A MEDIEVAL ARMORIAL BROOCH OR PENDANT FROM BAYNARDS CASTLE

TONY WILMOTT

The medieval dock excavated in 1972 at Baynards Castle was constructed in the late 13th – early 14th century. The dumped make-up layers which were laid down during the construction of the dock were very rich in finds (pers. comm. P. Marsden). Under consideration here is one of the items from these deposits (Baynards Castle Find No. 3058: Fig. 1a).

The object consists of a copper alloy shield measuring 31mm long and 27mm wide. This was cast in one piece with a stud positioned in the centre at the back. The shield is fastened by means of the back stud to an iron object. This is made of an iron bar of rectangular section pierced to form a loop at one end. The bar is split, probably by sawing, up to 26mm from the pierced end. The two arms thus formed are bent into arcs such that the pierced hole is in the centre point of an 'M' shape. The end of each arm is treated in a different way. One is bent at right-angles to the arm and although broken appears to have been pierced with a small hole or slot: on the other side the arm was flattened and was also pierced and this hole too is broken across (Fig. 1a). The stud on the back of the shield was passed through the hole in the iron support and hammered flat after the fashion of a rivet. The shield was enamelled and the enamel has retained its original colours, though the red field has in places taken on a green tinge.

Stud fastened enamel shields occur relatively infrequently, the more usual fastening consisting of a pendant loop. Shields with rear studs are often very small, like that mounted on a stirrup-iron from Warpsgrove, Oxon (pers. comm. N. Griffiths), which is only 18mm high. Two enamel shields of similar size to that from Baynards Castle have recently been found at Maison Dieu, Ospringe, Kent (Goodall 1979, 137). One of these, bearing the arms *England, a label* which probably predated 1340 (Pinches and Pinches 1974, 72) retained the stump of a rear stud fastening.

The most usual explanation of these enamelled shields is as part of a horse trapping, especially in the case of the pendant type (see e.g. Rimmington and Rutter 1967, 62), but it is difficult to match the shape of the iron portion of the Baynards Castle object with any part of a horse's furniture. However, a brooch published by Nelson (1940, 387) provides a close parallel to the Baynards Castle object and an alternative explanation of its function. This unprovenanced object was solid cast of bronze and was gilded. It was dated to *c.* 1320. It was the same shape and size as the Baynards Castle find and also had a shield of arms placed on the centre point. The ends of the arcs were connected with the brooch pin. The shield was so contrived that when the correct way up the arched support and the pin formed a 'B' shape. On the Baynards Castle item the stud of the shield turns in its socket and it is not certain which way up it should lie. The treatment of the ends of the iron piece is somewhat similar to those on Nelson's bronze

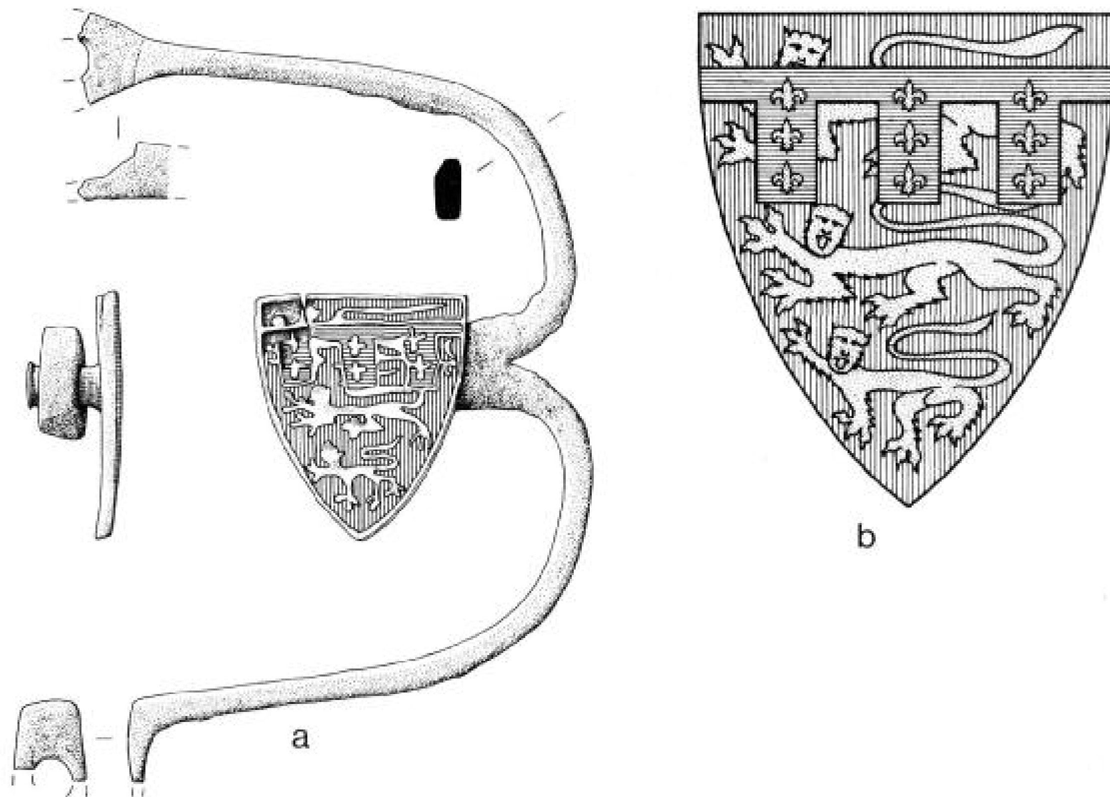

Fig. 1. Baynards Castle Brooch: (a) The Brooch (1/1) (b) The Arms of the Earls of Lancaster.

brooch. The flattened end here curved round to meet the support and retained the top of the pin. In the case of the Baynards Castle example, the pin may have been held in position with some arrangement connected with the small hole mentioned above. The end bent at right-angles was bent outwards again, the hole becoming a slot into which the pin would catch. Thus although of iron and copper alloy and hence of poorer quality than the gilded bronze of the earlier find, the Baynards Castle find may similarly be identified as a brooch.

This, if accepted, would indicate that it was worn by a retainer of the personage or family whose arms it displays, as were the FitzWalter scabbards previously identified from London (Wilmott 1981, 132–139). The arms depicted on the shield can be blazoned *gules, three lions passant guardant or, a label of three points charged on each point with two fleurs-de-lis or.* The arms well established as those of the medieval Earls of Lancaster (Brooke-Little 1978, 119) are identical except for the fact that these had three rather than two fleurs-de-lis on each point of the label (Fig. 1b). The first appearance of these arms is found on a seal of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster 1245–1296 (Pinches and Pinches 1974, 32). From him the arms descended to his son Thomas the 2nd Earl (1296–1322); Thomas' younger brother Henry, the 3rd Earl (1322–1345); and thence to his son, the 1st Duke of Lancaster, Henry (1345–1361) (Pinches and Pinches 1974, 33). The heiress of the 1st Duke, Blanche

of Lancaster, used these arms until her marriage with John of Gaunt (1340–1399), who thus became Duke of Lancaster. Though the arms were not used by Gaunt himself (Stanford-London 1956, 25), they descended to his son Henry of Bolingbroke (later Henry IV), who bore them when Earl of Derby. (1386–1413) (Pinches and Pinches 1974, 86). The arms remain to the present day as those of the Royal Duchy of Lancaster (Pye 1962 a, 98) If the arms on the Baynards Castle brooch are intended as those of the Earls of Lancaster it is likely to have been as the arms of one of the first two earls, Edmund or Thomas (1245–1322). The date of the deposit in which the object was found, together with the fact that it must have been in use for some time before being disposed of as rubbish, make this almost certain to be the correct date range.

The presence of two, rather than three fleurs-de-lis on each point of the label on the Baynards Castle brooch does not affect the interpretation of the arms as those of the Earls of Lancaster, despite the fact that the full blazon with three fleurs-de-lis on each point of the label appears as early as 1298 as the arms of Earl Thomas in the Fakirk Roll (Brault 1973, 88). It was common practice in medieval heraldry to increase or diminish the number of charges represented according to the space available, especially if it did not matter how many were represented, for example when the blazon merely required 'many' (*semee* or scattered; Pye 1962b, 201). In the 1300 Caerlaverock Roll (Brault 1973, 111) the arms of Thomas of Lancaster are blazoned *England, a label of France*, or the arms of England with a label, the design of which is based on the arms of France. As the arms of France at this time were *azure, semee de lis or* (Pinches and Pinches 1974, 43) this alternative form of blazon logically requires that the label should be scattered with fleurs-de-lis rather than be charged with a specific number, a requirement which is fulfilled by the representation on the brooch. During this period many rules of heraldry had not yet become inflexible. For example, the label was not exclusively the mark of an elder son, it merely denoted some form of kinship. In the case of Edmund Crouchback the relationship was as brother to the King of England whose arms he differenced. Although now generally shown with three points, in the 13th century either three or five points were shown depending on the space available. This flexibility is shown on a seal of Edmund Crouchback. Here, a shield of his arms on one side of the seal, is shown with a five-point label, the equestrian figure on the other side has three-point labels charged on both horse trappings and shield (Sandford 1707, 102). It would appear that the seal engraver recognised that to place a five-point label on the equestrian figure would obscure the rest of the device. It is equally likely that the enameller of the brooch would take advantage of the possibility of freedom in his design, with regard to the number of points on the label and the number of fleurs-de-lis on each point, in order to create a pleasing and uncluttered effect while ensuring that the arms were sufficiently correct to avoid confusion.

The fact that the brooch was found in a rubbish dump precludes any speculation on the occasion of its loss. The Earls of Lancaster did not hold much land in London. In 1284 Queen Eleanor granted to her son, Edmund Crouchback, the area on the north bank of the Thames between Westminster and Temple Bar known as the Savoy (Somerville 1953, 13). His successor Thomas aquired land in Holborn after his marriage to Alice de Lacy and the death of his father-in-law the Earl of Lincoln in 1311 (Maddicott 1970, 9),

while in 1313 the Earl of Pembroke bought peace with Thomas by releasing to him New Temple manor and the lands of the Templars outside Temple Bar (Somerville 1953, 24). After *c.* 1308 and the break with Edward II over Piers Gaveston however, Thomas was very infrequently in the City (Maddicott 1970, 11). Although very inconclusive, it may be noted that the main concentration of Lancaster lands was very close to the site of the second Baynards Castle where the brooch was found.

ADDENDUM

As this note was going to press three further brooches of similar shape were found on the site at Swan Lane (SWA 81; pers. comm. G. Egan). These brooches have identical terminals to that from Baynards Castle and the centre points of the 'M' shapes were all treated decoratively. None of the decorations were armorial.

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A NOTE ON BONE SKATES FROM LONDON

BARBARA WEST

In 1976, Arthur MacGregor published his excellent summary of the historical and archaeological evidence for bone skates (MacGregor 1976; see also MacGregor 1975). As he noted, virtually all the examples from museum collections in Britain (including 168 from the Museum of London) must be regarded as unstratified. He lists 37 stratified skates from the British Isles in the appendix to his article (none of which are from London), and calls for further information on more recent finds.

The following short descriptions of the seven stratified bone skates from London can now be added to MacGregor's list. The distal end of the bone is here designated as the 'toe', and the proximal end as the 'heel', in reference to the attachment of the skate to the foot.

Department of Urban Archaeology Excavations, Museum of London.

1. Pudding Lane, 1981 (G. Milne). Context 276 (Acc. No. 40), dated *c.* late 10th–11th century. Horse metatarsal. Toe chopped and broken. Axial heel hole. Anterior surface highly polished and flattened with wear.
2. Swan Lane, 1981 (G. Egan). Context 341 (Acc. No. 65), dated *c.* late 12th century. Cow radius (immature). Toe upswept, but not pointed. Heel slightly upswept. No holes. Slight anterior wear flattening.
3. Lloyds, 1978 (K. Flude). Context 50 (Acc. No. 15), dated *c.* 11th–12th century. Horse metacarpal. Flat, pointed toe with transverse hole. Axial heel hole. Moderate anterior wear flattening.
4. Watling Court, 1978 (D. Perring). Context 1137 (Acc. No. 1279), dated *c.* 11th–12th century. Cow metatarsal. Upswept, pointed toe very roughly shaped and cut. No holes. Posterior surface flattened with wear, mostly towards the heel.
5. Watling Court, 1978 (D. Perring). Context 2526 (Acc. No. 1030) dated *c.* 13th century. Horse metacarpal. Upswept, asymmetrically-pointed toe. Heel broken. No holes. Moderate anterior wear flattening.
6. Watling Court, 1978 (D. Perring). Context 2526 (Acc. No. 1190), dated *c.* 13th century. Cow metacarpal. Flat, pointed toe. Heel slightly narrowed. No holes. No anterior wear flattening (i.e. unused).
7. General Post Office, 1975 (S. Roskams). Context 540 (Acc. No. 3671), dated *c.* 1175–1200. Horse metatarsal. Upswept, pointed toe. No holes. Very slight anterior wear flattening. Represents an extremely small pony, with an estimated withers height of only 91cm (smaller than the average Shetland pony). Made for a child, but hardly used.

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PILGRIM SOUVENIRS FROM THE MEDIEVAL WATERFRONT EXCAVATIONS AT TRIG LANE, LONDON 1974–76

BRIAN SPENCER

With a Note on Two Seal Matrices by John Cherry

Excavations at Trig Lane produced a fine range of pilgrim souvenirs which warranted more detailed publication than was possible in the main report. For the site see Milne and Milne (1982).

Pilgrim signs have long been recognised as almost an intrinsic ingredient of London's medieval riverside and foreshore. Those found on the Trig Lane site span two centuries and begin with a souvenir brought back from Canterbury in the middle of the 13th century.

It was about then, too, that Matthew Paris drew a route map for pilgrims, marking Canterbury at two days' distance from London. Chaucer's pilgrims took four days to get to Canterbury, as did Queen Isabella in 1358 and King John of France in 1360. But their leisurely rides must have been conducted at little more than walking pace. Four days were allotted in 1391 to a convicted felon to walk from London to Canterbury on the way to exile. There can be little doubt that Londoners who went on horseback could comfortably complete the Canterbury pilgrimage inside a week, stopping each way for the night and for a change of horses at Rochester. The regular horse-hire service cost four shillings return.

It was this partly contrived accessibility as much as St. Thomas's special appeal to Londoners that accounts for the predominance of Canterbury souvenirs among the finds from Trig Lane. Not only do these commemorate nearly all of Canterbury's most important attractions to the medieval pilgrim, but most of them date from the time of Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.* 1340–1400). This is perhaps no coincidence. It was in his lifetime that the Canterbury pilgrimage seems to have reached its peak, for, in a period of unprecedented mortality and anxiety, Londoners turned increasingly to their chosen saints for protection in this life and salvation in the next. As other badges show (Nos 3 and 6), they also grew more dependent on magic pure and simple as an answer to life's hazards.

In their minor way the badges and brooches from Trig Lane illustrate other trends of thought and behaviour in Chaucer's time — the emergence of English and the wider spread of literacy (Nos. 6 and 15), for example, and the growth of social ambition represented by the wearing of cheap ornaments made in imitation of the jewelled and enamelled brooches worn as status symbols by the well-to-do (Nos. 6, 11–13). Also foreshadowed (No. 15) is the practice that developed during the 15th century of wearing badges of livery, the secular parallel to the badges that marked the wearer's allegiance to a particular saint or cult.

This group of objects includes two

Plate 2. Canterbury ampulla (No. 1), reverse.

Plate 1. Canterbury ampulla (No. 1), front (ht. 97 mm).

that are of particular interest and importance—an ampulla from the priory of Bromholm, Norfolk (No. 2) and a badge commemorating the Black Prince (No. 15). These, like the rest described below (excepting No. 13), are made of tin or tin-lead alloy. With two exceptions, each badge or brooch is (or originally was) provided with a pin and clasp, which were cast in one piece with the badge. Nos. 2 and 12 were cast in two-piece moulds, the remainder (except No. 13) in three-piece moulds.

The figures were drawn by Nicholas Griffiths and the photographs were taken by Jon Bailey, except for Plates 1 and 2 which are by Trevor Hurst. All objects are reproduced actual size.

1. (1671) (Pls. 1, 2) Pilgrim's ampulla, a slim, flat-sided vessel, widest at the mouth, its front and back as well as its edges tapering to the base. From just below the mouth the ampulla is surrounded by a narrow circular band. This is attached by means of interlinked fleurs-de-lys and is inscribed on the front: O(P)TIMVS EGRORVM MEDICVS FIT THOMA BONOR(VM) (Thomas is the best doctor of the worthy sick)[1] and decorated on the back with zigzags alternately hatched and plain.

On the front of the ampulla, within a border of triangular bosses, is depicted the figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury, his head in low relief. He wears a squat mitre, an amice, and a chasuble that hangs in curious V-shaped folds over a diapered, full-length dalmatic. Low on the shoulders is the top of the Y-shaped pall, the special mark of an archbishop. His right hand, wearing an episcopal glove and ring, is raised in benediction or intercession, and round his right forearm is wound the maniple that was normally worn draped over the left arm. In his left hand he holds a crosier, its crook enriched with scroll-work. Down the middle of the ampulla his cross-staff is modelled in the round. Though now squashed flat and distorted, it originally stood about 5mm proud of the ampulla and is attached to it by an arm of the cross and two struts.

The reverse side shows Becket's martyrdom. A knight on the left cleaves Becket's head with a sword. Between them is an altar, an allusion to the popular, but mistaken, belief that Becket had been slain while saying mass. Behind the archbishop and holding his cross-staff stands Edward Grim, who alone stayed with Becket when he was set upon by the assailants. The knight wears a flat-topped helm, mail leggings and a hauberk of mail over a knee-length gambeson, and he carries a kite-shaped shield.

The ampulla would have been worn like a mayoral badge, suspended from a cord around the neck. It would have provided its owner with flamboyant proof of his accomplished journey and Canterbury with eye-catching propaganda for its martyr. But its main purpose was as a container of a dose of Canterbury's miracle-working water, which was reputedly tinged with the blood that Becket shed at his martyrdom. Characteristically, its precious contents were (in this case permanently) sealed tight by nipping up its narrow mouth with pincers.

The form and size of the phial resemble those of a simple sword-chape, but its outline is here extended into that of a wide-necked flask or bag by surrounding its lower parts with an ornamental flange. Along with other evidence of date, the significance of this feature to the construction of a typological sequence of surviving Canterbury ampullae has been considered elsewhere,[2] and the suggestion there put forward is that this type of ampulla (also represented by two earlier finds from London) came roughly midway (*c.* 1245) between other sorts that were evidently under production at the time of the two peak years of the 13th-century pilgrimage, 1220, when St. Thomas's body was transferred from the crypt to a magnificent new shrine, and 1270, the first jubilee of his translation and the centenary of his martyrdom.

The superlative condition of the Trig Lane specimen tends to outshine the many signs of wear on it. Close examination reveals that the high spots, especially on the back, have been rendered smooth by long usage. Historical

evidence affirms that at this period ampullae were much cherished by their owners. Some were given by returning pilgrims to their parish churches, to be hung up and used in emergencies as thaumaturgic remedies by the neighbourhood. Some were passed on as family heirlooms. Others were taken back to Canterbury for a refill. But most appear to have been worn or kept about the home continuously both as talismans, fending off trouble, and, in the last resort, as the handy medieval equivalent of the life-support machine. It would be reasonable to suppose, then, that most Canterbury pilgrims would keep their ampullae for the remainder of their lives and, since every Londoner aspired to visit the shrine of the city's own patron and protector, that a family's interest in the possession of an ampulla might have been expected to last for a generation.[3] In short, it can be suggested with confidence that the ampulla was made well on in the second quarter of the 13th century and that, on a more precarious basis of probability, it was deposited up to 25 years later, *c.* 1275 at the latest. From the Group 2 dump (Period III, Phase i).

2. (1672) (Pls. 3 and 4). Pilgrim's ampulla of unusual trapezoidal form, its slightly tapering sides being indented at intervals. The base is about half as wide as the mouth, but the depth (from front to back) remains constant. Two handles are provided for suspension.

On the front is a delicately modelled figure of Christ on the Cross. His emaciated thighs show through the loincloth, which hangs obliquely over the right knee. His feet are crossed in keeping with changes in the imagery of the Crucifixion that were taking place in the first half of the 13th century.[4] Above Christ's head and nimbus there is no trace of a top limb to the Cross. Instead, in a space reserved by a double line, are shown the three crosses from the Mount of Calvary. Unusually, each of them is depicted as a patriarchal cross with two crossbars. It seems possible that the ampulla's own form, which is picked out on the front with a double outline edged with cross-hatching, is intended to echo the shape of the patriarchal cross.

On the back are depicted two angels holding between them the upright beam of a cross, the upper parts of which have been obliterated by wear and by the tool marks made when the ampulla was sealed. Each angel has one wing folded and the other upraised, and each wears a long robe decorated along the hem and hanging below the feet in a series of elegant, descending folds. This mannered treatment of the drapery is characteristic of English drawing around 1250.

The raising up or exaltation of the Cross by angels is also the subject of a late 12th-century seal of the Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross.[5] The Abbey owed its origin to the discovery in the 11th century of a miracle-working cross at Montacute, Somerset, which was carted off to Waltham. Perhaps seeking to boost the relic's appeal in the late 12th century, the Abbey evidently decided to follow Canterbury's immensely successful example by commissioning pilgrim souvenirs of its own. But, despite the analogy provided by

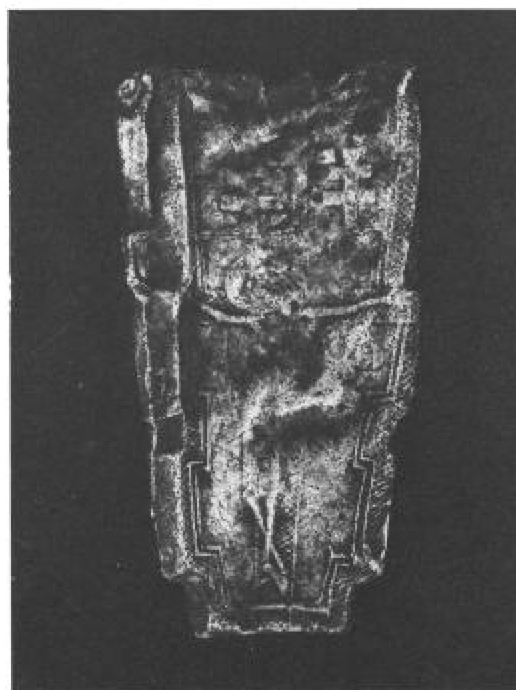


Plate 3. Ampulla (No. 2) commemorating the Holy Rood of Bromlholm (ht. 75 mm).

the Abbey seal, the ampullae designed for Waltham Holy Cross[6] bore no resemblance to the ampulla from Trig Lane. The crosses they depicted, for example, were of simple, conventional form and were therefore unlike the patriarchal crosses on the Trig Lane specimen.

The Cluniac priory at Bromholm, Norfolk, on the other hand, did possess a small patriarchal cross made from the wood of the True Cross. According to Roger of Wendover (d. 1236), it was almost as long as a man's hand and had two transverse pieces.[7] This Holy Rood of Bromholm is depicted on the priory's mid 13th-century seal and it takes the patriarchal form. It is also given a double outline as if to suggest not only the relic but the gold or silver container that would have encased it.[8] Remarkably, the same kind of cross, labelled the 'Signe of the cros of bromholm', is given the same double outline when it appears on devotional souvenirs of parchment sold, like picture postcards, to Bromholm's pilgrims more than two centuries later.[9]

Stolen from the imperial collection in Constantinople, the relic itself seems to have reached Bromholm in 1220. Three years later it was already famous as a worker of miracles. 'Dead people were restored to life, the blind could see and the lame walk; lepers were cleansed and those possessed by devils set free. No matter who he was, the sick man who came to the Holy Rood with faith went away from it cured. So the Cross is adored and worshipped not only by people from all over England but by men from far-off lands.'[10] Consequently Bromholm leapt from obscurity to prosperity. For the next thirty years or so it was much favoured by the king and fashionable society and, under the stimulus of the pilgrimage to Walsingham, it managed to remain on the circuit of East Anglian shrines familiar to ordinary folk during the rest of the Middle Ages. Being sat upon in the middle of the night and startled out of deepest sleep, the miller's wife in Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* exclaimed 'Help! hooly croys of Bromeholm, . . . *in manus tuas*!'

Stylistically the ampulla from Trig Lane appears to belong to the period when Bromholm was enjoying its first flush of success in the second quarter of the 13th century. Iconographically, there are further features about the ampulla that enable us to link it more positively with this pilgrimage. There is reason to suppose that the veneration of the priory's relic centred on two annual feasts of the Cross—Passion Sunday (the fifth Sunday in Lent), for a papal indulgence was eventually secured for pilgrims visiting Bromholm on and near this day; and the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), for in 1226 the king granted the priory an annual fair to be held on that feast.[11] The ampulla brings together two devotional subjects that suitably commemorated one or other of these great festivals.

A surviving cellarer's account shows that the priory enjoyed the income from another fair on the feast of St. Andrew (30 November).[12] St. Andrew was the priory's patron. Accordingly he is shown on the conventual seal (*c.* 1250), seated beneath an arch and holding the priory's wonder-working relic of the True Cross. It was almost inevitable that among the other relics accumulated by the

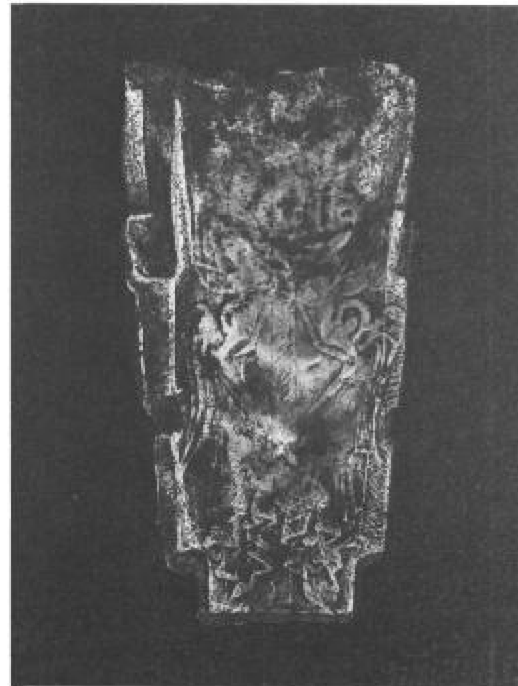


Plate 4. Ampulla (No. 2), reverse.

priory there should be a portion of the cross of St. Andrew.[13] It is likely, then, that the feast of St. Andrew was another annual high-point in the pilgrimage to Bromholm.

This brings us to another ampulla, found in 1865 on the site of the London Steelyard, which, battered and incomplete as it is, has hitherto defied identification.[14] On one side of it is depicted, beneath an arch, a large figure of St. Andrew bound to a saltire cross. Bearded and wearing a voluminous robe, he compares very closely with a wall-painting (*c.* 1250) of St. Andrew formerly in the church of St. John, Winchester.[15] Though its lower parts are missing, enough of the ampulla survives to show that it had the same curiously indented sides as the ampulla from Trig Lane and that its shape was similarly outlined with a double line edged with cross-hatching. It is tempting to wonder if the configuration of both ampullae represented the actual shape of Bromholm's fragment of the Cross. Be that as it may, a large patriarchal cross, again with double outline, is depicted on the other side of the ampulla from the Steelyard. It is set among three roundels containing narrative pictures which are now difficult to discern. But most probably they commemorated three of Bromholm's most talked-about miracles, the sort which, in *c.* 1250, are likely to have encouraged at least two Londoners to set out for a remote corner of Norfolk and bring back a drop of water imbued with the virtues of Bromholm's Holy Cross. From the Group 2 dump (Period III, Phase i) and therefore deposited before *c.* 1275.

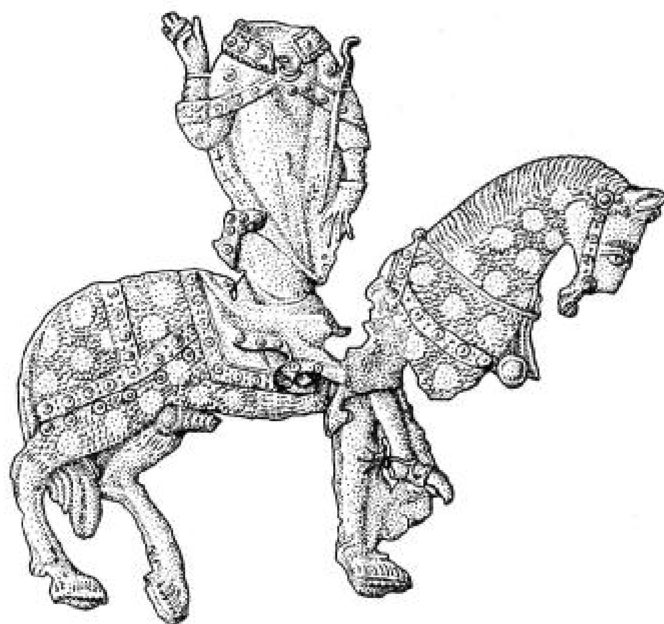
3. (2329) (Pl. 5) 'Disc' brooch, for wearing in the hat. Its ornament is bordered by three concentric circles. The smallest circle, enclosing a flower, forms the eye of a daisy with petals alternately tipped with cross-hatching and pellets. Encircling this are the names of the Three Kings: CASPER MELCHIOR BPTIS (contracted from BAPTISAR).[16]

The brooch is unlikely to have had any direct connection with the celebrated pilgrimage to the shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne. The souvenirs that Cologne made available to pilgrims were invariably more picturesque. The brooch is almost certainly English and was probably made as an amulet to divert evil and bring good luck. The names of the Magi, which the Middle Ages seem to have inherited from Mithraic tradition, were believed to possess talismanic virtue and in the 14th and 15th centuries were fairly regularly inscribed on such things as jewels, brooches, rings, boxes, belts, needlecases and jettons or were written on parchment to be worn about the person. The practice was itself occasionally recommended in medical treatises as a prophylactic against (variously) cramp, epilepsy and fevers and as a method of recovering lost property.[17]

The medallic form of the Trig Lane brooch is uncommon in the 14th century, but is closely paralleled by certain other pewter disc brooches which appear to be contemporary and which also have a flower at the centre and the inscription SACTE THOMA OR P M in very similar Lombardic lettering.[18] This invocation—'St. Thomas pray for me'—suggests that these, too, were produced primarily for use as talismans and not as Canterbury souvenirs, a view that is perhaps reinforced by the use of the same inscription, identical in every detail, on ring-brooches with swivel-pins, which are of a kind attributable to the middle of the 14th century.[19] An almost identical inscription occurs on another disc brooch from London, but here it surrounds four fleurs-de-lys in cross (*cf.* No. 17) within a double tressure of four ogival arches.[20] From the Group 10 dump (Period IV, Phase iii) and therefore not later than *c.* 1360.

4. (736) (Fig. 1) Pilgrim badge depicting St. Thomas of Canterbury on an ambling,

Plate 5. Brooch (No. 3) naming the Three Kings (diam. 35 mm).



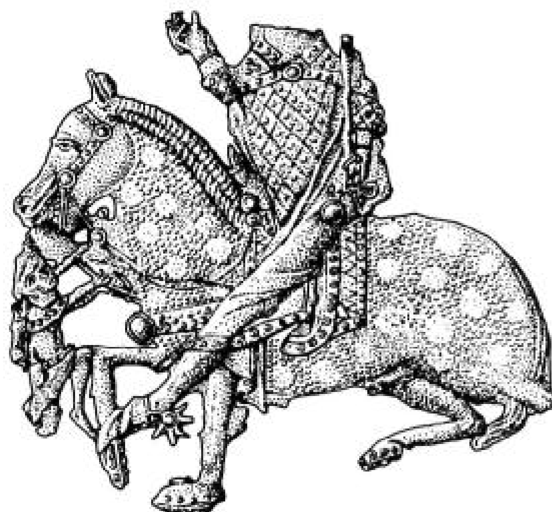


Fig. 1. Trig Lane: Pilgrim badges depicting St. Thomas on horseback, that above (No. 4) from Trig Lane, the other (collection of Mr. H. Grala) from Bull Wharf; both actual size.

dappled horse. He is wearing the vestments of an archbishop—an apparelled amice at the neck, a dalmatic, a tunicle with close-buttoned sleeves, a cope with an orphrey round its edge, gloves and, when complete, an embroidered and jewelled mitre. He holds the staff of a crosier or cross-staff in his left hand and wears an episcopal ring on the second finger of his right hand, which is raised in benediction or intercession. His long pointed shoes are fitted with rowel spurs. He leans against the high, winged cantle of the saddle, which rests on a decorated saddle-cloth. The horse wears a rumbler-bell on its collar and its harness, down to the stirrup-straps, is studded with ornaments. A light rein rests on its neck, while the reins proper were evidently drawn forward over the horse's head.

Several similar badges have been found at London, mostly somewhat smaller and less elaborate and usually facing the opposite way.[21] Many survive as mere fragments. All of them differ in detail but, with the unusual supporting evidence of a surviving stone mould,[22] combine to present a picture of Becket riding in triumph, his head and shoulders turned sideways to face the onlooker instead of the way ahead and the horse led by a groom (Fig. 1b), often holding a ceremonial wand or mace in his free hand. Alongside the horse runs an elegant greyhound, also with a bell on its collar, while sinuous shrubs act as openwork links between the various figures and a slender base-plate. The attendant depicted on the mould wears a caped hood over a short, close-fitting, belted tunic, buttoned down the front and sleeves, a jaunty outfit datable to the 1370s or 1380s. The same is true of some surviving figures of the groom cast from similar moulds.[23] The style of Becket's sleeves and shoes on the Trig Lane badge is likewise consistent with this date.

Badges of this kind used to be thought to refer to Becket's fame as a horseman, but they seem more likely to have been made to commemorate a specific event. It is evident that in some instances the base plate bore an inscription. Though neither is complete, two examples recently recovered from the Thames foreshore at London appear to allude to an episode in Becket's life. One fragment reads . . . CANT EQVIT . . . and the other [THOM]AS. CANTEO. VITAT (Mus. of London Nos. 75.1/14 and 80.251), the latter strongly suggesting that the mounted figure was intended to represent Thomas's escape from Kent to France in 1164. On more general grounds, however, it seems probable that this type of badge was also regarded as a memento of Becket's return from exile six years later, a journey which, according to his biographers, culminated in a rapturous welcome and triumphal progress from Sandwich to Canterbury on 2 December 1170.

Only a month later, news of his martyrdom was spreading like wildfire across Christendom. Not only did men instantly look upon his murder as the most atrocious crime since the Crucifixion, but they soon began to liken his last days to Christ's Passion and his journey into Canterbury to Christ's entry into Jerusalem. This concept was kept alive liturgically by the annual celebration of the feast of the *Regressio Sancti Thome* and popularly, it would appear, by the commissioning of mementoes like the badge from Trig Lane and of others showing St. Thomas sailing across the Channel from France.[24] From the Group 7–11 dumps (Period IV to Period V, Phase i) and therefore not later than *c.* 1380.

5. (494) (Pl. 6) Lower right-hand corner of a large pilgrim badge, the subject of which appears to have been framed beneath an architectural canopy with pinnacles or flying buttresses at the sides. At the base is a fragment of a horizontal band of delicate pierced quatrefoils, a decorative feature especially characteristic of large Canterbury badges apparently designed in the second quarter of the 14th century, though doubtless manufactured over a longer period.[25] Above this ornamental border is part of an arcade, the only known parallel for which is to be found on badges commemorating the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Many fragments of these badges have been recovered at London and, in the three examples that have survived more or less intact,[26] the arcade is seen to represent the niches into which pilgrims could creep at the base of the shrine in order to be in the closest possible proximity to the relics

enclosed in the feretory above. An effigy of St. Thomas rests on top of the arcade and, higher still, appears the famous feretory encrusted with jewels and topped by votive offerings. From the Group 11 dump (Period V, Phase i) and therefore deposited *c.* 1380.

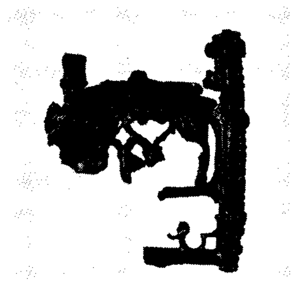


Plate 6. Pilgrim sign (No. 5), perhaps fragment of shrine (ht. 32 mm).

6. (758) (Pl. 7) Hat brooch in the form of a hexagram, a six-pointed star formed by two intersecting equilateral triangles, with a roundel at its centre, cross-hatched and containing the letter E. Linear decoration on the surface of each ray takes the form of a pointed trefoil arch, while each point is tipped alternately with either a tiny flower or an acorn. Similar, but larger, flowers are set in the interstices and supported on double stalks.

Pilgrim signs consisting of the initial letter of a saint's name or even of a place of pilgrimage[27] are relatively common. Often the letter is in a decorative setting or is itself used, like an illuminated initial, to frame the figure of a saint or an episode from his life. It is therefore tempting to look upon this brooch as a pilgrim souvenir and to speculate whether its letter E stood for St. Edward the Confessor, Richard II's chosen patron and centre of a late 14th-century dynastic cult, or for Edward II, whose apotheosis and appeal to pilgrims Richard II tried so sedulously to foster as a means of branding his deposition as a crime.

However, the survival of another brooch bearing the letter H at its centre but in every other way identical with the Trig Lane specimen[28] at once suggests that neither was a pilgrim souvenir. As brooches, they were perhaps intended to be identified with the wearers' names, and in common with a host of other manufactured goods, helped to satisfy a new and widespread demand for visible marks of status and identity in a period of acute social instability. At this time also the dreadful mortality arising from the arrival of the pestilence drove men increasingly to magic, as well as to pilgrimage, as a defence against afflictions and sudden death. The use of the hexagram on these brooches is consistent with these attitudes. As 'Solomon's seal', this ancient cabbalistic symbol was thought in 14th-century England to exercise control over every kind of demon.[29] Provenance and dating as for No. 5.

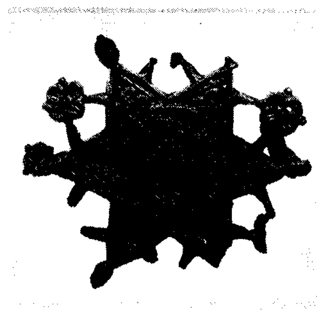


Plate 7. Brooch (No. 6), letter E in hexagram.

7. (268) (Pl. 8) Part of a hat badge, an angel's wing, outstretched in a manner sometimes encountered on the angels of church roofs (e.g. Blythburgh and Mildenhall, Suffolk).

Demi-angels, comprising head, wings and arms (or simply hands), seem to have been used on 14th- and 15th-century badges exclusively for holding shields of arms or emblems of the Passion. The demi-angel on a badge found (1976) at Queenhithe holds a crowned heart, probably intended as the heraldic badge of the Blessed Virgin;[30] the angel's arms are sleeved and, following standard practice, its wings start from the back of the shoulders, thereby concealing the point of junction between wing and body and circumventing the insuperable difficulty of depicting a convincing organic relationship between the two.

With this in mind, and with the discovery at Bull Wharf (1979) of an identical, but opposing wing, it can be seen that the wing from Trig Lane was designed and cast as one of a pair of wings, which, in accordance with a convention best illustrated from roof bosses,[31] may have flanked the Virgin's badge, a heart transfixed by a dagger. Alternatively, the wings may have been attached to the back of an angel, cast or carved separately. Provenance and dating as for No. 5.

Plate 8. Pilgrim sign (No. 7), angel's wing (width 59 mm).

8. (602) (Pl. 9) Pilgrim badge in the form of a sword slotting into a scabbard, which lies vertically across, and is cast in one piece with a buckler covered in a chequer pattern. The pin and clasp are aligned behind the scabbard. The sword has lost most of its blade, but even when complete this was much shorter (76mm long) than the scabbard, judging from an identical twin found (1977), without the scabbard, on the Thames foreshore at Queenhithe.[32] The blade is fullered on its upper half and is then of flattened diamond section. The grip is trimmed with a running chevron and capped by an annular pommel, perhaps a fanciful form, and a projecting stud. The quillons, broadening from the centre, end in fiercesome devils' heads as if to suggest some evil inherent in the sword.[33]

The badge is a sophisticated product of the

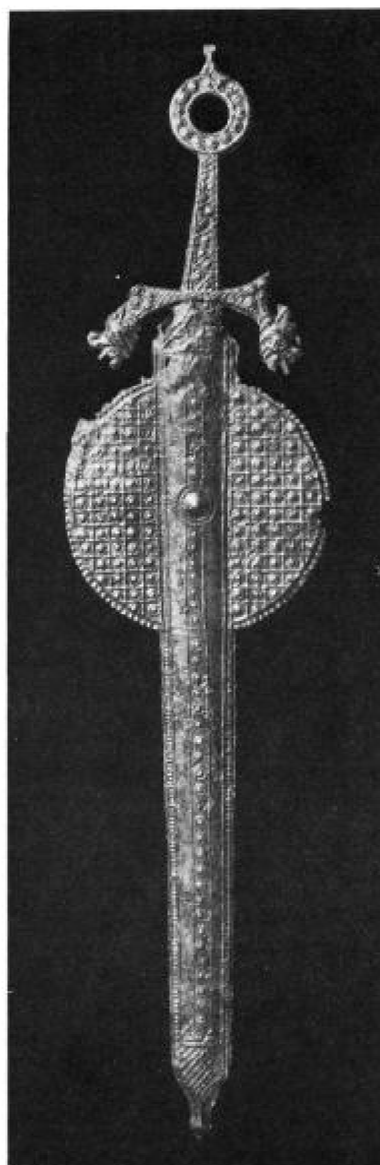


Plate 9. Pilgrim badge (No. 8), sword and scabbard (ht. 145 mm).

mould-maker's craft. Its quality is typical of Canterbury souvenirs of the last quarter of the 14th century, when the pilgrimage was at its peak of popularity. Other scabbards from the same mould have turned up at London.[34] and several other, evidently later, versions of the badge have survived, mainly as fragments. Yet another sort, which stylistically seems somewhat earlier than the Trig Lane type, has a more richly ornamented scabbard and, in place of the buckler, a heater-shield charged with the heads of four sharp-toothed animals.[35]

Very similar armorial bearings appear on a shield in mid 14th-century badges depicting Becket's martyrdom. The shield is held by the foremost of the four knights as he strikes the top of Becket's head with his sword. The knight who delivered the fatal blow with such force that his sword was broken in two is identified by contemporary chroniclers as Richard le Bret and by later popular opinion as Reginald Fitz Urse,[36] and it rests uncertain whether the animals on the shields are intended as the boar's heads of Le Bret or the bears' heads of Fitz Urse. There can, however, be little doubt that all these badges were made as mementoes of the murder weapon which had been gathered up in December 1170 and treasured as a relic, subsequently to be exhibited to pilgrims at an altar set up on the spot where Becket had been murdered. On the evidence of offerings made there, this Altar of the Sword-Point was still one of Canterbury's attractions in Chaucer's day.[37] From the Period V foreshore and therefore not later than *c.* 1440.

9. (2242) Part of a pilgrim badge; the buckler and a portion of the scabbard from a badge identical to No. 8. Provenance and dating as for No. 8.

10. (782) (Pl. 10) Sword from a pilgrim badge akin to No. 8. The hilt is missing. The quillons are short, slightly drooping and knobbed at the ends, and the blade has a fullered groove along two-thirds of its length. Though perhaps encountered most often in the second half of the 14th century, both are long-lived features of actual swords in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Similar quillons occur on another miniature sword from the Thames at London Bridge[38] and several other swords, while differing from each other, similarly lack the distinctive decoration of the type represented by No. 118. One, found at Queenhithe in 1978, has a straightforward wheel-pommel; another, from King's Lynn, has bifid ends to its quillons.[39] But only one (found at Bankside in 1977)[40] has been discovered sheathed in the rest of the badge; this has pointed, downward-curving quillons, and features about the scabbard and buckler as well as associated evidence suggest that it comes late in the sequence of these badges, during the second half of the 15th century. Provenance and dating as for No. 8.

Plate 10. Pilgrim badge (No. 10), sword (ht. 89 mm).

11. (818) (Pl. 11) Pendant in the form of a sheathed rondel-dagger. Presumably worn as an adornment on the hood or hat, the sheath is fitted with a rectangular loop for suspension or stitching. At the top it is cupped and ornamented with a panel of scroll-work;[41] the rest is of diamond-shaped section and decorated with lozenges alternately cross-hatched and beaded. The dagger hilt is missing apart from its rondel guard which sits deep in the sheath's cup. Coming into general fashion in the 1390s, the rondel dagger appears to have remained the predominant type throughout the 15th century. But even without the important dating evidence of the hilt, it can be suggested that the best parallels for the deep-seated guard and four-square blade are to be found on brasses and monuments of the early 15th century.[42] Provenance and dating as for No. 8.

Plate 11. Pendant (No. 11), dagger in sheath (ht. 60 mm).

12. (2520) (Pl. 12) Hat badge, probably French, depicting the head of a woman within a pierced octofoil and circular frame. Looking somewhat like a nimbus, the horse-shoe shaped appendage that frames the face probably represents a kind of headdress, made of ruched linen and with a ruff-like fore-edge, that was fashionable between *c.* 1370 and *c.* 1420 (e.g. the effigy of Lady Maud Harcourt, *c.* 1370, at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, or the brass of a lady, *c.* 1390, at Holme Pierrepont, Nottinghamshire). Backing this design is a circular plate, which originally is likely to have been painted to set off the openwork. The two components were joined at the edge by four blobs of solder. Originally a pair of stitching loops, cast in one piece with the back-plate, protruded from either side of the badge. This means of attachment and the method of affixing the back-plate are entirely uncharacteristic of English badges. Provenance and dating as for No. 8.

Plate 12. Badge (No. 12), woman's head (diam. 29 mm).

13. (635) (Pl. 13) Mount of thin sheet copper-alloy, cut and embossed to the shape of a scallop-shell and pierced with a hole for a nail, rivet or stitches. Several similar mounts have turned up at London.[43]

Devotion to St. James of Compostella was everywhere depicted in terms of his emblem, the scallop, which was also the badge of the Compostella pilgrim.[44] In 1352 a London hosier and devotee of St. James owned a girdle of scallops[45] and similar girdles are mentioned in late medieval wills and inventories. Some of these, especially where the scallops were of jet and silver, may well have come as devotional souvenirs from Compostella. Shells cast sturdily in bronze or pewter and provided with short spikes at the back were presumably for cheap versions of the more fashionable belts and they were doubtless local products.[46] But the mount from Trig Lane is very flimsy and would have been rather impracticable as a belt-mount. It may have belonged instead to the vogue, beginning under Edward III, for 'powdering' garments and hangings with spangles stamped in many shapes out of thin sheet metal. Provenance and dating as for No. 8.

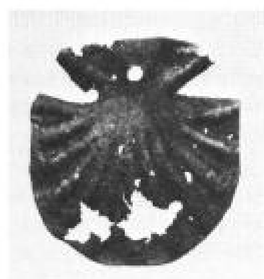


Plate 13. Mount (No. 13), scallop shell (ht. 29 mm).

14. (2251) (Pl. 14) Badge, probably a pilgrim sign, in the form of a fleur-de-lys within a circular, beaded frame, from the lower edge of which protrudes a loop. The badge has the usual pin and clasp on the back, and it is clear from other examples that the loop was intended for the suspension of some trinket from the badge itself, a length of lead chain in three instances and a single link and pendant ornament in another.[47]

The badge could have been the souvenir of a pilgrimage to one of many miracle-working statues of the Virgin Mary. The lily, symbol of purity, was the flower of the Virgin, and though its heraldic form (the fleur-de-lys) was an attribute of royalty and appeared, for example, on the crowns and sceptres of kingly saints, it, too, was an emblem of the Virgin Mary, as Queen of Heaven. No fewer than 30 other examples of this badge, practically all from different moulds, are known to have been found at London. Such evidence of popular appeal, coupled with the discovery of another four specimens at King's Lynn, at once suggests a major shrine, such as Walsingham, as the probable source. Canterbury, however, seems the likelier place of origin since the same frame and loop appear on a badge depicting the mitred head of St. Thomas[48] and on others depicting the letter T.[49]

In 1361 a well-to-do painter living in London's artists' quarter (on or very near the present site of the Museum of London) arranged for pilgrimages to be made both to Our Lady of Walsingham and to St. Mary 'under the vout' (i.e. in the crypt or undercroft) at Canterbury,[50] at a time when devotion to this image, measured in terms of offerings,[51] was showing an extraordinary increase among Canterbury's pilgrims. The image had first caught their interest a century earlier[52] and was shortly to receive a further boost from the personal devotion and sumptuous benefactions of the Black Prince (see No. 15).[53] Our Lady Undercroft remained a popular attraction for the next fifty years and it was to this period that the badge from Trig Lane apparently belongs. From the Group 15 dump (Period VI) and therefore not later than *c.* 1440.

Plate 14. Pilgrim badge (No. 14), fleurs-de-lys ornament (diam. 25 mm).

15. (1428) (Fig. 2) Hat badge depicting the Black Prince (Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, 1330–76), eldest son of Edward III, kneeling bareheaded and with his hands joined in prayer before the Trinity. Encircling the scene is a buckled garter inscribed with the words 'the trynyty . . . g be at oure endyng.' About a quarter of the inscription is lost—the words '& seynt Georg' would seem to fit the gap and context best.[54] It was probably on St. George's Day, 1348, that the Order of the Garter was formally inaugurated and that through this bond of knightly honour Edward III linked to himself some of the most powerful figures in the land. The Black Prince, fresh from military triumphs at Crécy and Calais was one of the founder members and, according to one view, it was his future wife who was inadvertently responsible for the creation of the Order's emblem of the blue garter.[55] It is evident from royal wardrobe accounts that by 1351 the Knights Companions were using the garter to encircle their personal arms. Illustrations of this usage, however, are unknown before *c.* 1420. In fact, the badge from Trig Lane, and another badge

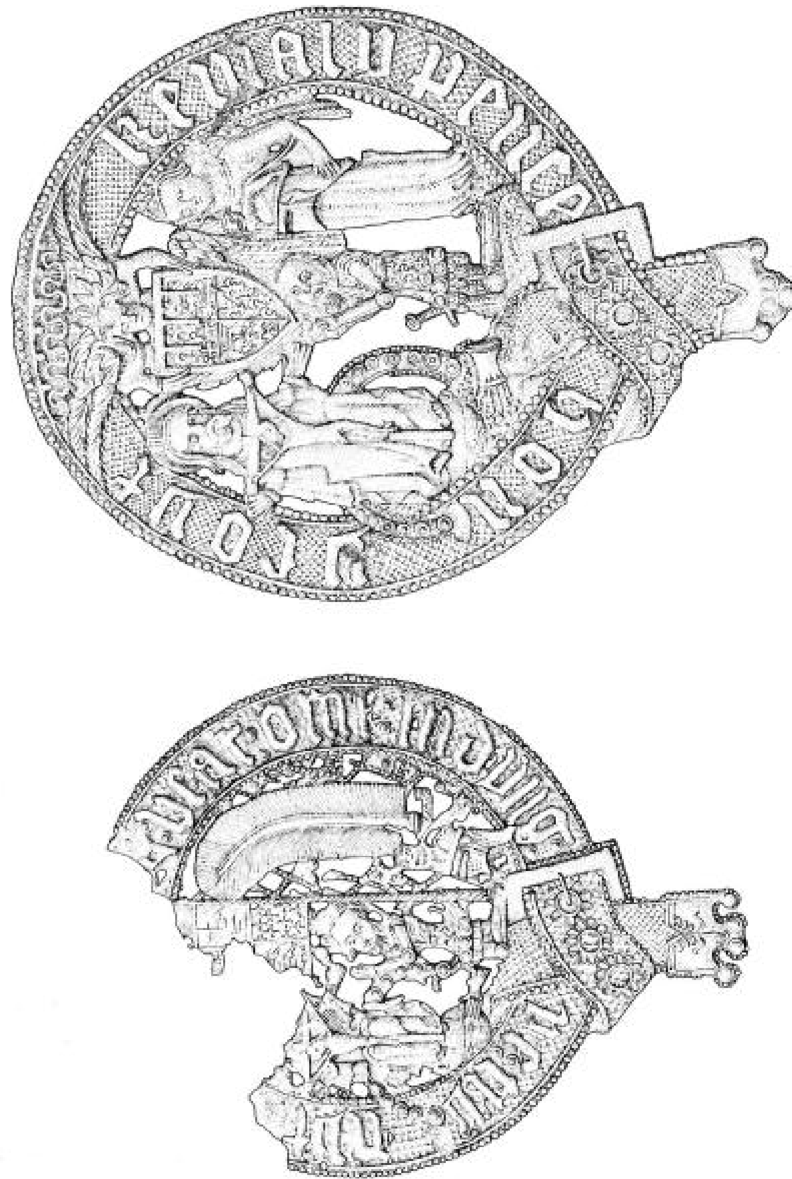


Fig. 2. Trig Lane: Badges commemorating the Black Prince, that on the left (No. 15) from Trig Lane; the other (unprovenanced), is in the British Museum; both actual size.

to be considered presently, appear to be the earliest surviving representations of the garter.

The Black Prince's effigy in Canterbury Cathedral shows him, in accordance with the specifications laid down in his will, 'fully armed in plate of war with our quartered arms'. On this badge, too, he is shown in full plate armour, except that he lacks cuisses for the thighs. As on the effigy, the royal arms (quarterly France ancient and England) are here also blazoned on his tight-fitting tabard and he wears the same kind of studded hip-belt.[56] Resting on the ground in front of him are his gauntlets, and behind him stands his helm with a leopard crest and mantling.[57] Immediately behind him appears a banner of his arms (quarterly France ancient and England with a label of three points) attached to a spirally fluted shaft and, behind that, his badge of the ostrich feather, its quill and part of the scroll concealed behind the helm. This combination of the ostrich feather with the prince's trappings of warfare brings to mind the instructions he left that his funeral procession should be led through Canterbury by two destriers with trappings of his arms and badges and two men, one armed 'for war with our whole arms quartered, and the other for peace with our badges of the ostrich feather'.[58] The latter, like the ostrich plumes for which the prince paid so lavishly, are thus seen to have been associated with the tilt-yard, in the chivalric exercise of arms at Smithfield or Windsor, as distinct from actual warfare.

On the left of the badge are depicted two persons of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, seated on a rainbow, holding his crucified Son. God's feet rest on a globe, divided into half earth and half water.[59] His right hand supports an arm of the cross and his left is extended towards the Black Prince. The upper part of the Father is missing but can be reconstructed from the evidence of a very similar badge in the British Museum (Fig. 2b).[60] This also takes the form of the Garter encircling a scene of the Black Prince kneeling before a personification of the Trinity, and there are enough similarities about the design and execution of both badges to indicate that their moulds were the products of one and the same workshop and that they were probably made for the same purpose.

The British Museum's badge has intrigued students of heraldry and chivalry for over a century. It is intact and perfectly preserved. It is also thicker than contemporary pewter hat badges and is both sturdier and larger[61] than the badge from Trig Lane. Unlike the latter, moreover, it was not provided with a pin and clasp at the back and it may therefore have been worn in a different way, stitched to a body garment rather than to the hat.

The absence of the vertical pin also made it unnecessary for this badge, as distinct from the one found at Trig Lane, to have continuously solid construction down its middle, behind which the pin and clasp and the division in the counter-mould could be concealed. The designer could therefore place the figure of the Black Prince to the right of centre and at a more respectful distance from the Trinity. The figures of the prince and the Trinity, however, are essentially the same in both badges.

Where the two badges diverge most markedly is in the area above and behind the prince's figure. In place of the banner, the British Museum's badge has a shield of the prince's arms held by a demi-angel emerging from clouds; replacing the ostrich feather, a guardian angel, wearing a long robe and a diadem, bears the prince's leopard-crested helm; and instead of the English inscription is the famous Garter motto, 'hony soyt ke mal y pence' (shame be to him who thinks evil of it). In addition to these differences the Trig Lane badge is rather more painstaking in its attention to detail, in the extraordinarily delicate beaded lattice that spans all the openwork, for example, or in the ornamental refinements on its pendant strap-end and in the inclusion of five rows of microscopic breathing holes in the helm.

According to a contemporary biography, the Black Prince was a lifelong devotee of the Trinity.[62] At the age of sixteen, for example, he granted a substantial annuity to a hermit of the Trinity in his park at Restormel Castle, Cornwall.[63] As Canterbury Cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and in remembrance of his pilgrimage to the shrine

of St. Thomas, Edward later founded two chantries there, in the undercroft of the south transept, and dedicated the principal one to the Holy Trinity, 'which', he said, 'we have always revered with a special devotion'. He also appears to have arranged for the decoration of this chapel of the Holy Trinity to include allusions to himself and to his wife, Countess Joan of Kent, whom he married two years earlier, in 1361.[64] The following year he became the first and only Prince of Aquitaine and in the royal charter granting him the principality the illuminated initial again shows him kneeling before the Trinity. The same subject forms the frontispiece of the verse account (*c.* 1385) of his life and deeds mentioned earlier. His will, drawn up the day before he died in 1376, also underlines his preoccupation with the Trinity. He bequeaths his soul 'to God our Creator and to the Holy Blessed Trinity and to the glorious virgin Mary', he asks to be buried 'in the cathedral church of the Trinity at Canterbury where the body of the true martyr my lord St. Thomas rests', and he bequeaths an image of the Trinity to the high altar and gives black tapestries of ostrich feathers to hang above the choir stalls to serve as a memorial to him on all the principal festivals and on the feast of the Trinity in particular.[65] Though he had asked to be buried in the darkness and comparative obscurity of the crypt 'in the midst of the chapel of Our Lady Undercroft' and not far from the chantries he had founded, his tomb was nevertheless sited high above, in what was then regarded as the most sacred spot in England, the Trinity Chapel that contained the shrine of St. Thomas. As to the tomb itself, the Prince's recumbent effigy was made to gaze upwards at a large picture of the Trinity painted on the wooden canopy above it.

The brand-new tomb of England's hero must have stirred countless pilgrims as they approached St. Thomas's shrine. Some of Chaucer's pilgrims in the Prologue of *The Tale of Beryn* were so caught up by the cathedral's diverse attractions that they almost forgot the purpose of their visit and wandered hither and thither 'goglyng with hir hedis'. When, at the end of the day they went to choose their pilgrim souvenirs,[66] they may conceivably have found some popular memento of the Black Prince's tomb among the large selection of hat ornaments on sale.

But the artistry of the two badges of the prince considered here transcends that of any known English pilgrim souvenir, even though, as some of the other finds from Trig Lane have shown, Canterbury's products for the pilgrim trade were artistically and technically very accomplished at this period. Both badges are of such exceptional quality that they must surely have been designed by a royal artist. It is perhaps significant that the only other pewter badges which possess a comparable grandeur of design and crispness of execution are secular in purpose and that chief among them are certain badges of the ostrich feather. Essentially these are replicas, much enlarged, of the feather depicted behind the prince on the Trig Lane badge. Six of them have been found at London and one at Old Sarum. Apart from their size (110mm high), what is especially striking about them is that the form and size of the lettering of the prince's motto 'ich dene' (I serve) across their scrolls[67] exactly match the epigraphy on the Garter badges.

All these badges, then, seem likely to have been commissioned officially and were presumably cast in quantity for use on a particular occasion and, since the badge from Trig Lane is unquestionably commemorative, the occasion is most likely to have been the Black Prince's funeral. This took place in an atmosphere of unparalleled national grief in late September and early October, 1376, four months after Edward had died at Westminster. En route to Canterbury, the great procession passed along the Strand, through the City and across London Bridge. For its part in this, the City spent liberally,[68] though not so extravagently as it had done in 1371, when the mayor and aldermen had welcomed the prince back from Aquitaine with a present of 273 items of domestic silver plate.[69] Edward had returned broken by the disease which he had contracted on his Spanish campaign and which was to make him an invalid thereafter and ultimately cause his death. But his tragic decline and death did nothing to diminish, and probably enhanced, his reputation as a

brilliantly successful man of action, who once brought a captive King of France to London and did so much more to make Englishmen conscious of the Englishness. It was fitting, though nevertheless remarkable, that a commemorative badge apparently made for courtly purposes in 1376 should have had an inscription in English. From the Period V foreshore and therefore not later than *c.* 1440.

16. (2562) (Pl. 15) Pilgrim badge depicting the mitred bust of St. Thomas of Canterbury in a pierced quatrefoil within a square frame and with trefoils in the spandrels. Several other examples of this badge, all differing slightly from each other, have been found at London[70] and another comes from Bury St. Edmunds.[71] They belong to the series of badges (by far the largest single group surviving from any medieval shrine) which were made from the early 14th century until the early 16th to commemorate the famous reliquary known as the 'corona' or 'caput Sancti Thomae'. This, one of the principal places of devotion at Canterbury, contained the portion of St. Thomas's skull that was said to have been severed at his martyrdom and took the form of a richly jewelled, mitred bust. As a rule, mementoes of it made for 14th-century pilgrims were strikingly large or were surrounded by large elaborate settings and often inscribed 'Caput Thome'. During the 15th century their size diminished and the quality of their workmanship steadily deteriorated. On a typological basis, badges of the sort found at Trig Lane appear to belong to the early part of the 15th century. From the Group 15 dump (Period VI) and therefore not later than *c.* 1440.

Plate 15. Pilgrim badge (No. 16), head of St. Thomas (ht. 29 mm).

17. (1094) (Pl. 16) 'Disc' brooch decorated with four fleurs-de-lys in cross and three pellets between each fleur, bordered by an inner circle and a band of zigzags crudely outlined in pellets. The centre motif, which is occasionally mirrored on jettons, appears on a mid 14th-century inscribed disc brooch referred to above (under No. 3) and on a series of brooches[72] closely related to it. These lack the inscription but, instead of it, have carefully executed borders of zig-zags or running scrolls. The Trig Lane specimen is a degenerate and presumably later version of these brooches. Provenance and dating as for No. 16.

Plate 16. Brooch (No. 17), fleurs-de-lys ornament (diam. 25 mm).

SEAL MATRICES

by John Cherry

18. (1421) (Pl. 17) Bronze seal matrix. Circular (d. 19mm), with a hexagonal conical handle ending in a loop in the form of a quatrefoil (h. 24mm). The central device shows two heads facing each other above two branches beneath which there sits a dog who appears to be biting his foot. The surrounding inscription reads AMI AMET LEAL AMIE AVET (in the friend you love, you have a loyal friend).

There is a good collection of seals relating to love and friendship in the British Museum. Among 31 catalogued by Tonnochy (1952, Nos 709–740), which have devices ranging from birds, hands supporting a heart, and crossed hands, there are five with male and female heads confronting each other. Three of these have French inscriptions and two

English. The closest comparison to the seal in question is inscribed. ·AMIE·AMET·CARLEL·AMI·AVET (*ibid.*, No. 730). There are also two seals with confronted heads in Norwich Museum, both with English inscriptions (Leney 1909, 99, Nos. 939 and 940), and another example with an English inscription, from London, is in the Museum of London (A11711, see Perkins 1940, 298). Confronted heads often occur on Italian nielloed pendants of the 15th century and it is normally assumed that this indicates that the pendant was a betrothal gift (Hind 1936, 37). It may well be that the device had a similar significance on earlier medieval seals.

From the Period IV foreshore, and therefore not later than *c.* 1380, although probably dating from the first half of the 14th century on stylistic criteria.

Plate 17. Bronze seal matrix (No. 18).

19. (2357) (Pl. 18) Lead seal matrix in the shape of a pointed oval. The central device is a fleur-de-lis. The legend reads S' MATILD ISLEBEL (the seal of Matilda Islebel). At the back is a pierced handle now slightly squashed.

This is a personal seal belonging to Matilda Islebel. Islebel or Isabel was a popular medieval surname and examples are quoted from Norfolk (1141–9); Leicestershire (*c.* 1160); London (1202–16); and Yorkshire (1379), see Reaney (1976, 191).

The lombardic lettering is distinguished by marked serifs which together with the form of the letters would indicate a date in the first half of the 13th century. Residual in the Period V foreshore.

Plate 18. Lead seal matrix (No. 19), (ht. 40 mm).

NOTES

1. This, the commonest inscription on Canterbury ampullae, sums up one of the messages to be gained from the volumes of miracles laboriously recorded by Canterbury's scribes. Ordinary doctors and practitioners of folk remedies are shown up to be expensive failures. But the superiority and success of Canterbury's sacred doctor rested on expectant faith and the reason why some pilgrims were not cured, it was stressed, was because they were unworthy, lacking sufficient belief or piety. About half the recorded cures occurred away from Canterbury, the remainder at the shrine, which year in and year out, must have looked like a casualty ward; see Robertson (1875 and 1876, *passim*).
2. Spencer (1975), which also briefly discusses the use of Canterbury water. See also Spencer (1971a); Spencer (1974) and Spencer (forthcoming a).
3. This suggestion also applies to No. 2 below, which shows similar signs of long usage. In so far as these remarks have any wider validity (and there is ample evidence to show that pilgrim badges were often kept long after the completion of a pilgrimage), they are less likely to apply to pilgrim badges (Nos 8–14 following) recovered from foreshore deposits, for the reasons stated in Spencer (1978, 250).
4. Andersson (1949, 285–7).
5. Hope (1918, Figs. 1 and 4).
6. Spencer (1968, Pl. IV, No. 4).
7. Luard (1890, 275).
8. Wormald (1937, Pl. 6b).
9. *Ibid.*, Pl. 7a, b; Hall (1965, 207–9).
10. *Loc. cit.* in note 7.
11. Bliss and Twemlow (1904, 384); Hardy (1844, 105).
12. Redstone (1944, 57).
13. Gairdner (1887, 143).
14. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8817, see Borrajo (1908, 333, No. 162).
15. Baigent (1854, Pl. 5).
16. An occasional alternative to the more usual Balthazar; *cf.* a brooch found near Devizes: Archaeol. Inst. Great Brit. Ireland (1846, 359).
17. Evans (1922, 125–6), Dalton (1912, 140), Oman (1930, 114), Smith (1848, 115–22) and Gray (1972, 118).
18. Cuming (1868, Pl. 17, No. 9); Mus. of London Acc. No. 8805; Brit. Mus. Reg. No. 96 5–1 87/88; Mr J. Mullen's collection (from Bull Wharf, 1979); and Brent (1880, Pl. 29, No. 2); all from London.
19. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8793; Brit. Mus. Hugo Collection.
20. Brit. Mus. Reg. No. 56 7–1 2039.
21. For example, Spencer (1972, Pl. 35); Harvey (1975, Pl. 155); Spencer (1978, Fig. 5e). Only two others, from Bull Wharf (1979), show the saddle (collections of Mr A. J. Essery and Mr A. R. Carols).
22. Spencer (1968, Pl. vi, 1).
23. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8769 and Mr S. Wheeler's collection; Mus. of London Acc. No. 8829 is a cruder version.
24. The most spectacular example (mid 14th century) was found (1979) at Bull Wharf, Queenhithe (Mus of London Acc. No. 82. 8/3) while an

ampulla of *c.* 1200 depicting the same subject was found (1975) in the excavations at Wood Quay, Dublin; see Spencer (forthcoming b).
25. See, for example, Spencer (1968, Pl. V).
26. Two in Brit. Mus: Reg. No. 1921 2–16 64, see Tait (1955, Pl. xv, a, b), and Reg. No. 1971 6–3 5. The third (Mus. of London) was found in the late 15th-century infill of Baynard's Castle Dock and must either be archaic or have been kept as a family relic for a century or more.
27. Spencer (1971 b, 63–4).
28. Spencer (1978, Fig. 5, No. 91) where a suggested link with the pilgrimage to Henry VI's tomb is now seen to be mistaken.
29. For a fuller discussion see Spencer (1983).
30. Mus. of London Acc. No. 77.165/2; cf. Spencer (1968, Fig. 4). For angels with shields see, for example, Mus. of London Acc. No. 8853 and Brit. Mus. Reg. Nos 52 5–29–1 and 1921 2–6 76.
31. Cave (1948, Pls. 296–8).
32. Mus. of London Acc. No. 79.135/4, Museum of London, 1980, fig. 29, another was found (1978) at the N. end of Southwark Bridge (Mr J. Auld's collection). An almost identical sword comes from Brooks Wharf, Southwark: Cuming Mus. Acc. No. C5755, wrongly described as a forgery (Cuming, 1867, 208).
33. Though zoomorphic terminals occur on late 12th-century quillons, see Hoffmeyer (1954, Pl. 7).
34. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8900; another, now in Mr T. Crispin's collection, comes from Clerkenwell, see Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. (1864, 80); another from Bull Wharf (1979) is in Mr A. J. Essery's collection.
35. Spencer (1968, Pl. iv, No. 8); also Brit. Mus. Reg. No. 56 71–1 2049 and Mus. of London Acc. No. 8901.
36. Spencer (1975, 248); Borenius (1933, 181).
37. Woodruff (1932).
38. Perkins (1940, Pl. LXX, No. 26).
39. Collection of Messrs R. and I. Smith; and Spencer (1980, No. 71).
40. Spencer (1978, 260–1); Mr. J. Hayward's collection.
41. Perkins (1940, Fig. 59).
42. Laking (1920, 18–19); Stothard (1817, Pl. 112).
43. Two, for example, were found in 1978 by Mr John Auld at the N. end of Southwark Bridge.
44. Spencer (1971 b, 60–1); Spencer (1974, 113–15).
45. Sharpe (1889, 657–8).
46. For example, see Perkins (1940, Fig. 89, No. 4). A specimen nearly corresponding in size and shape to the Trig Lane mount, but cast in bronze, was found in 1978 on the Thames foreshore at Swan Wharf (Mr E. G. Lake's collection). Cast bronze plates of buckles and belt clasps were also fashioned as scallops.
47. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8712 and Mr L. Darling's collection.
48. Mus. of London Acc. No. 8787, which has a link of lead chain and a leaf-shaped trinket hanging from the loop; and collection of Messrs. R. & I. Smith.
49. Canterbury Mus., see Brent (1880, Pl. 29, No. 7); Brit. Mus. Reg. Nos. 68 9–4 45 and 96 5–1 85.
50. Sharpe (1890, 107).
51. Woodruff (1932, 20). In 1369 the king offered three gold nobles 'at the image of the Blessed Mary Undercroft' and rewarded Hanekyn Fytheler with another noble for making his minstrelsy there. He also offered three nobles at St. Thomas's shrine but only one at Becket's old tomb, at the Sword-Point (No. 8) and at St. Thomas's head (No. 16); Public Record Office E101/396/11, f. 19.
52. Robertson (1880, 525).
53. *Ibid.*, 527; Stanley (1904, 141).
54. I am indebted to Dr John Harvey, FSA, for this suggestion. The inscription appears to invalidate the assertion that the Garter 'was anciently never allowed for any but the motto of the Order', see Hope (1913, 260–3).
55. Galway (1948).
56. To help create an illusion of depth, the designer of the badge has depicted the sword on the wrong side of the prince's body, so that it appears to be hanging in space behind the Garter.
57. The crested helm, gauntlets and tabard have their full-size counterparts among the Black Prince's funeral achievements which used to hang above his tomb and are now exhibited nearby. There, however, the lion crest, the forerunner of the present royal crest, stands looking forwards, the natural position for an animal crest.
58. Harvey (1976, 161).
59. 'Thus saith the Lord, "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool"', *Isaiah* lxvi, 1; *Acts* vii, 49.
60. Brit. Mus. O.A. 100. Its provenance is not recorded (Marks and Payne, 1978, 129; Spencer, 1972, cover). 19th-century engravings misleadingly show the openwork as a solid background; see, for example, Nicolas (1846, 141) and Hume (1863, 120 and 142).
61. 120mm high as against 86mm, the original height of the Trig Lane badge.
62. Coxe (1842, 8).
63. Dawes (1930, 22 and 138).
64. Stanley (1904, 159–64); Robertson (1880, 541–6).
65. Harvey (1976, 160–3).
66. Furnivall and Stone (1909, 147–63).
67. For example Brit. Mus. Reg. No. 96 5–1 82.
68. Thomas (1929, 226).
69. Riley (1868, 350–2).
70. Smith (1848, Pl. 32, No. 5); Brent (1880, Pl. 29, No. 13). More recently they have been found on the Thames foreshore at Queenhithe, Bankside, the N. end of Southwark Bridge and Bull Wharf (Collections of Messrs A. Sutton, J. Hayward, J. Auld and A. J. Essery, respectively).
71. Norwich Mus. Acc. No. 250/76/94.
72. Brit. Mus. Reg. Nos 56 7–1 2040 and 2041, 68 9–4 43, 93 6–18 112, all from London; Mr A. Stewart's and Mr. J. Hayward's collections (from Bull Wharf, 1979).

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