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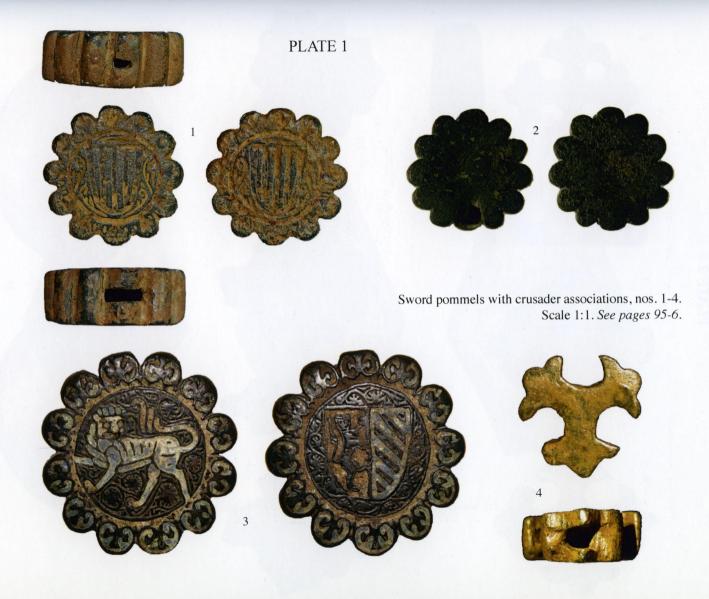
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PLATE 4



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Scale 1:1.
See pages 99-100.

RECENT FINDS OF LATE TWELFTH- OR EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SWORD AND DAGGER POMMELS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CRUSADES

Steven Ashley and Martin Biddle

The majority of the pommels listed below were reported to either the Identification and Recording Section of the Norfolk Historic Environment Service or the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Five of the pommels were illustrated in a price guide for the antiquities trade, with minimal description and one view of each object. However, the author of the guide has subsequently provided additional information, incorporated herein. They include an example of particular interest, an exceptional pommel that carries an enamelled depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Although the majority of the pommels are not heraldic, some do show shields which may be presumed to show the arms of the original owners, and they are all of considerable interest for the light they throw on decorative and iconographic styles at a time and in a context closely associated with the birth and growth of heraldry.

Descriptions of the pommels

- 1. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel found in Highnam, Gloucestershire, in 2007.³ Cast in the form of a scalloped disc with twelve lobes or foils. Both faces display a shield *Paly azure and ?or/?argent* set between foliate decoration within a circular bordering line of red enamel and with an engraved trefoil on each of the outer lobes. There are traces of a transverse notch and possible oblique and longitudinal notches to one side of the basal perforation for the missing tang, which may represent assembly marks. Length 34mm. Width 34mm. Thickness 9.5mm. Weighs 49.9g. See **Plate 1**.
- 2. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel found in Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, in 2006.⁴ Cast in the form of a scalloped disc with twelve lobes or foils. Both faces are worn and damaged and appear to be undecorated. One face is broken at the foot of the perforation for the missing tang. The base was not photographed and no possible assembly marks were noted. Length 32.96mm. Width 34.26mm. Thickness 14.70mm. Weighs 39.87g. See Plate 1.

¹ Below, NHER is the prefix for a Norfolk Historic Environment Record number; PAS stands for an entry in the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (www.finds.org.uk). A version of this paper appeared in Landscape and Artefacts: Studies in East Anglian Archaeology presented to Andrew Rogerson, edd. S. Ashley and A. Marsden (Oxford 2014), pp. 199-209.

² P. G. Murawski, *Benet's Artefacts* (Ely 2003).

³ PAS GLO-96A5B8, *Portable Antiquities and Treasure: Annual Report 2008*, pp. 134 and 325, no. 243.

⁴ PAS SF-191047.



Figure 1: copper-alloy sword pommel cast in form of a scalloped disc with twelve lobes. Number 3 in list below. Said to have been found in Northern Israel. Scale 1:1.

Photograph by courtesy of Roger Dundas.

- **3.** Copper-alloy sword pommel, said to have been found in Northern Israel.⁵ Cast in the form of a scalloped disc with twelve lobes or foils. One face bears a blue enamelled lion passant guardant on a circular field of scrolling foliate decoration. On the other face is an enamelled shield (enamel partly decayed) which may be blazoned [?] a lion rampant contourné ?or/?argent impaling ?Or/?Argent five bends within a border azure. Both faces have a series of linked trefoils or fleurs-de-lys, each reserved on blue enamel on each of the outer lobes. Length 51mm. Width 51mm. Thickness tapering from 19mm at the base to 16mm at the top. See **Plate 1** and **Figure 1**.
- **4.** Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel (probably the latter) found in Cliffe and Cliff Woods, Kent, in 2003. Cast in a tri-lobed form, each arm with a trefoil terminal. There are traces of a longitudinal notch in the end of one foil, flanking the perforation for the missing tang, which may represent an assembly mark. Length 29mm. Width 29mm. Thickness 11mm. See **Plate 1**.
- **5.** Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel found in Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, in 2000. Cast in the form of an equal-armed cross flory, decorated with red and blue enamel on both faces. One face bears a fleur-de-lys reserved on a blue enamelled lozengiform field; the other face has a red enamelled curled-leaf motif. The foliate arms of the cross have red and blue enamelled detail on both faces. There are traces of two longitudinal notches at one end of the rectangular basal perforation for the missing tang which may represent assembly marks. Length 37mm. Width 38mm. Thickness 15mm. See **Figure 2**.

⁵ Bought before April 2009 and the details supplied by the present owner, Roger Dundas, *via* Timothy Duke, Chester Herald (now Norroy & Ulster King of Arms).

⁶ PAS KENT-1062C7.

⁷ NHER 30205.

SWORD AND DAGGER POMMELS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CRUSADES

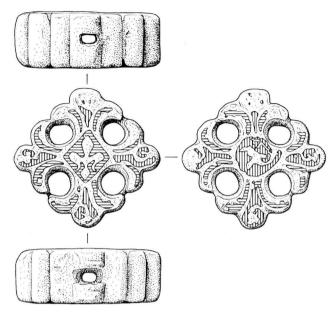


Figure 2: copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel cast in form of a cross flory. Found at Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk. Number 5 in list below. Scale 1:1. Drawing by Steven Ashley.

- **6.** Copper-alloy dagger pommel found in Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, in 1993. Cast in the form of an equal-armed cross flory. Undecorated. The base was not photographed and no note was made of any possible assembly marks. Length 36mm. Width 31mm. See **Plate 2**.
- 7. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel, find spot unknown. Cast in the form of an equal-armed cross flory, decorated with a red enamelled curled leaf motif and red and blue enamel on the foils. Width 40mm. See Plate 2.
- **8.** Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel (probably the latter) found in Tilbrook, Cambridgeshire, in 2008. Cast in the form of an equal-armed cross flory, with traces of engraved decoration on both faces. There is a longitudinal notch at both ends of the rectangular basal perforation containing the corroded remains of the iron tang and iron corrosion on the base. Length 35.4mm. Width 33.4mm. Thickness 12.7mm. Weighs 42.62g. See **Plate 2**.
- **9.** Copper-alloy sword pommel in the form of an elaborate trefoil, with the remains of the tapering rectangular-sectioned iron tang, found in Lyng, Norfolk, in 2013. In the centre of both faces a circular depression is engraved with a cross, each arm formed by four lines. Between moulded ribs and grooves both faces are engraved with pairs of engraved oblique lines, and the upper sides of the two large flanking foils and

⁸ NHER 30205.

¹⁰ PAS BH-314918.

⁹ Murawski p. 347, MO4-0308.

¹¹ NHER 56922, PAS NMS-0707C3.

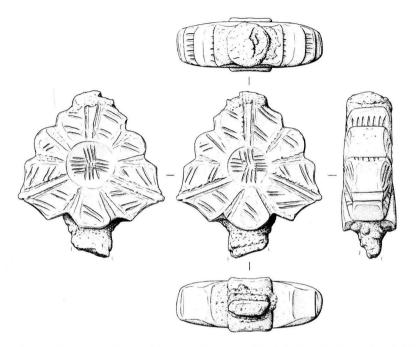


Figure 3: copper-alloy sword pommel in form of trefoil. Found at Lyng in Norfolk. Number 9 in the list below. Scale 1:1. Drawing by Jason Gibbons.

both sides of the central foil have engraved vertical lines (three sets of six and one of five). Iron corrosion obscures the base. Length (excluding tang) 37mm. Width 38mm. Thickness 14.5mm. Weighs 74g. See **Plate 2** and **Figure 3**.

- 10. Copper-alloy sword pommel in the form of an elaborate trefoil found in Chilcomb, Hampshire, in 2001.¹² In the centre of both faces a circular depression is engraved with a cross, the arms formed by radiating lines. Between moulded ribs and grooves both faces are engraved with pairs of engraved oblique lines, and the upper sides of the two large flanking foils and both sides of the central foil have engraved vertical lines. There is a tapering rectangular perforation for the missing tang. Length 35mm. Width 37.5mm. Thickness 13.5mm. See Plate 2.
- 11. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel 'found in East Anglia'.¹³ Cast sub-loz-engiform bearing stamped and engraved decoration, comprising an elaborate foliate motif on one face and a probable Tree of Life on the other. Width 58mm. See **Plate 2**.
- 12. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel 'found in the Netherlands'. ¹⁴ Cast lozengiform, modified recently and assembled with other parts of uncertain date to form a

¹² PAS HAMP1003.

¹³ Shown inverted in Murawski p. 346, MO4-0304.

¹⁴ Murawski p. 341, MO4-0104. Purchased from a Dutch dealer in antiquities and likely to have been found in the Netherlands; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

pastiche of a medieval dagger. The visible face of the pommel has an incised linear depiction of the standing figures of a man and a woman. ¹⁵ No dimensions given for the pommel. See **Plate 3**.

- **13.** Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel 'found in the Netherlands'. ¹⁶ Cast lozengiform, decorated with an engraved crowned lion passant guardant. ¹⁷ Width 45mm. See **Plate 3**.
- 14. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel 'found in the Netherlands'. ¹⁸ Cast lozengiform, decorated with a champlevé-enamelled masonry building surmounted by a small dome with a dove descending from on high into its apex. The dome is set between a cross at both outer angles. The façade has a central arched double door between slightly lower flanking arches. The dove and both crosses contain white enamel. The masonry blocks contain the remains of blue enamel. Three of the blocks and the two flanking arches on the visible face are partly perforated through to the vertical perforation for the tang, either through miscasting or damage. The building is placed on a field of scrolling vegetation. ¹⁹ Width 50mm. See **Plate 3** and **Figure 5** below.
- 15. Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel found in Cantley, Norfolk, in 2009.²⁰ It comprises a cast crescent-shaped rectangular-sectioned body with the horns pointing upwards, with an oval perforation in the base tapering upwards to become subrectangular on the upper (inner) surface of the crescent. One face is decorated with an engraved fleur-de-lys, the other face with a damaged elaborate engraving comprising a shield shape bearing an eight-pointed star with two crescents in chief and two in base (points downward) perhaps representing an escarbuncle. Vegetal curvilinear lines flank the shield. Length 30mm. Width 36mm. Thickness 13.5mm. See Plate 4 and Figure 4 over.
- **16.** Copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel found in West Stafford, Dorset, in 2013.²¹ It comprises a cast crescent- shaped rectangular-sectioned body with the horns pointing upwards, one damaged. The curved lower edge is scalloped. Both faces are undecorated. There is a tapering rectangular perforation for the missing tang. There are no obvious assembly marks on the base. Length 28.08mm. Width 39.91mm. Thickness 14.15mm. Weighs 41.18g. See **Plate 4**.
- 17. Copper alloy dagger pommel comprising a W-shaped arrangement of a central trefoil with flat a base and flanked by two upward and inward curved arms with

¹⁵ The design is repeated on the other face; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

¹⁶ Murawski p. 347, MO4-0307. Purchased from a Dutch dealer in antiquities and likely to have been found in the Netherlands; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

¹⁷ The other face is undecorated; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

¹⁸ Murawski p. 347, MO4-0306. Purchased from a Dutch dealer in antiquities and likely to have been found in the Netherlands; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

¹⁹ The design is repeated on the other face; Paul Murawski, personal communication.

²⁰ HER 51311, PAS NMS-42F552.

²¹ PAS DOR-324BC6.

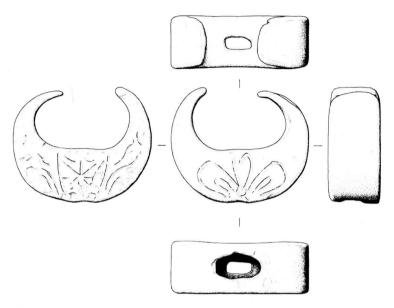


Figure 4: copper-alloy sword or dagger pommel in crescent form with fleur-de-lys on one face and shield on the other. Number 15 in the list below. Found at Cantley in Norfolk.

Scale 1:1. Drawing by Jason Gibbons.

outward-curled terminals, found in Heveningham, Suffolk, in 1997.²² Both faces are decorated with a double border of tiny triangular punch marks with larger punch marks between. The base was not photographed and no possible assembly marks were noted. Length 25mm. Width 32mm. See **Plate 4**.

- **18.** Copper alloy dagger pommel comprising a W-shaped arrangement of a central trefoil with a flat base and flanked by two upward and inward curved arms with outward-curled terminals, found in Asgarby and Howell, Lincolnshire, in 2008.²³ There is a tapering rectangular perforation for the missing tang. There are no assembly marks on the base. Length 27mm. Width 32mm. Thickness 13mm. See **Plate 4**.
- 19. Copper alloy dagger pommel comprising a W-shaped arrangement of a central trefoil with a flat base and flanked by two upward and inward curved arms with slight outward curve at both terminals, found in Barrowby, Lincolnshire, in 2010.²⁴ There is a tapering circular perforation for the missing tang. There are no assembly marks on the base. Length 29.87mm. Width 28.06mm. Thickness 11.23mm. Weighs 25g. See Plate 4.

²² Polaroid photograph in the Norfolk Historic Environment Record.

²³ PAS LIN-A493C3.

²⁴ PAS DENO-DBCC13.

Discussion

The pommel from Cantley (15) was first published in a round-up of Norfolk finds, where, described as abnormal and oddly-shaped, it was given a possible sixteenth-century date. No parallel was noted. However, a recent paper published in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* has thrown light on the dating and possible origin of this pommel and other pommels described herein. ²⁶

The paper, by Donald La Rocca, curator of Arms and Armor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, discusses a group of twenty-seven sword or dagger pommels (including one still attached to its iron dagger) from the collections of the Metropolitan Museum.²⁷ All are of cast and engraved copper alloy and most retain traces of enamelling. A variety of forms is represented, the most numerous of which is discoidal with a scalloped outside edge, either forming an octofoil (thirteen examples) or a multifoil of twelve lobes or foils (five examples). Other forms include lozengiform (three examples), cross flory (two examples), pointed oval (one example), crescentic (one example), fleur-de-lys (one example)²⁸ and an openwork crown-shape (one example). Simple arms, charges and possible armorial devices are represented on most if not all of the pommels. The cross on the obverse of one of the large group of scalloped disc pommels has been identified as that of the counts of Toulouse, who were rulers of the county of Tripoli from 1109 to 1289.²⁹ The shield on the reverse ([?Or/?Argent] a chevron azure between in chief two mullets of six points in base a ?pinecone ?gules) awaits an attribution. The obverse of seven of the other scalloped discoidal examples bears a crowned lion passant guardant, none of which is placed on a shield, but is combined with an armorial shield on the reverse. Of these shields, three are bendy, one chevronny, one has a triple-branched tree, one a lion passant guardant on a bend and the last a triple-towered castle. A further three scalloped discoidal pommels display a triple-towered castle in combination with a tree, a curled vine-leaf on a shield and a griffin passant.

The three scalloped discoidal pommels illustrated herein are all of the twelvelobed type.³⁰ The enamelled find from Highnam, Gloucestershire (1), with a shield

Footnote continues over.

²⁵ A. Rogerson and S. Ashley, 'A selection of finds from Norfolk recorded in 2010 and earlier' *Norfolk Archaeology* 46 (2010), pp. 121-35, at pp. 133-4, Fig. 9, no. 66.

²⁶ D. J. La Rocca, 'Sword and dagger pommels associated with the Crusades, Part I', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 46 (2011), pp. 133-44.

²⁷ The majority of the pommels at the Metropolitan Museum discussed by La Rocca are on long-term loan to the museum from Laird and Kathleen Landmann.

²⁸ Described as 'heart-shaped'.

²⁹ La Rocca, p. 137, no. 6.

³⁰ Similar lobed pommels are discussed by A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London 1999), p. 174, citing Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874* (London 1896) vol. 2, pp. 321-2, who saw a twelve-lobed pommel in a goldsmiths shop in Jerusalem. It was decorated with a 'three-turreted fort' with a gate on one face, and a shield (bearing *Bendy of 10*) on the other. Clermont-Ganneau listed a further three pommels; one ten-lobed, also with a turreted fort, and a griffin on the other face, another with eight lobes and a 'floral' design; the last is not described. Boas also notes an example on display in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. Twelve-lobed,

bearing *Paly azure and ?or/?argent*, is closely paralleled by the only English example in the Metropolitan Museum assemblage, which is said to have been found in Bristol.³¹ One face of the fine elaborately enamelled pommel from Northern Israel (3) has a lion passant guardant on a circular foliate field similar to the lions in La Rocca, described above. However, unlike them, this lion is not crowned. The other face bears distinctive impaled arms, which, as yet, remain unidentified.

The pommel from Cliffe and Cliff Woods in Kent (4) is cast in a unique tri-partite form, each arm with a trefoil terminal.

Of four pommels in the form of an equal-armed cross flory, two are from the same site in Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk³² (**5** and **6**), and may be from a matching set of sword and dagger. The larger possible sword pommel has a fleur-de-lys reserved on a blue-enamelled lozengiform field on one face. The curled-leaf motif on its other face (also present on **7**) can be found on a shield on one of the scalloped discoidal multifoil pommels, in combination with a triple-towered castle,³³ and on three of the octofoil pommels.³⁴ The cross flory pommel still attached to an iron dagger appears to carry a 'descending bird'.³⁵ The bird is likely to be a dove, signifying the Holy Spirit. This motif is present on three more examples of scallop-shaped pommels, sometimes with a tree (with which it can be easily confused) shown on the other face.³⁶ The dove appears, most notably, on pommel **14** (see below).

The elaborate trefoil pommel with the remains of the iron tang found in Lyng, Norfolk (9) and another (without tang) from Chilcomb, Hampshire (10), have no parallel in the recently published group. However, their trefoil form, solidity of casting and 'feel' suggests a variant type related to the published cross flory examples.

The sub-lozengiform pommel (11) has no parallel in the Metropolitan Museum collection. It has decoration comprising two lines of offset opposed triangles with a small gap between,³⁷ similar to that on pommel 17.

it bears a crowned lion passant guardant on one face and a shield with seven broad diagonal lines (*?Bendy of 14*) on the other face, each lobe containing a trefoil or fleur-de-lys reserved on an enamelled field; K. Raphael, 'Crusader arms and armor', in S. Rozenberg (ed.) *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1999), pp. 148-59, p. 151, fig. 4, with p. 320, cat. no. 161. Photographs and brief descriptions of two eight-lobed pommels appear in a recent Jerusalem auction catalogue (Ben-Ami Endres Auctions, Auction 212, part D: Charms, Amulets and Talismans, 30 October 2012, p. 52, nos. 188-9). The first has a cross on one face and a triple-towered castle on the other face. The second also bears a cross, its other face is damaged and not shown.

³¹ La Rocca, p. 140, no. 19.

³² NHER 30205.

³³ La Rocca, p. 139, no. 14.

³⁴ La Rocca, p. 140, nos. 22 (two examples) and 23 (one example).

³⁵ La Rocca, p. 142, no. 30.

⁶ La Rocca, p. 139, nos. 17, 18 and 23.

³⁷ The triangles may have been stamped, or alternatively, produced by the use of a two-pronged engraver to form lines of 'interrupted rocker-arm'. These techniques appear on English copper alloy dress accessories and fittings from the late twelfth to late fourteenth centuries, see G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3. Dress Accessories c.1150-c.1450* (London 1991), pp. 30-1.

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Of the three lozengiform pommels the scene on pommel 12, although not enamelled, is otherwise closely related to that on the obverse of a pommel illustrated in la Rocca.³⁸ The lion on 13 is close to that on the reverse of another pommel in the Metropolitan collection.³⁹ The decoration on 14 is unparalleled and is discussed below.

The crescent-shaped pommel from Cantley, Norfolk (15) is similar to an incomplete example in the Metropolitan collection which is decorated with a scrolling vine motif on one face and a possible griffin passant on the other face.⁴⁰ The undecorated scalloped crescent from West Stafford, Dorset (16) is an interesting variant type.

The three W-shaped pommels with central trefoil and curved flanking arms, from Heveningham, Suffolk (17), Asgarby and Howell, Lincolnshire (18) and Barrowby, Lincolnshire (19) may be of slightly later date than the other forms. They bear some resemblance to the openwork crown-shaped pommel from the Metropolitan Museum, which has a central trefoil with its side foils joined to flanking uprights. However the English finds are less heavily cast and two of the three examples bear stamped or incised decoration too insubstantial to have been filled with enamel.

Conclusions

The group of pommels from the Metropolitan Museum was dated to *c*.1175-*c*.1225 on stylistic, heraldic and technical ⁴³ grounds. A French origin was also suggested. There is nothing amongst the finds presented here to contradict the posited date range for manufacture of the pommels. However, the steady trickle of finds being discovered in England, and perhaps Holland, as evidenced in this note, prompts alternative suggestions for the place of production. The possibility of an English origin is reinforced by the presence of a crowned lion as a charge on many of the examples recovered from the Holy Land. ⁴⁴ Lions have had an association with kings of England from at least the reign of Henry II, ⁴⁵ which was strengthened from 1198 when three lions passant guardant were adopted as the English royal arms. Thereafter lions abstracted from, or referring to, the royal arms were commonly employed on a wide variety of personal possessions. ⁴⁶

That said, given that the majority of the pommels—mostly those in the Metropolitan Museum—appear to have been found in *Outremer* (to use the general name for the Crusader states founded after the First Crusade), it is entirely possible that they were manufactured there, and those finds with European provenance represent swords and daggers (or their pommels at least) brought back by knights on their return from the Crusades.

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<sup>38</sup> La Rocca, p. 141, no. 25.
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⁴¹ La Rocca, p. 142, no. 28.

³⁹ La Rocca, p. 141, no. 24 right.

⁴⁰ La Rocca, p. 141, no. 27.

⁴² See above, footnote 37.

 ⁴³ P. Dandridge and M. T. Wypyski, 'Sword and dagger pommels associated with the Crusades,
 Part II: a technical study', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 46 (2011), pp. 145-52.
 ⁴⁴ La Rocca, pp. 137-8, nos. 7-13.

⁴⁵ A. Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: their Development to 1199* (Reading Medieval Studies Monograph no. 2: Reading 1982).

⁴⁶ See C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the symbol of the leopard', in P. Coss and M. Keen (edd.) *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 69-81.

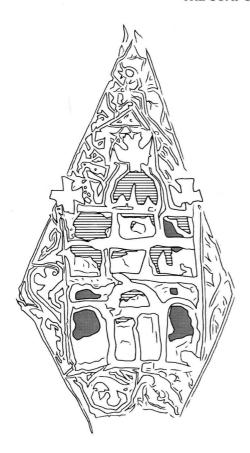


Figure 5: Simplified drawing of the engraved and enamelled depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on sword pommel no. 14. Horizontal hatching indicates areas of surviving blue enamel. Grey tone shows where the face is perforated by miscasting or damage through to the vertical perforation for the sword tang. The white enamelled Holy Dove and flanking crosses are left blank.

Drawing by Steven Ashley.

The most intriguing of the pommels presented herein (14: see Plate 3 and Figure 5) has, unfortunately, disappeared into the antiquities market. The image on the one visible face of this pommel shows a building surrounded on all four sides by a pattern of leaves and tendrils. The pattern is more complicated above the building, towards the top of the pommel, where other elements are present, including perhaps a pedimented structure with, to the left, what may be a bird, its head marked with an eye, possibly suggesting the derivation of the pattern from an inhabited scroll, animal-like elements of which appear elsewhere among the tendrils.

The building is represented by a rectangular outline, a little taller than wide, consisting of three or four levels, perhaps storeys, topped by a dome. The design is set out in champlevé panels filled with blue glass-like enamel within slightly raised borders.

The lower half of the building consists of three arched fields. The central arch, wider and taller, is apparently closed by double doors below a substantial horizontal entablature. There is a large lunette above the central arch and possible smaller lunettes above the lower arches to either side. The two upper levels are formed of two sets of three square or rectangular shapes. The rectangular building supports a dome filled with blue enamel, flanked to either side by expanding-armed crosses containing



Figure 6: Anonymous ink drawing of (above) the Church of the Holy Sepulchre seen from the south and (below) the Edicule seen from the north-east, showing the Holy Dove descending from God through the oculus of the dome of the Rotunda and thence through the cupola of the Edicule. 14th century: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. lat. 1362, fo. 1v.

white enamel. A bird, also of white enamel, its wings swept back, is diving vertically down through an opening in the top of the dome. The design appears to show the Dove sent from God passing through the dome of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (see **Figures 5** and **6**). In its passage down into the Rotunda of the Anastasis, the Resurrection, on Holy Saturday, the Dove was believed to bring the Holy Fire to light a lamp set on the burial slab in the Tomb of Christ below.

If this is correct, the storied image below the dome would be the royal south façade of the Crusader church, as seen from the courtyard known as the Parvis, simplified to show a single doorway beneath the (two) massive decorated stone lintels, which still survive in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. ⁴⁷ No design could be more suitable for the pommel of a sword wielded by a Crusader. ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ N. Kenan-Kedaar, 'The two lintels of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem', in S. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1999), pp. 176-85.

⁴⁸ We are most grateful to Helmut Nickel, Donald J. La Rocca, Melanie Rolfe and Adrian Marsden for commenting on the text. We would also like to thank Helen Geake, Paul Murawski, Adrian Marsden, Timothy Duke, Roger Dundas, Andy Hall and Mary Chester-Kadwell for their help during the preparation of this article.