards the Thames. This wall is believed to have been a work of the later Roman period, when London was not unfrequently exposed to hostile attacks. It is certain, however, that during an earlier period of the Roman domination in Britain, Londinium occupied a much smaller extent on the banks of the Thames towards the centre of the present city, when the colony was probably not surrounded by walls, although it was even then celebrated for the number and activity of its merchants. The remains of Roman sepulchral interments have been found in different situations within the ancient walls, in nearly their whole extent; and, in most instances, above them were the floors and foundations of Roman houses of a later period. It is a well-known fact, that the Romans invariably buried their dead at some distance outside their towns and cities.

But the most remarkable fact connected with the increase of the ancient town, for the interesting character of the different relics found there, and from the circumstance of its affording a probable evidence of the date at which the town was enlarged, is the recent discovery by Mr. Roach Smith, on the site of the Royal Exchange, of an early gravel-pit, which had, at a very remote period, furnished the gravel for laying the floors of the Roman houses; then neglected, it had been gradually filled with the rubbish and refuse from the Roman shops and houses; and lastly, at a subsequent period, it had been itself covered over with a layer of gravel, to support the floors and foundations of

* Besides the gentlemen here mentioned, very interesting collections of Roman antiquities have been made by Mr. George Gwilt, to whose zeal we owe the preservation of most of the Roman remains found in Southwark, Mr. John Newman, Mr. Price, Mr. Kempe, Mr. Saull, &c. Mr. Kempe has communicated various papers on the subject to the "Archæologia" and the "Gentleman's Magazine." It must be added, that many of the most important articles discovered were dispersed or carried off by persons incapable of appreciating them, and they are, probably, thus entirely lost to science.

Roman buildings. The appearance presented by this pit will, perhaps, be best described in Mr. Smith's own words:*—"During the excavations made for the foundations of the New Royal Exchange," he says, "an ancient gravel-pit was opened. This pit was filled with rubbish, chiefly such as at the present day is thrown on waste places in the precincts of towns,—dross from smithies, bones and horns of cows, sheep, and goats, ordure, broken pottery, old sandals, and fragments of leathern harness, oyster-shells, and nearly a dozen coins, in second brass, of Vespasian and Domitian. Over the mouth of the pit had been spread a layer of gravel, upon which were the foundations of buildings, and a mass of masonry six feet square, two sides of which still retained portions of fresco-paintings with which they had been ornamented. Remains of buildings covered also the whole site of the present Exchange. The pit itself is an interesting example of the gradual progress of Londinium. From this locality was gravel obtained for the flooring of buildings and various other purposes of the infant colony; but as the town increased in extent it was abandoned, filled in, and subsequently, by an artificial stratum of gravel, adapted for buildings. Here coins are again useful as evidence. The only one obtained from this pit, besides those above mentioned, was a plated denarius of Severus; but the agents and servants of the United Gresham and City Improvement Committees prevented my making those close and uninterrupted observations which otherwise would have enabled me to authenticate the exact position of the last coin. The fact of there not being found any coin of the century between the time of Domitian and that of Severus, would raise a doubt as to whether the specimen of the latter emperor may not have been in the vicinity of, rather than in, the pit itself. In antiquarian investigations, much depends upon minute and careful observation: important conclusions result frequently from a connexion of facts, trivial in themselves, but of importance when combined; and the record and registration of these facts can only be satisfactorily carried on under auspicious circumstances. Taking the coins of Vespasian and Domitian into consideration, we may infer that Londinium had considerably extended its bounds not long subsequently to the reign of the latter emperor."

At this period, the more elevated ground on which Londinium was built was in part surrounded by low morasses: on the south, the vicinity of the modern Thames Street, was marshy ground covered by water at high tide; while to the north and east lay a wide extent of boggy ground, which gave its name in the sequel to Moorfields, and from which a small stream (called, in Saxon times, Wall-brook, from the circumstance of its passing through the wall), bordered also by low soft ground, proceeded in

* In a very excellent, though brief, paper on Roman London, in the "Archæological Journal," p. 110.

the direction of Lothbury and the Bank to the Thames. As the town increased in extent, the Romans rendered the boggy ground on the edge of the Thames, as well as that bordering on the brook and part of the moor to the north, capable of supporting buildings, by driving wooden piles into the ground. Foundations laid upon piles in this manner have been found in excavating in Thames Street and Tower Street. In 1835, excavations were made in the neighbourhood of St. Clement's church, continued to the west of the Bank of England, on the line of Wallbrook. Mr Smith* observed, that "as the excavations approached Prince's Street (which bounds the Bank of England on the west) the soil denominated, by those familiar with the London strata, *Roman*, descended to a much greater depth than either at East Cheap, at Newgate Street, or at the London Wall near Finsbury. From the level of the present street I should say that thirty feet would scarcely limit its depth, and the extent may be pronounced equal to the length of the west side of the Bank. Here it assumed also a different appearance, being much more moist, highly impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, and almost of an inky blackness in colour. It is worthy of note, that the same character is applicable to the soil throughout the line of excavation from Prince's Street to the London Wall at Finsbury, though nowhere did I observe it extend to such a depth as at the former place. Throughout the same line, also, were at intervals noticed a vast and almost continuous number of wooden piles, which in Prince's Street were particularly frequent; and there, also, they descended much deeper. The nature of the ground, and the quantity of these piles, tend to strengthen the probability of a channel having existed in this direction, draining off the water from the adjoining marshes, and that, too (from the numerous Roman remains accompanying these indications), at a very remote period. Wallbrook is described by Stowe as passing through the city by this route." In subsequent excavations "in London Wall, opposite Finsbury Chambers, at the depth of nineteen feet, what appeared to have been a subterranean aqueduct was laid open. It was found to run towards Finsbury, under the houses of the Circus, about twenty feet. At the termination were five iron bars, fastened perpendicularly into the masonry, apparently for the purpose of preventing the weeds and sedge from choking the watercourse. At the opening of this work, towards the city, was an arch three feet six inches high from the crown to the springing wall, and three feet three inches wide, composed of fifty tiles: the spandrels were filled in with rag-stone, to afford strength to the work. This arch was not worked on a centre, but corbeled over by hand, the key-stone being half a tile and cement. This aqueduct took a southern course for about sixty yards, where it termi-

* "Archæologia," vol. xxvii. p. 142.

nated. The workmen informed me that the entrance was evidently above-ground and open to the air, as large quantities of moss, retaining its natural appearance, still adhered to the masonry. I observed an instance of the durability of this vegetable substance in the discovery of a large wide-mouthed vase, near Lothbury, in which was placed, probably as a cover to bones or ashes, a turf of moss, still compact, and possessing much of its original character."*

From the impossibility of making any continued explorations under the mass of modern buildings, we find a difficulty in forming even a conjectural notion of the general distribution of the buildings in the Roman town. As the foundations of houses are continually found beneath the modern streets, it is quite clear that the latter can give us no clue to the directions of the Roman streets. The general results of modern excavations seem to indicate that some of the finer and larger houses were contained in what were then the more modern parts of the Roman city; particularly on the higher ground in the direction of Cornhill, and in the sweep from thence towards Finsbury. The public buildings seem, by the fragments of stone-work which have been discovered, to have been situated on the sloping ground rising from the bank of the river. It is not improbable that the Roman forum was situated near or upon part of Cheapside, or in East Cheap, the Saxon market-place having taken the place of the Roman one. The principal street of Roman London was probably that which was called by the Saxons Watlingstreet, the name which it has preserved down to the present time: it ran from London Bridge to Ludgate; and outside Ludgate, towards the river Fleet, have been found the chief Roman sepulchral monuments, with sculptures and inscriptions, yet discovered in London. It was one of the principal cemeteries of the city—the Street of Tombs of Londinium. The remains of other extensive places of burial have been discovered at Holborn Hill, without Bishopsgate, in Spitalfields, and in Goodman's Fields. We have given Stowe's account of the extensive discoveries made in Spitalfields during the reign of queen Elizabeth, in a note to a former page.†

We consider that Mr. Smith has brought forward unanswerable evidence of the existence of a Roman bridge on the site of old London Bridge. Vast quantities of coins and other Roman antiquities were brought up from the bed of the river when the old bridge was taken down, and the foundations cleared away. Recent discoveries, also, leave no doubt that there were Roman buildings and a cemetery on the southern side of the river. Tessellated pavements and quantities of fragments of fresco-paintings, evidently belonging to houses of the better class of inhabitants, with pottery

* Mr. Smith, in the "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 156. † See before, p. 116.

and various domestic utensils and implements, have been uncovered on and about the site of St. Saviour's church, and throughout the line of High Street nearly as far as St. George's church. The foundations of the houses were generally laid upon piles, which shews that the ground had been gained from the river; perhaps in the later period of Roman occupation. An extensive Roman burial-place has been traced in the neighbourhood of the New Kent Road, here also bordering upon the ancient Watling Street.

Many of the houses in Roman London must have been large and richly decorated: their former splendour is now chiefly visible in the remains of tessellated pavements which have been at times brought to light, the patterns of some of which are extremely elegant, but they have too generally been destroyed almost as soon as discovered. The mere fact of the discovery of tessellated pavements has been recorded, in 1666, in Bush Lane, Cannon Street—in 1681, near St. Andrew's church, Holborn, perhaps belonging to a suburban villa—in 1787, at Crutched Friars—about the beginning of the present century, in various localities behind the Old Navy Pay-office in Broad Street, in Northumberland Alley, Fenchurch Street, and in Long Lane, Smithfield—in 1824, near St. Dunstan's in the East—in 1831, in East Cheap—in 1834, at St. Clement's church and in Lothbury—in 1836, in Crosby Square. In December, 1805, the beautiful tessellated pavement, of which we give a diminished representation in our plate, was found at a depth of nine feet and a half in Leadenhall Street, opposite the portico of the India House: it was unfortunately broken, but fragments of it were deposited in the Company's Library. In the centre is a figure of Bacchus, reclining on the back of a tiger, holding the thyrsus in his left hand and a drinking-cup in his right. A wreath of vine-leaves encircles the head of the god; a purple and green mantle falls from his right shoulder, and is gathered round his waist; and on the left foot appears a sandal, laced up to the calf of the leg. The borders are very elegant, and the colours, in the original, were rich and tastefully arranged. The room to which this floor belonged appeared to have been more than twenty feet square.* There is in the British Museum a perfect tessellated pavement, less elegant than the one just

* Mr. Thomas Fisher, who published a large coloured print and description of this pavement when first discovered, gives the following account of its construction. It lay on a bed of lime and brick-dust, an inch in thickness. "The drawing, colouring, and shadows are all effected with considerable skill and ingenuity by the use of almost twenty separate tints, composed of tessellæ of different materials, the major part of which are baked earths; but the more brilliant colours of green and purple, which form the drapery, are glass. These tessellæ are of different sizes and figures, adapted to the situations they occupy in the design. They are placed in rows, either straight or curved, as occasion demanded, each tessella presenting to those around it a flat side: the interstices of mortar being thus very narrow, and the bearing of the pieces against each other uniform, the work in general possessed much strength, and was very probably, when uninjured by damp, nearly as firm to the foot as solid stone. The tessellæ used in forming the ornamental borders were in general somewhat larger than those in the figures, being cubes of half an inch."

TESSELLATED PAVEMENT, DISCOVERED IN LEADENHALL STREET.

PILLAR
FOUND IN QUEEN STREET, CHEAPSIDE.

FRAGMENTS OF WALLS PAINTED IN FRESCO.

Drawn & Engraved, by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

described, which was discovered in Lothbury in 1805, at a depth of about eleven feet, near the south-east angle of the Bank of England. Two pavements have been more recently uncovered under the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street, and one of them has been preserved by the exertions of Mr. Moxhay, and by him presented to the British Museum.

The floors of the Roman houses are often covered with fragments of the broken fresco-paintings of the walls, which also prove that this distant province was not deficient in the luxury and magnificence which characterised the mother-country. Mr. Roach Smith has a large collection of these fragments, containing a considerable variety of patterns, such as foliage, animals, arabesques, &c. Of the three specimens given at the foot of our plate (which are, of course, very much diminished from the originals), the one to the right, with a figure of a man holding a staff in one hand and something resembling a basket in the other, was found at the back of Crosby Hall, which is on the site of what was evidently a very magnificent and extensive dwelling. The figure of the man, in common with the other parts of the pattern, a kind of trellis-work, was repeated over the face of the wall. The two other fragments of fresco given in our plate are from excavations in Southwark. The fine female head was evidently a portion of a historical or mythological painting on the wall of a room. When first brought to light, the colours of these frescoes (as at Pompeii) are perfectly fresh and bright; but they soon fade, unless washed immediately with varnish to preserve them. Pieces of window-glass have been found, not unfrequently, among the remains of the Roman houses of London,—another proof of the luxury and magnificence of the ancient city. It was long supposed that this application of glass was unknown to the Romans, but the excavations in Pompeii have proved that this notion was unfounded. It may be observed that portions of window-glass have lately been discovered by Mr. Charles, of Maidstone, on the floor of a Roman villa near that town.

The opportunity has never yet been offered, in London, of exploring the ground-plan of a whole Roman house; but excavations made at different periods have laid open hypocausts and baths, and other parts devoted to domestic purposes, which shew that the dwellings of the Romans in London were very extensive, and as well supplied with all those appendages serving to the luxury of the inhabitants as the villas in Italy. In one instance the strigil, which was used to rub the bathers, was discovered. The floors, broken frescoes, and the lower parts of the walls, are all the remains we find of the Roman buildings. These bear sometimes indications of the agency of fire, which would lead us to suppose that the house had been burnt. These conflagrations have probably been partial, and the notion of their having resulted from the devastation

caused by the Britons under Boadicea, and other similar hypotheses, are without any good foundation. In the later days of the empire especially, when the cities of the provinces must have become considerably depopulated—when an accidental fire, or a sudden attack of an enemy, destroyed a few houses, or a quarter of the town, there was no inducement to the inhabitants to go through the labour of clearing the site; but they would remove to another place, and leave the ruins to be gradually covered with the rubbish for which they would form a convenient receptacle. Any one who has been in the habit of consulting the presentments of the grand juries of medieval towns, and has thus had the opportunity of observing the immense quantities of rubbish of different kinds which were continually thrown into the streets, will easily conceive how the level of the ground has become so much elevated. But the building materials of the upper part of the houses, or other edifices, particularly the columns and larger stones, would be carried off to be applied to other works. We know that, even in Pompeii, excavations were made after the destruction of the city to obtain the columns and more ornamental parts of the buildings, both public and private. This accounts for the very small number of remains of columns, &c., which have as yet been discovered in Roman London; and it is remarkable that in excavations in Thames Street, in 1840, a wall of late Roman construction was discovered, the materials of which had evidently been taken from older buildings of a very different character. "One of the most remarkable features of this wall," Mr. Smith observes, "is the evidence it affords of the existence of an anterior building, which, from some cause or other, must have been destroyed. Many of the large stones are sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, which denote their prior use in a frieze or entablature of an edifice, the magnitude of which may be conceived from the fact of these stones weighing, in many instances, upwards of half a ton. I observed, also, that fragments of sculptured marble had been worked into the wall; and also a portion of a stone carved with an elegant ornament of the trellis-work pattern, the compartments being filled alternately with leaves and fruit. This has apparently belonged to an altar. In Thames Street, opposite Queen Street, about two years since (*i. e.* 1839), a wall, precisely similar in general character, was met with, and there is but little doubt of its having originally formed part of the same."* The foundations of this wall were laid upon piles. It was, perhaps, built as a defence after the place had suffered by a hostile attack from the water, with the materials from buildings destroyed by the enemy. We have given in our plate the upper part of a column or impost of stone (consisting of two pieces) in the cabinet of Mr. Chaffers, who states that it was found among the

* "Archæologia," vol. xxix. p. 150.

Roman remains in the excavations in Queen Street, Cheapside. It is three feet six inches high, and may possibly have been one of the imposts of the doorway of a Roman house. But, if Roman (which appears somewhat doubtful), it is of a barbarous style of design, and must be of a late period.

Such is the general character of the discoveries which have been made relating to the buildings of Roman London; but the most interesting results of the excavations hitherto made are the numerous articles illustrative of the manners of its inhabitants. Many of these are minute articles, such as pins and needles for the toilet, spatulæ or spoons, stili or writing instruments, rings, brooches, fibulæ, tweezers, and a great variety of similar implements. The accompanying woodcut contains a small selection

of some of these minor articles, from the numerous assortment in the museum of Mr. Roach Smith: they were found chiefly in Lothbury and on the site of the Royal Exchange. Most of these articles are in bronze or iron. Figs. 7 and 8 are small spoons, one of them inlaid with silver; 9 is a needle; 10 is a larger spoon, of a different form; 11 appears to be an ornamental pin; 12 is an implement of which it is not easy to guess the object; 16 and 21 appear to be the pins used in attaching the hair in a knot behind the head, as is shewn on some Roman sculptures; 14 is a wooden pin; 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, are different specimens of the articles commonly supposed to be *stili*, or implements for writing on wax, the pointed end being used for writing, and the flat end to erase what had been written and smoothen the wax for the reception

of a new impression. A painting found in Herculaneum represents a person with a *stilus*, closely resembling these, in one hand and a wax tablet in the other. Mr. Smith has a tablet (the wax of which has perished) found in London. A remarkably large quantity of these instruments are found in excavations into ancient Londinium, which would lead us to suspect that they were used for other purposes besides writing; and it has been conjectured that some of them served as modelling tools. The larger implement, fig. 19, with a serrated edge at one end, may possibly have served for this latter purpose. 22 and 23 are wooden implements, a number of which (from five to ten inches in length) were found among the rubbish in the gravel-pit discovered on the site of the Royal Exchange: the remains of wool still attached to some of them left no room for doubt of their having been used in the manufacture of cloth, and thus proved the extreme antiquity of this staple manufacture in our island.

It would require a large volume to describe all the different articles in Mr. Roach Smith's museum of Roman London, and we hope that one day a large volume will be devoted to them. We shall, therefore, only select a few of those which appeared to us the most striking. The smaller articles of the female toilet are numerous and varied: there are shears and scissors, which bear a close resemblance to the different forms used in modern times. But perhaps of no single article is there a greater variety than of keys. Figs. 24, 25, and 26, are three specimens of small Roman keys found in Princes Street and the neighbourhood of the Bank. The smaller one, which is not an uncommon form, has the ring (apparently for carrying it on the finger) at right angles to the axle, and therefore it could only be used for a lock which required very little strength to turn it, or as a latch-key.

Fig. 27 is a very small hand-bell, found in the pit under the Exchange, in such perfect preservation that it still emits a sharp and not inharmonious sound. Fig. 28 is the weight of a Roman steelyard, representing the head of a dog or wolf, found in a mass of conglomerate in the river Thames. Mr. Smith possesses several fragments of steelyards and scales, closely resembling those now in use. Fig. 29 is a Roman watercock, found in Philpot Lane, Fenchurch Street.

In the next group of figures, also taken from Mr. Smith's museum, figs. 30 and 31

are knives with bone handles: these were articles which appear to have indicated the poverty of those to whom they belonged, ivory being among the Romans the more fashionable material. Juvenal, describing the frugality of his country-house, says (Sat. xi. l. 131),—

> "Adeo nulla uncia nobis
> Est eboris, nec tessellæ, nec calculus ex hac
> Materia: quin *ipsa manubria cultellorum*
> *Ossea.*"

The rings at the handles may have been intended to suspend them in the girdle. Fig. 33 was at first supposed to have been a fork, but the discovery of somewhat similar articles, with a plate of metal on one or both sides, has given reasons for doubting this: it appears to have formed the end of some kind of a sheath, and is perhaps medieval. Fig. 34 is a spoon, of a larger size and different shape from those represented on a former page. The other instrument (fig. 32) is a steel for sharpening knives, the handle of which is formed by a bronze horse's head springing out of a wreath of the lotus leaf. This article is one of very rare occurrence among Roman antiquities. Montfaucon engraved a similar handle, which he supposed to be a knife-handle. This relic was found in Princes Street, in 1835.


35

Our next cut (fig. 35) represents a Roman *caliga*, or sandal, obtained by Mr. Smith from excavations in Lothbury; though his remarkable collection of Roman sandals and shoes was chiefly obtained from the gravel-pit on the site of the Royal Exchange, already alluded to. Mr. Smith observes that, "in enumerating the various articles found in the pit, the sandals claim attention. They are of leather, of various sizes, and in point of fabrication, as regards the soles, closely resemble our modern right-and-left shoes; but with this difference, that the layer of leather next to the sole of the foot is close sewn to the lower portions, and then forms an exterior ridge, from which, at the sides, spring loops for fastening the sandals over the instep with straps or fillets: in nearly all instances this ridge folds a little way over, and protects the extremities of the toes. Other sandals, apparently for women and children, have reticulated work

round the heels and sides of various degrees of fineness, and more or less elegant in appearance; and, by the protection afforded to the feet, they all seem well adapted to a wet and cold climate such as that of Britain. The larger are very evidently species of the *caligæ* worn by the Roman soldiers, a distinctive character of which they also exhibit in the hob-nails profusely studding the soles,—

'Tot caligas, tot
Millia clavorum,'

as described by Juvenal. Pliny also associates the *caliga* with nails. In describing a peculiar kind of fish, he says, '*Squamis conspicui crebris atque peracutis, clavorum caligarum effigie.*'" This description answers exactly to the nails in the sandals we have engraved.

We pass over many classes of articles of domestic and public use, which have found their way from the floors of Roman London to the museum of Mr. Roach Smith, such as fragments of wooden combs, of locks, &c., engraved stones, rings, armlets, and the various kinds of arms used by the Roman and British soldiers. We may mention that, although very few remains of statuary have been found, small bronze figures of good workmanship (probably brought from Italy) are not uncommon in London. A few specimens are given in the cut at the commencement of the present article. Fig. 1 is an image of Mercury, about five inches high, in the possession of Mr. Smith; fig. 3, from the cabinet of Mr. Newman, is presumed to represent a priest or votary of Cybele, resting after the dance, and holding in one hand the cymbals, while the other is occupied in adjusting the sacred bandage or veil; fig. 4 is a mutilated figure, supposed to be a Jupiter; fig. 5, which, with the one last mentioned, is in the cabinet of Mr. Smith, is an exquisite figure of Apollo, but also unfortunately mutilated. These four bronzes were brought from the bed of the river Thames, near London Bridge, in January 1837, by men employed in ballast-heaving. The sixth figure, which is unmutilated, is a small bronze of Atys. This last is in the possession of Mr. Newman; it was found at Barnes, among the gravel taken from the same part of the river where the other bronzes were discovered, and where also was found a colossal bronze head of Hadrian, now in the possession of Mr. Newman. A figure of Harpocrates in silver, also found in the bed of the Thames in 1825, is now in the British Museum. There can be little doubt that these bronzes were intentionally thrown into the river; perhaps by the Christians, who, when they found these statues while seeking for building materials among the Roman ruins, regarded them as symbols of idolatry, broke many of them in pieces, and threw them away. The legs of the Apollo bear evident marks of having been mutilated by an axe, or some sharp instrument applied with considerable

force. Fig. 2 in our group (which is in the original much larger than the others, but has been reduced for the convenience of the engraving) is a fine bronze of an archer, found by Mr. Chaffers in an excavation in Queen Street, Cheapside, in 1841, and now in the cabinet of that gentleman, one of the most zealous and intelligent of the city antiquaries.

Mr. Smith's collection of Roman glass vessels and other ornaments is very extensive and precious; but his vast collection of pottery of different kinds, found in London, is perhaps the most interesting part of the museum. It presents specimens of almost every kind of vessel, intended either for domestic usages or for sacrificial and funereal purposes. A large portion consists of figured ware, which is valuable in many respects for illustrating the mythology and customs of the Roman inhabitants of this island. Among these we may mention a number of lamps in terra-cotta, of which three examples are here given, drawn on a scale of one-half of the original size. Great numbers of these lamps are found in almost every country where the Romans settled, and they appear to have been used very profusely. In one corridor of the public baths of Pompeii upwards of five hundred lamps were found; and in the course of excavating the different parts of that building, more than a thousand were collected. The first of the lamps here engraved (fig. 36) was found in Bush Lane; it represents a scene from the gladiatorial combats to which the Romans were so warmly attached, and which, no doubt, formed a part of the amusements of the Romans in London. One of the combatants is here represented as conquered, and in a suppliant posture on his knees raising his hand to beg his life of the spectators, whilst his opponent is preparing to despatch him. The second lamp (fig. 37) bears the figure of a tragic mask, emblematical of another of the favourite amusements of

the Romans—the theatre. The third lamp here given (fig. 38), which is mutilated, forms a pleasing illustration of domestic life: it represents a mill for grinding corn, turned round by an ass. Mr. Smith has more than one terra-cotta lamp with this subject. As the mill was turned round, the corn (thrown in at the top) was ground on a round conical stone in the inside, and the flour came out at the bottom. In a fresco-painting on the walls of the building called the Pantheon at Pompeii, one of these mills is represented, with a party of Cupids, who appear to have been making bread, and two of whom are fondling the asses which had been employed at the mill. And in two bakers' shops in Pompeii several of the mills (precisely resembling the one on our lamp) were discovered standing as they had been left when last used before the destruction of the city. Lamps in bronze and other metals are not so common as those in baked clay, but some of these also have been found in Roman London. Mr. Smith possesses one, represented in our cut (fig. 39), which has been made from a bronze cup, of a very elegant pattern, by breaking in one side and adding a spout. This relic was found in the Thames, near London Bridge: it is here drawn two-thirds of the original size.

39

It is not without feelings of excited interest that we thus trace on the ornamental wares of ancient Londinium, dug up from beneath our feet, the same manners, the same costume, and the same tastes, as those exhibited on the similar articles discovered in still greater abundance among the ruined cities of ancient Italy. It is a question at present very difficult to decide, how many of these articles were actually made in Britain, and how many were imported from the mother-country, or from Gaul and Spain. New discoveries, however, furnish us almost every day with fresh proofs of the existence of very extensive manufactures in this island under the Romans. Considerable remains of Roman sculptures in stone, evidently executed on the spot, were last year dug up at Wansford, near Castor, in Northamptonshire, by Mr. E. T. Artis, who, we understand, has lately made further discoveries of the same kind. The stone in which they were sculptured was that of a neighbouring quarry; and several of them, including a Minerva and a Hercules, were executed in a style which proves that this distant province was not deficient in skilful artists. Potteries of great extent have been recently traced in the Upchurch and Dymchurch marshes in Kent; and we owe a very interesting discovery of this kind to the antiquarian zeal of Mr. Artis of Castor, who

has uncovered the very kilns in which the pottery was made.* The pottery manufactured in each of these places had its own peculiarities, and some of it was of very rude character, only fitted for the most common utensils. The Castor pottery alone is ornamented with figures in relief; and one of its peculiarities is, that all the ornaments have been first moulded and then fixed on the surface of the vessel before it was hardened. It was then placed in what Mr. Artis calls a "smother kiln," and the colour (generally a brown or rusty copper tint) was given by smothering the fires. All these different kinds of native pottery have been found in London, but the Castor ware appears to be the rarest. In the accompanying cut we give three examples of it. The first (fig. 40) was found in excavating at London Wall, and the figure appears to represent an archer: it may, perhaps, be taken as a faithful representation of the costume of some of the Romano-British soldiers. The second specimen (fig. 41) was found very recently in Fish Street Hill, and contains part of the spirited (though rudely drawn) figure of a dog, having something of the character of the English bull-dog or mastiff. In other examples the dogs have the delicate form of the modern greyhound, and are, like this also, employed in hunting the hare. These designs are interesting to the naturalist, for, among the Romans, Britain was celebrated for its breeds of dogs, which were exported in considerable numbers. Claudian (*De Laud. Stil.* lib. iii.), in enumerating the dogs peculiar to different countries, speaks of the British breed as capable of overcoming bulls:—

"Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ."

The more delicately shaped dog often found on this pottery appears to have been the one named by the Romans *vertragus*, which was also derived from this island. Martial (lib. xiv. ep. 200) says,—

"Non sibi, sed domino, venatur vertragus acer,
Illesum leporem qui tibi dente feret."

* A most interesting account of the kilns and pottery found at Castor, the Roman Durobrivæ, is given in an article in the "Journal of the British Archæological Association," No. I. (London, H. G. Bohn.)

And Nemesian (*Cyneget.* l. 124) speaks of the export of British hounds for the purpose of hunting:—

"Catulos divisa Britannia mittit
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos."

The most common subjects represented on the Castor ware are scenes of hunting the hare or the stag, which seems to have been a favourite recreation of the Roman conquerors of Britain. It is, however, not unfrequently ornamented with scrolls, foliage, human figures, and especially with fishes. The two fragments just described are in the museum of Mr. Roach Smith. Our third example (fig. 42) is taken from that of Mr. Chaffers. From its mutilated state, we can hardly decide whether the animals are intended for hounds or horses; but it is curious as having had, apparently, an inscription scratched on the top. These were certainly articles of native manufacture; and the terra-cotta lamps appear also to have been articles of small value, which were more likely to have been made on the spot than to have been brought from Italy, or even from Gaul. It is a subject of much greater doubt whether the beautiful red pottery, generally termed *Samian ware*, of which such large quantities are found in almost every part of England, was ever manufactured in Britain.

There were three famous kinds of pottery among the ancients—that of Samos, that of Athens, and that of Etruria. The Samian ware is frequently alluded to by Roman writers, as that most used at the table. It appears certain that it was of a red colour, and the terms applied to it in the classic writers answer exactly to the specimens which are found in such great abundance in England. It is frequently mentioned by Plautus as the ordinary ware used at table as well as for sacred purposes. Pliny speaks of it as being in common use for the festive board; and he gives the names of several places famous for their pottery, among which Aretium in Italy holds the first place. Surrentum, Asta, and Pollentia, in Italy, Saguntum in Spain, and Pergamus in Asia Minor, were, as we learn from this writer, celebrated for the manufacture of cups. Tralleis in Lydia, and Mutina in Italy, were also eminent for manufactories of earthenware. The produce of these different places was exported to distant countries.* Some of the finer vessels, may, therefore, have been brought from abroad; and still it is not impossible that, at least in later times, potteries for the making of this ware *may*

* "Major quoque pars hominum terrenis utitur vasis. Samia etiamnum in esculentis laudantur. Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Aretium in Italia; et calicum tantum Surrentum, Asta, Pollentia; in Hispania, Saguntum; in Asia, Pergamum. Habent et Tralleis opera sua, et Mutina in Italia: quoniam et sic gentes nobilitantur. Hæc quoque per maria terrasque ultro citroque portantur, insignibus rotæ officinis Erythris."—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. c. 12.

have been established in Britain.* Isidore of Seville, at the end of the sixth century (he died in 610), speaks of the red pottery made at Aretium (the modern Arezzo), which he calls Aretine vases, and also of the Samian ware, with an expression of doubt as to the exact locality which produced the latter; so that it is probable that it was made in different parts of Roman Europe. Modern researches at Arezzo, in Italy, have not only brought to light a considerable quantity of the Aretine ware, but also the remains of the kilns in which it was baked; and a scholar of that place, A. Fabroni, has published a book on the subject, under the title of *Storia degli antichi vasi fittili Aretini*. Although the specimens given in his engravings bear a general resemblance to the Samian ware found in England, yet there are some very strongly marked circumstances in which they differ. The names of the potters are different, and are marked in a different form and position on the vessels; the red of the Aretine ware is of a deeper shade, the figures are in general in a much better style of art, and they seem to be of an earlier date.

The common Samian ware is of an extremely delicate texture, having somewhat the appearance of fine red sealing-wax. The vessels composed of it are of all sizes and shapes, sometimes strong, but more frequently thin and consequently very brittle; and it is only under favourable circumstances that we find them unbroken. Their frailty appears, in classic times, to have been proverbial: when, in Plautus, a person is desired to knock gently at the door, he replies, "You seem to fear that the door is made of Samian ware,"

> "*M.* Placide pulta. *P.* Metuis, credo, ne fores Samiæ sient."
> *Menæchm.* l. 98.

And, on another occasion,—

> "Vide, quæso, ne quis tractet illam indiligens:
> Scis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet?"
> *Bacch.* l. 166.

It is by no means unusual to find bowls and pateræ of this ware which have been broken by their possessors in former times, and subsequently mended, generally by means of leaden rivets. This shews the value which must generally have been set upon it, and seems at first sight rather contradictory to the great profusion in which it is found. In the specimens discovered in this country, the name of the potter is generally marked in the centre of the vessel, in the inside. Long lists of potters' names have

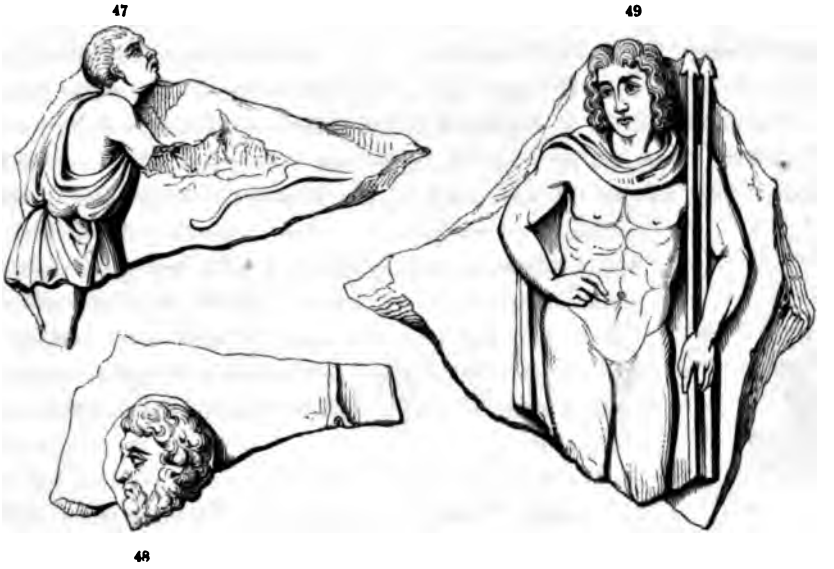
* Immense quantities of this ware are constantly brought up by the fishermen from a shoal called the *Pan Rock*, off Margate, which is supposed to have been in the time of the Romans dry ground. It has been conjectured that this was the site of extensive potteries of Samian ware.

been collected by Messrs. Smith, Kempe, and Chaffers, and published in various volumes of the "Archæologia" and "Gentleman's Magazine." A large proportion of these names is evidently not of Roman extraction; they appear more like Gallic or British,—a circumstance which seems to give some support to the notion that these vessels were made in the western provinces of the Roman empire.

The collection of London Samian ware in the museum of Mr. Smith is very extensive, and, while a part of it is plain, the greater portion displays an almost infinite variety of ornamental design, always in relief. The figures appear in most cases to have been moulded on the pottery after it had passed through the lathe. The common specimens exhibit more spirit in the design than correctness in the execution; but from time to time we meet with examples which are real gems of art. The subjects are extremely varied, and furnish interesting illustrations of the fables and manners of antiquity. They consist sometimes of figures of deities and their attributes, mythological representations, sacrificial and devotional ceremonies, and the like. In others, we have hunting scenes, gladiatorial combats, bacchanalian pieces, music and dancing, and in some instances subjects of a very equivocal character. In some specimens, the surface is covered with figures of animals and birds, and in others (a numerous class) the ornamentation consists only of tracery and foliage, the leaves of the vine and the ivy occurring most frequently. The figures we give in the margin are specimens of the more common class of figured Samian ware. In fig. 43 (from a fragment found in Bread Street by Mr. Smith, and of which Mr. Chaffers possesses another specimen) we recognise the old and widely popular legend of the pygmies and the cranes. This story is a subject of perpetual allusion in the Greek and Latin poets, and we find it in the figures of the Etruscan vases and among the paintings of Pompeii. Fig. 44, obtained from Thames Street by Mr. Smith, represents a man fighting a bull, probably one of the sports of the amphitheatre. Fig. 45, also from Thames Street, represents music and dancing; and the same subject is treated rather differently in fig. 46, from a fragment of a bowl in the possession of Mr. Chaffers, obtained from Lad Lane. Mr. Smith has also specimens containing these latter figures. The man is playing on

the double pipe, or rather on two pipes at once (*tibiæ pares*), the mode in which this musical instrument was most commonly used by the Romans; it is frequently so represented in antiques.

In some of the finer specimens of the Samian ware, we see plainly by the fracture that the figures have been first cast in a mould, and then attached to the surface of the vessel, and perhaps finished afterwards with a tool. An example of this is found in a large and very beautiful bowl, unfortunately much mutilated, obtained by Mr. Smith from Cornhill, in the course of excavations made there in 1841. When unbroken, this vase was ten inches high, by thirty-four in circumference. The ornaments consist of male and female figures, with vine-trees placed alternately, forming a band four inches deep round the exterior; above is a smaller band of vine-branches and hares, and, beneath, a border, in which birds are introduced alternately with vines. Three only of the figures in the central compartment remain, all mutilated. Our fig. 49



represents the one which is most complete, the size of the original. The other two figures are those of seated females, profusely covered with drapery; at the feet of one is a recumbent amphora, and by the side of the other a Phrygian shield. Fig. 47 is a fragment of another fine vessel of Samian ware, executed in precisely the same style as the last, found in Cheapside. In the fracture of these vases we see clearly the manner in which the moulded figures were applied to the pottery; but this is still more evident

in the fragment represented in fig. 48, found in Gutter Lane, where the outline of the piece applied to the vase extends beyond the outline of the head. All these specimens are in the possession of Mr. Smith.

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51

Figures 50 and 51 are two fragments of the common Samian ware, but remarkable for the elegance of their ornaments. The first, found in Leadenhall Street, and now in the cabinet of Mr. Smith, represents what appear to be intended for Apollo and Diana, both robed in flowing drapery. Apollo carries his harp; while the goddess, who is returning from the chase, bears in one hand her bow, and in the other a hare. The other figure is a Victory, between two altars; it was found in Lad Lane, and is preserved in the cabinet of Mr. Chaffers. Our last cut, fig. 52, represents a fragment of a bas-relief on a light-coloured tile, also in the possession of Mr. Chaffers. It is most probably a portion of a terra-cotta, like those in the Townley Gallery in the British Museum, and is executed in a very good style of art. These terra-cottas were attached to the walls of buildings, as friezes, &c., and took the place of sculptured marble. They were cast in moulds, afterwards baked, and appear to have been finished with the hand. They are among the rarest monuments of antiquity.

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We will not on the present occasion prolong our visit to Mr. Smith's Museum, or enumerate the other relics of Roman London which adorn it; but will here conclude our hasty sketch. Among other Roman antiquities may be noticed the coins, of which thousands have been obtained from excavations in the city, and, more especially, from the bed of the river. These extend from Augustus to Honorius, and some of them present types previously unknown; while those of the Constantine family are of local interest as bearing the mark of a London mint; and others, of Carausius, are of historical importance. It is remarkable that, amid the luxury and magnificence which must have characterised the Roman city, a large portion of

its currency appears to have been base money. The immense number of plated denarii found here leaves little room for doubting that they were imported by the imperial authority or connivance. A quantity of these forgeries was recently discovered in King William Street, consisting of various consular and imperial coins terminating with Claudius, by whose troops they were probably brought over to our island. They were found packed up in rolls, just as they had been imported. These plated coins were most abundant in the reigns of Severus and his successors. Quantities of Roman clay moulds for fabricating coins have been discovered in different parts of England, particularly at Castor, in Northamptonshire, by Mr. Artis; so that this country appears to have abounded with forgers!

Mr. Smith's wonderful collection of Roman antiquities found in London shews how much may be done by individual zeal when wisely directed. The desire of preserving antiquities is now spreading widely through the land, and must in the sequel lead to an advance in archæological science. Many of our provincial towns already possess museums, in which the more important antiquities that are from time to time exhumed are safely deposited for public inspection. It is said that the city of London is to have a museum, which, in judicious hands, would be an important institution. But the authorities, who have hitherto obstructed the antiquarian pursuits of others, are not likely to do much for the encouragement of them themselves; and we fear the city museum will only form another excuse for interrupting the researches of Mr. Smith and his fellow-labourers. In the British Museum, our native antiquities appear to be held in very little esteem, and, in general, articles sent there are lost to public view. It is discreditable to the government of this country that we have no museum of national antiquities, which might, under a judicious curator, at a very moderate expense to the nation, become one of the most interesting and popular institutions of the metropolis. In such an institution, a collection like that made by Mr. Smith should be deposited for the advantage of posterity.

SILCHESTER.

SILCHESTER appears to be the site of one of the largest of the Roman towns in Britain, the walls which still remain being nearly three miles in circuit. It lies on the northern borders of Hampshire, and an inscription found some years ago within the area of the walls leaves no doubt of its being the town which is called by some old writers Segontiacum, and which appears in the "Antonine Itinerary" under the name either of Calleva or of Vindomis. It appears to have been utterly destroyed by the Saxon invaders (it is supposed by Ælla), and green fields now cover the floors which were once trodden by its numerous citizens. The only buildings within the walls are a farm-house and a church, the modern village of Silchester being without the walls at a short distance to the west.

This place is not mentioned in the authentic Roman historians, but tradition and fable seem to have preserved some remembrance of its former celebrity and misfortunes. It appears to be the Cair Segeint of the brief chronicle which passes under the name of Nennius; and it is there said to have been built by Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, who, according to the legend, "sowed in the pavement of the aforesaid city three seeds, that is, of gold, silver, and brass, in order that no poor man might ever dwell in it." Constantius, it is pretended, died and was buried here, without the walls; and a manuscript chronicle in the College of Arms tells us that his body was found there in 1283. Probably some remarkable discoveries were made at that time. According to the fabulous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it was at Silchester that, in 407, the Romano-British soldiery, on the death of the usurper Gratian, elected Constantine, a person of low birth, to the imperial dignity, and from hence he marched into Gaul against the emperor Honorius. We learn from the same very doubtful authority, that in the midst of the Saxon invasion, on the death of Utherpendragon, the British chieftains assembled at Silchester, and there crowned the far-famed Arthur as their king. These legends seem to prove that it had been a city of great importance. According to the modern tradition of the neighbourhood, the city was finally destroyed by wild-fire, which the enemy sent in attached to the tails of sparrows!

SILCHESTER, HAMPSHIRE.

Drawn & Engraved by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.

THE ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE AT SILCHESTER.

London Published by Chapman & Hall, 186 Strand, July 1846.

The walls of Silchester form at present the only remarkable vestige of the ancient city. At a short distance they can hardly be distinguished, on account of the great quantity of trees and underwood growing in and upon them. They are least concealed by these appendages on the side of the church, which is shewn in the uppermost view on our plate. The lower part of the walls on one side has been recently cleared for an extent of many yards, which enables us to observe more accurately the mode of their construction. The massive foundation-stones are sloped at the upper angle, and form a sort of projecting step, upon which is placed a row of flat and ponderous stones, measuring about two feet in length by six or eight inches in height, and nearly a yard in depth. Similar single rows of stones, in many instances much larger, take the place of the layers of Roman brick, usually found in Roman walls; but it is a remarkable feature of the walls of Silchester, that they contain not the slightest portion of this ordinary component in Roman buildings. Above the foundation-stones begin layers of flints, in five rows, arranged in what has been termed the herring-bone fashion, and imbedded in strong mortar formed of sea-sand and pounded brick and chalk. Above these flints is a second layer of single stones, then the rows of flints are repeated, then another line of stones, and so on to the top of the wall, which was no doubt more elevated originally, but there are now only four rows of stones and flints remaining. In one part of the walls we remark a difference of construction, four rows of flints resting on the broad foundation-stones, upon which, and immediately under the next layer of large stones, a sloping row of rudely shaped stones is placed, as represented in the accompanying cut. A level foss encircles the walls, and there are traces of a vallum beyond. On the south side is a very large earth-work, extending in a half circle from the walls, and enclosing a considerable space. It is so considerable, that, although it seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of antiquaries, it no doubt filled an important place in the military defences of the town.

The walls form an irregular figure of nine sides. The city appears originally to have had four gates, not arranged according to any regular plan. The conjectural distribution of the streets, given in an old plan communicated by Mr. Kempe to a recent volume of the "Archæologia," is in all probability quite incorrect. The church of Silchester, which stands near the wall on the east, beside what is supposed

to have been the principal entrance to the city, is built upon a platform, which was probably the site of a temple, or some building of importance, as portions of stucco and tesseræ of pavements are strewed over the field in the vicinity. At a short distance to the west of the church, baths were discovered in 1833; but the excavations were discontinued by order of the duke of Wellington, to whom the land belongs, and who had been persuaded that his property would be injured. One of the leaden drain pipes, with fragments of the frescoed walls painted with a honey-suckle pattern, are still preserved by the resident clergyman, but the half-uncovered baths were entirely recovered with mould. Upwards of 200 Roman coins in brass were discovered in one of the leaden pipes of the bath, and in the bath itself was found a human skeleton, perhaps one of the inhabitants who had taken refuge there when the city was destroyed. The tessellated floors are said to have been covered with wood-ashes and the fragments of tiles which had formed the roof,—an apparent evidence that the building had been burnt. Flue tiles of a remarkable character were also found here, with inscriptions rudely scratched upon the clay before baking.

Near the centre of the area included by the walls, on the side of the road which passes through, lies a portion of a sculptured marble capital, measuring four feet by three, which has probably belonged to a temple or some other public edifice which stood near this spot. It has been supposed that the forum of the Roman town was situated not far from this place. It is said that in the autumn, particularly after a dry season, the eye may trace distinctly, by the different growth of the corn, lines of walls and buildings in all parts of the area of the ancient city; but the attempt which has been made to draw a plan of the ancient streets from these uncertain and indistinct indications can be viewed as no more than a vain exercise of the ingenuity. Fragments of large columns lay in the immediate vicinity of the farm-house, and seem to indicate that there also stood an important public building.

Without the walls, on the north side, are the remains of an amphitheatre, of considerable extent, but neither so large nor so perfect as the one at Dorchester. The embankment surrounding the arena is thickly set with trees, which have probably contributed much to its decay. A view of the interior of this amphitheatre is given in our plate.

Fragments of pottery, tiles, &c., are scattered over the surface of the ground in the whole area enclosed by the walls; and many articles of various kinds, with a great number of coins, have been dug up at different times. In the last century, a brass eagle found here was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries, and supposed to belong to a Roman military standard. A gold ring, with an inscription, and an intaglio representing Venus Urania, was also found at Silchester some years ago.

Several bronze figures have likewise been dug up at different times. Mr. Barton, the present occupier of the farm, possesses an interesting collection of Roman antiquities found in Silchester, consisting of a number of curious and elegant fibulæ, two of which are beautifully ornamented with blue and red enamel, a few stili and other implements, the weight of a steelyard representing the bust of a man, several weapons, and a large collection of coins, ranging through the whole period of the Roman occupation of the island, but those of Severus and his family are by much the most numerous. Two mutilated stones, bearing very important votive inscriptions, have also been found at this place. The first, dug up in the year 1732, is a dedication to the Hercules of the Segontiaci, which proves the identity of Silchester with what the pretended Nennius calls Caer Segeint. This inscription ran as follows:—

DEO · HER
SAEGON
T · TAMMON
SAEN · TAMMON
VITALIS
.HONO

Which has been read, *Deo Herculi Sægontiacorum Titus Tammonius Sænii Tammonii Vitalis filius ob honorem, i.e.* Titus Tammonius, the son of Sænius Tammonius Vitalis, dedicated this in honour of the God Hercules of the Sægontiaci. The other, found about the year 1741, is dedicated to Julia Domna, the second wife of the emperor Severus, and the mother of Caracalla and Geta, and, as she died about A.D. 217, it proves that this city existed long before the time of its pretended founder, Constantius. Two of the titles here given to the empress, *Mater Senatus* and *Mater Castrorum*, are found on medals.

IVLIAE · AVG
MATRI · SE
NATVS · ET
CASTROR ·
M. SABINVS
VICTOR · OB

Which may be read, *Juliæ Augustæ matri senatus et castrorum M. Sabinus Victorinus ob honorem posuit, i.e.* Marcus Sabinus Victorinus placed this in honour of Julia the empress, the mother of the senate and of the army.

We have already alluded to one local tradition relating to Silchester; there is another which deserves notice. The peasantry of the neighbourhood call (or at least they did so in Camden's time) the Roman coins found here *Onion's pennies.* In the eastern wall, some distance to the south of the church, there is a cavern or arch called popularly *Onion's Hole,* because, according to the legend, a great giant, who dwelt in ancient times in this city, had made a dwelling in this spot.

The church of Silchester, which appears in our first view, possesses outwardly few attractions, having been altered and partially rebuilt at a period when good taste was not predominant. The ancient door, which, with the original portion of the church, belongs to the style generally termed early English, is ornamented with a simple dog-tooth moulding. The arches of the chancel spring from ponderous octagonal pillars, very slightly ornamented, and which appear to have been based upon the heavy foundation-stones removed from the adjoining walls. The font, placed on similar stones, is octagonal, and quite plain. The windows contain remains of fine painted glass, upon one fragment of which may be distinguished the head of a bishop, behind which appear the towers of a city. It seems to have been a work of the fifteenth century. The wooden screen of the chancel, apparently executed about the same time, is richly carved with figures of angels bearing scrolls, interspersed with the pomegranate. The pulpit is of carved oak, and bears the inscription—

THE GUIFTE OF JAMES HORE, GENT. 1639.

The church contains some memorials of this family. In the south wall is a very interesting monument to a lady, apparently of the reign of Edward I. or of his successor. She lies beneath a low pointed arch, her head supported by angels, and a dog at her feet. The figure is much mutilated, and, with the whole tomb, has been covered with whitewash; but upon the wall at the back of the recess are fragments of a painting in distemper, representing the lady whose effigy is below, in an attitude of prayer, borne up by angels. In the churchyard are two monuments of an earlier and still more interesting character, of which we intend to give an engraving and description in a subsequent paper. They are in a great state of decay, but deserve a more honourable resting-place within the walls of the church.

A court fool, from MS. Reg. 15 E. IV. (15th century).

THE BURLESQUE FESTIVALS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

In the first ages of Christianity, when—a persecuted sect—it trusted to the force of individual conviction for its converts, these latter, in joining the religion of the Saviour, gave up at once all their old superstitions and prejudices. But when, in course of time, it became established as the religion of the state, the mass of the people soon disbelieved in the power of their old gods, and accepted the faith of the emperor. Churches took the place of temples, and the statues of their idols were thrown down and broken without much repugnance. But there was a host of old superstitions, customs, and observances, intimately connected with the old idolatry of the people, which were so deeply rooted in their habits and social life, that it was not an easy thing to persuade converts made under such circumstances to consent to their abolition. In fact, the Christian teachers found an advantage in shewing forbearance in the great religious revolution in which they were engaged, and they were wise in not shocking by a too abrupt change the deeply rooted prejudices of so many ages. It was their policy to substitute gradually Christian festivals in the place of pagan ceremonies; and thus, amid the most riotous feasts and processions of the ancient ceremonial, new names and new objects kept the popular mind fixed to a better faith. In course of time, however, as the church itself became corrupt and its ministers venal, these popular excesses,

which had at first been tolerated from necessity, were encouraged by the very persons whose duty it was to discountenance them; and, during the middle ages, at certain periods of the year, even the holiest places became the scene of riotous festivals, which recalled in many of their characteristics the most licentious of the feasts of antiquity. It is true that these pseudo-Christian ceremonies were condemned by the better and wiser of the ecclesiastics, and that they were repeatedly proscribed by the councils of the church; but these condemnations were either merely formal, or they were rendered ineffectual by the supineness and backwardness of those who ought to have put them in force. Too congenial with the general laxity of manners which characterised the feudal period, these ceremonies increased in force and intensity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, until they became so great an object of public scandal that they could no longer be tolerated. Yet in Catholic countries, such as France, and Italy, and Spain, they continued to be observed in a suppressed form until the great dislocation of society produced by the French revolution at the close of the eighteenth century.

Among the Romans the latter part of the month of December was devoted to the noisy and licentious festivities of the Saturnalia. In the earliest times of Rome this festival had been restricted to one day in the middle of the month; but the period of celebration was afterwards extended to seven days, and it was followed by a multitude of other festivals of the same character, called, from the circumstance of their commencing in the Calends of January, the *feriæ Kalendarum*, which were continued during the month of January,* and were but just closed at the time of the somewhat analogous festival of the Lupercals in February.† This answers precisely to the period extending from the festivities of Christmas to the time of the carnival of modern times, of which the Roman festivities were undoubtedly the prototype. The resemblance between the old and the modern observances is too strongly marked to be easily mistaken. During the seven days of the Saturnalia masters were placed on an equality with their slaves, and all classes and ranks and even sexes were confounded together by disguises and masks, under cover of which were enacted a thousand different follies and extravagances. These were precisely the characteristics of the joyous festivals of the middle ages.‡

* "Assunt feriæ quas indulget magna pars mensis Jano dicati."—MACROBIUS, *Saturnal.* lib. i. c. 2.

† A curious coincidence is perhaps worth pointing out. It is well known that at the Lupercalia the Lupercals ran about the streets in a state of nudity: a similar practice characterised the Saturnalia. A writer of the sixteenth century, speaking of the festive practices of the Franconians at the period of the carnival, says,—"Atque ne pudor obset, qui se ludicro illi committunt, facies larvis obducunt, sexum et ætatem mentientes viri mulierum vestimenta mulieres virorum induunt. Quidam satyras, aut malos dæmones potius, repræsentare volentes, minio se aut atramento tingunt, habituque nefando deturpant: *alii nudi discurrentes* Lupercos agunt, a quibus ego annuum suum delirandi morem ad nos defluxisse existimo."—JO. BOEMUS AUBAN., *Mores, Leges, et Ritus omnium Gentium.* 12mo. 1570. P. 277.

‡ Lucian, *Saturnal.* p. 608, gives the following sum-

A theological writer who lived in 1182, Beleth, informs us that, in his time, in the archbishopric of Rheims and in other dioceses in France, at the festival of Christmas the archbishops and bishops and other high ecclesiastics went to play at various games with the inferior clergy in the religious houses.* We trace this custom among the clergy, called by Beleth *Decembrian liberty*, in other writers. In the Saturnalia a mock king was elected by lot, who ruled at the festival. The practice of choosing mock officers, under the names in different places of kings, popes, abbots, &c., was retained in all the burlesque festivals of the middle ages: in some parts a king is still chosen on the twelfth night. Public gambling was allowed at the Saturnalia. It is probable from the extract from Beleth that it was practised even by ecclesiastics at Christmas in former days, and from this custom we seem to have derived that of playing at cards at that period of the year. It is not necessary to point out the libertinism of speech and action which characterised the old as well as the modern Saturnalia.

These latter were chiefly prevalent in the countries which have derived their language and customs from the Romans, such as the French, Italians, and Spaniards, and are not found to have prevailed so generally among the purer Germanic tribes. The English festival of Christmas is of Saxon origin, and consisted chiefly in eating and drinking; the mummery and masquerading, as well as the few burlesque festivals we shall have to notice as belonging to England in the middle ages, having been apparently imported from France. On the Continent we may trace the Saturnalian observances and ceremonies almost without interruption from the Roman era. Tertullian, in his treatise *De Idololatria*, accuses the Christians of his time of participating in these pagan festivals. From the sixth to the twelfth century, and even later, we find the ecclesiastics and the canons of the church perpetually denouncing the pagan ceremonies observed at "the Calends of January;" and the words they use shew us that, during this long period, the Saturnalia of the ancients were observed with all their extravagance and licentiousness by the Christians. It will be sufficient to quote an instance or two. St. Eligius, who died in 659, forbade the exercise of "wicked or ridiculous practices on

mary of the practices at the Saturnalia:—Σατυρναῖον μὲν, οὐδὲ ἀγοραῖον διοικήσασθαι μοι συγκεχώρηται, σίνεσιν δὲ, καὶ μεθύσιν, καὶ βοαῖν, καὶ παίζειν, καὶ κυβεύειν, καὶ ἄρχοντας καθίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑβρίζειν, καὶ γυμνὸν ᾄδειν, καὶ κρεστῖν ὑποτρέμοντα· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐκ κιφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι, ἀσβόλῃ κεχρισμένον τὸ πρόσωπον. A few lines further on Lucian speaks of it as one practice of the Saturnalia,—γυμνὸν ὀρχήσασθαι, καὶ ἀράμενον τὴν αὐλητρίδα τρὶς τὴν οἰκίαν περιελθεῖν.

* "Sunt nonnullæ ecclesiæ in quibus usitatum est, ut vel etiam episcopi et archiepiscopi in cœnobiis cum suis ludant subditis, ita ut etiam sese ad lusum pilæ demittant. Atque hæc quidem *libertas* dicta est *Decembrica*, quod olim apud ethnicos moris fuerit, et hoc mense servi et ancillæ et pastores velut quadam libertate donarentur, fierentque cum dominis suis pari conditione, communia festa agentes post collectionem messium. Quanquam vero magnæ ecclesiæ, ut est Remensis, hanc ludendi consuetudinem observent, videtur tamen *laudabilius esse non ludere*."—Belet. cap. 120. Cited by Ducange.

the Calends *of* January," in which it appears that people then disguised themselves with masks of old men, stags, &c.* The Romans in their Saturnalia, according to some of the primitive fathers of the church, went in the disguise of animals. The Capitulare of Karlomann, published in 744, forbids the practice of indecent pagan ceremonies in the month of February (*spurcalia in Februario*). In the collection of Decreta, Burchard, bishop of Worms, who died in 1024, forbids "the performance on the Calends of January of any of the ceremonies invented by the pagans;"† and he subsequently explains his meaning by anathematising those who presume to "celebrate the Calends of January with the pagan ceremonies," or who prepare feasts in their houses, or go about the streets singing and dancing.‡

However, although the Roman festivals were retained, the names under which they went and their original objects were entirely changed, and saints and martyrs were substituted for Saturn and Janus. As they thus lost their individual character, the festivals took different local forms and names; and although all our medieval festivals of this description had one origin, we shall find it more convenient to describe them under their different titles of Feasts of Asses, or of Innocents, or of Fools, &c. It is generally supposed that one of the original objects of the ancient Saturnalia was to give a day of joyous liberty to the servile class of society in which they might in some measure repay themselves for the sufferings they were obliged to support during the rest of the year, and the prospect of which might afford some alleviation to their sad condition. The miserable position of the lower classes under the feudal system, and the constant sufferings to which all classes were exposed, gave a zest to the wild outbreaks of folly and licentiousness which marked the medieval festivals that had arisen out of the older Saturnalia, and which were but too congenial with the laxity of manners that prevailed from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. They were absolutely neither more nor less than Folly personified, and, in accordance with their character, their most general title was that of *Feast of Fools*, or *of Folly*.

I. THE FEAST OF THE ASS.

One of the most important personages in many of these festivals was *the ass*, which, as typical of stupidity, might perhaps be taken as an emblem of the character of the

* "Nullus in Kal. Jan. nefanda aut ridiculosa, vetulos aut cervulos, aut jotticos (?) faciat, neque mensas super noctem componat, neque strenas aut bibitiones superfluas exerceat."—DACHER. *Spicileg.* tom. v. p. 216. (Ed. 1661.)

† "Est aliquis qui in Cal. Jan. aliquid fecerat quod a paganis inventum est."—*Burchardi Decret. in the Collect. Decret.* Colon. 1548.

‡ "Si quis Calendas Januarias ritu paganorum colere, . . . aut mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis in domibus suis præparare, et per vicos et plateas cantatores et choros ducere præsumpserit, anathema sit."—*Ib.*

ceremonies in which it was introduced, but which in fact had a higher import. The ass, partly because it holds a somewhat more dignified position in society in the East, and partly because it has always been looked upon as the emblem of patience and humility, acts a distinguished part in Scripture history. It was an ass to which was given the power of speaking, and of resisting the unrighteous intentions of Balaam; it was on an ass also that the Virgin Mary bore the infant Saviour in safety to Egypt; and, subsequently, Christ made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem seated upon this animal. At Beauvais, in France, a burlesque festival was formerly celebrated on the 14th of January, ostensibly in commemoration of the flight into Egypt, in which the most beautiful young girl that could be found was seated on an ass, and led in procession to the church. In a feast of fools (*festum follorum*) celebrated at Autun in the beginning of the fifteenth century, an ass was led in triumph into the church, accompanied by a crowd of people in disguises and grotesque dresses, chanting a song in praise of the animal. At the feast of the conards of Rouen, which enjoyed great celebrity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the "abbot," as he was called, rode about the town in a grotesque costume on an ass, while the crowd of followers indulged in coarse and burlesque songs, which, like those of the ancient Saturnalia, raked up all the scandal of the past year. One of these songs has been preserved, a strange mixture of French and Latin words:—

" De asino bono nostro
Meliori et optimo
Debemus *faire fête.*
En revenant de Gravinaria,
Un gros chardon reperit in via,
Il lui coupa la tête.
Vir monachus in mense Julio
Egressus est e monasterio,
C'est dom de la Bucaille;
Egressus est sine licentia,
Pour aller voir dona Venissia,
Et faire la ripaille.

It appears that the visits of dom de la Bucaille, prior of the abbey of St. Taurin, to dame de Venisse, prioress of St. Saviour at the same place, had been a subject of public scandal.

There was, moreover, in various towns of France, such as Rouen, Sens, Douay, &c., a regular festival at Christmas, entitled the *Feast of the Ass*, or *the Feast of Asses*, in which the clergy of the place took a prominent part, and more than one old church-service book has preserved the "service" for this occasion. The following lines,

conveying the wish that all gravity should be banished, and nothing but gaiety be allowed, formed the commencement of the festival in the church of Sens:—

" Lux hodie, lux lætitiæ, me judice, tristis
Quisquis erit, removendus erit solemnibus istis.
Sint hodie procul invidiæ, procul omnia mœsta;
Læta volunt, quicunque colunt *Asinaria festa*."

It appears from the service-books alluded to, that a place was decked out in the middle of the church for the reception of the festive animal, and that two clerks led the procession, singing a burlesque song in Latin, with a refrain or burthen in French. The subject of this song was the praise of the ass: it spoke of its Eastern origin, and of its beauty and strength in bearing burthens:—

" Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus,
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hé, sire âne, hé."

It was born and bred "in the mountains of Sicsen," and passed the Jordan to visit Bethlehem:—

" Hic in collibus Sicsen
Enutritus sub Reuben,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethlehem.
Hé, sire âne, hé."

It appears that the burthen of the song, recovered from another source, consisted of the following lines:—

" Hé, sire âne, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez,
Et de l'avoine à plantez."

The song went on to praise the ass above other beasts of burthen:—

" Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas, et capreolos,
Super dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hé, sire âne, he;"

and to describe its food and mode of life. It finished as the procession approached the altar, and the priest then began a service in prose.

We know the character of this celebration chiefly by the preservation of the service performed on the occasion; but we are less acquainted with the other particulars of the festival than with those of some others of these burlesque ceremonies.

II. THE FEAST OF FOOLS.

The most celebrated and popular of the medieval Saturnalia was the feast of fools, sometimes termed in older writers the fête des sou-diacres, the word *sou* being here intended as a pun on *saoûl* (i. e. drunken). An interesting treatise on the history of these festivals was published in 1741 by M. du Tilliot, under the title of "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Fête des Fous, qui se faisoit autrefois dans plusieurs Eglises." The period at which this festival was celebrated varied between Christmas and the Epiphany, but it was most generally held on the first day of the year. It had an ecclesiastical character, evidently derived from the religious character of the ancient Saturnalia. In the cathedral churches they elected a bishop or an archbishop of fools, and his election was confirmed with a multitude of ridiculous buffooneries, which served for a consecration, after which he was made to perform the pontifical duties, giving his public and solemn benediction to the people, before whom he carried the mitre and the crozier. In the exempt churches, or such as depended immediately on the holy see, they elected a pope of fools (*unum papam fatuorum*), to whom, with similar buffoonery, they gave the ornaments and ensigns of the papacy. These popes, bishops, and dignitaries, were assisted by a clergy equally licentious. They utte ed and performed a strange mixture of follies and impieties during the service of the church, at which they attended that day in masquerade dresses and disguises. Some wore masks, or had their faces daubed and painted, to cause fear or mirth; while others were dressed in women's clothing, or in the garb of theatrical characters. On entering the choir they danced and sang songs of the most licentious description. The deacons and sub-deacons ate black-puddings and sausages on the altar while the priest was celebrating; others played at cards and dice under his eyes; and others threw bits of old leather into the censer to make a disagreeable smell. After the mass was ended, they broke out into all kinds of riotous behaviour in the church, leaped, and danced, and exhibited themselves in indecent postures; and some went so far as to strip themselves naked, and in this condition they were drawn through the streets with tubs full of filth and ordure, which they threw about at the mob. Every now and then they stopped, and exhibited immodest postures and actions, accompanied with analogous songs and speeches. Many of the laity took part in the procession, dressed as monks and nuns. The day was finished with eating and drinking, which merged into all kinds of scandalous disorders, contributing little to the morality of the towns in which these ceremonies were performed. Such was the general character of the feast of fools.

Frequent attempts were made, from a period as early as the twelfth century, to

repress the dangerous licentiousness of the feast of fools, but without effect; and no serious check appears to have been given to it until the Reformation, subsequent to which its worst characteristics gradually disappeared before the force of public opinion, although, in some instances, these festivals continued to be kept up in the last century. The documents relating to the early history of festivals of this description are naturally rare, but we trace them in many towns in France.

At Amiens, as we learn from the registers of the chapter of the cathedral, on the 3rd December, 1438, several chaplains, who during the previous years had been elected popes of fools, claimed from the chapter sixty sols, left to support their festival by a pope of fools, named Jean le Caron. In December, 1520, the chapter authorises the celebration of the feast, but on condition of abstaining from "insolences" and from unhanging the bells, and of paying for their own feast, to which the canons refused to contribute. In 1538, however, the chapter gave fifty-five livres towards the repast of the pope and cardinals of fools (*papæ et cardinalium stultorum hujus civitatis*). Later in the same year the chapter forbad the festival and the election of a pope, but scarcely four months had passed before the order was withdrawn, and in 1540 the chapter again contributed fifty livres Tournois towards the feast. A few years afterwards the chapter made a more resolute attempt to suppress the feast, but it continued to be celebrated down to a much more recent period.

At Chartres, also, a pope and cardinals of fools were elected; but the festival was there suppressed early in the sixteenth century. At Senlis a pope was elected, and the ceremonies and processions were characterised by great extravagance. The clergy of Noyon elected a king of fools, and it appears, by an entry in the registers, that in 1497 the church was scandalized by the license which prevailed on the occasion.* At Ham, in Vermandois, there was a joyous company called *les sots de Ham*, and they elected a *prince des sots*. At Troyes, as we learn from the royal letters of Charles VII. forbidding the festival, the feast of fools was celebrated *avec grants excez, mocqueries, spectacles, desguisements, farces, rigmeries* (i.e. profane songs), *et autres folies*. A letter of the bishop of that city, relating to this feast as celebrated in his church, is given in the note below.† At Besançon, the feasts of fools were at first performed separately at each

* "Cavere a cantu carminum infamium et scandalosorum, nec non similiter carminibus indecoris et impudicis verbis in ultimo festo Innocentium per eos fetide decantatis; et si vicarii cum rege vadant ad equitatum solito, nequaquam fiet chorea et tripudia ante magnum portale, saltem ita impudice ut fieri solet."

† "Au surplus, vous plaise savoir que ceste presente année aucunes gens d'esglise de ceste ville, soubs umbre de leur feste aux fols, ont fait plusieurs grandes mocqueries, derisions, et folies contre l'onneur et reverence de Dieu et ou grant contempt et vitupere des gens d'esglise et de tout l'estat ecclesiastique, et ont plus excessivement fait la dite feste que ou temps passé n'avoient acoustumé, et sy n'ont pas esté contents de la faire ung jour ou deux, mais l'ont faicte quatre jours entiers; et ont tant fait d'esclandres que raconter ne les saroie, et pourceque selon

church in the town; but one of the statutes given by cardinal Thomas of Naples, in 1387, directed that the feast should be performed in its turn at each church, in order to avoid the occasions of division and scandal which occurred but too frequently during the celebration. It was held in the two cathedral and the two collegiate churches at Christmas: the priests celebrated on St. John's day; the deacons and sub-deacons on St. Stephen's day; and the singing-men and children of the choir on Innocents' day. Each order chose a cardinal in the two cathedrals exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and a bishop or abbot in the two collegiate churches; these were called the kings of fools, and were clad in robes of dignity, &c. Each party led its king in cavalcade through the town, dressed in grotesque costumes, and amused the public by their buffooneries. When the processions of different churches met, they broke out into gross invectives against each other, and sometimes fought. All the churches of the town agreed to suppress these masquerades in 1518, on account of a sanguinary combat between two of the processions on the bridge. There were bishops of fools at Rheims and at Viviers; in the latter town it was the duty of the bishop of fools to feast the clergy at his own expense. In 1406 a clerk refused to submit to this condition, and he was subjected to a regular trial before the canons of the church, and condemned to pay for the feast, as according to the custom he was bound (*ad solvendum prandium per episcopum stultorum dari et solvi consuetum*).

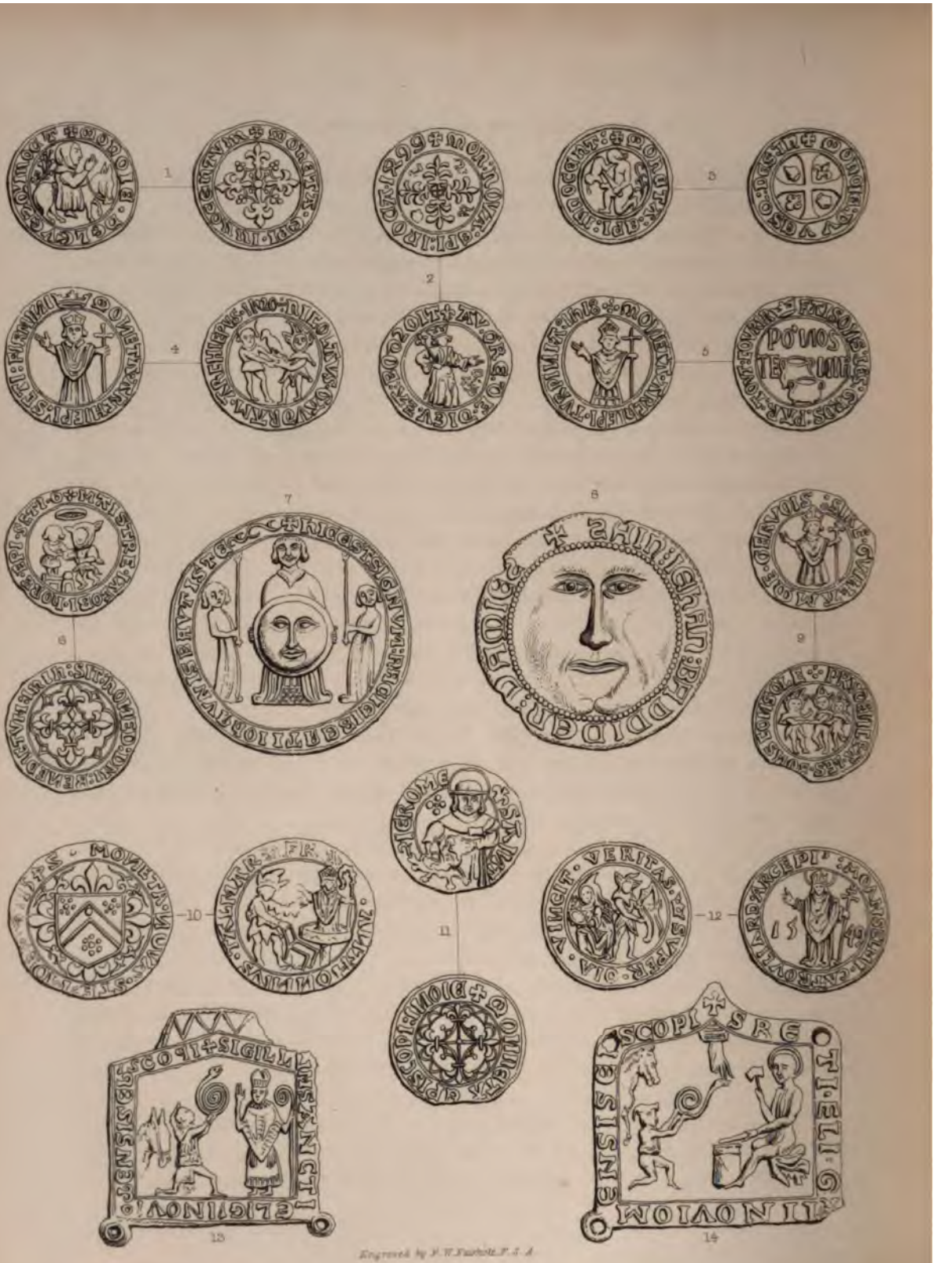
In course of time the right of celebrating these burlesque ceremonies was given to the laity as well as to the clergy, and then burlesque companies or societies were established in many towns in France. A company of fools (*la compagnie des foux*) was established at Cleves in 1381. Such festivals were most common in the towns of Flanders dependent on the duchy of Burgundy. There was a prince of fools at Lille;

la pragmatique sanction et les anciens droits, les dits fols ne doivent faire aucuns evesques ne arcevesques des fols, qui portent en l'eglise mitre, croix, crosse, et aultres ornemens pontificaux, jà pieça je requis à ceux de nos eglises de Saint Pere et de Saint Estienne de ceste ville, que en observant la dite pragmatique sanction voussissent cesser de faire en leurs esglises, à la dite feste aux fols, evesques et arcevesques ainsi que anciennement avoient acoustumé de faire; à quoi par special n'ont voulu obtemperer ceulz de la dite esglise de Saint Estienne, et encore ceste presente année ont eleu et fait ung arcevesque des fols, vicaire d'icelle esglise, lequel la veille et le jour de la Circoncision Nostre Seigneur, fist le service en la dite esglise, vestu *in pontificalibus*, en baillant la benediction solemnelle au peuple, et le dit arcevesque en allant parmy la ville, faisoit porter la croix devant ly, et bailliot la benediction en allant, en grant derision et vitupere de la dignité arciepiscopale; et quant on leur a dit que c'estoit mal fait, ils ont dit que ainsi le fait-on à Sens, et que vous mesmes avez comandé et ordonné faire la dite feste, combien que soye informé du contraire, et que pis est le dimenche avant Noel aucuns des dits Fols firent un jeu de personnages qu'ils appellent *le Jeu du sacre de leur arcevesque*, ou plus commun et plus publique lieu de la dite ville, et illec à la fin du dit jeu, de quelque vile et orde matière fat fait le dit sacre, en soy moquant et ou tres grant vitupere du saint mistere de consecration pontificale, et pourceque à ces choses je ne puis pas de moi mesmes pourvoir, pource qu'ils sont exempts de ma jurisdiction, et que les dites esglises sont à vous sugettes et aves puissance de reformer tels abuts et aultres qu'ils ont fait et font chacun an soubs umbre de la dite feste, je vous supplie. . . . il vous plaise de pourvoir aux dits exces et abuts, etc. Escript à Troyes le XXIII^me^ jour de janvier (*sans indication d'année*)."

and similar institutions are met with at Valenciennes, Douai, Bouchain, Langres, &c. Such also was the Society of Mother-fool (*la société de la mère-folle*) at Dijon, founded in 1482; a number of curious documents relating to which were published by Du Tilliot, who has also given engravings of the standards, chariots, &c., used by the company in their processions. The standard was painted with heads of fools, and bore for device the dictum of Solomon, *Stultorum infinitus est numerus.* This company was sometimes called *l'infanterie Dijonnoise;* its proceedings and deliberations were all carried on with a burlesque solemnity of form. The cut in our margin, taken from one of M. du Tilliot's plates, represents the head of one of the standards of this company: *La mère-folle* appears feeding a nest of young fools, while the *père-fou* is seen underneath. The company had a seal bearing the figure of *la mère-folle* seated, and round the field the same inscription as on the standard.

III. THE FEAST OF INNOCENTS.

The feast of Innocents was closely allied to, if not identical with, the feast of fools, and was celebrated in many towns of France with the same ceremonies. At Amiens, in December 1533, the chapter of the cathedral granted sixty sols for the expenses of holding the feast of Innocents. Various entries in the register of the chapter of Laon refer to this festival, in which it appears that the choristers went in procession through the town. On the eve of St. Nicholas, in winter, they elected a bishop of Innocents, and in the same church there was elected a patriarch of fools. In 1518 a man was condemned to prison for eight days, at the complaint of the chapter, for having thrown fire from the top of a portal on the patriarch and his "consorts" when they were celebrating their festival on the eve of the Epiphany. The feast of the Innocents was also held in the church of Senlis, where the expenses were paid by the chapter; such also was the case at Noyon, where, in 1430, two rival bishops of the Innocents were elected, which gave rise to a great dispute. Bishops or archbishops of Innocents were also elected at Roye, Peronne, Corbie, Toul, Rheims, &c. The old statutes of the church of Toul give an account of the ceremonies connected with the election of the bishop of the Innocents, which will be found in a work published at



Engraved by J. W. Starbolt, F. S. A.

HURLESQUE COINS &c. OF THE BISHOPS OF FOOLS AND INNOCENTS

Paris in 1837, entitled "Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens," &c., to which we are indebted for some of the materials of the present article. At the abbey of Corbie the expenses of the feast were paid by the prince of the Innocents, as he was called there (*festi Innocentium, cujus confraternitatis eodem anno* (1516) *eram princeps*). These expenses were so great, that the monk who is here speaking was obliged to sell a house to pay for them. In 1479 the chapter of Rheims agreed to pay the expenses of the feast of the bishop of Innocents, only on condition that they should not carry masks, that trumpets should not be sounded, and that they should not ride on horseback about the town.

There was a point of resemblance between the medieval and the classic Saturnalia which, until recently, has escaped observation: in the Roman festivals a sort of money, supposed to have been of thin copper or lead, was circulated under the name of *sigilla;* and these *sigilla,* during the festival, formed an extensive article of commerce. According to Macrobius, the sale of the *sigilla* (*sigillariorum celebritas*) lasted during seven days; the bishops of the Innocents and of fools had in like manner a sort of money struck in lead, a great quantity of which has been of late years discovered in France. The author of the work on this subject just quoted (*Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens, des Fous*) has given engravings of upwards of a hundred specimens, bearing appropriate types and legends, from which we give a selection in the accompanying plate. Some of them bear on the reverse crosses of a very elegant design.

The first of these, fig. 1 of our plate, has, on the obverse, a grotesque personage, wearing a capuchon, and mounted on an ass, with the legend MONOIE . DE LEVESQ INOCT ✠; on the reverse, a cross, with the same inscription in Latin, MONETA . EPI . INNOCENTVM ✠.

Fig. 2, found at Amiens, is curious for its early date. On one side is a king, with his left hand extended over the letters A and O and what appears like a musical note; with the inscription AV : GRE : DEDIEV : & : ABO'DROIT, i.e. *au gré de Dieu et à bon droit.* On the reverse is the inscription MON . NOVA . EPI . INOC . A . 1499, i.e. *moneta nova episcopi Innocentium anno* 1499.

Fig. 3, also found at Amiens, appears to be of a date anterior to the sixteenth century. On one side a soldier is represented slaying a child, one of the 'Innocents,' with the legend MONETA : EPI : INNOCENT; on the reverse is a plain cross, with two mitres and two fleurs-de-lis, and the inscription in French, MONOIE : DV : VESQ : DES : IN.

Fig. 4 is the money of the archbishop of the Innocents of the parish of St. Firmin at Amiens. On one side appears a bishop in the act of giving his benediction, MONETA . ARCHIEPI : SCTI : FIRMINI; on the other are two personages, one of

whom is dressed as a fool, with the inscription, NICOLAVS . GAVDRAM . ARCHIEPVS . 1520.

Fig. 5 relates to a man of the name of Turpin, who was archbishop of the Innocents at Amiens (where most of these pieces are found), apparently in the parish of St. Firmin. On one side we have a bishop, as before, with the inscription, MONETA . ARCHIEPI . TVRPINI . A° . 1518. On the reverse the inscription, FAISONS : CES : GROS : PAR : TOVT : COVRIR, surrounding a rebus (a thing much in vogue in France in the sixteenth century), consisting of the words PO' NOS, with three pots of the kind called *marmites*, between the letters TE and NIR, which makes the second line of the couplet,—

" Faisons ces gros partout courir,
Pour nos marmites entretenir."

A *gros* was a kind of coin.

Fig. 6 bears on the obverse two figures of fools, with the inscription, MAISTRE . IACOBI . HOBE . EPI . SCTI . G ✠, the last letters apparently designating the parish of St. Germain; and, on the reverse, the inscription, SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM : 1515.*

Fig. 9 has again a bishop on one side, with the inscription, SIRE . GVILLAMME . GERVOIS.; on the other three fools dancing, perhaps an allusion to one of the most essential acts of the feast of fools, with the inscription, PRVDENCE . A . LES . BONS . CONSOLE, *i.e.* prudence has good counsels.

Fig. 10 has on one side a shield with a chevron, and the inscription, MONETA . NOVA . STE . MOE . . . 1542. On the reverse is a fool, with a bishop on a scaffold, surrounded by the inscription, ANTHONNIVS . TALMAR . FR. . . The last letters are rather indistinct, and should probably be EP.

Fig. 11 has on one side a figure representing St. Jerome, with the inscription, SAINT IEROME; on the other the inscription, MONETA . EPISCOPI . INOCE ✠.

Fig. 12 has on the obverse a bishop, with a nimbus and double cross, and the date 1549, surrounded by the inscription, MO . ANSELMI . CATROVLLARD . ARCEPI. On the

* It may be observed, *en passant*, that some of these burlesque coins bear a striking resemblance to the pilgrims' signs described in a former page of the present volume (p. 21), and of which a more detailed account will be found in Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua." The pretended head of St. John the Baptist was a great object of pilgrimage in the cathedral of Amiens. Two of the *signs* of this relic, apparently as old as the thirteenth or fourteenth century, are engraved on our plate (figs. 7 and 8); the first, in which the priest appears shewing the face of St. John, has the inscription, HIC EST SIGNUM: FACIEI BEATI IOHAVNIS BAVTISTE; the other represents the face itself, and has the inscription, SAIN: IEHAN: BADDIDEN: DAMIES. Figs. 13 and 14 on our plate are similar signs of St. Eloi of Noion, who was also the object of pilgrimage. They represent St. Eloi (or Eligius) receiving an offering of a serpent, or a cierge in the form of one; in one the saint is working at his anvil. The inscription on the first is SIGILLVM . SANCTI . ELIGII . NOVIOMENSIS EPISCOPI; that on the other, S . BE . . TI . ELIGII . NOVIOMENSIS . EPISCOPI.

reverse is represented Truth, as a female seated and looking into a mirror, with a figure of a fool standing and holding some object which looks somewhat like a harp. The inscription is SVPER . OIA . VINCIT . VERITAS.

Since the publication of the work above-mentioned, Dr. Rigollot has discovered a considerable number of new types, among which one of the most curious is a leaden coin of the *pope of fools*, communicated by this scholar to the "Revue Numismatique" for 1842, p. 55, a representation of which we give in our margin. It is of the fifteenth or of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. On one side is the legend, MONETA . NOVA . ADRIANI . STVLTORV . PAPE, the last E being in the field of the piece, on which is represented the pope, with his double cross and tiara, with a fool in full costume approaching his bauble to the pontifical cross, and two persons behind, who form part of his escort. On the reverse is a "mother-fool," with her bauble, attended by a grotesque person with a cardinal's hat, with the oft-recurring legend, STVLTORV . INFINITVS . EST . NVMERVS.

We have some traces of the feast of Innocents and of that of fools in England, but they are rare and not very definite. The *rex stultorum* in the church of Beverley was prohibited as early as 1391. There was a child-bishop at St. Paul's church in London, who went in procession with songs, &c. about the city, and visited the houses of the citizens. These ceremonies are thus described in a royal proclamation issued in 1542:—"Whereas heretofore dyvers and many superstitious and chyldysh observances have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept in many and sundry places of this realm upon St. Nicholas, St. Catherines, St. Clements, and Holy Innocents, and such like holydaies; children be strangelie decked and apparayled to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women, and so ledde with songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money; and boyes do singe masse, and preache in the pulpits, with such other unfitinge and inconvenient usages, which tend rather to derysyon than enie true glorie to God, or honor of his sayntes." Entries relating to boy-bishops are found in some early church inventories; and a sculptured figure on a tomb in Salisbury Cathedral is supposed to represent such a bishop, but this appears to admit of considerable doubt.

IV. THE FÊTE-DIEU AT AIX IN PROVENCE.

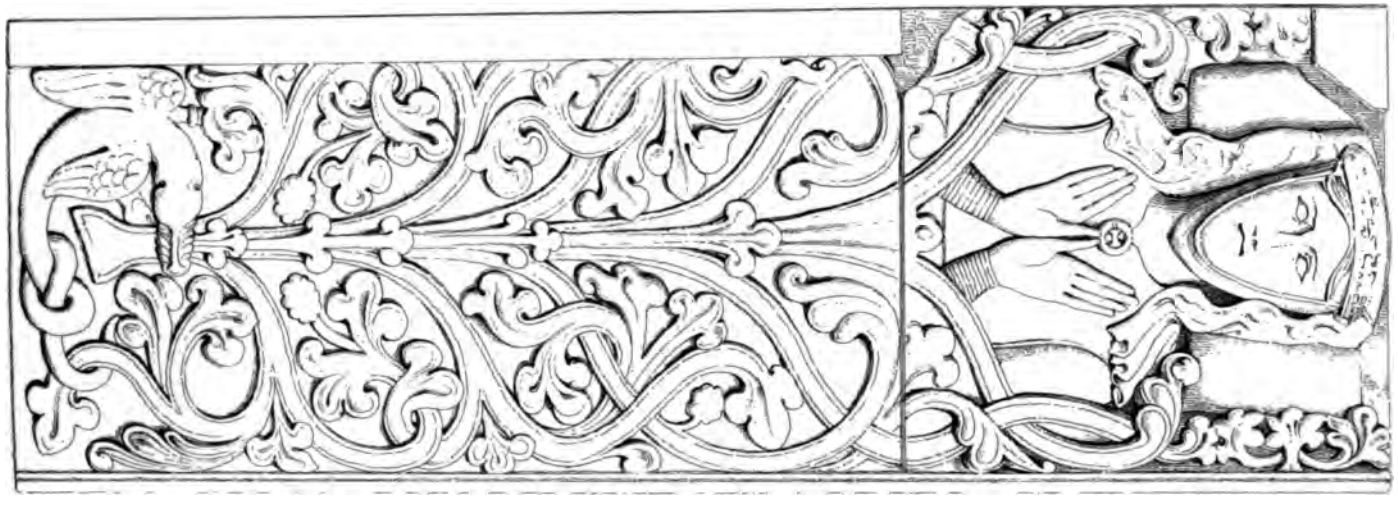
These festivals appeared in other places under a variety of different forms and names, which we will not undertake to enumerate. They were often accompanied with processions, in which different individuals were disguised to represent the persons of the Old and New Testament. One of the most remarkable of these was the Fête-Dieu at Aix in Provence, said to have been established by king René of Anjou in the fifteenth century, which was continued in the last century. In the ceremonies on this occasion there was a strange mixture of profane with sacred personages, and the coarse and ludicrous manner in which the latter were represented caused no little scandal to pious individuals in former days. The ceremonies were under the jurisdiction of a *prince d'Amour*, a *roi de Bazoche*, an *abbé de la ville*, &c., titles which seem to have had some allusion to the days of chivalry. The ceremonies consisted in mock-fights, dances, diableries, processions, &c., which are all described with engravings in a little volume entitled "Explication des Cérémonies de la Fête-Dieu d'Aix en Provence," printed at Aix in 1777. Our first woodcut, taken from one of the plates in this book, represents *Lou grànd juéc deis diáblés* (the great play of the devils). The two figures in the middle represent king Herod and his daughter, who are fallen into the power of the evil demons, armed with long tormenting-forks, for their treatment of John the Baptist. The different personages are disguised with masks, which seem sometimes to have represented the heads of animals, and which appear in several instances raised above the face. One holds his mask in his hand. Others, among whom must be reckoned Herod's daughter, hold their masks in their proper places with their left hands. According to the description of the play given in the book, "Herod

leaps sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, shielding himself as well as he can with his sceptre against the forks; he finishes his play by a great leap, and the devils quit him and wait for fresh orders!" Another "play" is entitled *La reino Sabo* (the queen of Sheba). Her Arabian majesty is represented on her way to visit Solomon. We cannot resist the temptation to transfer to our margin the figure of the queen of Sheba, as an admirable example of burlesquing royalty.

V. THE ABBOT OF MISRULE.

The processions and ceremonies which we have just mentioned appear to be the remains of the Saturnalia of the middle ages in a degraded form. They appear also to have been preserved in England under the superintendence of an abbot of misrule, or (as he was termed in Scotland) of unreason, or, as he was often called, the lord of misrule. Nearly all that we know of the ceremonies performed under the auspices of this dignitary is found in that oft-quoted passage of the puritan Stubbs, who published his "Anatomie of Abuses" in 1583. The lord or abbot of misrule was also an office of frequent occurrence in the households of princes and nobles; he was little more than a master of the Christmas revels, private Saturnals which it is not our object to describe on the present occasion. Stubbs tells us that,—"Firste, all the wilde heades of the parishe conventyng together, chuse them a graund capitaine (of all mischeef), whom thei innoble with the title of my lorde of misserule; and hym thei croune with great solemnitie, and adopt for their kyng. This kyng anointed chuseth forthe twentie, fourtie, three score, or a hundred lustie guttes, like to hymself, to waite uppon his lordely majestie, and to guarde his noble persone. Then every one of these his menne he investeth with his liveries of greene, yellowe, or some other light wanton colour; and as though that were not gaudie enough, thei bedecke themselves with scarffes, ribons, and laces, hanged all over with golde rynges, precious stones, and other jewelles. This doen, thei tye about either legge twentie or fourtie belles, with riche handekercheefes in their handes, and sometymes laied acrosse over their shoulders and neckes, borrowed, for the moste parte, of their pretie mopsies and loovyng Bessies, for bussyng them in the darcke. Thus all thinges sette in order, then have they their hobbie horses, their dragons, and other antiques, together with their gaudie pipers and thunderyng drommers, to strike up the devilles daunce withall. Then marche these heathen companie

towardes the churche and churcheyarde, their pipers pipyng, their drommers thonderyng, their stumppes dauncyng, their belles jynglyng, their handkerchefes swyngyng about their heades like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishyng amongest the throng: and in this sorte thei goe to the churche (though the minister bee at praier or preachyng), dauncyng and swingyng their handkercheefes over their heades in the churche, like devilles incarnate, with suche a confused noise that no manne can heare his own voice. Then the foolishe people thei looke, thei stare, thei laugh, thei fleere, and mounte upon formes and pewes to see these goodly pageauntes solemnized in this sorte. Then, after this, aboute the churche thei goe againe and againe, and so forthe into the churche yarde, where thei have commonly their sommer-haules, their bowers, arbours, and banquettyng-houses set up, wherein thei feaste, banquet, and daunce all that daie, and (peradventure) all that night too; and thus these terrestrial furies spend the Sabbaoth daie. Then, for the further innoblyng of this honorable lurdane (lorde, I should saie), thei have also certaine papers wherein is painted some babblerie or other of imagerie worke, and these thei call my lorde of misrules badges. These thei give to every one that will give money for them, to maintaine them in this their heathenrie, devilrie; and who will not shewe hymself buxome to them and give them money for these the devilles cognizaunces, thei shall bee mocked and flouted at shamefully—(yea, and many times carried upon a cowlstaffe, and dived over heade and eares in water, or otherwise most horribly abused). And so assotted are some, that thei not onely give them money, but also weare their badges and cognizances in their hattes or cappes openly. . . . . Another sorte of fantastical fooles bryng to these helhoundes (the lorde of misrule and his complices), some bread, some good ale, some newe cheese, some olde cheese, some custardes, some cracknels, some cakes, some flaunes, some tartes, some creame, some meate, some one thing, some another."



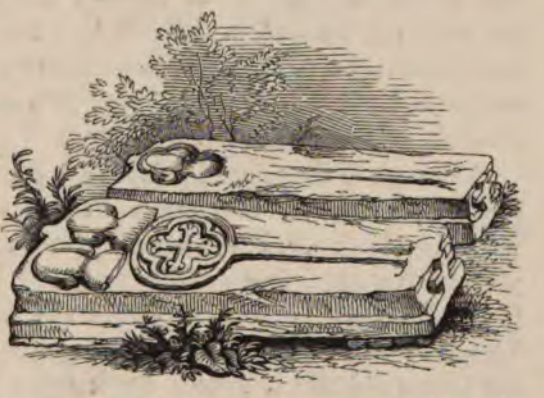
EFFIGY OF JOAN, PRINCESS OF WALES.

Engraved by J. W. Lambert, F.S.A. from a drawing by the late H. Longueville Jones.

MONUMENT OF JOANE PRINCESS OF NORTH WALES, DAUGHTER OF KING JOHN.

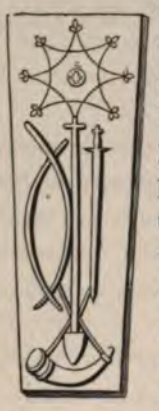
The very elegant slab, of which, by the kindness of the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, we are enabled to give the accompanying engraving, is now carefully preserved in the park of Baron Hill, Beaumarais, the residence of Sir R. Bulkeley, by whom it was saved from probable destruction. It was originally placed at Llanvaes, in the monastery founded by Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, prince of Wales, whose consort Joane, a natural daughter of king John, it commemorates. After the dissolution of the monastery it was removed, and, at the beginning of the present century, it was lying, face downwards, in a ditch near Llanvaes, the stone coffin it covered being used as a trough for watering horses. To this circumstance of inversion its good state of preservation is chiefly to be attributed. It is six feet long and three inches thick, and lies on a stone coffin of the same dimensions and about eighteen inches deep. It is composed of a fine hard gritstone or sandstone, and the carvings on its surface are still sharp and perfect, though part of one side has been sawn off.

The face of the princess, which was probably intended for a portrait, looks out somewhat sentimentally from the tracery which surrounds it. This kind of low half-effigy appears to have been the introductory step towards the more perfect sculptured figures which were common at a somewhat later period. In the churchyard of Silchester, as mentioned on a former occasion (p. 154), lie, in a very neglected state, the two tombs represented in the accompanying woodcut. In one of them the head of a lady is placed in a cross, in a similar manner to that on the tomb of the princess Joane, but it is much defaced. On the other we have two busts, apparently those of a man and his wife,



surmounting a cross. Neither of these monuments bear any inscription, and there is not even a tradition to point out the persons in memory of whom they were placed here; but they appear to be of the thirteenth century.

Monumental slabs, ornamented with the cross and no effigy, are common from the twelfth to at least the beginning of the fifteenth century; but it is difficult to fix their exact date, except as far as we can conjecture by the general appearance of the monument itself. A considerable number of examples are given in the plates to the first volume of Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." Sometimes they have an inscription, but the greater number are without; yet in many of them the cross is accompanied by the arms of the person whom it commemorates, or with the insignia of his trade. A sword is not unfrequently carved beside the cross. On that given in our margin, taken from one of Gough's plates, a sword is represented on one side of the cross, and two bows on the other, with a horn suspended beneath, and what appears to be a plain or defaced coat of arms at the foot of the cross. This monument is in Bowes church, Yorkshire, and is supposed to mark the grave of a member of the family of *Bowes*, on which name the two bows form a pun. Its date is uncertain. In a somewhat similar slab in the church of Kirkby-in-Ashfield, in the county of Nottingham, a pair of shears accompanies the cross, perhaps indicating that the person it commemorates was a clothier. Our next cut, a slab with a brass, is the tomb of Nicholas de Aumberdine (a fishmonger of London), in the chancel of Taplow church in Berkshire. The full-length figure of the deceased is here placed within the cross, and the trade is indicated by a fish at the foot. An inscription round the edge makes us acquainted with the name and trade, but it has no date, though it is supposed to be of about the reign of Richard II.



The tomb of the princess Joane is a fine example of a class of monuments that are not common. It was this princess who, according to tradition, was engaged in a romantic but tragical intrigue with one of her husband's captives, the youthful William de Braose, in the year 1229. William de Braose was a member of a powerful English family on the border, and had been taken prisoner and confined in Llewelyn's castle of Aber. His winning manners gained the confidence of the prince, and he was admitted to a great degree of familiarity, until at length he was ransomed. It is said that after he was set at liberty Llewelyn discovered proofs of the infidelity of

his wife, and resolved to take a ferocious revenge. He invited the unsuspecting lover to a feast, and there seized him, and immediately caused him to be hanged on a small eminence in the dell adjacent to the castle. The tradition says that the angry prince led his wife, who was ignorant of what had taken place, to a window which commanded a view of the gallows, and there, with a sarcastic smile, asked her how much she would give to see her paramour. A fragment of what appears to have been a Welsh ballad, containing the question of the prince and the lady's answer, was obtained by Pennant from the oral recitation of the peasantry of the neighbourhood, and is thus by him given in English :—

" ' Lovely princess,' said Llewelyn,
' What will you give to see your Willim ?'
' Wales, and England, and Llewelyn,
I'd freely give to see my Willim.' "

The princess lived eight years after this event, and appears to have regained the affections of her husband, who erected the monastery of Llanvaes over her grave, "whose pleasure it was," as Caradoc of Llancarvan expresses it, "to be here buried." The monastery was consecrated in 1240 by Howel bishop of Bangor; but, in a few years afterwards, it was burnt in an insurrection of the Welsh. Edward II., in pity for the sufferings of the brotherhood, remitted them the taxes they owed him. In the war with Owen Glyndowr, the friars having shown a disposition to take part with that chieftain, Henry IV. plundered their house, killed some of them, and imprisoned the rest; but he soon afterwards liberated them and made restitution. After the dissolution Henry VIII. sold the property, and it came into private hands. In the sequel the monastic buildings were destroyed, and the tomb of the princess, in memory of whom they had been erected, was desecrated in the manner above described.

THE FABULOUS NATURAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE history of science in the middle ages contains much that is rational and new, but it is mixed with strange and extravagant notions. This is peculiarly the case in the natural sciences, where, beyond the dim outline of positive observation, men's imagination ran wild, and the natural love of the marvellous gave being to a host of monsters which have gradually disappeared before the light of modern research. The vague notions of the ancients relating to the animals of the interior of Asia and Africa, formed the groundwork of many a strange and romantic medieval fiction, and these latter were intermixed with monstrous stories of Saracenic origin. From these materials were compiled a great number of medieval treatises on natural history, which most commonly passed under the title of *Bestiaries*. Natural history in the middle ages, especially subsequent to the eleventh century, was treated with two objects—the cure of diseases, or the moral doctrines which were supposed to be mystically typified in the qualities and habits of the different tribes of animated nature. The last was the peculiar object of the popular Bestiaries, where the description of each animal is followed immediately by its moralisation, as in Æsop's fables: medicine was the more peculiar object of the herbals. Bestiaries and herbals are of frequent occurrence in early manuscripts, and are often accompanied with drawings which picture to us more exactly than the text the notions of different people in different ages of the animals of far-distant climes.

One of the favourite animals of the medieval naturalists was the unicorn, or, as it was named by the ancients, the *monoceros*. Pliny (Hist. Nat. viii. 21) sums up in a few words the notions of the ancients relating to this animal: it had the body of a horse, the head of a stag, the feet of an elephant, the tail of a boar, with one black horn two cubits long in the middle of its forehead. According to the ancients, it was impossible to take this fierce animal alive. The medieval legends differed in this point: this animal, the symbol of chivalry, became tame in the presence of a pure virgin. One of the

earliest bestiaries, the Anglo-Norman poem of Philip de Thaun, written in the reign of Henry I. gives the following account of the mode in which it was caught :—

" Monosceros est beste,
un corn ad en la teste,
Pur ço ad si à nun,
de buc ad façun ;
Par pucele est prise,
or oez en quel guise.
Quant hom le volt cacer
e prendre e enginner,
Si vent hom al forest
ù sis repairs est ;
Là met une pucele
hors de sein sa mamele,
E par odurement
monosceros la sent ;
Dunc vent à la pucele,
e si baiset sa mamele,
En sun devant se dort,
issi vent à sa mort ;
Li hom survent atant,
ki l'ocit en dormant,
U trestut vif le prent,
si fait puis sun talent."

" Monosceros is an animal
which has one horn on its head,
Therefore it is so named,
it has the form of a goat ;
It is caught by means of a virgin :
now hear in what manner.
When a man intends to hunt it,
and to take and ensnare it,
He goes to the forest
where is its repair ;
There he places a virgin,
with her breast uncovered,
And by its smell
the monosceros perceives her ;
Then it comes to the virgin,
and kisses her breast,
Falls asleep on her lap,
and so comes to its death ;
The man arrives immediately,
and kills it in its sleep,
Or takes it alive,
and does as he likes with it."

If a damsel ventured on this undertaking who was not a pure virgin, she was in danger of being torn to pieces. Our woodcut, representing the capture of the unicorn in the manner described above, is taken from an illumination in a very good manuscript of the common Latin bestiary, of about the end of the twelfth century (MS. Harl. No. 4751, fol. 6, v°.). The horn of the unicorn was a terrible weapon, so hard and so sharp that nothing could resist it. The wonders of this horn, as related

by European and Arabian writers, are too numerous to repeat. It was supposed to be an absolute preventive against the effects of poison. When used as the handle of a knife it would give notice, by a sudden sweating, of the presence of poison in the meats that were served on the table; and any liquid drunk from a cup made of this material was a certain cure against the poison when taken. Even in the writings of the naturalists of the Elizabethan age, the unicorn occupies a prominent place. Although the question of its existence had then begun to be debated, the wonderful virtues of the horn were still recounted at full.

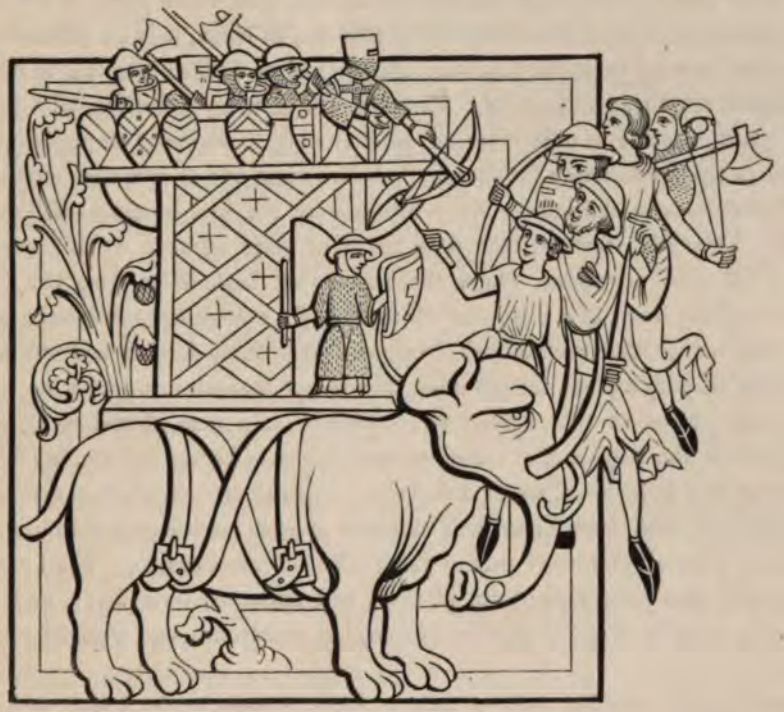
The great enemy of the unicorn was the elephant. When the former went in search of its gigantic foe, it is said that it sharpened its horn by rubbing it on a stone, and then slew the elephant by piercing it in the belly.

The people of the West, in their frequent intercourse with the Saracens, must often have had opportunities of making themselves well acquainted with the form and habits of the elephant; yet even this animal is the subject of many fables. As early as the year 807, the khalif Haroun al Raschid sent an elephant as a present to Charlemagne, which was an object of wonder and admiration to the Franks. In 1255 the king of France, St. Louis, sent an elephant to Henry III. of England, of which there is a drawing by Matthew Paris in MS. Cotton. Nero D. I., made, according to the statement of that writer, from nature, yet evidently inaccurate. Another drawing of the same elephant is found in a manuscript of the time, also in the Cottonian Library (Julius D. VII.), at the end of the chronicle of John of Wallingford. Both these chronicles give an account of the elephant and his habits, containing some truth mixed with a good deal of fable. It is described as ten feet high. The drawings of the elephant in old manuscripts differ essentially from one another. This animal is described by medieval naturalists as having no joints, yet in both the examples we give the joints are made very visible. The first is taken from a MS. of the fifteenth century (MS. Reg. 15 E. VI.), where it forms one of the illustrations of the romance of Alexander, which is interspersed with descriptions of the strange animals and monsters of the East. The elephant is here represented with hoofs like those of a cow, and its trunk is made in the form of a trumpet. The romance of Alexander, just mentioned, contains frequent allusions to

elephants and to their use in war among the Easterns, which must have made them familiar to the innumerable readers of that work. The English version of this romance, composed in the fourteenth century, pretends that there were forty thousand elephants in the army of Darius: —

> "Fourty thousand, alle astore,
> Olifauntes let go to-fore.
> Apon everiche olifaunt a castel,
> Theryn xii. knyghtis y-armed wel.
> They scholle holde the skirmyng,
> Ageyns Alisaundre the kyng."

In our next cut (taken from MS. Harl. No. 4751, fol. 8, v°., of the end of the twelfth century) we have an elephant, with its castle and armed men, engaged in battle.



The bestiaries relate many strange things of the elephant. They say that, though so large and powerful, and so courageous against larger animals, it is afraid of *a mouse;* and they inform us that it is of nature so cold, that it will never seek the company of

the female until, wandering in the direction of Paradise, it meets with the plant called the mandrake, and eats of it,* and that each female bears but one young one in her life.

The mandrake (*mandragora*) was one of the most remarkable objects of medieval superstition. At the end of the sixteenth century, when the credit of this plant was on the decline, Gerard, in his Herbal, gives the following description of it:—"The male mandrake hath great, broad, long, smooth leaves, of a deepe greene colour, flat spred upon the ground, among which come up the flowers of a pale whitish colour, standing every one upon a single smal and weak footstalk, of a whitish green colour: in their places grow round apples of a yellowish colour, smooth, soft, and glittering, of a strong smel, in which are conteined flat and smooth seedes, in fashion of a little kidney like those of the thorne apple. The roote is long, thick, whitish, divided many times into two or three parts, resembling the legs of a man, with other parts of his bodie adjoining thereto, as it hath beene reported; whereas, in truth, it is no otherwise than in the rootes of carrots, parsneps, and such like, forked or divided into two or more parts, which nature taketh no account of. There have been many ridiculous tales brought up of this plant, whether of olde wives, or some runnagate surgeons or phisickmongers, I know not (a title bad inough for them); but sure some one or moe that sought to make themselves famous in skillfullnes above others were the first brochers of that errour I spake of. They adde further, that it is never or verie seldome to be found growing naturally but under a gallows, where the matter that hath fallen from the dead bodie hath given it the shape of a man, and the matter of a woman the substaunce of a female plant; with many other such doltish dreames. They fable further and affirm, that he who woulde take up a plant thereof must tie a dogge thereunto to pull it up, which will give a great shrike at the digging up; otherwise, if a man should do it, he should certainly die in short space after; besides many fables of loving matters, too full of scurrilitie to set foorth in print, which I forbeare to speake of; all which dreames and olde wives tales you shall from henceforth cast out of your bookes and memorie, knowing this that they are all and every part of them false and most untrue. For I myselfe and my servaunts also have digged up, planted, and replanted verie many, and yet never could either perceive shape of man or woman, but sometimes one straight roote, some-

* Si autem voluerit facere filios, vadit ad orientem prope paradisum, et est ibi arbor quæ vocatur mandragora, et vadit cum femina sua, quæ prius accipit de arbore, et dat masculo suo, et seducit eum donec manducet, statimque in utero concipit. MS. Harl. No. 4751, fol. 8. v°. The English metrical bestiary, printed, from a manuscript of the thirteenth century in the British Museum, in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 222, says:—

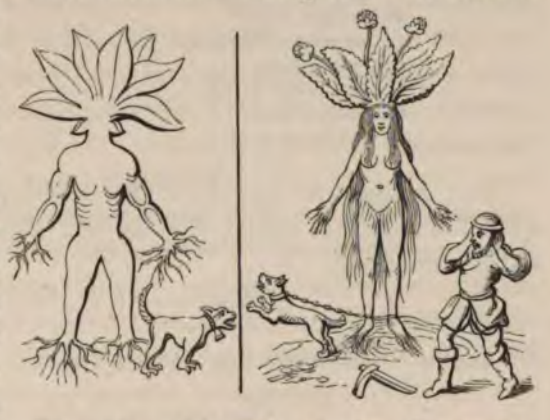
"Oc he arn so kolde of kinde,
Ðat no golsipe is hem minde,
til he neten of a gres,
Ðe name is mandragores,
siðen he bigeton on, &c."

times two, and often sixe or seaven braunches comming from the maine great roote, even as nature list to bestowe upon it as to other plants. But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but to eate and drinke, have bestowed some of their time in carving the rootes of brionie, forming them to the shape of men and women, which falsifying practice hath confirmed the errour amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them, upon their report, to be the true mandrakes."

The extraordinary virtues of the mandrake were celebrated even in the classic ages, and Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxv. 13) describes the caution with which it was gathered. Those who are going to dig it up, he says, avoid a contrary wind, and first circumscribe it with three circles with a sword; afterwards they dig, looking towards the west. It was said by some to have been the ingredient used by Circe,—

> " whose charm'd cup
> Whoever tasted, lost his upright shape,
> And downward fell into a grovelling swine."

And hence it was by some named *Circeum*. Pliny says nothing of the close resemblance which, in the middle ages, the root of the mandrake was said to bear to the human form, even to the distinction of the sexes in the male and female plant. The woodcut in the margin gives two representations of the mandrake: one from MS. Cotton. Vitel. C. III. of the tenth century, where it is illustrative of the Anglo-Saxon translation of the pseudo-Apuleius *de herbis;* the other, of the female plant, from drawings by an Italian artist, in MS. Addit. No. 5281 (in the Brit. Mus.), of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. The Saxon treatise says of it:—"This plant, which is called *mandragora*, is great and large in appearance, and it is very efficacious.



When thou shalt gather it, when thou comest to it, thou wilt perceive it by its shining by night like a lamp. When thou first seest its head, bind it quickly with iron, lest it escape thee. Its virtue is so great that when an impure man comes to it it quickly escapes him. Therefore do thou bind it with iron, as we said before, and so thou shalt dig around it, so as not to touch it with the iron; but it would be better to dig the earth with an ivory staff: and when thou seest its hands and feet, bind them. Then take the other end, and bind it to a dog's neck, so that the dog be hungry; afterwards throw meat before the dog, where he cannot

reach it without tearing up the plant. It is said of this plant that it has so great power, that whatever thing draws it up, that thing will instantly perish." Philip de Thaun, in his bestiary, adds some particulars to this descriptive account. He says:—

" Hom ki la deit cuillir,
entur la deit fuir,
Suavet belement
qu'il ne l'atuchet nent;
Puis prenge un chen lied,
à li sait atachet,
Ki ben seit afermée,
treis jurs ait junée,
E pain li seit mustrez,
de luinz seit apelez;
Li chens à sai trarat,
la racine rumperat,
E un cri geterat,
li chens mort encharat
Pur le cri qu'il orat;
tel vertu cel herbe ad,
Que nuls ne la pot oir,
sempres n'estoce murrir.
E se li hom le oait,
enes le pas murreit:
Pur ço deit estuper
ses orailes, e guarder
Que il ne oi le cri,
qu'il morge altresi,
Cum li chens ferat
ki le cri en orat."

" The man who is to gather it
must dig round about it,
Must take great care
that he does not touch it;
Then let him take a dog bound,
let it be tied to it,
Which has been close shut up,
and has fasted three days,
And let it be shewn bread,
and called from afar;
The dog will draw it to him,
the root will break,
And will send forth a cry,
the dog will fall down dead
At the cry which he will hear;
such virtue this plant has,
That no one can hear it,
but he must always die.
And if the man heard it,
he would immediately die:
Therefore he must stop
his ears, and take care
That he hear not the cry,
lest he die,
As the dog will do
which shall hear the cry."

This superstitious legend was an article of belief down to a late period, and is alluded to more than once in Shakespeare. Thus, in the "Second Part of Henry VI." act iii. scene 2,—

" Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan."

And in "Romeo and Juliet," act iv. sc. 3,—

" And shrieks like mandrakes, torn out of the earth,
That living mortals, hearing them, run mad."

Figures of the male and female mandrake, with its roots representing a clearly defined human body, are found in nearly all the illustrated herbals from the tenth century to the sixteenth. It may be sufficient to refer to the *Herbarius zü Teütsch*, printed at Augsburg in 1488; the *Hortus Sanitatis*, printed in 1491; the "Grete Herball," printed in England early in the sixteenth century, and the somewhat earlier French work from which it was compiled. The fabulous accounts of this plant had,

however, begun to be controverted at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and in a few illustrated books, such as the collection of woodcuts of plants published at Franckfort-am-Mayn, in 1536, under the title of *Herbarum imagines vivæ*, the mandrake is represented with a carrot-shaped root, which presents no extraordinary characteristics. Still, at a much later period, the old legend is frequently referred to, as in Sir William Davenant's comedy of "The Wits" (Dodsley's "Old Plays," vol. viii. p. 397),—

> "He stands as if his legs had taken root,
> A very mandrake."

The delusion was long supported by the tricks of people who made artificial mandrakes, which were carried about and sold "unto ignorant people." Sir Thomas Browne ("Vulgar Errors," lib. ii. c. 6), speaking of the common belief relating to the mandrake, says:—"But this is vain and fabulous, which ignorant people and simple women believe; for the roots which are carried about by impostors to deceive unfruitful women, are made of the roots of canes, briony, and other plants; for in these, yet fresh and virent, they carve out the figures of men and women, first sticking therein the grains of barley or millet where they intend the hair should grow; then bury them in sand, until the grains shoot forth their roots, which, at the longest, will happen in twenty days: they afterward clip and trim those tender strings in the fashion of beards and other hairy integuments. All which, like other impostures once discovered, is easily effected, and the root of white briony may be practised every spring." In Lupton's third book of "Notable Things," and in Hill's "Natural and Artificial Conclusions," other methods of making artificial mandrakes are described.

The medieval naturalists speak of the mandrake as being a remedy for all diseases "except death." It was most celebrated for its aphrodisiac virtues, for its supposed efficacy in removing barrenness, and for its power as a soporific. The juice or decoction of the root taken as a drink, the apples eaten, or even if only placed under the ear in bed, were said to produce deep sleep. This quality is frequently alluded to in the old writers, such as Shakespeare ("Antony and Cleopatra," act i. scene 5):—

> "*Cleo.*—Ha! ha!
> Give me to drink mandragore!
> *Char.*—Why, madame?
> *Cleo.*—That I might sleep out this great gap of time."

And Massinger ("The Unnatural Combat"):—

> "Here's music
> In this bag shall wake her, though she had drunk opium,
> Or eaten mandrakes."

As a specimen of other still more extraordinary virtues ascribed to this plant, we may quote a story told by the writer of an English herbal of the fifteenth century, in MS. Arundel (Brit. Mus.), No. 42, fol. 31, v°., who says:—"Whanne y was yongere, y knew a man of age passyng 80 yer: opynyon of hym fleyh that wonder he was in gold, and that a mandrage rote he hadde in shap of man, and that every day he fond a fayr peny therby. This opynyon was rif of hym. Thre yonge men and y, only for the opynyon, on a nyght hym absent, privyly that non wiste but we, brosten the lok of a strong litel cheste of his, and mo suche vessels had he noght, and we fonde ryght noght ther-yn but a clene lynen clowt, and ther-yn wondyn an ymage nerhand fot long, havyng alle lyneamentys and here in alle placis and privy membris and al that verre man hath, saf flessh, bon, and lif, and a faire peny therby; more other thyng founde we non. Wel we assayden and provedyn and foundyn and knewyn that it was a rote: wel we sette oure marke on the ageyn another tyme, but myght we nevere after sen the cheste ne no swuche thyng of that man mor."

The Saxon Herbal in the Cottonian Manuscript to which we have alluded above, is interesting as the earliest treatise of this kind in our language. It is full of drawings of plants, which, considering the age, are not ill-executed; and these are intermixed with drawings of venemous insects and reptiles, against the bites of which the different plants were believed to be efficacious remedies. The great number of cases of this kind would seem to shew that in those early times our island abounded more in noxious insects and reptiles than at present. Among the former our older writers mention not unfrequently the *attercop*, or spider, as it is generally interpreted. The Saxon Herbal furnishes us with the figure of an *attercop*, which we give in the margin. It can hardly be considered as an attempt to represent a common spider; and as our native spiders are not of the dangerous character under which the attercop is represented, we cannot help supposing that the latter name belonged to some species of the insect now unknown. A collection of miracles of St. Winefred, printed by Hearne from a manuscript apparently of the end of the fourteenth century, tells us how "In the towne of Schrowysbury setan iij^{e} men togedur, and as they seton talkyng, an atturcoppe cum owte of the wowz (walls), and bote hem by the nekkus alle thre, and thowgh hit grevyd hem at that tyme but lytulle, sone aftur hit roncoled and so swalle her throtus and forset her breythe, that ij. of hem weron deed, and the thrydde was so nygh deed that he made his testament, and made hym redy in alle wyse, for he hoped nowghte but only dethe." He was, however, cured by the application of water in which the bones of St. Winefred had been washed!

Our next cut, taken from MS. Egerton (in the British Museum), No. 613, fol. 34, v°., represents an imaginary bird, called by the medieval naturalists the *caladrius*. According to the Latin bestiary of the Harleian manuscript already quoted, the caladrius was a bird entirely white, which loved to frequent the halls of kings and princes. If it were brought to any one labouring under a dangerous illness, it would turn its head from the patient in case there was no hope of recovery; but if the man were not fated to die, then the bird "looked him in the face, and, by so doing, took his infirmity upon itself, and flew into the air towards the sun, and burnt his infirmity and dispersed it; and so the sick man would be cured."* The manuscript from which our woodcut is taken contains the Anglo-Norman metrical bestiary of William the clerk, composed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which gives the following account of this bird:—

" Kaladrius est uns oiseals
Sor toz autres curteis e beals,
Altresi blanc com est la neifs.
Mut par est cist oiseals curteis.
Aucone feiz le trove l'em
El pays de Jerusalem.
Quant home est en grant maladie,
Ke l'em desespeire de sa vie,
Donc est cist oiseals aportez;
Se cil deit estre confortez
E repasser de cel malage,
L'oisel li torne le visage,
E tret à sei l'enfermeté.
E s'il ne deit aver santé,
L'oiseals se torne autre part,
Jà ne fra vers li regart."

" Caladrius is a bird
Courteous and beautiful above all others,
As white as is the snow.
Very courteous this bird this.
Sometimes one finds it
In the country of Jerusalem.
When a man is in great sickness,
That one despairs of his life,
Then this bird is brought;
If this man is to be solaced
And to recover from his disease,
The bird turns to him its face,
And draws to itself the infirmity.
And if he is not to recover his health,
The bird turns the other way,
It will not give a look towards him."

Among the monsters of the deep one of the most remarkable was the *serra* or *serre*. It is described as having the head of a lion and the tail of a fish, with wings to fly.

* Et assumit omnem ægritudinem hominis intra se, et volat in aera contra solem, et comburit infirmitatem ejus, et dispergit eam, et sanetur infirmus.—MS. Harl. No. 4751, fol. 40, r°.

When the serre sees a ship, the bestiaries tell us, it flies up, and as long as it can keep above water near the ship it holds off the wind, so that the ship cannot move. When it can support itself no longer in the air it dives into the water, and the ship is then freed from the unnatural calm. Our cut is taken from MS. Egerton, No. 613, fol. 33, v°.

"The whale," says Philip de Thaun, "is a very great beast. It lives always in the sea; it takes the sand of the sea, spreads it on its back, raises itself up in the sea, and lies still on the surface. The sea-farer sees it, and thinks that it is an island, and lands upon it to prepare his meal. The whale feels the fire, and the ship, and the people, and will dive and drown them all if it can." It is added, as another "nature" of the whale, that "when it wants to eat it begins to gape, and, at the gaping of its mouth, it sends forth a smell, so sweet and so good that the little fish, who like the smell, will enter into its mouth, and then it will kill them and swallow them." Our cut is taken from MS. Harl. No. 4751, fol. 69, v°. It is further illustrated by an incident in the curious legend of St. Brandan. "And than they sayled forth, and came soone after to that lond; but bycause of lytell depthe in some

place, and in some place were grete rockes; but at the laste they wente upon an ylonde, wenynge to them they had ben safe, and made thereon a fyre for to dresse theyr dyner; but Saynt Brandon abode styll in the shyppe. And whan the fyre was ryght hote, and the meet nygh soden, than this ylonde began to move; wherof the monks were aferde, and fledde anone to the shippe, and left the fyre and meet behynde them, and mervayled sore of the movyng. And Saynt Brandon comforted them, and sayd that it was a grete fysshe named Jasconye, whiche laboureth nyght and daye to put his tayle in his mouth, but for gretness he may not." A year afterwards the adventurers return to the same spot, "and anone they sawe theyr caudron upon the fysshes backe, whiche they had left there xii. monethes to-fore." This story appears to have come from the East. Every reader will recollect the similar incident in the history of Sinbad in the "Arabian Nights."

The syren of the middle ages was a mere copy of the poetical being of the ancients, and had little in common with the nixes and mermaids of northern popular mythology. The representation of this creature given in our margin is taken from one of the illustrations to a Latin bestiary in MS. Sloane, No. 3544. According to the legend, when the weather was stormy the mermaid began her song, the sweetness of which lulled the sailor who heard it to sleep, and thus he perished in the tempest.

We have given but a few specimens of the fables relating to animals which are scattered over the bestiaries and other writings of the middle ages, but we have not space to continue the list. The subject is worthy of attention, not only because it forms a curious chapter of the history of the developement of knowledge and intelligence, but because, if the strange beasts which are sculptured with so much profusion among the architectural ornaments of the middle ages have, as some suppose, a symbolical meaning, it is in these bestiaries that we must look for their interpretation, for, as we have observed at the beginning of this article, in these each animal is made the subject of a moralisation. Thus the unicorn is said to represent the Saviour, and the maiden the Virgin Mary; the male and female elephants signify Adam and Eve; the caladrius is typical of Christ, who took upon himself the sins of those who are to be saved; the serre and the whale both represent the devil; and the syren is symbolica

of the riches of this world, which allure men to their destruction. In this manner the whole range of animal nature was made to be full of spiritual instruction.

The popularity of these wonderful stories had a powerful and injurious influence in retarding the advancement of science. Fable was more acceptable to the general reader than truth, and it was long before even scholars themselves could emancipate their minds from this intellectual thraldom. Even serious and (in general) accurate writers, like William de Rubruquis, were led astray. The earliest medieval account of such monsters is contained in a supposititious letter from Alexander the Great, during his Indian expedition, to his master Aristotle, which appears to be derived from some Eastern original, and of which there is an Anglo-Saxon translation. It was from this circumstance that the fabulous accounts of monsters supposed to have been seen and overcome by this great hero found their way into the Romance. The belief in them was in the fourteenth century riveted on people's minds by the no less extraordinary adventures of Sir John Maundevile.