

II.

NOTICE OF A SMALL FIGURE IN JET OF ST JAMES THE GREATER, RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM BY JAMES GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., AND PROBABLY A SIGNACULUM WORN BY A LEPROUS PILGRIM TO ST JAGO DI COMPOSTELLA ; WITH NOTES ON "PILGRIMS' SIGNS" OF THE MIDDLE AGES, AND A STONE MOULD FOR CASTING LEADEN TOKENS, FOUND AT DUNDRENNAN ABBEY. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

The curious little figure in jet (see wood-cut), which is the subject of this notice, was obtained by James T. Gibson Craig, Esq., in Florence, and recently presented to the Museum. Mr Craig knew nothing of its history, and for some time after it was deposited in the Museum I was equally ignorant of its precise character, though I had suspected from the first that it was a *Signaculum* or "Pilgrim's Sign," probably of St James, but I had never seen one similar. Shortly afterwards I found, in the "Anzienger für Schweizerische Geschichte und Altherthumskunde, Zurich 1869," a description, by Dr Ferdinand Keller, of a figure in jet precisely similar in all its details, from which I was enabled to identify this one as beyond all doubt a *Signaculum* of St James of Compostella, probably worn by a leprous pilgrim to that famous shrine.

The figure, which is of a fine lustrous jet, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, represents St James in the garb of a pilgrim, attired in the long garment called "*pera*" or "*esclavina*," his right hand

grasping the "*bourdon*"¹ or pilgrim's staff, furnished with a hook, from which is suspended the triangular wallet, his left hand holding the



Figure in Jet of St James the Greater.

$4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.

book of the Gospel, significant of his character as an Apostle, and on his

¹ The word *Bourdon* is explained by Cotgrave as meaning "a drone bee;" also "the humming of a bee;" also "the drone of a bagpipe;" also "a pilgrim's staff." Sir John Hawkins says: "The pilgrims to St James of Compostella excavated a staff or walking-stick into a musical instrument for recreation on their journey"—which was doubtless used to accompany the songs with which they beguiled the tedium of travel.

head the large slouched hat with the brim turned back, and a scallop shell affixed in front.

St James is frequently represented in pilgrim's garb on rood screens,¹ and several instances of this are noticed in "East Anglia" by Husenbeth. In a curious volume, entitled "Pictor Christianus Eruditus," &c., by Friar John Interian de Ayala (Madrid, 1730, folio), the common modes of representing St James are thus described:—"Sanctus Jacobus Zebedei filius, Hispaniæ primarius, Patronus atque Apostolus, bifariam sæpius a pictoribus describitur. Pingitur enim peregrini habitu, oblongo innixus baculo, ex quo etiam bursa pendeat, et circa humeros amiculo quod Hispani *Esclavinano* vocant; insuper et cum galero satis amplo quem tamen ornant conchæ, quæ circa littus maris se offerunt, sed ab aliis etiam cum gladio pingitur cumque libro aperto. Sæpe etiam pingitur equo insistens, armatusque gladio, acies Maurorum impigre perrumpens, eosque ad interneconem usque cædens" (Lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 320).

The custom of going on pilgrimages to the holy places in the East is noticed at a very early period in the history of the Christian Church in Great Britain. When the Irish monk Dicuil was attending the school of Suibneus, the seminary was visited by a monk named Fidelis, who gave the scholars an oral relation of his travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, an abstract of which has been preserved to us by Dicuil in his treatise "De Mensura Orbis Terræ." It is there stated that Fidelis sailed into the Red Sea by the canal which then communicated with it from the Nile. This canal, as we know from other sources, was finally closed by the Caliph Abu Giafar Almansor in a.d. 767, so that Fidelis must have passed through it before that time. Dicuil's book was written in the autumn of a.d. 825. In these early times the pilgrims were chiefly clerics impelled by the fervour of their devotion; but in later times, when pilgrimage had become an established institution in the Church, the shrines of the principal saints were thronged by persons of every rank and condition from all quarters of Christendom. The vow of pilgrimage having been made, the pilgrim-elect set his worldly affairs in order, and the pilgrimage was solemnly undertaken *in facie ecclesie* by the blessing of the pilgrim's habit and staff by the priest. This ceremony was performed with great solemnity in the case of royal and noble pilgrims. Thus Roger de

¹ Husenbeth's Emblems of Saints, p. 85.

Hoveden relates that Richard of England came to Tours "et ibi recepit peram et baculum peregrinationis suæ de manibus Willelmi Turonensis." Du Cange¹ quotes a case illustrating this custom:—"In prædicta etiam ecclesia, peregrinis de castro, presbyter consuevit benedicere peras et baculos, et missam si ei placuerit celebrare; et solum denarium de oblationibus recipere."

In token of the accomplishment of their vows when they had arrived at the shrines they visited, the pilgrims received the special *signacula* of the saints blessed by the priests. These were of various forms and materials, but they were usually such as could be easily fastened to the dress or worn about the person. The most common forms were small brooches or images of pewter or lead furnished with pins, and bearing inscriptions or devices appropriate to the saints they represented. No place was more famous for these than Canterbury, which had a multitude of shrines of various degrees of sanctity and popularity, from that of St Thomas the Martyr, to that of

" Sir John Schorn,
Gentleman born,
Who conjured the Devil into a boot."

We learn from a letter of Dr John Stokesley, Bishop of London, to Crumwell, that "this Sir John is much sought for the ague;" and in those of his *signacula* which have survived the wreck of time he is represented standing in a pulpit, grasping with both hands a boot as high as the pulpit itself, from the top of which the devil's head is peering.

It was also customary for persons of high rank to present brooches of costly materials and workmanship to the shrines of the saints they visited. Thus, in 1286, Eleanor, Queen Consort of England, visited the following shrines and presented fermails or brooches which had been made by William Farrington, goldsmith in London, viz.:—St Ethelwold at Cerne; St Richard, at Chichester; St Denis; St Edmund, at Pontigny; St Martin, at Tours; St Wulfram, at Abbeville; and St Eutrope, at Xaintes.

Pilgrimages to St James of Compostella became very popular in this country after the accession of Pope Calixtus II. (A.D. 1119), who recommended English pilgrims to make this pilgrimage twice, instead of going once to Rome. At that time it was by no means free from danger. We

¹ Glossarium *sub voce* pera.

learn from Roger de Hoveden that Patrick Earl of Salisbury was killed on his way home from Compostella in 1168; and that in 1187 King Richard of England compelled the Basques and Navarrese to swear that they would keep the peace with the pilgrims in all time coming. In the *Consuetudines* or regulations for the canons of Hereford Cathedral, drawn up about 1250, the times of pilgrimage allowed are as follows:—In England, three weeks; in Paris, at St Denis', seven weeks; in Rome, and at St James' (Compostella), sixteen weeks; at St Edward's, in Pontivake, eight weeks; at Jerusalem, one year. In Scotland it was enacted in the Laws of the Burghs that pleas against a pilgrim were to be stayed until his return, and that whether he went to the Holy Land or to St James' his house and his property were to be "in the king's peace and the bailzei's quhill the tyme that God bryng him hame againe." Pilgrimages, however, were sometimes made by proxy. In 1378 Sir John Northwoode of Kent desired that two pilgrims might be sent to visit the Shadow of St Peter, St Paul, and St James of Galicia.

Pareira gives a lively description¹ of the crowds of pilgrims of all nations, languages, and tongues frequenting the shrine of St James, and mentions that there were interpreters for foreign languages provided, who carried silver wands with a hand and finger pointed at the top to show the relics with—

"Huc Lysiæ properant urbes, huc gentes Iberæ
 Turbæ adeunt, Gallique omnes, et Flandria cantu
 Insignis, populique Itali, Rhenusque bicornis
 Confluit, et donis altaria sacra frequentant.
 Elonge veniam exorant atque oscula figunt
 Liminibus, redeuntque domos; variasque galeris
 Jacobi effigies addunt, humerosque bacillis
 Circumdant, conchisque super fulgentibus ornant."

From this it appears that the *signacula* which the pilgrims to Compostella carried away with them were various images of St James and scallop shells.

The scallop shell is often spoken of as if it betokened a pilgrim to the Holy Land, but it was only properly obtained by pilgrimage to

¹ Paciecidos, lib. vii. p. 117.

Compostella, the palm branch being the true symbol of pilgrimage to Palestine. The legendary life of St James accounts for the adoption of the scallop shell as the special *signaculum* of St James, by a miraculous appearance of the shells on a horse and rider rescued from drowning by the vessel which conveyed the remains of the apostle to Compostella; but the common-sense suggestion of Erasmus is preferable, viz., that this particular *signaculum* was adopted simply because the adjacent sea abounds in them, and thus they became a fruitful source of revenue to the church of Compostella, which enjoyed a monopoly of them throughout the Middle Ages. The Archbishops of Compostella had conferred upon them by the Popes Alexander III., Gregory IX., and Clement V., a faculty to excommunicate all persons who should sell such shells to pilgrims anywhere except at Compostella.

In the time of John Langlands, author of "Piers Plowman's Vision," the custom of obtaining these *signacula* on this pilgrimage was so well known, that he alludes to them without further explanation as "shells of Gallice."¹ Erasmus in his "Pilgrimage" represents one of his interlocutors as meeting a pilgrim, and addressing him as follows:—"But what kind of apparel is that which thou hast on? Thou art beset with semicircular shells, laden on every side with images of tin and lead, adorned with necklaces of straw, while your arm displays a bracelet of beads of serpents' eggs." "I have been to St James of Compostella," replies the pilgrim, "and returning, I visited the Virgin beyond the sea,² who is very famous among the English." In "Piers Plowman's Vision," also, the pilgrims who never asked for St Truth are represented as meeting a man—

<p>"Apparailled as a paynim In pilgrimes wyse, He bar a burdoun y-bounde With a broad liste In a wythwynde wyse Y-wotnden about ; A bolle and a bagge</p>	<p>He bar by his syde And hundred of ampulles On his hat seten Signes of Synay And shelles of Galice And many a crouche on his cloke And keyes of Rome</p>
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¹ Compostella was the chief town of Galicia.

² The shrine of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham. Piers Plowman says—"Hermits on a heape, with hoked staves, wenten to Walsingham."

And the Vernicle before	I have been in both ;
For men sholde knowe	In Armonye and Alisandre,
And se by his signes	In many other places ;
Whom he sought hadde.	Ye may se by my signes
This folk fraynyd hym fyrst	That sitten on myn hatte,
Fro whennes he came	That I have walked ful wide
“ From Synay,” he saide,	In weet and in drye,
And from our Lord’s sepulchre ;	And sought good seintes
In Bethlehem and in Babytone,	For my soules helthe.”

Also, in the Supplement to the “*Canterbury Tales*,” the pilgrims to the shrine of St Thomas are represented as purchasing signs, as the manner was, before they left the church—

“ Eche man set his silver in such things as they liked
 And in the meen while the miller had y-pikid
 His bosom full of signys of Canterbury brooches

They set their signys upon their hedes and some upon their capp
 And sith to the dyner-ward they ’gan for to stap.”

But while the common pilgrims contented themselves with carrying away the ordinary *signaculum* of the scallop shell, others who had more special reasons for gratitude, or more particular favours to ask from the saint, provided themselves with more costly *signacula*, in which the saint was personally represented—the *varias effigies Jacobi*, as Pareira calls them,¹ and which having been blessed at his shrine, were believed to be possessed of healing virtues.

I have not been able to trace satisfactorily how St James came to be regarded as the patron saint of lepers.² But that he was thus regarded, especially on the Continent, there seems to be no doubt. The royal palace of St James in London is so named, because it stands on the site of an ancient hospital of St James the Greater, which is on record so early as 1100, and was endowed for the reception and maintenance of fourteen leprous women. There were leper hospitals of St James also at

¹ See *antea*, p. 66.

² In the exhaustive essay on *Lepers and Leper Hospitals in Britain*, by Sir James Y. Simpson, this fact is not alluded to, although the English hospitals are specified.

Chichester, Doncaster, Dunwich, Ipswich, and Tannington in Kent. Dr Keller states that all the leper-houses in Switzerland are termed "St Jakob's Siechenhauser."

In the Society's collection of original documents there is preserved a curious printed form of the fifteenth century, which bears to be issued agreeably to the tenor of letters by His Holiness Pope Alexander VI. It contains an offer of the pious suffrages of the Religious of the Hospital of St James at Compostella for the souls of those (or of their friends) who shall give or send the twentieth of a ducat for rebuilding the greater hospital there, and is provided with blank spaces for writing in the names of the donor of the money, and the name of the departed whose souls are to be remembered on account of the donation, as follows:—

"In Dei Nomine Amen Noverint universi cristifideles qualiter Santissimus dominus noster felicitis recordacionis Innocentius papa octavus concessit de speciali privilegio et gracia ut animarum illorum quicumque caritate ab hac luce decesserint salus proemetur quod si qui parentes amici aut alii cristifideles pietate commoti cujusvis nacionibus et provincie et ubicunque fuerint ac ubicunque degant vicesimam partem unius ducati pro anima uniuscujusque sic defuncti dederint aut miserint pro re-edificatione hospitalis majoris apud sanctum Jacobum in Compostella nec non pro duarum capellarum in dicto hospitali fundacione quarum una viris alia mulieribus tam dantes et mittentes quam defuncti predicti in omnibus Suffragiis, Precibus, et Elimosinis Jejuniiis Oracionibus Disciplinis et piis operibus ceterisque spiritualibus bonisque in dicto Hospitali et Capellis ejusdem pro tempore fient participes efficiantur. Iuxta tenorem aliarum litterarum sanctissimi domini nostri Alexandri pape sexti. Et quia vos
summam pretaxatam generali Thesaurario vel ab eo deputato
solvistis pro anima conceduntur vobis littere
testimoniales sigillo Thesaurarii sigillate et signate ab Alfonso de losa Notario
Apostolico deputato Anno domini MCCCCLXXXVIII."

The whole is printed from an engraved block, and in place of a seal, there is an engraved representation of St James in pilgrim's garb, carrying the gospel in one hand and the staff and wallet in the other, and having on his head the broad-brimmed hat with the scallop shell affixed in front, as he is represented in this jet image.

There is little doubt, therefore, that it was the custom for leprous

pilgrims to obtain these *signacula* of jet for curative purposes. Besides the virtue imparted to them by their sacred character as *imagines* of the saint, the material of which they are made had a wide-spread reputation for its amuletic and talismanic properties during the Middle Ages.¹ But what seems most conclusive on this subject, is that the image figured by Dr Keller, which is exactly similar to the one in our Museum, was dug up from a depth of several feet under the turf close to the chapel of the leprous pilgrims at Einsiedeln in Switzerland. The interest of this curious little piece now presented by Mr Gibson-Craig, is much enhanced by its being, so far as I can discover, the only specimen of its kind in Great Britain.

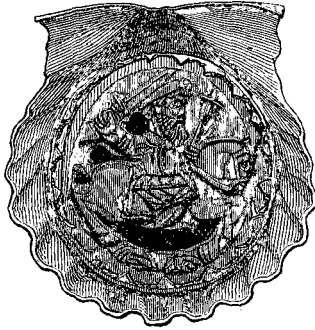
The date of these objects is probably about the second half of the sixteenth century. In the inventory preserved in the archives of Simancas, of pictures and sculptures belonging to Marie, Queen Dowager of Hungary, 1558, the following entries occur:—"Un Sainet Jacques de Jayet (of jet) mis sur ung pied de meisme: Une petit ymaige d'ambre, de Sainet Jehan: Ung Sainet Jacques d'ambre," &c. Jet is found abundantly in Aragon and Andalusia in Spain, and also in the departments of the Aude in France.

St James as a Warrior.—St James was also represented as a warrior on a white charger conquering the Saracens, and through the kindness of Sir J. Noel Paton, Kt., Vice-President of the Society, I am enabled to describe and figure a small *signaculum* of the saint as the conqueror of the infidels. In a note to me, in which he expresses his regret that he has been prevented from being present at this meeting of the Society, Sir Noel says—

"I therefore herewith send, instead of bringing, the curious Pilgrim Token recently in my father's collection, which it will be interesting to compare with the jet figure of St Jago presented by Mr James Gibson Craig, regarding which I see you are to say something. In this representation St Jago is on horseback, a cross and palm-branch in his bridle hand, a sword in his right hand. On the front of his pilgrim hat may

¹ M. C. Roach Smith, in the Catalogue of his Museum of London Antiquities (p. 114), figures a scallop shell carved in jet and set in silver, with a loop and ring for suspension; and describes another in brass, with a pin at the back for wearing as a brooch.

be detected a rude representation of the scallop shell by which he is identified; and under the hoofs of his 'milk-white charger' (in the present case a coal-black steed) the heads of two Moors. I obtained it in London some twenty-five years ago through my dear old friend F. W. Fairholt, and it is described by him as of great rarity."



Small figure in Jet of St James as a Warrior,
set in a scallop shell, silver-gilt.
(Actual size.)

The incident which gave rise to this representation of St James is related in the legendary life of the saint. In the year 841, at the battle of Clavijo, when the day was going hard against the Christians, St James appeared on horseback armed with a fiery sword, and slew sixty thousand of the infidels:

“When terrible wars had nigh wasted our force,
All bright 'midst the battle we saw thee on horse
Fierce scattering the hosts, whom their fury proclaims
To be warriors of Islam—Victorious St James.”

To this legendary incident the historian of the Decline and Fall alludes with his usual sarcasm:—“A stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century when, from a peaceful fisherman of the Lake of Gennesareth, the Apostle James was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in battles against the Moors. The gravest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miracu-

lous shrine of Compostella displayed his power ; and the sword of a military order, assisted by the terrors of the Inquisition, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism." The military order here alluded to was that of Santiago de Espada—St James of the Sword—the great Spanish order of knighthood.

It would be tedious to recount even a moiety of those,

" Large tales of him the Spaniards tell
(Munchausen tells no larger)
Of how he used to fight the Moors
Upon a milk-white charger."

Thirty-eight visible appearances in as many different battles are recounted by Don Miguel Gimenez in his work on the preaching of St Jago in Spain ; and, says the Padre Felipe de la Gaudara, " I hold it for certain that his appearances have been many more ; and that in every victory which the Spaniards have achieved over their enemies, this, their great captain, has been present with his favour and intercession."

But the exploits of St James were not confined to the Old World alone. He appears to have crossed the Atlantic with the followers of Cortes and Pizarro. " A chaplain of Cortes," says Macaulay,¹ " writing about thirty years after the conquest of Mexico, in an age of printing presses, libraries, universities, scholars, logicians, jurists, statesmen, had the face to assert that in one engagement against the Indians St James had appeared on a grey horse at the head of the Castillian adventurers. Many of these adventurers were living when this lie was printed. One of them, honest Bernal Diaz, wrote an account of the expedition. He had the evidence of his own senses against the legend ; but he seems to have distrusted even the evidence of his own senses. He says that he was in the battle, and that he saw a grey horse with a man on his back, but that the man was, to his thinking, Francesco de Morla, and not the ever-blessed Apostle Saint James. ' Nevertheless,' Bernal adds, ' it may be that the person on the grey horse was the glorious Apostle Saint James, and that I, sinner that I am, was unworthy to see him.'"

Signacula of the Middle Ages.—The *signacula* of the saints whose shrines were frequented by pilgrims in England are of frequent occur-

¹ Introduction to the Battle of Lake Regillus, in the " Lays of Ancient Rome."

rence, and a considerable number of them have been described and engraved by Mr Roach Smith, Mr Syer Cuming, Mr Hugo, and others.¹ They are mostly in pewter or lead, though sometimes silver was the material employed. Chaucer makes his yeoman wear

“ A Christofre on his brest of silver shine.”

The most common form is that of a small medallion, or circular, oval, square, or lozenge-shaped plaque, with a loop for attachment to the dress. Sometimes they are furnished with pins to be worn as brooches. Usually they bear the image or emblems of the saint, sometimes with an inscription round the edge, and sometimes simply the initial letters of the saint's name. Another form is that of the *ampulla*, a small, wide-mouthed bottle, with loops on either side in the middle of the length for attachment. Some of these *ampullæ* have the bulging lower part of the bottle scalloped for St James; others have a W crowned for St Mary of Walsingham; others a T for St Thomas of Canterbury. Some examples of early Byzantine workmanship are figured by Mr Roach Smith.² They are remarkable, inasmuch as the ornamental border round the image of the saint is almost identical with the pattern so characteristic of our early British urns.³

The moulds or matrices in which these curious relics were cast, however, are exceedingly rare, although they must at one time have been common enough. We learn from an ordinance of Louis and Johanna, king and queen of Sicily, of date 1354, printed by the Abbe Failon in his description of the Church of St Mary Magdalen, at St Maximin in Provence, that the moulds for the *signacula* sold at her shrine were kept in the custody of the sacristan, and the tenor of the ordinance issued by royal authority is that “no person of whatsoever condition within the territory of St Maximin shall dare to make those leaden images bearing the likeness of the said St Mary, which are given to the pilgrims to the

¹ See the articles on *Signacula* in the “Collectanea Antiqua,” vols. i. 82; ii. 44; iv. 165; and v. 247; “Journal of the Archæological Association,” vols. iii. 126; viii. 363; xii. 264; xix. 94; and “Archæologia,” xxxviii. 128.

² Collectanea Antiqua, vol. v. p. 247.

³ A similar style of ornament is seen on the cross-guard of an Anglo-Saxon sword dredged up in the Thames. Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. Lond. 1867-70, p. 143.

shrine of this saint, without the special licence of the said prior and convent." Richard Southwell, one of Crumwell's commissioners for the visitation of monasteries, in 1536 discovered a mysterious chamber in the monastery at Walsingham, in which were such manner of instruments, pots, bellows, and the like, that the honest sequestrators were sorely puzzled to assign a use to them. They were doubtless the sacristan's appliances for the manufacture of the *signacula* of St Mary of Walsingham. A furnace, doubtless destined for a similar purpose, is still to be seen in Canterbury Cathedral.

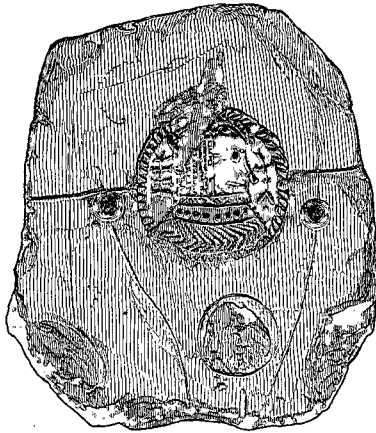
The moulds themselves, in such rare cases as have hitherto occurred, are of stone. One with the emblem of St Luke—the winged bull—found in the Fleet Ditch, is figured by Mr Syer Cumming.¹ This is the only published example known to me.

There is in the Museum, however, the half of a mould of stone, found at Muirfoot, on the farm of Swinnie, a few miles south of Jedburgh, which has been described and figured in the Proceedings, vol. v. p. 53, by Dr John Alex. Smith, and is here reproduced for the sake of comparison. Dr Smith, describing this mould, conjectures that "it might have been used for casting small metal badges or brooches, which, from the apparent presence of the cross in front of the head, might have been used by those pilgrims who had visited some of the sacred fanes of Teviotdale." A cast from it was sent to the late Mr Albert Way, who says—"I believe it to be a mould for those ornaments of pewter or lead, the *enseignes* or *signacula* worn on the dress or on the cap, and in the form of small brooches with a little simply-fashioned acus at the back by which they were attached, as De Comines tells us Louis XII. used to pin them on his bonnet." It would have been interesting if we had been able to identify the saint who is thus represented or the shrine to which this *signaculum* pertained; but the whole subject is involved in obscurity.

Leaden Tokens.—Still greater obscurity surrounds the subject of the *tokens* or *counters* which were used in the religious establishments previous to the Reformation, and many of which, there is reason to believe, were also extensively circulated as a convenient medium of "small change," in the absence of the smaller denominations of the currency, with which the public of the present day are so familiar. One class of these tokens,

¹ Arch. Ass. Journal, xix. pl. 6.

known in this country by the name of "Abbey tokens" or "Abbey counters," was largely manufactured at Nuremberg in the sixteenth century. They were thin brass pieces struck with dies, however, and not cast in moulds. But the *mereaux* or, as they are called in Mediæval Latin, *meralli*, were frequently cast of lead. Du Cange explains these to mean tokens which in many churches were given to the canons, chaplains, and other prebendaries, as vouchers of their attendance on the services, so that



Stone Mould found at Swinnie, near Jedburgh.
(3½ inches long).

at the weekly reckoning it was seen by the number of tokens how often, and at what offices they have attended. Leaden medals were issued to pilgrims and visitors by the monks of the Abbey of St John of Amiens.¹ A similar custom existed at Noyons. In 1379, mention is made² of the pilgrims who visited the tomb of St Eloi, offering to the saint wax

¹ Some of these are figured in the *Monnaies Inconnues des Eveques des Innocens, des Fous et de quelques autres associations singulieres du meme temps*, par M. M. J. R. d'Amiens, 8vo, Paris, 1837.

² *Annales de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Noyon*, par Jacques Levasseur, 1633, in *Collectanea Antiqua*, i. 89.

candles, and purchasing certain signs of pilgrimage, which were sold for the profit of the Abbey. Specimens of the signs of St Eloi in lead are figured by Mr Roach Smith in the "Collectanea Antiqua." Leaden medals were also made on the occasions of these extraordinary Saturnalia of the Middle Ages, the Fetes des Innocens, and the Fetes des Fous.¹

The Fete des Fous, or Festival of Fools, was better known on the Continent than in this country. "In each of the cathedral churches," says Strutt, "there was a Bishop or Archbishop of Fools elected; and in the churches immediately dependent on the Papal see, a Pope of Fools. These mock pontiffs had usually a proper suit of ecclesiastics who attended upon them and assisted in the divine service, most of them attired in ridiculous dresses. They were accompanied by large crowds of the laity, some disguised with masks, and others having their faces smutted, and some assuming the habits of females. Notwithstanding that the abuses which arose from this unseemly desecration of the churches by the excesses of a heathen festival were worse than could have been imagined,² these exhibitions were highly relished by the populace at large, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in the attempts to regulate their performances and suppress their indecent and blasphemous extravagances. Among their other imitations of the functions of the Episcopate, the Fool-Bishops of three or four centuries ago issued a coinage in lead which they distributed among their followers, and which was no doubt largely employed in games of hazard, like the leaden tokens issued during the Saturnalia among the Romans.³

¹ The researches of Savaron, Des Lyons, du Tilliot, and M. Lebec have shown that the mummeries which were for so long a period annually exhibited within the walls of all the churches in France, between Christmas Day and the Epiphany, were derived from the Saturnalia with which the Romans welcomed in the New Year, and the discovery of these leaden medals, struck in commemoration of the Feast of Fools, furnishes an additional argument in support of this opinion, inasmuch as such pieces are themselves an imitation of those which were in circulation among the Romans during the Saturnalia—the *nummi plumbei* of Plautus and Martial. (See the Numismatic Chronicle, i. 253; and Dairval's *Utilité des Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 628, ed. 1686.

² See the Circular Letter addressed to the clergy of France by P. de Blois, published in 1444; and *Register of the Church of St Stephen de Dijon, 1494*; and *Encyclopédie Française*, article Fête des Fous.

³ Ticononi has written a treatise on the leaden money of the Roman Saturnalia, largely illustrated, and entitled "I Piombi Antichi," 1740.

Grotesque ceremonies something similar to these took place also in this country. There was a *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley Church in 1391, whose fooleries were then prohibited.¹ In Scotland, the Abbot of Unreason, who seems to have taken the place of the Bishop of Fools, was prohibited by Act of Parliament in 1555. What was considered indecorous and unlawful in adults, however, was still permitted to the children of the choir. On St Nicholas day, in all the collegiate churches, it was customary for them to elect a Boy-Bishop, who was arrayed in episcopal vestments, performed all the ceremonies and offices proper to a bishop, and had his followers habited like priests. The proclamation of Henry VIII. abrogating this burlesque, recites the observances of the "Festival of the Innocents" as follows:—

"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 in this realm upon St Nicholas, St Catherines, St Clements, and Holy Innocents, and such like holydaies; children be strangeliè decked and apparayed to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women, and so ledde with songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering money, and boyes do sing masse and preach in the pulpits, with such other unfitting and inconvenient usages, which tend rather to derysyon than enie true glorie to God or honor of his saintes," &c.

This pageantry, however, was revived in the time of Queen Mary of England, and the child-bishop of St Paul's, with his company, were admitted to sing in her presence. In the Inventory of York Cathedral there is an entry of a small mitre adorned with precious stones for the boy-bishop.² If the boy-bishop died during his tenure of office he was buried with all the honours pertaining to a real bishop, and there is at Salisbury³ the tomb with the sculptured effigy of a boy-bishop in pontificals.

It would appear that the bishops of the Innocents, as well as the

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. iii. App. vii.

² A curious inventory of the vestments and ornaments of a boy-bishop is given in the *Northumberland Household Book*.

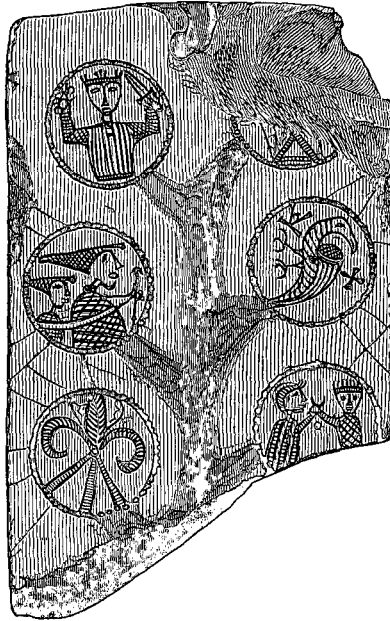
³ Salisbury was famous for these pageants. A full description of the ceremonies is preserved in the *Processional of Salisbury Cathedral*, where the service of the boy-bishop is printed with the music.

bishops of Fools, had also their leaden coinage, of which, however, but few specimens have been recognised. The whole subject of these leaden tokens, as I have already remarked, is exceedingly obscure, but Dr Rey figures at least one piece, which seems to be of this character. It bears on the obverse the legend MONETA · EPI · SCTI IHOIS—*Money of the Bishop of St John*,—round a heart in a circle in the centre of a cross of *fleurs-de-lis*; and on the reverse INNOCENS · VOVS · AIDERA. Mr George Sim, our Curator of Coins, has shown me a leaden piece found in London, which bears on the obverse a bishop's head mitred, and with a crozier surrounded by a simulation of lettering in straight strokes; the reverse being similar in type to the pennies of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, with three pellets in each quarter. Another bears a very rudely rendered head on the obverse, and a star of eight rays, with a dot between each ray on the other. A third of smaller size has a double-headed bird on the obverse, and the star of eight rays with dots between on the reverse. This last token is similar in size and style of art to those which would be produced from the mould which I am next to notice.

Stone Mould found at Dundrennan.—This mould, which has been obligingly communicated to me by Dr Robert Trotter of Dalry, was found more than thirty years ago in the course of some excavations at Dundrennan Abbey. It is formed of a calcareous or chalk-like stone, and though now broken at both ends, has been originally at least three inches in length and two inches in breadth. It is intended to cast six tokens, the reverses of which would be similarly cut on the missing moiety. The channels for leading the metal branch from the main channel alternately on either side. Three of the forms are entire on one side, and on the other side two are broken. They are beaded round the margin, and each is centred by a small round mark, a peculiarity also noticeable on the stone mould found at Timpendean, near Jedburgh, and in all the leaden tokens executed in this style of art.

It is difficult to assign a precise date to an object of this kind, but it may be safely affirmed that, though in some respects the style of art seems of a very rude and archaic type, it may not be earlier than the fourteenth century. The style of crown on the upper figure is not earlier than the Edwards, and the long conical head-dresses of the two figures below may be of a period so late as the fifteenth century.

A quantity of cast leaden tokens were found sometime previous to 1846 on the site of the ditch without the ancient London wall, during some excavations near Aldersgate Street. Among the examples of these engraved in the "Numismatic Chronicle,"¹ there are two which correspond so



Stone Mould for casting Leaden Tokens, found at Dundrennan Abbey
(3 inches long).

closely to two of those on this mould that they are evidently of the same period and for the same purpose. One of these has on the obverse two hooded figures not unlike the two figures of the mould, and on the reverse a cross. The other has the turkey-like bird of the mould with the small cross rising from its back. The figure of the bird on the token is every

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 116.

way similar in style and treatment to that of the mould, but the obverse has an R and a Maltese cross.¹ From the form of the R it has been conjectured that this token is not earlier than the reign of Queen Elizabeth, though the general style and character indicates an earlier period.

Spurious Antiques.—In conclusion, I may notice the fact that there has been of recent years a most extensive fabrication of spurious antiquities in lead, of which I have placed a number on the table. In 1857, when extensive excavations were being made in London for the Shadwell Docks, and during the following year, an immense number of remarkable objects came into the market bearing (to a superficial inspection) every material mark of antiquity. They were greedily purchased by collectors, and the more the demand for them increased the more they multiplied, and the more varied and inexplicable in style and execution they became. Mr Roach Smith and others were inclined at first to accept them as genuine, and one dealer made an inconsiderate investment in some thousands of them. One of the secretaries of the British Archaeological Association personally examined 800 of them, and calculated their aggregate number at not less than 12,000. The Association discussed the subject, and pronounced them forgeries, and a report of the meeting and discussion being published in the "Athenæum," the dealer brought an action for libel against that newspaper and lost his case. Meantime a committee, consisting of Mr Franks, Mr Charles Reid, and other two gentlemen, set themselves to unravel the mystery, and by judicious inquiry succeeded in possessing themselves of some of the moulds in which the objects were made, and ascertaining the process by which the appearance of antiquity was given to the surfaces. Mr Gunston, one of the committee, made a sketch of the statue of a bishop of Rochester, and with ready humour placed upon the pedestal the inscription "Fabricatus." He left this sketch with one of the workmen in the excavations, asking him to inquire after such a figure, as if he supposed that such a figure had really been found. Next day he received an ancient-looking figure, an exact copy of his drawing, and with the pedestal inscribed—this time, in every sense, truly—"Fabricatus."

¹ The Greek letter X (chi) on the Assaria struck at Chios has the form of a Maltese cross.—(*Numis. Chron.* viii. 139.)