

Horsemen Candlesticks

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Introduction

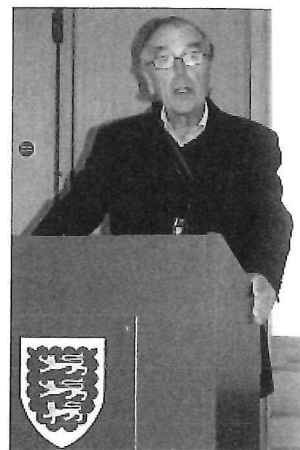
This is not the first time the Pewter Society and its Dutch sister recognize each other's celebrations. In our magazine *De Tinkoerier* of December 1998, pp. 13-14, Ron F. Homer wrote 'The Fascination of Pewter' in order to 'contribute towards closer relations between De Nederlandse TinVereniging and the Pewter Society'. This was on the occasion of the fifth birthday of the NTV, the successor of the Dutch Tin club which started in 1960 and went into limbo gradually after its second successful exhibition in 1978 (Dubbe 1979, p. 13). Homer deals with the progress that was made in recent years in gathering knowledge on the subject of tin and pewter and stresses the need to continue research.²

International contact is one of the aspects Homer points at. He mentions on the one hand unfriendly trade practices like import restrictions abroad and imports of 'debased false metal', marked with Rose and Crown into Ireland and Scotland in the C17th, but on the other he refers to Dubbe who in *The Journal of 1999*³ writes about 'British contacts with the Pewterers Trade in the Low Countries'.

'This apparent contradiction needs explanation and future research, perhaps by members of the Nederlandse TinVereniging, may shed some light on the matter' (Homer 1998, p. 13). Well, this is not precisely what I am trying to undertake in this contribution to the jubilee festivities around pewter and pewter collecting in Great Britain. My focus is on an early period, being the late Middle Ages and is merely a demonstration of my inability to reconcile tension arising from unfriendly trade practices and cooperation in international trade as referred to in Dubbe's article. From that period information is fragmented, the spread of locations where comparable objects were found along with trade contacts throughout North Western Europe make it difficult if not impossible to be conclusive on the nature of relationships between countries. It seems to me that economic reasons which can

change over time very quickly are always the underlying factors.

Culturally the North West of Europe has common roots. Two artefacts of about 13,000 years old with similar ornamentation were found in The Netherlands, one a human skull and the other a bone of a bison were recently published in *Antiquity*, both with zigzag patterns. Similar patterns on a horse's jaw were found in Kendrick's cave in Wales and on other bones found in France and Poland⁴



Place of origin

Little can be said with reasonable certainty on the city, region or even country where pewter products were manufactured. When populations moved from one area to another they took their skills with them. Monks played an important role in passing on and thus maintaining crafts over the ages as was described by Theophilus. Other skills were learned from travelling professionals, famous examples being the masons who went from one cathedral being built to another. Bapst 1884 has sections which demonstrate an uninterrupted use of tin from Roman times onwards.

Trade traffic has always been intense around the short seas, the North Sea, the Baltic Seas and the Mediterranean, not just in Hanseatic times (C13th – C15th), but already in the early Middle Ages (see figures 1 and 2).

It goes without saying that as long as Cornwall and Devon were *de facto* the only tin mining areas⁵ this industry was flourishing there. It is also logical that in such situations the addition of value on tin by manufacturing pewter products 'around the corner' was stimulated by local political and

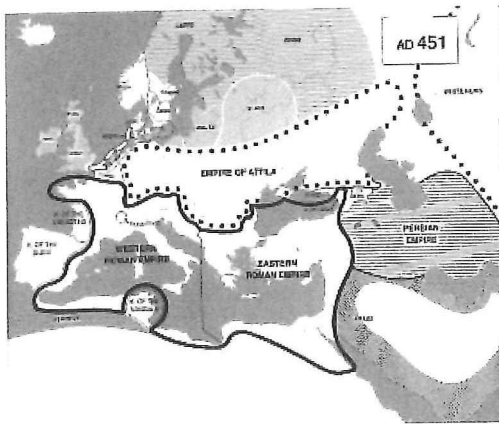


Fig. 1. Map of Europe and Western Asia in 451 AD. 'Britain, forgotten by Rome, was raided by almost everyone else – Picts, Irish, Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians'. McEvedy pp. 16-17.

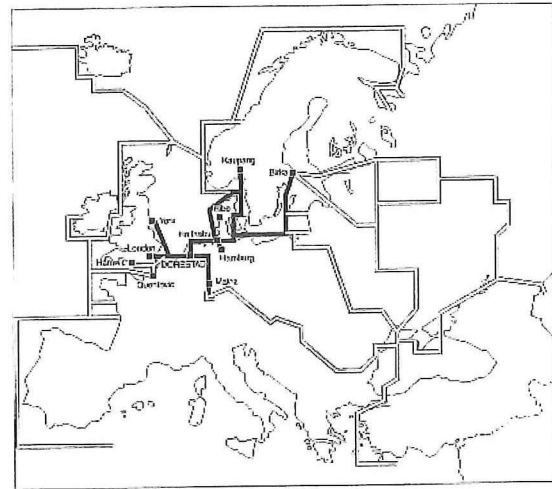


Fig.2. Network early medieval trade routes in the reach of Dorestad (C7th – C9th). Van Es p. 95

economic powers. No wonder that 'in the C13th the Duke of Cornwall derived immense profits from the mines' (Flower p. 17). In the C15th the competition from Bohemia and Saxony became more severe (Haedeke, p. 6, Dubbe 1978, p. 21). The export of tin is mentioned in several sources but the export of pewter products is much less mentioned for this early period.⁶

Intense trading in the Middle Ages

According to Flower (p. 16) the mines in Cornwall were neglected during the Saxon dominion (410 – 1066 AD), but vigorously developed by the Normans. Hatcher (p. 15/16) however speaks of tin trade in the C7th and in chapter IV he points at written evidence from 1303 from an obvious source: the imposition of customs duties on tin exports. Homer 1985 (p. 137 left column) 'English tin was an article of commerce in Europe in C9th and C10th'.

As for the trade, early on merchants from Liege and Huy were exempted from tax when they sold pewter (or tin?) in Cologne (C11th onwards).⁷ They bought it most likely in Billingsgate on the Thames where since the C11th a tax rate applied for foreign merchants; Rouen (France), Liege, Huy and Nivelles (Southern Netherlands) are explicitly mentioned. They not only purchased wares but also sold them in England. The examples Dubbe mentions for the late medieval period are manifold (Dubbe 1978 p. 17 – 22).⁸ References can also be found in Hatcher and Barker, in note 2 on p. 21

and in Homer 1991, pp. 57-80.

As a concluding remark, Ron Homer addressed this subject in the Journal in a comprehensive article (Homer 1999), which makes me think he himself took on the task of undertaking the 'future research' he pleaded for a year before. The following article, however, deals with a more specific subject i.e. atypical candlesticks, seemingly arising in splendid isolation.

Early candlesticks

Horsemen candle holders

From the period of the C12th – C13th some intriguing candlesticks have survived. They are made of pewter (tin and lead). Three horsemen back to back on halved horses and wearing a coat of mail, each of them have a figure placed on rectangular bands with *entrelacs*, one being a man and two being women. The three figures carry a drip tray with a pin. The whole candlestick has geometrical decoration often like herringbone hatchings and lozenges. The style is Anglo-Norman like the Bayeux tapestry.⁹ H.H. van Regteren Altena, an archaeologist from the University of Amsterdam who took part in the excavations in Rijnsburg, wrote a letter to Dubbe on Oct. 13, 1965 to congratulate him on the publication of *Tin en Tinnegieters in Nederland*. He regarded the reasoning for N.W. France as place of origin for these horsemen to be very convincing. Dubbe

refers to some remarkable points. The way the noblemen look, the way in which they sit on the horses and hold the reins and the way in which the snaffle-bit of the horses is connected to rectangularly nicked shafts (in German: Hebelstangentrense) all strongly resemble the figures on the Bayeux tapestry (fig.3). Also the geometrical ornaments on the rectangular bands point at Viking influence and are also to be found on the Bayeux tapestry. The form of the candlesticks of that period in the Meuse/Rhine area and in Lower Saxony, Germany is completely different and it therefore seems unlikely that they were manufactured in these regions. For these reasons Dubbe concludes that the northwest part of France (Rouen) is the most probable place of origin but he does not exclude England (Dubbe 1965, pp. 95-97, ill. 17 and 19). A further thorough description is given by Geoff Egan (2000, p. 102).



Fig.3. Horsemen on the Bayeux tapestry. Rud p. 63

A classic guide on Romanesque candlesticks is Von Falke 1935. It contains about 100 pages with candlesticks from the C11th till 1250 AD, many of which have three feet. They all differ substantially from the horsemen type and vary between exuberance as for the Hildesheim stick (no. 1, C11th, in beauty comparable to the Gloucester candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum) and the simpler but still elaborate ones like the low type in Minden (Germany), no. 110. That does not help a lot in trying to find style developments that some way or another give a logical place to the horsemen type. Of much such help on the contrary is an article by Helmut Nickel (Nickel 1966): He discusses miniature mounted horsemen of lead and pewter that are known as toys from Ancient Greek till recent times, illustrated with

examples including from the Bayeux tapestry. Of special interest are two horsemen, falconers in harness, from the same mold, one of which was known to have been found in the river Seine. The two were both incomplete but together enabled a realistic reconstruction which is shown below (fig. 4). They are dated C13th and resemble the Bayeux examples and our horsemen.¹⁰



Fig.4. Reconstruction from two falconers which are French, C13th. Lead. Height ca. 1 3/4 inches. Rogers Fund, 12.22.2, and Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, 29.158.736 (see Nickel pp. 172-173)

We know of four or five 'prototype' candlesticks

1. In Bruges a candle holder was found in 1877 two meters below street level when street maintenance took place in the very centre of the city, in the Koningsstraat. Dated C13th, height 12.5cm, Ø drip tray ca. 5cm and Ø base 9.5cm; it weighs 285g (fig. 5). Vandenberghe (1988) discusses Bruges, Rijnsburg and Middelburg after an earlier article on the Bruges candle holder in 1985.¹¹ When visiting Bruges in 1978 Philippe Boucaud was disappointed as the candlestick was no longer there. (Boucaud 1978, p.57).

2. In Rijnsburg near the city of Leiden a candlestick was excavated in 1963 by a professional team of archaeologists of the University of Amsterdam. When found, it was pressed together, as I was informed (perhaps as shown in fig. 6 but it is not clear which



Fig. 5. Candle holder of Bruges. Photo Gruuthuse museum Bruges



Fig. 6. Damaged candle holder of Bruges or Rijnsburg. Source unknown

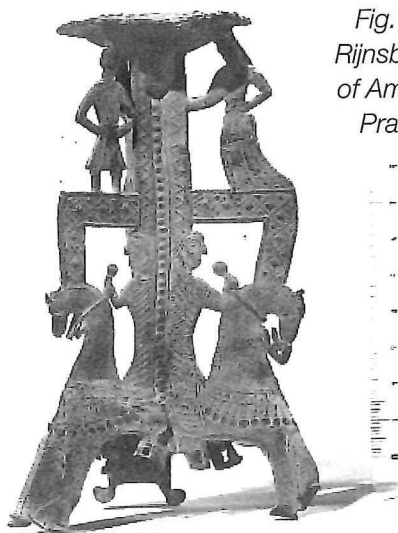


Fig. 7. Candle holder of Rijnsburg. Photo University of Amsterdam, Institute for Prae- and Protohistory

of the horsemen candle holders this old photo concerns). The university dug into the history of a Benedictine abbey for women of noble descent. The abbey had been there from 1133 to 1574, when it was destroyed (Jaarboekje Leiden 1965¹²). The candlestick must have been buried in 1574 at the latest. Height 13.5cm, (fig. 7). This abbey had served as a burial ground for the Counts of Holland and their family from its beginning (De Boer 2010, p. 55, ill. of candlestick on p.54¹³, also exhibition Leiden, p. 34). The House of Holland reigned as Counts of Holland from about 889 till 1299. Glasbergen (1965) says that the Rijnsburg candlestick and the one from Bruges are from the same mold. That is hard to prove or disprove without further studying the two next to each other physically as to compare *inter alia* the ornamentation. And even then is it hard to say what was formed from the mold and what was made by hand after the casting. The weights are comparable: 285 g. for Bruges and 270 g. for Rijnsburg. The fact that they look different is not decisive since at least one of them was damaged and restored later on.¹⁴ From my correspondence with the University of Amsterdam I learned that the report of the excavation mentions the find on Oct. 25, 1963 (Protocolboek 1963) in 'werkput 1 vlak 4'.^{15 16}

3. *Middelburg* (fig. 8). Found in Middelburg in the Keldermansstreet in 1985 during construction works for a new bank building. It is 11.8cm high, - 15cm with pin but the pin is attached after the find - and weighs 143 g., remarkably less than nos. 1 and 2. It was given on loan by the finder¹⁷ to the Zeeuws Museum in Middelburg (Zeeland). The museum tried to raise the money for the acquisition but didn't succeed (and did not do its utmost I add, because they didn't even try to obtain a grant from Vereniging Rembrandt, a private association which supplies subsidies to museums that want to make acquisitions).¹⁸ In a television program in 1986 which is the Dutch equivalent of the Antiques Roadshow the antique dealer Jaap Polak of Amsterdam estimated the value at NLG 50,000 to NLG 60,000 (€ 22,500 - €

27,500). After terminating the loan it was acquired by the antique dealer J. Koldeweij of Helvoirt (Noord-Brabant), who sold the candlestick to a dealer from the USA, Michael Dunn who sold it to Syd Levethan (owner of the Longridge Collection). Upon Levethan's death his collection was sold, my middleman bought it from the heirs (inventory number 1422).

4. *Aardenburg/Damme* (fig. 9). I discussed my Middelburg candlestick with Koldeweij. He told me that he had had a second similar candlestick within a very short period of time, bought by him at an auction at Christie's Amsterdam, Dec. 21, 1988, lot 366, hammer price NLG 41,400 (€ 18,800),¹⁹ 'a few months after the acquisition of the Middelburg candlestick'. Height 13.5cm (with pin 18cm, weight 278g) . Its pedigree is not known but it is said to have been found in Damme (near Bruges) or Aardenburg (Zealandic Flanders). For a very short period of time both the Middelburg and this candlestick were with Koldeweij. Close comparison showed that these two sticks were very similar, but different in size so they must have come from different casting molds. Koldeweij sold the Aardenburg/Damme candlestick to an American private collector, whose collection is now subject to a research project of Mrs. Anna Koldeweij, granddaughter of J. Koldeweij and her uncle E. Koldeweij, both art historians.²⁰

Were there more?

The fragment in the Alex Neish collection (fig. 20 below) certainly may have been a part of a prototype horsemen candlestick.

Christie's 1988 states in the auction catalogue that a similar candlestick is in the Museum van Oudheden, Leiden. The museum confirmed to me that this is not correct, Christie's presumably mixed up with Rijnsburg.²¹

Vandenbergh 1985, p. 59 refers to an early report of a similar candlestick in a museum in Munich. His inquiries in several museums in Munich resulted in denials or were without result.

Fig. 8. Candle holder of Middelburg. Photo Antiek March, 1989. Inv. no. 1422



Fig. 9. Candle holder of Aardenburg. Photo St. Nederlandse Kunst- en Antiekbeurs, Breda



Vandenbergh 1988, p. 180: 'a fifth and a sixth' were supposedly discovered in London and 'Western Belgium' respectively, but R.M. van Heeringen, an archaeologist in the Netherlands could not obtain certainty about that. I wonder whether the one of 'Western Belgium' might be the Christie's Amsterdam 1988 candlestick.

Some years ago I had a fake in my hands which was most likely copied from one of the originals. It was betrayed by its weight (457 g.) I think it was the same object as is on the market today.



Fig.10. 'Medieval' souvenirs, photo A. Willemssen

It may very well be that these fakes were not produced as such originally but merely as copies. The museum in Rijnsburg safely stored its original and has a plastic copy on display (43 g.).

The University of Amsterdam at the time made a copy of the Rijnsburg candlestick, the present location of which I do not know.

Certainly produced as a copy is the candlestick shown in fig. 10. In 2009 when the photo was made a metalcaster produced and sold souvenirs for the visitors of the archaeological park Archeon in Alphen aan den Rijn (Holland). He cast the candlestick from his own mold.²²

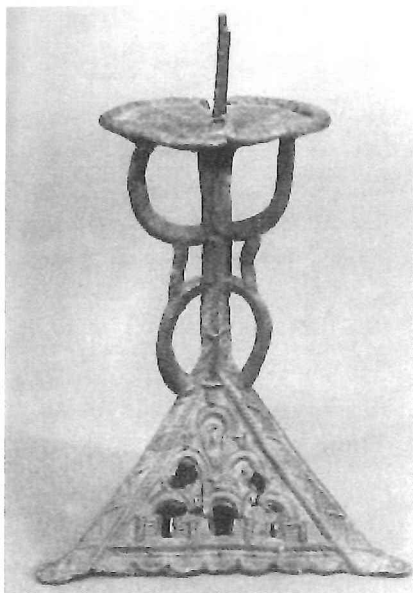


Fig.11. Candle holder Robin Bellamy Antiques. Photo sales brochure Robin Bellamy Antiques. Inv.no. 1412

Other early candlesticks of extraordinary shape

1. Robin Bellamy Antiques (trade name for Peter R.G. Hornsby) presented and showed in a brochure of Autumn 1986 a tripod candlestick (fig. 11) which is in my collection since 2011 (inv.nr. 1412) when I bought it at the auction of Christie's Nov. 3, 2011, lot no.1, one of the auctions of Syd Levethan's collections. It is mentioned by Egan (2010), (p. 135 no. 366 far right) as found in London together with some others; a fuller description is given by Egan in 2000, p. 110, where he also refers to an identical candlestick in the National Museum of Ireland from a deposit dated to the early C14th ²³. In the meantime mine lost its pin and measures 11.5 cm. It is described by Christie's as an 'English "Romanesque" candlestick in lead, excavated from the Thames. ... 13th c., 4.5 ins high'.

2. Candlestick (fig. 12) with vertical stem composed of three sides with interlaced half circles on a round base with six openings and three legs. On the base are leftovers of similar half circles ending on the legs. Flat drip tray with four leaves on which a cupped candleholder with four rectangular openings. Overall simple ornamentation. Stem broken and glued. My collection (inv. nr. 1177), purchased in 2006 from a collector in Brabant (NL). Said to be found in Zierikzee



Fig.12. Candle holder with interlaced half circles. Photo Hans Rozenbeek. Inv.no. 1177

(Zealand, NL) ca. 1988, Romanesque, C13th, h. 13cm.

3. Tripod candlestick (fig. 13). Simple version of the horsemen candlesticks. My collection (inv.nr. 1290). Excavated in Dordrecht in 2007. A cupped candleholder instead of a pin, h 13cm, C14th. The magazine *Vind* showed it in its column 'Questions from readers' with a fake 'Mr. Vriese' (*Vind* 2014).

4. The very elaborate 'Haagsittard' candlestick (fig. 14) was found east of Sittard in 1990 during a dig by an archaeological team from the province of Limburg (NL). Research was undertaken by Mrs. Elizabeth den Hartog of the Leiden University (Den Hartog). In common with the prototype candle holders discussed above the presentation symbolizes the knightly ideal of fighting evil thus upholding the flame of Christianity.²⁴ This tripod candle holder was shown in an exhibition held in 1992 at various places (Aachen, Germany). The tripod base with three reined horse heads rises to a drip tray with a pin. The structure has in four layers above each other human figures, birds and geometrical figures. It is assumed to be cast in Flanders or the North of France in the C12th and is on loan to the museum De Domijnen in Sittard, height 10cm.

5. The Stanley Shemmell Pewter Collection had two candlesticks (fig. 15) to be mentioned here. One resembles no. 1. above

Fig. 13. Cupped horsemen candlestick. Photo Hans Rozenbeek. Inv.no. 1290



Fig.14. Haagsittard candleholder. Photo exhibition catalogue Aachen

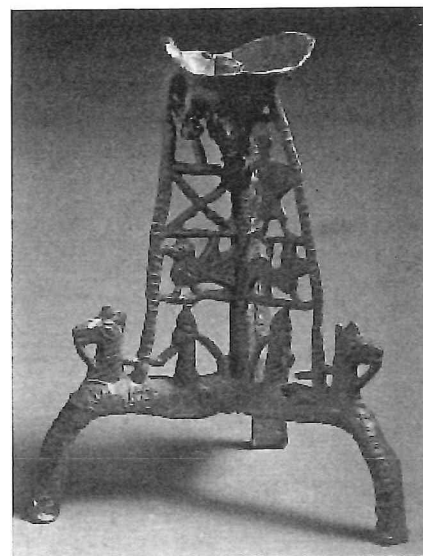
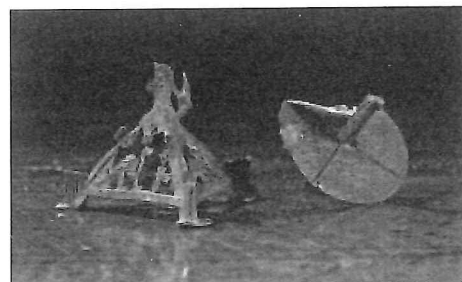
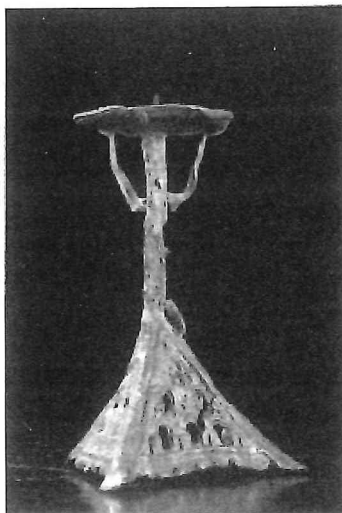
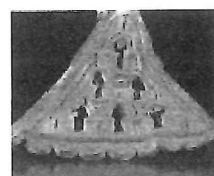


Fig. 15. Candleholder and fragments Stanley Shemmell Pewter Collection. Photos from auction catalogue Bonhams Chester.



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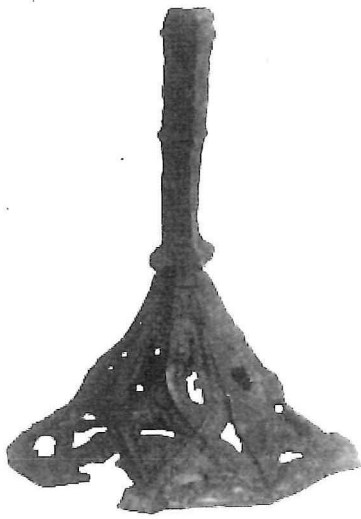


Fig. 16. *Miniature medieval votive candlestick. Photo Peter Hooper*

(ex Robin Bellamy) and one of which only three fragments existed. It was smaller than the first but similar. Shemmell's collection was auctioned at Bonhams Chester Oct. 26, 2006²⁵.

6. In The Journal Autumn 1987 Michael Kashden wrote about '*Miniature medieval votive candlesticks*'. Figure 2 in that article certainly deserves a place in this summing up; it is tripod with a simple stem and is 6.3cm high (fig. 16).

7. In December 2014 we received Season's Greetings from Hilary and Michael Kashden with the picture of a candlestick in Anglo-Norman style and described as C12th Romanesque Candlestick from Bruges. It weighs 251g. It features a woman holding a strap, the other end attached to her slave's neck (fig. 17).

Fig. 17. *Candle holder. Hilary and Michael Kashden. Season's greetings postcard*

8. TimelineAuctions Ltd offered for sale a candlestick (fig. 18) like the horsemen types, describing it as C14th-15th in its auction of Feb. 25-27, 2016, lot 1148 (estimate £ 5,000 - £ 7,000). It has the alarming weight of 495g, (fig. 18). It was formerly in the possession of the antique dealers J. and J. Simonini (Period Oak Antiques, near Askham, Cumbria) as '*come from Suffolk collector; found on a building site in Norwich, Norfolk, UK 1980s*'.²⁶

9. Candlestick ex Zealand collection (fig. 19). This was found in Damme (near Bruges) in soil that had been removed and brought over to another location. It is now in the Gruuthusemuseum in Bruges. I saw it at his house before the private collector sold it to the museum. It has a tripod form, is 10.4cm high and the maximum width of the base is 9.2cm. It is dated early Romanesque, C12th/13th. On the three triangular sides of the base one can observe 1. a king on horse, above him another person, 2. a knight behind his shield with a sword, a tree and a kind of tower and 3. an allegorical animal on top of which is an animal (fox ?). The ribs between the sides show birds and mantises. Bows connect the vertical parts and the drip tray .

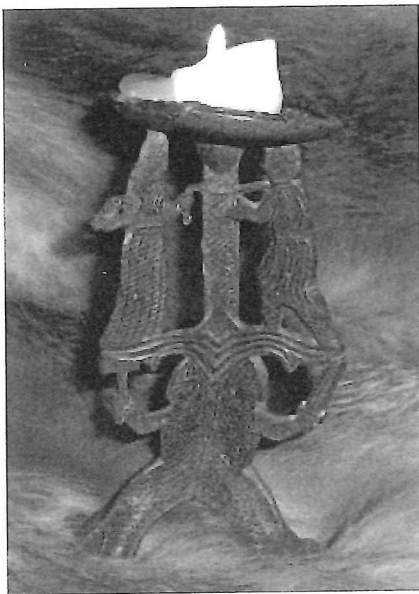


Fig. 18. '*Medieval Romanesque Figural Candlestick*'. Timeline auctions



5. A fragment of a horsemen candlestick is in the Alex Neish Collection, inv.nr. 898, (fig. 20) now in the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum in Stirling, Scotland and described by Carl Ricketts as follows:

898. *An English base metal alloy pricket candle holder, possibly the upper part of a larger pilgrim's tripedal candlestick c13-14th century. Each of the six 'sides' of the Y-shaped column is decorated with raised roundels, and zigzag patterns. A standing female figure holds on to the central column, which has a similarly decorated saucer-shaped drip tray with a central pricket of either iron or bronze. 72mm tall. 105g weight. Excavated in Norfolk. Bought June 1996. Illustrated p 2 An Introduction to British Pewter 1997. An example with an almost identical top section on a tripod foot with each leg in the form of a mounted knight is held by the Bruges Museum (acc'n no. 458). To me this seems a proper description. Whether it's English, I don't know but I'm pretty sure it is the upper part of a horsemen candlestick.*

6. Another one from the Alex Neish Collection, (fig. 21) also in Stirling. Carl Ricketts: 1288. *An English pewter miniature pricket candlestick on a tripod base with circular feet. The candlestick may have served a religious purpose. No maker's mark, but suggested dating is C14th. Almost every part including the circular drip tray is profusely decorated with cast designs, and the triangular base includes what seems to be a tailed animal eating foliage. 3" (76mm) tall. In excavated condition from the foreshore of the River Thames. Bought May 2007 from M Kashden. Whether it is English I wouldn't know.*

10. Again a fragment in a private collection, it does not show more than the horizontal part of one rectangular band on which the decapitated figure of a male holding on to part of the vertical structure (fig. 22). All in all well fitting into a horsemen candle holder but too fragmentary to draw conclusions. It measures 5.6 to 4.2cm and it is presented in a catalogue of two Flemish associations

Fig. 19.
Candlestick
from Damme
(near Bruges).
Photo
Gruuthuse
museum

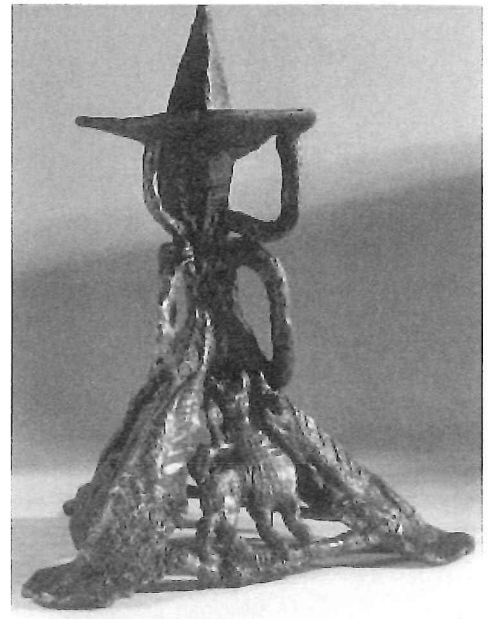


Fig. 20.
Fragment
candleholder
Alex Neish
Collection.
Moulson p. 2,
Photo John
McPake



Fig. 21.
Candleholder
Alex Neish
Collection.
Photo John
McPake





Fig. 22. Fragment possibly of horsemen candlestick. Photo Mietje De Man and others

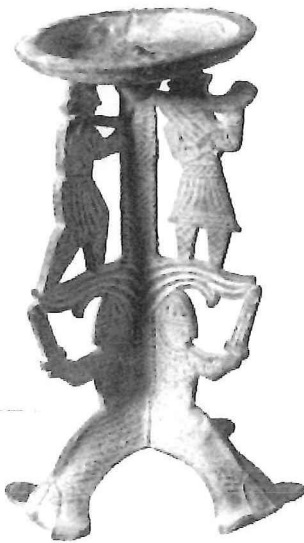


Fig. 23. Tripod candlestick. Photo from site auction house



Fig. 24. Reijgersberg candlestick. Photo Tefaf 1994

on folk art and culture, catalogue number HK 005 [Vanlooche 2003].

11. A candle holder (fig. 23), offered by Hermann Historica in its 65th auction Oct. 15/16, 2012, lot no. 551 and described as C11th/12th, height 13cm. 'Candle holders of this type are proven by numerous (sic - HBvW) finds in the Netherlands, England, North Germany and the whole Baltic Sea region ...'.

12. The 'Reijgersberg' candlestick (fig. 24), now in a private collection in The Netherlands, height 19cm. This is not a horsemen but a horseman candlestick. In 1965 owned by an antique dealer by the name of A. Groneman. The candlestick was excavated from a former moat in Lille (French Flanders) early in the C20th (Glasbergen 1965). P. Reijgersberg was an antique dealer in Haarlem, later Maasbommel (NL). He wrote an article in *De Tinkoerier* of June 1995, pp. 12-14 amongst others on this candlestick and also showed it on a sales brochure. A knight is riding a stylized horse which resembles those of the Bayeux tapestry. He holds the Tree of Life. The symbolism can point to Egypt, Asia and Christianity, *dixit* Reijgersberg. He dates it to the end of the C12th and discusses some iconographic aspects. A comment on this candle holder is made by Geoff Egan (2000) in note 4. on p. 113.

In conclusion

My friend and fellow librarian, the late Jan Gadd once remarked that a certain style usually can be explained from former styles of which it is a logical further development. This seemed a hard proof for the candle holders discussed in this article but I hope it is accepted that their very typical form is less obscure than it was assumed.

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Notes

1 David Moulson was kind enough to change my draft into proper English

2 The English language is blessed with two words, tin and pewter each with a separate meaning, raw material resp. manufactured product of mainly tin. In Dutch 'tin' is used for both meanings.

3 Pp. 4-10. Also published in that same *De Tinkoerier*, pp. 8-12.

4 One reason why I don't believe we should scan our books and burn them is that references like the following through which one can find this publication will not survive for long: <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/antiquity/article/what-lies-beneath-late-glacial-human-occupation-of-the-submerged-north-sea-landscape/D97FDC8DDCE649ABAD716FC78F21A1BC>>. I admit that I am somewhat biased as I derive much satisfaction from the fact that I could write this article by solely consulting my own library. That I think demonstrates the spirit of the pur sang bibliophile.

5 Spain was not exhausted in Roman times but the Moors caused the mines to be abandoned or neglected (Flower p. 17). Bohemia and Saxony did not contribute significantly in the Middle Ages. In 1146 tin was found in Bohemia (Dubbe 1978 p. 14). Note that Flower, 100 year before had not found an earlier reference than 1240 (p. 17). In Altenburg (Saxony) it was 1450 (Dubbe 1978 p. 14). The East Indies did not play a role until the second half of the 18th c. and even then Cornwall remained, also compared to Bohemia and Saxony dominant (Dubbe 1978 p. 17).

6 An example of the latter in Dubbe 1999, p.4

7 Deed of 1103 from Hanseatic archives, Dubbe 1978, p. 17 note 10.

8 Dubbe 1978 pp. 17-22: Antwerp is mentioned as an import harbor and depot for English tin already in the 9th c. 'Dou royaume d'angleterre viennent, ..., estains, ..' as per a document in the French language of 1270

concerning imported goods. Calais received in 1363 from Edward III an exemption from the prohibition to export tin; we know of import duties in Damme (near Bruges) dating from 1252 and the same for Dordrecht from 1340. Richard II released in 1386 four ships from detention which came from Veere (Zeeland), (all p. 18). In 1445 two English merchants and one from Antwerp together went to the court in Bergen op Zoom for the registration of an import transaction concerning eight tons of tin (p. 20). King Edward III allowed in 1373 a Dutch nobleman to export free of duties 24 flagons made of peautre, 144 plates, four big dishes and two sets of washstands, all of pewter (p. 22).

9 It is interesting to note that Dubbe (in his first edition of 1965) was the first to notice the comparability in style with the Bayeux tapestry. Many after him followed his suggestion, but seldom referred to their source. In the 1978 edition see pp. 174-175 and on p. 39 ill. 20 (left = Rijnsburg) and 21 (right = Bruges).

10 See also an illustration of two horsemen in the same style, excavated in Aardenburg and Middelburg dated ca. 1400 in: P. Brusse and P. Henderikx (ed.), *Geschiedenis van Zeeland, Part I*, Zwolle, 2012, p. 106

11 The figures shown in Vandenberghe 1988 are partly wrongly attributed: a and c should be Bruges, b and d should be Rijnsburg, e is Middelburg

12 An earlier report on the excavation in this annual of 1947, pp. 67-81

13 Text speaks erroneously of two men and a woman, should be two women and a man

14 Dubbe (1965, p. 97) is more cautious than Glasbergen (1965, p. 152), the latter saying without any doubt from the same mold .. and Dubbe ..apparently..

15 E-mail Mar. 23, 2009 of A.M. Numan, Head Archeologische Velddienst en Conservator Amsterdams Archeologisch Centrum University of Amsterdam.

16 Jan Gadd, shows the Bruges candlestick and refers to 'Cotterell's collaborator Robert Vetter in a letter to Christopher Peal' of Sep. 12, 1966 quoting: 'The falseness is quite obvious but apparently the writer [he refers to Dubbe - HBvW] has succumbed to the magic of the B. & Ch.-Style' (see Gadd).

Not so. B. and C. operated till about 1870 indeed close to 1877 when the Bruges candlestick was found. See also Ricketts. But it requires quite some suspicion to assume the 'find' of a candle holder in 1877 after it was hidden shortly before AND to assume the same in 1963. It is in my opinion beyond doubt that the candlestick, found in 1963 in Rijnsburg – after having been lost since 1574 the latest – is genuine. However, we do not perform rocket science as I once had to agree with David Hall.

17 Kind information of A. and E. Koldeweij

18 Some of this in the Dutch magazine *Antiek*, March 1989, pp. 467-468.

19 Illustrated by Christie's and in a brochure of the antique fair in Breda (NL) March 1989 and once more in the catalogue of the antique fair in Breda in 1996 (Honders, p. 17).

20 Kind information of A. and E. Koldeweij

21 E-mail Nov. 30, 2009.

22 Willemsen, detail ill. 35. With thanks to E. den Hartog.

23 With thanks to David Hall

24 Den Hartog, p. 108

25 Proceeds lot 210 £ 588 all-in and 211 £ 106 all-in

26 Kind information of A. en E. Koldeweij

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