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A SILVER BOAR ON BOSWORTH FIELD: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LIVERY BADGE ON THE MEDIEVAL BATTLEFIELD

Robert W. Jones

Figure 1: Badge of a boar. Medieval, late 15th century, probably England. Silver and silver gilt. Length 28mm; weight 3.25g.

By courtesy of Leicestershire Museums Service

During the archaeological survey of the Wars of the Roses battlefield of Bosworth a small silver-gilt badge was found.[1] About three centimetres across it was cast in the form of a boar, the principal *devise* of Richard III (see **Figure 1**). Only four other silver-gilt livery badges are known to survive, and only one other is in the form of a boar. Compared to the large number of surviving base-metal badges and the references to gifts of such badges it is clear that the belonged to a high status individual.[2] Its discovery close to another high status find, a fragment of bronze sword hilt, led the archaeologists to conclude that it must have belonged to one of the ill-fated monarch's closest adherents, and as a result the badge became a key piece of corroborative evidence in determining the location of the spot where the king fell.[3] This paper asks what purpose such a tiny image could have served amidst the chaos and press of melée, and what its discovery tells us about the men who fought both for and against the last Plantagenet king.[4]

Badges were a common form of adornment of medieval clothing, worn by all ranks of society, in a variety of different contexts. They range from highly ornate high-status items, such as the Dunstable jewel—a gilded and enamelled three-dimen-

[1] *www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/warsoftheroses/battlepageview.asp?pageid=824* and *www.bosworthbattlefield.com/battle/archaeology/battlefield.htm* (accessed January 2012). The survey has been published by G. Foard and A. Curry, *Bosworth 1485* (Oxford 2013).

[2] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 124.

[3] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 193.

[4] Glenn Foard asked the former question in a review article of my book *Bloodied Banners: Martial display on the medieval battlefield* (Woodbridge 2010) in *Ant. J.* 91 (2011), p. 376. My thanks are due to him, therefore, for stimulating this paper.

sional chained swan (the *devise* of a number of prominent English noble families, all of whom claimed a descent from the mythical Swan knight)—or the white hart badges worn by Richard II and the attending angels in the Wilton Diptych, to mass-produced pieces cast in pewter or painted or sewn onto cloth.[5] Whilst examples of the former are exceedingly rare (the Dunstable jewel—see **Figure 2**—being an all-but-unique survival) the cast pewter badges have been found in large numbers.[6]

The most prevalent group of these mass-produced badges were made for selling to pilgrims, cast in the image of the Saint themselves, or an aspect of their martyrdom (such as the wheel of St Catherine) or some object connected to the saint's veneration (such as the scallop shell of St James of Compostella).[7] The badge might be obtained and worn at the outset of the pilgrimage, along with a staff and a 'scrip' or bag forming one element of the 'uniform' of a pilgrim. This set the wearer apart from the ordinary traveller and therefore deserving of alms, food and lodging as well as offering them (in theory at least) some protection on the road.[8]

In other cases the badge was obtained at the pilgrim's destination, serving the seemingly modern function of a souvenir. They also seem to have had a sacred function, containing within themselves something of the spiritual, apotropaic power of the saint or shrine they represented, and the indulgence received for the act of pilgrimage itself.[9] For many pilgrims it was important that they be able to take away with them something of the saint's blessing. Obviously for all but the most powerful, taking a fragment of the relic was impossible. Instead objects could be imbued with the saint's power. Small mirrors, often in ornate cases, were used to 'trap' the image the saint and thereby their power, or *ampulae* might be filled with holy water or chrism.[10] In very many cases such badges are been found deposited in water, suggesting that they may have been made as 'offerings', like the casting of a coin in a modern wishing

[5] For the Wilton Diptych see D. Gordon et al., *Making and Meaning: the Wilton Diptych* (London 2001). For the Dunstable Jewel and its context, see J. Alexander and P. Binski (edd.) *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England* (London 1987), pp. 59, 178, 487-8. The Wardrobe Account for 1483-4 records thirteen thousand fustian cognizances painted with boars for Richard III's coronation; M. P. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales* (Woodbridge and London 2009) vol. 1, p. 78.

[6] There are many more references to jewelled badges in the written sources. See Siddons vol. 1, pp. 30, 139-45.

[7] The most complete and authoritative study on English finds is B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Salisbury 1980) and *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges (Finds from Excavations in London)* (Woodbridge 2010). See A. M. Koldeweij, 'Lifting the veil on pilgrim badges', in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford (York 1999) pp. 161-8 at 164-8, for a more complete survey of works in the field.

[8] Koldeweij, pp. 161, 163.

[9] M. H. Foster-Campbell, 'Pilgrimage through the pages: pilgrims' badges in late medieval devotional manuscripts', in *Push me, Pull you: Imaginative, emotional, physical and spatial interaction in late medieval and renaissance art*, edd. S. Blick and L. D. Gelfand (Leiden 2011) vol. 1, pp. 227-74 at 229-31.

[10] M. Garcia, 'Medieval medicine, magic and water: the dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs', *Peregrinations* 1.3 (2003), pp. 1-13. (online at *www.peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol1-3/garcia.pdf*, accessed 21/10/14).

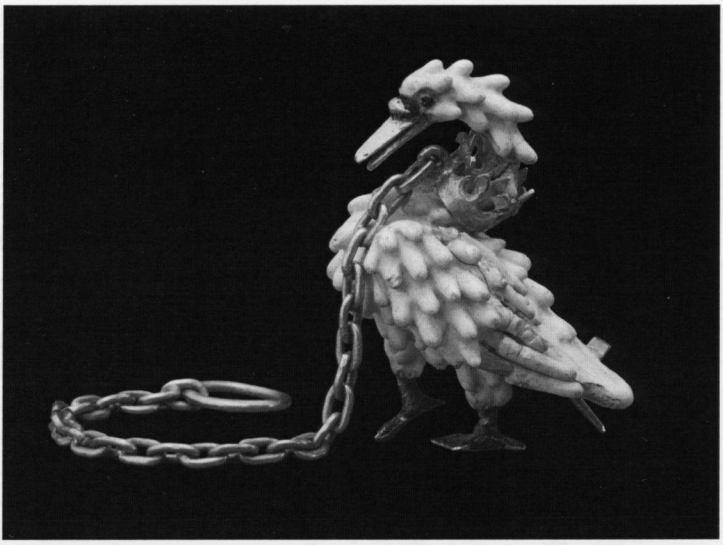

Figure 2: The Dunstable swan jewel. Medieval, c. 1400, England or France. Gold and fused white enamel. Height 33mm. Found at Dunstable Priory, 1965. BM M&ME 1966-7-3.1.

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

well; a continuation of the ritual deposition of objects into water or at other liminal places that can be traced back into prehistory.[11]

Of almost identical manufacture, and in much the same quantities, are a class of badge known by the catch-all term of 'secular' badges. These differ from pilgrim badges only in terms of their iconography. Some have clear connections with trade guilds or the crossbow and archery guilds that were so much a part of communal urban life in northern Europe.[12] The majority, however, have no clear identity or function. A particularly perplexing subgroup of these secular badges is sexual in nature. Some are simple phalluses or vaginas, but many are much more complex and even subversive images. Phalluses are shown winged, have legs or appear as hybrid animals and birds.[13] Some seem to ape pilgrim badges; one example has a vagina dressed as a pilgrim, complete with hat, staff and scrip. Another has a crowned vagina carried on a byre by legged penises, as if it were a saint's statue.[14] Until recently, studies of these badges have been hampered by modern prudishness, and opinion is still divided on their function. Some have seen similarities with erotic images in the classical world, where the winged phallus was a commonly depicted emblem of good fortune.[15] Others, however, have recognised that they are kin to the sexual imagery common in manuscript marginalia and humour of the period.[16] These studies have made the compelling case that the medieval culture was far less prudish about such

[11] Garcia, p. 6.
[12] Siddons vol. 1, pp. 57-61
[13] Koldeweij, pp. 185-8.
[14] There are a number of images in Koldeweij.
[15] Koldeweij, p. 185.
[16] Koldeweij, p. 186.

imagery and that we should not assume, as some earlier studies had, that they were subversive images worn hidden away rather than openly displayed. They have not, however, brought us much closer to understanding why people would chose to wear what were still obscene images.[17]

There may seem to be little to link these popular, mass-produced badges to the formal livery badge of which the Bosworth boar is such a fine example, but a relationship does exist. In the first place, livery badges could be mass-produced in the same way as the pilgrim or 'secular' badge. For his coronation in 1483, Richard III ordered made thirteen thousand cloth badges, of fustian and painted with his boar *devise*, presumably for distribution amongst the viewing population.[18] Similar temporary badges were commissioned for issue to troops at the start of a campaign, either to be applied directly to their coat or to *bends*—sashes in the livery colour of the dispensing lord, which might also be issued at the same time.[19] Such *bends* also allowed the wearing of multiple badges, so that men wearing the livery of their lord could also display the badge and livery of a more senior lord. They would also allow a lord's badge to be worn over a heraldic coat-armour.

Foard suggests that the boar badge could have worn in this way, attached directly to a 'coat armour' or to the fabric covering of a piece of armour or fabric-based protection such as a brigandine.[20]

By the late fifteenth century it was very common for high status retainers to wear the badge of their lord on a collar. The most famous of these is the Collar of Esses, used by the Lancastrian royal house from the fourteenth century, or the sun and rose collar used by the Yorkist faction. Foard suggests that although it is conceivable that the fitting on the back of the badge could have allowed for it, it was improbable that the badge would be worn in such a fashion on the battlefield, since such an adornment does not seem practical on the field.[21] We should not discount the possibility, however. One might argue that the large number of knightly effigies depicting men in armour and wearing the livery collars is not a reflection of their appearance on the battlefield, but stems form nothing more than the desire to be seen wearing all of the trappings of their social status, the badge of their affinity and the armour appropriate to their knightly rank both. Foard provides an example that seems to suggest that this is not the case, however: Thomas Howard, Lord Admiral and the son of the Earl of Surrey, commanding the English vanguard at the battle of Flodden in 1513, used the

[17] For more on the complexity of understanding the obscene in a medieval context see such works as Koldeweij, 'A barefaced *Roman de la Rose* (Paris, B.N. ms. FR. 25526) and some late medieval mass-produced badges of a sexual nature', in *Flanders in a European Perspective*, edd. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Leuven 1995), pp. 499-516; *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. N. McDonald (Woodbridge 2006); and M. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity: Social control and artistic creation in the European middle ages* (Leiden 1997).

[18] Siddons vol. 1, p. 78.

[19] In 1454 the Duke of Buckingham ordered 2000 bends decorated with his badge of Stafford knots for distribution to a force he was raising; N. Saul, 'The Commons and the abolition of badges', *Parliamentary History* 9 (1990), pp. 302-15 at 309; Siddons vol. 1, pp. 45-8.

[20] Foard and Curry (note 1 above), p. 125.

[21] Foard and Curry, loc. cit.

image of the *agnus dei* 'that honge at hys brest...' as a token to confirm his identity.[22] Amongst the German landsknechts of the sixteenth century, the officers routinely wore chains of office, like those worn by city, guild and Imperial officials, which in turn derived from the livery chain. Several of the chivalric orders of knighthood stipulated that their members should wear the insignia of the order on the battlefield. The statutes of Philip 'the Good' of Burgundy's order of the Golden Fleece, for example, penalised its members for not wearing the badge of the order every day; in battle its members were expected to wear the fleece badge from a simple chain.[23]

Despite the similarities, the livery badge is generally perceived of as a distinctive form by commentators, in that it is given and worn as a token of an affiliation between the giver and the wearer.[24] They are often referred to as heraldic, but may be considered so only in that from the sixteenth century heralds had begun to issue grants for their use in much the same way that they held responsibility for the granting of arms.[25] They might also be considered heraldic in that those who distributed liveries and badges were almost invariably armigerous themselves.

Their origins, insofar as they can be ascertained, are also heraldic. Whilst a number of historians trace the first use of military badges to Edward III's Scottish campaign of 1327, it is clear that they predate this, but also that in earlier, 'proto-heraldic', times the retainers of a lord might well wear the lord's own heraldry undifferentiated.[26] The biographer of William Marshal has one of the onlookers at a tournament in 1167 remark 'his shield is of Tancarville' because William carried not his own arms but those of his uncle and then master, the lord of Tancarville.[27] I have argued elsewhere that the origin of heraldic arms lies in the wearing of *ad hoc* devices as a mode of identification on the battlefields of the early middle ages. These temporary 'field signs' gained a permanence over time, in the way that the broom cod or *planta genista* livery badge of Richard II and the Plantagenet royal line was reputed to have stemmed from the eleventh-century count Geoffrey of Anjou's habitual wearing of the plant when hunting or on campaign.[28]

[22] Foard and Curry, p. 124. I am not convinced that what is being described is a livery badge, however. Siddons does not record the *agnus dei* as a badge of the Howard family; whilst it is not impossible that it was so, it may just as easily have been a piece of personal jewellery, or a religious medallion.

[23] D'A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the monarchical orders of knighthood in later medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge 2000) p. 369.

[24] H. S. London, *Royal Beasts* (East Knoyle 1956), p. 4, and others.

[25] It was not until 1909 that the College of Arms received a warrant from the Earl Marshal for the granting of badges. Siddons vol. 1, p. 7.

[26] On the 1327 origin of livery badges see A. E. Prince, 'The importance of the campaign of 1327', *English Historical Review* 50 (1935), p. 301; D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300* (London 1992), p. 233; M. Keen, *The Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud 2002), pp. 117 and 120; J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe*, trans. S. Willard and R. W. Southern (Woodbridge 1997), p. 75.

[27] 'Sis escuz est de Tankarvile.' A. J. Holden (ed.), *History of William Marshal*, trans. S. Gregory (London 2002), vol. I, line 1478.

[28] Jones, *Bloodied Banners* (note 4 above), pp. 59-60. See also my 'Identifying the warrior on the pre-heraldic battlefield', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 154-67.

Whilst livery badges have some common heritage with heraldic devices and coats of arms they are nonetheless distinct in form and in function. They do not have to conform to heraldic rules on blazon. They are neither necessarily hereditary nor unique to one individual. Equally, one individual might make use of more than one badge. Upon acquiring a title, an individual might also adopt the badge used by the former holder even if he had been of a different family.[29]

The most fundamental difference between the livery badge and heraldic arms can be found in the ways in which they were used. Heraldry was personal to an individual, borne solely by him, and a mark of personal identity. Conversely, its 'owner' did not necessarily wear the livery badge. Instead, it was a token worn by the owner's servants, adherents and others with whom he had a social or political relationship. It was also displayed upon his property and chattels for much the same reason; heraldry served to advertise the individual; badges marked the individual's property.

Whilst heraldry might include elements reflecting familial or societal ties it was first a means of displaying personal identity.[30] Whether at court, in church, on the tournament field or in battle, heraldry announced the presence of a particular individual.[31] By contrast, the livery badge was a form of communal display and the visual representation of a social contract. The wearer of the badge was proclaiming his membership of an affinity, and his connections with an individual of power and status. His receipt of it from a lord was a reflection of the wearer's own social status and legitimacy—to be the wearer of livery was not a sign of servitude but of respectability. It was also 'protective social colouring', as David Crouch terms it, deterring physical and legal attacks on the wearer through the implied threat of the power of the giver of the badge.[32] The giver of the badge expected the support of those who received it. It reflected his power and status as a lord and leader of men. Robert Grosseteste, writing in the early 1240s, advised lords to order their retainers to wear the livery they had been given, so as to uphold the lord's honour.[33] In the Yorkshire Eyre of 1218 a northern bandit leader was recorded as having bought a bolt of cloth in order to uniform his men 'as if he had been a baron or an earl', a reflection of the status of livery and its distribution.[34]

The aura of power, legitimacy and protection that the wearing of livery and badge projected lay at the heart of moves in the late fourteenth century to restrict or

[29] A key example of this is the bear and ragged staff bore by the Earls of Warwick whether they were of Beauchamp, Nevill or Dudley lines; Siddons vol. 2.2, pp. 25-7, 102-3, 207-8.

[30] For display of social ties in heraldry see M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London 1984), pp. 126-8, P. R. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud 1996), pp. 79-81 and A. Ailes, 'The knight, heraldry and armour: the role of recognition and the origins of heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV*, edd. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge 1992), pp. 1-21 at 16.

[31] Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 20.

[32] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 233.

[33] Coss, *The Knight*, p. 128.

[34] H. Cam, 'The decline and fall of English feudalism', *History* 25 (1941), p. 224. On the distribution of livery see F. Lachaud, 'Dress and social status in England before the sumptuary laws', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, edd. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 105-124, and S. M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge 1980).

abolish their use.[35] It was felt that the nobility were handing out badges to men of low social standing, not as retainers or household servants, but in order that they should pursue the noble's private quarrels. These men were going on to commit acts of extortion, robbery and kidnap, protected from prosecution by the patronage of the magnate whose badge they wore.[36] It is indicative of the significance of the badge itself that the pressure from the Commons was not focused on restricting the right and ability of nobles to retain men, but on their right to issue the badge, as if restricting the latter would automatically curtail the abuses of the former.[37]

Despite these attempts, the use of the livery badge as a mark of maintenance continued to grow apace, becoming dominant by the latter half of the fifteenth century. Thus whilst Walter of Exeter, the composer of *The Song of Caerlaverock* describing Edward I's assault on Castle in 1300, used the blazon of the individual lords' and knights' heraldry as the basis for his narrative, the fifteenth-century political poems, such as the *Rose of Rouen*, written in praise of Edward IV, identifies the main protagonists through their badges.[38] Similarly, the badge and livery coat became dominant on the battlefield. For a long time armies had worn badges indicating a national identification. English troops had worn white crosses since the third crusade, switching to red by the onset of the Hundred Years War.[39] In the fifteenth century French and Burgundian *Compagnies d'Ordonnance*—standing armies, centrally-funded—were instructed to wear the white cross badge of France or the ragged saltire cross and fire-steel of Burgundy respectively.[40] In his military ordinance for of 1385, Richard II instructed that every man should wear a red cross on his chest and back, whilst a similar ordinance issued for the Scottish army instructed that troops should wear St Andrew's saltire.[41]

By the time of the internecine struggles of the Wars of the Roses, the badges and liveries of individual noblemen seem to have taken precedence over heraldry on the battlefield. The reason for this is unclear. In part the answer is likely to be one of changing fashion. From the fourteenth century the love of courtly romance and allegory led to increasingly ornate chivalric pageants in the form of tournaments and 'round tables' in which the knightly participants took the roles of the heroes

[35] Saul, 'The Commons and the abolition of badges' (note 19 above).

[36] Saul, pp. 311-3.

[37] Saul, p. 310.

[38] *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons, and Knights who Attended King Edward I to the Siege of Caerlaverock, in 1300*, ed. T. Wright (London 1864). 'The Rose of Rouen' is published in Frederick Madden's 'Political poems of the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV', *Archaeologia* 29 (1842), pp. 318-47 at 343-7. It is just one of a large number of political poems in which leading noblemen are alluded to by reference to their primary badge; see Siddons, vol. 1, pp. 89-102.

[39] Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 60-1.

[40] For the Burgundian ordinance made at Abbéville in 1471 see *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne* (Paris 1729) vol. 2, pp. 285-94. The Burgundian Ordnance troops were modelled on the French structures.

[41] M. Keen, 'Richard II's ordinances of war of 1385', in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays presented to Gerald Harriss*, edd. G. L. Harriss, R. E. Archer and S. Walker (London 1995), pp. 33-48 at 47.

of Arthurian romance, wearing *devises* and costumes rather than their own arms. Similarly, there was an increasing use of 'arms of peace' in tournament, such as the ostrich feathers displayed by the Black Prince, rather than their heraldic arms.[42] There was also a change in military dress. Developments in the production of plate armour led to a desire to show off its increasingly elegant lines. Unlike earlier armours, this so-called 'white harness' was frequently worn without a cloth covering, such as the jupon, tabard or other coat-armour that would have offered a vehicle for heraldic display.

The battlefield should be seen as a social arena, just as was the court, parliament or tournament field. The medieval nobility was a military elite and even as late as the fifteenth century they derived no small part of their status from being engaged in martial activities. Conversely the social status of the warriors who took the field was hugely significant in the conduct of war. Since the eleventh century the social status of a combatant had been a determining factor in their treatment on the field: noblemen were likely to be captured and ransomed rather than killed. A noble's heraldic banner and, if worn, coat armour might indicate his worth, as might the quality and decoration of his armour. Arriving on the field with a large number of men clad in livery and bearing his badge made as much of a statement about the nobleman's importance and power as did turning up to a tournament or parliament in the same fashion.

On the battlefield badges and livery served much the same purpose as in civilian life. This is not to say that a need to identify troops had no part to play; the *devise* on a banner or embroidered across the front or back of a livery coat could usefully serve to mark the position of a lord's troops on the field. With the same *devises* and livery colours being shared by a number of nobles, errors could occur, however. The reliance upon colours and devises, and the dangers of such reliance, are demonstrated by the battle of Barnet: troops belonging to the Earl of Warwick attacked their allies under the Earl of Oxford, because they mistook the latter's emblem of a star with streamers for the sun with streamers badge of King Edward IV, their mutual enemy.[43]

There were psychological benefits to the wearing of the badge and livery on the battlefield. Work done for the 'Soldier in Later Medieval England' project at the Universities of Reading and Southampton, which developed a prosopographical database of men serving in English armies and garrisons through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has shown that many men served in only one or two campaigns in their entire lifetime. Even when they served in multiple campaigns the majority did not serve the same lord.[44] Such short-term service left little opportunity for development of the *esprit de corps* that later, more permanent military formations were able to

[42] Siddons vol. 1, pp. 63-5. See also M. Vale, *War and Chivalry* (Athens, Georgia, 1981), pp. 88-93.

[43] Alison Weir, *Lancaster and York: the Wars of the Roses* (London 1995), pp. 397-8.

[44] For the key findings of the project see D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: from the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge 2008); A. Bell, 'The fourteenth-century soldier – more Chaucer's Knight or medieval career?' in *Mercenaries and Paid Men: the mercenary identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. France (Leiden 2008), pp. 301-15; and A. Bell, A. Curry and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford 2013).

develop by dint of their continued service together. The issuing of livery and badges provided a sense of group identity that would in part compensate for this lack of camaraderie. The 'protective social colouring' of the badge also carried over into the military sphere. As we have seen it legitimized an armed force, proclaiming men to be acting in the interests of their lord and differentiating them from lawless brigands, a distinction clear from the entry about the robber band in the 1218 Yorkshire Eyre. The distinction was significant both legally and spiritually. The medieval understanding of Just War required that a soldier fight for a just aim, with right intent under a right authority.[45] Badge and livery were outward displays of the latter. The summary execution of many of the captains of Free Companies in the years after the Treaty of Brétigny of 1360, men who would have expected ransom as the outcome of capture during the war, is indicative of how the legitimacy of their position was undercut by the changing political environment.[46]

Throughout this paper there has been a continued emphasis on the *display* of the badge. It was worn to be seen, and those who viewed it had to recognise it for what it was and what it signified, even if they were not able to identify the lord to whom it belonged. At court or in the street such displays would be easy to decode; in the midst of battle, however, the situation would have been very different. A protagonist might have the time and focus to recognise livery colours, or badges painted on banners or embroidered across the front or back of a coat. Indeed identifying factions, retinues and individuals would have been an important factor in the organisation of battle lines and the planning of the engagement. Once battle was joined combatants would have had little time to focus on anything other than a badge displayed on a banner flying above the press or a retinue in a particular livery. An inch-long gilt badge would hardly be seen. Any enemy who was close enough to recognise the value of the badge or the finesse of its execution would certainly have other things on his mind at the juncture. At best it might be of some assistance should the wearer be captured, identifying his affinity and worth, just as might the quality of his armour and the display of his heraldic arms.[47]

Too small to serve as an identifying marker to help tell friend from foe, the boar badge can have served no practical function in the press of battle. The only audience for whom it could have been worn would have been the wearer's own compatriots, and even then only before battle was joined. Like the Dunstable swan or the collared stags worn by Richard II's angelic affinity in the Wilton Diptych, the boar badge was of a different order to the livery and badges worn by the majority of followers.

[45] There is an extensive literature on the medieval understanding of Just War. For a clear and concise description see P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. M. Jones (London 1985), pp. 264-5.

[46] K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, vol. 1 (London 2001), pp. 106-7, 284-5.

[47] R. Moffat, 'The importance of being Harnest: armour, heraldry and recognition in the Melee', in *Battle and Bloodshed: The Medieval World at War*, ed. L. Bleach and K. Borrill (Cambridge 2014), pp. 5-24. That having been said, in the politically charged environment of the Wars of the Roses, where the traditional chivalric protections were reversed by a combination of family feud and a need for popular support, such display might prove counterproductive.

This was no mass-produced token. The quality of the badge lifts it above the leaden badges or cloth tokens that were the vast majority of devises handed out. This badge identified the wearer's affinity to the king in its devise and the closeness of affinity in the finesse of its manufacture and quality of the material with which it was made. It served as a mark of individual status and distinction, a token of the very high regard in which the wearer was held by Richard III. It was an emblem to be worn proudly in every social milieu. One might go so far as to say that the primary audience for the wearing of the badge was in fact Richard himself. The badge and the relationship it represented was his gift, after all; it would be expected that the gift and relationship be openly displayed. Richard would surely have expected to see the badge being worn in all of the significant social arenas. As with the chivalric orders, the failure to wear his badge might well be seen as a slight. This was no mere emblem of mutual convenience, after all, lightly taken up and easily cast off. It was a symbol of trust, loyalty and affection.

The men who rode beside Richard in his fateful last charge, men like his standard bearer Sir James Harrington, James's brother Robert, Thomas Dacre, Thomas Pilkington and John Huddleston, were amongst his closest supporters. The little silver boar found in a corner of Bosworth Field served testimony to that then as it does now.