

Third Series Vol. XI Part 1

No. 229

Spring 2015

ISSN 0010-003X

Price £12.00

THE COAT OF ARMS

an heraldic journal published twice yearly by The Heraldry Society



THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society



Third series

Volume XI

2015

Part 1

Number 229 in the original series started in 1952

The Coat of Arms is published twice a year by The Heraldry Society, whose registered office is 53 Hitchin Street, Baldock, Hertfordshire SG7 6AQ. The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

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PLATE 1



Heraldic harness pendants from the Baker Collection: not to scale.

- (a) JHB 137: Warenne. *See page 7.* (b) JHB 1517: Bohun. *See page 7.* (c) JHB 450: Stotewille. *See page 8.* (d) JHB 1558: Grandison. *See page 9.* (e) JHB 670: Thweng. *See page 9.* (f) JHB 873: Guelders. *See page 9.* (g) JHB 525: Castile and Leon. *See page 9.* (h) JHB 1000: Valence impaling St Pol. *See page 10.* (i) JHB 1644: Badlesmere impaling Roos. *See page 11.*

PLATE 2



Early heraldic and pre-heraldic harness pendants and hangers from the Baker Collection: not to scale.

(a) JHB 1087: Castile. *See page 14.* (b) JHB 585: Cornwall. *See page 15.* (c) JHB 708: Bethune. *See page 15.* (d) JHB 795, (e) JHB 1248 and (f) JHB 1528: all showing two lions passant guardant. *See pages 15-16.* (g) JHB 1419: lion in round compartment. *See page 20.* (h) JHB 1500: lion in square compartment. *See page 20.* (i) JHB 1508: bird on lattice field. *See page 21.*

THE EARLIEST ARMORIAL HARNESS PENDANTS

John Baker

A few years ago the editors of this journal began the commendable practice of recording recent archaeological finds of armorial interest. The most numerous of these artefacts are medieval harness pendants and related objects. They have been known about for a long time, but the number of recorded examples was until the last few decades very limited. The London Museum listed fourteen armorial harness pendants, with a helpful pioneering commentary, in its catalogue of 1940.¹ The corresponding British Museum medieval catalogue (1924) illustrated only three, together with some non-armorial ones from Spain.² Conclusions based on such limited evidence were inevitably tentative, if not wrong, and the objects were considered so rare that the discovery of a single pendant might occasion a paper in an archaeological journal. Today, the leading museums seem to take no interest in such things,³ even though very large numbers have been unearthed in recent times through metal-detecting. This enabled a substantial leap forward to be made in the scholarship. The important book by Steven Ashley, based on a dissertation which earned a diploma from the Heraldry Society in 1999, established a typology and provided a valuable discussion and bibliography.⁴ It was confined to one English county, Norfolk, and catalogued 246 items, all illustrated. Hundreds more pendants have been found since that was written, and in most other counties, including parts of Scotland. The writer's collection contains over 1,600 pendants, of which perhaps a thousand are definitely armorial, together with a

¹ J. B. Ward-Perkins, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (London 1940; repr. 1954), pp. 118-22.

² O. M. Dalton, *A Guide to the Mediaeval Antiquities and Objects of Later Date in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities* (London 1924), pp. 5-6, 86. There is still no published catalogue of the pendants in the Museum, which are believed to be numerous. The way was shown by the Salisbury Museum and the Museum of London: see J. Cherry, 'Harness pendants' in *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue*, vol. 1 (Salisbury 1991), pp. 17-28; N. Griffiths, 'Harness pendants and associated fittings' in *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment*, ed. J. Clark (Museum of London, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 5: Woodbridge 1995; rev. edn. 2004).

³ The BM website is even less informative than the 1924 catalogue, with a few illustrations of mostly poor pendants. The Victoria & Albert Museum website illustrates two English pendants, only one of which is described (with the arms of England), and states incorrectly that the popularity of such pendants continued into the fifteenth century. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Ashmolean Museum and London Museum websites do not mention any at all.

⁴ S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology 101: Dereham 2002). See also Cherry, 'Harness pendants'.

photographic archive including at least another thousand. The principal object of the present brief survey is to suggest an approximate date-range for the earliest examples, which are comparatively rare. For this purpose it will be necessary to begin with objects for which literary sources and sigillography provide reasonably clear *termini*, and then to venture tentatively backwards into the period for which there is no supporting documentary evidence.⁵

The examples given in this paper, unless otherwise stated, are from the writer's collection (cited as JHB). Others are from photographs available online through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (cited as PAS)⁶ and the much smaller, but more usable and often more accurate, UK Detector Finds Database (UKDFD). They are all made of copper alloy, and are usually cast to receive enamel in the *champlevé* manner, gilded (or occasionally silvered) where appropriate. The enamel has not always fared well after seven centuries buried in soil, and is often discoloured, fragmentary or completely lost, as is the gilding, though in the majority of cases microscopic traces can still be detected if the object has not been too aggressively cleaned. Many of them are shields with coats of arms, but we also find birds, griffins, unicorns and other monsters, which seem not to be heraldic,⁷ flowers, hunting scenes, religious devices and other decorative emblems, some of which are also found on seals and other objects from the same period. Besides the shield-form, lozenges and quadri-lobes are common. Their characterisation as pendants rests on the presence of an integral suspension loop at the top, occasionally still attached by a pin to the hanger (or suspension-mount). Almost as common as pendants are studs, which are of the same character on their face but usually smaller and with a projecting prong or stud on the reverse instead of a loop on the top. These were presumably pressed into leather equipment.⁸ A third category, often with rivet-holes but sometimes with no visible means of attachment, is given the non-specific description 'mounts'. Self-evidently they were not attached in the same way as pendants or studs, and some of them are considerably larger. Indeed, mounts and studs were not necessarily from horse fur-

⁵ The literary terminus *a quo* is c. 1244, when Matthew Paris recorded 143 coats of arms in the margins of his *Historia Anglorum*: see T. D. Tremlett, 'The Matthew Paris shields' in *Aspilologia* 2 (below, n. 29), pp. 1-86. Prior to the 1240s almost the only substantial evidence linking English coats of arms with particular people is that provided by seals, which necessarily lack the distinguishing element of colour.

⁶ The written descriptions in the PAS entries need to be approached with caution, since many of them misinterpret the heraldry. The search-engine is also very difficult to use and rarely leads to all the items sought. It is, nevertheless, an invaluable database.

⁷ Although such devices occur in medieval heraldry, they occur too frequently on pendants from different parts of the country to be associated with families. Thus the writer's collection includes seven pendants with unicorns in various attitudes, and ten with Az. *a griffin passant or*, which is given in rolls of arms only for 'the king of Griffony' (or Constantinople). Cf. JHB 1629 (found at Wimborne, Dorset), an early square enamelled pendant with Gu. *a griffin passant or*, which is in the same style as JHB 934 (found in Leicestershire), with a blue enamel field.

⁸ An example pressed into the leather of a stirrup is mentioned in Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 70.

niture at all, though the locations where they are unearched suggest that they did not come from domestic objects. A range of other closely related items has been found, for instance shields and lozenges attached to integral shanks, hooks and strap connections, or dangling from vertical metal fittings.⁹ Vertical fittings were also decorated with armorial bronze 'banners' fitted over them on tubular shafts.¹⁰ An enamelled shield of exactly the same shape, size and pattern as those used as pendants has been found set into a sword pommel.¹¹ Similar champlevé enamelled shields could be set into civilian objects, the prime example being the small box or *coffret* of around 1236 in the Louvre, which has 46 of them in two sizes and also some larger roundels with shields of France.¹²

The use of non-armorial pendants as horse furniture, attached by their loops to the breast-strap (or peytrel), is of considerable antiquity, perhaps beginning in the Middle East or even the Far East. A fragment of a hanging dated to the sixth century, found in Egypt but showing signs of Sasanian influence, has several figures of armed horsemen whose mounts have breast-straps and breeching-straps with pendants.¹³ And a small ceramic horse from China, dated to the same period, appears to have pine-cone shaped pendants on the breast-strap.¹⁴ Their use was common in Norman times, as may be seen from equestrian seals,¹⁵ such as those of Odo, Bishop of Ba-

⁹ A vertical iron fitting, possibly from a saddle, offered for sale at Christie's (South Kensington) on 3 Sep. 2014, lot 135, had a rectangular bronze armorial 'banner' (see next note), and two branches in a Y-shape from which two bronze pendants were suspended, all enamelled with the arms of Bohun, and an applied cast swan (the Bohun crest) on the base. Another type of vertical fitting, on a bronze stem with four branches for lozenge pendants, two still present (with the arms of Montacute and Grandison), is in the Salisbury Museum: Cherry, 'Harness pendants', pp. 24, 27, no. 7. Cherry cites a similar fitting in the British Museum (OA.242).

¹⁰ See the previous note (arms of Bohun). A few of these enamelled 'banners' have been found detached: e.g. JHB 420 (*Az. three boar's heads coupé or langued gu.*, for Le Poer); JHB 1482 (*Or/ar. a lion rampant gu. debruised by a bendlet az.*, perhaps for Lewis de la Pole, d. c. 1294); PAS BERK-EC8D3E (Bohun); BERK-AD8A18, see *CoA* 3rd ser. 10 (2014) p. 118 with plate 7b (Clare on one side, Clifford on the other); YORYM-809B26 (a lion rampant on one side, three bars on the other); IHS-775335 (a cross on one side, an eagle displayed on the other); SF-D8EDA2 (*Or a lion rampant gu.*); WMID-C28BF7 (*Gu. three fleurs-de-lys [or]*, for Cauntelo); Cherry, 'Harness pendants', pp. 19, 24, no. 5 (*Gu. three pallets wavy or*, for Maudit), and pp. 21, 25, no. 12 (a lion rampant).

¹¹ A sword offered for sale at Christie's (South Kensington) on 3 Sep. 2014, lot 134 (unsold), has a shield with the arms of Bohun inlaid on each side of the pommel; the shield is of the same size as Bohun harness pendants, with traces of enamel. For the various types of armorial pommel see D. J. La Rocca, 'Sword and dagger pommels associated with the Crusades, Part 1', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 46 (2011), pp. 133-44; S. Ashley, 'Five medieval armorial sword-pommels from Norfolk', *CoA* 3rd ser. 3 (2011), pp. 1-7 (only one enamelled).

¹² Musée du Louvre, 1853 Ms 253. This was formerly associated with St Louis. Another example is the *coffret* or shrine of the Blessed Jean Montmirail (d. 1217) in the Abbaye de Longpont.

¹³ Exhibited at Dumbarton Oaks, near Washington, D.C., no. BZ.1939.13.

¹⁴ Sold by Timeline Auctions, 5 Dec. 2014, lot 1017. This was dated by thermoluminescence analysis to the sixth century.

¹⁵ For other twelfth-century examples on seals see Ashley, pp. 27-8.

yeux (1071/82),¹⁶ Fulk, Count of Anjou (1090),¹⁷ and William II, King of England (1090s).¹⁸ A late twelfth-century English example may be seen in the figure of St George on the tympanum in Fordington church, Dorset.¹⁹ This has crosses, whereas the pendants on seals are seen only as indistinct blobs hanging from long stems. The armorial shield-pendant appears later,²⁰ and is depicted on a thirteenth-century aquamanile in the Bargello, Florence, which has shields with the arms of England, though of a different shape from any seen on actual specimens.²¹ There are at least two other aquamanilia which show pendants attached to the horse's peytrel, though they are not obviously armorial in form.²² In the mid-thirteenth century Trinity College *Apocalypse*,²³ which is written in French but believed to be of English origin, there is a miniature showing mounted kings and princes with coloured pendants which are unmistakably meant to be heraldic and enamelled. A line drawing of similar date in the destroyed Metz *Apocalypse* showed a king riding with a bow and arrow, and the peytrel of his horse decorated with alternating shields and sexfoils (see **Figure 1**).²⁴ A slightly later illustration in the bottom right-hand corner of the Hereford Cathedral Mappa Mundi,²⁵ usually dated to around 1300, shows shields alternating with roundels containing crosses.²⁶ If correctly dated, this may be the latest illustration of

¹⁶ Drawing in *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, edd. L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton (Oxford 1950), pl. VIII, facing p. 304.

¹⁷ Drawing of a lost impression on a charter of 1090: O. Guilleau, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle* (Paris 1972), vol. 2, pp. 226-7, and plate XXI. A surviving impression from this seal (*ibid.*, pl. XX) is broken and does not show the pendants.

¹⁸ Examples of 1091/2 and 1094/6 are illustrated in *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100*, edd. T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford 1957), plates VIII, XXX. The only known surviving impression of William I's great seal, on a charter of 1069 in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is less than clear: *ibid.*, plate XXVIII. But some antiquarian engravings of it show similar pendants.

¹⁹ Illustrated in Ashley, p. 27.

²⁰ Ashley, p. 27, mentions shield-shaped pendants on the twelfth-century west front of the church of San Zeno in Verona, Italy.

²¹ Illustrated in Ashley, p. 31.

²² For instance a German example (probably Saxon) in the Robert Lehman collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York, where the pendants are leaf-shaped rather than shields; cf. the fearsome king of the locusts in the Trinity College *Apocalypse*.

²³ Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms R.16.2, fo. 23v. This manuscript was reprinted in facsimile in 1909 (for the Roxburghe Club) and 2004 (by Faksimile Verlag Luzern). It may now be viewed online at sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1199.

²⁴ Formerly Metz Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Salis 38 (destroyed by bombing in 1944).

²⁵ Most clearly illustrated in the line drawing reproduced in Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 62, fig. 46.

²⁶ This type of pendant is very common and has been associated with the Knights Templar (e.g. in many of the PAS descriptions), though the association is difficult to prove. Nine examples in the writer's collection have a central cross paty, enamelled red, and 'AVE MARIA' around the circumference. Another is illustrated in Ashley, no. 35 (there tentatively attributed to Bigod, on the footing that the cross is plain and 'throughout'; but the crosses are usually paty, occasionally paty throughout).

Figure 1: a king, armed with bow and arrow and mounted on a horse equipped with a peytrel from which hang alternating shields and sexfoils. From the Metz Apocalypse (13th century).

Formerly Metz, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Salis 38. Illustration from R. Forrer-Strassburg, 'Studienmaterial zur Geschichte der Mittelalterwaffen', *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 2 (1902), facing p. 404.



harness pendants. They may be sought in vain in the far more numerous fourteenth- and fifteenth-century miniatures depicting mounted knights, whose chargers were decorated – at least in full dress – with caparisons which completely covered the breast-strap.

Corroborative evidence as to the use of pendants was found in 2011 in a well at Caherduggan Castle, County Cork, Ireland.²⁷ It is a broad leather strap, buckled at each end, perhaps a horse's peytrel, with the remains of 49 small square pendants depicting lions rampant facing sinister, attached to matching square hangers which are riveted to the leather. In this case the pendants hang against the leather rather than below it. Many similar small square pendants and their matching hangers have been found, most commonly with lions passant rather than rampant, and more often facing sinister than dexter (see **Figure 2**, over). They probably date from the first half of thirteenth century.²⁸ There is no trace of enamel and the lions were presumably decorative rather than armorial; they bear some resemblance to the lions passant frequently found on gilded twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century buckle-plates.

²⁷ For a brief illustrated report see *Medieval Histories* 11:2 (2012), pp. 9-11: available online at medievalhistories.com/wp-content/uploads/medievalhistories-november2.pdf?1b36c5.

²⁸ A hybrid example has been found attached to a hanger with the arms of Richard of Cornwall, a smaller version of an armorial type datable to this early period (and discussed below, pp. 14-15): JHB 1539. The arms in this case were probably enamelled, but the hanger with the lion passant seems not to have been.



Figure 2: Small square harness pendants with lions passant, with matching hangers (above, JHB 1574, place of finding unknown; right, JHB 459, found in Yorkshire).

The peak period for the larger, shield-shaped pendants seems to have been around 1280 to 1350. This can be demonstrated from the occurrence of identifiable arms of families which disappeared or lost their importance in that period. It is often difficult to be certain about identifications, and several pendants have been found with arms which are not recorded in *Aspilogia*²⁹ or the *Dictionary of British Arms (DBA)*. In some cases the lack of records may be because the arms are foreign, and in others because the families were not represented on the military expeditions for which the arms were recorded on rolls. But a large category—typified by the use of quadrilobes in preference to shields—is that of religious houses, whose arms and devices are poorly recorded because they did not normally use them on their seals or serve in war. These will not be discussed here. On the other hand, there are numerous coats of arms about which there can be little doubt and which belong predominantly to this period. The arms most frequently occurring on harness pendants are those of England, which probably fixes their date before the assumption of the French quartering in the royal

²⁹ T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Rolls of Arms Henry III (Aspilogia 2: London 1967)*; G. J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms Edward I (Aspilogia 3: two vols., London 1997)*. Cited in this article as *Asp. 2* and *3*; *Asp. 3* refers here to the second volume of Brault.

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arms in 1340.³⁰ The commonest private arms found on pendants are:

Chequy or and azure [WARENNE]. These are likely to antedate the death of John de Warenne, 7th Earl of Surrey, in 1347. The arms date back to the mid-twelfth century. *Asp.* 2, p. 26; 3, pp. 447-8; *DBA* 2, pp. 256-7. See **Plate 1a**.

Azure a bend argent cotised between six lioncels or [BOHUN].³¹ Although these could in theory date from the later fourteenth century, they have been found in such large quantities that they seem more likely to belong to the period of the family's ascendancy. The arms are first found in the 1230s. *Asp.* 2, p. 19; 3, p. 60; *DBA* 2, pp. 88-90. See **Plate 1b**.

Argent a lion rampant gules [sometimes *crowned or*] *within a bordure sable bezanty* [CORNWALL]. These are likely to antedate the death without issue of Edmund, 2nd Earl of Cornwall, in 1300. It has been suggested that the arms were assumed by his father Richard (d. 1272) as Count of Poitou. *Asp.* 2, p. 20; 3, pp. 120-1; *DBA* 1, pp. 239-40.

Or three chevronels gules [CLARE]. These are likely to antedate the death of Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn in 1314, without male issue. The arms were in use by c. 1170. *Asp.* 2, p. 22; 3, p. 106; *DBA* 2, pp. 519-20.

Barry (or barruly) argent and azure an orle of martlets gules [VALENCE]. William de Lusignan (d. 1296), seigneur de Valence, who came to England in 1247, and his son Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1324 without issue. *Asp.* 2, p. 31; 3, pp. 430-2; *DBA* 2, pp. 190-3.

Quarterly argent and gules in the second and third quarters a fret [sometimes *fretty*] *or over all a bendlet sable* [DESPENCER]. These are likely to antedate the execution of Hugh le Despencer, Baron le Despencer, in 1326, though his grandson was restored to the barony in 1338 and died in 1349 without issue. *Asp.* 2, pp. 48, 137; 3, pp. 140-1; *DBA* 1, pp. 339-40.

Each of these is represented by dozens of surviving examples, and it is observable not only that they are all different but that the style and quality of the workmanship vary considerably. Besides these widespread species, there are others which can with reasonable confidence be dated more closely by association with known individuals. Here are a dozen of them by way of illustration:

Ermine on a fess gules three lozenges or [ARDERNE]. JHB 1191 (found near Wing, Bucks.). Cf. another with five lozenges: JHB 249 (found near Royston, Herts.). Ralph de Arden or Arderne (fl. 1300), a knight of the shire for Essex in 1295 and 1302; summoned to serve in Scotland in 1298. *Asp.* 3, p. 14; *DBA* 3, pp. 468-9.

³⁰ Far less common are England quartering France (JHB 621, 1040; UKDFD 43909: all quadrilobes) and France quartering England (JHB 60, 285, 1344: all lozenges; JHB 1204, octagonal). Pendants are also found with the arms of England and a label of France (e.g. JHB 382, 417, 508, 600), for the Earl or Duke of Lancaster; more usually the label is plain blue. Cf. JHB 351 (found in Lincoln), a lozenge with the arms of England and a bordure of France, probably for John of Eltham (d. 1336), Earl of Cornwall.

³¹ The majority of pendants, and even the sword pommel mentioned in n. 11, above, show the arms simplified with three gilded bendlets of equal width instead of a *bend ar. cotised or*. Small studs sometimes have only two or three lioncels.

Gules a fess between six martlets or [BEAUCHAMP]. JHB 59 (found in Northamptonshire), 914 (found at Lowestoft, Suffolk), 1591 (stud found at Blyth, Notts.); PAS BERK-23C99E (stud found at Shipston-on-Stour, Warwicks.); PAS SWYOR-C57153 (stud found at Loversall, W. R. Yorks.). Walter de Beauchamp (d. 1303), steward of the king's household, or perhaps his son Walter (d. 1328); the family was seated in Warwickshire. *Asp.* 3, p. 41; *DBA* 3, pp. 376-7. Cf. JHB 1590 (found at Wortham, Suff.); the same arms with a label of five points azure, probably for Sir Walter's younger son Sir Giles de Beauchamp (*fl.* 1320-40, d. 1361) of Powick, Worcs.; used on his seal in 1339 (with four points).

Per pale or and vert a lion rampant gules [BIGOD as Earl Marshal]. JHB 1069 (a large mount found in Suffolk). Roger le Bigod (d. 1306), Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England from 1270; died without issue. *Asp.* 2, p. 18; 3, pp. 53-4; *DBA* 1, pp. 143-4.

Gules a cross engrailed or over all a bend azure [CRAY]. JHB 1552 (found at Stock, Essex). Sir William de Cray (*fl.* 1300, living 1315) of St Paul's Cray, Kent, admiral of the Fleet in the 1290s, MP for Kent. *Asp.* 3, p. 125; *DBA* 3, p. 171.

Quarterly argent and gules in the second and third quarters a fret or over all a bend sable, a label of five points azure [DESPENSER]. JHB 1553 (found near Portsmouth, Hants.). Hugh le Despenser, junior (executed 1326). *Asp.* 3, p. 141; *DBA* 1, p. 364.

Barry of six argent and azure a bendlet gobony or and gules [GREY]. JHB 514 (found at Abbots Bromley, Staffs.). Nicholas de Grey (d. 1327) of Barton, N. R. Yorks., younger son of Henry Grey of Codnor (d. 1308). *Asp.* 3, p. 205; *DBA* 1, p. 346.

Paly of six argent and azure on a bend gules three escallops or [GRANDISON]. Seven examples: JHB 262 (a large mount, from a German collection), 406 (found in Norfolk), 645 (a mount, found in Norfolk), 1330 (a small pendant, probably found in Leicestershire), 1558 (found at Thursley, Surrey: see **Plate 1c**); PAS PUBLIC-703FD3 (found at Fakenham, Norf.); PAS KENT-519469 (found at Higham, Kent). The ubiquitous Sir Otto (or Otes) de Grandison (d. 1328 without issue), close friend and counsellor of King Edward I, after whose death in 1307 he lived on the continent. *Asp.* 3, p. 200; *DBA* 2, pp. 26-7. Similar pendants are found with eagles instead of escallops, for Sir William de Grandison (d. 1335), Otto's younger brother: e.g. JHB 267 (a lozenge), 737 (found at Usk, Monmouths.), 1635 (a quadrilobe stud); PAS IHS-D344E7 (found at North Ferriby, E. R. Yorks.); PAS PUBLIC-6B2E53 (lozenge stud, found at Great Milton, Oxon.). A quadrilobe pendant has been found with buckles instead of escallops: UKDFD 8743 (found at Salisbury, Wilts.).

Gules three round buckles tongues fesswise between as many crosses crosslet fitchy or [ROSCELYN]. JHB 1557 (found at Binbrook, Lincs.: PAS NLM-D0FB5F). Another example with three crosses is PAS SF-AEDB35 (quadrilobal pendant found at Parham, Suff.). Similar pendants have been found with six crosses: JHB 104 (found near Skegness, Lincs.), 801 (found in the Pelhams, Herts.). A lozenge-mount version has four crosses: PAS YORYM-64C167 (found at Overton, N. R. Yorks.). Sir Thomas de Roscelyn (born c. 1273; slain in Scotland 1336) of Norfolk and Lincolnshire; died *s.p.m.* *DBA* 2, pp. 219, 220. Cf. *Asp.* 3, p. 365 (without crosses, for an earlier namesake).

[Azure] on a bend or a lion rampant bendwise in chief [purpure] [Sir Henry le SCROP]. JHB 387 (stud found in Norfolk). Sir Henry Scrope (d. 1336), chief baron of the Exchequer, identifiable from the personal augmentation of a lion granted to him by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (whose arms were *Or a lion rampant purpure*). *Asp.* 3, pp. 384-5; *DBA* 2, p. 3.

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Barruly of fourteen argent and gules a lion rampant sable [De STOTEVILLE]. JHB 450 (found at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Notts.): see **Plate 1d**. Probably Robert de Stoteville. The Stotevilles possessed an estate at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, which they forfeited in 1337 because they were deemed to be too French. *DBA* 1, p. 140.

Argent on a fess gules between three popinjays vert beaked and legged gules as many escallops argent [THWENG]. JHB 1178 (found near Howden, E. R. Yorks.). In Sheriff Hutton church these arms appear on the shield of Sir Edmund Thweng (d. 1344), of Cornborough, N. R. Yorks. and also on his great-great-granddaughter's brass. He was younger brother of Sir Marmaduke Thweng (d. 1322) who used these arms without the escallops (*Asp.* 3, p. 415; JHB 670: see **Plate 1e**). *DBA* 3, p. 487.

Bendy of eight or and azure on a chief gules three fleurs-de-lys or [TRILLEK]. JHB 237 (a lozenge pendant, place of finding unknown). John Trillek, bishop of Hereford 1344-61. These arms are shown as bendy of six on Trillek's brass in Hereford cathedral. *DBA* 3, p. 51.

Impaled coats, though rare, ought to be more closely datable, since they represent marriages or headships of institutions. Unfortunately most of those in the writer's collection represent marriages which have not been traced, though one which is readily identifiable represents the marriage between King Edward II and Isabella of France and may therefore be dated between 1308 and 1327, no doubt from the earlier part of the reign, before the marriage broke down:

Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or [ENGLAND], impaling *Azure semé-de-lys or* [FRANCE, ancient]. JHB 1502 (found at East Leake, Notts.); and cf. JHB 1346 (a stud from Essex, same arms). Similar pendants have been found at Hook, Hants. (PAS PUBLIC-92C9C3); Wicken Bonhunt, Essex (PAS ESS-38B2A4); Houghton, Sussex (PAS SUSS-C16496); and Brantingham, E. R. Yorks. (PAS YORYM-CD27D4).

Two others show the arms of prominent noblewomen:

Barruly of twelve argent and azure an orle of martlets gules [VALENCE, Earl of Pembroke], impaling *Gules three pallets vair on a chief or a label azure* [ST POL]. JHB 1000 (found in Warwickshire): see **Plate 1f**. Marie de St Pol (d. 1377), who in 1321 married Aymer de Valence (d. 1324), Earl of Pembroke. The arms are still used by her foundation of Pembroke College, Cambridge, but with the Valence arms dimidiated. The Valence arms are similarly dimidiated on her seal and in her breviary (Cambridge University Library, Ms Dd.5.5).³² *Asp.* 3, pp. 377, 430; *DBA* 2, p. 191.

Argent a fess between two bars gemel gules [BADLESMERE], impaling *Gules three water-bougets argent* [ROOS]. JHB 1644 (found in Warwickshire): see **Plate 1g**. Cf. PAS IHS-1C8B51 (quadrilobe mount with the same arms from Bielby, E. R. Yorks.). Margery, eldest daughter (and coheir in 1338) of Bartholomew de Badlesmere (executed 1322) of Leeds Castle, Kent; by 1316 she was married to William, 2nd Baron de Roos (d. 1343). *Asp.* 3, pp. 25-6, 364; *DBA* 2, pp. 210-11; 3, pp. 516-7.

The second of these is an example of the fourteenth-century practice whereby heiresses of estates deemed worthier than their husband's impaled their husband's arms.³³

³² I am grateful to Dr Jayne Ringrose for this information.

³³ See J. Edmondson, *Complete Body of Heraldry* (London 1780), p. 179. It has been argued that in medieval times impaled coats belonged to the wife, not the husband: R. F. Pye, 'Husband and wife', *CoA* new ser. 1 (1974-6), pp. 48-53.

A well-known instance of this occurs in the arms of Clare College, Cambridge (Clare impaling De Burgh). The practice was evidently flexible, because pendants have also been found with Roos impaling Badlesmere.

Some pendants found in English soil have the arms of foreign royal or ruling families, for instance:

Quarterly 1 and 4 Gules a castle triple-towered or [King of CASTILE], *2 and 3 Argent a lion rampant purple* [King of LEON]. Five examples: JHB 398 (found at Blyth, Notts.), 438 (found in Kent), 525 (found at Shorwell, Isle of Wight: see **Plate 1h**), 699 (found at Ranskill, Notts.), 1047 (found in Surrey); also a shield-shaped hanger, JHB 1625. The 'purple' is usually represented by what appears to be red enamel. These quartered arms were first used in the 1230s, but the pendants doubtless date from the period of Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I (married 1254, d. 1290). *Asp.* 2, pp. 35, 51; 3, p. 153; *DBA* 2, p. 245. Cf. JHB 256 (found in Kent), which has Castile quartering *Or a cross patonce gules* [unidentified]. A shield-pendant found at Parham in Suffolk (PAS SF-DDA1C2) has the arms of Leon (whole) dimidiating *Gules three castles triple-towered or* [Castile], for King Alfonso IX (d. 1230) and his queen, Berengaria of Castile, but it may date from the time of Queen Eleanor (their granddaughter).

Paly of six or and gules [Count of PROVENCE]. JHB 304 (found in England, perhaps in Leicestershire). Doubtless for Queen Eleanor of Provence (married King Henry III in 1236, queen mother until 1291). The same arms were sometimes attributed to the kingdom of Aragon, but those were more usually depicted as *Or four pallets gules*: *DBA* 4, p. 286.³⁴ Matthew Paris recorded the arms of Raymond, Count of Provence, father of Queen Eleanor, with four pallets. *Asp.* 2, pp. 29, 44; cf. *Asp.* 3, p. 153 (paly).

Azure crusilly fitchy two barbels (or sea-perch) addorsed or [De BAR]. Five examples: JHB 412 (found at Castle Hedingham, Essex: PAS ESS-CBB892), 1567 (probably found in Lincolnshire); PAS LEIC-A78F91 (found at Stanford-on-Soar, Notts.); UK-DFD 40996 (found near Tewkesbury, Gloucs.); Timeline Auctions 30 May 2014, lot 1049 (found at Kenilworth, Warwicks.). Thibaut de Bar (d. 1291), Count of Bar, or his son Henri (d. 1302), who married Eleanor, daughter of Edward I. The arms were in use by 1240 and were recorded in English rolls for Thibaut. *Asp.* 3, p. 28; *DBA* 4, p. 4. Cf. a shield-shaped fitting with the same arms less the crosses, possibly for Thibaut's father, Count Henri (d. 1240) (recorded thus in *Asp.* 2, p. 25): JHB 710 (found in Essex).

Quarterly 1 and 4 Or a lion rampant sable [Count of FLANDERS], *2 and 3 Or a lion rampant gules* [Count of HAINAULT]. Six examples: JHB 1074 (shield on an escallop-shaped pendant; found in Northamptonshire), 1169 (found near Pytchley, Northants.); Ashley, no. 106 (found at North Lopham, Norfolk); PAS PUBLIC-1D0806 (found at Cambridge); DENO-C0F466 (found at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.); PAS NCL-7B15B5 (found at Theakston, N. R. Yorks.). These doubtless commemorate Philippa of Hainault, queen of Edward III from 1328; a shield with England impaling the same quartered arms was found near Doncaster, W. R. Yorks. (PAS IHS-605777).

Or a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter-flory gules [kingdom of SCOTLAND]. Two examples: JHB 458 (stud, found near Corbridge, Northumb.), 1309

³⁴ A shield with those arms was found at Amesbury, Wilts. (PAS WILT-F5E476). There is also a hanger (JHB 630) with the arms *Gu. four pallets or*. One version of Matthew Paris gives the arms of Raymond, Count of Provence, as *Gu. three pallets or* (*Asp.* 2, p. 71). It is fair to assume that heraldry was not yet sufficiently precise to require such exact distinctions.

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(lozenge pendant, found in Surrey). These arms are first recorded on the great seal of Alexander III (1249-86), though Matthew Paris noted similar arms with a bordure or single tressure flory. *Asp.* 2, pp. 31-2, 45; 3, p. 384; *DBA* 1, pp. 249-51.

Or a dolphin embowed azure debruised by a bendlet compony [argent] and gules [DAUPHINÉ, differenced with a bendlet, perhaps for a third son]. JHB 1449 (a stud found in Kent). It is sometimes said that Prince Louis of France who invaded Kent in 1216 to displace King John, at the invitation of the barons, was 'the Dauphin of France'; but the title of dauphin was not then used by the king's eldest son. After 1349 the undifferenced arms were quartered by France (modern), both for the Dauphin of France and for Dauphiné.

Azure semy-de-lys or a bend gules [FRANCE ancient, differenced with a bend]. JHB 663 (found near Lowick, Northamptonshire). These arms occur in the Heralds' Roll for Robert de France (1256-1317), Count of Clermont, younger son of King Louis IX, Chamberlain of France in 1310; upon his marriage with Beatrice of Burgundy, the heiress of Bourbon, he became Sieur de Bourbon and ancestor of the Bourbon dynasty; his son Louis (d. 1342) was created 1st Duke of Bourbon. *Asp.* 2, p. 182. Cf. *DBA* 1, p. 341 (Duke of Bourbon: three references, all in post-1450 rolls); 4, p. 36 (Bourbon, also in a later roll).

Azure semy-de-lys or a label of three points gules [France ancient, differenced with a label, for the king of NAPLES]. Internet sale, May 2012 (lozenge mount). Cf. JHB 1610 (*Or semy-de-lys sable with a label gules*, possibly for Mortimer). These arms are recorded in the Heralds' Roll (c. 1279) and the Camden Roll (c. 1280) for Charles d'Anjou (d. 1285), Prince of Salerno, Count of Provence and King of Naples, and in Smallpece's Roll (c. 1300) for his son and heir, Charles le Boiteux (d. 1309), a close friend of Edward I, who secured his release from imprisonment by the Catalans in 1288. *Asp.* 3, pp. 181-2; *DBA* 4, pp. 189-90. They survive as the second quartering in the arms of Queens' College, Cambridge (for Queen Margaret of Anjou).

Two others in the writer's collection may represent marshals of France whose arms are found in English rolls of arms:

Gules three mascles or [*?'Raoul de CANNY, fl. 1290, Marshal of France in 1285].* JHB 364 (probably found in Essex). *Asp.* 3, p. 90 (though only recorded thus in one roll). The arms might alternatively be those of Roger St Andrew (d. c. 1326) of Bourn, Cambridgeshire: *Asp.* 3, p. 371 (six mascles; but three in Glover's Ordinary³⁵). Cf. *DBA* 4, p. 204 (Vipont, quartered by Ker).

[*Azure*] *seven bezants on a chief or three martlets gules* [Simon de MELUN, d. 1302, Marshal of France in 1293]. JHB 1006 (place of finding unknown). *Asp.* 3, p. 291; cf. *DBA* 4, p. 349 (omits the martlets).

It is hard to find examples which definitely come from Netherlandish or northern Europe, though one with arms associated with the house of Nassau may be for Reynold of Guelders (d. 1326), who had been an ally of Edward I:

Azure billety a lion rampant or [GUELDERN]. JHB 873 (found at Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire: see **Plate 1i**). *Asp.* 3, p. 208. In fifteenth-century rolls the arms were also attributed to Gisours, probably the merchant family descended from John de Gisours, Lord Mayor of London in 1258. *DBA* 1, p. 146.

³⁵ Cited by Papworth, p. 974; not in *DBA*.

Opinions differ even as to the likely cultural status which these pendants indicate. They are often crudely cast, in copper alloy, which might suggest that they were used by servants and retainers rather than the barons, knights and abbots whose arms they bear.³⁶ It has been suggested that pendants were also sometimes used as neck-badges, in the same way as those still worn by knights and companions of orders;³⁷ but, while it is perfectly possible that they were used as personal ornaments of some kind, or as marks of accreditation for messengers,³⁸ no contemporary supporting evidence for this has emerged.³⁹ The wide variety of pendants depicting the arms of a single family, such as Clare, Bohun or Warenne, might argue against their having been issued by the family at all. Perhaps they were as widely available to the general public as pewter pilgrim badges and the so-called retainers' badges.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the enamelling and gilding were not inexpensive and in their original uncorroded state their appearance would have been impressive.⁴¹ The Bohun shield set into the rather grand broadsword mentioned earlier, which can hardly have belonged to a lowly personage, is of the common-or-garden type. The larger mounts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which are typically 50 to 60 millimetres long, are of markedly superior workmanship;⁴² but their function is as yet unknown.

Early Square Pendants

Some of the earliest of the foreign armorial pendants found in England are square, with a central shield, and (unlike the shield-shaped pendants) they had matching

³⁶ This is suggested in *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England*, edd. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London 1987), p. 258; Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 62.

³⁷ Dalton, *Guide*, pp. 5-6.

³⁸ Dalton, *Guide*, p. 5, stated positively that they were used by messengers, without citing any evidence other than the later practice of heralds and king's messengers. The fifteenth-century heraldic writer Nicholas Upton wrote of messengers (*cursores*) 'qui insuper portabant Arma Dominorum suorum in pixidibus depicta pendentibus in suis cingulis, sive cinctoriis [girdles] supra renes, Nec eis est permissum suorum Dominorum Arma alio aliquo loco portare': *De Studio Militari*, ed. E. Bysshe (1654), p. 18. The reference to *pixides* (small boxes) is difficult to interpret. But, whatever these were, they were evidently painted. He says the arms were moved on to the left shoulder on promotion from messenger to rider.

³⁹ Dalton referred to the 'monument of Sir John Cockayne at Ashbourne' as evidence for knights using armorial pendants 'about the neck'. This was probably a slip for Sir Edmund Cockayne (d. 1404), who is portrayed (uniquely) with a large blank shield placed on the chain-mail hauberk immediately below his chin. But the shield is not pendent from anything, is twice the size of any known armorial pendant, and indeed it is larger than any enamelled mount which has been found; possibly it was intended as an identifying label to be painted, now that full-sized shields were no longer shown on monuments.

⁴⁰ These were invariably cast in pewter. They include what are unquestionably heraldic devices or badges, but they are often crudely executed. The evidence of legal records is that badges (*signa*) given to gentlemen retainers were more likely to be silver: J. Baker, *Oxford History of the Laws of England*, vol. 6 (Oxford 2003), pp. 70-1.

⁴¹ The same point is made by Ashley, p. 30.

⁴² A good example (with a lion rampant, perhaps for Felbrigg) is illustrated in Ashley, p. 16, no. 146 (found at Fordham, Norf.).



Figure 3: square pendant with a gold 'cross of Toulouse' on a red field (JHB 1380, found near Duxford, Cambs.).

square hangers, often with the same arms, pierced with holes for pinning to the leather. In other words, they were of the same basic type as those found in the Irish well, but larger and usually with the addition of enamel. The arms point to these being from the middle of the thirteenth century or slightly earlier. One example (JHB 505), with both halves still linked by a pin, has on the hanger the arms of Leon (presumably, though impaling an unidentified lozenge coat) and on the pendant the arms of Castile. The commonest of this type, by far, have the very distinctive cross of Toulouse, sometimes blazoned more precisely as 'a cross clechy voided and pometty', though this is invariably set in a circular compartment rather than upon a shield (see **Figure 3**).⁴³ If these do indeed represent Toulouse it is possible that they date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Raymond, sixth Count of Toulouse, married Joan Plantagenet (d. 1199) and was exiled to England when Simon de Montfort the elder captured Toulouse in 1215. The arms of the seventh count (d. 1249), who was supported in his wars by Henry III of England, also appear in English rolls of arms.⁴⁴ On the other hand, since the cross is never shown on a shield, since the colours of the field or the voiding sometimes vary, and since the number of surviving examples is disproportionate to any significance which the Counts of Toulouse had in England,

⁴³ There are ten examples in the writer's collection, mostly with the field *gules*, as for the count of Toulouse. These were recorded by Matthew Paris as the arms of the seventh Count of Toulouse: *Asp.* 2, p. 44. Cf. JHB 1061 (found in Suffolk); JHB 1504 (found at Great Dunmow, Essex); and Ashley, no. 174 (found at Wiveton, Norf.); all three have *Az. a cross of Toulouse or voided gu.* JHB 1257 (found at Deopham, Norf.) has *Az. a cross of Toulouse or voided az.* JHB 1201 (found near Basingstoke, Hants.) has *Gu. a cross of Toulouse or voided ar.*

⁴⁴ *Asp.* 2, p. 176; 3, p. 418. They were also the arms of Henry le Waleys (d. 1302), a leading wine merchant, trading by 1261, who was four times Lord Mayor of London: *Asp.* 3, p. 443; *DBA* 3, p. 152.

it is questionable whether the crosses on these pendants represent a coat of arms. It has been plausibly suggested that they may have been a device or badge of Simon de Montfort, who died at the siege of Toulouse in 1218.⁴⁵ His incised effigy in Carcassonne cathedral shows a surcoat strewn with alternating Toulouse crosses and lions rampant.

There are other square pendants and hangers of this type and period with undoubted coats of arms which may be ascribed to known individuals. Two or three have come to light with an unusual coat which is recorded only for Henry de Trumbleville (d. 1239) of Normandy and Guernsey, though it is puzzling that so many examples should have been found in various English locations;⁴⁶ the same arms have also been found on an early form of shield pendant, with a flanged edge.

[*Azure*] in dexter chief a lion passant guardant in sinister chief and in base a quatrefoil or [TRUBLEVILLE]. JHB 718 (found near Rochester, Kent). *Asp.* 3, p. 426 ('Turberville': pierced cinquefoils); *DBA* 1, pp. 228-9 (pierced cinquefoils or sexfoils). Similar pendants in the British Museum (1900.0907.1: found in Canterbury, Kent) and the Salisbury Museum (Cherry, 'Harness pendants', 20-1, 25, no. 9: found in Salisbury, Wilts.) have a crowned lion and two sexfoils, as seemingly does another one found at Quidenham, Norf. (Ashley, no. 173).⁴⁷ Some of them have blue enamel remaining.

The nicest of the Trumbleville pendants has a latticed (or fretty) ground surrounding the shield, though it is no longer in good condition. A number of similar square pendants, typically made of thick metal, with an incised latticed ground (generously gilded) and an enamelled shield, have come to light in England. They are far less common than shield pendants—perhaps in a ratio of 1 to 250—and this is probably related both to their early date and (possibly) to a more remote geographical origin. The identifiable armorial examples are:

Gules a castle triple-towered or [King of CASTILE]. JHB 840 (found at Little Dunmow, Essex), 576 (a badly corroded example found at Winterbourne Whitchurch, Dorset). *DBA* 2, p. 244. See **Plate 2a**.

Chequy or and azure a bordure gules over all a canton ermine [Duke of BRITANNY]. JHB 722 (found at Covehithe, Suff.). Probably for Pierre Mauclerc *alias* Peter of Dreux (d. 1250), Duke of Brittany *jure uxoris*, who was created Earl of Richmond by Henry III of England, or his son John (d. 1286).⁴⁸ The canton was assumed by Peter as a difference, since he was a younger son of the Count of Dreux. An enamelled sword pommel with the same arms was found on sale in the Damascus bazaar in the 1920s and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (38.60). *Asp.* 2, pp. 172-3; *DBA* 2, p. 206; cf. *Asp.* 3, pp. 73-4.

⁴⁵ Ashley, p. 18.

⁴⁶ See H. S. London, 'Two fourteenth-century pendants with the arms of Trumbleville', *AntJ* 29 (1949), pp. 204-6. In the light of what is now known, London's conjectural dating was a century too late.

⁴⁷ There is a woodcut illustration of the former in Dalton, *Guide*, p. 283.

⁴⁸ JHB 209 is a shield-pendant with the same arms, perhaps for John (d. 1305), Duke of Brittany, who married Beatrice, daughter of King Henry III. Cf. PAS LIN-AD6CD4 (a ferrous fitting found at West Keal, Lincs.); BH-E248C4 (a shield pendant found at Offley, Herts.; the bordure semé of lions passant, as a further difference).

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Argent a lion rampant gules within a bordure sable bezanty [CORNWALL]. Two examples: JHB 585 (found at Fincham, Norf.: see **Plate 2b**), 1457 (found between Foxton and Harston, Cambs.). Doubtless for Richard of Cornwall (d. 1272), Count of Poitou, fl. 1225-50. There is an example in the British Museum (OA.2132) with these arms and those of England side by side on a rectangular pendant with lattice-work.⁴⁹ A small square hanger with the same arms, in a latticed surround, has been found still attached to a square pendant with a lion passant in a circle: JHB 1539 (found at Waltham Abbey, Essex).

Argent a fess gules [?BÉTHUNE]. JHB 708 (found at Hawkinge, near Folkestone, Kent: see **Plate 2c**). Baldwin de Béthune (d. 1212), a favourite of Richard I, held property in Kent and other counties. But the arms could be for Guillaume de Béthune (living 1279), whose arms occur in English rolls, sometimes with a lion passant in dexter chief for difference. *Asp.* 3, p. 50. The arms are also recorded for other families, but usually with charges added for difference: *Asp.* 3, p. 326; *DBA* 3, p. 293.

Gules three pallets vair on a chief or a label of five points azure [ST POL]. Three hangers: JHB 827 (found at Blyth, Notts.); PAS IHS-2C8738 (found at Doncaster, W. R. Yorks.); PAS SF-7C7CB8 (found in 2014 at Frostenden, Suff.; here the label is incorrectly enamelled red). A matching pendant was found at Tharston, Norf. (Ashley, no. 45). These arms were recorded in Walford's Roll for Guy de Châtillon (d. 1289), Count of St Pol-sur-Ternoise from 1248, whose daughter Marie married Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, mentioned above, p. 9; the label was assumed by Guy to distinguish his arms from those of his elder brother John, Count of Blois: *Asp.* 2, p. 173. Later pendants have been found with *Vair three pallets gules a chief or*, without the label: JHB 1564; PAS WAW-F59E3 (found at Welford-on-Avon, Warwicks.). Cf. *DBA* 4, pp. 281-2.

There are further representatives of this species which cannot be certainly identified.⁵⁰ Most intriguing of all are a number of pendants and fittings with the arms, *Gules two leopards (lions passant guardant) in pale or*, on a shield set within a circular field enamelled blue. The lions appear to have indistinct crowns, though the arms are nowhere recorded in literary sources with crowns. It may be an error or temporary variation, sometimes found in relation to the arms of England,⁵¹ or just spiky manes.⁵² At least six examples have been found, in different parts of the country (see **Plate 2d, e**

⁴⁹ Illustrated in *The Age of Chivalry*, p. 258, no. 157.

⁵⁰ For instance PAS SF-567116 (*Chevronny gu. and ar.*, from Great Barton, Suff.).

⁵¹ A very similar enamelled pendant, with a latticed gilt background, has the leopards of England very clearly crowned (UKDFD 24663, found at Consett, Northumb.). The British Museum pendant (OA.2132) with the arms of England and Cornwall in parallel has similar lions, apparently with crowns, in the arms of England. Dr Ailes has pointed out that the tomb of Eleanor of Castile (d. 1214), daughter of King Henry II, in the abbey of Santa Maria de Las Huelgas (near Burgos, Spain), also shows the leopards of England crowned. See further C. R. Humphery-Smith, 'Crowned leopards', *CoA* new ser. 11 (1991-2), pp. 299-301.

⁵² Lions guardant were sometimes depicted with smooth topped heads (as usually were lions rampant), but sometimes with spiky or 'indented' tops: e.g. JHB 519 (large mount with the arms of England); JHB 600 (pendant with the arms of England and a label of France). Cf. the disc mentioned in the next note.

and f),⁵³ besides some crude copies.⁵⁴ Without crowns the arms are familiar as those of the Duke of Normandy,⁵⁵ and also of the Count of Dietz (now Diez),⁵⁶ but these were not adopted, as far as is known, until a later period. Later heralds invented the tradition that the arms of England were those of Normandy with the addition of a third lion to represent Aquitaine. But it is more likely that the arms of England were established first.⁵⁷ A pendant of the same type has been found with the three leopards of England, also on a shield set in a circular blue panel,⁵⁸ and the close similarity does raise the possibility of a royal origin for the others. The arms with two leopards appear in the earliest rolls of arms for Richard Fitzroy de Douvres (died 1245/6), an illegitimate son of King John, who was of Chilham, Kent.⁵⁹ But he does not seem to have been a sufficiently significant figure to account for the number and the wide geographical distribution of the pendants of this type which have so far been found. A more intriguing identification may point to an even earlier date.⁶⁰ Before he became king in 1199, John himself had used two lions passant on his seal as Lord of Ireland, though they seem not to be guardant.⁶¹ Two forward-looking lions passant also occur on the

⁵³ JHB 795 (from Hardwick, Lincolnshire); Timeline Auctions, 21 June 2013, lot 1252 (from Wymondham, Norf.); PAS BH-AC4764 (from Harpenden, Herts.; with the lions to sinister); JHB 1528 (NMS-3D5ED3, from Aylsham, Norf.: here there is no circular surround to the shield); JHB 1248 (a hanger, from Nassington, Northants.); JHB 1364 (a fitting with four pierced lugs, from Winterborne Kingston, Dorset). The same arms have been found on a circular pendant, also with a blue surround (SF-D96A02, from Raydon, Suff.), on a disc mount (Timeline Auctions, 1 Nov. 2013, lot 1578: the lions here appear to be crowned), on a quadrilobe pendant (KENT-41A5C6, found at Cliffe, Kent), and on a small shield-pendant (JHB 1614, found at Bungay, Suff.).

⁵⁴ JHB 229 (perhaps from Suffolk); Ashley, no. 172 (from Fincham, Norf.). These have plain surrounds, without fretting, and crude lions which merge into the edges of the shield.

⁵⁵ *DBA* 1, p. 264 (mid-fifteenth century rolls).

⁵⁶ Their earlier history is not at present known to the writer, but they are to be seen on the seal used by Gerhard, count of Dietz, in 1368: *BM Seals*, no. 21547. The counts of Dietz became extinct soon afterwards, but their arms were quartered from the fifteenth century by the house of Nassau-Dillenburg, e.g. on the embroidered tabard dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth century in the possession of the present writer.

⁵⁷ Matthew Paris in the 1240s attributed them to William the Conqueror (*Asp.* 2, p. 11) but this was anachronistic. They occur as early as 1197/8 on the great seal of King Richard I: A. Ailes, 'The governmental seals of Richard I' in P. Schofield (ed.), *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages* (forthcoming).

⁵⁸ JHB 41 (perhaps from Yorkshire). Cf. a matching hanger in Ashley, p. 19, no. 180 (from Cranworth, Norf.).

⁵⁹ Glover's Roll, *Asp.* 2, p. 130; 3, p. 173; Ailes, *Royal Arms* (next note) at p. 108, n. 86. His wife Rohese was daughter and heir of Fulbert de Douvres (near Caen). Cf. *Asp.* 3, p. 335-6 (Pedwardine of Shropshire; shown as guardant only in one roll).

⁶⁰ For what follows see A. Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: their Development to 1199* (Reading 1982), pp. 61-2; C. R. Humphery-Smith, 'Why three leopards?', *CoA* new ser. 5 (1983), pp. 153-6; P. Veddeler, 'Das braunschweigische Leopardenwappen' in *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 77 (1996), pp. 23-45.

⁶¹ See A. Ailes, 'The seal of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain', *CoA* new ser. 4 (1981), pp. 341-50. John's great seal as king had three leopards, as did all royal seals thereafter.

seal used at the period by Henry (1173-1227), Count palatine of the Rhine,⁶² who was the son of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Princess Matilda, elder daughter of King Henry II of England. On his later seal, used in 1209, they became two leopards.⁶³ Henry was raised in England, and for a short period between the murder of Arthur of Brittany around 1203 and the birth of Prince Henry (later King Henry III) in 1207 he was heir presumptive to the throne of England. It is difficult not to think that his assumption of these arms made a direct reference to his English royal lineage.⁶⁴ His younger brother Otto, Holy Roman Emperor, who died without issue in 1218, actually used the arms of England (with three leopards) impaling those of Germany. When Count Henry died in 1227, his son Henry having predeceased him in 1214,⁶⁵ the arms with the two leopards followed the laws of inheritance by passing to his nephew Otto (d. 1252), first Duke of Brunswick,⁶⁶ and thereafter to his descendants.⁶⁷ Since the Duke of Brunswick had no obvious connection with England, the group of pendants may therefore have been associated with Count Henry or his son of the same name, who remained at the court of King John in England until 1211 or 1212. If so, this early group of enamelled armorial pendants could have a date-range beginning in the first decade of the century. Against this attractive argument, however, is the shape of the shields, which seems rather to belong to the second quarter of the century, and also the possibility that the leopards are shown with crowns. The puzzle therefore remains for the time being unsolved.

It is notable that most, though not all, of these high-quality square armorial pendants from the earlier part of the thirteenth century are connected with the ruling houses of Europe. We do not as yet find the great English families, such the Bohuns or the Warennes, using them—not, at any rate, in specimens so far discovered. There do seem to have been some English imitations, but they are thinner and plainer, and seldom met with:

[*Gules, sometimes Azure*] *a cinquefoil within an orle of escallops [argent]* [FITZ NICOL]. JHB 474 (found at Linton, Cambs.). The arms were recorded by Matthew Paris as those of Ralph FitzNicol (d. 1257), steward of the king's household in the 1230s and 1240s. *Asp.* 2, p. 44; also in Glover's Roll, *ibid.* p. 145; *DBA* 4, pp. 71-2.

Gules a lion rampant argent [depicted to sinister] [MOWBRAY]. JHB 1100 (place of finding unknown), a small matching hanger and pendant, both circular, but with central shields set in lattice-work. This may have been intended for use on the right-hand side

⁶² Illustrated in Veddeler, 'Braunschweigische Leopardenwappen', p. 41, no. 3.

⁶³ Illustrated *ibid.*, p. 41, no. 4. The colours are first recorded in the arms of the Dukes of Brunswick, a fourteenth-century example being a painting in the Bellenville armorial, Paris, BN, Ms Fr. 5230, fo. 21.

⁶⁴ Ailes and Humphery-Smith both discuss the possibility that the arms with two leopards might have been used by King Henry II himself, though there is no direct evidence for this.

⁶⁵ Henry was also raised in England, at the court of King John (his uncle).

⁶⁶ Son of William of Winchester (d. 1213), youngest son of Henry the Lion and Matilda.

⁶⁷ See also A. Murray, 'The arms of the Emperor Otto IV: English influence on German heraldry', *CoA* new ser. 11 (1995-6), pp. 75-81; A. Rabbow, 'The origins of the royal arms of England: a European connection', *CoA* new ser. 13 (1999-2000), pp. 67-75.

of the horse, so that the lions would face forward. A square hanger with these arms has also been found. *Asp.* 3, p. 310; *DBA* 1, pp. 129-30. Matthew Paris recorded the same arms for Geoffrey de Mareys (d. 1245), sometime justiciar of Ireland: *Asp.* 2, p. 27.

[*Gules*] *fretty [argent] on a chief a lion passant guardant* [SPIGURNEL]. Ashley, no 170 (found at Little Snoring, Norf.; no remaining enamel).⁶⁸ *DBA* 3, pp. 35, 37.

Barry of six argent and azure [GREY]. UKDFD 11408 (found near Cooksmill Green, near Writtle, Essex); this is a very small example (14 mm.), with a stippled rather than a latticed gilt surround to the shield.⁶⁹ Richard de Grey (d. c. 1265/71), Lord Grey of Codnor, Constable of Dover, whose father was Steward of Gascony. The arms were in use by 1240, when they occur on the seal of Aylesford Priory, Kent. *DBA* 1, pp. 86-7; *Asp.* 3, p. 206.

Or three chevronels gules a label of five points azure [CLARE]. JHB 1 (found before 1990, place unknown). These arms were borne by Thomas de Clare (d. 1291), younger brother of Gilbert de Clare (1243-95, Earl of Gloucester), but the pendant is probably of earlier date. *DBA* 3, p. 525; *Asp.* 3, p. 106.

Azure a lion rampant [?argent] [?MONTHALT]. JHB 676 (found in Norfolk); Cherry, 'Harness pendants', pp. 21, 25, no 10 (found in Salisbury, Wilts.). These arms were recorded in Glover's Roll for Roger de Mohaut or Monthalt (d. 1260), son of Roger (d. 1232): *Asp.* 2, p. 134.

If we try to pursue the development of pendants before this, the matter becomes more speculative because they are extremely difficult to date. There are cruciform examples which resemble those in the early manuscripts, and likewise the convex roundels on long stems which resemble the pendants on early seals, though those seen by the writer are smaller than the contemporary illustrations indicate. We find circular pendants in abundance, mostly decorated with stars or simple punched decoration, or sometimes simply blank. Equally common are the square and rectangular pendants, which have some affinity with the armorial ones tentatively here associated with France in that they are of thick metal, often with heavy gilding. But any decoration is typically punched and incised and there is no enamel. Popular devices were the fret, the sexfoil, and the octofoil (see **Figure 4**). Although these would become heraldic charges, the wide currency of these devices on early pendants strongly suggests they were not armorial. Likewise a simple cross, which obviously had general Christian associations before it was absorbed into heraldry, though a cross between annulets

⁶⁸ Cf. four shield pendants with the same arms: JHB 33 (place of finding unknown); Timeline Auctions, 12 Feb. 2015, lot 877 (from a Suffolk collection); PAS WMID-3953E9, illustrated in *CoA* 3rd ser. 10 (2014) p. 123 (found at Eckington, Worcs.); BH-8A6524 (found at Clothall, Herts.); on the last the lion and the wriggled surround are closely similar to those on JHB 1500, an early square pendant (note 77, below). Three of these have traces of red enamel. Similar arms are recorded for Sir Henry Spigurnel (d. 1328), justice of the King's Bench 1301-28. In the written sources the chief is gold and the lion red, but on all three pendants the lion is raised (representing metal).

⁶⁹ Another small example (18 mm.), but with a latticed field, is PAS YORYM-419E25 (found at Hambleton, N. R. Yorks.). This has the arms *Az. three bars ar. over all a bend sinister gu.*, which may perhaps be for a member of the Grey family.

THE EARLIEST ARMORIAL HARNESS PENDANTS

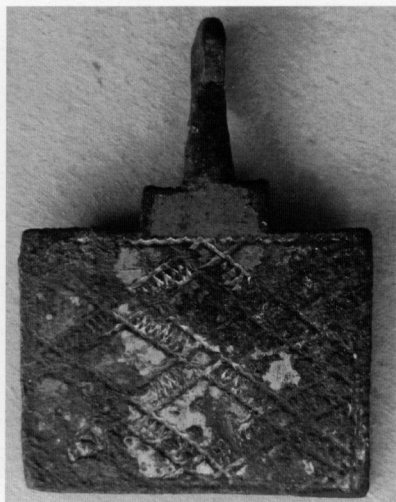
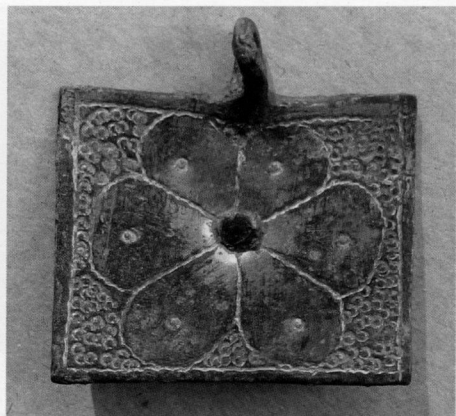


Figure 4: rectangular harness pendants with geometric decoration: left, with sexfoil (JHB 1032, found at Sutton, near Southend in Essex); right, with fret (JHB 543, found at Wakering, Essex).

might conceivably represent Constantinople.⁷⁰ When we find an early pendant with a chequy pattern, we may be tempted to see the arms of Warenne, which are among the oldest of all family arms; but it is impossible to be sure.⁷¹ An early kite-shaped shield with an incised fess between two chevronels, found recently,⁷² is reminiscent of FitzWalter (*Or a fess between two chevronels gules*), a coat found on one of the earliest English silver seal matrices;⁷³ but again, in the absence of enamel, this can only be speculation.

⁷⁰ JHB 1590 (found at Pocklington, E. R. Yorks.), a large (51 mm.) triangular shield pendant with incised lines. These are shown in rolls from c. 1310 as the arms of the Emperor of Constantinople (*DBA* 3, p. 175), though in earlier rolls the annulets enclose crosslets and the field is crusilly. Different arms, with crescents or letters B instead of crosses, were attributed to the Byzantine emperors after 1261, though the titular Latin emperors continued to use the old arms. *Asp.* 3, p. 119.

⁷¹ JHB 512 is a square pendant with three rows of four chequers, alternately plain and punched with a pattern of small annulets. More likely to represent Warenne is an early shield pendant, with at least 24 chequers and similar punched decoration, found on the site of the Greyfriars, Norwich, in a pit dated to the twelfth century: Ashley, no. 1.

⁷² It was found on the Thames foreshore and offered for sale on the internet in Oct. 2014. The fess and chevronels are in the form of jagged incised lines, unlike those found in established armory. The pendant is gilded throughout. A circular pendant of similar date, with punched sexfoils in the field, was found at South Lopham, Norf., in 2013: PAS NMS-32D5E8.

⁷³ The equestrian seal of Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1235) in the British Museum (BM 1841-0624-1). It was found at Stamford, Lincs., in the time of Charles II and presented to the Museum in 1841; see J. Cherry, 'The seal of Robert Fitzwalter, died 1235', *CoA* 3rd ser. 3 (2007), p. 159 (and pl. 5), with further refs. An eighteenth-century impression, from the collection of J. C. Brooke (d. 1794), Somerset Herald, is in the writer's possession (10-156).

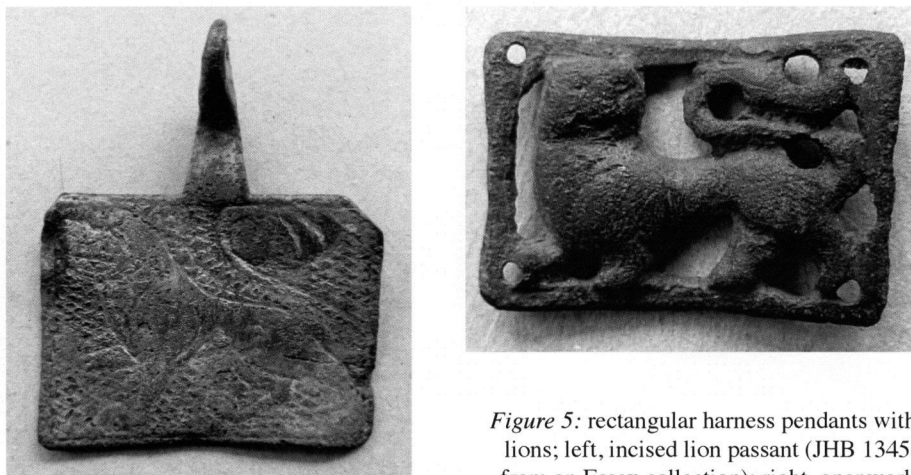


Figure 5: rectangular harness pendants with lions; left, incised lion passant (JHB 1345, from an Essex collection); right, openwork lion passant guardant (JHB 1636, found near Claxby, Lincs.).

A lion is more potentially heraldic in nature, and lions passant have been found on chunky gilded square pendants from England to Southern Italy (see **Figure 5**).⁷⁴ But they are closely similar to those found on twelfth-century gilded buckle-plates and similar fittings, which have survived in remarkable profusion,⁷⁵ and on the small matching pendants and hangers mentioned at the beginning of this article. They are also found on the earliest enamelled square pendants, with the leopard in an azure field, either in a circular compartment⁷⁶ or a square (see **Plate 2g and h**).⁷⁷ There is a noticeable stylistic affinity between these single leopards on square pendants and the double leopards discussed earlier. But the single lion passant was in fact rare in early armory, and these may have been just decorative. Early heraldry naturally made use of devices which had already been in common use for decoration, but it would be a mistake to assume that such designs were necessarily heraldic in origin.

⁷⁴ JHB 1327, a square pendant with a lion passant in a punched field, came from an old Neapolitan collection. JHB 1345, illustrated here, is another square pendant with a very similar lion passant in a wiggled field; it came from an Essex collection. A third example, with a punched ground, is illustrated in Ashley, 'Anglo-Norman elite objects' (forthcoming), fig. 72.

⁷⁵ These are also found decorated with fabulous birds, monsters and abstract foliate decoration. The type is generally assigned on stylistic grounds to the twelfth century, but they await their historian.

⁷⁶ JHB 1419 (found at Kenilworth, Warwicks.); PAS SWYOR-176008 (found at Scotton, Lincs.); LIN-6759C4 (in poor condition, without enamel; found at Bourne, Lincs.). The first of these appears to have foliate in the field.

⁷⁷ JHB 1500 (place of finding unknown). This has a border consisting of a wavy line between dots. The blue enamel seems to be laid over red.

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Figure 6: shield-shaped harness pendants; left, triangular shield with increscent (JHB 562, probably from southern England); right, kite-shaped shield with crescent between quatrefoils in pale (JHB 678, found at Chalgrove, Oxon.).

The same may be said of the early square pendants with birds, which are loosely parallellised on buckle-plates and were probably not armorial. More than five examples have been found. They are invariably in the form *Or a bird close azure beaked and legged gules*, the lattice-work gold field occupying the whole pendant, without a shield (see **Plate 2i**).⁷⁸

The remarkable feature of this type is that, although the known specimens are all different in size and workmanship, and have been found widely dispersed all over England, they all conform more or less to the same description; there must therefore have been widespread copying, a circumstance suggesting that the symbolism—whatever it was—was well known nationally. The species of bird is not obvious; it resembles a raven but has webbed feet and red legs, while the body is usually enamelled blue. It is always shown ambulant, with the right leg slightly raised, rather than simply statant.

Particularly interesting from the armorial point of view are the early pendants in the form of shields. The principal clues to an early date are the use of punching and engraving rather than casting, the consequent absence of enamel, and the shape of the shield. The evidence of seals and paintings in manuscripts suggests that around 1100 the military shield was completely round on the top, as seen in the Bayeux tapestry. During the 1100s the top became flatter, but the corners were still usually rounded

⁷⁸ JHB 956 (found in Suffolk: the bird to sinister); JHB 1508 (found in Norfolk); PAS DENO-BF90F1 (found at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.); LEIC-9F8A36 (found at Burton upon Trent, Staffs.); YORYM-A30C87 (found at Easton Maudit, Northants.). Matching hangers have been found: LEIC-AC0440 (found at Osbaston, Leics.); WILT-5B90E7 (found at Huish, Wilts.).

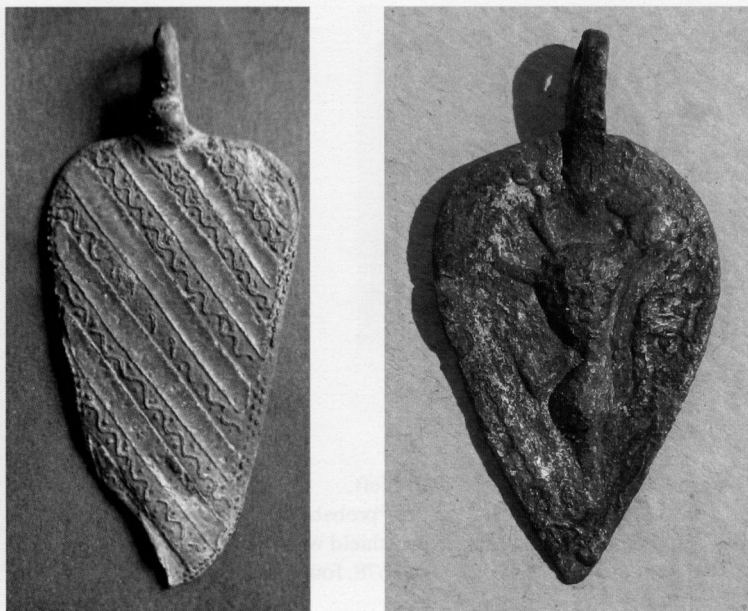


Figure 7: harness pendants in the form of kite-shaped shields, possibly heraldic. Left (a), bendy of 14 (JHB 465, found at North Owersby, Lincs., 1999); right (b), lion rampant (JHB 679, found at Banstead, Surrey).

until around 1200-25, when the 'kite' shape gave way to the more triangular, while in the second half of the thirteenth century shields settled into the more familiar 'heater' shape.⁷⁹ This is not a precise progression; but the earlier shield-pendants all look distinctly different from those with which we began. A shield is a natural support for a coat of arms, once armorial bearings came into being. But some of the early shields have decoration which it is difficult to blazon heraldically, accompanied with wriggle-work, and we may safely assume they are not intended to be heraldic. When we see devices which did become heraldic, such as crescents and quatrefoils, we may start speculating; but here again some of the specimens have designs which do not conform with early armory as known from other sources (see **Figure 6**, previous page). Bendlets, pallets, chevrons and crosses look more straightforwardly heraldic, but they are not distinctive enough to be certainly identifiable as such. Perhaps a case for an armorial purpose could be made for a finely decorated and enamelled shield (JHB 465) bearing *Bendy of fourteen or and azure*: see **Figure 7a**. This was found at North Owersby, Lincs., in 1999.⁸⁰ The shape of the elongated shield is reminiscent

⁷⁹ There are some helpful diagrams tracing this progression, for various regions of Europe, in D. L. Galbreath, *Manuel de Blason* (2nd edn., ed. L. Jéquier, Lausanne 1977), pp. 82-3. The shapes of the Flemish and French shields are closest to those found in England. See also G. Grazebrook, *The Dates of Various-shaped Shields* (Liverpool 1890).

⁸⁰ PAS IHS-6AEA82.

of that on the famous funerary plate of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, who died in 1151. The pendant is also an early example of the use of enamel on such an object, a feature which itself might indicate that it was intended to represent specific arms. We know from *Hatton's Book of Seals* that this same coat was used by Amaury de Montfort, Count of Evreux, and Earl of Gloucester in right of his wife, who died in 1213;⁸¹ the seal, of course, does not show the colours, but gold and blue were the colours used by the family in the early thirteenth century. Possibly, then, this is the earliest coloured representation of the Montfort arms. But that can only be a guess.

A shield of similar elongated form, found near Kings Lynn in Norfolk (JHB 664), has a lion rampant. It is fully gilded, without enamel, with punched decoration of the kind associated with the twelfth century.⁸² A rampant lion is perhaps more distinctively heraldic than a lion passant, and it is tempting to regard this too as an early coat of arms, though without any colours there is no possibility of identifying it. Two other early shield-pendants in the writer's collection have lions rampant. JHB 679 has a shield of late twelfth-century shape and the lion is, most unusually, in bas-relief.⁸³ JHB 723 has a heart-shaped shield of more uncertain date, but probably around 1200-1250, with a crowned lion in a blue field strewn with billets. This is decisively armorial, since these were the arms of Nassau. In later times the Nassau lion was usually not crowned; but the family did sometimes use a crowned lion, and it may be that this is an early representation of their arms.⁸⁴ This example came from a continental collection, but with no record of its provenance.

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief survey are admittedly unhelpful with respect to the origins of heraldry. It is generally accepted that the use of coats of arms was beginning in the middle of the twelfth century,⁸⁵ whereas pendants with armorial bearings cannot be certainly identified before the mid-thirteenth century, the century in which armory developed into a science with its own terminology and accepted rules.⁸⁶ We should not impose on decorative objects an anachronistic view of heraldry, because much of what at first sight seems to be heraldry in early artefacts is not so.⁸⁷ Although it is just possible that a very few pendants depict personal arms

⁸¹ *Hatton's Book of Seals*, p. 54, no. 76; *DBA* 2, pp. 126-7.

⁸² A similar but more triangular example, found at Aslacton, Norf., is illustrated in Ashley, no. 5. Ashley dates it to the twelfth or early thirteenth century.

⁸³ Cf. PAS SUR-000EB3 (a repoussé lion with a forked tail, on a round-topped shield, found at Banstead, Surrey).

⁸⁴ The same arms were adopted in 1279 by Otton (d. 1303), Count of Burgundy, but the shield looks older than this. *Asp.* 3, p. 67.

⁸⁵ For present purposes see e.g. A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in twelfth-century England: the evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge 1990), pp. 1-16. The same writer helpfully gives further reading in 'The knight, heraldry and armour: the role of recognition and the origins of heraldry' in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990*, edd. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge 1992), pp. 1-21, at p. 9 n. 41.

⁸⁶ See G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Oxford 1972; rev. edn., Woodbridge 1997).

⁸⁷ There is a discussion of the proto-armorial character of early metalwork designs in Ashley, 'Anglo-Norman elite objects' (forthcoming).

THE COAT OF ARMS

from the late twelfth century, the frequent occurrence of the same simple designs, monsters and symbols, not only on pendants but on buckle-plates and other artefacts found in widely different locations, argues against their being intended for personal identification. The general fashion of displaying the arms of an individual on harness furniture seems from the English evidence to have begun in the second quarter or middle of the thirteenth century, probably under French influence—and it may be significant that French was, and still is, the language of heraldry. The practice was facilitated by the improvement of *champlevé* enamelling techniques, which enabled colours to be added, and reached a peak towards the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, but then went completely out of fashion in the middle of the latter. For the general acceptance and use of heraldry during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these long-buried pendants provide a wide range of evidence in full colour. But they lack names and dates, without which the story cannot be traced with precision, and they do not assist with the first phase of the story. The origins of heraldry must still rest chiefly on the evidence of seals.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ This is a modified version of a paper delivered at a conference on 'People, Texts and Artefacts' in Ariano Irpino castle, Italy, 22 Sep. 2013, which it is intended to publish in the proceedings. I am very grateful to Adrian Ailes, Stephen Ashley and Elisabeth van Houts for reading a draft and making helpful suggestions for improvement.