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Medieval pilgrim badges

Some general observations illustrated mainly from English sources

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Anyone who is even slightly acquainted with Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* will have discovered that the pilgrimage of the later Middle Ages was an integral part of the life and thought of people of every rank and condition, religious and secular alike. A knight and a weaver, a monk and a cook, a doctor and a miller, a ploughman and a prioress and the rest of Chaucer's assorted company of pilgrims meet by chance at the Tabard Inn near London Bridge and for a few days are united in the common purpose of journeying to a famous centre of religious attraction, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

It was perhaps because the practice of pilgrimage was such an everyday event that pilgrims left comparatively little written trace of themselves. Wills, letters of recommendation and safe-conduct, miracle books and narratives written by a handful of pilgrims yield scraps of information about the aspirations and experiences of individual pilgrims. But we know next to nothing about the pilgrimage as a mass phenomenon. Only occasionally do we catch glimpses of the jostling crowd. Thus at times of plague or festival, correspondents in 15th-century England sometimes took note of the throngs of pilgrims who crowded the roads and left their home towns almost deserted. [1]) Again, the very large incomes enjoyed by shrines like Canterbury or Mont-Saint-Michel from the piecemeal and mostly small offerings of pilgrims must reflect the contributions of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals. [2]) Very occasionally the figures of attendance at shrines have been recorded fairly precisely. At Munich, for example, where pilgrims were counted at the city-gate by dropping peas into a jug, 60,000 pilgrims were recorded during one week in 1392. In 1450, 40,000 pilgrims were arriving daily at Rome. In 1496, 142,000 pilgrims were counted at the gates of Aachen in a single day. Even Wilsnack, with a permanent population of less than a thousand, could expect to receive 100,000 pilgrims every year. [3]) And in addition to the better-known pilgrim centres there were countless lesser shrines, places of mainly local or short-lived importance.

Like many travellers today the medieval pilgrim was an assiduous collector of souvenirs. At the shrines he obtained distinctive badges — or pilgrim signs, as they were usually called — and wore them on his clothing. If he travelled widely his hat became covered with a profusion of badges. Collections of badges are often to be seen on the hats of pilgrims depicted in medieval paintings, woodcuts and carvings: in some of these paintings pilgrim signs were copied so carefully that they can still be identified. [4]) Similarly contemporary descriptions of pilgrims often contain references to their badges. The dress of a palmer described in Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* (*c.*1377) was laden with scores of visible tokens of his travels-ampullae, badges from Sinai, Compostella, Rome and many other places. When the palmer boasted of his travels to distant places, he drew attention to the badges on his hat as proof of his claims. His badges were his chief credentials; they proclaimed both his profession and his diligence to those who wished to pay for his services. [5]) Again, at the beginning of the 16th century Erasmus described a pilgrim as covered over with scallop-shells and with figures of lead and pewter. [6])

The large majority of surviving pilgrim signs, in fact, are of lead or poor-quality pewter. The remainder are mostly of bronze. The badges of Our Lady of Hal and St. Rombaud of Malines (Pl. II,8 & 11) [7]) are typical of a large class of souvenirs made from thin pieces of bronze that have been struck with a die so as to leave a repoussé impression of the device on the face of the badge; such badges seem only to have become widely popular at the end of the 15th century, though much earlier examples are known. Pilgrim signs were also occasionally cast in bronze (Fig. 1a); they include a class of coin-like badges current mainly in France in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Pl. II,9).[8]) Identical badges from Mont-Saint-Michel were evidently cast indiscriminately in bronze or lead; thus a pair of bronze badges of St. Michael found at Westwell Down, Kent, (Pl. III, 15) and Dunwich, Suffolk, can be matched by a leaden badge found in France. [9]) On the other hand, some souvenirs were made of materials which, with a few exceptions, were too perishable to survive the centuries. Others, we know from written evidence and from many portraits of the 15th and early 16th centuries, were fashioned of precious metals and have rarely survived the melting-pot.

It was appropriate, for example, that the 'vernicle' was

Fig. 1 Pilgrim souvenirs from (a) Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, (b & c) London, (d) Tutbury, Staffordshire and (e & f) Marske-on-Sea, Yorkshire. Fig. (a) is of bronze.

sometimes a miniature copy of the actual relic, the *vera icon* or the kerchief of St. Veronica preserved at Rome, which was miraculously impressed with the features of Christ (Pl. I, centre of left-hand border).[10] But badges of a finer sort might be specially made for the pilgrim who could afford them. According to Commines the Castilians in 1468 scoffed at the leaden badge on the old hat of Louis XI and at the rest of the king's untidy apparel. That Louis also obtained badges in keeping with his rank, however, is to be seen from the settlement in 1490 of an account with a goldsmith of Embrun, who had made for the king 42 badges of Our Lady of Embrun in gold and silver.[11] The virtual disappearance of the badges of precious metal has made the survival of the lead and pewter badges the more significant, providing, as they do, evidence of the designs and construction of medieval hat-ornaments.

As a rule, the leaden badges are decorated on one side only. Occasionally they were painted and perhaps gilded. If they were openwork, they often appear to have had ornamental backgrounds attached to them by means of little clips disposed around the outer edge of the frames (Pl. V, 3). Specimens found in England suggest that these backgrounds might sometimes consist of a thin piece of burnished metal or a sheet of lead bearing an overall diaper pattern. On the other hand, a star-like badge from London, perhaps commemorating a shrine of Our Lady or some relic relating to the nativity of Christ, still retains in its central opening the remains of a mirror — a circular piece of glass backed by a metal plate. Mirrors may also have been held in position by large clips on somewhat similar badges, one of which, from Moels, Cheshire, is illustrated in Pl. IV, 3. Certainly there is good evidence for the attachment of mirrors to some of the badges from Aachen and also, perhaps, from Cologne.[12] It seems likely, however, that in most instances backgrounds were of less durable materials such as vellum or paper, coloured to show off the openwork of the badge. One of the badges found at Kloster Wienhausen near Hanover still possesses fragments of its paper backing.[13]

As pilgrim signs were designed to be worn they often have pins and clasps at their backs cast in one piece with them. Almost all the badges produced in England appear to have been provided with pins in this way (Pls. IV, 3; V, 3; VI, 6). Indeed, if any other form of attachment is employed on a badge found in England, the badge can usually be assumed to have come from abroad; this is illustrated, for example, by a badge of St. John the Baptist from Amiens discovered in the Thames at London (Fig. 1b). In Germany, by contrast, badges were almost invariably stitched to the clothing through loops or annulets protruding from the edges or corners of the badge. In France both methods of attachment were used. Alternatively, continental signs which are medallic in form were often pierced with stitching-holes near their rims. Such holes and the stitches themselves can be seen on almost all the badges — badges mainly from Flemish, French and German shrines — depicted in the border decoration of certain Flemish Books of Hours of *c.* 1500 (Pl. I; *cf.* Pl. II, 8, 9, 11).[14] With very few exceptions, pilgrim badges found in Eng-

land are irregular silhouettes, formed by the outline of the figures or emblems depicted, though often set within openwork frames of regular shape. The openwork badge also occurs frequently elsewhere, to the exclusion of most other types in Scandinavia and Germany. But in France, the Low Countries, Spain and Italy, a solid, medallic type of badge seems at all periods to have rivalled and eventually to have outlasted the silhouette or openwork brooch. Judging from the very comprehensive collection in the Cluny museum, about a quarter of the French medieval pilgrim signs are medallic in form — either round, oval, rectangular, polygonal or lozenge-shaped. Probably the earliest to achieve popularity were the leaden plaques typified by the badges of Our Lady of Rocamadour and of St. Fiacre and St. Faron (Pls. II, 7; IV, 5). Plaques of this kind were current in Italy, Spain and southern France particularly from the late 12th century to the end of the 15th. They may owe their origin and long usage in these areas to the fact that the designs of many of them were apparently based on seal impressions — at Rocamadour, le Puy, Vauvert, Rome and Calzada, for example. [15])

Leaden ampullae or miniature flasks were a slightly different, though closely-related kind of pilgrim souvenir, designed to contain the holy oil or water that was dispensed at many shrines. Though less common than the badges, they were in use throughout the whole of the continent from Norway to Italy. More than a hundred of them have been found in England, most of them of the same size and shapes as the examples in Pl. IV, 1 & 2. They were either stitched to the clothing by means of the two small handles with which they were normally provided or they were suspended about the wearer's neck. Usually they were sealed simply by pinching together the lips of the narrow mouth. The mouth of the specimen illustrated in Fig. 1 e/f had been sealed in this way and then filled with pitch. This ampulla, found in 1965 at Marske-on-Sea, Yorkshire, is perhaps the only pilgrim's ampulla that has yet been discovered unopened and intact. More remarkably, it was found still to contain a pleasant-smelling liquid, which, from preliminary investigations, seems likely to be a compound of aromatic, and presumably medicinal, herbs and spices, mixed in water.

About 1300 pilgrim signs, many of them merely small fragments, have been found in Britain, mostly in the south-east and the midlands. Almost half of them have been discovered at London. The remainder come from over 60 find-spots and, in particular, from important medieval ports like King's Lynn, Dunwich (Suffolk) and Ipswich on the east coast and Moels (Cheshire) on the west, and from busy medieval towns like Leicester, Coventry, Northampton, Salisbury and Winchester. To this extent pilgrim badges can be said to be a feature of urban archaeology.

It should, however, be noted that perhaps 90 per cent of these badges have been found on river beds or on the sea-shore and on or beside the sites of quays and riverside buildings. The same phenomenon occurs elsewhere. At various towns on the Seine, the Somme, the Loire, the Saône, the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Weser, for instance,

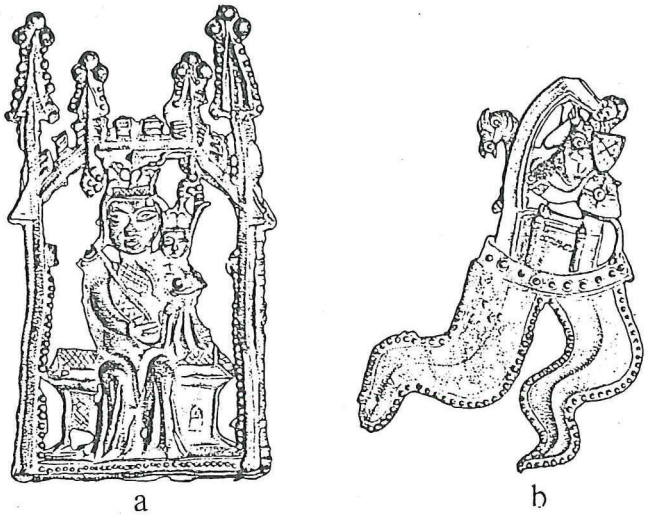

Fig. 2 Walsingham badges found at King's Lynn.

a great many badges have been found. They have been dredged from rivers too in Scandinavia. [16]) This curiously uneven pattern of distribution has led some writers to speculate about the habits of the wearers or, alternatively, of the manufacturers of pilgrim badges. [17]) Most of their conjectures, however, conflict with historical evidence and perhaps the only tenable explanation is that these fragile objects have simply survived more successfully in muddy, waterlogged conditions.

Certainly, only a minute proportion of the badges has survived. Thus there now exist only a handful of badges from the Swiss monastery of Sta. Maria at Einsiedeln, of which one type, found in the river Göta at old Lödöse, Sweden, is illustrated on Pl. II, 12. Yet hundreds of thousands of these souvenirs must originally have been made and sold at Einsiedeln. In 1466, 130,000 badges are said to have been sold there in the space of two weeks. [18]) Even at a much less famous pilgrim-centre like Regensburg, financial accounts show that over 50,000 badges were sold at the official shop between 1519 and 1522. [19])

In the light of such demand it is easier to understand why there survive such an extraordinary variety of badges and why there are often so many variants of a particular type of badge. One of the most popular badges made at Canterbury depicted the mitred head of St. Thomas (Pls. V; VI, 2-4; Fig. 1d). About 90 of these badges have been found, and, of these, only three pairs were produced from the same moulds. Attention has been similarly drawn to the surprising number of roughly contemporary variants at Aachen and Neuss. [20]) Such demand, as well as the need for a cheap product, also called for methods of mass-production. Thus moulds were often designed to cast several badges at once. Part of a mould found at Little Walsingham, Norfolk, for instance, was originally designed to cast seven badges of the Annunciation scene simultaneously.[21]) Walsingham and Canterbury were the only English shrines of truly international fame. A brief analysis of some of their badges may help to give some impression of

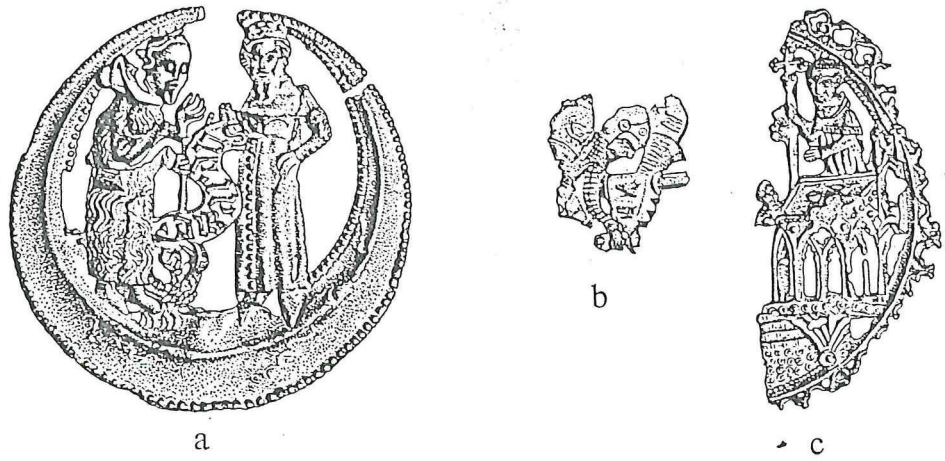

Fig. 3 Badges of (a) St. Edward the Confessor from King's Lynn and (b & c) St. Thomas of Canterbury from London. The scale of (b) is 2 : 1.

ıe variety of souvenirs produced at certain shrines and ıay also help to indicate the types of English pilgrim signs that are most likely to have reached the continent. Among the attractions of Walsingham priory was the so-called Holy House, a small private chapel erected shortly before the priory was founded in 1153. The building had been planned as a replica of the House of Nazareth where Our Lady was greeted by the archangel Gabriel. The House at Walsingham was almost certainly furnished with a scene of the Annunciation and it was natural that one of the most popular Walsingham souvenirs were badges depicting this scene. They range from large, elaborate badges, framed by architectural canopies (Pl. II, 1), to much smaller, cruder versions mostly set in circular or rectangular frames (Pl. II, 2, 3). Very occasionally they are inscribed 'Walsingham'.

It is noteworthy that the same kinds of frames were used to surround the enthroned figures of Our Lady and Child (Pl. II, 4). These badges undoubtedly referred to the priory's chief attraction, the miracle-working image of Our (ly. Again, much larger and more elaborate versions of ıis subject have survived (Pl. II, 5 & Fig. 2a). Sometimes ıe enthroned figures (and, alternatively, the Annunciation ıcene) appear in miniature on the upper floor of a building which is steeply gabled and has a door placed centrally at the lower level; one of the smaller examples is illustrated in Pl. II, 6. There can be little doubt that this building is intended to represent the Holy House which contained the famous image.

Outside the Holy House were two wells, the water from which was noted for its miraculous healing qualities. This water was very probably distributed to pilgrims in leaden ampullae, the identity of which is now difficult to establish with certainty. But they may include, for example, a fairly numerous group bearing the letter W, which is sometimes crowned (Pl. IV, 2). [22])

A minor attraction at Walsingham was the Knight's Door, a postern gate that still exists and where, according to Erasmus, a knight on horseback was miraculously saved from his pursuer by commending his safety to Our Lady so that 'on a sudden the man and horse were together within the precincts of the church and the pursuer fruitlessly storming without.' [23]) The feat was all the more remarkable since the gateway had a barrier to limit its use to pedestrians. An allusion to this legend is presumably intended in a charming, but incomplete, badge of the first quarter of the 14th century (Fig. 2b). Here, a knight, mounted on a horse and with his hands joined in prayer, is in the act of clearing some obstacle, consisting of posts and chains, beneath a pointed archway.

At Canterbury also a large variety of leaden trinkets were made and sold to commemorate the martyrdom and relics of St. Thomas. Mention has already been made of the badges portraying the archbishop's mitred head and these will be referred to again presently. Other badges depicted his effigy and shrine; a fragment of such a badge is illustrated in Pl. VI, 5. This consists of a gabled chest decorated with raised dots to represent the jewels encrusting the reliquary. The larger stud in the middle was probably an allusion to a particularly famous jewel such as the 'Regale of France', which was presented to the shrine by King Louis VII. To the right, a small figure points with a long stick to this central jewel, bearing out a reference to such a figure in a description of the shrine, written by a Venetian traveller in *c.* 1500. [24])

Though the martyrdom of St. Thomas often appears on Canterbury ampullae, the scene is poorly represented among openwork badges, examples of which have survived only as fragments. One small portion of a circular badge from London is clear evidence that the subject made considerable demands on the skill of the mould-maker (Fig. 3c). The fragment shows the figure of Edmund Grim, who alone stayed with St. Thomas when he was attacked by the four knights in Canterbury cathedral and was himself wounded in attempting to protect the archbishop. He holds the archbishop's cross-staff and looks apprehensively at the drama which would at that moment be taking place on his right and would formerly have completed the badge. Here, doubtless, would have been shown the four knights attacking St. Thomas as he knelt

at the altar steps. Fig. 3b shows a fragment of such a group of knights. The central figure, wielding a sword, is in an attitude consistent with that of Richard le Bret in many portrayals of the martyrdom, and the (?) bears' heads on his shield add support to this identification.

It was Le Bret who delivered the last blow to St. Thomas and severed the crown from his head. Such was the force of the blow that his sword was shattered on impact with the pavement. The fragments of the sword subsequently became a minor attraction at Canterbury and the sword-point, in particular, became an object of devotion. The relic appears to have been commemorated by tiny leaden swords which may have been worn in miniature sheaths, also of lead (Pl. IV, 8). The sheath was combined with a shield charged with four bears' heads, which, again, may have been intended as the armorial bearings of Le Bret. Similarly, there appear to have been miniature replicas of St. Thomas's gloves, which were preserved among the cathedral's treasures (Pl. VI, 6).

There were souvenirs for any occasion, such as the Canterbury bells, often inscribed 'Thomas's bell' (*campana Tome)* (Pl. VI, 7), and others designed for particular occasions. The archbishop, for example, is sometimes shown riding a richly-caparisoned horse (Pl. VI, 9). It is likely that these badges were made to commemorate the feast of the *Regressio Sancti Thome.* This festival was held annually at Canterbury to mark the archbishop's triumphal journey to Canterbury on 2 December, 1170, after over six years of exile and bitter conflict with King Henry II. Only a month later, the first news of his murder was beginning to spread across Europe, and in the cult that quickly followed, there arose the tendency to compare the last days of St. Thomas with the Passion of Christ and to liken his progress to Canterbury on 2 December to the entry of Our Lord into Jerusalem. [25]) Fortunately there still survives a mould of *c.*1340–50 showing the original design in its entirety (Pl. VI, 1).

This, like most other surviving moulds, is made of close-grained stone. [26]). Usually the design was cut into the smooth and levelled surface of a small block of stone and was linked to one edge by a channel through which the molten metal was to be poured. Generally also tiny vents, to permit the escape of air and gases during casting, run away from the design to the edge of the block; these can be seen in a mould, possibly of the 12th century, designed to produce the ampullae of Waltham Holy Cross, Hertfordshire (Pl. IV, 4). [27]) For the larger or more intricate signs it was important to assist the flow of metal to the remoter parts of the badge before the lead had time to solidify. The various parts of a composition were therefore connected at several points either through the ingenuity of the design or through undisguised runners, so as to permit an instantaneous flow of molten lead to all parts of the composition (Pl. II, 1).

The moulds were usually fitted with dowels of iron or stone which could be slotted into the corresponding holes of the counter-mould. Except in the manufacture of ampullae and two-sided medallions, the counter-mould was either left blank or it followed in relief the general contours of the design carved in the mould (Pl. V, 3). By reducing the badge's thickness in this way, lead was saved in casting and, at the same time, some rigidity was given to the finished badge; when modelling was omitted and its back left flat, the leaden badge was very prone to be bent out of shape. Usually only two incisions, for casting the pin and clasp, were cut below the surface of the counter-mould. To make these incisions possible and to allow the badge to be withdrawn cleanly from the mould without breaking off the pin that was cast in one piece with it, the counter-mould had to be made in two halves.

At some shrines moulds of this kind were kept in the custody of the sacristan. This suggests that the manufacture of pilgrim signs might be carried out within the precincts of a church. At the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, Norfolk, there seems to have been a workshop for making badges in the priory itself, [28]) but the townspeople there also made and sold pilgrim souvenirs. In 1483 the duke of Norfolk bought his Walsingham badge from a local shopkeeper and a few years later King Henry VII paid one of the townsmen 65 shillings for making badges for himself and presumably for his followers. [29]) At Canterbury, too, at the beginning of the 15th century, badges were displayed for sale by shopkeepers just outside the cathedral gate. [30]) Similarly, as early as *c.* 1130, we are told that at Compostella, in the courtyard outside the church, 'little shells of fish, which are the signs of St. James, are sold to pilgrims; and there also casks of wine, shoes, deer-skin bags, purses, straps, belts and all kinds of medicinal herbs and other stuff are sold.' [31]) It is apparent from this and much other evidence that the pilgrim sign was only one of the many requisites and souvenirs sold at the shrines. [32])

The sale of pilgrim badges was such a profitable business that the church, and sometimes lay bodies also, tried to establish a monopoly in them. The example was set at Rome as early as 1199, when Innocent III gave the archpriest and canons of St. Peter's the sole right to cast and sell 'lead and pewter signs bearing the images of the Apostles Peter and Paul with which visitors adorn themselves for the increase of their own devotion and as proof of their accomplished journey' [33]) (Pl. IV, 7). At Einsiedeln the monastery set up a special office to deal with the trade in souvenirs. [34]) At Amersfoort in Holland and at Saint-Maximin in Provence inhabitants were not allowed to manufacture badges without first obtaining a licence from the church authorities there. [35]) In 1394 the people of Mont-Saint-Michel begged the king to confirm their monopoly since, they claimed, they depended entirely on the sale of pilgrim souvenirs for a meagre livelihood. [36]) The manufacture of badges at Aachen was in the hands of the mirror-makers and goldsmiths. It so happened that pilgrims could only see the town's four greatest relics every seventh year, and at these main pilgrim times, between Easter and October, the manufacture of badges was thrown open to everyone, so that the needs of the vast crowds of pilgrims would be met. [37]) At Regensburg goldsmiths and pewterers, as well as a woodcarver, supplied badges wholesale to the

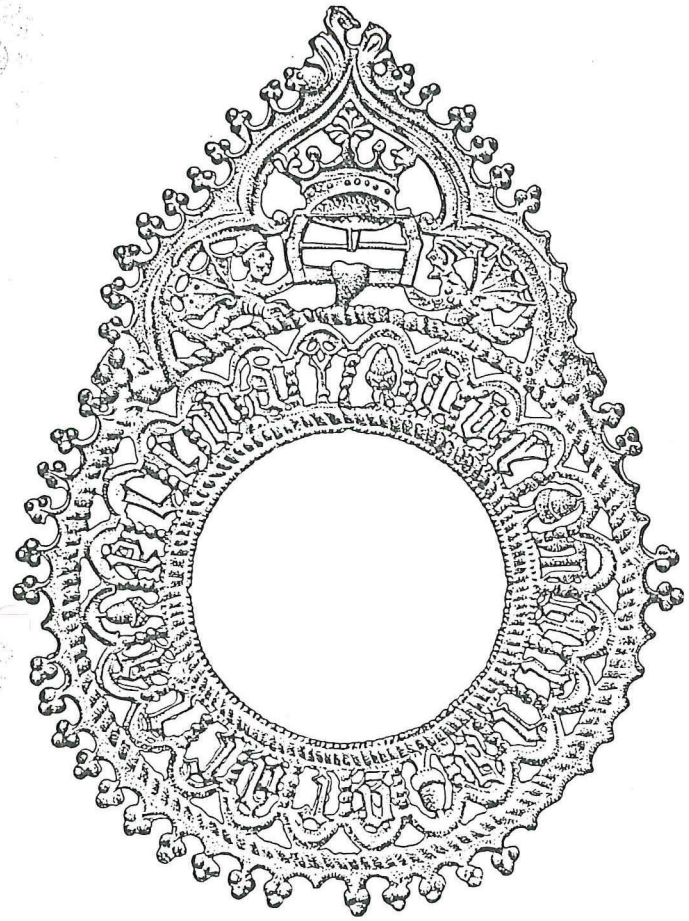

Fig. 4 Leaden souvenir from the site of the Steelyard, London, earing the legend 'ave maria gracia plena'.

church of the Blessed Mary, where they were stored in the sacristy and sold at the shop. [38])

There are indeed several leaden compositions in which the craftsmanship far surpasses the worth of the material and stylistically many bear comparison with the forms of contemporary jewellery or seal-matrixes. The example in Fig. 4, found on the site of the Steelyard, London, shows how really intricate openwork could sometimes be accomplished in lead. In precious metal such souvenirs would certainly have done credit to the goldsmith's craft. But work of this quality is exceptional. Pilgrim souvenirs were essentially the product of folk art, and it is more the hope of discovering illustrations of popular religious practices and ideas than the anticipation of seeing some elegant design that leads us to examine them. Together the badges give us a lively, if bewildering, picture of the popular imagery and imagination of the Middle Ages. They can be relied upon, for instance, to commemorate not merely the well-established saints but also some of the popular heroes of the day, men who were reputed to be saints by popular consent but who were never canonised and had no kind of liturgical commemoration.

Apart from a few pilgrim signs, for example, there is little to remind us now of John Schorn, a rector of North Marston, Buckinghamshire, whose reputation as a saint appears to have lasted for over 200 years from the time of his death in 1314. [39]) Appropriately, his badges depict him as a preacher standing in a pulpit (Pl. III, 12). Though his name was linked with many miracles, he was chiefly remembered for the occasion on which he was supposed to have cornered the devil and trapped him in a boot. Thus on his badges an enormous boot is given prominence beside the pulpit and Schorn is depicted in the very act of thrusting the devil by the tail into the boot. The badge illustrated, which dates, perhaps, from the late 15th century, is only 22 mm. high. Much more ambitious, on the other hand, is an early 14th-century souvenir, 168 mm. high and 125 mm. wide, depicting several scenes from the life of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the most powerful English nobleman of his day, who, after a treacherous and turbulent political career and execution in 1322, ironically became a hero and saint of the people. [40]) Badges of about the same size were being made at Aachen in *c.* 1480 and examples from elsewhere are not uncommon, though rarely complete. [41]) Such ambitious compositions of finely-linked openwork appear to have been technically unsound. They were probably difficult to cast cleanly and methodically and, in lead, too flimsy for the pilgrim who took more than an ephemeral pride in wearing his badge. Undoubtedly these larger compositions were intended, in the first instance, to be worn, since they were fitted with pins or annulets for attachment to the clothing; but they may have had the secondary purpose or serving as inexpensive devotional plaques in the home of the humbler pilgrim. Practical requirements, therefore, as well as the methods of mass production, called for a relatively simple composition. Consequently, we can expect notable miracles and episodes in the life of a saint to be depicted as concisely as possible. Thus the story of St. Edward the Confessor and the pilgrim is neatly depicted on a badge that was doubtless obtained at Westminster Abbey about the middle of the 14th century (Fig. 3a). According to the legend, Edward, the last Saxon king of England (d. 1066), was present when the church of Havering in Essex was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. In the course of the ceremony a pilgrim cried out to him, begging alms for the love of the saint. The king, having no money about him, gave the pilgrim the ring from his finger instead. Later the same old man appeared to certain English pilgrims in the Holy Land and revealed to them that he was St. John the Evangelist who had been present at the dedication of his church. He asked them to give back the ring to King Edward on their return and to forewarn him of his approaching death. On the badge the king carries a sceptre over his left shoulder and originally doubtless held a ring in his right hand. The pilgrim wears a hair shirt, carries a wallet at his belt and leans on a staff. That there should be no doubt as to the identity of the figures, the inscription *s edwardus* is placed on a scroll between them, while an eagle, the emblem of St. John, stands near the pilgrim's feet.

The makers of pilgrim badges were not normally so considerate, and, in the absence of an inscription, it is often now impossible to identify with any certainty the pilgrim-centre from which a badge originated. Some badges, like those depicting the crucifixion or figures of Our Lady, could have come from any number of shrines. Usually they can only be attributed to a particular shrine with the aid of a well-established, distinguishing feature or an inscription, like the single word 'Doncacia' (Doncaster, Yorkshire) on a badge of Our Lady and Child (Pl. II, 10; *cf.* 8 & 9). The problems of attribution become, as a rule, progressively more difficult, the more succinct the design of the badge.

Very often the badges simply portray the single figure of a saint or the emblem traditionally associated with him. Both St. George and St. Michael are shown with the dragon (Pl. III, 14, 15). St. Leonard is represented with his fetters, St. Lawrence with his gridiron, St. Nicholas with the three boys in a tub and Henry VI with his antelope (Pl. III, 2-5). St. Catherine (in this instance from Mont Ste Cathérine, near Rouen) may be depicted with her sword and wheel and St. Olaf with his axe (Pl. III, 1, 16) or alternatively they may be symbolised by a spiked wheel and an axe respectively (Pl. III, 6, 11). Similarly a crown may be taken to stand for St. Edward the Confessor, a horn for St. Hubert, a comb for St. Blaise, geese in a boat for St. Werburga of Chester, a basket of fruit for St. Dorothy (Pl. III, 7-10, 13) and a letter T for St. Thomas of Canterbury (Pl. VI, 8). St. James of Compostella is depicted on his particular emblem, a scallop-shell of pewter found in the Thames at London Bridge (Fig. 1, c). The case of St. James, however, is rather a special one, for the use of the scallop-shell as his attribute followed from its earlier adoption as a pilgrim sign by the organisers of the Compostella pilgrimage. [42])

Why the scallop-shell was chosen as an appropriate souvenir is difficult to ascertain; the origin of its use as such was the subject of much speculation in the late Middle Ages. But whatever its origin as an emblem in the popular imagination, the choice of the scallop was a shrewd one and the shell quickly became the most universally recognised of all pilgrim signs — the emblem of pilgrimage itself, as well as of the patron saint of pilgrims. Other shrines, notably Mont-Saint-Michel, subsequently incorporated the shell in the designs of their badges and ampullae *(cf.* Pl. IV, 1). It is, in fact, probably true to say that at Compostella the wearing of pilgrim badges was first made popular among the shrines of the west. [43]) Compostella shells were certainly known to pilgrims in 1106 [44]) and by the end of the 12th century badges were being issued at Rome, Cologne, Rocamadour and Canterbury, for example. [45]) Thereafter the popularity of pilgrim signs continued to grow, reaching its peak in the late 14th and the 15th centuries. By the late 15th century, in fact, St. James himself could be depicted as wearing the badges of other shrines along with his own scallop-shells. [46])

Why were pilgrim signs so popular? They were worn not simply as badges of achievement, as visible proof that the pilgrim's absence from home and employment had not been spent in idleness. To many they were valuable as instantly recognisable passports, marking the bearer as one whose sanctity was to be respected during his travels; for the pilgrim was a sacrosanct person to whom all good Christians were expected to give help and sustenance. [47]) Thus, during the Hundred Years' War, English pilgrims returning from the shrine of Our Lady of Rocamadour in Guienne during the 14th century were not molested by French soldiers provided that they took good care to display the badges obtained at that shrine. [48]) Rocamadour was a shrine of international repute and as its badges (Pl. II, 7) were held in such high esteem, it is easier to understand why they have survived in relatively large numbers, penetrating as far north as Moels in Cheshire, Kornjum in Friesland, Hälsingborg and Bergen. [49])

Much more important, however, pilgrim badges were worn for their supposed miraculous properties. By popular belief they were secondary relics, holy and wonder-working in themselves. Sometimes the church gave support to this belief by certifying that the badges had been in contact with holy relics or had been blessed at a shrine. [50]) Thus the French king, Charles V, whose health was always delicate, obtained three signs 'for the disease of the kidneys', and *c.* 1480 Louis XI sent word to England that he would appreciate the gift of a Canterbury badge which he intended to wear on his hat. [51]) The protective benefits of the badge were not necessarily confined to the pilgrim who acquired it, and many badges were doubtless brought back for sick rela-

Fig. 5 Canterbury ampulla from London, depicting the burial of St. Thomas. On the reverseside the surrounding band is inscripted: OPTIMVS EGRORVM MEDICVS FIT TOMA BONORVM.

tives and friends at home unable to sustain the rigours of the journey. At the beginning of the 16th century a poor country widow learned that her son in London had recently lost his job. She wrote anxiously to him and for good luck in his dealings she sent him a pilgrim sign, for she had just visited Walsingham. [52])

The protective role of the badge is often implicit in the design itself — in the inscription, for example, or in the attitude of the saint depicted, for the saint is frequently shown as in the act of intercession (Pls. III, 2; VI, 9). Four different types of Canterbury ampullae bear the inscription 'Thomas is the best healer of the holy sick' [53]) (Fig. 5) and another is inscribed 'All weakness and pain is removed; the healed man eats and drinks, and evil and death pass away.' [54])

It is not surprising, then, that pilgrims cherished their badges long after completing a pilgrimage. Several leaden badges, preserved in a satin purse, were listed among the possessions of Charlotte de Savoie in 1483, for instance. [55]) There were others who preserved their pilgrim signs by stitching them to the leaves of books. On the evidence of stitching-holes and imprints, 24 badges were formerly mounted in the famous Lee of Fareham Book of Hours (*c.* 1370). [56]) The pilgrim sometimes fixed his badges to the walls of his home or at the head of his bed or he suspended them in his stable or cattle-shed as protection for both man and beast. [57]) In much the same way, in Norway at least, a pilgrim's staff might be kept as a family relic long after a member of the family had undertaken a pilgrimage. [58]) Two specific illustrations taken from miracle-books may be noted in this context. In 1475 it was recorded that when a young man of Oosterhout was about to cast some object in lead, he decided that the amount of lead in his melting-pot was not sufficient for the job. The only lead he could find about the place was a badge of Our Lady of Amersfoort, which he added to the pot. When he had finished the casting, however, he found that a little molten lead was left over and this miraculously changed back into an Amersfoort badge. [59]) About 1485 Miles Freebridge, an infant living in Aldermanbury, London, was given a Canterbury badge to play with by an older boy and 'as the way of such, he must put it to his mouth; and, since children love nothing better than swallowing things, he had no sooner got it in his mouth than he would have it in his belly... and so the badge stuck in the middle of his gullet.' But for a timely miracle the infant would have choked to death. [60])

There were some pilgrims, on the other hand, who chose deliberately to take their souvenirs to the grave. At Thetford, Norfolk, an ampulla (Pl. IV, 1) was found beside the skeleton of a man who had suffered severely from arthritis of the hip. At Västerhus, Sweden, a badge of St. Martin and a scallop-shell were discovered in a grave containing the remains of a powerfully-built young man. Again, a group of badges belonging to a pilgrim who had visited Rocamadour and various shrines in Italy in *c.* 1300, has been found in a grave at Hälsinborg. [61]) The attitude of these men must have been similar to that of Friar Felix Fabri. When he returned to Ulm from his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1483, he was very reluctant to give up both the magnificent beard he had grown and his pilgrim dress, and he obstinately continued to wear his red pilgrim cross hidden beneath his Dominican habit. In fact, he kept his pilgrim garments for the rest of his life and was allowed to wear them on his death-bed in 1502. [62])

From wills and other evidence we know that pilgrims sometimes presented or bequeathed their pilgrim souvenirs to a church or a favourite shrine, [63]) and it is presumably this practice that accounts for the occasional discovery of a pilgrim badge or a group of badges in medieval churches. The restoration of a reliquary, ornamented with a figure of St. Anne, from the church at Sånga, Sweden, for instance, brought to light a badge of St. Olaf (Pl. III, 16), which originally had probably been obtained at his shrine at Trondheim. When found, the badge was threaded with the remains of a loop of string, suggesting that the badge may at one time have been suspended as a votive offering. The reliquary was made in *c.* 1475; the badge, it has been suggested, dates from *c.* 1250. If this is so, it follows that, before 1475, the badge must have been preserved either in the church or by some family for over two centuries. [64])

It should be borne in mind, however, that stylistic evidence is not always a reliable indication of the date of a badge. Forms based on tradition rather than on contemporary taste seem often to have been used. [65]) In part, this archaism may have resulted from the handing-down of moulds from one generation to the next and from conscious attempts to copy some of the distinctive features of miracle-working statues, crucifixes and the like, that had been fashioned in an earlier age. Thus, there can be little doubt that the badges depicting the mitred head of St. Thomas of Canterbury were intended to represent the reliquary containing the portion of St. Thomas's skull that was said to have been severed at this martyrdom. This reliquary took the form of a richly-jewelled, mitred bust, and was generally known as the 'corona' or 'caput Sancti Thome'; accordingly this inscription occurs in several badges and the portrait itself is usually modelled in comparatively high relief (Pl. V, 2). These badges are strikingly alike in the portrayal of St. Thomas's face, in spite of the great diversity of their sizes and surrounding frames. Their dates also presumably vary considerably though, in fact, only one out of a total of 90 specimens (Fig. 1d) is known to have been discovered in a closely-datable context. [66])

The great scarcity of badges from datable deposits and the poor documentation of past finds accentuates the importance of one other means by which pilgrim signs, or at least facsimiles of them, have survived. Badges were preserved in a sense by medieval bell-founders who sometimes fixed them, like the more usual ornaments and inscriptions, to the 'cases' of their moulds. When the bell was cast the badges were reproduced in bell-metal. The original badges were chosen either by the bell-founder or by his client and sometimes identical

badges were placed around the bell at the four points of the compass.

According to Professor Köster the main purpose of this usage was magical, aimed at warding off stormy weather and evil spirits, which folklore long ascribed to the ringing of bells. [67]) The practice was particularly common in the Rhineland and Scandinavia. Consequently in Germany there are now far more reproductions of badges on bells than there are original specimens. Knowledge of badges from several important shrines, like those of St. Quirinus of Neuss, has been ascertained almost entirely from facsimiles. [68]) Four different types of St. Quirinus badges, for example, are reproduced in 13 bells made by Tilman von Hachenburg, who worked at Andernach about 100 km. from Neuss. But Tilman also used pilgrim badges from as far afield as Elende, near Nordhausen, to the north-east, Einsiedeln to the south and Rouen and St.-Josse-sur-Mer to the west.

On a late 14th-century bell at Jørl in Denmark and on another dated 1399, at the church of St. Katherine, ibeck, are casts of badges that originated from Wilsnack in Mark Brandenburg. [69]) After the church and village of Wilsnack had been destroyed by fire in 1383, three hosts were found lying on the altar, quite unharmed and sprinkled with blood. Crowds of pilgrims were soon attracted by this reputed miracle. One of them was Margery Kemp of King's Lynn, who journeyed to Wilsnack in 1433 and was rewarded with the sight of 'that Precyous Blod whech be myracle cam out of the blisful Sacrament of the Awtere.' [70]) Like Margery Kemp herself, King's Lynn had long-established ties with the Hanseatic towns. It is appropriate, therefore, that one of the most complete surviving badges from Wilsnack has been found at King's Lynn (Pl. IV, 6). The badge is almost identical with those preserved on the bells and closely resembles other fragmentary examples coming, for instance, from the Swedish Cistercian monastery of Alvastra and from the Weser at Bremen.

When assembled, the evidence of facsimiles on bells begins to reveal wide patterns of distribution of certain badges and of the pilgrims who carried them. But, more important, these reproductions offer the best hope of establishing dated sequences of badges, for the 15th century at least, since the bells themselves are so often dated. As our knowledge of dating and typology grows more precise, we can look forward to the time when the excavation of further pilgrim signs will become more directly helpful to the archaeologist. In the meantime we can continue to enjoy these objects as one of the most evocative of all archaeological finds, illustrating, as they do, many aspects of life in a mysterious and mystical world and reflecting, as souvenirs of travel, one of the timeless instincts of man.

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1) *Paston Letters,* ed. J. Gairdner (London 1904), V, no. 782.

2) *Literae Cantuariensis,* ed. J. B. Sheppard (London, 1888; Rolls series, 85), II, xlvi ff; R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1926), 4—5.

3) Kurt Köster, 'Pilgerzeichen-Studien: Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines mittelalterlichen Massenartikels und seiner Überlieferungsformen' in *Bibliotheca docet: Festgabe für Carl Wehmer* (Amsterdam, 1963), 78–9.

4) See, for example, Kurt Köster, 'St. Quirinus-Pilgerandenken: ein unbekanntes Neusser Wallfahrtszeichen auf einer Altartafel Derick Baegerts' in *Neusser Jahrbuch,* 1962, 39–42. See also n. 14 below.

5) *The Vision of Piers Plowman by William Langland* (London, 1869; Early English Text Soc., 38), ed. W. W. Skeat, ll. 524–538.

6) *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury by Desiderius Erasmus* (London, 1875), transl. J. G. Nichols, 1–2.

7) All the illustrations, except Fig. 3, b, are actual size. With the exceptions noted in the captions, all of the objects illustrated are made of lead or pewter. The sources of the illustrations are given in the acknowledgments at the end of this article.

8) Sir John Evans in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London,* 2nd ser., XXII (1908), 102—117.

9) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 3251. (Information from Mme. C. Lamy Lassalle).

10) The Pardoner in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* had just come from Rome and had therefore stitched a vernicle to his clothing. Pilgrim souvenirs were also made of vellum and paper; examples are inserted, for example, in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 545 and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MSS. 5163—4, 11035—7 and 11060—1. *Cf.* E. H. van Heurck, *Les Drapelets de Pèlerinage en Belgique et dans les pays voisins* (Antwerp, 1922). For Compostella souvenirs of jet see G. J. de Osma, *Catálogo de Azabaches Compostelanos...* (Madrid, 1916).

11) V. Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance,* I, (Paris, 1887), 635. For similar purchases by the duke and duchess of Burgundy, *c.* 1425, see Le Comte De Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne,* Part 2 (Paris, 1849—52), I, 181, 231; II, 387, 389; III, 354; Al. de la Fons-Mélicocq, 'Médailles, enseignes et affiques de dévotion commandés par Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne et le comte de Charolais' in *Revue Belge de Numismatique,* XXIV (1868), 75–81.

12) KURT KÖSTER, 'Gutenbergs Aachener Heiltumsspiegel' in *Das Werck der Bucher ... Eine Festschrift für Horst Kliemann,* ed. FRITZ HODEIGE (Freiburg, 1956), 284—301 and MONICA RYDBECK, 'Ett Pilgrimsmärke från Alvastra och Gutenbergs 'Aachener Heiltumsspiegel' in *Fornvännen,* 52 (1957), 294—303.

13) Information from Professor Hans Grubenbecher.

14) These Flemish Hours range in date from *c.* 1480 to *c.* 1530; KURT KÖSTER, 'Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien in der Flämischen Buchmalerei des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts' in *Buch und Welt: Festschrift für Gustav Hofmann zum 65. Geburstag dargebracht,* ed. H. STRIEDL and J. WIEDER (Wiesbaden, 1965), 459–504. The badges depicted in these MSS. can often be matched by surviving specimens; *cf.* the fourth badge in the left hand border of Pl. I with Pl. II, 11 (St. Rombaud of Malines). Other badges depicted in Pl. I include St. Cornelius of Kornelimünster, Our Lady of Hal, Our Lady of Boulogne, Our Lady of Liesse, (?) the Three Hosts of Wilsnack and the Holy Coat of Trier. The MS. cannot be earlier than 1512 when the pilgrimage to Trier first began.

15) In the inscriptions on badges of this type *sigillum* (Pl. II, 7) seems to have been synonymous with *signum* (Pl. IV, 4, 7).

16) In Sweden, however, the majority of badges have been found on the sites of churches and monasteries; *Reliker och Relikvarier från Svenska Kyrkor* (Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, 1951), 37–42.

17) For example, E. GRÉSY, 'Notice sur quelques enseignes et médailles en plomb trouvées à Paris dans la Seine' in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France,* XXV (1862), 118; A. FORGEAIS, *Collection de Plombs Historiés trouvés dans la Seine* ,II (Paris, 1863), 11; *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* XII (1911), 97; A. J. G. VERSTER, *Tin door de Eeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1954), 42; I. N. HUME, *Treasure in the Thames* (London, 1956), 144—5.

18) O. RINGHOLZ, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes U.L. Frau von Einsiedeln ...* (Einsiedeln, 1904), 445. For an Einsiedeln badge in the Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, see VERSTER, *Tin* (n. 17), pl. 105 and KURT KÖSTER, 'Meister Tilman von Hachenborg: Studien zum Werk eines mittelrheinischen Glockengiessers des 15. Jahrhunderts' in *Jahrbuch der Hessischen kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung,* 8 (1957), pl. V, no. 28.

19) EDITH MEYER-WURMBACH, 'Kölner "Zeichen" und "Pfennige" zu ehren der Heiligen Drei Könige' in *Achthundert Jahre Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln* (Cologne, 1964), 209.

20) KÖSTER, *Meister Tilman* (n. 18), 57, 60.

21) *Norfolk Archaeology,* IX (1884), 19–21, *cf.* FORGEAIS, *Plombs Historiés* (n. 17), IV (1865), 44–45.

22) In the example illustrated the crowned letter W is flanked by the letters s and d, possibly standing for *sancta domus,* the Holy House.

23) *Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury* (n. 6), 16; F. BLOMEFIELD, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk,* IX (London, 1808), 280.

24) For a much more complete example of this type of badge see HUGH TAIT, 'Pilgrim-signs and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster' in *The British Museum Quarterly,* XX (1955), pl. XVa.

25) TANCRED BORENIUS, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London, 1932), 7–8.

26) Lithographic limestones appear to have been especially suitable. A mould of *c.* 1300, found at Rochester, Kent, is very probably of Solnhofen (Bavaria) stone; see a note by the author in *Archaeologia Cantiana,* LXXXII (forthcoming). *Cf.* FORGEAIS, *loc.cit.* in n. 21. The appearance of some badges suggests that moulds were also made of a more plastic material like clay. The use of iron moulds is also recorded and there can be little doubt that the bronze moulds normally employed by pewterers were also used for casting pilgrim signs.

27) Inscribed (in reverse): + SIGNVM: SADCTE CRVC[I]S DE WALTHAM. Experiments made with replicas of this mould have shown that ampullae were made hollow simply by pouring the lead into a cold mould and immediately inverting the mould while the core was still molten.

28) *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (1843, Camden Soc., 26), ed. THOMAS WRIGHT, 138.

29) *Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk ... 1481–1490,* ed. J. PAYNE COLLIER (Roxburghe Club, London, 1844), 448; British Museum MS. Add. 7099, f. 77.

30) *The Tale of Beryn ...* (London, 1909; Early Eng. Text Soc., 2nd. ser., 105), ed. F. J. FURNIVALL and W. G. STONE, ll 171–183.

31) *Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (1938) ed. JEANNE VIELLIARD, 96—7.

32) *Cf.* KÖSTER, *Pilgerzeichen-Studien* (n. 3), 80. Many small leaden objects resemble pilgrim badges so closely in style and symbolic content that they might reasonably be connected with certain shrines. They include devotional plaques and figures, finger-rings, belt-ends, dagger-chapes, whistles and bells.

33) *Epistolarum Innocentii III* (1682), ed. S. BALUZIUS, I, epist. 536, pp. 305–6. Badges of the sort mentioned here were carried as far as north-west England; A. HUME, *Ancient Moels: ... Antiquities found ... on the Sea-Coast of Cheshire* (London, 1863), pl. xxvii, 5. At Compostella the archbishops had frequently to obtain papal authority to excommunicate persons who sold scallop-shell badges elsewhere than in that city; ANTONIO LÓPEZ-FERREIRO, *Historia de la santa iglesia de Santiago de Compostela,* V (Santiago, 1903), 38–9, 98, app. 109 and *passim.*

34) KÖSTER, *Pilgerzeichen-Studien* (n. 3), 80.

35) *Ibid.,* 82; L'ABBÉ FAILLON, *Monuments Inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence* (1848), I, 971 and II, 963–8.

36) *Ordonnances des Rois de France,* VII, 590. At Rocamadour the abbot and the De Vallon family jointly controlled the sale of pilgrim signs and shared the profits, but from 1425 to 1427 the abbot permitted the general trading of badges by townsfolk as a measure of relief against their poverty; L'ABBÉ DE FOUILHIAC, *Chronique Manuscrite du Quercy à l'an 1425,* cited in *Bulletin Monumental,* 2nd ser., IX (1853), 522. *Cf.* the grant in 1442 by emperor Frederick III to Johann Liechtkamrer of exclusive rights to cast the badges of St. Theobald at Thann (Alsace) and to sell them in the church there; KÖSTER, *Meister Tilman* (n. 18), 87.

37) KÖSTER, *Pilgerzeichen-Studien* (n. 3), 80.

38) MEYER-WURMBACH, *Kölner Zeichen* (n. 19), 209.

39) W. SPARROW SIMPSON, 'On Master John Schorn' in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.,* XXIII (1867), 256–68, 370–8; W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Windsor Castle* (London, 1913), II, 411; J. L. NEVINSON and J. A. HUDSON, 'Sir John Schorne and his boot' in *Country Life,* March 1, 1962, 467–8.

40) TAIT, *Thomas of Lancaster* (n. 24), 40–5.

41) KÖSTER, *Meister Tilman* (n. 18), 65—6; London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1940), pl. lxxii, no. 52.

42) For the circumstances in which the scallop-shell badge was transferred to St. James himself, see CHRISTOPHER HOHLER, 'The Badge of St. James', in *The Scallop* (London, 1957), ed. IAN COX, 60—70.

43) Ampullae and medallions were known to pilgrims visiting the Holy Land as early as the 6th century; ANDRÉ GRABAR, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris, 1958); O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (London, 1911), 623–5; *cf. Dark Age Britain* (London, 1956), ed. D. B. HARDEN, 156; *Archaeologia,* 97 (1959), 61.

44) *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela, 1944), I, 273–4.

45) *Epist. Innocentii* III (n. 33), 395–6; MEYER WURMBACH, *Kölner Zeichen* (n. 19), 219; *Vie de Saint Thomas le martyr,* v. 3796 in GAY, *Glossaire Arch.* (n. 11), I, 30; *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* I (Rolls ser., 21, London, 1861), ed. J. S. BREWER, 53.

46) See, for instance, the portraits by Carlo Crivelli (active 1457—95) in the Brooklyn Museum's *Religious Painting* (1953), pl. 6, and by the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar in M. J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Kunstsammlung von Pannwitz,* I (1926), pl. IV.

47) For good instances of this see *Paston Letters* (n. 1), II, no. 105; FRANÇOIS DE VAUX DE FOLETIER, *Les Tsiganes dans l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1961), 17—36, 118—9. *Cf.* the social

disadvantages of the crosses prescribed for the dress of the penitential pilgrim; A. LIMBORCH, *Historia Inquisitionis cui subjungitur Liber sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanae* (Amsterdam, 1862), 351. It is just possible that badges and ampullae may have been regarded as adequate proof that a penitential pilgrimage had been properly completed: MATS ÅMARK, 'Sankt Olofs Pilgrimsmärken' in *Fornvännen,* 37 (1942), 11—12, 14.

48) L'ABBÉ DE FOUILHIAC (n. 36), 521. Similar instructions were given in 1427 to English pilgrims visiting the shrine of St. Ninian in Scotland; C. A. RALEGH RADFORD and G. DONALDSON, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine* (Ministry of Works Guide Book: Edinburgh, 1957), 21.

49) HUME, *Ancient Moels* (n. 33), pl. xxvii, 6; MONICA RYDBECK, 'Grav 301 vid dominikanerklostret i Hälsingborg' in *Kring Kärnan,* VI (Hälsingborg, 1955), figs. 4 and 6. A badge from the terp of Wijdevelt, near Kornjum, is in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden (no. 2928). See also FORGEAIS, *Plombs Historiés* (n. 17), 52–60.

50) T. TOBLER and A. MOLINIER, *Itinera hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,* I (Geneva, 1879), 126; W. HONE *Ancient Mysteries Described* ... (London, 1823), 172.

51) ABBÉ TEXIER, *Dictionnaire d'Orfèvrerie* in Migne, *Encyclopédie Théologique,* XXVII (1856), s.v. 'enseigne'; J. B. SHEPPARD, 'Some MSS. from the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury' in *Archaeol. Journ,* XXXIII (1876),

52) *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain,* ed. M. A. E. WOOD, II (London, 1846), 3–4. For a reference in 1481 to Walsingham badges as amulets ('claspis and amlettes') see COLLIER, *Household Books* (n. 29), 49.

53) *Optimus egrogrum medicus fit Thoma bonorum.* This inscription appears on one of two Canterbury ampullae recently found at Lödöse; MONICA RYDBECK, 'Thomas Beckets Ampuller' in *Fornvännen,* 59 (1964), 236—48. See also *Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica* (Rolls ser., 73, London, 1879), ed. W. STUBBS, I, 230; *cf.* GRABAR, *Ampoules* (n. 43), 64.

54) GAY, *Glossaire Arch.* (n. 11), I, 31.

55) *Ibid.,* 635.

56) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 3–1954. Several badges still remain in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 51, ff. 45v, 58v, 59 and 74. Others were formerly attached to Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS. 11035–7, ff. 6v and 34v. See also KÖSTER, *Religiöse Medaillen* (n. 14), pls. 13 and 24.

57) VAN HEURCK, *Les Drapelets de Pèlerinage* (n. 10), ix; M. A. RACINET, *Le Costume Historique* (Paris, 1888), IV, nos. 231–2.

58) CARL R. AF UGGLAS, 'Kultbild och Pilgrimsmärke' in *Fornvännen,* 39 (1944), 132.

59) KÖSTER, *Pilgerzeichen-Studien* (n. 3), 86 and pl. 1.

60) *The Miracles of King Henry VI* (Cambridge, 1923), ed. R. KNOX and S. LESLIE, 164—7. The badge was circular and had on it the figure of St. Thomas. 'Such figures', states the account, 'are often taken home by those who visit his holy resting-place, as a sign of their pilgrimage and to remind them of the holy martyr.'

61) RYDBECK, *Grav 301 ... i Hälsingborg* (n. 49). For other instances see G. MCN. RUSHFORTH, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (London, 1936), 95—6; MME. COLETTE LAMY-LASSALLE, 'Enseignes de pèlerinage du Mont-Saint-Michel' in *Bulletin Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de France,* 1964, 66, n. 3; BÖRGE ROSÉN, 'Pilgerabzeichen in einem Grabfund von Helgonabacken in Lund' in *Årsberättelse,* 1952—3 (Lund, 1953), 278—83.

62) *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae, et Egypti Peregrinationem,* ed. C. D. HASSLER, III (Stuttgart, 1849), 467–8; *Fratris Felicis Fabri Tractatus de Civitate Ulmensi* (Tübingen, 1889), ed. G. VEESENMEYER, 223.

63) *Extracts from the Account Books of the Abbey of Durham,* ed. J. T. FOWLER, II (Surtees Soc., 100, 1899), 452; W. D. COOPER, 'The Bonvilles of Halnaker 'in *Sussex Archaeol. Collections,* XV (1863), 65.

64) UGGLAS, *Kultbild och Pilgrimsmärke* (n. 58), 130–2. See also ÅMARK, *Sankt Olafs Pilgrimsmärken* (n. 47), 13—21. A group of five pilgrim signs was found in similar circumstances at the church at Voss, Norway; *ibid.,* 13. See also O. F. GANDERT, 'Ein romanisches Pilgerzeichen aus dem mittelalterlichen Magdeburg' in Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. 2, *Frühe Burgen und Städte* (Berlin, 1954), 171–3.

65) It may be noted in this context that the dates that are inscribed on some badges (e.g., Einsiedeln, Amersfoort, Gottsbüren) invariably refer to the time when the particular pilgrimage first began, and not to the date of the badge itself.

66) It was found with a hoard of silver pennies deposited *c.* 1322 at Tutbury, Staffordshire; TAIT, *Thomas of Lancaster* (n. 24). 39–40.

67) KÖSTER, *Meister Tilman* (n. 18), 55. Professor Köster's examination of the badges used by Tilman (*ibid.,* 53–92) is an outstanding contribution to the subject. One of the earliest sources of information is F. ULDALL, *Danmarks middelalderlige Kirkeklokker* (Copenhagen, 1906); the most recent is MATS ÅMARK, *Pilgrimsmärken på Svenska Medeltidsklocker* (Antikvariskt Archiv, 28, Lund, 1965).

68) KÖSTER, *Meister Tilman* (n. 18), 78–83 and 'Neusser Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtsmedaillen' in *Neusser Jahrbuch,* 1956, 15–28; see also a review by MONICA RYDBECK in *Fornvännen,* 53 (1958), 210–18.

69) ULDALL, *op. cit.* (n. 67), 93–4, fig. 124; RUNE NORBERG, 'Pilgrimsmärken från Wilsnack i Alvastra Klosterruin' in *Fornvännen,* 49 (1954), 163, fig. 4.

70) *The Book of Margery Kemp,* ed. S. B. MEECH and H. E. ALLEN (London, 1940, Early Eng. Text. Soc., 212), I, 232—5.

Plate I Leaf from a Flemish Book of Hours, after 1512 (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, MS. 4, f. 122v).

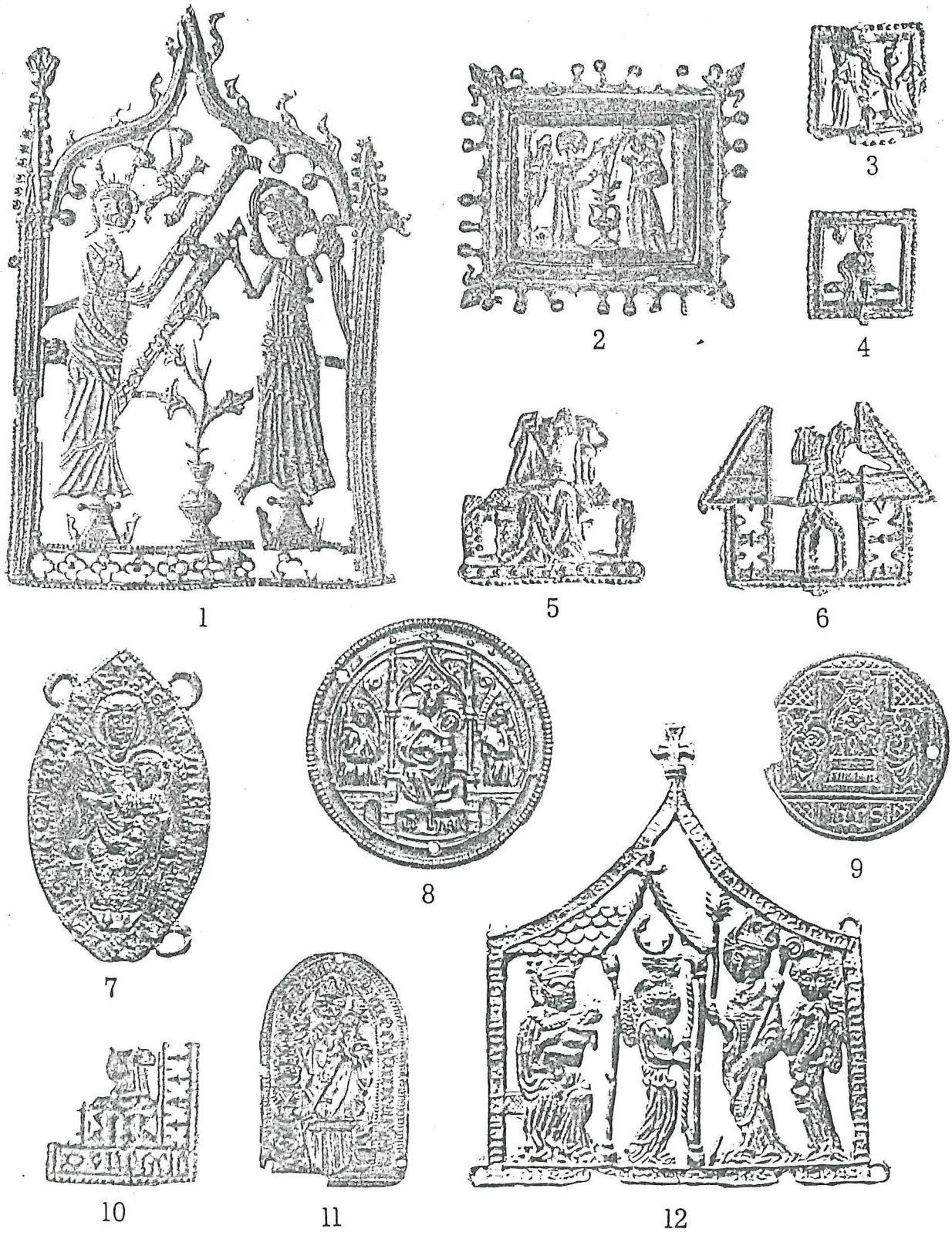

Plate II Walsingham badges (1-6) found at London (1, 2, 5) and King's Lynn. Of the remaining badges no. 10 is also from King's Lynn and no. 12 from Old Lödöse, Gothenburg. Nos. 8, 9 and 11 are of bronze.

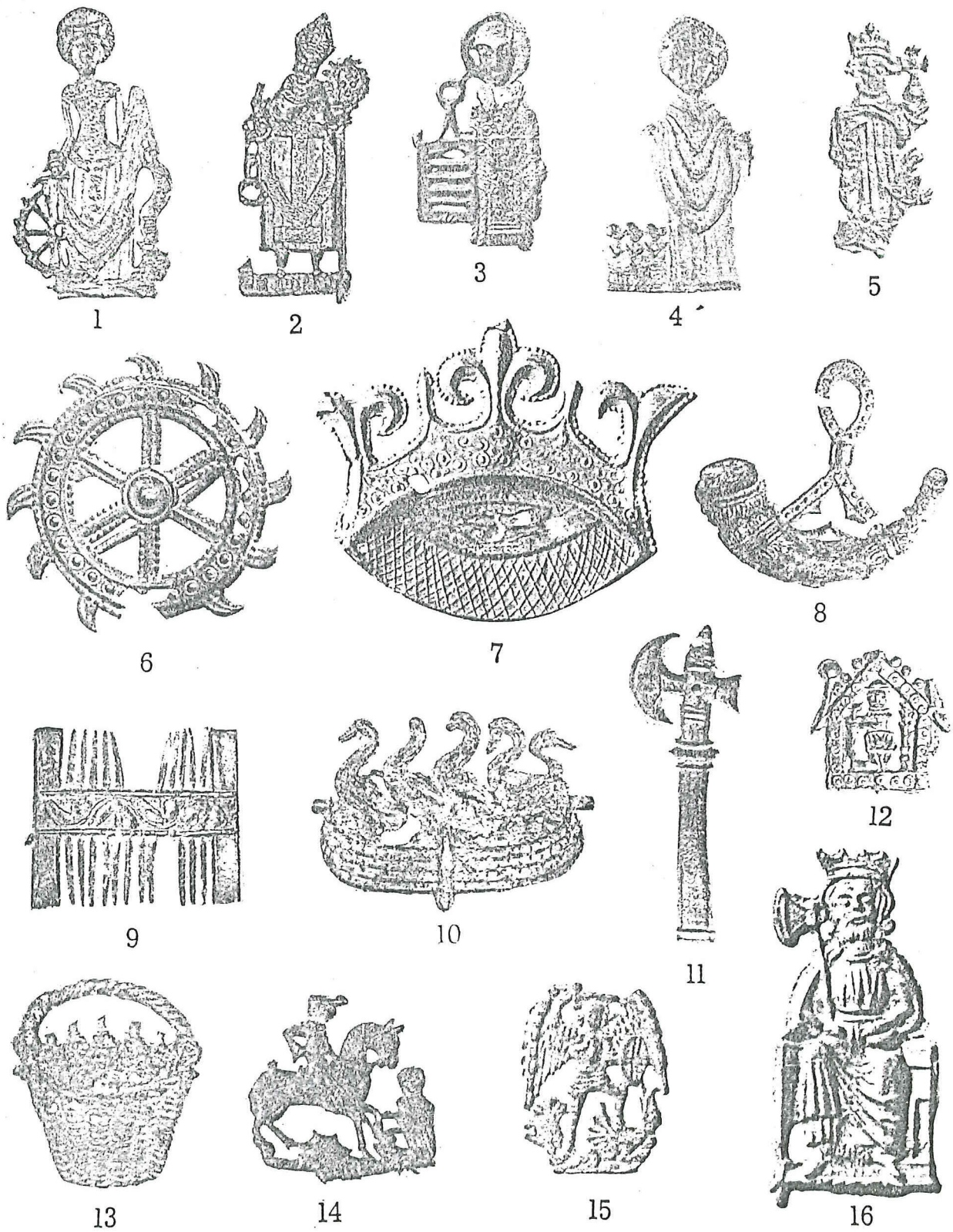

Plate III Pilgrim badges from London (2, 5-13). Chelmsford, Essex (3), Westwell Down, Kent (15) and Sånga, Angermanland (16). The find-spots of 1, 4 and 14 are not recorded. No. 15 is of bronze.

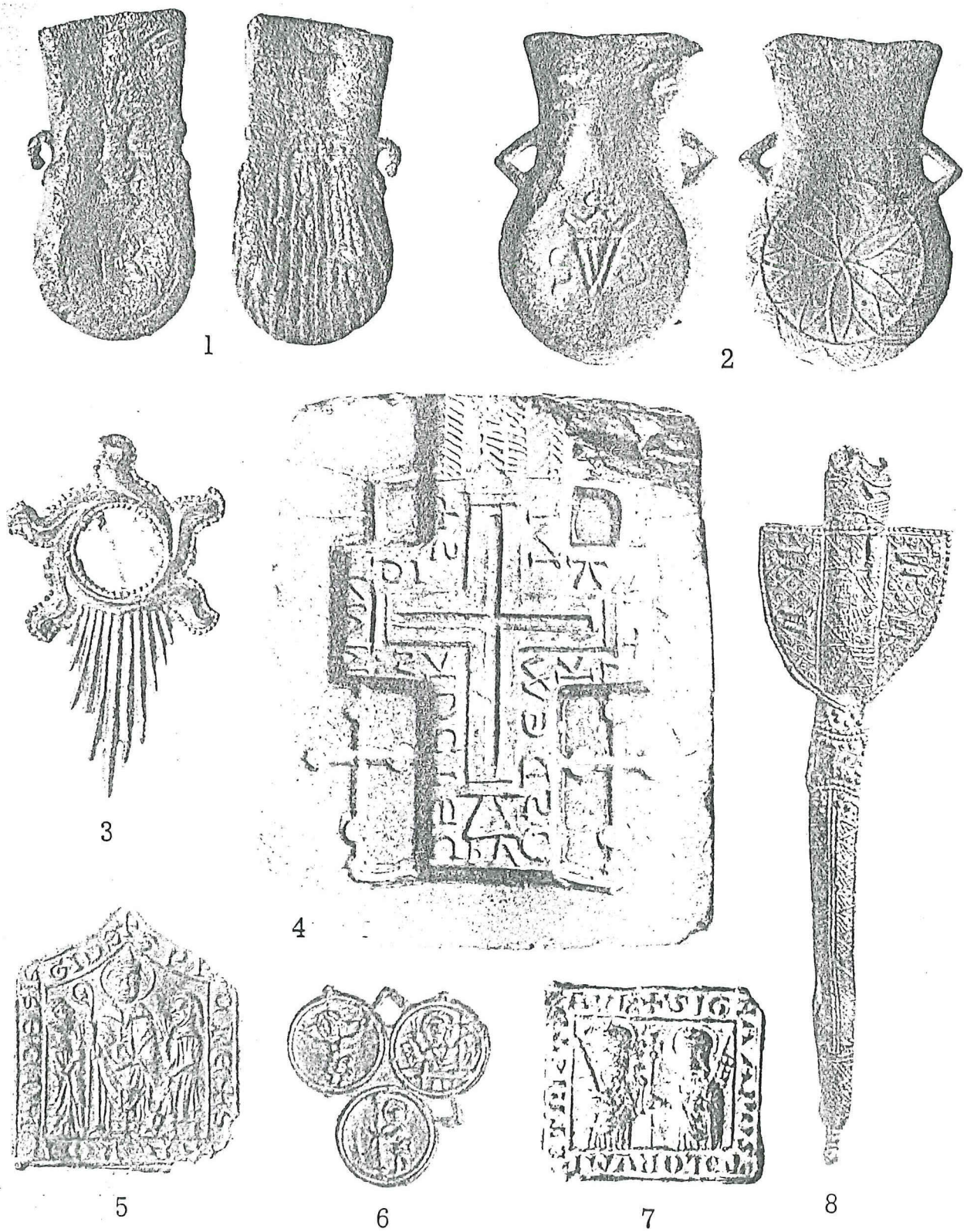

Plate IV Ampullae from Thetford, Norfolk (1) and from near Byfield, Northamptonshire (2); badges from Moels, Cheshire (3), King's Lynn (6) and London (8); stone mould from London. The provenances of 5 and 7 are unknown.

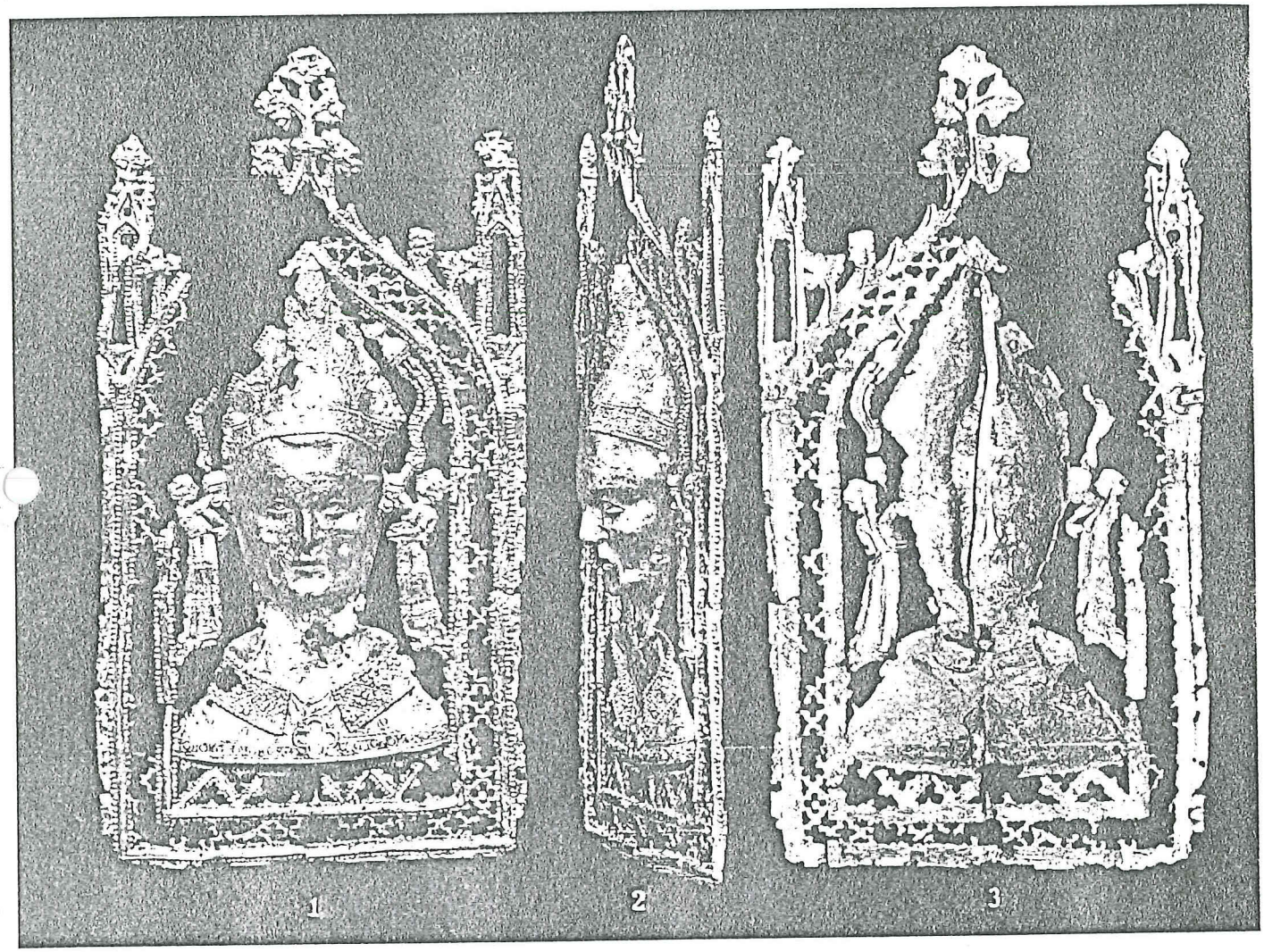

Plate V Pilgrim sign depicting the head of St. Thomas flanked by figures with censers; from the site of the Steelyard (the headquarters of the Hanseatic merchants), London.

Plate VI Canterbury badges from King's Lynn (no. 3) and London. The provenance of the stone mould is unknown.