

EVL

II Pilgrimage:

The Devotion to the Saints

Cat Exh Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987

"Age of Chivalry" Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, editors

Pilgrimage has been a vital part of Christianity from the earliest times, and in the Middle Ages the cult of most saints was focused geographically on the particular place where they were buried or their venerated relics were preserved. Healing and other miracles took place at their shrines, and pilgrims visited them to make their offerings, especially on the saints' appointed feast days. Pilgrimage as a physical journey was a metaphor for spiritual growth. Of the international pilgrimages Jerusalem and the Holy Places of Jesus's life took first place, succeeded by Rome, and Santiago de Compostela in north Spain. Jerusalem is shown at the centre of the world in the Hereford Map (Cat. 36). In England the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury (Cat. 17) was pre-eminent, but every great cathedral and abbey had its own venerated saints (St Edward the Confessor at Westminster, Cat. 380; St William of York, Cat. 513-16; St Alban, Cat. 19; St Swithun at Winchester, Cat. 23-4; cf. fig. 126). Particularly popular places of pilgrimage included Bromholm for the Holy Rood and the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham (Cat. 71-4).

All the saints' tomb shrines were damaged or destroyed at the Reformation or by the Puritans, so that only fragments survive (Cat. 23-4). The precious-metal shrines and reliquaries were also all melted down, so we only have contemporary representations (fig. 125), or accounts of them. The lead pilgrim souvenirs alone survive in quantity to witness to popular devotion to the different cults.

Representations of the saints in art included both narrative pictures of their lives, especially their miracles and their sufferings (Cat. 27), and cult statues or paintings of them with identifying attributes (Cat. 34). Images also fostered public and private devotion to the Virgin Mary or to Christ's Passion (Cat. 30-1, 41-2).

Fig. 125 Pilgrims at the thirteenth-century shrine of St Edward from *The Life of St Edward the Confessor* (Cambridge University Library, ff. 3.59, f. 30; Cat. 39)

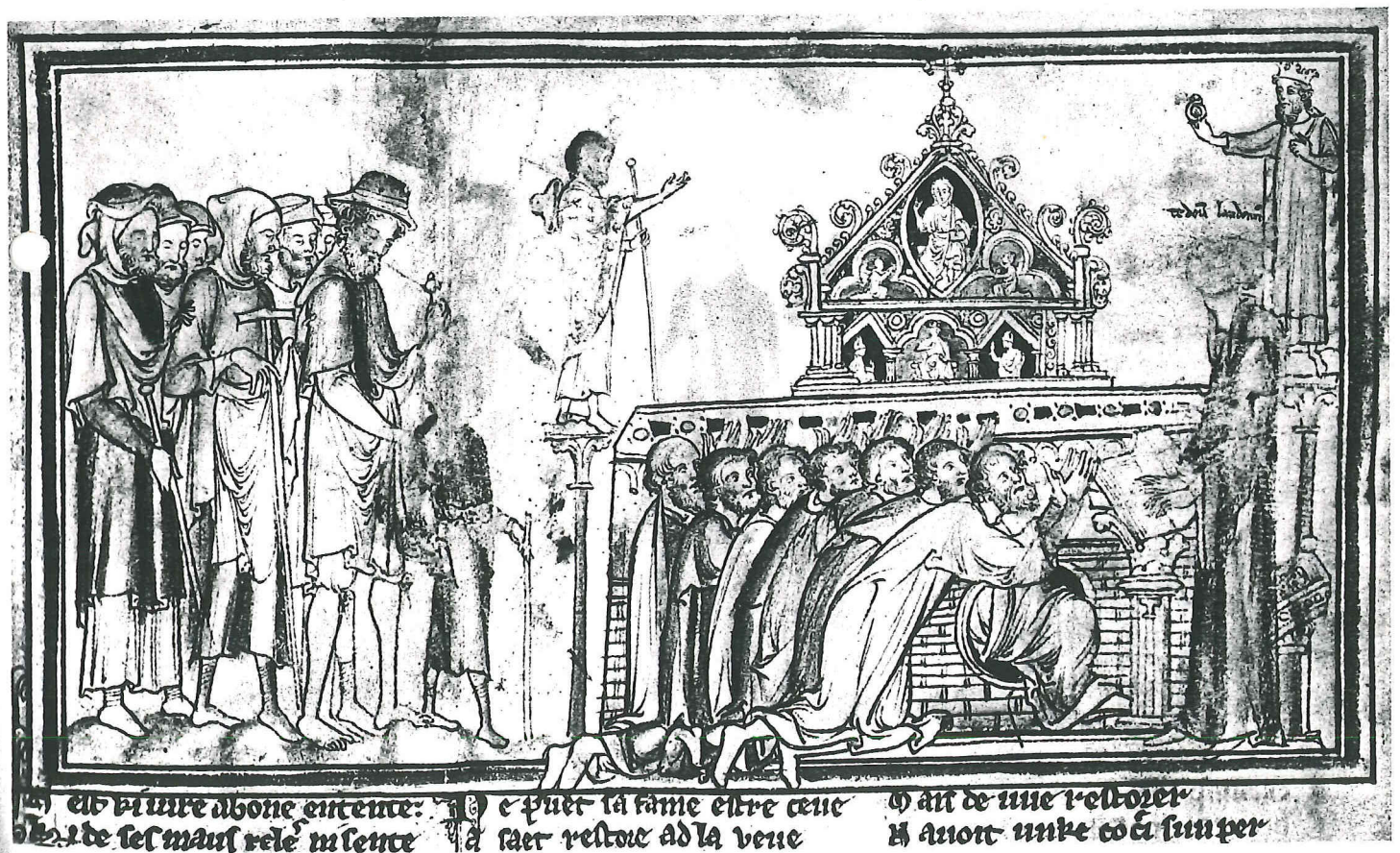




Fig. 126 Pilgrimage sites in later medieval England



Christ Church, Canterbury, choir and presbytery looking east to the Trinity Chapel

1175-86
Photograph

The architecture of the east end of Canterbury as rebuilt after a fire in 1174 had a decisive influence on the development of the Gothic style in England. The artistic vocabulary was closely related to contemporary practice in north-east France because the reconstruction was entrusted to a French master mason, William of Sens, who brought with him sculptors and glaziers from that region. Following William's enforced retirement after a fall in 1178, he was succeeded by William the Englishman, who despite his name was also conversant with current French practice. He enlarged the Trinity Chapel (the area behind the high altar) and raised the level of the pavement in order to display more effectively the relics of the martyred archbishop Thomas Becket, who had been canonised in 1173. The spectacular shrine, erected in 1220, was destroyed at the Reformation but once formed the visual and liturgical focus of the church.

An appropriately sumptuous setting for the shrine was provided by using various kinds of marble (mostly from the Isle of Purbeck) for the shrine base, the piers, and the pavement in the Trinity Chapel and for the shafts throughout the elevation. This use of marble, which added both colour and richness to the interior and served to accentuate the linear qualities of the design, was to prove the most influential aspect of Canterbury. The fashion for marble decoration, which began in the mid-twelfth century, was undoubtedly associated with the extensive use of marble in Roman and early Christian buildings. Some of the French features at Canterbury, such as the foliage carving and the sexpartite vault, found little favour in

England, but the varied ways in which this architectural idiom could be interpreted in the thirteenth century can be seen at Lincoln (Cat. 240) and Salisbury (Cat. 18, 241).

The ascending liturgical importance of the choir, presbytery and shrine area is indicated by the rising levels and by the increasing elaboration of the architecture. The high altar was originally set lower, flanked by the shrines of St Dunstan and St Alphege. The choir stalls are largely nineteenth century but the arcaded stone screens were erected by Prior Eastry in 1304-5. In the presbytery and the crossing these screens have been partially replaced by the tombs of pre-Reformation archbishops. PD

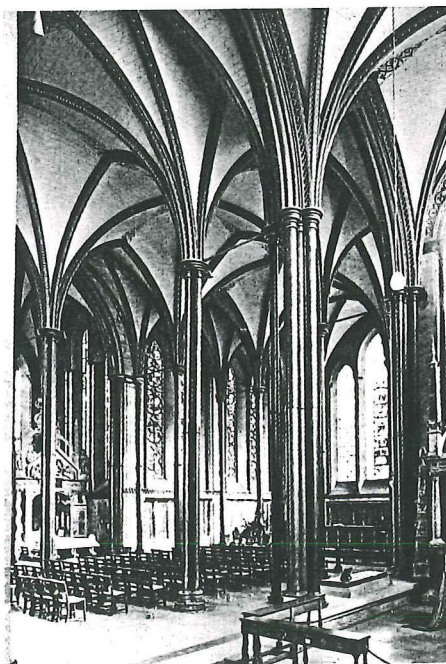
LIT. Woodman 1981; Pevsner & Metcalf 1985a.

18 Salisbury Cathedral, Trinity Chapel looking north-east from the south choir aisle

1220-5
Photograph

Although dedicated to the Trinity, the spacious eastern chapel at Salisbury always served as the Lady Chapel, being the only chapel outside the choir which could accommodate the whole community for the customary daily masses to the Virgin (see p. 86). In the fifteenth century the shrine of St Osmund was in the centre of the chapel, and the unusual aisled arrangement of this eastern chapel, which derives from the retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral, may indicate that it was always intended as the setting for this shrine.

The sparing use of sculptural ornament, the simple lancet windows and the plain quadripartite vaults supported on slender,



18

polished marble shafts impart an elegant clarity to the design, which complements perfectly the orderly liturgical customs at Salisbury. The use of marble shafts *en délit* for structural supports, and not just for decorative features as at Canterbury (Cat. 17) or Lincoln (Cat. 240), was technically daring as the shafts were made up of separate lengths of marble joined end to end by unobtrusive brass rings. To indicate the entrance to the chapel from the ambulatory the single shafts are replaced by five thinner marble shafts grouped beneath a circular abacus. The plinth beneath the pier in the foreground defines the chapel at the east end of the presbytery aisle.

The north and south walls were extensively restored following the demolition in the eighteenth century of two late medieval chantry chapels which formerly opened out on either side of the Trinity Chapel. PD

LIT. Pevsner & Metcalf 1985a; RCHM, *Salisbury* (forthcoming).

19 Base of the shrine of St Alban, St Albans Cathedral

c. 1302-8
Photograph

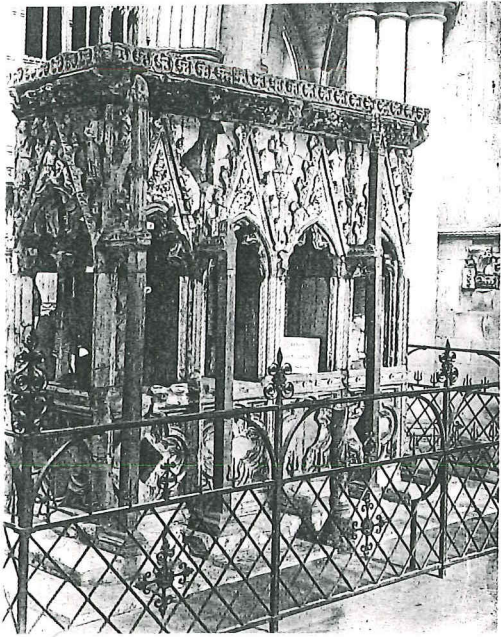
This shrine base typifies the arrangement of a major shrine in post-Conquest England, where the reliquary containing the holy bones was placed behind the high altar on a base tall enough to be visible above the altar.

At St Albans the shrine base is in its original place in the shrine chapel, but it is now separated from the high altar by a fifteenth-century screen. Literary evidence suggests that the grave of St Alban was believed to be close by. This base, probably datable to 1302-8 when Abbot John de Maryns is recorded as having 'moved and adorned' the shrine, is possibly the third on the site: the foliage cresting, the lowest step and the trefoil bases for candlesticks beside the shrine are part of an earlier structure, intermediate between this and the shrine to which the saint was translated in 1129.

The base was reconstructed from pieces discovered in 1872, and although the ends and south side are reasonably complete, the north side is fragmentary. It is made of Purbeck stone, except for the niche vaults which are of clunch. Brick, oak and iron clamps were used in the restoration. There are traces of polychromy inside the niches.

The base has a box-like lower section, with rhomboid openings of uncertain purpose. The ten vaulted niches above were for pilgrims to benefit from the saint's healing powers by praying close to his bones, and for votive offerings. The base is a variant of a type which became popular in the later Middle Ages, initiated at Westminster c. 1269 and continuing into the fifteenth century.

The ecclesiastical figures along the sides



possibly represent abbots and abbey patrons, while the scenes at the ends illustrate the martyrdom of St Alban. The polychromy and the main decorative motifs of arch-and-gable, varieties of foliage, cusped arches, decorative vaults and a very early example of reticulated flowing tracery, are related to the late thirteenth-century works of Edward I at Westminster and elsewhere. NC

LIT. *Gest. Abb.*, ii, p. 107; Micklethwaite 1872; VCH, *Hertfordshire*, II, p. 493, repr. opp. p. 494; Coldstream 1976, p. 20, repr. pl. VIII B.

20 Base of the shrine of St Werburgh, Chester Cathedral

c. 1340
Photograph

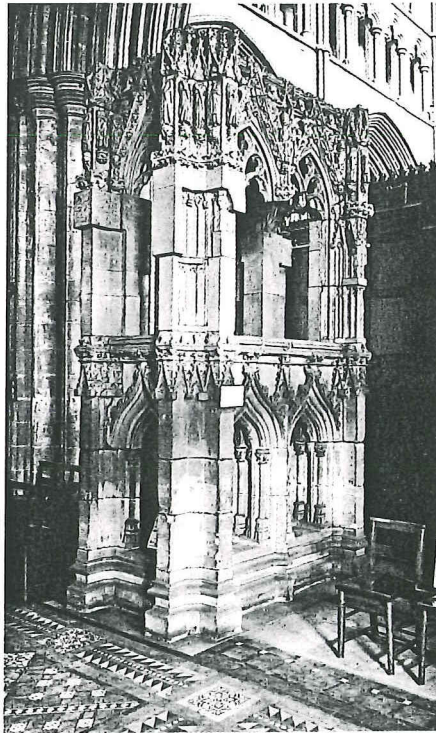
Like the shrine of St Alban (Cat. 19), this shrine base is in two parts, here a solid lower section with six niches for praying pilgrims, and an upper level with traceried windows, gables and a parapet, which represents a miniature chapel. But this base is nearly twice the normal height, and it is likely that the reliquary was placed inside the 'chapel' rather than on top. St Werburgh's royal and Mercian connections are emphasised in the sculptured figures on the panelled buttresses, originally numbering forty, identifiable by inscriptions still visible in the eighteenth century as kings and saints of Mercia.

The shrine probably stood behind the high altar, but after the Dissolution the base was dismantled and incorporated in the bishop's throne. It was correctly reconstructed by Blomfield when several missing pieces were discovered in 1873.

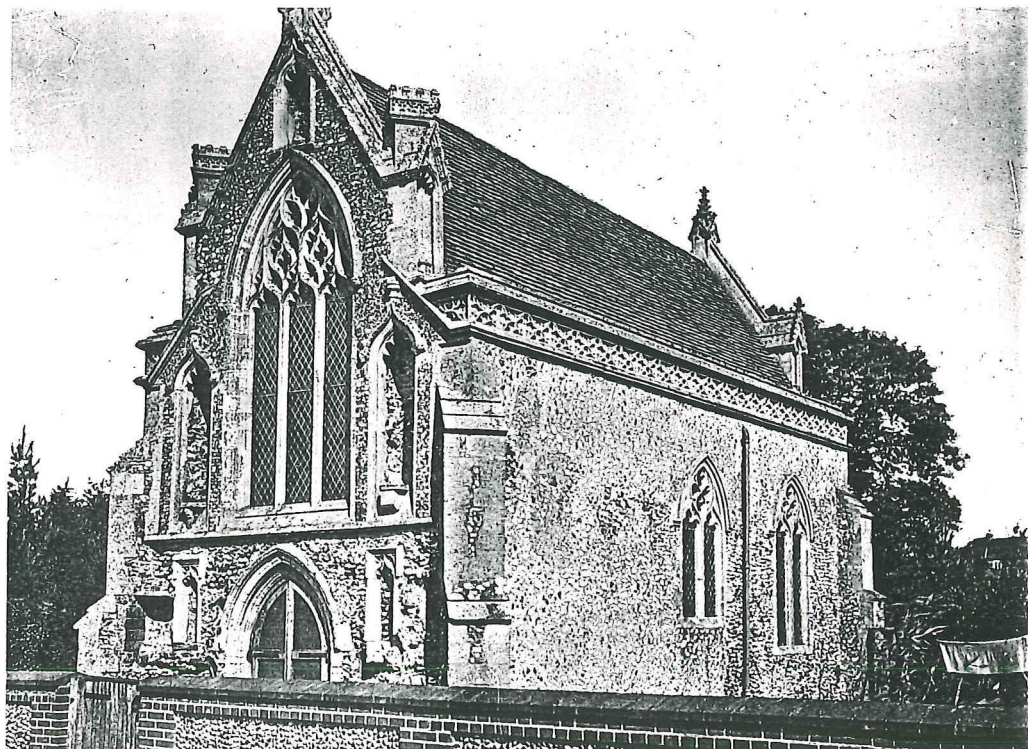
The shrine base has been compared to the chapel-like thirteenth-century tombs of bishops, e.g. Giles de Bridport of Salisbury; in style, however, the mouldings and flowing

tracery are related to work dated to the 1340s in the south transept of Chester Cathedral, and comparable to slightly earlier work in Yorkshire, notably at Selby and Beverley. Unfinished detailing in the mouldings indicates that to avoid damage some of the decorative work was not executed until the shrine base had been set in position. NC

LIT. Scott 1863-5; Barber 1904; Maddison 1984.



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21 The 'Slipper Chapel', Houghton St Giles, Norfolk

c. 1340
Photograph

Penitence was a significant part of pilgrimage for all ranks of society, and although the 'Slipper Chapel' is undocumented in medieval times, the tradition has been accepted that here pilgrims to the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham discarded their shoes to walk the last one-and-a-half miles of their journey barefoot.

The great shrines were supported on the strength of popular religion, and the decoration of this luxurious little building, suggesting a date towards the middle of the fourteenth century, is evidence that the pilgrimage to Walsingham was already flourishing at that time, part of the circuit of East Anglian shrines which also included St Edmund at Bury and the Rood of Bromholm. The decorative quatrefoils, miniature battlements, seaweed-like foliage and flowing tracery are standard details of the period, but the tracery in particular has local connections, being related to designs at Great Walsingham and Norwich.

After the Reformation the chapel was converted to cottages, but it was bought in 1894 and restored, opening for Roman Catholic worship in 1934. Drawings made in 1828 by A. C. Pugin show that the ornamental details have been accurately restored. NC

LIT. Bolingbroke 1914; Dickinson 1956, pp. 26, 141-2; Pevsner 1962, p. 174; Etherton 1965, p. 177, Cat. CI, 34b; Wedgwood 1977, [11].6, [12].13.



22 Effigy of a layman

c. 1250
Purbeck marble: l. 213.4 cm, h. 30.5 cm,
d. 71.1 cm
The National Trust, Ramsey Abbey

According to monastic tradition, Ramsey Abbey was founded about AD 969 by Ailwyn, Ealdorman of East Anglia and foster-brother of King Edgar, with the help of St Oswald. William Stukeley knew and engraved this effigy, which he called Ailwin (see Cat. 388). Thus it would seem to be a case of a thirteenth-century founder effigy of unusual splendour. The fashion for retrospective effigies was at its height in the early to mid-thirteenth century – compare the series of Anglo-Saxon bishops at Wells, and of bishops at Peterborough. But according to the thirteenth-century chronicler William de Godmanchester the founder's effigy was of metal, 'of subtle and sumptuous artifice, and splendidly gilt'.

So who is represented in this splendid Purbeck effigy? Clearly it is a layman, and not a king. At the Dissolution Ramsey had the shrines of St Felix, first Bishop of East Anglia, and Ethelred and Ethelbreth, two Saxon princes. Could this effigy be a retro-

spective image of a Saxon prince? Its individual iconography, with the soul of the deceased being carried to heaven in a napkin over the gable, recalls the equally striking iconography of the contemporary Purbeck effigy of Bishop Hugh de Northwold at Ely Cathedral. Nor was this the only distinctive mid-thirteenth-century Purbeck effigy at Ramsey Abbey. In 1914 the lower half of a magnificent figure of an Abbot of Ramsey flanked by attendant monks was found in the yard of an inn at Alconbury. The exhibited effigy shows the subject bearing a ragged staff, and with his feet resting against two beasts which are half-buried in the lead which fell from the roof at the demolition of the abbey.

PT-C
PROV. Known to Stukeley by 1719, and reputed to have been dug up 'many years ago' near abbey buildings: old photograph published by RCHM shows it in the house, but now kept in gatehouse, owned by National Trust.

LIT. RCHM, *Huntingdon*, 1926, pp. 207–9, pl. 115 opp. p. 212.



23 Spandrel carrying relief with figure of bishop

c. 1260
Purbeck marble carved on both sides: h. 73 cm,
w. 62.5 cm, d. c. 20 cm
The Dean and Chapter of Winchester

24 Spandrel carrying figure of monk

c. 1260
Purbeck marble carved on both sides: figure h.
57.5 cm, w. 31.5 cm, d. c. 20 cm; head h.
22.4 cm, w. 21.5 cm, d. c. 14.4 cm
The Dean and Chapter of Winchester

A study of these pieces and a number of related fragments (Tudor-Craig & Keen 1980) concludes that they formed part of a screen which probably enclosed the shrine of St Swithun. Comparison with the arcaded fragments which had already been identified as forming part of the actual shrine base

indicated that all formed part of a rich Purbeck marble complex created during the episcopate of Aymer de Valence, 1250–60, and rather towards the end of that decade. There are strong similarities between this work and his Purbeck marble heart effigy in the cathedral. The 'rubber' fingers and smiles indicate a knowledge of the latest Westminster sculpture. The drapery bears comparison with that of the Sawley angels (Cat. 341–2). Some of the tracery that belongs to the same complex is grooved for glass, or for inner cusps in a thinner material.

PT-C
PROV. Found under 'Bishop's stairs' leading from south retrochoir aisle, 1907; most pieces deposited in crypt, but head of monk taken to tribune gallery thus deceiving Le Couteur and Carter (1921) into thinking this was part of shrine base proper.

LIT. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 31 Aug. 1907; *Hampshire Independent*, same date; Le Couteur & Carter 1924, pp. 25–70; Atkinson 1936, pp. 159–67; Tudor-Craig & Keen (1980) 1983, pp. 63–72; Crook 1985, pp. 125–31.



24
25 Reliquary

c. 1330
Red sandstone: h. 39.4 cm, w. 20.8 cm,
d. 20.8 cm
Church of All Saints, Brixworth,
Northamptonshire

The reliquary is in the form of a small casket carved on three sides with blind pointed cusped arches on cylindrical pilasters, beneath gables ornamented with crockets. The top of the lid is much damaged, and dowel holes there indicate that the gables and summit were probably originally crowned with decorative finials. In 1809 it was cleaned and opened, and in a cylindrical cavity in the base a wooden box was found containing a sliver of human throat bone, and a strip of paper which disintegrated before its inscription could be read. It has been suggested that the bone may have been a relic of St Boniface. Brixworth, Northamptonshire, had a guild uniquely dedicated



approximate dating for the carving. The arms are, left to right: Ireland (Gules six fleurs-de-lis argent), Foljambe (Sable a bend between six escallops or) impaling Ireland, and Foljambe alone; they must commemorate the marriage of Sir Godfrey Foljambe (d. 1376) and his second wife, Avena (d. 1382), daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Ireland. That it was carved for Sir Godfrey, despite the prominence given to his wife's arms, is clear from the presence of his family's crest of a leg (*folle jambe*) on the helm on the right.

The two left-hand shields are shown as hanging from hooks, that on the right from a tree which also supports the helm. Above, the four armed knights, with leg-harness and wearing bascinets, advance upon Becket, who kneels at the altar; above him stands the priest Grim, receiving a sword-thrust from the second knight.

There are considerable remains of paint, of which some is probably original (e.g. the white lacing down the sides of the knights' jerkins [?] and leg-harness), but the blue-

green background paint, which also covers a break (top left corner), is post-medieval. The cornice at top continues round the left side; the lower portion has been cut away smoothly at the left, possibly at a medieval date, while the shelved edge at the bottom continues round the right side. This could reflect the exigencies of the panel's original location.

The alabaster of which this is carved was no doubt quarried in Derbyshire or Nottinghamshire, and it is probable that the panel was carved locally; it has a certain stiffness which, together with its wealth of careful detail, sets it apart from other alabaster panels of this date (e.g. Cat. 703-5, 706). Prior and Gardner compared its cornice's combination of battlementing and frilled tracery with the cornice of the Southwell choir screen, adding strength to the suggestion that the panel was carved locally. NLR

PROV. Supposedly from Beauchief Abbey, near Sheffield; Aldwark, Ecclesfield (Yorks.), by 1801; by descent to the present owner.

to the saint, and his feast was celebrated annually with a vigil and three-day fair. Although the reliquary closely resembles the kind of miniature Gothic gabled pinnacle that one might find as architectural decoration, its form is of some antiquity and is ultimately derived from a type of Roman sarcophagus. Numerous stone reliquaries of this type have been found, dating at least from the sixth century, in Asia Minor and in Italy. However, this seems to be an unusual survival in England. English stone reliquaries tended to be undecorated and made for insertion within or near an altar where they remained concealed, probably having been placed there during the altar consecration ceremony. The nearest relative to this Brixworth example was discovered in 1849 in the north nave wall of the parish church at Stoke, Somerset. It consisted of a thirteenth-century image niche behind which was an arched chamber containing an oak vessel for a relic. Presumably it was for reasons of security that these tiny shrines were built into the fabric. VS

LIT. Dryden 1893, pp. 79-82; Conway 1918-19, pp. 218-41; Parsons 1980-1, pp. 179-83; Parsons 1983; Bickerton-Hudson 1905; Cabrol & Leclercq 1907, vol. 1, col. 1774, vol. 2, cols 2345-7.

26 Murder of Thomas Becket

1370s
Alabaster: h. 59.5 cm, w. 53 cm, d. 10 cm
Private Collection

Unlike every other surviving devotional panel of alabaster, this large representation of the murder of Thomas Becket by four knights at Henry II's behest (1170) is adorned with heraldry that enables the presumed donor to be identified, and thus gives an



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LIT. Pegge 1801, pp. 246-7, pl. ix; Cox 1875-7, i, p. 79; ii, pp. 10-17; London 1910, pp. 76-7, pl. xxviii; Prior & Gardner 1912, pp. 460-1, fig. 534; Borenius 1932a, pp. 81-2; London 1972, no. 264.

27 Miracles of St Thomas Becket

1213-20

Stained glass: h. 6.70 m, w. 1.57 m

Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, window s.vii

This is one of the seven surviving windows in the Trinity Chapel ambulatory depicting the life and posthumous miracles of St Thomas Becket. The series originally consisted of twelve windows and commenced with scenes from the saint's life in the two westernmost windows on the north side of the ambulatory: one of these scenes survives in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The miracle windows are unique to Canterbury and include miracles which occurred at Becket's tomb in the crypt or cures for which an offering was made at this

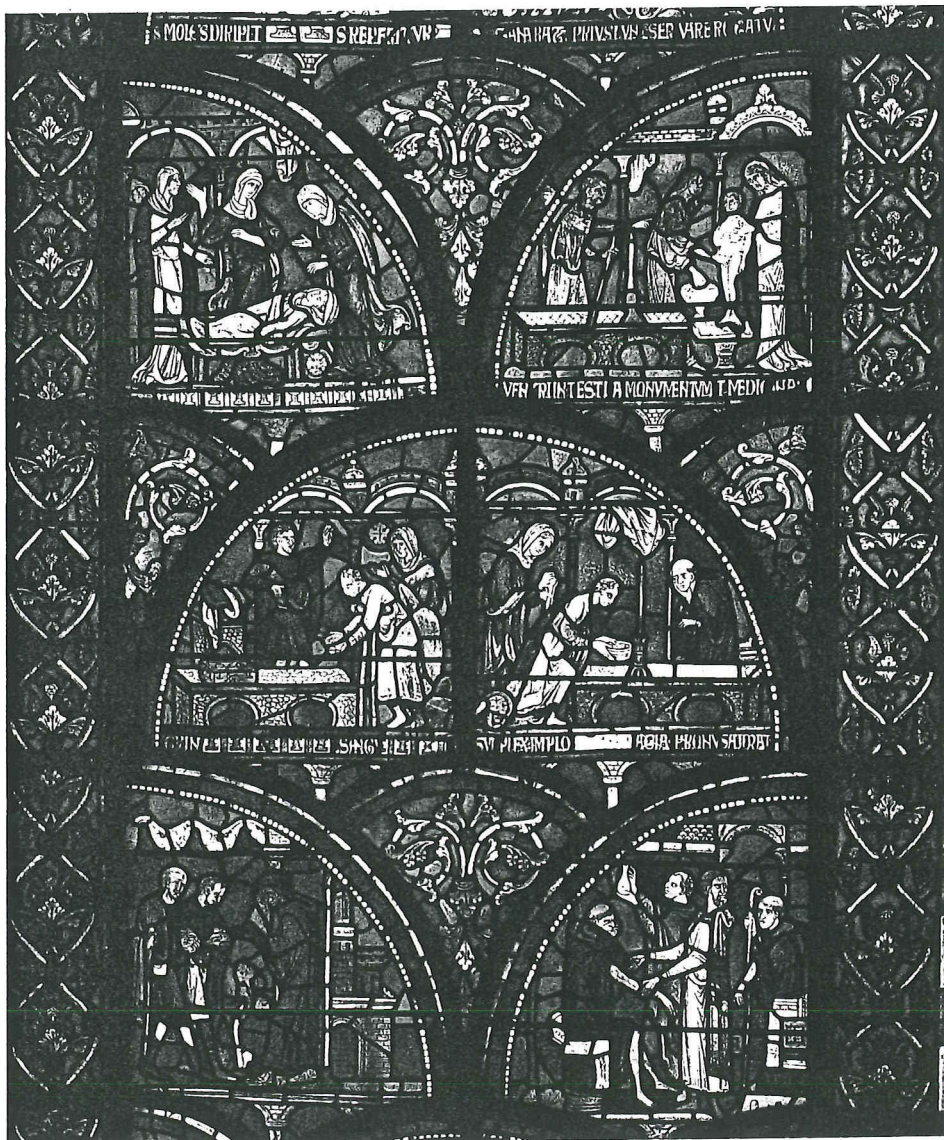
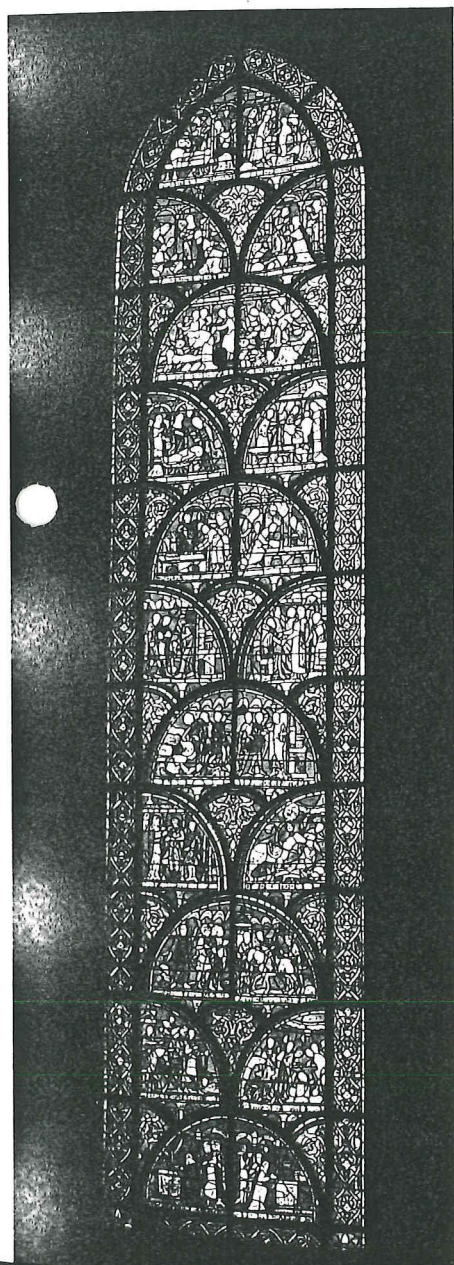
tomb. All of these took place between 1171 and 1173 and were recorded in two prose accounts, one by a monk named William who held an office at the tomb, and the other by Benedict, Prior of the Cathedral Priory until 1177 and subsequently Abbot of Peterborough. These accounts were used by the glaziers, although the wording of the verse inscriptions in the windows is not close to either of them. The relics of Becket were translated from the crypt tomb to a magnificent new shrine in the Trinity Chapel on 7 July 1220. The windows of this part of the church, with their brilliantly coloured glass, were a major feature of the architectural framework which in itself acted as a monumental reliquary for the shrine. The window exhibited here is the last in the miracle series and contains six episodes expounded in twenty-two figural panels. The scenes are the Cures of Geoffrey of Winchester, of James son of the Earl of Clare, of Eilwin and Walter of Berkhamsted(?), of Brother Elias and the Miraculous Rescue of William of Gloucester; the sixth episode, at the base of the window,

depicts a woman praying at the altar in front of Becket's shrine, one of only two surviving representations of the shrine in the Trinity Chapel glass.

The window has been attributed to a glazier identified as the Fitz-Eisulf Master and appears to date from after the return of the monks from exile in 1213 and before the translation of the relics in 1220. The glass was very heavily restored by Samuel Caldwell and his son in 1897 and subsequently. Six of the figural panels are entirely their work and only a few fragments of ancient glass remain in a seventh. Only two of the border panels are largely original, and much of the ornamental ground is also by the Caldwells.

RM

LIT. Caviness 1977, *passim*; Caviness 1981, pp. 157-64, 208-14, figs 349-66.



27 (detail)

28 Archbishop Asterius commissions St Birinus

c. 1225
Stained glass: medallion excluding modern border
diam. 41 cm

Inscr. BER/NIVS
Dorchester Abbey, Oxford, window NIII.2b

The medieval glass at Dorchester dates mainly from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a period of great rebuilding there. This panel, the earliest in the church, is the sole survivor of a window depicting the life of the local saint, Birinus. Consecrated bishop by Asterius, Archbishop of Milan, he was sent by Pope Honorius I to evangelise Wessex. In 634 he baptised King Cynegils at Dorchester, where he established his see. His relics were moved to Winchester in the seventh century, but the Austin canons, established at Dorchester around 1142, also claimed his body, and these relics were translated into a more prominent place in the church in 1225. Birinus holds his bishop's crosier and takes hold of Asterius' cross-staff while he is blessed. A bearded layman on the right witnesses the scene.

The figures and throne are executed in a combination of bright green, pink, purple, ruby, yellow and white glass, against a blue background. Heads, drapery and ornament are exquisitely drawn in a dry manner, with a minimum of shading on both surfaces. Although the outside is corroded, the inner surface and the paint are well preserved. The original shape of the panel has been disturbed and there are a few insertions. The glass was conserved by King & Sons in 1969.

The problems of dating this isolated medallion are discussed by Newton who, while noting archaic elements, tentatively proposes a mid-thirteenth-century date. On stylistic grounds an earlier date is equally

plausible, suggesting that the glass might be associated with the translation of the relics in 1225.

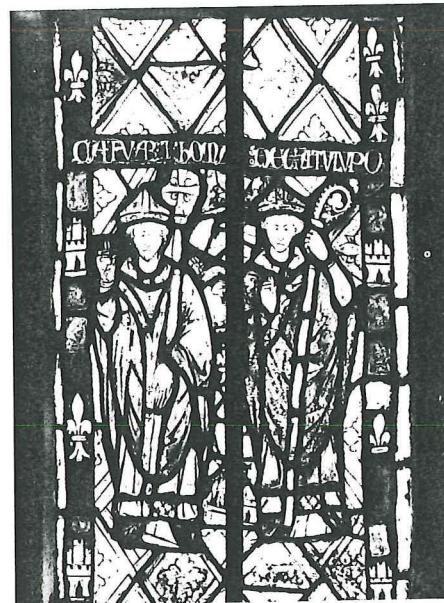
LIT. Newton 1979, pp. 12, 84-5, repr. pls 31a, b; Grodecki & Brisac 1985, p. 264, repr. pl. 172.

29 St Thomas of Canterbury and St Thomas of Hereford

c. 1300
Stained glass: h. 61 cm, w. 35 cm
Inscr. CATVAR : THOMAS : DECATVLVPO
St Mary's Church, Credenhill, Hereford, window SIV.2a

Apart from a few fragments in the nave, this panel, probably still in its original position in the chancel, is all that remains of the medieval glazing. The two blessing saints stand against a background of white foliage quarries, Becket on the left with pall and cross-staff, Cantilupe holding a crosier. The vestments are in blue, green, ruby, white and pot-metal yellow with Becket's head and hands in white glass and Cantilupe's in pink. The borders consist of golden castles and fleurs-de-lis on blue and ruby grounds. It is a remarkably well-preserved panel, although a few pieces are heavily corroded, and there is a little patching and disordering.

Represented beside the martyr saint of England is his namesake, Thomas Cantilupe (1218-82), Bishop of Hereford from 1272. His vigorous defence of the see brought him into conflict with Archbishop Pecham, and he died on his way to Rome to seek the Pope's support. His bones were returned to Hereford by his successor, Richard Swinfield, who keenly promoted the cult. The new tomb erected in Hereford in 1287 (Cat. 86) led to an outbreak of miracles and an upsurge of popular devotion in the neighbourhood (Finucane 1977 ch. 10). The inscription is arranged to stress the parallels which bi-



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ographers have noted between the men. The shared Christian name is in the centre, flanked by Cantuar and the family name of Cantulupo, no doubt chosen to heighten the play on words.

Havergal and subsequent writers have dated the panel to after the official canonisation process of 1320. However this would make it an exceptionally conservative piece on grounds of style and technique. Representations of 'unofficial' saints are not that rare, and the ambivalence suggested by the absence of haloes and *sanctus* inscriptions presupposes an image designed to stimulate a cult, rather than the celebration of a successful canonisation process.

LIT. Havergal 1884, pp. 4-6, repr. p. 3; Baker 1960, p. 110, repr. pl. 22.

30 The Assumption of the Virgin

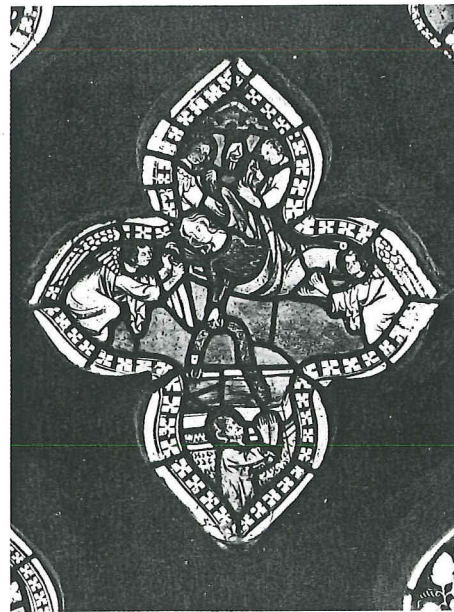
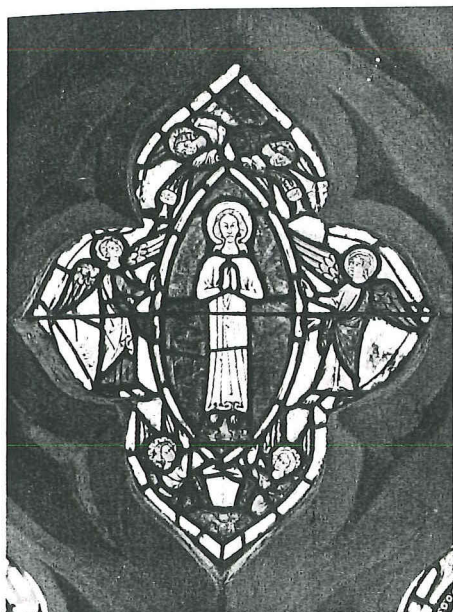
c. 1300-10
Stained glass: h. 56 cm, w. 46 cm
The Revd Anthony de Vere and Churchwardens
of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed
Virgin Mary, Beckley Oxford, chancel window
SIV.A1

The strong Marian element in what survives of the glazing and the presence of a second Assumption panel (Cat. 31) are explained by the dedication of the church.

This tracery light, the earlier of the panels, presents a very static, balanced image in which Mary, dressed in white, is placed centrally on a ruby ground within a pot-metal yellow mandorla. She is accompanied by six angels, executed in a variety of pot-metal and ruby colours, on a white oak-leaf ground; four carry the mandorla upwards and two are censuring. A linear painting technique is used with a small amount of smear shading, some of it on the outside. Despite exterior corrosion most of the glass is



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original, although the heads of the bottom and centre right angels, and a few other pieces were restored, probably *c.* 1895 when Hardman & Co. inserted the main light glazing. Recently conservation has been carried out by Chapel Studios.

Dating the panel is problematic. It seems to be *in situ* but appears to be earlier than the rest of the chancel glazing of *c.* 1325–50. Newton, who points to general parallels with late thirteenth-century glass at Merton College, Oxford (Cat. 738), proposes a date after 1310, claiming that yellow stain is used. However, the colour looks to be pot-metal yellow, allowing for a dating nearer to 1300. Perhaps the panel was very skilfully reused in its present setting, or the chancel glazing was produced by glaziers working in very different techniques and styles. DO'C

LIT. Newton 1979, p. 31, repr. pls 1d, 16c, d.

31 The Assumption of the Virgin

c. 1325–50

Stained glass: h. 70 cm, w. 55 cm

The Revd Anthony de Vere and Churchwardens of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Beckley, Oxford, east window (1.A2)

This panel, like the other Assumption from Beckley (Cat. 30), comes from a quatrefoil tracery opening where it is flanked by a Coronation of the Virgin; a third missing panel probably represented her Dormition or Burial. It is much less iconic than the earlier version. Mary, with yellow-stained hair, purple robe and pot-metal yellow mantle, is placed horizontally and carried upwards in a winding sheet by four angels with white albs and yellow-stained wings. At the top is the blessing hand of God, and below, by the empty tomb, kneels St Thomas in green robe, about to receive the Virgin's girdle. Although

in better physical condition than the earlier panel, less original glass survives. Most of the angel on the left and some of the ground was restored in the nineteenth century, probably by Hardman. Recent conservation was carried out by Chapel Studios.

In colour and technique the panel is different from its predecessor. Yellow stain is used here and more modelling and depth are created by greater use of smear shading and backpainting. The somewhat awkward adaptation of the design to the shape of the opening contrasts sharply with the poise of the earlier panel.

The episode of St Thomas and the girdle is a late addition to the legend, stressing yet further the parallels between Christ and His mother, who leaves her girdle behind on earth to convince the doubting Thomas of her bodily resurrection. Newton discusses the iconography in detail and stresses the popularity of the theme in English art *c.* 1290–1340, which might be connected with the acquisition of a relic of the girdle by Westminster Abbey. DO'C

LIT. Newton 1979, p. 30, repr. pls 1b, 16a, b.

32 St Martin and the beggar

c. 1325–30

Stained glass: h. 60 cm, w. 50 cm

Vicar and Churchwardens of the Parish Church of St Michael the Archangel, Mere, Wiltshire, window SV.A2

Since John Aubrey visited Mere in the seventeenth century virtually all the heraldic glass he recorded has disappeared. Fortunately the figures of 'St. Nicholas and some other Saints' which he saw in the Bettesthorne Chapel have survived. Four tracery lights in a south window contain St Nicholas raising the three boys, St Martin, St Christopher and a papal saint, the panel exhibited

being the best preserved.

In a quatrefoil opening is an equestrian figure of Martin turning in his saddle and cutting his cloak for a semi-naked and bearded beggar who stands on the right. White with a little yellow stain is used for the saint and horse; the cloak is purple and the scabbard and saddle pot-metal yellow. The beggar is in darkened brownish-pink and wears a white loincloth. The foils are filled with a bold design of white oak leaves and acorns; the ground is plain ruby. The saint's head, some foliage, and some smaller pieces are restorations probably executed in 1852 when main light glazing by Ward & Hughes was inserted. Minor repairs were carried out by the Salisbury Cathedral glaziers in 1982.

As one of the most prodigious miracle workers in the West, St Martin of Tours (d. 397) became the focus of a widespread cult which the life of Sulpicius Severus and the extensive account of his miracles by St



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Gregory both helped to spread. The scene most commonly represented by artists is that shown here, the famous incident at Amiens, when the soldier saint, prior to becoming a monk, shared his cloak with a beggar. Martin is here presented as an image of the perfect Christian knight with the sign of the Cross displayed on the trappings of his horse.

The panel forms part of the glazing of a chantry chapel founded in 1325, a date consistent with the style of the glass which, as Woodforde suggested, shows marked similarities with contemporary glass at Wells (Robinson 1931; Marks 1982). DO'C

LIT. Jackson 1862, p. 387; Woodforde 1946, pp. 20–1.

33 St George

c. 1330–40

Stained glass: h. 94 cm, w. 70 cm

St George's Church, Brinsop, Hereford, east window 1.2b

The figure exhibited forms part of the original glazing of the east window, rearranged and



type than the Transitional armour worn by the Tewkesbury knights but the panel comes from a window which has strong proto-Perpendicular elements. DO'C

LIT. Nelson 1913 p. 98; Woodforde 1954, p. 12.

34 St Christopher

c. 1340-50

Stained glass: h. 37 cm, w. 38 cm

Vicar, Churchwardens and Parochial Church Council of Halvergate Church, Norfolk, N1V.A1

Apart from some fragments from the rectory, this panel in a Y-traceried window is all that remains of the medieval glass. Its position on the north of the nave is traditional for representations of the saint, who is shown here in gown, mantle and cap, wading across a river containing a crab, an eel and another fish. Christopher holds a staff and carries on his shoulder the Christ Child who holds an orb and blesses him. The figures are painted



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on white glass decorated with yellow stain. The background is ruby and there is a border of green *rinseau* ornament with decorative designs in yellow stain. Delicate washes of smear shading give depth to the drapery; backpainting is used to create the illusion of water. Prior to restoration in 1983 by King & Sons the panel was inside out.

As patron saint of travellers Christopher was one of the most popular saints of the Middle Ages. A devotional image of the kind seen here was thought to be particularly effective against sudden death and plague, and it was popular in such public art forms as stained glass and wall paintings (Rushforth 1936, pp. 222-4). The story of the giant, converted by a hermit and enjoined to serve Christ by carrying travellers across a dangerous river, was made popular by the Golden Legend (Ellis 1900, pp. 111-19). The child he carries over and who grows heavier and heavier is revealed as Christ: 'Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast

borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders.'

The elegantly modelled style of the figures suggests comparisons with French-inspired glazing of the mid-fourteenth century. DO'C

LIT. Norwich 1983, no. 82.

35 Panel painting of St Edward and the Pilgrim

c. 1370

Tempera on wooden panel: h. 77.5 cm,

w. 73.5 cm

Private Collection

These simple figures recall the silver figures of the king and St John the Pilgrim which stood on either side of the shrine of St Edward in Westminster Abbey (fig. 125). The Confessor was not widely portrayed outside royal circles. Forthampton Court, however, was a residence of the Abbot of Tewkesbury, and the abbots of Tewkesbury were immersed in royal affairs. Edward le Despenser, Lord of the



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Manor of Tewkesbury and Knight of the Garter from 1358 until his death in 1375, is commemorated in Tewkesbury Abbey: the Confessor was his titular saint.

The hairstyles, the fitted waist, and the long sleeve of the king's undergarment partly covering his wrist recall the effigy and weepers of Edward 111 in Westminster Abbey, made between 1377 and 1380, and Bohun-style manuscripts of the 1370s (Cat. 686-91). This painting was carried out on two boards, held together by a frame. The condition of the paint layer, where it has not been seriously abraded, is remarkably fresh. There is no evidence of deliberate defacing by scratching or gouging out eyes, which suggests that the panel was concealed where it has since remained, at Forthampton Court.

The last Abbot of Tewkesbury, John Wake-man, embellished Forthampton with carved bosses, a gargoye and probably ashlar from the destroyed Lady Chapel. He brought here from the Abbey the effigy of William de la Zouche (d. 1335). This panel could have

extended by Ninian Comper in 1923. All the medieval glass in the church dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century and is contemporary with the building.

The patron saint of the church is shown without a halo and wearing mail armour, poyens and white surcoat with red cross; his arms are repeated on his shield and the pennon attached to his lance. His swordbelt is pot-metal yellow and the scabbard and pommel white. There is a ruby fretwork background of blue quarries containing lions rampant and eagles displayed. The canopy consists of a crocketed ogee arch with ball-flower ornament, and side shafts of traceried windows with crocketed pinnacles, all in pot-metal yellow, white and yellow stain. There are heraldic borders of France on the left and England on the right. Apart from a few modern insertions and severe corrosion of the face, plinth and some pieces of canopy, condition is good. Prior to the exhibition Barley Studios carried out some cleaning.

This is a powerful secular image of the soldier saint who enjoyed a widespread cult in the later Middle Ages, especially in Court circles (Newton 1961, 1, pp. 254-5). Edward 111 showed particular devotion to the saint, who became one of the patrons of the Order of the Garter in 1347. The image at Brinsop does not include a dragon and is perhaps designed to stress the saint's role as patron and protector of England. There are close parallels at Gloucester (Kerr 1985, pl. xxxv1b) and Wells (Marks 1982, pl. 69). The borders may well be an allusion to Edward's claims to the French throne. A date of c. 1330-40 is proposed here on stylistic grounds. Many of the architectural details anticipate the canopy work at Tewkesbury (Cat. 742) in the 1340s, though it is only the plinth which is shown in perspective. The mail worn by the saint is clearly earlier in

been among the pieces he rescued. Alternatively, it might have always belonged to the chapel in the house. At the bottom of the back an upright rectangle, approximately 49.5 cm × 30.5 cm, is bare but the rest, a narrow border for the original frame, is painted scarlet.

PT-C

PROV. Forthampton Court.

LIT. Tristram 1943, pp. 160–5; Spencer 1972, no. 32, illus.

36 The Hereford World Map

Lincoln and Hereford(?), c. 1277–89

Vellum: 162.6 × 134.6 cm (without frame)

The Dean and Chapter of Hereford

The Hereford World Map is the finest and grandest surviving map of the thirteenth century. A closely related, slightly earlier German example, probably devised by the Englishman Gervase of Tilbury, the Ebstorf Map (formerly Hanover, Bibliothek des his-

torischen Vereins für Niedersachsen) was destroyed by bombing in the last war. A fragment of the bottom right-hand corner of an English world map similar to the Hereford one has recently been discovered in the archives of the Duchy of Cornwall. Other English thirteenth-century world maps, now lost, are recorded as wall paintings or wall hangings of vellum, tapestry or embroidery. Examples were in the Great Hall of Winchester Castle, painted by Master Nigel in 1239, and at Waltham Abbey and Westminster Palace. On a small scale they are found in manuscripts, such as a psalter (London, British Library, Add. MS 28681).

The structure of the map is based on a division of the globe into three parts with an east-west orientation and surrounded by the winds. The whole of the upper semicircle contains Asia, and Europe and Africa (their names are reversed owing to an error of the scribe) each occupying half of the lower semicircle. Jerusalem is in the centre, at the top in the extreme east is Paradise, and at the

bottom in the extreme west is the ocean beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. The continents have small drawings of figures, animals and buildings representing cities. The peoples of the world and historical events from the Bible or classical antiquity are indicated by single figures or symbols of the events. In the right-hand bottom perimeter on the coast of Africa, for example, are the fantastic monstrous races said to inhabit this region.

The world map was not only a topographic representation but presented the story of the world in its historical development and as an image of man's destiny. The world has at the four diagonal points of the perimeter extensions containing the letters *MORS* – Death. At the bottom on the left the Emperor Augustus sends out surveyors. On the right a horseman and his squire may represent man's journey through the world, the horseman gesturing to it as he rides on. The life of man is but a short span, and the map has at the top a reminder of the eventual judgement which will come to all at the Second Coming of Christ. The map of the world is viewed both in the sense of a chronicle of past events and as a presentation of the Christian belief in God's total plan of Creation, man's fall, his redemption and eventual salvation.

The name of the author of the map is given in the bottom left-hand corner as Richard of Haldingham and Lafford (Sleaford). There is considerable controversy concerning the identification of this man. He was probably Richard de Bello, Canon of Lincoln 1264–83, prebendary of Lafford by 1277, and he may have come to or resided at Hereford in the period 1283–9. A man of this name is recorded in the company of Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, in 1289. The map may have been some time in the making, begun at Lincoln in the 1270s and completed at Hereford in the 1280s.

NJM

PROV. First recorded in Hereford Cathedral 1682, but probably there since time of its completion in late 13th century.

LIT. Crone 1954; Emden 1957, p. 556; Destombes 1964, pp. 197–202, no. 52.3; Crone 1965, pp. 447–62; Yates 1974, pp. 165–72; Arentzen 1984, *passim*; Morgan 1987, no. 188, repr.

37 The Guthlac Roll

Crowland(?), c. 1210

Vellum roll: 16 × 285 cm

British Library, Harley Roll v.6

Rolls were used throughout the Middle Ages for certain texts and forms of illustration such as genealogies, obituaries, and occasionally Lives of Saints. This roll has seventeen scenes of the Life of St Guthlac in roundels in penwork tinted with light washes. The only text is as inscriptions within the illustrations. It has been suggested that the roll form may





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indicate a use as a source of designs for stained-glass windows, but no surviving roll has any evidence of being designed for such a function. The relics of St Guthlac were at the Benedictine abbey of Crowland, Lincolnshire, which, in addition to the physical remains of the saint, possessed the scourge given to Guthlac by St Bartholomew to defend himself against devils. The story of the scourge is illustrated on the roll. Scenes of miracles at Guthlac's tomb, and of the benefactors of Crowland, are at the end.

The technique of penwork drawing tinted in colour has a continuous tradition in England from the tenth century onward. The drawing style is an early thirteenth-century form of that used by Matthew Paris and the artists of the Apocalypses (Cat. 437, 348) in the middle years of the century.

The production of the Guthlac Roll has been associated with a translation of the relics of the saint in 1196, but there is no reason to connect it with this event. The figure style suggests a date well into the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as evidenced by comparisons with stained glass and manuscript painting.

NJM

PROV. Crowland Abbey; Robert Harley

661-1724) or Edward Harley (1689-1741); bt by British Museum with Harley manuscripts, 1753.

LIT. Warner 1928; London 1980, no. 35;

Morgan 1982, no. 22, figs 72-5; Henderson 1985b, pp. 84ff.

38 Life of St Thomas of Canterbury (fragment)

London(?), c. 1230-40

Vellum, ff. 4: 30.3 × 22.3 cm

J. Paul Getty, KBE

These four leaves are a fragment of a fully-illustrated life of St Thomas of Canterbury, the only example of such an illustrated life with accompanying text in any English manuscript. Rectangular pictures as tinted drawings are set above a text in Anglo-Norman French verse.

Such illustrated Lives of the Saints are

particularly associated with the St Albans monk, Matthew Paris (see Cat. 39, 315, 437), and the text of this has been controversially attributed to his authorship. The illustrations are definitely not by his hand although they might derive from models devised by him if he was, in fact, the author of the text. This Life of St Thomas seems earlier in date than Matthew Paris's Life of St Alban of c. 1250 (fig. 111). The drawings in the Thomas are closer to London work than to the style of Matthew Paris. A good parallel is a set of tinted drawings of the Life of Christ in a psalter (now fragmentary) made for the Benedictine Abbey of Chertsey (Cambridge, Emmanuel College, ms 252). The Thomas

39 Life of St Edward the Confessor

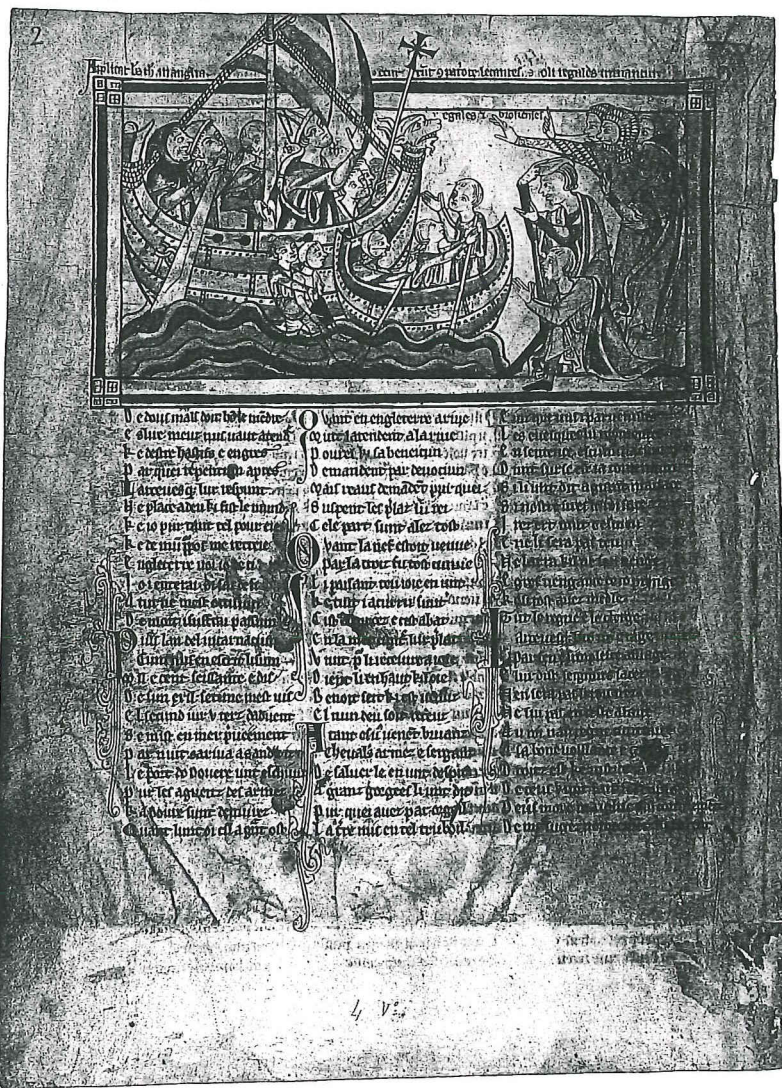
Westminster, c. 1255-60

Vellum, ff. 37: 28 × 19.2 cm

Syndics of Cambridge University Library, ms

Ee. 3.59

Henry III had a particular devotion to his royal predecessor St Edward the Confessor, best evident in his patronage of the building and decoration of Westminster Abbey. In 1252 the king ordered paintings of the Life of St Edward for his chapel in the Abbey. This illustrated copy of the Life has a text in Anglo-Norman French and is dedicated to his queen, Eleanor of Provence, and may have



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fragment is central to the whole issue of the relationship of the work of the monk Matthew Paris to that of lay artists in London. The problems of its dating and the authorship of its text need further careful investigation.

NJM

PROV. Jacques Goethals-Vercruysee (d. 1838);

Goethals family; Sotheby's, 24 June 1986, lot 40.

LIT. Meyer 1885; Morgan 1982, no. 61, figs

206-8.

been a presentation copy for her.

Sixty-four tinted drawings are set at the head of a two- or three-column text, a format commonly used for illustrated Lives of the Saints at this time (see Cat. 38; fig. 111). The authorship of the text has controversially been attributed to Matthew Paris, and the original set of illustrations of which these could be copies have been considered also to have been by him. There is general agreement that the Cambridge Life of Edward is by



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artists working in Westminster in a quite different manner from that of Matthew Paris, but they could be copying a series of pictures devised by him. There are two artists, and the second, who does the work from f. 5v. onwards, shows a gradual assimilation of French influence. His figures are smaller in scale than those of the first artist, with emphasis on refined facial features and head types of pear shape with neatly curled hair and beards (fig. 125). The drapery folds have broad angular shapes rather than a system of multiple troughed folds. This tendency in English painting culminates in work such as the Douce Apocalypse (Cat. 351). NJM

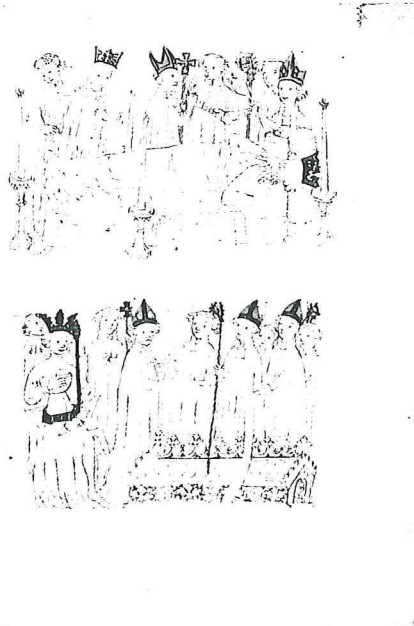
PROV. Queen Eleanor (?) (d. 1291); Laurence Nowell (d. 1576); William Lambard (d. 1601); Sir Anthony Cope (d. 1614); John Moore, Bishop of Ely 1707–14; Bishop Moore's library bt by George I, 1715, and presented to Cambridge University.

LIT. James 1920; Henderson 1967, pp. 8off.; Ottawa 1972, no. 19; Brussels 1973, no. 48; Binski 1986, pp. 39, 40, 42–3, 52, 53, 54, 108, pls xxxviiib, xxxviiiia; Morgan 1987, no. 123, repr.

40 Apocalypse and scenes from the Life of Edward the Confessor

c. 1380–c. 1400
Vellum, ff. 44: 36.5 × 25 cm
The Master and Fellows, Trinity College,
Cambridge, MS B. 10. 2

The manuscript contains two distinct items, an Apocalypse richly illuminated in gold and colours and a series of tinted line drawings illustrating the Life of St Edward the Confessor. Although they are so very different in



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appearance, the two may not be far removed from each other in date. The fashionable costumes depicted in the drawings suggest a date in the last decade of the fourteenth century. The Apocalypse is close in style to work in the Litlington Missal (Cat. 714), which was made at Westminster in 1383–4. The connection with Westminster is underlined by the close relationship between the Apocalypse cycle and the late fourteenth-century paintings of the same subject in the Abbey chapter house.

Twenty-four scenes from the Life of the Confessor are illustrated. Episodes can be

paralleled in the thirteenth-century Matthew Paris Life from Cambridge (Cat. 39) and in a series of fifteenth-century reliefs carved on the presbytery screen in Westminster Abbey. The exhibited pages (ff. 42v–43) show two miraculous events from Edward's life, his death, and the veneration of his shrine at Westminster. The style of the drawings, which are by more than one hand, is not a distinctly English one. It can more readily be related to Dutch or Flemish work of the late fourteenth century. JB

PROV. John Whitgift (d. 1604); given to Trinity College, of which he was Master 1567–77.

LIT. Simpson 1978, pp. 153–4, repr. pls 295–7; Sandler 1986, no. 153.

41 Book of Hours

Oxford(?), c. 1260–70
Vellum, ff. 159: 16.2 × 10.7 cm
British Library, Egerton MS 1151

The Book of Hours as a devotional text independent from that of the psalter first appeared in England around the middle of



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the thirteenth century, and rapidly increased in popularity during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is probably due to the text providing short devotions in a structured form, usually combined with illustration, which well suited the piety of the laity. This example contains the Hours of the Virgin Mary and of the Holy Spirit, and the Offices of the Passion and of the Dead. Its intended owner seems to be the woman shown kneeling on ff. 7 and 50. The initials for the hours of the day over which the devotions are spread show activities at various times. Compline, for example, is illus-

trated by two figures preparing beds for the night.

The work is by the William of Devon workshop, named after the scribe of the Bible in the British Library (MS Royal 1.D.1; Cat. 354-5), which uses a characteristic ornament of grotesque figures, birds and hybrid creatures on the decorative border bars which extend from the initials. These features are well shown in this small Book of Hours whose figure style, like that of other manuscripts of the workshop, derives directly from that of a Parisian workshop. Where the workshop was based is a controversial topic. Several of its products have liturgical evidence connecting them with the dioceses of Lincoln or Worcester. It is possible that Oxford was the centre of its operation. This Book of Hours has a calendar connecting it with the diocese of Worcester. The text contents reflect the sort of devotions prescribed in the early thirteenth-century *Ancrene Riwe* which also may have contacts with the Worcester region. NJM

PROV. Thomas Mazya, 15th century; Mistress Felys, 16th century; Robert Colston, 17th century; bt for British Museum from Thomas Rodd, 1848.

LIT. Ottawa 1972, no. 25; Morgan 1987, no. 161, repr.

4.2 Canticles, hymns and Passion of Christ

c. 1280-90
Parchment, ff. 96: 31.5 x 21.6 cm
The Master and Fellows of St John's College,
Cambridge, MS 262 (K.21)

Pictorial narratives accompanied by vernacular 'captions', in which the ordinary relation between text and illustration is inverted, constitute a distinct category of manuscript illumination - the picture book. The long Passion cycle of the St John's volume is an example, along with the Old Testament cycle of the Queen Mary Psalter (London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII), the Holkham Bible (Cat. 221), and the Eger-ton Genesis (London, British Library, Eger. MS 1894); in all these, each miniature is accompanied by a short explanatory text beginning 'Comment [How]...'. What distinguishes the St John's manuscript is the integration of the pictorial cycle and its Anglo-French captions into an imposing liturgical book, intended to be used in services at the Benedictine Abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury.

Probably the main textual contents were originally a psalter (now entirely lost); what survives is a calendar of St Augustine's, the monastic canticles and a hymnal for use at the same abbey. The Passion miniatures are placed between the hymn for the Last Supper and the hymn for Easter. We can imagine that the words of the Psalms, hymns and canticles were chanted by rote; the role of the pictures and their vernacular explanation



Coment pilate demanda
as ieus si il uolient ke
il lur delueraist al iur de
lur grant feste barraban
ke fu en prisone pur homi
cide e pur autres maus fez.
ou Jhu crist. ke se fist kors
as ieus. eles ieus demande
rent barraban le fort lere
en deluere: e prierent ke
il pussent crucifier Jhu
crist.



Coment Barrabas
li leres fu luere hor
de prisone.



Coment ihs fu flaele
e malement batu de
uant pilate. ele luera as

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was perhaps to rekindle the sense of emotional participation in the events of the Passion.

The text of the manuscript gives no indications of its date. The work of the three artists, however, suggests the 1280s; it is reminiscent of the series of images of English kings painted during the reign of Edward 1 (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitell A. XI11) or the New College Apocalypse (Oxford, New College, MS 65), whose original owner was probably Lady Johanna de Bohun, d. 1283. LFS

PROV. St Augustine's, Canterbury; Edward Benlowes, beq. to St John's College, 1631.

LIT. Camille 1985c, pp. 140-1, repr. fig. 8; Sandler 1986, no. 8, 11, pp. 18-9, repr. 1, figs 18-20.

Pilgrim souvenirs

By 1200 the word 'ampuller' had come into use to describe a new craft, the purpose of which was to produce cheap souvenirs for Canterbury's pilgrims. It so happened that then and for another hundred years Canterbury water proved to be the means by which devotees of St Thomas Becket most frequently secured miraculous cures. The water's thaumaturgic property was based on the belief that it was tinged with the martyr's blood, collected from his mortal wounds in 1170 and continuously diluted to ensure its conservation for later generations. Even before the end of 1171, pewter ampullae had been devised to meet the huge demand for souvenirs of England's new saint and as

containers for his miraculous medicine. These ampullae were worn suspended round the owners' necks as talismans as well as proof of pilgrimage and were soon hung up by returning pilgrims, for the benefit of neighbours, in churches throughout the land.

Archaeological evidence suggests that at first they were rectangular and scallop-shaped, and that by 1200 another form had begun to predominate: a pouch-like, flat-sided vessel, large enough to contain scenes commemorating St Thomas's posthumous miracles (Cat. 43) or episodes from his life, or his martyrdom, burial and reception into Heaven. Exalted figures of Becket the archbishop in the act of intercession, depicted initially in semi-relief, also featured regularly on these ampullae (Cat. 47). In scenes of the martyrdom, the number of knights depicted was soon reduced from four to one or two and Becket shown (in spite of evidence to the contrary) as praying at an altar at the time of the assault (Cat. 46).

Other forms of ampulla were introduced, among them a boat in which Becket, enthroned and accompanied by a steersman and a kneeling devotee, is shown returning from exile in France (Cat. 50). Further sorts appear to have been added for the centenary of Becket's martyrdom in 1270 and continued to be made into the early years of the fourteenth century, some based on contemporary pottery costrels (Cat. 53), others on the gabled reliquaries that were still being made by Limoges craftsmen as receptacles for relics of St Thomas. As with the reliquaries themselves, the rectangular sides of these ampullae invited a frieze-like treatment of the martyrdom and burial (Cat. 51-2). Many ampullae also included allusions to the cathedral itself (Christ Church) and its famous Rood, which in the thirteenth century had till not been overshadowed by the Becket cult.

Though Canterbury had English rivals (Cat. 71, 77) and plagiarists producing comparable ampullae, no Continental sanctuary of the thirteenth century sent away its pilgrims with such eye-catching propaganda for its saint. Many ampullae bore inscriptions, mostly claiming that 'Thomas is the best doctor of the worthy sick'. This was also the message of Canterbury's miracle books. Ordinary doctors are shown up as expensive failures. But Thomas's success depended on expectant faith. Those who failed to benefit from a pilgrimage or a dose of Canterbury water or from the possession of a pilgrim sign were deemed unworthy, lacking sufficient belief and piety.

Although they had been in use at a few of the major Continental shrines from the second half of the twelfth century, pilgrim

badges appear not to have been introduced at Canterbury (or anywhere else in England) until the early fourteenth century, when several sorts were devised to commemorate the principal holy places in the pilgrim's tour of Canterbury Cathedral. One important station was a reliquary that took the form of a life-sized bust and contained the portion of Becket's skull that had been hacked off at his martyrdom. This reliquary was refashioned and gorgeously enriched for the third jubilee of Becket's martyrdom in 1320. Subsequent popular interest in this object is borne out by the evidence of pilgrim signs. Badges depicting the reliquary occur in a variety of sizes and settings (Cat. 54-8) and, on their own, far exceed the number of surviving souvenirs from any other shrine in medieval Christendom.

Pilgrim souvenirs also provide us with an important, if schematic, record of the shrine of St Thomas in the fourteenth century. They show the gabled chest containing Becket's bones, raised high on pillars, encrusted with jewels and topped with larger votive offerings, and they provide the earliest evidence of the existence of a little statue which pointed to the shrine's chief glory, the jewel given in 1179 by the King of France and claimed as the largest in existence (Cat. 63).

Other badges that were widely popular in Chaucer's time commemorated Becket's last days, his return from France (Cat. 59), his triumphal ride into Canterbury (Cat. 60, 451) and his murder, with the full complement of four knights, wearing bascinets, body armour and low-slung belts (Cat. 61). Here are to be found all the elements of the martyrdom as they had come, with growing realism, to be depicted by the middle of the fourteenth century. Becket kneels before an altar on which stand a chalice and crucifix (and, on other versions, a retable and a missal). Reinforcing the sense of sacrilege, his vestments are trampled on as his assailants strike from behind, while the clerk, Edward Grim, looks on, aghast but as yet unharmed.

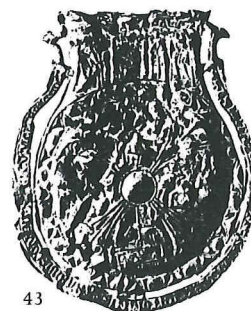
It was at an altar set up on the spot, variously known as the Martyrdom, the Sword or the Sword-Point, where Becket had been slain, that the actual murder weapon was exhibited to pilgrims. This sword, and in particular its point, was a relic of considerable importance in the thirteenth century and may have accounted for the pointed configuration of many ampullae (Cat. 47-9). In the fourteenth century, however, miniature replicas of the sword were sold as pilgrim signs, some of them designed to slot into matching scabbards (Cat. 62).

The year 1376 was one of the peaks of the Canterbury pilgrimage. Offerings then exceeded those even of the jubilee years 1320 and 1370, when special indulgences and the

sense of occasion had boosted the throng of pilgrims. In 1376 the Black Prince's funeral took place at Canterbury in an atmosphere of unprecedented national grief (Cat. 626-33). Four months were required for the preparations, and these are likely to have included such details as the making of funerary badges (Cat. 68-70) and of stylish pilgrim souvenirs (Cat. 65-7). The interest of a courtly clientele in Canterbury at this period doubtless helped to ensure that the artistry of this minor mould-cutting craft transcended both the materials and the methods of multiple production on which it was based.

The opposing tendency towards naivety and even banality in this field of popular art is also represented here (Cat. 75), as are the souvenirs of a few of Canterbury's competitors, such as Bromholm, St Albans, Bury St Edmunds, Pontefract, Westminster (Cat. 76-81) and, in particular, Walsingham, where the chief attractions were a miracle-working image of the Virgin (Cat. 72) and the Holy House, a replica of the house in Nazareth where the Virgin was greeted by Gabriel (Cat. 73-5). Finally, pilgrim signs are set in a wider context by reference to the multitude of devotional (Cat. 82-3) and purely secular (Cat. 84) ornaments that were also products of the English mould-maker's craft in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. BS

43 Ampulla: Pilgrims arriving at Canterbury and miracles at St Thomas's tomb (for reverse, Cat. 44)



43

Early 13th century, before 1220

Tin or tin-lead alloy; h. 9.7 cm, w. 8 cm

INSCR. + EXILITAS OMNIS: OFFERT DOLOR

EXCIDIT OMNIS: SANA[TVS] BIBIT · COMEDIT ·
M(?ALVM) CV[M] MORTE RECEDIT (All
weakness and pain is removed, the healed man
eats and drinks, and evil and death pass away)

Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de
Cluny, 18063

PROV. Victor Gay Coll.; Musée de Cluny, 1909.

LIT. Gay 1883, pp. 30-1; Spencer 1975, pp.
245-6.

44 Ampulla (very similar to Cat. 43): St Thomas preaching, his murder and burial

Early 13th century, before 1220
Tin or tin-lead: h. 9.5 cm, w. 6.7 cm
The Medieval Collection, Historical Museum, University of Bergen, Norway
PROV. Excavated at Bryggen, site of the medieval Hanseatic wharf at Bergen.
LIT. Herteig 1969, pp. 208–9; Bergen 1978, fig. 27 (extreme right).



44

48 Ampulla: St Thomas between two knights and (on reverse) his martyrdom

First half 13th century
Tin: h. 9.5 cm, w. 8.7 cm
Inscr. + OPTIM[VS] EGROR[VM] MEDIC[VS] FIT TOMA BONOR[VM]
The Trustees of the British Museum, London, MLA 1921, 2–16, 62
PROV. Coll. of Thomas Greg; given to British Museum, 1921. Closely-related ampullae, in which two angels bearing up Becket's soul take the place of the knights, have been found at London (British Museum and private coll.) and in a mid-13th-century context in High Street, Perth (Perth, Museum & Art Gallery PHS75, A04-0682).

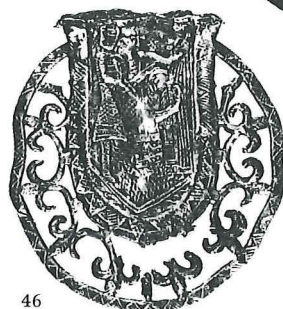


45

LIT. Borenius 1929, p. 33; Borenius 1932a, p. 77, fig. d.

49 Ampulla: St Thomas, his murder and his burial

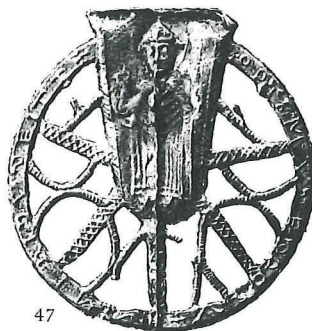
Last quarter 13th century
Tin: h. 6.3 cm, w. 5.3 cm
Museum of London, 82.8/1
PROV. Found during redevelopment of Thames waterfront site of the Newfoundland Company, Bull Wharf, Upper Thames Street, London, winter 1979–80.



46

50 Ampulla: St Thomas in a boat, returning from exile, and (on reverse) the Crucifixion with Longinus and Stepaton

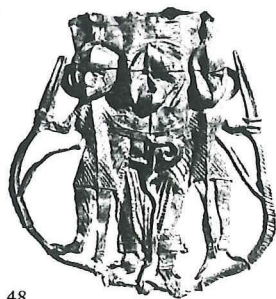
First half 13th century
Tin: h. 5.3 cm, w. 5.2 cm
Museum of London, 84.407 (see also Cat. 59)
PROV. Found during archaeological watching-brief on redevelopment of former market lorry park, immediately to west of Billingsgate Market, Lower Thames Street, London, 1984.



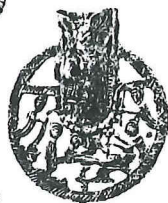
47

51 Ampulla: St Thomas's burial, (on reverse) penance of Henry II and (ends) St Thomas's martyrdom and the Crucifixion

Last quarter 13th century
Tin: h. 4.9 cm, w. 4.5 cm, d. 2 cm
Peter J. Shaffery Collection
PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (see Cat. 50).



48



49

46 Ampulla: St Thomas giving his blessing and (on reverse) his martyrdom

Mid-13th century
Tin: h. 9.7 cm, w. 8.6 cm
Inscr. + O[P]TIMVS EGRORVM MEDICVS FIT THOMA BONOR[VM]
Museum of London, TL74 1671
PROV. Found in association with a mid- to late 13th-century waterfront structure excavated at Trig Lane, Upper Thames Street, London.
LIT. Spencer 1982, pp. 306–7, p. 305 pls I, 2.

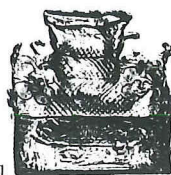
47 Ampulla: St Thomas and his martyrdom

c. 1270
Tin: h. 8.3 cm, w. 8.1 cm
Inscr. OPTIMVS EGRORV[M] + MEDICVS FIT T[HOMA]+
Southampton City Museums, SOU 163 267
PROV. Found during excavation of cesspit belonging to 13th-century house in Cuckoo Lane, Southampton, 1966; among a rich assemblage of associated finds was the seal of Richard of Southwick (d. c. 1290). Identical ampullae were found at Bull Wharf, London, 1980 (private coll.) and Billingsgate, London, 1984 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1986. 1).

LIT. Spencer 1975, fig. 236, no. 2.



50



51

52 Ampulla: St Thomas's martyrdom, (on reverse) penance of Henry II and (ends) St Thomas enthroned and the Crucifixion

Last quarter 13th century
Tin: h. 5.5 cm, w. 4.5 cm, d. 2 cm
Museum of London, 8779

PROV. Found on site of the Steelyard, headquarters of the Hanseatic merchants, Upper Thames Street, London, 1864.

LIT. Cuming 1865, pl. 9, figs 1, 2; Guildhall Museum 1908, pl. LXXIX, 5; Borenus 1929, p. 33, fig. 1.



52



53

53 Ampulla: (on one end) St Thomas enthroned and (on other) his martyrdom

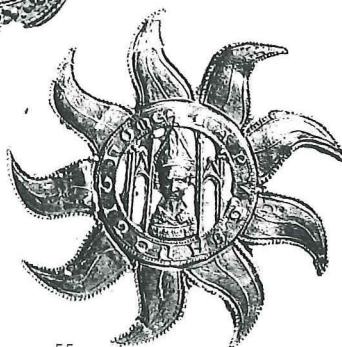
Third quarter 13th century
Tin: h. 5.6 cm, w. 5.5 cm, d. 3 cm
The Trustees of the British Museum, London,
MLA 1985, 10-9, 1

PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (see Cat. 50); identical ampulla recovered from Thames at Billingsgate, 1984 (Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 1985. 634); similar ampulla recovered (1981) from deposit at Swan Lane, London, datable to 1250-79 (Egan 1986b).

LIT. Cf. Egan 1986b, fig. 11.



54



55

54 Pilgrim badge: Head of St Thomas reliquary

c. 1320
Tin-lead: diam. 38 mm; this badge, and all the others listed below, provided with a pin and clasp at the back

The Trustees of the British Museum, London,
MLA 1955, 10-1, 1

PROV. Found in River Dove at Tutbury, Derbyshire, 1831, with a hoard of silver pennies; hoard has been linked with the flight of Thomas of Lancaster (cf. Cat. 80) from Tutbury Castle in 1322.

LIT. Tait 1955, p. 39, pl. xvd; Spencer 1968, fig. 1d, p. 138.



56



58

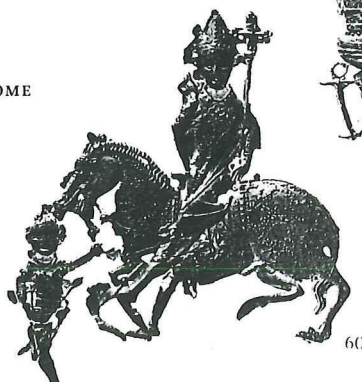


57

55 Pilgrim badge: Head of St Thomas

First quarter 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 8 cm, w. 8 cm
Inscr. + CAPVT SANCTI THOME
Private Collection

PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (see Cat. 50).



59

56 Pilgrim badge: Head of St Thomas

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead: diam. 2.4 cm
Inscr. + CAPVT THOME
Museum of London, BC72 2241

PROV. Found during the excavation of 'Baynard's Castle' dock, 1972, in back-fill dated to last quarter of 14th century.

57 Pilgrim badge: Head of St Thomas

Mid-14th century
Tin-lead: h. 9 cm, w. 5.8 cm
Inscr. + CAPVT THOME
Museum of London, 8788

PROV. Found at Dowgate, Upper Thames Street, London.

LIT. Guildhall Museum 1908, pl. LXXVIII, 8.

58 Pilgrim badge: Head of St Thomas

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 7.8 cm, w. 4.2 cm
Inscr. T H O M A S
Museum of London, 80.65/9

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1979 (see Cat. 49).

59 Pilgrim badge: St Thomas returning from exile

Late 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 7.5 cm, w. 7.9 cm (see also Cat. 50)
Museum of London, 82.8/3

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1980 (see Cat. 49).

LIT. Museum of London 1983, fig. 12; Museum of London 1985, p. 27.

60 Pilgrim badge: St Thomas riding to Canterbury

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 8.4 cm, w. 8.2 cm (see also Cat. 451)
D. Morgan, Esq.

PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (see Cat. 50).

LIT. Cf. Spencer 1968, pl. VI, 1 & 9; Spencer 1982, pp. 309-11.

61 Pilgrim badge: St Thomas's martyrdom

Mid-14th century
Tin-lead: h. 6.6 cm, w. 6.6 cm
Messrs R. and I. Smith
PROV. Found in Thames at Brooks Wharf, London, 1983.



61

66-7 Pilgrim badges (variants of Cat. 65)

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead, with vermillion in the folds of the Virgin's garment: figure h. 9 cm, w. 3.5 cm; side panel h. 12.2 cm, w. 2.5 cm
INSCR. (DEI MA)TER : CELI·REG(I)NA MONDI: beneath the figure of St Thomas, SA[NC]TVS T[HOMA]S
Norfolk Museums Service (King's Lynn Museums), PB 28 (Virgin); Museum of London, A14581/1 (side panel)

PROV. Figure of the Virgin found in River Purfleet, King's Lynn; collection of Thomas Pung; Greenland Fishery Museum, Lynn; King's Lynn Museum, 1946. Side panel found in Thames at London Bridge.

LIT. London, London Museum 1940, pl. LXXII, 52; Spencer 1980, p. 28.

68 Funerary badge: The Black Prince worshipping the Trinity, within the Garter

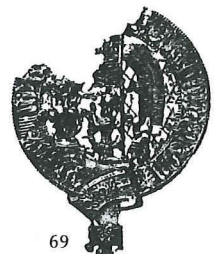
c. 1376
Tin-lead: h. 10.2 cm, w. 7.9 cm
Inscr. in black letter *hony soyt ke mal y pense*
The Trustees of the British Museum, London, MLA OA 100

PROV. Not recorded.

LIT. Nicolas 1846a, pp. 140-1; Hume 1863, pp. 120, 142; Hope 1913b, pp. 260-3, fig. 153; Spencer 1972, cover; Marks & Payne 1978, p. 129, no. 255; Spencer 1982, pp. 318-20, fig. 2b p. 317.



68



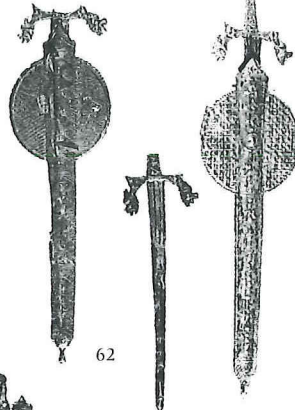
69

62 Pilgrim badges: Souvenirs of the sword that killed Becket

Late 14th century
Tin-lead (59.6% : 40.4%): overall h. 14.5 cm, w. 3.6 cm
Museum of London, TL74 602; SWA81, 915; and 79.135/4

PROV. Found respectively at Trig Lane, London, 1974, on a patch of foreshore datable to before c. 1440; in a context datable to c. 1390-1400 at Swan Lane, Upper Thames Street, London, in the course of watching brief during redevelopment of car park site, 1981; and on Thames foreshore at Queenhithe, 1977.

LIT. Spencer 1982, pp. 313-14; Museum of London 1985, p. 27.



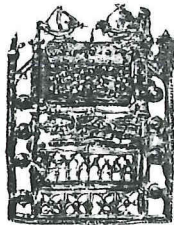
62

63 Pilgrim badge: Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 7.5 cm, w. 5.7 cm
Museum of London, BC72.1555

PROV. Found at 'Baynard's Castle' dock, London, 1972 (see Cat. 56).

LIT. Spencer 1982, pp. 311-12.



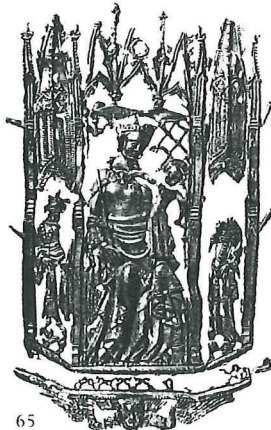
63



64

64 Pilgrim sign: Canterbury bell

Late 14th century
Bell tin with bismuth (99% : 1%), clapper and split pin tin-lead (65% : 35%): h. 6.5 cm, diam. 6 cm
Museum of London, 80.65/10
PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1979 (see Cat. 49).



65

65 Pilgrim badges: Virgin and Child (?Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury) flanked by St Edward the Confessor and St Thomas of Canterbury

Second half 14th century
Tin-lead: h. 13.5 cm, w. 8.7 cm; fitted with two pins at the back
Museum of London, 84.394 and BWB83.201
PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (see Cat. 50); the smaller fragment (the supporting angel) found separately, probably from a different badge cast from the same mould; part of a variant from same site has St Thomas as the large central figure.

LIT. Egan 1986b, fig. 10.



66-7

69 Funerary badge (variant of Cat. 68)

c. 1376
Tin-lead: h. 8.6 cm, w. 6.6 cm
Inscr. in black letter *the : trynyty (& seynt geor)g : be at : oure : endyng :*
Museum of London, TL74 1428

PROV. Found during excavation of a late 14th-early 15th-century deposit at Trig Lane, Upper Thames Street, London, 1974.

LIT. Spencer 1982, pp. 316-20, fig. 2a.

70 Funerary badge: The Black Prince's ostrich feather

c. 1376

Tin-lead: h. 11.1 cm, w. 5.2 cm

Inscr. in black letter *ich dene*

Museum of London, BC72 1821

PROV. Found at 'Baynard's Castle' dock, London, 1972 (see Cat. 56).



70

71 Ampulla: Church with an image of the Virgin (?Our Lady of Walsingham) and the Coronation of the Virgin

Mid-13th century

Tin: h. 5.5 cm, w. 4.5 cm, d. 1 cm

Inscr. flanking Coronation ECCE/SVA D/EXT/RA

MA/TRE/M DE/VS I/PSE C/ORO/NAT

flanking image ECCE/ CORO/MATE/[sic]

GLO/RIA/ NA/TVS/ HO/MO

Private Collection

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1980 (see Cat. 49); identical examples excavated from an early 14th-century context at High Street, Perth, 1979 (Perth, Museum and Art Gallery, PHS 77, A04-0214) and from a deposit datable to c. 1270 at Swan Lane, London, 1981 (Museum of London, SWA 81 2097).



72



74

72 Pilgrim badge: Our Lady of Walsingham

End 14th century

Tin-lead (62.7% : 37.3%): h. 5.2 cm, w. 4 cm

Museum of London, 82.8/4

PROV. Found on Thames foreshore at Brooks Wharf, Upper Thames Street, London, 1979.

LIT. Cf. Spencer 1980, p. 10.



73



76

73 Pilgrim badge: The Holy House of Walsingham with the Annunciation

Late 14th century

Tin-lead: h. 3.8 cm, w. 3.3 cm

Collection of Mr E. G. Lake

PROV. Found on Thames foreshore at Swan Wharf, London Bridge, 1976.

LIT. Cf. Spencer 1980, pp. 11-12.



78

74 Pilgrim badge: The cult of the Annunciation at Walsingham

First half 14th century

Tin-lead: h. 8.6 cm, w. 5.9 cm

Inscr. ECCE ANCI[1]L[A]DOMIN[1]/ AVE: MARIA

Museum of London, A17216

PROV. Found in Thames at Tower Bridge, London, 1891.

LIT. London, London Museum 1937, pl. xxv, 2; London, London Museum 1940, p. 257, pl. LXIX, 14; Spencer 1968, pl. II, no. 1.



79



71

75 Pilgrim badge: The Annunciation with God the Father

Early 15th century

Tin-lead: h. 7.6 cm, w. 4.8 cm

Inscr. in black letter *Aue gras[1]a plena*

Messrs R. and I. Smith

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1979 (see Cat. 49).

76 Ampulla: The Holy Cross of Bromholm, Norfolk, and the Feast of the Exaltation

Mid-13th century

Tin: h. 7.5 cm, w. 4 cm

Museum of London, TL 74 1672

PROV. Found at Trig Lane, London (see Cat. 46).

LIT. Spencer 1982, pp. 307-9, pls 3, 4.



75

77 Ampulla: Bromholm Holy Cross

Second quarter 13th century

Tin: h. 6.9 cm, w. 3.6 cm

Inscr. (front) IESVS NA/SARENVS

(back) RA/DI/X

Museum of London, 83.367

PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1983 (see Cat. 50), fixed by a nail to a piece of wood (not conserved).



77

78 Pilgrim badge: The martyrdom of St Alban

Second half 14th century

Tin-lead: h. 7 cm, w. 4.3 cm

The Trustees of the British Museum, London,

MLA 56, 7-1, 2095

PROV. Found in London; C. Roach Smith Coll.

LIT. Spencer 1969, pp. 34-5, fig. 7.

79 Pilgrim sign: The martyrdom of St Edmund

Late 13th/early 14th century

Tin, hollow-cast: h. 6.6 cm, w. 2.7 cm

John Auld, Esq.

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1979 (see Cat. 49).



80

80 Pilgrim badge: The execution of Thomas of Lancaster and the ascent of his soul

Second quarter 14th century

Tin-lead: h. 9.1 cm, w. 6 cm

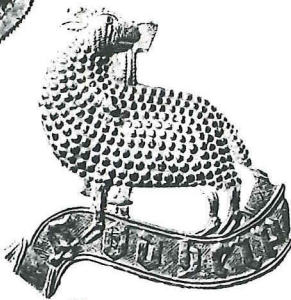
The Trustees of the British Museum, London,

MLA 1984, 5-5, 2

PROV. Found at Billingsgate, London, 1984 (Cat. 50).



81



82



83



84



85

81 Pilgrim badge: St Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim

Last quarter 14th century
 Tin-lead: h. 5.3 cm, w. 5.2 cm
 Inscr. in black letter *s edwardus*
 Norfolk Museums Service (King's Lynn
 Museums), PB 67

PROV. From the Mill Fleet, King's Lynn (cf. Cat. 67); upper half of the Pilgrim lost during World War II.

LIT. Spencer 1968, fig. 3a; London 1972, no. 207, xxiii; Spencer 1980, p. 21.

82 Devotional badge: The Paschal Lamb

Last quarter 14th century
 Tin-lead: h. 7.6 cm, w. 7.7 cm
 Inscr. in black letter *god help* (cf. epigraphy of Cat. 68-70)
 J. T. Dartnall, Esq.

PROV. Found on Thames foreshore at Queenhithe, 1979.

83 Leaves from triptych

First half 14th century
 Tin-lead: h. 11.5 cm, w. 6.7 cm
 Norfolk Museums Service (King's Lynn
 Museums), PB89

PROV. From River Purfleet, King's Lynn (see Cat. 66-7).

LIT. Tait 1955, pl. xivc; London 1972, no. 207, xl; Spencer 1982, pp. 26-8.

84 Decorative badge: Man hawking

Late 14th century
 Tin-lead: h. 4.4 cm, w. 4.1 cm
 Museum of London, 82.8/15

PROV. Found at Bull Wharf, London, 1979 (see Cat. 49).

85 Statuette of a queen enthroned, probably the Virgin

First half 14th century
 Tin or tin-lead: h. 8.6 cm, w. 2.8 cm, d. 2.6 cm
 Private Collection

PROV. Found in River Avon, Salisbury, 1986.

86 Part of the brass of St Thomas Cantilupe

1282-7
 Latten: h. 10.1 cm
 The Dean and Chapter of Hereford

The figure of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr, is seated on a chest-like throne with his feet on a footstool, dressed in flowing robes, and holding his crowned head against his chest.

The brass comes from the tomb of St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, who died at Montefiascone, Italy in 1282. The tomb still retains a coffin-shaped Purbeck



86

slab with indents for the full-length figure of a bishop under a canopy, two small figures (including the present exhibit), detached fleurs-de-lis, and a marginal inscription on a fillet. In the accounts of miracles at his tomb collected by the Papal Commissioners for his canonisation (in 1320) is one relating to the cure of John Tregoz who in November, 1287, kept vigil at the tomb and had a vision of a bishop in white vestments who 'came out from under the image of brass which is fixed upon the sarcophagus of the man of God'. This must have been the one to which the present figure belongs, so establishing its date and making it the earliest identifiable portion of a figure brass in the country. It cannot be related closely in style to the next earliest group (see Cat. 138), but there is no reason to doubt that it was made in England, though probably under French influence. CB

PROV. Hereford Cathedral.

LIT. Emmerson 1980; Binski 1987, pp. 70-3, figs 17, 50.



87

87 Becket reliquary châsse

Limoges, c. 1200–10

Copper alloy, with champlevé enamels, and oak:
h. 17.2 cm, w. 12.1 cm

The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 26/6

The enamel plaques are mounted on a solid wooden core (not original); a side and centre back panel are missing, also part of the roof cresting (now in two pieces) and an assassin's head. The front is enamelled with the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, with the apotheosis of the saint above.

Becket is mitred, before an altar on which stand a chalice and paten, book and pyx (indicated by \bar{n} : host); two knights attack him, while a *Manus Dei* (Hand of God) emerges from a cloud above. The personified soul of Thomas rises to Heaven supported by two angels.

The side panel shows an unidentified saint standing under an arch. The heads of all figures save this and that of Thomas are cast separately and pinned on. The back (roof) is enamelled with a double row of five four-petaled flowers, bordered by a row of crosses. The colours used are opaque blues – light, mid and dark – red, green, yellow and white.

Base-metal pilgrim souvenirs for Becket's cult were made in Canterbury, but the enamel reliquary châsses, of which over forty-five still survive, were produced in Limoges, mainly c. 1200–50. Thomas is invariably shown at Mass, attacked by between one and three murderers, although it is a historical fact that there were four (Rupin 1890, pp. 396–9; Barlow 1986). These caskets were merely a version of the basic design of Limoges reliquary, themselves a variation

upon a common type of relic container produced throughout Europe (Braun 1940, pp. 163–85). The (missing) centre back panel here would have covered a lid, hinged to allow access to the relics, the original casket being hollow.

Limoges was in the Middle Ages a large-scale manufacturer of champlevé enamelled objects; more of its products have survived than from anywhere else. Characterised by vivid blues and stylised rosettes, the enamels were widely exported; many have been found in England. Limoges basins are known to have been given to Rochester Cathedral by the Prior Elias (*fl.* 1214–15), and in 1240 Henry III bought two pairs of Limoges basins for St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (Lehmann-Brockhaus 1955–60, no. 3752).

This is one of the few Becket reliquaries with an English provenance of antiquity. Its association with Becket's own county by adoption is unique; it may originally have belonged to a Kentish church (Borenus 1933, pp. 177–8). MLC

PROV. John Batteley (1647–1708), Archdeacon of Canterbury; Thomas Barrett (d. 1758), of Lee Priory, near Canterbury; sold London, 21 Feb. 1758 (Barrett sale, no. 80) to Horace Walpole of Strawberry Hill; beq. to Mrs Damer; given to Dowager Countess of Waldegrave; sold by her to Walter Sneyd, 1842; possibly disposed of before 1862 (Caudron 1975, pp. 37–8); in Leopold Hirsch Coll., by 1933; bt by John Hunt; bt by Sir William Burrell, 1934; given by him to Glasgow City Art Gallery, 1958.

LIT. Cole MS 1762, ff. 151–2; Borenus 1933, p. 177, repr.; Caudron 1975, no. 3, pp. 34–8, 65–8, 102–3, 121–2; London 1975, no. 372.

88 Reliquary casket

c. 1400

Copper alloy, engraved, enamelled and gilt:

h. 15 cm, l. 11.5 cm, w. 6.6 cm

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 634–1870

The sheet-metal box is riveted and soldered together; the feet and figures are cast. On the front of the lid a plaque enamelled (in opaque red and black) shows St George on horseback lancing the dragon, the rescued princess kneeling on the right. Holes and patches bare of gilding on the casket indicate the position of the figures on the sides and a roundel on the back. On the body of the box are engraved: (front) a tonsured priest with dragon, beside the Virgin and Child; (left side) a female saint with sceptre, holding a church, perhaps St Etheldreda; (right side) a female saint, perhaps St Hilda, holding a bird.

On the back is a ring handle, riveted on, and engraved acanthus scrollwork springing from a devil's head. Similar acanthus is engraved beneath the St George plaque. The six small cast and chased figures are of differing sizes, and stylistically of two different dates: the Virgin, St Lawrence with gridiron, and boy in tunic, c. 1400; bishop with crosier, St Etheldreda (?) with church, and a male saint with a corn sheaf, of the later fifteenth century. All may then have been added, with the enamel plaque and gilding.

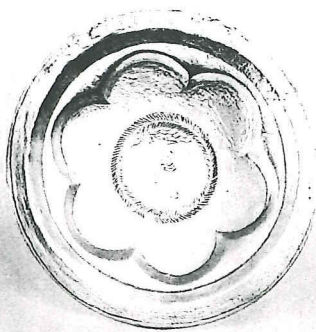
This form of reliquary casket is found throughout Europe in the Middle Ages (Braun 1940, pp. 121–30), and might have contained relics of one or more saints depicted on it. The style of the acanthus compares with that on the Godsfield pyx (Cat. 119); St George wears armour current c. 1400. If St Etheldreda, patron of Ely Cathedral, is correctly identified this may point to an East Anglian origin for the casket. The awkward combination of enamel, engraving and relief figures is a clumsy imitation of goldsmiths' work (cf. Cat. 582). MLC

PROV. G. Phillips; bt by V&A, 1870.

LIT. Wall 1905, pl. 6; Oman 1962b, pp. 203–4; Norwich 1973, no. 83.



88



113

low bowl facilitate draining. The prominent 'writen' knot was by then old-fashioned, its style comparable to that of the Borsa chalice of c. 1250 (Oman 1957, pl. 7).

MLC
 PROV. Found at Hamstall Hall Farm by W. Jaggard, tenant farmer, while digging drain in meadow formerly called the Sheepwash, opposite the Rectory meadow, c. 1817 (notes of Revd John Coussmaker [d. 1921]); given to Hon. Mary Leigh, of Stoneleigh Abbey; given by William, Lord Leigh, to parish of Hamstall Ridware, 7 May 1874, after repairs by Cobbett of Coventry (Vestry minutes, 18 June 1874); on loan to V&A 1930-83; on loan to Lichfield Heritage Centre, 1983.

LIT. Hope & Fallow 1886, pp. 145-6, 156, 366; London 1930, nos 392-3; Birmingham 1948 no. 7; Oman 1957, pp. 43, 484.

114 Paten

c. 1250
 Silver, parcel-gilt; splits along edge repaired at back with silver patches: diam. 14.2 cm
 Inscr. around rim CVNTA CREO VVIRTUTE REGO PIETATE REFORMO
 Rector and Churchwardens of St Matthew, Weeke, Winchester

In a central depression is engraved a Lamb of God holding the standard of the Resurrection. This is framed within an octofoil depression, in whose spandrels are engraved fleshy palmettes against a matted ground. (The inscription engraved around the rim means: I am the Creator of the Universe. My power guides all things. My mercy restores them.) Only the inscription and engraving are gilt.

The *Agnus Dei* and the *Manus Dei* were the commonest subjects for English medieval patens. The perkily-rendered Weeke Lamb is in the same stylistic tradition as that on the Chichester paten of the late twelfth century (London 1984a, no. 322c), though finer. Unlike many inscriptions found on patens,



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which derived from the psalter and were probably routinely used by goldsmiths, the Weeke inscription may have been especially composed.

MLC
 PROV. Parish Church of St Matthew, Weeke, Hants., at least since 1845.

LIT. Winchester Archaeological Institute 1845, p. xliii; Hope & Fallow 1886, pp. 138, 154, 375; Oman 1957, pp. 51, 56-7; Ottawa 1972, no. 49d.

115 Chalice case

c. 1373-82
 Leather (cuir-bouilli): h. 21.5 cm, diam. 22 cm
 Inscr. on lid + IHESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDEORUM +
 Rector, Churchwardens and Parochial Church Council of St Agnes, Cawston, Norfolk

The lid is decorated with a griffin on a background of punched quatrefoils, surrounded by a lobed circle and a cut inscription. Two holes punched in the lid originally held a thong handle. The sides display seven heraldic shields, the spandrels between them

being filled with stylised foliage. Only one coat of arms, that of de Ufford (Sable, a cross engrailed), can be closely connected with Cawston. The de Ufford family held the principal manor of Cawston from 1330 until 1382, and the other shields may represent personal friends at arms of the de Uffords. No chalice with case appears in the church inventory of 1373, suggesting a later date of manufacture. Cawston passed in 1382 to the de la Poles. It seems unlikely that they would



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have commissioned a case on which the coat of arms of their predecessors appeared.

Hardened leather (cuir-bouilli) was particularly useful as a protective covering for precious portable objects such as church plate. The main advantage of the material was its malleability before treatment and its durability and rigidity after. Franks suggests that the case might have contained a crown commissioned by guilds to be placed on the head of a statue of St Agnes on her feast day. However, no such crown appears in the church inventories of 1552 or 1613. There seems no reason to doubt that the case originally contained a chalice and paten. MA
 PROV. Church of St Agnes, Cawston, Norfolk.

LIT. Micklethwaite 1883, p. 328; Franks 1892, pp. 246-50; London 1930, no. 310 p. 58.

116 The White Castle cruet

English(?), 14th century
 Pewter: h. 12.1 cm, w. 5.4 cm
 The National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 27.92/1

A splayed hollow foot supports a pear-shaped body with slender neck and hinged lid, on which is engraved a Lombardic A. The lid now fits badly; signs of repairs to the edge of the neck suggest that this, like most known examples, originally had a spout. It is made



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in four parts: neck, body and base are soldered together and lathe-turned. Differences in metal colour and thickness between the lid and the vessel suggest the use of different alloys. A sample from underneath the base was analysed by spectrography as 61.2 per cent tin, 36.9 per cent lead, 1 per cent copper, 0.2 per cent iron.

The purpose of this piece is indicated by the A on the lid, for *aqua*. Altar cruets were used in pairs, sometimes marked A and V (*vinum*); one held the water, the other the wine, used for the Mass, which were mixed together in the chalice by the priest. Cruets were small because only small quantities were needed, since the laity did not partake of the wine at this date (Rock 1905, 1, pp. 125-7).

Close parallels to the shape and size of the White Castle cruet exist in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery cruets excavated in England (Lewis 1968, pp. 147-9) and an unmarked pewter cruet found in Bergenhus, Norway with coins dated to between 1215 and 1471 (Grieg 1933, pp. 127-8). Other similar cruets in silver are a fourteenth-century pair (South German?) from the Bastle Treasure (Fritz 1982, pl. 615), a fifteenth-century silver-mounted amber pair (Flemish?; Trusted 1982, no. 1), and a silver pair of c. 1500 made in Lübeck (Fritz 1982, pl. 616). All are marked A and V; most lack handles, but have spouts.

The vessel form clearly did not change over a considerable period, and probably evolved from a domestic jug (cf. Paris 1981-2, no. 180). The date of this cruet may be deduced from the architectural history of White Castle, where the chapel was in a tower rebuilt in c. 1267, derelict by 1437 (Lewis 1965-9); no greater precision is possible.

Other forms of pewter cruet have been found in England (Cat. 117); two more, nearly identical, are of hexagonal vase shape from Weoley and Ludlow Castles (Hatcher 1974, p. 28, pl. 6). The Weoley cruet is made of a high tin pewter thought characteristically English, very different from the White Castle cruet; although the results of analysis of the latter may be misleading, a German source for it, as suggested for the Bergenhus piece, cannot be discounted. MLC

PROV. White Castle (Llantilio Cressenny), Gwent; found in well, c. 1927; given to Museum by Sir Henry Matheson Jackson of St Mary Hill, Abergavenny.

LIT. Lewis 1965-9, pp. 127-39.

117 Cruet

c. 1400

Pewter: h. 11.8 cm, w. of base 5.3 cm, w. of rim 2.6 cm

Inscr. on two panels on body THOMAS HUNTE

HONORIFICABILIT

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, M. 26-1939

The body, of hexagonal section, has stepped mouldings at base and rim; a recurving spout of polygonal section is soldered to the body, the mouth formed as a dragon's head; the plain handle has a loop at the top and two flanges with the fragment of a hinged lid; a broken section of a pierced circular plate linking the spout to the body is still attached to the body.

This is one of three similar cruets, two of which have an English provenance. Another, formerly in the Figdor Collection, Vienna, may have been acquired in France. The best preserved of the group was discovered in 1977 at Tong Castle, Shropshire, and is at present on loan to Rowley's House Museum, Shropshire. It was found in a well within the building of the keep. It bears a maker's mark, has an early hammer-head thumbpiece and was found with fourteenth-century material. The exhibited cruet and a bronze ewer were found in a well at Ashby de la Zouche Castle during conservation work on the building. It is of special interest as it bears contemporary inscriptions: the name of the owner, and an abbreviation of the medieval tongue twister HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS. The Zouche family are known to have lived in Ashby and Tong in medieval times. This cruet differs slightly



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from the other recorded examples in the form of the spout and handle. AN

PROV. From Ashby de la Zouche Castle; found 1937 in well-filling associated with construction of Great Tower for Lord Hastings in 1476; given by the Countess of Loudon, 1939.

LIT. Berling 1920, p. 38; Boucaud & Fregnac 1978, pl. 35; *J. Pewter Soc.* vol. 1 no. 3, 1978; Simms 1983, p. 178; *Brit. Pewter* 1960, p. 2.

118 Pyx

c. 1300

Pewter: h. 6.4 cm, w. 7.9 cm

Inscr. within border on upper section of body AVE

MAIIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM

BENEDIT

on label on top surface AVE

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4474-1858



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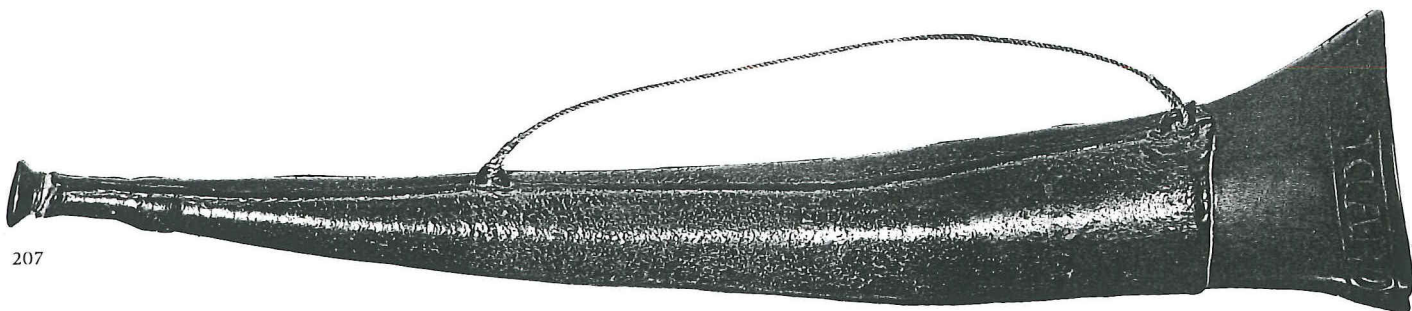
The body, of hexagonal form, is supported by three cast feet and fitted with a hinged lid; the lid is cast in relief with the scene of the Annunciation and with the arms of France and England, as used before 1340; on the other side of the hinge is a dragon's head also cast in relief. The knob is formed as a seated hound. The panels forming the sides are decorated with scrolling foliage and a frieze; in the centre of four panels and on the top is a device roughly engraved in 'wriggle work', probably representing a candlestick - an owner's mark.

This is one of a number of hexagonal pyxes decorated with cast work. A close parallel both in form and decoration is to be found in the Cluny Museum, Paris; like this example it has a flat lid decorated in relief with the Annunciation. In the London Museum is the lid from a similar pyx found at Bankside. This is cast with the scene of the Annunciation, the arms of England and France and the Coronation of the Virgin. On most surviving pyxes of this form, the knob is formed as a seated hound, a feature found on several contemporary flagons. Cf. Cat. 102, 571. AN

PROV. Acq. by the V&A, 1858, for £2.4s.

LIT. Massé 1910, p. 161; Berling 1920, pl. 31; Boucaud & Fregnac 1978, pl. 34; *Brit. Pewter* 1960, pl. 1.

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have been the man who commissioned the horn, rather than its maker. The horn was repaired in 1540-1 for 16d (Giraud 1897), and also in 1566 and 1567.

This moot horn is one of the earliest to survive, although its appearance does not facilitate precise dating; the lettering is of a style used until at least c. 1350. It seems likely that the horn was made in c. 1252, when Faversham was granted its first charter (Murray 1935, p. 61); mention of 'the common horn' occurs in 1257 when Faversham Abbey attempted to limit the blowing of the horn to occasions such as calling a burghmoot (common assembly), or signalling a fire or someone's death (*ibid.*, pp. 65, 96). That such horns were a focus of civic identity is shown by an instance in 1257, when the Canterbury citizens were led in riot to attack the abbot of St Augustine's mill, to the sound of their burghmoot horn (Urry 1967, p. 168). This incident was paralleled in Faversham in 1301, when the Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey describes a violent dispute between the abbot and monks of Faversham and the townspeople in which the mayor summoned his fellows with the common horn (Davis 1934, pp. 349-50) presumably this one. The Customs of the Cinque Ports, as recited at a court of brotherhood at New Romney in 1503-4, required the Faversham horn to be blown to summon those concerned in the election of Mayors, Bailiffs and Jurats (Giraud 1879, p. 8); it is now blown only by newly-elected Councillors.

PROV. Faversham.

MLC

LIT. Jewitt & Hope 1895, I, p. 332, repr.; Bridge 1905, pp. 138-9; London 1930, no. 323; Davis 1934, pp. 349-50.

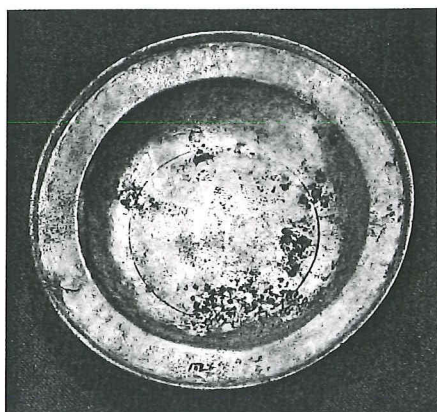
208 Saucer

c. 1290

Pewter, cast and hammered: diam. 12.7 cm
Southampton City Museums, SOU I63.206

The saucer is deeply dished. A capital P has been applied with a punch or die to the rim; this mark may be that of either owner or maker. There is an old repair at the side of the bowl; slight splitting at the junction of rim and bowl, and on the edge; hammer marks are visible on the rim, and numerous knife marks in the bowl.

The saucer was found with material of the late thirteenth century. Although pewter



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saucers abound in contemporary inventories (Hatcher & Barker 1974, pp. 39, 75) few examples survive, least of all with marks, a rare one being the Tong Castle saucer (*cf.* Cat. 117, 215). The knife marks suggest that this saucer was used for cutting bread or meat. Silver saucers also frequently occur in inventories, but their appearance was unknown until one was excavated in October 1986 in a pre-1350 context at Shrewsbury, bearing the earliest-known English mark and of very similar appearance to the pewter examples. Pewter vessels of this form in various sizes continued to be made until at least c. 1700.

MLC

PROV. Southampton, excavated in Cuckoo Lane (A site, house 1, pit 14), 1968.

LIT. Michaelis, in Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, pp. 250-1.

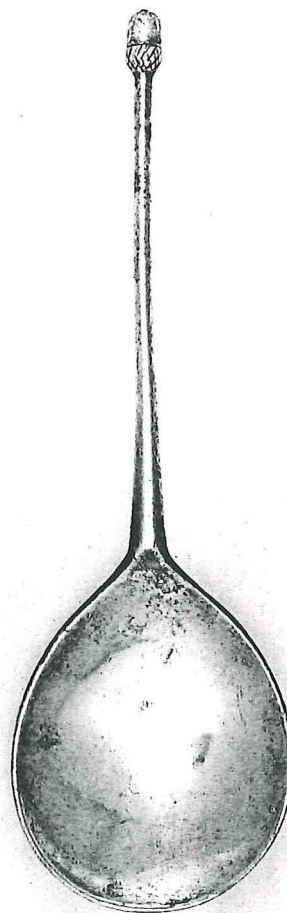
209 Spoon

c. 1300

Silver, unmarked: l. 14.9 cm
The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 699-1902

The finial is shaped as an acorn, the bowl fig-shaped; on the back of the bowl is engraved a Gothic capital S, probably an owner's initial. The surface is slightly pitted.

Spoons were made of wood or horn for general use, with metals confined to the comparatively wealthy; acorn-shaped finials were popular for fourteenth-century spoons. The earliest English hallmark, the 'Grecian' leopard's head, thought to be datable to



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c. 1300-50, appears on an acorn-knopped spoon (How 1952, I, pl. 15, p. 64; III, p. 55) very like this, the bowl and stem of which are considered typically English in form, of perhaps just pre-1300 (*ibid.*, I, pl. 14, p. 62). Acorn knobs were made elsewhere, as evidenced by the Rouen-marked silver spoons in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Lightbown 1978c, nos 10, 11); English base-metal examples survive too, for instance in pewter (Cat. 210) and copper alloy, excavated in Coventry in the 1930s (Chatwin 1934, pp. 56-8, pl. x111). The engraved S compares with inventory references to initials marked on plate, undoubtedly to denote ownership: such as spoons marked P

for Queen Philippa in a 1369(?) document (Nicolas 1846b, p. 337). MLC

PROV. Found in Coventry during building, late 19th century; acq. by Mrs M. Haywood, Coventry; bt from her by V & A. 1902.

LIT. Jackson 1911, p. 486; London 1930, no. 782; How 1952, t. pl. 14, p. 62

210 Spoon

c. 1300

Pewter: l. 18.1 cm, w. 4 cm
Dr Ronald F. Homer

The bowl is of leaf shape, the junction with the stem formed as a grotesque animal's head; the long, tapering stem of diamond section terminates in an acorn knop.

Certain features of this spoon such as the shape of the bowl, the animal's head motif and the acorn knop are found on a number of spoons which have been dated to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The most significant parallels include a silver spoon dated to about 1190 found in Iona, a silver spoon from the Rouen Treasure dated to about 1330 and a pewter spoon in the

collection of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers. This is the earliest medieval English spoon at present recorded, and is preserved in fine condition. It has been suggested that it was made for ecclesiastical use in association with an incense boat. AN

PROV. Not known.

LIT. Worshipful Company of Pewterers 1968, p. 46 no. 451; Homer 1973, pp. 263-4; Homer 1975, p. 16.

211 Flagon

English or Flemish, first half 14th century
Pewter: h. to lip 19 cm, h. overall 24 cm
Dr A.S. Law

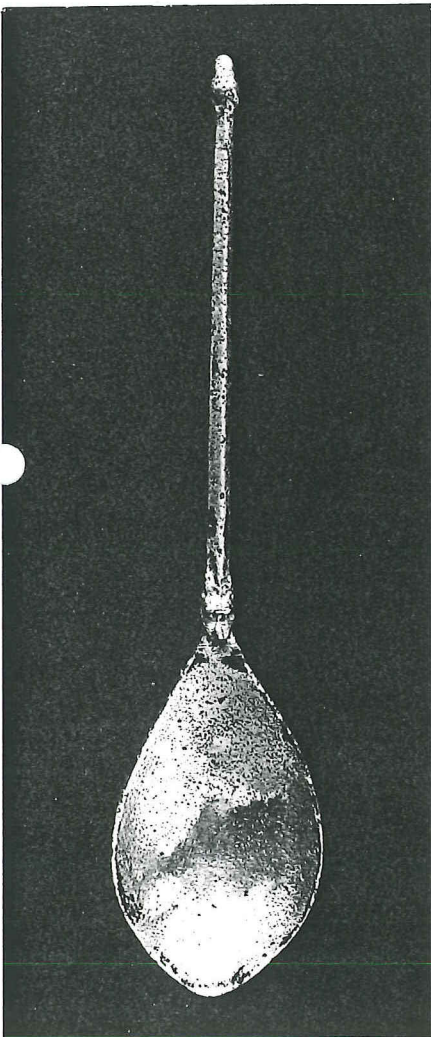
The body is of baluster shape and octagonal section, set on an octagonal foot with a flat base; there are plain mouldings at the edge of the base and rim, a solid handle with attention terminal, a domed lid of octagonal section with octagonal knop and twin-acorn thumbpiece; it is stamped under the lid with a maker's touch-mark.

This flagon is related in form to a number of other flagons of presumed fourteenth-

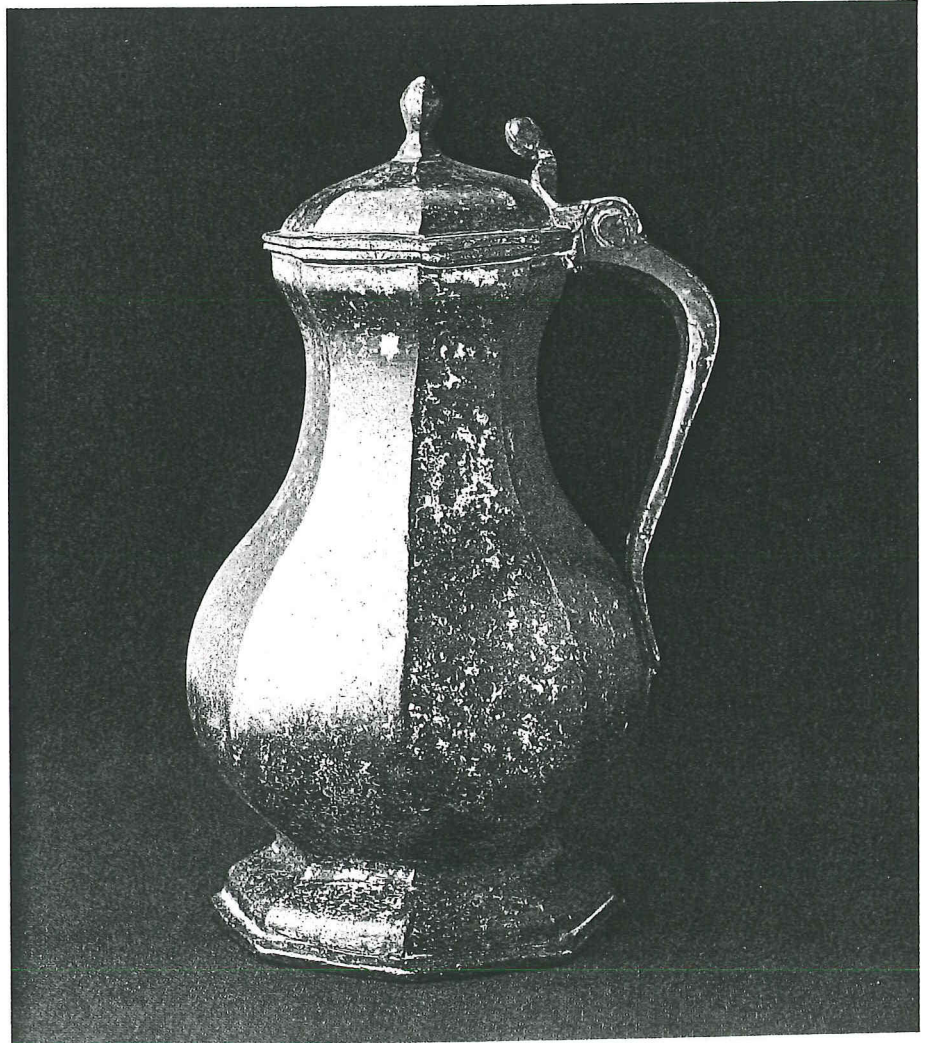
century date preserved in European collections, including examples in the Landesmuseum, Zurich; the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Evidence for the date of these is suggested by a comparison with two flagons which formed part of a hoard excavated from the ruins of Homberg Castle, Aargau, destroyed by an earthquake in 1356. The hoard is now preserved in Schloss Lenzburg Museum, Switzerland. As surviving examples have been found from a range of provenances, it is not possible at present to establish definitely where these vessels were produced. It is, however, likely that they were made in either the Low Countries or England. The Tonbridge flagon is perhaps the best preserved of this group, and it has been pointed out that the hard oxide covering the surface indicates that a good alloy was used in its manufacture. The owner has established its capacity as 1.1 l. (42 fl. oz.). AN

PROV. Found in Medway basin near Tonbridge Castle; Sotheby's, 31 October 1985, lot 33; A.S. Law Coll.

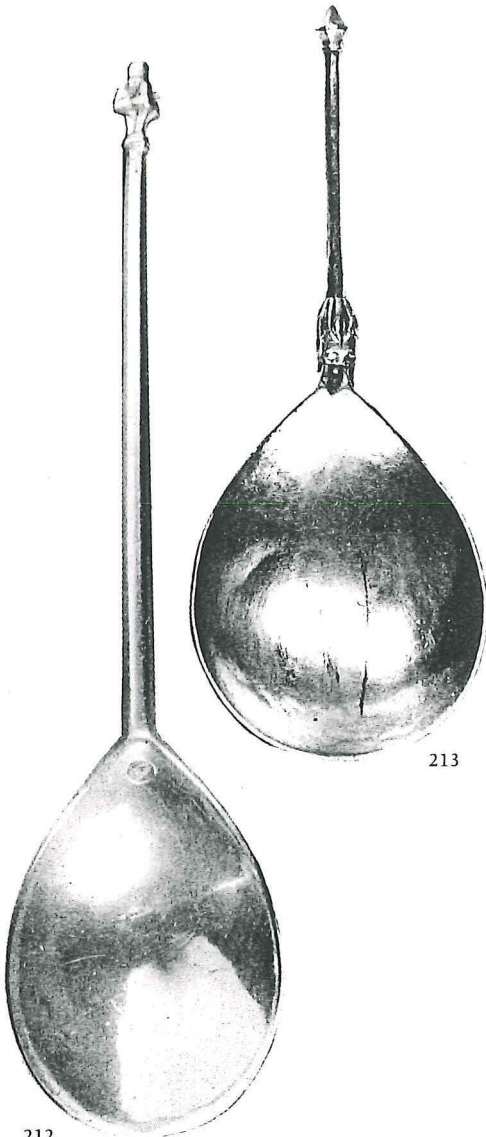
LIT. Bossard 1934, p. 33 pl. I nos 1, 2; Verster 1957, pl. 9; Brett 1981, p. 17; Law 1986.



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212 Spoon

c. 1350

Silver, marked on bowl with leopard's head
within dotted circle:

l. 18.1 cm, w. 4.9 cm

Manchester City Art Galleries, Assheton Bennett
Bequest 1979. 288

The bowl of the spoon is fig-shaped, the stem hexagonal with a crocketed bud as finial, cast separately and soldered on with a V-joint. The mark of the uncrowned leopard's head, 'the Persian's head', has been interpreted as the second oldest London mark (How 1952, I, p. 66) in use before 1478. It has equal claims to be the silver standard mark used in the provinces as well as in London, following Edward I's statute of 1300 requiring silver to be marked with the leopard's head (London 1978, nos 14-15). The spoon's proportions are considered by How (*op. cit.*, pp. 33-5, 66) as 'the English national form', standardised by c. 1350, found also in the Whittington spoons (Cat. 216). The finial is of a rare type, with related versions found on a fifteenth-century silver spoon (How 1952 I, p. 356, repr.) and one of base metal from Coventry

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(Chatwin 1934-5, pp. 57-8, pl. XIII, fig. 2), all perhaps of the sort known in documents as 'fruitlet' (*Test. Ebor.* II, 74). MLC

PROV. Coll. Mr & Mrs E. Assheton Bennett; given to Manchester Museum, 1957.

LIT. How 1952, I, pl. 16 p. 6; III, p. 13;
Manchester 1965, no. 28; London 1965, no. 96.

213 Folding spoon

c. 1350-1400

Silver: l. 12.8 cm

Rotunda Museum, Scarborough Borough
Council, 47.39

The bowl of the spoon is fig-shaped, the stem hexagonal with a pointed, faceted finial (a 'diamond' point); the junction of bowl and stem is hinged to allow the spoon to fold. A decorative sliding piece cast in the form of a dragon's head with long ears (cf. the Queen's College horn, Cat. 546) can be moved to enable the spoon to fold, or to cover the junction, holding the stem firm for use.

This is the only surviving English medieval example of a spoon type known otherwise from documents (Hope 1889). Animal heads are commonly found at the junction of bowl and stem of horn spoons, as from Chichester (Waterman 1959, pp. 85-6, fig. 15, no. 3), and in silver, most notably on the twelfth-

century Coronation spoon.

Dating is difficult: the style of bowl has been interpreted as a forerunner of the English fig-bowl of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (How 1952, I, p. 58). The diamond-knop form was undoubtedly inspired by the 'point cut' used for actual diamonds, based on the natural octahedral shape of a diamond crystal, as seen on Blanche's crown (Cat. 13). This cut is unlikely to have been well enough established in England to be mimicked by goldsmiths until the fourteenth century. MLC

PROV. Scarborough, St Mary's Parish Church; found while digging a grave, 1836.

LIT. Hope 1889, pp. 308-10; How 1952, I, pp. 58-60.

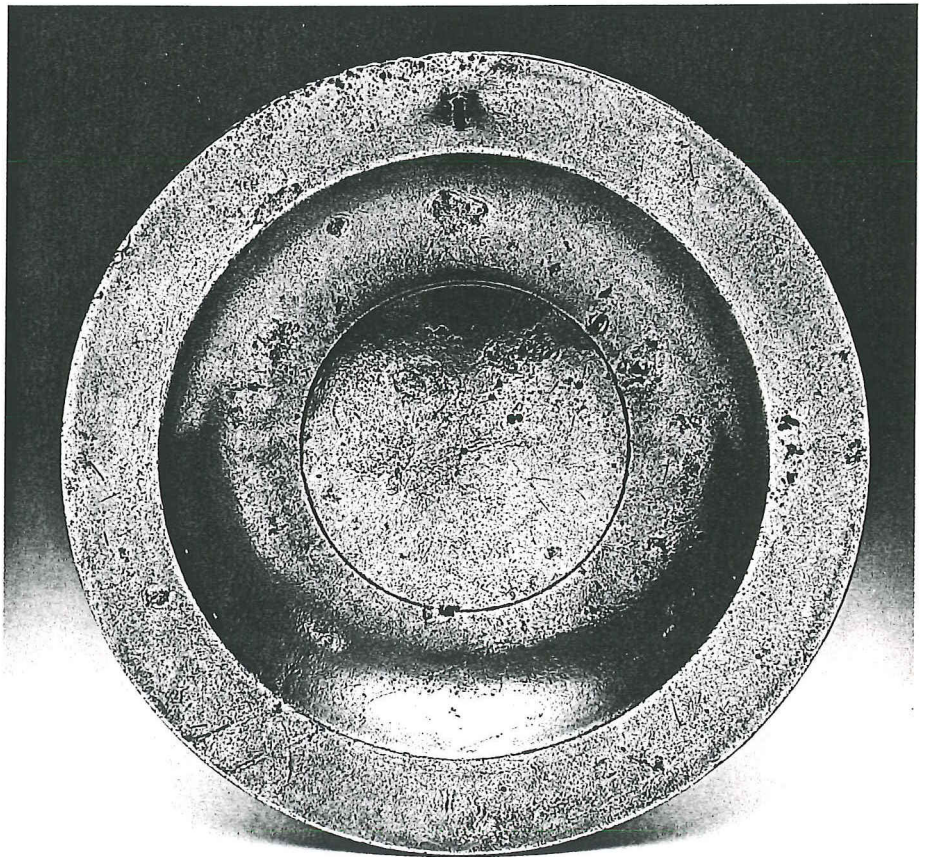
214 Dish

c. 1400

Pewter: diam. 28.9 cm, d. 3.2 cm
Stanley Shemmel

Circular, with a plain rim, this dish has a central panel of domed section. On the rim is stamped a maker's mark: a pewterer's hammer.

This is one of the earliest English dishes so far recorded. The plain rim and raised centre are features found on a number of early



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dishes, including the spice plate found in the well at Tong Castle (Cat. 215) which can be dated on archaeological grounds to the fifteenth century. The proportions of this dish are much larger, and, like other pewter dishes dating from before 1500, it is of substantial thickness and weight. The Tong spice plate also bears a pewterer's hammer mark.

AN

PROV. Not known

LIT. Shemmel 1978, p. 2; Amsterdam 1979, nos 53, 267; King 1980, p. 28.

215 Spice plate

c. 1400

Pewter: diam. 13.7 cm, d. 1.6 cm, w. of rim 1.6 cm

The Worshipful Company of Pewterers, INV 516

This is circular with a plain edge, flat base and moulding under the rim. The plate is stamped with two marks on the rim: a pewterer's hammer within a circle and the letter E in Lombardic lettering. This spice plate and a pewter cruet were excavated from a well in the keep of Tong Castle, Shropshire. It was found associated with fifteenth-century material. This plate may be compared in style with the larger dish from a private collection, also struck with a mark of a pewterer's hammer (Cat. 214).

AN

PROV. Excavated from well at Tong Castle, 1978.

LIT. Shemmel 1978, p. 2; Worshipful Company of Pewterers 1979, p. 16.



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216 Richard Whittington's spoons

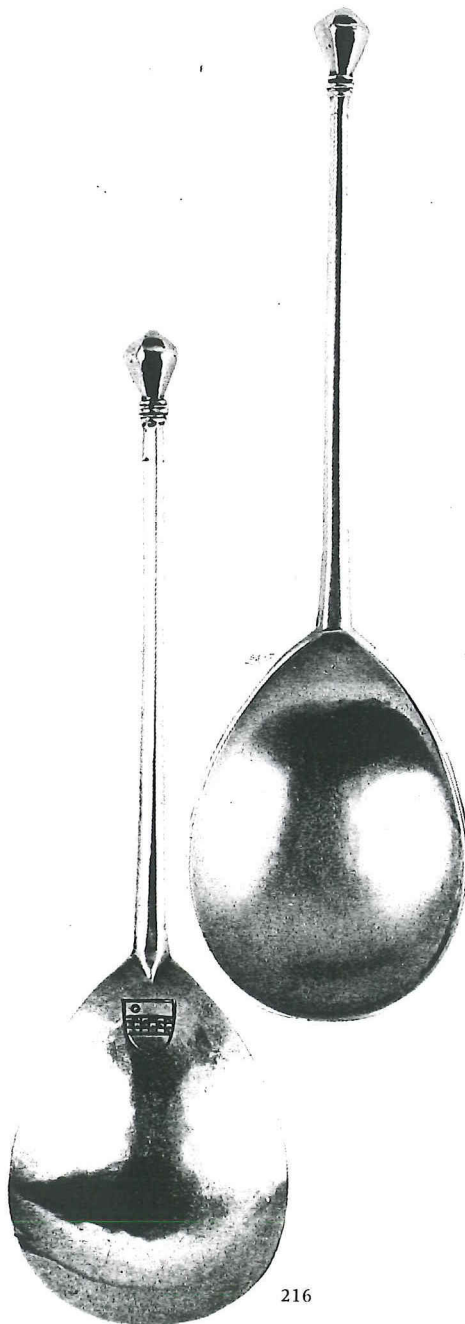
c. 1410

Silver, unmarked, knops gilt: l. 18.4 cm

The Mercer's Company

The two spoons form part of a set of four, each with hexagonal knops, faceted stems and fig-shaped bowls; on the back of each bowl is engraved a shield with Whittington's arms: Argent, a fesse checky, or and azure, in

dexter chief an annulet for difference. The legendary Dick Whittington (d. 1423), thrice Mayor of London, was a rich and powerful merchant who frequently lent large sums to the Crown (Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V). He was a great benefactor of the Mercers' Company and founded Whittington College. His spoons are all that remain of his plate and jewellery, which included a gold rosary, with beads enamelled in white and *rouge cler*, a collar of Ss, quantities of cups, bowls and at least three different seals. One of these shows a classical bust, a design more typical of Italian Renaissance than of medieval English taste, and quite exceptional among merchants' seals of this date; another includes a variation of Whittington's arms as on the spoons (Barron 1969). Both have the Whittington arms, not impaling those of his wife



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Alice Fitzwaryn (d. before 1414), which suggests she may have been dead by the time they were made. The shape on the spoons of the armorial shields indicates a date of c. 1410 (How 1952).

MLC

PROV. Whittington College (?), mention in MS inventories, 1511, 1582; Mercers' Company 1756 or earlier; Acts of the Court, July 8, 1756 (see MS notes at Mercers' Hall).

LIT. London 1951, no. 1; How 1952, 1, pp. 78-80; Barron 1969, pp. 230-1; Lane 1985, pp. 34-5.

217 The Tring tiles

1320-30

Earthenware, eight tiles of red fabric with sgraffito decoration showing scenes from the Infancy miracles of Christ: l. 32.5 cm, w. 16.2 cm, th. 3.5 cm

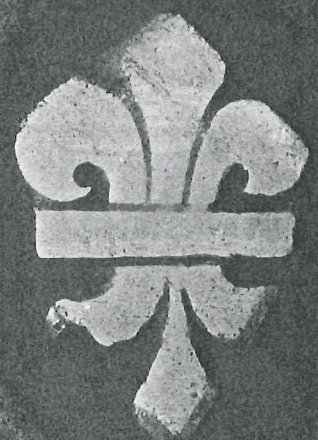
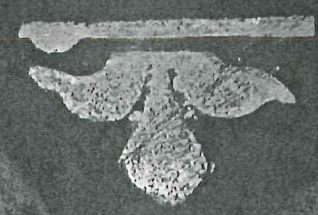
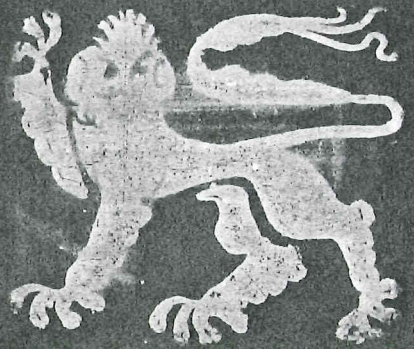
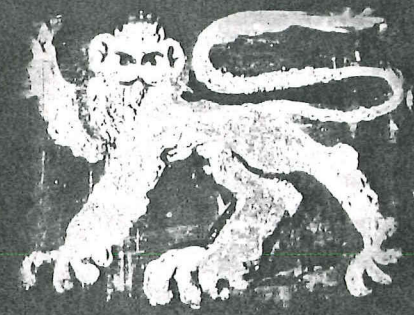
The Trustees of the British Museum, London,

MLA 1922, 4-12, 1-8

It is most remarkable among medieval tiles to have a series of historiated scenes so vividly depicted. The tiles are not worn and it is suggested they may have been made for a series on a wall. Ten complete tiles are known, of which two are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and there are also three fragments of the same series of tiles. The subjects were identified by M.R. James as the Infancy miracles of Christ. They are:

1. A man dies because he spoilt a pool that Jesus made.
2. He is brought to life and walks away.
3. A boy dies because he jumped on Jesus's back while they stood before the schoolmaster.
4. He is brought to life and walks away.
5. A man locks his son in a tower.
6. Jesus frees the boy by pulling him out through a hole in the wall.
7. The schoolmaster slaps Jesus on the face.
8. Jesus and two cripples are with the schoolmasters.
9. A boy pitchforks a sheaf of miraculously-grown corn into a horse-drawn cart (see fig. 22).
10. Jesus and three men stand in front of the door of an oven in which the men have imprisoned their sons.
11. Jesus, the Virgin, St Joseph, and two other men look at three lion cubs.
12. Jesus straightens the beam of a plough.
13. Jesus turns the water into wine at the wedding at Cana in Galilee.

It is clear that there is a close relationship between these scenes on the tiles and Bodleian MS Selden Supra 38 (Cat. 203, figs 23-4). The similarities are considerable, but neither is a slavish copy of the other and there are considerable differences in scale. It is possible that both the cartoons for the tiles and the manuscript were based on a common source.



Age of Chivalry



Age of Chivalry

Art in
Plantagenet England
1200–1400

edited by
JONATHAN ALEXANDER
&
PAUL BINSKI

Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987

Catalogue published in association with
Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London

Exhibition 6 Nov 1987 – 6 Mar 1988

Editorial Note

The introductions to each section of the catalogue have been written by Jeffrey Denton and Jonathan Alexander, with contributions by Neil Stratford (on Bishop John Grandisson) and Richard Davies (on William of Wykeham).

The editors wish to thank the publisher's editor, Johanna Awdry, for seeing the work through to publication. They are also indebted to Nicholas Savage and Margaret Freel for their work on the Bibliography, and to Nicholas J. Rogers for compiling the Index.

Unless otherwise stated, objects in the Catalogue are known or understood to be English in origin; a question mark indicates uncertainty.

Dimensions are metric: h. = height, l. = length, w. = width; d. = depth; diam. = diameter. Other abbreviations used are as follows:

beq.	bequeathed	LIT.	literature	PROV.	provenance
bt.	bought	n.	note	repr.	reproduction
Coll.	collection	no.	number	rev.	reverse
f./ff.	folio(s)	obv.	obverse	v.	verso
ill.	illustration	p.	page	wt	weight
inv.	inventory	pl.	plate		

Inscriptions in Lombardic lettering are given in capitals; those in black letter are given in upper and lower case italic.

The loan line gives details of shelfmarks and inventory or retrieval numbers where applicable. In entries on manuscripts the exhibited or illustrated pages are indicated by the folio number, e.g. f.20. Folio numbers refer to the recto of a page unless followed by v. (verso).

References to other entries in the Catalogue are indicated thus: Cat. 47.

Catalogue entries are initialled by the author, as follows:

JA	Dr Jonathan Alexander	ND	Nicholas Dawton	DO'C	David O'Connor
MA	Mary Ambrose	JD	Dr Jeffrey Denton	DP	David Park
JB	Janet Backhouse	PD	Peter Draper	AP	Ann Payne
PB	Dr Paul Binski	BE	Blanche Ellis	NLR	Dr Nigel Ramsay
CB	Claude Blair	JG	Dr Jane Geddes	LFS	Professor Lucy Freeman Sandler
MC	Michael Camille	CG	Dr Christa Grössinger	VS	Veronica Sekules
MLC	Marian Campbell	TAH	T. A. Heslop	BS	Brian Spencer
JC	John Cherry	DK	Donald King	NS	Neil Stratford
JAC	John Clark	GL	Graeme Lawson	JS	Julie Summers
RC	Ranald Clouston	PL	Dr Phillip Lindley	CT	Dr Charles Tracy
NC	Dr Nicola Coldstream	JMM	Dr John Maddison	PT-C	Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig
TC	Dr Thomas Cocke	RM	Dr Richard Marks	PW	Paul Williamson
BC	Dr Barrie Cook	NJM	Nigel J. Morgan	CW	Dr Christopher Wilson
PC	Dr Paul Crossley	AN	A. R. E. North		

The full history of an exhibit is given under PROV., unless it is either unknown or self-evident (as in the case of objects which have remained *in situ*).

Bibliographical references are given in chronological order under LIT., abbreviated to the name of the author and date of publication, e.g. Smith 1980. Exhibition catalogues are referred to by place and date of exhibition, e.g. London 1984. If exhibitions occurred in the same city in the same year, but in different institutions, they are arranged in alphabetical order of name of institution, e.g. London 1984a = Great Britain, Arts Council; London, Hayward Gallery, *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, 1984; London 1984b = London, British Museum, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, 1984.

Full bibliographical details of published and unpublished works cited in the Catalogue entries are given in the Bibliography on pp. 545-65.

Technical terms are defined in the Glossary on pp. 541-4.