# MEDIAEVAL EUROPEAN JEWELLERY

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VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM

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This major work presents a wide-ranging survey of mediaeval jewellery, followed by a catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection. The field it surveys is one of the most neglected in the history of European art, in spite of the great beauty and interest of mediaeval jewels. Drawing on many varied sources – inventories, chronicles, laws and literature – it recreates from documents and from surviving objects a world in which jewels played a significant artistic, social, political and religious role. Much new material is welded into a continuous story which describes the trade in precious stones, the history of mediaeval styles in jewellery, the marketing of jewels, the regulations that controlled their wearing, magical jewels and other fascinating topics, and then discusses the various types of mediaeval jewellery, their history, design, and development. All who are interested in the Middle Ages and in mediaeval art and society will find much that is novel in this first extended study of jewellery and its role in all the countries of Europe from circa 800 to circa 1500 A.D.

# Mediaeval European Jewellery

St Eloy by Petrus Christus. Oil on panel. Flemish, *c.*1450–60.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Colour plate 2.

# Mediaeval European Jewellery

*with a catalogue of the collection in the*
*Victoria & Albert Museum*

## Ronald W. Lightbown

DEDICATION

In memory of Joan Evans and Charles Oman,
and for Claude Blair, Marian Campbell, Christine Darby,
Michael Kauffmann and Donald King.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

*Sandro Botticelli* 1978 (2nd ed. 1989)

*Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History* 1978

*Donatello and Michelozzo* 1980

*Mantegna* 1986

*front cover:* The crown of Princess Blanche. Gold, enamel, precious stones,
pastes, pearls. Diameter 18cm, height 18cm. English (?), c.1370–80.
Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich. Colour plate 17.

*spine:* Ring brooch. Gold, set with rubies and an onyx cameo of a lion and a dog.
Spanish, the brooch c.1350–1450, the cameo 1st century BC.
Victoria & Albert Museum 139–1879 (cat.no.18).

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# FOREWORD

There has until now been no full-length book on mediaeval jewellery and, when I returned to the Metalwork Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum as its Keeper in 1985 and began working on the Museum's collection of mediaeval jewellery, the need for one became very plain to me. In saying this I wish, nevertheless, to pay tribute to the pioneering chapters written by Dame Joan Evans and Professor Erich Steingräber in their general histories of jewellery, which have for so long provided the only serious surveys of the subject and which introduced me to it.

The present book is a first attempt to bridge the gap existing between the study of the jewellery of the Dark Ages, which has been extensively analysed and classified by archaeologists, and the study of the jewellery of the Renaissance, which has received in recent years considerable attention from such scholars as John Hayward, Yvonne Hackenbroch, Anna Somers Cocks and Hugh Tait. My boundaries in time have been from the Carolingian revival of the late eighth century to the final demise of the Gothic style, which was largely, if not entirely, accomplished by c.1520. My geographical scope has been the countries of mediaeval Western Christendom, from Hungary and Poland to Ireland, and from Norway to Sicily. The jewellery of the Middle Ages can no more be treated in terms of a single nation than can that of any other period, and this panoramic approach has revealed, to me at least, the importance in the story of mediaeval jewellery of countries like Spain and Italy, previously miserably neglected. In order to fill out the incomplete and uneven picture that can be formed from surviving objects, I have integrated these into what can be learned from chronicles, literature, laws and statutes, and above all inventories. I hope that in this way jewellery will resume its rightful place not only in study of the art, but in the life of the Middle Ages. In view of the length this study has assumed, it has not been possible to include more than occasional references to rings, but these are the one branch of the subject which possesses a reasonably full modern literature. Their importance, however, should always be remembered.

The first part of the book surveys the subject in its general aspects: sources of stones; the history of stone-cutting; the making and vending of jewellery; the factors that regulated its sale, like sumptuary laws; the history of styles and the connection between magic and jewels. The chapters of the second part discuss the various types of mediaeval jewellery and their stylistic evolution. The unequal survival of documents as well as of objects should always be borne in mind: by a freak of time, for example, we know less of the jewellery of the twelfth century than of that of the centuries that preceded and those that followed it. My research has taken me into many fields, notably history in all its branches, lexicography, genealogy, historical geography, heraldry and ceremonial history, as well as into the history of various arts of the Middle Ages, especially the history of costume. I hope that the interweaving of social, economic, religious and political history with the history of fashion, style and iconography which I have found it necessary to undertake will introduce the subject to historians, by whom it has been unaccountably neglected, in spite of its importance in the Middle Ages, as well as to historians of art, of costume and of literature and language. The final section of the book consists of a summary catalogue of all the Victoria and Albert Museum's mediaeval jewellery (excluding rings). The illustrations not only reproduce the Museum's collection (with the exception of rings), but form a representative corpus of images of objects which are mostly scattered, in twos or threes, through many collections and countries, except for pieces concentrated in a few centres, notably London, Stockholm, Paris, Florence and Berlin.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

POSTSCRIPT

Bridal pair. Oil on panel. German c.1470.
Cleveland Museum of Art (D.E. and L.E. Holden Fund), U.S.A.

# PART I: GENERAL

## I GEM-CUTTING, FALSE STONES AND FOILS

In his marvellous line about the 'sweet colour of orient sapphire', Dante voices the sensibility of mediaeval man, to whom the sapphire was the most beautiful of stones, whose colours his goldsmiths sought to imitate in their enamels. 'The sapphire is the finest of gems, and the most precious and the most suitable for the fingers of kings', wrote Bartholomew the Englishman (fl.1230–50). After the serene blue of the sapphire the Middle Ages prized the regal red of the ruby 'which shines so greatly in the night', declared Bartholomew, 'that it sends flames into the eyes'. The ruby proper was comparatively rare, though in the fourteenth century it rose in estimation above the sapphire; far commoner and less costly was the balas-ruby (a variety of spinel) whose translucent red shows a blue tint and so was believed to be mined from veins of sapphire. Emeralds and diamonds were held in almost the same high esteem as rubies: 'emeralds', writes Guillaume de Machaut in 1349, 'make every heart rejoice'. These four stones were the essential repertoire of the mediaeval jeweller, though the diamond was less used in the early Middle Ages, only beginning to assume something of its modern importance in the fourteenth century. In jewels, as opposed to rings, where a much wider variety of stones was in use, they were the prime stones; even pearls, also highly prized in the Middle Ages, were used not as principal elements in compositions of gems and stones, but to frame them, or to set off their pure depth of colour by the contrast of their iridescent white. The topaz and the turquoise kept a certain popularity until the end of the thirteenth century, but after that date we find little mention of them until the late fifteenth century, or of any other semi-precious gems, except for the garnets, amethysts and Scotch pearls which did duty for rubies and pearls in cheaper pieces.[1]

Mediaeval jewels were worn not simply for ornament, but also from that curious complication of other motives which has prompted the wearing of jewels from earliest times: to ward off harm – 'the sapphire', wrote Guillaume de Machaut in 1349, 'wards off all kinds of harm' – to invoke divine protection, whether of Christ or the Virgin or some favourite saint; as a token of love; as a badge of rank, relationship, loyalty or affection. And then as now precious stones were worn for their beauty. 'We clothe a precious stone', writes Christine de Pisan in Paris in 1403, 'that is worthy and fine and of great price in gold, in enamel and in a cloth of silk, sweetly scented'. Jewels were worn too as talismans, and to protect the wearer and preserve him in health and virtue. In the mediaeval world the division between science and superstition was not so sharp as

in ours, and stones worn as charms by the ignorant were endowed with medical or mystical properties by the learned. The sapphire, according to Glanville, keeps the body healthy, and its members whole. 'Gems', wrote Alexander Neckham (1157–1217), 'are commended by the wondrous power of their virtue, their sparkling light, and the elegance of their beauty. I call them the miracles of nature, grateful gifts, a delight, a study and a treasure.'[2]

The faceting of gems came late and until the fourteenth century many stones were generally left with their irregular shape, which was smoothed and polished, or else rounded *en cabochon*. A pointed oval or oval shape was often given to smaller cabochon stones. Some may miss at first in such early mediaeval stones the hard precision of modern cutting and faceting, but after a time the eye can come to see in their gentle irregularity something of the mysterious virtue they held for mediaeval eyes. The transition to a more modern taste is nicely illustrated by the inventory description of 1434 of a rich collar which belonged to Henry VI of England: it was decorated with ten balas-rubies, seven of them described as square-cut and three as 'rounded and ragged'.[3]

The polishing of precious stones was presumably a craft widely practised in the early Middle Ages. It is true that Theophilus, writing c.1120–30 in Westphalia, gives only recipes for polishing crystal and jacinth and glass stones, but this is probably because his chief preoccupation is with ecclesiastical goldsmiths' work, for which substitute or imitation stones were frequently used. An alternative explanation could be that goldsmiths so usually obtained precious and semi-precious stones ready polished by lapidaries that Theophilus found it unnecessary to discuss the techniques of polishing them. And we shall see that stones were very often provided by patrons for goldsmiths. We have scarcely any documents concerning the polishing of precious stones, but the travelling expenses of Bishop Wolfger of Passau on his journey to Rome in 1203–4 do include a payment of 17 sols 'for buying an episcopal ring and for the polishing of topazes'. And at Lambeth on 22 January 1208 King John of England ordered payment to be made for polishing a ruby which was plainly to be set in one of three gold rings that he was having made at the same time. The polishing of stones was undertaken by lapidaries, known in France and England as *perriers (petrarii)*, at any rate in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A French royal treasurer's account of 1206 mentions Frère Robin le Perrier, Hugues le Perrier and 'the lapidary of Rouen'. Lapidaries also dealt in precious stones and jewellery;

Fig. 1 Statue of a king. English, mid thirteenth century.
West Front, Wells Cathedral, England

unfortunately the account is merely concerned with acquisitions of single stones and brooches, and tells us nothing of their activities.[4]

It is generally believed that the cutting of stones into facets began in the West only in the early fourteenth century. But on the crown found on the body of Empress Constance in her tomb in the Duomo of Palermo, one of the stones, a garnet, is crudely faceted. This stone must pre-date her burial in 1222. Again the Cross of King Sancho I of Portugal, made in 1214, and now in the Museu Nacional, Lisbon, is set on its front face with four hexagonal table-cut garnets, each with a simple sloping cut on its sides. And a statute of the Venetian guild of goldsmiths, imposed between 1283 and 1290, enacted that no natural, as opposed to artificial stone, was to be tinctured either on its table (*in tabulam*) or anywhere else except in a hole pierced through the body, clearly implying some knowledge of table-cutting. There are other late thirteenth-century references to cut stones. For instance, when Roger de Mortagne, Lord of Espierre, a great nobleman of Hainault, died in 1275 he left a ring set with a square sapphire (*un saphir quarrés*). Among the jewels that Philippine de Luxembourg, Countess of Hainault, gave her daughter Marguerite in 1299–1300 to wear at her wedding to Robert of Artois was a crown of rubies and cut

sapphires (*saffirs de taille*). And on the ring brooch worn by the mid-thirteenth-century statue of a king on the west front of Wells Cathedral (fig.1) the sculptor has represented two of the stones as trapezoid-shaped and table-cut, with a simple sloping cut to each side from the flat top. These antedate by some fifty or more years the table-cut stones set in an early fourteenth-century lozenge-shaped fleur-de-lis brooch (pl.52), once part of the French royal regalia, which are usually regarded as the earliest surviving cut stones. In any case these are possibly no earlier than the octagonal table-cut rubies on the Motala brooch (pl.27) in the Historiska Museum, Stockholm, which probably dates from the early fourteenth century. These stones must have been cut as a group for setting in the brooch, and they have been shaped with extreme precision of form and smoothness of surface. On the magnificent fourteenth-century gold pendant of a girdle which was discovered in Verona a green paste is again table-cut, and made octagonal by cutting off the corners. This must reproduce a form given to contemporary emeralds, suggesting that this type of cutting was quite widely practised by the third or fourth decades of the fourteenth century.[5] It is not so clear how commonly it was practised: there are, for instance, very few cut stones among the many that are set on to Pala d'Oro of San Marco, Venice (completed in 1342–5) and those there are are table cut with faceted niches. All the rest are beautifully polished cabochon stones.

However, there is a possibility that some of these early stones were not cut in Europe but were imported already cut by Islamic lapidaries. There is evidence that the cutting of stones was practised in eleventh- and twelfth-century Iran. The great scholar and scientist al-Biruni (973–c.1050) writes in his *Book of Collections of Knowledge of Precious Stones*, composed between 1041 and 1049, that the people of Khurasan and Iran know how to use diamonds for drilling and cutting, and he also implies that they know how to cut the diamond itself, knowledge perhaps derived from India where the art of diamond-cutting was already being practised before the sixth century AD. Manuel Keene has recently shown that two faceted amethysts, one cut as an octagon and the other as a hexagon, set in rings which were found during excavations at Nishapur, but without a dated context, can be attributed to the tenth or eleventh century. Complex faceted beads of hard stone have been found on the same site. So far, however, not many examples of such faceted Islamic stones appear to be known, and it may be that the art was practised on a limited scale, at any rate in the earlier mediaeval centuries. But certainly by 1332–45 table-cut balas-rubies were being imported into Europe from Constantinople, for in his *Pratica della Mercatura* the Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, discussing the purchase of ring stones on the markets of Constantinople and Pera, gives recommended prices for table rubies. He also gives a price for what appear to be cut sapphires (*di buono taglio*), though it might be argued that this means only polished stones. Nothing is known of any gem-cutting industry in the Byzantine world, though it might

be argued that one existed, but if these cut rubies and sapphires were not Byzantine the presumption must be that they were Islamic. And certainly Paolo Guinigi, the Lord of Lucca, bought in 1424 from the Lucchese merchant Pietro Cenami a balas-ruby cut *en cuvette* which was undoubtedly Islamic, for on it 'there is written an Arabic inscription that is not understood in our tongue'. It was evidently a large and important stone, for it weighed 72 Genoese carats and cost Guinigi 2000 new gold florins, an enormous sum. In what follows about early cut stones in the West, therefore, the possibility has to be borne in mind for at least some of an Islamic origin.[6]

Nevertheless, we can suppose that some goldsmiths and lapidaries of the thirteenth century had already mastered a simple form of table-cutting, and had become quite expert in this technique by the early fourteenth century. Evidently, such stones were also shaped into simple geometrical forms – such as squares and octagons, by giving them straight sides or cutting off their corners. On the crown of the Emperor Frederick II, which must date from before 1236, when it was placed on the Goslar reliquary (figs.2, 2a) there is one large square emerald, together with several smaller ones. The inventory of Pope Boniface VIII, taken in 1295, lists many rings set with square or



Fig. 2  Crown (crown of Frederick II). Gold, precious stones, pearls. Diameter 24cm. German, thirteenth century, before 1236. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm



Fig. 2a  Detail with later metal cap
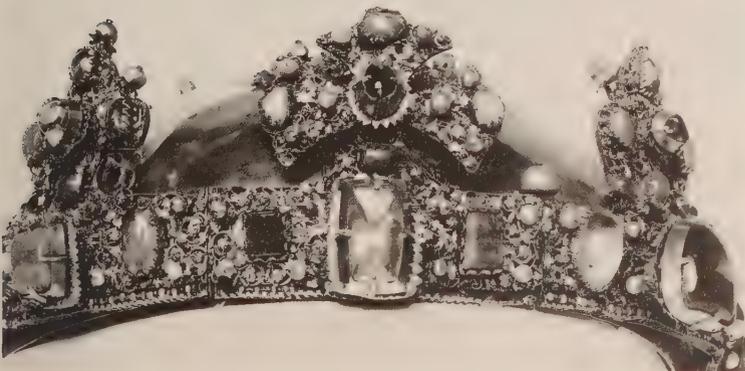




Fig. 3  Effigy of Don Diego Martínez de Villamayor from the Monastery of Beneviviere, Carrion de los Condes, Palencia. Castilian, early thirteenth century. Illustration from Carderera I, pl.6

oblong rubies, balas-rubies, emeralds and sapphires. Some change had evidently taken place in the shaping of stones in the later thirteenth century, for one ring was set 'with a balas-ruby shaped [*factum*] in the old fashion'. About 1308 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, pledged a chaplet set with square balas-rubies and square sapphires; again in 1328 Clémence de Hongrie, Queen Dowager of France, owned three square-cut sapphires and three square-cut emeralds. She also had a ruby cut to a crescent shape and an emerald cut to a crescent shape, set together in a ring, and three 'diamonds of emerald' – but those were presumably rock emeralds whose shape, when split in half and polished, looks like a pointed diamond. Such a stone was shown on the jewelled cloak clasp figured on the thirteenth-century effigy of Don Diego Martinez de Villamayor, in the monastery of Benevivere near Carrión de los Condes, Palencia (fig.3). Clémence also had seven large pierced balas-rubies and a pierced oriental sapphire. Less precious stones continued to be cut in the mid-fourteenth century; thus the central garnet on a brooch from the Colmar Treasure, now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris (fig.61), which seems to have been concealed in the mid-fourteenth century, probably c.1349, is octagonal. The shaping of this garnet presumably repeats the type of faceting

used for contemporary rubies; and, as it may have been cut in the German Rhineland, from which the brooch originates, possibly the art of stone-cutting was already well-established in one or more of the great cities of the Rhineland, especially Cologne. Certainly we shall see that one of the diamond cutters of late fourteenth-century Paris was a German. However, the great circulation of precious stones in the Middle Ages makes this a conjecture, rather than a certainty.[7]

The sapphire was already being more elaborately cut by 1339, when Doge Francesco Dandolo of Venice left two rings set with sapphires 'with eight corners [*ab octo angulis/cantonis*]'. These may have been stones which, like the rubies on the early fourteenth-century Motala brooch (pl.27) or the green paste on the Verona girdle, were given a smooth table and shaped into an octagon – a form of cutting which our scanty references and our few examples suggest preceded more elaborate faceting. Facets were described in France by the term *quarré* (*carré*) which literally means oblong or square, and first appears with reference to stones in French documents of the mid-fourteenth century. Thus in the 1360s King Jean le Bon of France had two rings each set with an eight-faceted sapphire (*a viij quarrés*). Indeed in 1359 during his captivity in London Jean employed a gem-cutter named Franchequin to cut and engrave precious stones for his rings and jewels. The eight-faceted cut became standard for sapphires; in 1374 a great sapphire set in the crown of Louis, Duke of Anjou, is described as having 'eight flat facets and a very clear face of a very fine and lively azure colour'. So too a sapphire set in a ring owned by Louis' brother, King Charles V, had 'eight facets [*carres*]'.[8]

Cutting to other shapes also seems to have been possible: in 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal made bequests in her will of two sapphires given to her by her husband Alfonso IV (1290–1357), one 'of the cut [*talho*] of an acorn, the other of the cut of an almond'. The cutting of emeralds and rubies had certainly become an everyday matter in Paris by 1341, when the king's mercer Eduardo Tadolini of Lucca could record without comment the expenditure by the queen's embroiderer Perrin de Paroy of 120 livres on one hundred and fifty emeralds and one hundred and fifty rubies to be sewn on the *gaufres* (gold mounts) of three girdles made for the three sons of Philippe d'Evreux, King of Navarre – the sum being 'both for their purchase and for cutting them [*pour les entaillier*].' Rubies were certainly being shaped and faceted in Italy by 1339, for two other of Doge Francesco Dandolo's rings were set one with a square balas-ruby with four corners, and the other with an eight-cornered balas-ruby. Again, in 1359, King Jean le Bon of France, in captivity in London after his defeat at Poitiers, paid the goldsmith Franchequin, here described as a 'stone-cutter' (*le tailleur*), the large sum of eleven nobles 'for the cut he made around a ruby for the king' and another eleven nobles for making a gold ring for a cut stone for the king and for cutting the stone. Another London goldsmith named Hannequin sold Jean, in 1360, a sapphire 'cut with a head'. And in 1364 several rubies cut to a heart shape are men-

tioned in the inventories of Jean and in 1380 in that of his son, Louis of Anjou, along with others shaped like a shield or else with four or eight facets (*quarres*), or else as square or oblong. For square or oblong rubies there seems to have been a marked taste in Franco–Burgundian court circles in the early fifteenth century: Duke Philippe the Good of Burgundy had *c*.1430 a personal brooch set with three large square balas-rubies, among other stones and pearls, a broad gold collar set with fourteen square balas-rubies, and another, described as 'the good collar of the square balases'.[9]

Emeralds were certainly being cut to a square shape well before 1300, and indeed documentary references suggest that square emeralds were not unusual in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. We have already seen that the very large and several smaller square-cut emeralds set in the Stockholm crown, with their comparative roughness of technique, surely date from the early thirteenth century. About 1308 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, pledged a brooch set with a square emerald. By 1416 Jean, Duke of Berry had a varied assortment of emeralds of different shapes, mostly square but some lozenge-shaped. Jean's precious stones give some idea of the skill with which lapidaries could now cut gems into elaborate forms. Shortly before 1387 he gave his nephew Charles VI a gold brooch set with 'a head of balas-ruby' – that is, cut from a balas-ruby, whether in relief or in the round is not clear, but more probably the latter. From a ruby bought in 1406 for 192 écus he had a cross cut to set in a gold reliquary pendant; the cutting and polishing cost him 26 écus. More ambitious was an emerald cut to the shape of a fly and set in a ring which he bought in 1403 from the Dutch goldsmith John of Nimeguen. A figure made for him about 1410, to be set in a circular gold pendant, had a head of chalcedony and a collar of emerald, so anticipating the *commessi* of Renaissance France. Rather similar must have been a sapphire bear – the bear was the Duke's device – standing on an emerald terrace which was in a ring given him as a present in 1404. Of simpler form was a ruby, table-cut and shaped like a heart, set in a ring, which he bought in 1406 for the enormous sum of 3000 gold écus, and another ruby shaped to resemble a grain of barley which he bought for the same sum from a Venetian merchant in 1412. A third which was rose-cut was given to him as a present by his Duchess in 1411. Among his sapphires one given to him in 1401 had been cut to the shape of a letter Y, while another was cut 'after the fashion of a cuvette, in several small lozenges', having been, when bought in 1406, shaped as a crescent. The ruby cut to the shape of a vase to make the lily-pot of the Virgin which is set on the central bar of the Founder's Jewel of New College, Oxford (pl.55) gives some idea of these shaped and sculptured precious stones; though not especially smoothly finished, it was described as 'wonderously wrought' when received by the College in 1455. In Paris the cutting of gem-stones had become a specialised craft by the end of the fourteenth century; in 1385 there were fifteen or sixteen goldsmiths who made it their principal occupation
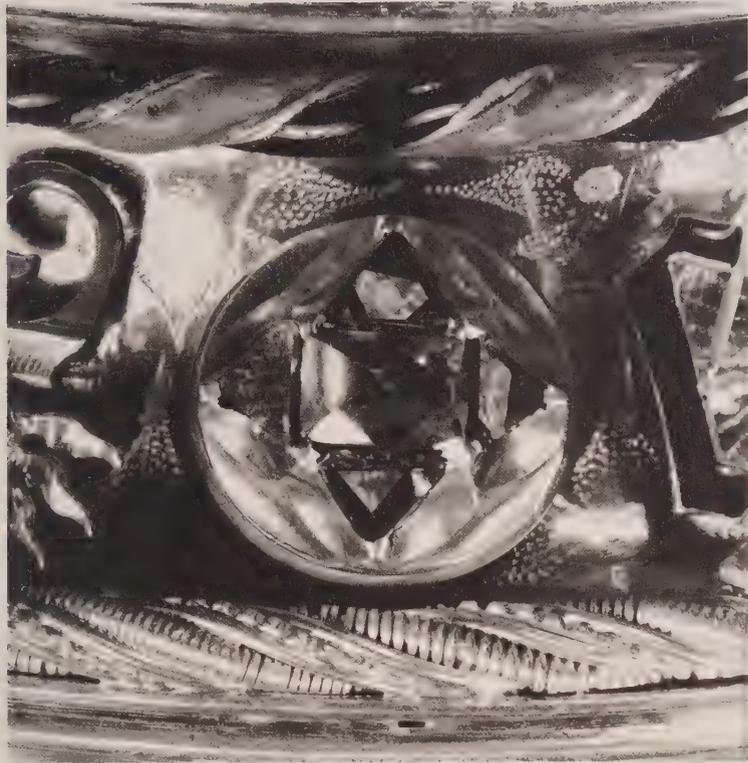
Fig. 4  Cup (detail). Gold, diamonds. Netherlandish, mid-fifteenth century.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Fig. 4a  Detail

and were known in consequence as *orfèvres–pierriers* (goldsmith–lapidaries). Jean de Berry also patronised a *tailleur de pierrerie* named Cerveil, from whom he bought a gold ring set with a half-length figure of Saint John Baptist in chalcedony, at some date before 1411–12. Probably a number of gem-cutters who cut precious stones were also gem-engravers, as Cerveil seems to have been.[10]

The greatest achievement of the fourteenth century in gem-cutting was its success in cutting the diamond. That the diamond can be cut by another diamond may already have been known to the older Pliny in the first century AD. If so, the secret seems to have disappeared from the workshops of Western Europe and we find no unequivocally certain reference to diamond-cutting until the fourteenth century. Diamonds before that date were mounted uncut. Some of course had the irregular faceting and pointing of nature – the diamond is naturally an octahedron – and, from the late fourteenth century, after diamond-cutting had become an established technique, these uncut diamonds were known as *diamants naifs*, a French term later borrowed by the Italians. The date when diamond cutting began has not been established. One of the rings listed in 1295 in the Papal Treasury under Pope Boniface VIII was set with a hexagonal diamond (*cum uno diamante ad vi angulos*, lit. with a diamond with six corners). And in 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders owned an emerald 'cut in the fashion of a diamond'. But Mandeville, writing *c.*1360, says that some diamonds 'are of their own kind three-cornered and some six', though almost all of those known to him were 'four-square and pointed'.[11]

By 1355, when the new statutes of the Paris goldsmiths' guild forbade the use of crystal (*bericle*) cut to resemble diamonds, we can presume that the art was well-established there. Indeed Mandeville already speaks of polishing diamonds as a known technique, but says some workmen 'for malice' refuse to polish them at all or to polish them fully in order that men should not realise that they can be polished – evidently lack of polish was still a sign of a true diamond, and lapidaries either declined to polish them because of the difficulty of the technique, or because they hoped to pass off unpolished or lightly polished false stones as real diamonds. Probably at first the cuts were simple; the natural diamond crystal, an octahedron, was separated into two to produce pointed diamonds, long popular for rings, or else flattened to make a table form, again a popular shape for rings. But some more elaborate shapes were produced as the lapidaries gained skill. In 1364 King Jean le Bon had a ring set with a shield-shaped table diamond, and similarly in 1370 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux had a gold reliquary pendant set with a diamond, also 'in fashion of a shield'. The shield shape was to remain in high favour until the end of the Middle Ages. Triangular-shaped diamonds do occur in natural form and we cannot be certain that these shield-shaped stones had invariably acquired their shape wholly by cutting – what is certain is that the natural form must have been aided. Later, in 1388 Duke Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy paid the French court goldsmith Jehan du Vivier 320 francs 'for having caused a great diamond belonging to Monseigneur to be faceted [*esquarrer*] and then set the same in a ring'. By the 1390s we have a record of a new standard of virtuosity, the cutting of motifs in diamonds; in 1395 Philippe

bought a diamond 'cut with little stars' and in 1399 he gave as a wedding present one 'in the fashion of a lozenge with a cross within it'.[12]

Within the specialised craft of gem-cutting the cutting of diamonds seems always to have been a speciality in itself. We read in 1381–2 of a German settled in Paris, where he was known as Jehan Boule, whose trade was the cutting of diamonds and whose two workmen resisted an attempted inspection of his workshop by the wardens of the Paris goldsmiths' guild because 'diamonds were not under their right of visitation'. Writing between 1407 and 1434 Guillebert de Metz could declare that Paris had formerly been distinguished by its rare and excellent workmen, among them Herman 'who polished diamonds of various forms'. Herman is almost certainly to be identified with the great Parisian goldsmith Herman Rince or Roussel from whom Jean, Duc de Berry, commissioned or bought a number of choice pieces of goldsmiths' work and stones including a diamond 'with several points' set in a gold ring, purchased in 1401. By 1416 Jean's inventory lists thirty loose diamonds 'of different sorts and divers fashions' taken from jewels and plate, including ten pointed diamonds of which some 'were cut and others not cut, and two were triangular'. Many of his other diamonds were pointed, some were lozenge-shaped and one set in a gold brooch he bought in 1409 was 'made in the fashion of a mirror', that is, flat and round. A similar diamond – or perhaps the same – is mentioned in a royal account of 1412: 'a great flat round diamond, in the fashion of a mirror, which used to be set in a gold brooch in the fashion of a rose'. Jean even had a bear's head – a bear was his device – wrought from a large diamond, which, if what it purported to be, must have been a great curiosity.[13]

Yet others were shaped as a cross or as a fleur-de-lis, almost certainly, however, by setting pieces of diamond together. These motifs made of pieces of diamonds became a feature of fifteenth-century jewels. We can perhaps gain some impression of their appearance from the diamond ornaments set on a great fifteenth-century goblet, now in Vienna, which was part of the treasure of the Dukes of Burgundy (figs.4, 4a). These also help to give some impression of what must have been among the earliest of all diamond jewels, 'a flower made of a diamond' which Charles d'Orléans bought late in 1410 from a goldsmith, a merchant named Regnaut Pizdoë, as a New Year's gift to his sister Marguerite and 'two diamonds made in the fashion of flowers of four diamond stones' which were bought by Louis, Duc de Guyenne, son of King Charles VI of France, in 1412 from Jehan Hasquin, a goldsmith of Paris, and presented to his wife and sister. Other instances of this technique, which was long popular, will occur later, but we should note that it probably became known quite soon in England. In 1416 Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, gave Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester a gold brooch made by Guerardin Clutin of Bruges set with a square balas-ruby, a large pearl and a flower of diamond.[14]

There was one further major development in diamond-cutting

during the fifteenth century, the introduction of the 'hog-back' cut, in which the upper surface of two long rectangular diamonds is shaped into two angled facets forming a gable. We have references from this century in the accounts of the Dukes of Savoy to one or two specialised diamond-cutters – a Jean du Puis, described in 1430 as an *addobbeur de diamants*, and Jeannin en Vassel, probably a Catalan, described in 1473 as a *diamantier*. The art of diamond-cutting may have reached Italy by 1410, for in that year Pope John XXIII sent Jean de Berry a gold ring set with a large heart-shaped diamond. Certainly by 1434 the *diamantari* or diamond-cutters were included in the regulations governing the goldsmiths and jewellers of Venice. The art must also have been practised in Germany, perhaps already by the second half of the fourteenth century for, as we have just seen, at least two of the diamond-cutters working in the Paris of *c*.1380–1400 were Germans. In 1412 Ludwig III of Bavaria gave Jean de Berry a gold ring set with a diamond 'fashioned in the manner of a rock' and in 1414 Charles d'Orléans ordered his court goldsmith to buy for him in Paris a gold ring set with a triangular table diamond which was certainly second-hand and must have been German, for it had a German inscription inside it in letters of blue.[15]

In the Low Countries, where the art of diamond-cutting still flourishes, expert diamond-cutters (*diamantslypers*) were well established at Bruges by 1465, when four of them were called as expert witnesses in a case concerning an amethyst which had been sold as a balas-ruby. In 1669 Robert de Berquen, a Parisian goldsmith, claimed that his ancestor Louis, a native of Bruges, had invented in 1476 a means of cutting diamonds by using powdered diamond. It is certainly untrue that Louis was the first to cut diamonds, as his descendant asserted, flourishing his claim with a story that Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, on hearing of the discovery, gave Louis three diamonds to cut, which he performed so successfully that the Duke rewarded him with 3000 ducats. Yet there may be some truth in his declaration that Louis improved the technique, for a number of the diamonds owned by Charles were certainly faceted with a much greater complexity and brilliancy than appears to have been the case with earlier diamonds. Diamond-cutters probably however still remained fairly rare birds. Certainly Queen Anne of Brittany sent her best pointed diamond in 1496 to Lyons, to Jehan Cayon, a *diamantier*, to have it 'renewed and put on his mill'.[16]

A real difficulty in tracing the origins of gem-cutting in every country of Europe is that cut stones were in all likelihood articles of trade. It is known that even in quite small towns goldsmiths often had a stock of stones which must have been obtained from elsewhere. We can assume that stone-cutting was practised in early fifteenth-century Florence because in 1440 the Florentine merchant Giovanni da Uzzano gives brief information about how precious stones were cut. 'Know that all natural stones are cut on a flat lead plate [*tavola*] with emery and water, and when you come to the end of cutting the stones, wipe off the emery

and smooth it much more and then you can colour it better'. Elsewhere the position is often unclear, and the position in England is particularly obscure. On the one hand King Jean le Bon could have a ruby cut and mounted in London by Franchequin in 1359, and the composite motifs made up of pieces of cut diamond which appear in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century France were well-known here – besides the Burgundian brooch of 1416 with its flower of diamond already cited, a flower of diamonds is recorded on an English royal bracelet in 1430. On the other hand the Goldsmiths' Company could admit in 1501 three alien 'stone-slippers received for knowledge' – the term *stone-slypers* suggesting that they were Netherlanders in origin. Probably stone-cutting was practised in London only sporadically in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and by foreigners – Germans, Netherlanders, Frenchmen – who had chosen to settle there, bringing their skill with them. If this is so, then many of the cut stones recorded in English fourteenth- and fifteenth-century plate, rings and jewellery must have been imported. There is nothing improbable about this; we have seen that some balas-rubies may have been arriving in the West already table-cut in the thirteenth century, and the trade in gem-stones and pearls was always essentially an import trade in all European countries and so could easily branch into a trade in cut stones. The polishing of stones by contrast was certainly practised continuously in London; in 1499 Henry VII paid his court goldsmith Sir John Shaa for polishing and setting stones in the 'divers juels' and 'newyeresgifts' Shaa had made for him.[17]

All these changes in the cutting of stones reflect the increasing Gothic taste for elegance and precision of form, in preference to the earlier taste for massiveness or for stones treated as pools of colour. Nevertheless, uncut stones continued to be worn until almost the end of the fifteenth century; even so late as 1467 Charles the Bold had a collar set with uncut diamonds. Cabochon stones also retained their popularity – Jean, Duke of Berry owned quite a number. The stones set in two fleurons of the French state crown – the great crown as such crowns were termed in the Middle Ages – as enumerated in 1424 for King Charles VII of France, were a mixture of cabochon and cut stones. Eleven of the balas-rubies were *en cabochon*; of the remaining six three were square, one was lozenge-shaped, one was flat, and one was square and table-cut. Of the sapphires, four were cut into eight facets, and three were round or roundish, presumably being simply smoothed and polished. Of the nine diamonds, four are described as matching stones, as are two of the pointed diamonds, while of the other three we learn that only one was pointed.[18]

Naturally, false stones were also much used. Almost all mediaeval guild statutes for goldsmiths either forbid or regulate their use in jewellery, more especially in rings, and in other forms of goldsmiths' work. We hear of a number of substitutes, some natural, like Scotch pearls for oriental pearls, some manufactured, like the false pearls whose use in chaplets, cloak clasps and *tressoirs* (head ribands), unless they were of silver, in other words beads, was forbidden to the mercers of Paris c.1260. The regulation specifies 'fine false pearls and white or gilt pearls' so plainly there were already various sorts and qualities of false pearls – the gilt pearls, however, were presumably bead-shaped bosses. As for Scotch pearls, obtained from fresh-water mussels in various Scottish rivers, the statues of the Paris goldsmiths enacted in 1355 forbade them to be used with oriental pearls except in large works of church plate. In Venice, where there was a great import trade in pearls, and where they were very popular for wear in jewellery and embroidery – as indeed was the case in Italy generally – ingenuity in falsifying them reached a point in 1502 where the city magistrates, anxious to protect the city's famous traffic in pearls, intervened to forbid their manufacture. 'For some time now', they proclaimed, 'the wit of men has become so subtle that they have found means to make pearls of glass or crystal, altogether similar to good pearls, a thing that never could be done in the past.' All who possessed false pearls were peremptorily ordered to surrender them within eight days, under pain of two years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, and from that time none were to be made under pain of losing the right hand and ten years' exile.[19]

Stones of coloured glass were already commonplace in the late eleventh century, when Marbodus warns in his *Lapidary* against the stones which 'cunning fraud has learned to feign with treacherous glass'. So too were stones of crystal tinted to resemble gems. Theophilus, as we already know, gives recipes for polishing glass and crystal stones, and in his chapters on glass he indicates how to make rings of coloured glass and says that these can be set with 'glass of another kind' as with a gem. Such stones were naturally much used for secondary and costume jewellery, along with small pearls or seed-pearls, and also in other contexts where simulations of costly jewels or ornaments were required. Mediaeval red and white false stones are still set for instance on a thirteenth-century Florentine altarpiece by Meliore di Jacopo, where they are used to jewel the collar of Christ's robe and his book. When the tomb of Edward I (d.1307) in Westminster Abbey was opened in 1774, his body was found clad in a red silk dalmatic with a stole of thick white tissue about three inches wide crossed over the breast and brought down as low as his wrists. This was ornamented at intervals of about six inches with quatrefoils in gilt-metal filigree, set with 'five pieces of beautiful transparent glass . . . some cut and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of the quatrefoil; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle: so that all of them together form a quincunx. The false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby; others a deep amethyst: some again are sapphire; others white; and some a sky blue.' The intervals between the quatrefoils were powdered over with small white beads or pearls arranged in an interlacing pattern rather resembling 'The True-lover's Knot'. The mantle of crimson satin was fastened on the left shoulder by a magnificent gilt-metal cloak clasp 'composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable *accus* [pin], and
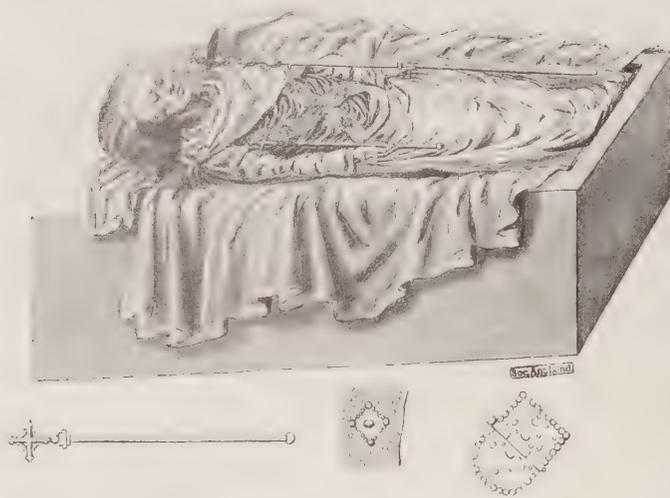
Fig. 5 Tomb of Edward I (d.1307) in Westminster Abbey on opening in 1774. English, fourteenth century. Ink and wash drawing by James Basire, 1774. Society of Antiquaries of London

resembling a cross-garnet hinge'. It was about four inches long, richly engraved, and set with four pieces of red and four of blue transparent glass and with twenty-two beads or pearls, all set in raised *chatons*. The head of the pin was 'formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste [*sic*], shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket'. A drawing in the Society of Antiquaries (fig.5) made when the tomb was opened provides an impression of the whole. The custom of giving dead kings royal ornaments of cheaper metal and false stones persisted up to the end of the Middle Ages; in 1515 accounts for the funeral expenses of Louis XII of France include payments for 'sixteen false red stones in the fashion of rubies' which were set in a crown of gilt latten.[20]

Jewels for wear by the living also had glass or crystal stones. In 1295 the treasury of the Papal Curia included a pontifical ring set 'with a crystal tinted the colour of a balas-ruby', another set 'with a red glass or crystal in the shape of a crescent moon', a *nusca* (here a pectoral in the form of a brooch–pendant) set, among other stones, with six tinted crystals and two stones of glass, and a second *nusca* set 'in the middle with a glass of the colour of a sapphire'. One of the Museum's thirteenth-century French ring brooches is also set with two pieces of glass of the colour of a sapphire. In 1323 the Count and Countess of Hainault bought in Paris for their little granddaughter a '*doroir* [bandeau] of goldsmith's work set with red and blue doublets' – evidently she was not yet old enough for the real thing. Even queens wore jewellery set with false stones on more ordinary occasions. In 1328 Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France left a girdle mounted with mounts of precious metal and with green doublets. Again, when Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France, died in 1372 she had two gold chaplets set with red and green glass to simulate rubies and emeralds and another in which false emeralds of glass alternated with 'bezants' – round medallions of silver or gold, originally so called from their resemblance to Byzantine gold coins, perhaps too because such coins had themselves once

been used as ornaments in jewellery. Stocks of doublets – false stones formed by superimposing two sections of glass with a coloured foil between them – were kept by great personages for use in jewellery and dress; in 1313, for instance, the Infanta Isabel of Aragon was given a hundred glass doublets set in latten which had belonged to her mother Queen Blanche of Anjou (d.1310). Again when King Martin of Aragon died in 1410 he left a *pedeset* (box or purse?) 'in which were divers stones of different colours, all of crystal and glass'.[21]

Some of our earliest information about the use of false stones in jewellery comes from Venice, where the goldsmiths' statutes of 1233 forbid the setting in gold of doublets of glass and also of pieces of tinted glass and of glass with depictions (cameos or intaglios). Similarly they enacted that no amethyst, a stone easily mistaken for a balas-ruby by the inexperienced, and no tinted crystal might be set in gold with a ruby or balas-ruby. To avoid fraud the goldsmiths must themselves set stones in gold rings and brooches and were not to give out work with the stones still unset, or take any ring outside Venice to be set with stones. The art of counterfeiting diamonds in crystal or glass was evidently well-established in Venice, for the same statutes forbid the setting of any counterfeit diamond in gold. In the later 1280s a new ordinance forbade another kind of malpractice: no goldsmith, it commanded, was to dare to make doublets of any natural stones, but only of crystal or glass, nor might anyone try to enhance a natural stone by tinting it. Cellini mentions in 1565 doublets made of two sections of ruby or emerald superimposed and it is probably these that were the subject of this legislation. In his day their manufacture was tolerated, and he mentions them as a speciality of Milan, a centre of hardstone cutting in the 1500s. He also mentions the setting of a shaped piece of precious stone above a section of crystal, but as a treacherous abuse practised by rogue goldsmiths. This particular malpractice certainly occurred in the Middle Ages; the Abbé Texier cites a cabochon stone made of an emerald and an aquamarine superimposed set on a thirteenth-century reliquary at Châteauponsat near Limoges. And the making as well as setting of counterfeit diamonds was now forbidden. On their side the *cristallai* (crystal-workers) of the city were forbidden by their statutes of 1284, which confirmed earlier, private regulations, to counterfeit crystal in white glass, while those among them who were also glass-workers were told to keep the two kinds of work strictly separate. In 1300 they were again forbidden to make or sell anything in white glass which counterfeited crystal, notably buttons and small mounts for setting over illuminations inset in pictures or crosses. In 1326 comes a statute, once more forbidding them, and indeed all others as well, to make doublets of glass. But by 1334 and probably well before, the glass-workers of Venice were making 'stones for rings of white glass, both tinted with red and not'.[22]

Enough false stones were in circulation in the city in 1445 for the authorities to become alarmed for the reputation of its traffic in precious stones, of which Venice was in the fifteenth

century still the principal European centre. Accordingly the Senate strictly forbade the making of counterfeit diamonds, rubies and balas-rubies – interestingly the legislation ignores emeralds and sapphires – expressly inhibiting also the manufacture of doublets. Anyone found with rings or brooches set with such stones must surrender them, even if he can show that he has acquired them in good faith, and they must be broken up publicly. The authorities added the interesting prohibition, very revealing of the extent of Venetian traffic in precious stones, that the captains of their galleys 'and especially of the galleys that go to Flanders, Barbary, and Aigues Mortes [in Languedoc]' are empowered to seize and destroy any jewels set with false stones from those 'who may have or carry or sell them'. Yet this legislation perhaps only tilted at the unauthorised manufacture of stones intended to deceive, in jewellery that was costly. For the making of false gem-stones seems to have been an officially recognised monopoly of the crystal cutters. In 1456 a certain Benvenuta, called 'of the ring-stones' from her trade, was forbidden to make glass stones because she did not belong to the crystal-makers' guild. She excused herself with the claim that her family had exercised the craft for seventy years without anyone's complaining. In 1487 the Senate again issued a decree against 'the multiplication of false stones of every sort' in the city, claiming they were being circulated 'by many bad and evil men' and expressly forbade the making of counterfeit diamonds, rubies, balas-rubies, emeralds, sapphires and amethysts, again under heavy penalties, including, in the case of a goldsmith, perpetual exclusion from the craft. Counterfeit stones made for ecclesiastical vestments were, however, permitted.[23]

Paris too already had a reputation for its glass stones (*pierres verrines*) by the late thirteenth century. In 1299, for example, the Countess of Hainault bought three dozens of them in Paris. *Pierres verrines* were made in white glass, which was melted and then after cooling, shaped by chisel and hammer. They were produced by a special trade, the *faiseurs de pierres de voirrines* or *verriniers*. Under some a rose tint was applied, the object being to make cheap counterfeits of the tinted crystal stones called doublets which were produced by the *cristalliers* of Paris. These were made by laying two sections of crystal together, as their name implies. They were held in high esteem as superior substitutes for real precious stones. In 1303 Countess Mahaut bought 1216 blue doublets; at her death in 1323, Queen Maria of Hungary, widow of Charles II of Naples, had a store of 'doublets of Paris work' beside her. In August of the same year we find Maistre Jehan de Florence, chaplain to the Count and Countess of Hainault, busy buying 'four hundred blue and four hundred red doublets' in Paris. The making of these tinted crystals was a wholly separate trade in the city from the making of glass stones. There was much experience in Paris in working crystal, for large hog-back crystals had been favourite stones of the twelfth and earlier centuries, much used in church metalwork and plate, and in mid-thirteenth-century Paris the

crystal workers were also the workers of hard-stones. The goldsmiths claimed sole right to cut and polish and carve precious stones, but it seems that the *cristalliers* eventually intruded on their monopoly, leaving them only with the exclusive privilege of resetting stones and selling them when mounted – though even this right was claimed by some mercers in the fifteenth century.[24]

Accordingly, it was natural that the *cristalliers* should also specialise in making imitations of precious stones by tinting crystals. In 1332 this gave rise to a dispute between the wardens of the *cristalliers* and four makers of glass stones. The suit was brought before the warden of the Prévoté of Paris. The wardens of the *cristalliers* complained that, although the city's statutes expressly inhibited the dyeing or painting of glass to make it look like crystal, the four had made stones of white glass tinted with a rose dye, which were such successful counterfeits of the crystal stones called doublets that they looked just like them, although worth far less. Accordingly these stones had been seized by the wardens of the *cristalliers* because they had been tinctured with the perfidious rose colour, and not with the red pigment known as dragon's blood, which gave more of a ruby colour, according to Cellini, and presumably could not be confused with the pigment used in tinting crystals. In reply the four *verriniers* argued that it was a long-established custom of their craft to make glass stones and tincture them with rose colour, and that this was perfectly well-known to the *cristalliers*. The warden of the Prévoté now called in certain goldsmiths to give their opinion on the rights and wrongs of the case. They declared that the *verriniers* were quite entitled to make red glass stones by tincturing them underneath with dragon's blood, but they ought not to make them by joining two sections together, like doublets. Such stones should be round, by which they probably meant entire, and of white glass, and no rose tint should be used underneath them. After hearing all this evidence, the warden of the Prévoté gave judgment – the *verriniers* could make glass stones, but must not make them in sections and were to tint them with dragon's blood, and not with rose, which they were not to employ henceforward. However, the probability is that his decision was soon ignored.[25]

There were restrictions on the use of such stones notably in the general attempt to ensure that only fine and real precious stones were set in gold, and that only inferior stones were set in silver. We have already seen that Venice in 1233 forbade the setting of false stones in gold, and the spirit that animated this legislation seems to have been general in thirteenth-century Europe, for about 1250 the municipality of Douai, issuing statutes for the town's goldsmiths, also enacted that 'none are to make gold rings or brooches of new gold in which false stones or glass stones are set'. Equally, no real stone could be set in a ring or brooch of copper or of the yellow metal known as latten. A century later, in 1361, the statutes of the guild of goldsmiths of Siena – during the fourteenth century the most

important centre of goldsmiths' work in Central Italy – again declare that 'whereas many men [do wrong things] to deceive one another – and those especially without knowledge of precious stones might well be deceived – they have ordained that no goldsmith may set or cause to be set in any gold ring or other work of gold any glass or any counterfeit stone for whatsoever reason or occasion, with a fine of 10 lire per stone or glass, when discovered'.[26]

The regulations of fourteenth-century Paris were much more complex and detailed. In 1309 the *esmailleurs* of the city, who specialised in making girdle mounts, were forbidden to set glass or crystal that was tinted or had been made into a doublet in gold or silver, unless it was work for the church or the king, 'for they are deceived who buy them'. By their statutes of 1355 the Paris goldsmiths were forbidden to cut beryl to make it look like a diamond, to set red foil or foil of any other colour excepting only silver foil under amethysts and garnets (this was done in order to make them look like balas-rubies), to set amethysts and garnets together with balas-rubies, oriental or Alexandrian rubies, or emeralds, except as sections under these stones, in the same fashion as unfoiled crystal was employed for this purpose. They must not varnish or tint amethysts or false stones so as to make them look like gem-stones. They must not set Scotch pearls in gold or silver together with orient pearls, except in large pieces of church plate, or set glass stones in company with garnets and gem-stones in modest silver jewellery. They were also forbidden to mount *doublets de voirrines* in gold: these were thin slices of gem-stones glued over glass stones. Even so late as 1467, when a guild of goldsmiths was founded at Poitiers, careful regulations of this same kind were laid down. The members were bound to put only a plain silver foil under amethysts and garnets, and were not to use a red foil or one of any other colour. They were not to tincture amethysts or false stones 'which must appear what they are of their own nature'. Amethysts were not to be set with balas-rubies, emeralds, oriental rubies or rubies of Alexandria, except when they served as a backing to crystals. Equally Scotch pearls were not to be set with orient pearls, except on large pieces of church plate. On small silver jewels glass stones must not be set with garnets or other true stones, and *doublets de verrines* must not be set or sold set in gold. And the members were not to make glass diamonds or set them in gold or silver.[27]

All these rules were certainly infringed and, given their constant recurrence in cities throughout Europe, probably pretty frequently. The two great gold brooches of c.1325–50 found at Verona (pls.25, 26), superb in design and facture and set with orient pearls and emeralds (one very fine), both contain inferior or false stones. On the star brooch the red stones are amethysts, not, as we might expect, rubies, and on the long brooch the large pale blue stone in the centre, and the two others above and below it, all so prominent in the design, are not sapphires, but false stones of glass paste, while the stones to either side of the large stone again are amethysts. Whether these brooches

were made in Venice, as has been argued, or in Verona itself, the use of false stones in gold was contrary to the city regulations, and the only acceptable excuse for the fraud would be instructions to the goldsmith from the patron to use counterfeit or inferior stones. Documents tell the same story. In 1374–5, for instance, the wardens of the Paris guild had the goldsmith Robert de Montacelin arrested and put in prison for making a gold ring for a Lombard customer set with a glass stone and sections of sapphire. Even some of the gold jewels of the English kings were set with counterfeit or inferior stones, such as garnets. Thus one of the St George brooches worn by either Edward III or Richard II, though of gold and otherwise magnificently jewelled, was recorded in 1400 as being set with eight counterfeit diamonds. Again the inventory of Henry V, taken after his death in 1422, lists a gold brooch set with sapphires and garnets and six 'brooches and *nouches* of gold, garnished with divers garnets'. But in general gold was required to be set only with precious stones and pearls, and these were required to be set only with each other.[28]

Rules or no rules, the use of false stones, either innocently, or for fraud, was general throughout Europe. Already in the first decade of the thirteenth century two great German poets take it absolutely for granted that blue glass is commonly used as a substitute for sapphire. In *Parzival* Wolfram von Eschenbach says that a beautiful woman with a false heart is like a jewel of blue glass set in gold. And Walther von der Vogelweide says to a young girl: 'Your ring with its glass stone is more precious to me that the Queen's gold ring'. There was evidently quite a trade in such false stones, probably dating back into the early Middle Ages. Only in the later mediaeval centuries however is it documented. In the early 1360s Sir John Mandeville utters a warning about false diamonds carried about by merchants from country to country for sale. 'He that will buy this stone, it is needful til him that he can perfectly know that stone for the deceit of them that sell them. For oft-times they sell to them that have no great knowing of stones instead of diamonds, crystals pale and other manner of stones, the which are not so hard as diamonds, and commonly their points are broken off and they will lightly be polished, for to gere men ween that they may not be polished forehand.' And in 1466–7 the London Goldsmiths' Company fined the 'Dutchman' Hans Wheler – either a German or Netherlander – and banned his device because he had been found selling 'false stones in the manner of signets set with colours and deceivably wrought'. It appears that Wheler imported these stones from abroad, and then tinted them 'with a whole colour under such a stone to make him seem as a balays, a ruby, a sapphire or an emerald'.[29]

An Italian book of 'secrets' dating from the first half of the fifteenth century initiates us into some of the arts that were practised to produce stones of 'clear water and fine colour'. To make 'quickly and easily' pearls, rubies and balas-rubies 'that are artificial and not natural' the first thing was to grind Constantinople alabaster into a powder, mix it with oil, distil

it, and then add colouring matter appropriate to the stone you wished to make, as ultramarine azure for sapphire, or verdigris for emerald. Thickened by the fire, the mixture formed a dough-like paste, which was then cut to the desired shape, boiled in oil, and set out on a smooth board in a very hot sun to harden. Topazes and sapphires could be counterfeited by grinding up a pound of the best crystal, adding five pounds' worth of coloured stag's bones, and five pounds of sal alkali, and putting the mixture into a glass furnace for five to seven days in order for it to melt into glass. Then add good azure, mix them up together and the glass will turn a blue colour. From it you can now make large or small sapphires which you then polish with an emery-stone. Should you want topazes, then add saffron to the glass; for clear rubies add cinnabar, for dark rubies *verzino*, for garnets *verzino* or *oricella* or rose colour. Burnt orpiment will make jasper. Powdered crystal glass mixed with white of egg and snail slime make a foundation for the false pearl. After stirring it into a paste, press it into a round shape in moulds. The pearls so formed are pierced with a hog's bristle, baked in a vessel until they are white hot, and then cooled with clear water 'and they will be most beautiful'.

The same results could also be achieved by other recipes. Rubies can be made by mixing proportions of alum and saltpetre together, reducing them to powder, adding *verzino*, kneading the whole, and heating it till it forms a mass. After it has cooled for seven days, it now becomes a dough-like paste from which stones of any desired sort can be cut and shaped. For balas-rubies heat a crystal stone, then anoint it with fine dragon's blood finely ground, heat it again and let it cool. Crystal is converted into emeralds by boiling in verdigris; by varying the colour you can get sapphires and every other precious stone in the same way. Again pearls can be made of powdered stones from the heads of fishes mixed with white of egg and moulded to the proper shape, or from pounded mother-of-pearl or seed-pearls or pearl-shell, pounded and mixed with gum arabic, then moulded and dried, after which they are dipped into a mixture of fig-tree sap and white cheese for as many times as is required to turn them into bright pearls. To make large pearls out of seed-pearls you must grind them in a small mortar, then knead them in a water compounded of lemon-juice, wine and spirit of turpentine, until the whole becomes a doughy paste. Stand for three days in the sun, knead up again, lay on glass, and shape into pearls with the aid of the oil known as *olio muscellion*. After drying bake the pearls in the belly of the fish called *bucephalus*, whereupon they come hard, and can be rubbed smooth with barley-meal in a linen cloth. Then give them to a dove or cock to eat for a day or longer, as you think best, then rub them again with turkey meal and they will shine beautifully. In all these recipes for making pearls, moulded pearls were pierced before they became hard. Other mixtures and methods for making counterfeit stones and pearls were also recommended.[30]

Because of the irregularity of the stones they held, mediaeval collets were often shaped to the form of a particular stone.

Often the stones were fixed in their collets by a paste, which sometimes survives in collets from which stones have disappeared (pl.24). Analysis of the substances employed to make the white paste used for this purpose on the mid-fourteenth-century gold brooches of the Verona treasure (pls.25, 26) shows that in one instance lime, in another clay was powdered and mixed with resin. The statutes of the goldsmiths' guild of Verona, enacted in 1319, insist that in rings, red chalk must be used for the purpose. Their reason was that such pastes gave yet another opportunity for fraud, since to increase the apparent weight of the stone the collet was filled with lead or latten. In 1440 the Florentine merchant Giovanni da Uzzano recommends that a paste for holding stones firmly in summer should be made of Saracen red, ground up to the consistency of flour and mixed with black pitch. The mixture was then melted over a fire and mixed with mastic. If the season was winter, wax could be added to soften it. In order to fix the stones more securely, collets sometimes were made with little claws round the inner edge. In many rings and jewels it was already quite usual to set the stone on a foil to deepen the colour. In 1568 Cellini speaks of foils as used only for rubies, emeralds and sapphires; diamonds by contrast were tinted. On the two Verona brooches a thin sheet of copper, cut and shaped, is used under the amethysts and sapphires as a foil. As a foil causes the light to be reflected back to the viewer, it was especially valuable in enhancing cabochons, the commonest of all polished stones. At his death in 1364 King Jean le Bon of France had two heart-shaped rubies set in rings, one with a foil, one without. And a payment for a balas-ruby set in a ring which was made for him in 1359 during his captivity in London to Hannequin the goldsmith 'dwelling in London' included 5s for a foil.[31]

The making of these foils was a task of great difficulty, and in the early years of the sixteenth century, according to Cellini, was a speciality of France and Venice. They were imported from there into the Florence of his youth, that is *c*.1515–20, but a Florentine goldsmith, Salvestro del Lavacchio, became, he says, so skilled at making foils and so renowned for them that he devoted himself entirely to their manufacture and exported them from Florence. It also became customary to tint certain other stones, besides the diamond, to improve their colour when set in gold or silver. This obviously gave opportunity for malpractice, of which advantage appears to have been abundantly taken. In 1443, for instance, the goldsmiths of Dijon, to prevent fraud and imposture on customers who might be unable to detect them in stones once set in gold 'if they are not persons very expert in this', forbade all goldsmiths and their apprentices working in the town to put on or under sapphires the black tint which it was usual to put under diamonds. Foils were also used to give plausibility to false stones: the doublets on the tomb of Richard III (d.1484) are composed of a coloured metal foil between two pieces of glass doublet. This is perhaps to lay undue emphasis on the negative side of foiling and tinting; Cellini points out that the art of

setting jewels to their best advantage principally lay in just these two skills, and that it was always possible to discover new secrets in them.[32]

Plainly it behoved the purchaser of precious stones to be on his guard in the Middle Ages. The history of the 'fair diamond' of Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders (d.1322), is exemplary. This great stone had been handed down to him by his father, Count Guy (d.1305), and was inherited by his daughter-in-law, Jeanne de Bretagne, Dame de Cassel. She always carried it about her, mounted in a gold ring, in a little purse pinned to her dress by a small gold brooch. When she died at the castle of Nieppe in Flanders it was secretly taken from her body and kept hidden until her burial at Orléans, when it was given to her daughter Yolande de Bar. This seems to have been done in an attempt to anticipate or frustrate the intentions of the dead lady's will. Yolande took the stone to Paris to have it valued by expert goldsmiths there. Her disappointment must have been sore, for this treasured family jewel turned out to be no diamond at all, but a stone resembling a diamond and worth only the paltry sum of 12 sols. Thereupon Yolande promptly handed it over to the executors, who grimly record that they have still to receive from her 'the brooch and the purse'.[33]

It was not only stones, real or false, that were used: antique cameos and intaglios were eagerly collected by kings, noblemen and great ecclesiastics for mounting in seals, for wear in rings, for setting in brooches and other kinds of jewellery, and for the adornment of plate and shrines. Cameos were incomparably the most popular for jewellery that was not rings. Some indeed may simply have been collected for themselves and richly mounted solely for their safe preservation rather than for wearing, just as stones were often mounted for safe-keeping in rings. At her death in 1323 Maria, widow of Charles II of Naples, owned 'a cameo in which is the image of the Blessed Virgin holding her son in her arms mounted in gold with four emeralds and four rubies and, on the other side, the Agnus Dei enamelled' which was kept in a silk case. Another of her cameos is described 'as a cameo enclosed in a mount with emeralds on the inside rim' and a third was 'a cameo enclosed in gold'. Again in 1346 Queen Maria of Aragon left 'a large cameo set in gold in a green case with a red cord'. Matthew Paris' drawing (fig.6) of c.1250 of the great cameo given to St Alban's Abbey by King Ethelred (r.979–1016), which was believed to help women in childbirth, gives us some idea of how a cameo was mounted for its safe preservation in the thirteenth century. As already noted, by no means all cameos or stones that were mounted, even in rings, were necessarily intended for wearing; they seem often to have been mounted simply to protect them or to show them off, and this seems also to have been true of many stones mounted in rings. The compiler of an inventory of the jewels of St Alban's, taken under the reign of Henry IV of England (1399–1413), says of a sapphire given to the abbey by Thomas Prior of Wallingford: 'The *chaton* that contains the same gem, and also the stone itself for greater safety and protection, is surrounded by a circlet of gold.'

Ordinarily cameos were simply admired as works of art and incorporated into brooches as focal elements. A gold ring brooch of c.1300 (pl.21) found at Oxwich Castle, Glamorganshire, and now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, shows an arrangement of cameos set on a circular frame, alternating with rubies (one now missing). But much the commonest design is that we see on the fifteenth-century brooch in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat.18, pl.123) in which a cameo of a lion mauling an animal is held in a circle shown as a leafy branch. The design dates back into the twelfth century and is adopted in the most splendid of mediaeval cameo brooches, the great Schaffhausen Onyx (pl.22).[1]

Such cameos circulated among merchants, goldsmiths and the great to whom they always made most acceptable gifts. Among the jewels that three royal officials of Henry III of England were alleged in 1234 to have extorted from the Jews were 'a stone called a cameo, in which was cut a crown and two angels', and two other cameos, one of which Robert Passelawe, one of the accused three, afterwards gave to the king. Cameos were evidently very costly; in 1260 Henry III gave Hermann 'the goldsmith of Cologne' 10 marks 'because of his poverty' as he was still unable to pay the unfortunate Hermann for a

Fig. 6 Miniatures of jewels and Roman cameo from St Albans Abbey. From the Liber Additamentorum by Matthew Paris (MS Cotton Nero D I, f.146v). Parchment. English, c.1250. British Library, London

Fig. 7 Cameo. Detail from the crown of the Golden Virgin.
Gold, stones, pearls. Height of cameo 1.8cm. German, eleventh century.
Münsterschatzkammer, Essen

Many cameos in mediaeval collections or that were incorporated into new settings were an inheritance from the past, having been mounted and remounted over the centuries. A large number came from Byzantium. These were imported, largely by Italian merchants, both before and after the sack of Byzantium in 1204 by the Crusaders and Venetians, when there was an influx into the west of important cameos pillaged from Byzantine treasuries. Cameos were also found in Roman ruins. Thus in 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal owned a cameo of a white lion on 'a field of sapphire' which had been found 'in a monument' and given to her by her husband. She had had it mounted in a circular setting decorated with two rubies, two sapphires and four pearls. The cutting of cameos and intaglios remained a living art in Byzantium, and Byzantine cameos of later date were also brought to the West.

In addition, the Western tradition of intaglio and cameo setting, especially for seals and ring-stones, remained unbroken, though sometimes tenuous, from Carolingian times until the Renaissance. Early Western cameos were much cruder than their antique prototypes or Byzantine models, as can be seen from a cameo in the eleventh-century crown worn by the Golden Virgin of Essen, in the Lower Rhineland, which presumably represents the best that the goldsmiths of Cologne could then achieve (fig.7). But although cameo-cutting never attained until the later Middle Ages to anything of the sophistication of the past, it was certainly practised as a traditional branch of the goldsmith's art, though probably much less frequently than intaglio-cutting, which was in great demand for seals. 'Let the goldsmith', wrote Alexander Neckham, probably recalling memories of the Pont-Neuf in the Paris where he taught c.1180, 'let the goldsmith have also a very sharp chisel and another with which he may carve and shape forms many times on precious stone or adamant or serpentine or marble or jacinth or emerald or ruby or jasper or sapphire or pearl.' Gem-cutting and hard-stone carving were certainly practised in Germany, Italy and France, and by the later thirteenth century in England. During that century, presumably because of their rarity and high price, antique cameos and intaglios began to be imitated by Western gem cutters, who are mentioned as œvrieres de pierres de cristal et de toutes autres manieres de pierres natureus in Paris c.1260 and as tailleurs de amans in London in 1300. In both cases it is plain that the crafts were already well-established. From early times engraved gems were also reproduced by casting them in glass to make copies or forgeries that often gave cause for concern to the mediaeval purchaser. Venice is thought to have been a principal centre of this industry in the thirteenth century and this is plausible, since the style of those that are known is Byzantine and their provenance often Venetian, though the documentary evidence usually cited to support this hypothesis demonstrably concerns the making of false stones. Such glass cameos found their way to fourteenth-century Paris. In 1381 a foreign merchant named Balthesar, probably a Venetian, got a Parisian goldsmith named Gillet de Fraguenas to set a

cameo he had bought from him 'long ago'. Henry accumulated no less than eighty-five cameos between 1244 and 1267 for the decoration of the shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, and this was a small quantity compared to the two hundred and twenty-six antique gems set in the late twelfth-century shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral, which themselves dwindle in comparison with the eight hundred and twenty-four set in the thirteenth-century shrine of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia at Marburg. Shrines were works of piety, but over twenty antique intaglios are set in the eleventh-century pectoral of the Mainz treasure often called that of the Empress Gisela, which we shall be examining in a later chapter, and seventeen in the necklace from the same treasure. Their importance in mediaeval eyes can be illustrated from a characteristic anecdote. In 1318, pricked by his conscience during a severe illness, Jaime II of Aragon deposited two gold brooches with the Archbishop of Tarragona to hold against the claims of his creditors. One was a great cluster brooch of a cameo encircled by larger and smaller stones mounted on the rim — eight balas-rubies, five sapphires, four emeralds and twelve pearls. Some three years later, Jaime wrote to ask that 'the stone called a cameo mounted in gold with certain gems and pearls', be removed from the brooch and sent to him. On receipt, he asked to be told what the holders considered to be its value, and undertook to give them the equivalent sum.[2].

glass cameo in a pax which had been made 'outside the country' – presumably in Venice. The cameo was broken up by command of the Prévost of Paris, together with some Venetian rings whose gold was of poor quality. Because so many of the gems made in the thirteenth century seem to have been merely imitations of antique cameos executed in antique style, most of them are profile heads or busts, some wholly in the antique manner, others attempting a contemporary portrait using the antique formula of the profile, which is never found in large-scale thirteenth-century relief sculpture. A good example of a portrait motif in contemporary costume, but treated as a profile, is found in the cameos of the Oxwich brooch (pl.21). A cameo profile head in a style that imitates the antique is set in a thirteenth-century brooch of silver-gilt (fig.8) in the Carrand Collection (Florence, Bargello).[3]

Most gems of religious subjects recorded in the thirteenth century are thought to have been Byzantine, though this is by no means certain. The list of Henry III's gems drawn up in 1267 mentions stones carved with Moses and the Serpent, with two angels, with Jacob's sons, with a figure of the Virgin, with the Majestas, that is the Virgin and Child enthroned. It was during the fourteenth century and in France that Western gem cutting seems to have emancipated itself from its servitude to earlier models and acquired a certain independence, representing its subjects, whether religious scenes or portraits, in contemporary styles. Jean de Berry was, as might be expected from his passion for precious stones, addicted to the collection of engraved gems, and a number of portrait cameos of him are recorded, two set in rings. He could, however, be quite cavalier in his treatment of gems; when one of his gold collars was broken up, he had the motif of an intaglio head erased from an engraved sapphire known as the Great Sapphire of Burgundy that had been set in it. We know the names of one or two gem engravers who worked for him. In 1413 he owned a gold jewel set with a cameo cut with the figures of Christ, and Saints John, Peter and Andrew, together with the Lamb of God and a tree against which Saint John was leaning; the stone was a present from his nephew Charles VI to Jean, who had 'had it cut in the aforesaid fashion' by Michel of Hasselt in Brabant, also known as Michel of Bois-le-Duc ('s-Hertogenbosch), and mounted by Jean Chenu, one of his court goldsmiths. Another gem engraver who worked for him was Scapessonal, who in 1412 split a sapphire which the Duke had given to the merchant Baude de Guy to have cut and engraved.[4]

Cameos of religious scenes were sometimes mounted in the rich folding diptychs and triptychs known as *tableaux*, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were fashionable as aids to devotion among the great. Consequently from the later fourteenth century we also find cameos being set in the little folding tablets which were miniature versions of these, made for wear as pendants (cat.67, pls.137, 137a) and in the medallion pendants which became popular about the same period. In the fifteenth century a native French tradition of gem cutting
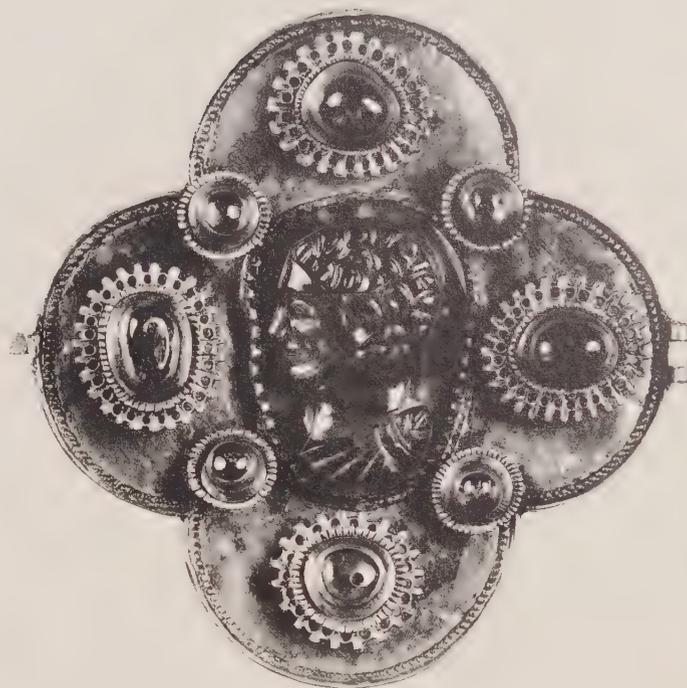


Fig. 8  Brooch. Silver-gilt, stones, cameo. Diameter c.9cm. German (?), thirteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo nazionale del Bargello, Florence

persisted, being patronised notably by Kine René of Anjou. As early as 1452 he is found buying a small cameo from a lapidary named Jehan Saillart, and he paid in 1453 for the gold mount of a cameo cut with the Crucifixion and of a 'small Our Lady, made of a cameo'. In 1477 his court goldsmith in Provence, Pierre Adam, charged him for setting a chalcedony relief of the Virgin 'which I have mounted in gold engraved all round with letters enamelled black and behind I have made an Annunciation of Our Lady in *epargne* [sunk relief] enamelled black'. The gold for the setting was given him in the form of coins – four gold écus. Possibly this cameo was a work of Thomas Pigne, a lapidary and cameo cutter (*faiseur de camahyeu*) who was in René's service by June 1472 and remained in it at least until 1478. He was given 15 ducats at Tarascon on 14 August 1477 'to make the king's face on a cameo and some devices' and in the following month received 20 ducats 'to make the King from the girdle upwards', i.e. bust-length, on a cameo 'which the said Thomas has cut for him from life'. To make his cameo Pigne evidently used diamond-pointed tools, for on 28 November following René gave him a crystal cup in full satisfaction for 'the uncut diamonds he has consumed and worn out in cutting several cameos'. In 1472 René was already delivering uncut diamonds for use by Thomas and another lapidary named Jehan Castel in cutting cameos. René then stimulated the production of a certain number of cameos; he also collected them: in 1477

he bought from Johann, nephew of Balthazer Hirtenhaus, the controller of his Queen's finances, 'a cameo in fashion of a rock with several figures'.[5]

Towards the end of the century Italian gem cutters took over the art, enjoying royal patronage even in Paris. In 1492–4 Anne of Brittany was dealing not only with Guillaume Charruau, goldsmith and lapidary, but with Jehan Barbedor (Barbadoro), goldsmith and merchant jeweller, from whom she obtained a cameo of the Vernicle, and a cameo of Our Lady, of Saint Michael and of Louis XI, all mounted in a jewel, itself rather misleadingly described as a cameo, of gold. It was surmounted by a pelican set with rubies, and was enclosed by a crown of Louis XI's Order of Saint Michael. Cameos continued in the highest esteem in France, and were often sumptuously mounted – in September 1501 we hear for example of 'a great gilt [sic] cameo, cut in the form of an Agnus Dei [i.e. the Lamb of God], set in gold, and enamelled on one of the sides'.[6]

In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries stones and antique gems were generally sold by *gemmarii* – merchants, often itinerant, who flocked to offer them to kings and wealthy ecclesiastics whenever there seemed a chance of a successful sale. Thus in the 1140s *gemmarii* came 'from many kingdoms and peoples' to offer Abbot Suger stones for the gold frontal he had decided to have made for the choir-altar of Saint-Denis. Other merchants traded in them too. In the late tenth century the Anglo-Saxon monk Aelfric lists precious stones among the rich articles which the merchants of England bring from abroad, and precious stones are listed in 1130 among the goods which Flemish merchants imported into England. Yet they must have been comparatively scarce in the West if William of Malmesbury, the English chronicler could remark about 1125 that the crusaders of 1099 captured from the Turks at the battle of Ascalon 'a great quantity of gems, whose rarity makes them unknown in our regions, but there is refulgent with its native beauty'. We get later glimpses of the traffic in precious stones in an account of a French royal treasurer (*cambellanus*) made out in 1206 under Philippe-Auguste which describes issues and gifts of precious stones and jewels and receipts and purchases of them. The stones mentioned are largely balas-rubies, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, but three diamonds were also acquired and two garnets. Some are specifically described as bought, probably from merchants. Thus a ruby was bought from Henri de Montreuil (Mosteriolo), a sapphire from Jacques Durant, bourgeois of Arras, an emerald 'from the men of Tours', i.e. Tours merchants, while four balas-rubies were sold by a bourgeois of Noyon and twenty-two sapphires by Guillaume Du Puy (De Podio), one of them of notable size. Guillaume Du Puy seems to have been a merchant in jewels on a fairly large scale, for the account also mentions as acquired from him a topaz, a diamond, a balas-ruby, two emeralds, one that had previously belonged to the Archbishop of Trier, and one belonging to a certain Michel Sabat, who also owned eight sapphires which again were acquired by the King through Guillaume. Stones were

acquired from a certain Gilon Bilard (seven emeralds, a ruby, two balas-rubies, nine sapphires), from the lapidary or ex-lapidary Frère Robin le Perrier (a ruby and two emeralds), or from the lapidary Hugues le Perrier (three sapphires), from Raymond de Cahors, presumably a merchant or banker from that prosperous city of bankers (a ruby and five balas-rubies), from the wife of Pierre Coisel (a sapphire) and the wife of Malchion (a sapphire), from Nicolas Thevenel (three rubies), from Adam le Fripier – a *fripier* was a dealer in second-hand goods (a balas-ruby), merchants of Genoa (a diamond) and of England (another diamond and a sapphire). These stones were in all likelihood also purchased, though this is not specified. Probably too the balas-ruby acquired from Nevelon was a purchase, for it is a plausible conjecture that he was a goldsmith and the ancestor of a famous early fourteenth-century Parisian goldsmith, Simon de Nevelon. Other stones were presents: from the Pope (a sapphire), from highly placed clerics like the Archbishops of Rheims and Rouen (respectively a ruby and a balas-ruby), and the Bishops of Soissons and Chartres (each a ruby), or the Abbot of Cluny (a balas-ruby); from great nobles and ladies: the Count of Brittany (a ruby), the Count of Boulogne (a sapphire), the Countess of Blois (an emerald) and the Countess of Crespy (a ruby).[7]

These gems that lapidaries and merchants sold and great men gave generally came from the East and were imported during the earlier Middle Ages largely through Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. In all probability the traffic in importing precious stones was originally largely a Venetian traffic; already in the ninth century the treaties signed by the city with her Lombard neighbours mention precious stones among the goods she exported into the valley of the Po. Venetian trade with Constantinople, Alexandria and Syria antedated by centuries that of Genoa and Pisa, which rose into rivalry with Venice in the eleventh century, and became significant competitors with her during the twelfth. We do not know if Syria and Jewish merchants, so important in the pre-twelfth-century mercantile life of Europe, also brought stones from the East. But this is virtually certain, although it is unlikely to have been the case after the later decades of the twelfth century when trade with the East became a monopoly of the Italians. After the decline of Pisa in the late thirteenth century, Venice and Genoa retained the leading role in the importation of precious stones and pearls. It is however important to remember that the Venetians and Genoese sold to other merchants as well as to noble and princely customers and that these merchants in turn carried stocks of stones and pearls about Europe, disposing of them to goldsmiths, lapidaries and mercers, as well as to rich or important personages. We do not know when Venetian and later Genoese merchants began travelling through Europe in person to sell precious stones and jewels; but this was certainly a well-established custom among them before the mid-thirteenth century.[8]

Emeralds were largely imported from Alexandria, as were

rubies. Rubies and emeralds 'of Alexandria' are often mentioned in French inventories, although it seems that the stones so called were inferior in quality to other rubies and emeralds, if we are to believe Mandeville's *Lapidary* (c.1360). In 1265 an anonymous English chronicler exclaims: 'O England, to thee the Pisans, the Genoese and the Venetians have transported the sapphire, the carbuncle and the emerald, drawn from the rivers of Paradise'. More prosaically we know that in 1253 Giuseppe da Brindisi, an agent of King Manfred of Sicily, bought for 917 *once di taseri* from Jacopo Bozzoli and Company in Genoa four vessels of onyx and chalcedony, one mounted in gold, three crosses containing relics of the True Cross, and so presumably Byzantine in origin, fifty-nine orient pearls, twenty topazes, one hundred and forty-seven sapphires, and two horns of orient sapphire, probably for mounting as prophylactic pendants, three-hundred and forty-eight pieces of hardstone, some already carved, others intended for carving, one hundred and thirty-two cameos, one mounted in pearls and also containing a relic of the True Cross, and a hundred and eleven gold rings set with diamonds, rubies, topazes, chrysophrases, emeralds and other stones. Such numbers of stones were by no means exceptional. In 1265 the *Opera* of San Jacopo of Pistoia in Tuscany bought from Raineri di Cagnalle, a *gemmarius* of Florence, seventy pearls, two hundred and fifty small garnets, one hundred and twenty small turquoises, forty-four emeralds, four large emeralds, four large sapphires, four large turquoises and three large garnets, a jacinth, a cameo, a hundred and eleven topazes, and amethysts, and doublets (false stones). Indeed Florentine merchants seem to have become significant dealers in precious stones and pearls during the thirteenth century and, with the expansion of their banking and trading activities, are found selling to important customers outside Tuscany. In 1306 Florentine merchants were supplying King Charles II of Naples and his family with pearls, and in 1319, when Charles's son King Robert wanted pearls, sapphires and rubies for a dress for the Princess of Achaia, it was from a Florentine merchant Niccolò di Giovanni that he bought them. In 1331–2 Robert is again found buying amber, garnets and sapphires from the Florentine companies. They had, however, no monopoly of his custom. In 1316 it was to a Venetian, Niccolò Bianco, that he gave a commission to buy for him all the precious stones he could find, commissioning his customs in 1318 to let him through with them without hindrance. Merchants from Siena and Lucca certainly had a share in the general traffic in precious stones, at any rate from the later thirteenth century. Goldsmiths themselves often dealt in precious stones, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they are sometimes described as merchant–jewellers.[9]

What were the sources that fed all this great traffic in stones and pearls? Our vividest picture of the importation of precious stones into the Levant comes from 1437, when the Spanish knight and pilgrim Pero Tafur, staying in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, describes how he waited for the great Indian caravan to pass with its innumerable camels, 'so many that I do not write down their number for fear of seeming to exaggerate'. It was this caravan, he says, 'that brings all the spices and pearls and precious stones and gold and perfumes and cloths and parrots and cats from India, and many other things that are sold throughout the world'. At Suez the caravan generally divided, one part going to Cairo then to Alexandria, the other to Damascus and then to Beirut. Tafur went down to the coast of the Red Sea to see the march of the caravan and found in it Niccolò di Conti, one of those enterprising Venetian merchants who had been making journeys to the Further East since the thirteenth century, now returning home with his family, though turned Mohammedan under compulsion, or so he said. They travelled on together with the caravan and Conti confided to Tafur that he had with him many pearls and precious stones and showed him 'a balas-ruby of great price'. Later Tafur saw the bazaar of Cairo, full of the wares that came from India, 'especially pearls and precious stones, spices, perfumes, silk, and cloth', and later still that of Caffa, the Genoese colony on the north coast of the Black Sea, another entrepôt of Indian and Persian trade where spices, gold, pearls and precious stones could be bought, as well as the furs of Russia.[10]

The bazaar of Cairo was for European merchants and pilgrims the fabled bazaar of precious stones. In 1349 the Franciscan pilgrim Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi describes the jewel market in the Citadel 'within which are sold pearls and precious stones, to wit, emeralds, for the Soldan owns the mountain where he has them mined and also rubies, balases, turquoises, topazes and many other jewels besides'. Lionardo Frescobaldi, a Florentine pilgrim of 1384 says, probably more accurately, that the 'lapidaries' kept shop in a square before the Citadel, and that there were great numbers of them, selling a great variety of stones, emeralds, rubies, balases, turquoises, pearls and 'every other sort'. Andrea Rinuccini, one of his fellow pilgrims 'bought here some large pearls for his wife, which we brought back to her with other things Andrea told us to take back to her when he died in Damascus'.[11]

European knowledge of other sources of Oriental gems at the end of the Middle Ages is probably best summed up by the Venetian friar Francesco Suriano, who compiled three accounts of the Holy Land and the East between 1485 and 1524. In his redaction of 1514 he says of pearls that the largest are found near Ormuz in the Persian gulf. 'Of the shells in which the pearls are found', he adds, 'we, that is the Franciscans of Jerusalem, make little crosses'. Rubies come from Ceylon:

in a mountain two miles from the sea-shore and the rubies are found at its foot: and when a merchant desires to find these jewels, he must first speak to the King and buy a patch two feet on every side of the said earth, and it costs him five ducats a patch, and then when the ground is being dug a man belonging to the King stands by, and if any jewel is found above ten carat weight the King wants it for himself,

and leaves him all the rest free of charge. And close by the said mountain is a very great river, in which are found a great quantity of garnets, sapphires, jacinths, topazes and other sorts of gems. In the kingdom of Dekkan, a very noble city [i.e. Hyderabad], is a mountain whence diamonds are dug: this mountain is three miles from the city, by the shores of the sea. Moreover balas-rubies are found in the rivers. In an island called Java are found the finest emeralds in the world. In a city called Shiraz, in Persia, on the banks of the Euphrates, are found great quantities of jewels, most of all turquoises and an infinite number of balas-rubies. Which cities are three days' distance from the Indian Sea. In a city called Cambay, almost at the beginning of India, are the mountains where cornelians and chalcedonies are dug, and there they are worked.[12]

The terminology of mediaeval documents and inventories distinguishes among precious stones, but not by the criteria of the modern scientific gemmologist. We must always allow for the looseness and vagueness of mediaeval nomenclature, though certainly many goldsmiths could distinguish in the case of rubies, sapphires, emeralds and diamonds between true and false stones by the tests of colour, lustre and hardness, if not between the varieties of colour and sort that a modern expert, trained in the geology and classification of stones, would now recognise. Consequently it is always better in studying mediaeval jewellery and goldsmith's work to stick closely to the nomenclature of the original texts. No small uncertainty could prevail in the Middle Ages about the identification of stones: a French letter of remission of 1449 makes a certain Vincent ask, 'What stone is this? And the late Jourdain replied, that it was a *saphistrin* [yellow sapphire] of Germany or a topaz. And Genilhac said that he did not think it was a saphistrin, and the said Vincent said it was amber, and the petitioner said it was crystal or beryl.'[13]

These, however, were clearly not expert opinions; connoisseurs, merchants and goldsmiths brought a shrewder eye to such matters. In Sir John Mandeville's little lapidary, translated into French for René of Anjou in the fifteenth century as *Le Lapidaire en francoys composé par Monsieur Jehan de Mandeville Chevalier*, and printed in this translation several times in the sixteenth, the principal precious stones used in mediaeval jewellery are described and appraised. Rubies are red and resplendent and some have the colour of burning charcoal, but there are also rubies of Alexandria and Tyre which do not have as many virtues as those of the Orient. Such oriental rubies surpass all other red stones in beauty: 'each is finer than the next'. 'It is the principal lord of all other stones', a judgment, as we shall see, which seems to have been that of all fourteenth-century collectors of stones. The colour of balas-rubies is paler than that of the fine ruby, and it is not so resplendent: there are two kinds, the red and the violet. Some diamonds are as white as crystal, but of troubled water, some are yellow, some of the colour of water, some of the colour of iron, some violet, some pale, some

white and some troubled – 'and those that are Indian are hardest and most troubled; those from elsewhere are softer'. A number have three sides, others four, five or six, but those that are four-sided are less common than the others; they are finer and so costlier. Sapphires are found in various parts of the world, and are of various fashions, but oriental sapphires are the most precious and come both clear and troubled. Some that come from deepest Turkey are dark in colour. Of all stones they are most suitable for God and for kings and counts. Emeralds are very green, and are found in divers parts, but especially in 'Cithorie' and Egypt – in his travels Mandeville says of Egypt 'there they find in the earth the fairest smaragds that are anywhere; and that is cause that they are so good and cheap there'. The finest emeralds were those of clearest water, and a preference for clear stones was probably general throughout the Middle Ages.[14]

Giovanni da Uzzano, writing in 1440, gives us the opinion of a fifteenth-century Florentine merchant about the colours that were most esteemed in his day in precious stones. Fine rubies should be like goodly pomegranate seeds; good balas-rubies should be like a pomegranate that is not well ripened, a good emerald will show greener than any other green it is laid beside, a good topaz is like shining gold, and most of them look as if they are split. A good sapphire resembles good azure pigment, and is on the white side, a good aquamarine is like sapphire, but more whitish, a good citrine looks like wax, with something of red in it, a good garnet looks like a peach flower. A good diamond looks like steel and is translucent like glass, and has sharp points, but another sort tends towards yellow, and a third sort looks like crystal, though in shape all three are alike. Good jasper is green, with shining spots, and seems oiled – most of this sort, he says, come with figures; another kind is brownish green, with red spots. Chalcedony is either white with a shade of blue, or white with a shade of yellow. Good cornelian looks like cherries that are really red. Good amethysts are a violet colour. A good turquoise looks dove-white in colour and is not transparent. And he gives two simple tests for proving the genuineness of stones. For most it is enough to rub them with a file; if this removes any of the stone, it is of glass. Emeralds, balas-rubies, topazes and some semi-precious stones are of softer nature; these should have their tincture removed – implying they had been tinted – and then be rubbed with pounded Saracenware. This should be applied with an ox-skin leather, using the flesh side; if the stone is not a good one it will take the colour.[15]

Generally speaking, the main sorts of precious stones used in mediaeval goldsmiths' work and jewellery are broadly identifiable and we know something more exactly of their places of origin than did Suriano.[16] The variety of sapphire most highly prized in the Middle Ages was the sky-blue sapphire; modern taste by contrast has tended to prefer the intenser colour of the deep-blue sapphire. The principal source of sapphires in the Middle Ages was Ceylon, but by the early sixteenth century other

sapphires, of less fine quality than the Cinghalese, were being mined in the Ghauts behind Canara and Malabar, in South India. For Albertus Magnus, writing *c*.1260, all sapphires came from India, but he also knew of a less precious sort found in France itself, in a mine near Le Puy in Auvergne, and the sapphires of Le Puy are occasionally mentioned in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, usually as stones set in rings, which were one of the staples of the jewellery-making industry that flourished as we shall see in mediaeval Le Puy. Thus in 1323 Jaime II of Aragon had two gold rings set each with a sapphire of Le Puy, and the inventory of Charles V lists in 1378–80 a number of sapphires of Le Puy set in rings. They were not held in high estimation: the inventory of Pope Boniface VIII lists in 1295 'ten cheap sapphires of Le Puy'. Besides blue sapphires, the Middle Ages knew and occasionally used the yellow stones it called citrine sapphires. A variety of yellow sapphire, known as a citrine in the Middle Ages, or else as a *sapistrin*, was being used in jewellery as early as the first decades of the fourteenth century, and probably before. It was probably a variety of topaz, and was mined in Germany, as well as being imported from the East. In 1338 the jewels of Edward III of England included a pendant of a citrine sapphire 'in a purse embroidered in silk with the arms of the Earl of Gloucester'. The name ruby, meaning red stone, first appears in the early Middle Ages, when it is described as the popular equivalent of the name carbuncle, by which the stone appears often to have been known in antiquity. Ruby was, however, sufficiently current by *c*.1145 to be used in a Latin form by Abbot Suger. The finest variety of rubies came from Ceylon, but the deposits were small, and the Cinghalese already possessed the art of improving the colour and glow of less perfect stones by heating them over a charcoal fire. Cinghalese rubies were also prized for their extreme hardness; those of Burma, which were exported to India and so for the Middle Ages were Indian in origin, were less hard, but shone with an intensity of redness. Marco Polo writes of Ceylon: 'in this island are found the noble and fine rubies, which are not found anywhere else in the world; and here too are born the sapphires and topazes and amethysts and many other fine stones'.[17]

Rubies were also found in Egypt, where a mine was discovered in 1270 a little to the south of Cairo. But by far the commonest sort of oriental ruby was the pale variety known as the balas-ruby, or red spinel, found in the region of Badakhshan, in the north-east of Afghanistan. 'In this province', writes Marco Polo, 'are born *balases*, which are very fair precious stones and of great value.' They were mined at Ghoran, in the valley of the Oxus, and were already in high reputation in the East in the late tenth century, when the geographer Maqrisi says of Badakhshan: 'there is a mine in it of the precious stone resembling the ruby and there is no other mine of it except this one, and this place is called "Ribât Fâdil"'. It may be that this mine had been opened only in the preceding fifty years, for an earlier geographer, Istaverī, writing *c*.930–3, knows only of garnet mines in Badakhshan.

By the time of Marco Polo, in the late thirteenth century, balas-rubies were a monopoly of the ruler of Badakhshan.[18]

The true balas is a spinel of a rosy colour. Balas-rubies were often pierced in the East before their sale on the European market, but the art of piercing them was certainly known in the West by the mid-fourteenth century, for a waiting-woman of Countess Yolande de Bar, describing in 1362 the jewels taken from her mistress near Laon, mentions two knotted cloths containing balas-rubies 'pierced and to be pierced [*les uns perciez et les autres a percier*]'. Giovanni da Uzzano, writing in 1440, says that most rubies and balas-rubies then on the market were already pierced. Precious stones were often mounted in the Middle Ages without regard for their piercing: for instance in 1364 King Jean le Bon of France had a ring set with a large pierced oriental ruby on a flat bezel, while a pierced sapphire is set at the head of the recently discovered English fifteenth-century gold reliquary tablet known as the Middleham Jewel (pls.69, 69a). The term balas-ruby is an Arab one, derived from *balahŝan*, for Badakhshan; hence the stone must have been introduced quite late into mediaeval Europe, at any rate as a distinct variety. The distinctness of the balas from the true ruby was always recognised: Arnold the Saxon writes in the early thirteenth century that 'the *balagus* [balas] is a gem-stone, red and of a transparent nature'. A fourteenth-century Italian translation of the mediaeval encyclopedia known as the *Libro di Sydrach* says 'the balas approaches the colour of the ruby, but is not at all of the same sort, and when it is found apart from rubies, it improves in beauty'.[19]

Emeralds were found in Upper Egypt. Al-Masudi, the great tenth-century Arab historian and encyclopaedist declares that two varieties were dug from these Egyptian mines, one known as *bahri*, or transmarine, because it was sold to the rulers of Ethiopia, India and China, the other as *maghribi* or western, because it was so eagerly sought after by the rulers of Europe. The mines, in the mountains running between the Nile and the Red Sea, more or less at the level of Assouan, were exploited by the Sultans of Egypt, but seem to have become exhausted in 1359, when they were abandoned. Emeralds of very fine quality were also exported from India in the times of Al-Masudi, but they are unlikely to have been of Indian origin, for the true emerald has only recently been found there, and early Sanskrit sources confirm that many emeralds were imported into India from Egypt. In the late eleventh century, so Marbodus says in his *Liber Lapidum*, transparent emeralds, with a flat or concave shape, were most highly prized in the West. Diamonds came from the Dekkan; according to Marco Polo, in his day they were found only in the empire of Telingana, by which he seems to mean the mines of Golconda, near Hyderabad. Later, probably in the fifteenth century, other mines appear to have been opened in southern India, near Pulicatta, north of Madras, and in the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Mandeville, writing *c*.1360, is aware that India was the great source of diamonds, though he adds that less good ones were found in Arabia, which were

softer than Indian diamonds, as were the diamonds of Cyprus 'and therefore may they the lighter be polished'. He adds that some Indian diamonds are violet and brownish in colour 'the which are right good and full precious' though some men 'love them not so well as the stones which are as white as crystal' though 'more dim and troubled'.[20]

The relative value of these precious stones fluctuated during the Middle Ages. As we have seen, the sapphire was the most highly valued of stones up to the end of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century it was overtaken, at any rate in price, by the ruby, though even in 1510 the French poet Pierre Desrey could still describe the sapphire as the stone 'for great princes and kings'. Fine Cinghalese rubies were rare and so of great price. The balas-ruby, by far the commoner stone, was also the cheaper: c.1340 Pegolotti gives a price of 2 bezants the carat for ordinary clear unpierced balases of 2 to 3 carats weight and 1 to 1½ bezants the carat for pierced ones, as opposed to 10 bezants the carat for rubies of 2-carat weight, to give only prices from the bottom of his scale, which rises to 17 bezants the carat for a ruby of 11 to 12 carats, and to 25 bezants the carat for a balas-ruby of 11 to 12 saggi. Sapphires, if fine and clear, sold from 10 bezants each for stones of six carats to 40 to 50 bezants for sapphires of 1 to 2 saggi. It was only in the late Middle Ages that the diamond became the most valuable of all stones. The characteristic Iberian fondness for emeralds, so marked during the Renaissance and later periods, was already noticeable in the early fourteenth century. In her will of 1327 St Isabel of Portugal (d.1336), wife from 1282 of Dom Dinis, King of Portugal bequested 'my crown of the emeralds' to her daughter Queen Beatriz, with a request that Beatriz in her turn should bequeath it to her elder daughter Maria.[21]

Pearls circulated in huge quantities and were often carried round Europe by merchants direct from Venice. At some date in 1375−7, for instance, Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of Holland bought nine ounces of pearls for £48 12s gross from a merchant of Venice. Throughout the Middle Ages we read of them in the possession of kings, queens, noblemen and noblewomen, even of simple gentlewomen and merchants' wives. It was possible to make immense accumulations of them. When the pearls of Alice Ferrers, the mistress of Edward III of England, were confiscated by his successor Richard II, they were appraised in May 1379 as 600 pearls worth 20d each (£50); 1700 pearls worth 10d each (£70 16s 8d); 5940 pearls, worth 5d each (£123 15s); 1800 pearls, worth 4d each (£30); 2000 pearls, each also worth 4d (50 marks); 1380 pearls, each worth 6d (£34 10s); 500 pearls, worth 2d each (£4 3s 4d); 3948 pearls, worth 3d each (£49 7s); 2000 pearls, worth 1½d each (£25); and 30 ounces of pearls valued at £50 gross. Their total value was the huge sum of £469 18s 8d.[22]

The best and most highly prized were the orient pearls, which came from the fisheries in the Persian Gulf and off Cape Comorin. The old French version of Marbodus's Liber Lapidum, made in the twelfth century, says that experienced lapidaries

'prefer clear to dark pearls, and hold those that are round the best'. But Scotch pearls from the rivers of Britain, known to Tacitus and the Elder Pliny, were, as we have seen, much used as inferior substitutes. The fresh-water mussel that produces them is found in rivers in Wales and Ireland and in Cumberland but is particularly common in Scotland, whence their name. When the monk Eadmer of Canterbury, who had been made Archbishop-elect of St Andrews, was about to go north in AD 1120 he received from Prior Nicholas of Worcester a letter of advice which concluded by asking him 'to acquire as many white pearls for me as you can. And I beg of you to acquire also for me at least four uniones [pearls uniting all the qualities of perfection] of the largest size you can. If you can do so by no other means, then ask for them as a gift from the King [Alexander I of Scotland] who is richer than all other men in such things.' And as late as 1497 we find the Scottish merchant Andrew Halyburton, then settled at Middleburg in the Netherlands as Conservator of the Nation of the Scots at this great late mediaeval port, giving his agent John of Rattray two pounds in English groats 'to by perllis in Scotland'. Fresh-water pearls were likewise found, according to Albertus Magnus, writing c.1260, in the Moselle. He also tells us that pearls came from the English Channel and the North Sea.[23]

The technique of piercing pearls was already well-known in the West in the early twelfth century: Theophilus recommends the use of a slender steel drill, turned on a lead wheel attached to a shaft of wood and worked by a strap, to make a hole, and for enlarging it a wire and a little fine sand. Oriental pearls often arrived in Europe already pierced, so producing a general belief in the West, in spite of Theophilus and his recipes, that these holes were natural, as Albertus Magnus again records. It was only in the fourteenth century that this legend was finally overset. A little anonymous fourteenth-century supplement to Marco Polo says that most of the pearls which reached the West were pierced in Baghdad. However, the Castilian ambassador to Tamerlane, Ruy González de Clavijo (d.1412) writing in 1403 or shortly afterwards, says that in his day 'the greater part of the pearls there are in the world are fished up and found in the sea of Cathay' and were then brought to Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, to be pierced and cleaned. He adds that Ormuz was the only place in the East where this was done: 'merchants, both Christians and Moors, say that they now know of nowhere else, in these parts, where pearls are cleaned and pierced, except in this city of Ormuz', and he is borne out by the accounts of other Christian and Arab merchants and travellers. Clavijo also records that pearl-shells 'large and white like paper' were exported to Sultaniyeh in Iran and Tabriz in north-eastern Persia where they were made into rings and necklaces 'and into other things that resemble pearls'. They were then sold in Sultaniyeh, which was a great place of resort for Christian merchants from the West and from Caffa and Trebizond, and for the merchants of Turkey, Syria and Baghdad.[24]

Various sizes of pearls were imported for various kinds of work, such as seed-pearls for embroideries. About 1340 the Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti notes that the sumptuary edicts of France, England, Spain and the cities of Tuscany and Lombardy forbidding richly ornamented dress had reduced the importation of such small pearls. Pegolotti records that a merchant could buy pearls at Tana in the Crimea, at Tabriz, at Constantinople – seed-pearls only, or so it would seem – at Ayas (Laizzo) in Little Armenia, at Acre in Palestine, in Alexandria, at Famagusta in Cyprus, in Majorca, at Venice, at Naples and in Genoa. The greatest European market for pearls was certainly Venice. In the 1220s or thereabouts the Austrian knight Ulrich von Lichtenstein (c.1200–75/6) went on pilgrimage to Rome and as a chivalric prank attired himself at Venice as a lady: 'I got me two comely braided tresses of hair, which I richly entwined with pearls whereof I found great plenty for sale in Venice'. The probable effect can be seen in a Venetian mosaic in San Marco of c.1270 (pl.I) where the hair of one of the noble ladies is entwined with pearls. We have a record of the price at which pearls sold about the date of Ulrich's visit: in 1225 four bundles of pearls were priced at 56 gold besants. Other documents also confirm that pearls abounded in Venice; we even hear of a public auction of them in March 1338. And Pegolotti notes c.1340 the weights at which pierced and unpierced pearls are sold there. He gives advice to the buyer of pearls: they must be white and shining, and well-rounded, and should have a good weight in carats. For large pearls different criteria were adopted. Pearls were often sold on strings. This is evident from Pegolotti's description, and from a list of jewels stolen from Yolande de Bar near Laon in 1362, which mentions 'a great quantity of new pearls of middling size threaded on silk strings just as they come from the hands of the merchants'.[25]

As they were so much used for embroidery, on costume and elsewhere, pearls were much stocked by mercers, who of course dealt largely in stuffs. Thus in 1348 when Roger de Forsham, a London mercer, left his jewels to his wife, he specifically exempted his shop stock of 1800 oriental pearls. Again in 1352 the *argentier* (keeper of the wardrobe) of the King of France bought one mark's weight of pearls from the mercer Belhoumet Thurel, at 20 écus an ounce, and one mark two ounces weight of smaller pearls, at 16 écus the ounce, which were then delivered to the Dauphin's armourer and embroiderer Estienne Castel for use in the embroidered decoration of a rich scarlet chaperon. Other pearls were acquired at the same time from Edouart Thadelin (Eduardo Tadolini) a Lucchese merchant settled in Paris, who supplied 2000 large pearls for the decoration of the same chaperon, for $333\frac{1}{3}$ écus, and 230 more large pearls for the decoration of two purses or pouches to contain relics, which the Dauphin no doubt intended to wear suspended from his girdle. Even these were not enough, and the goldsmith Pierre des Barres supplied a final half an ounce of large oriental pearls to make ten buttons for these purses.[26]

Other stones and substances used in jewellery also came from East and West. The turquoise, found oftener in early mediaeval jewellery than in later, and perhaps used most frequently in rings, was quarried near Nishapur, in northern Persia. The topaz, again more popular in early and late mediaeval jewellery than in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, was found in Ceylon, and also in Burma, but the stone which passed under this name in the Middle Ages was probably a variety of chrysolite from an island in the Red Sea – the Topazos of the ancients. Chalcedony, cornelians and garnets were imported from India. Garnets were also found in most of the countries of the West; the name garnet, like that of the ruby, is purely mediaeval, and derives from the Latin *granatus*, for red. Unfortunately it is not known for certain if the garnet mines of Bohemia were worked in the Middle Ages. They were also mined in Badakhshan, the home of the balas-ruby, by the tenth century, and probably the Afghan province was the source of many mediaeval garnets. Like balas-rubies, they often arrived in Europe pierced; in 1296 Wernher, tailor of Merano, and Gotzelin of Bozen, charged for 100 pierced garnets supplied to the Dukes Otto and Ludwig of Tirol as well as for 200 whole garnets, and in 1303 Otto, Chamberlain to Duke Ludwig, received 300 pierced garnets bought in Venice. In Otto's accounts for 1304 is a reference to what seem to be Parisian garnets, so that clearly sources of supply were varied. Pierced garnets, like other pierced stones, were mounted in brooches: in 1224 Henry III of England confiscated from William Martel a gold brooch mounted with a pierced garnet. Essentially however garnets were regarded as an inferior substitute for the ruby and balas-ruby. Amethysts, according to Marbodus, writing in the late eleventh century, though easy to cut with devices, were not prized according to their worth, but were rather despised because they were too common.[27]

Agate mines were opened in Germany in the fourteenth century, and the stone, like chalcedony, was much used for paternoster beads. Coral, also a favourite medium for paternoster beads, was fished off Trapani, in Sicily, off Naples, and in the Gulf of Lyons. At her death in 1323 Maria of Hungary, Dowager Queen of Naples, left 'a quantity of pierced corals', either unstrung from paternosters or bought to make new ones. Jet, another favourite material for paternosters, was found near Whitby in Yorkshire, where it was picked up in nodules on the shore, and in various parts of Spain and Portugal, notably Asturias. In Spain its chief centre of working was Santiago de Compostella, whose transcendent importance as a place of pilgrimage led to the making in jet not only of pilgrim badges and ensigns and objects of devotion, notably figures of St James and of the shell which was his emblem, but also of crosses and paternosters. A *cofradía* or guild of jet-workers was formed there in 1412, and statutes were drawn up for it in 1443.[28]

Amber, also used for paternosters and for buttons, was collected on the shores of the Eastern Baltic and in the fourteenth century became a speciality of the German Hanse, more especially

Lübeck. It was also gathered in large quantities on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, especially off its islands and archipelagoes, such as Socotra and the Maldive and Nicobar Islands. Amber, but of inferior quality, was also found on the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Portugal. By *c.*1340 it was possible to buy amber already cut 'in the fashion of paternoster beads' in the Levant; Pegolotti records *c.*1340 that such beads could be bought at Tana on the Black Sea, and at Tabriz in Persia and at Constantinople, where apparently they were sold pierced and on strings. He adds that the purchaser must buy only those which were of the colour of fine gold, with no turbidity or spots, for the better and clearer the colour and the larger the bead, the greater its value. No doubt these beads had been prepared for the chaplets used by Muslims rather than for the paternosters of Europeans. These oriental amber beads found an eager fifteenth-century purchaser in René of Anjou, as we shall see when we come to discuss paternosters. Amber was prized for its sweet smell, as well as for its colour, smoothness and warmth, and was used for pomanders as well as for paternosters and buttons.[29]

We know little in detail about the availability of precious stones outside great international cities like Venice, Paris, Cologne and London, but it is certain that they found their way to lesser cities and towns. We can assume that goldsmiths elsewhere either sent or travelled to fairs to purchase stones, or else bought them from itinerant merchants. What is certain is that they did have stocks of them, though usually only small stocks. It is interesting to find Louis, Duke of Orléans, buying precious stones in December 1389 from Jehan du Roone, a goldsmith of Toulouse, during a visit to that important but secondary city. The stones were bought as gifts for exalted personages and so cannot have been of poor quality. A large diamond was bought for the Queen of France and another for Valentina Visconti, the Duke's wife. A diamond of only a third of the value of these was given to Louis's cousin, the Countess of Eu, a ruby was acquired for another cousin, the Countess of Dreux, a sapphire was given as a present to Madame de Bauchien, and two other diamonds were also purchased, one for Louis himself, the other for a second lady. A document of 1425 concerning purchases at Morges, a small town on the Lake of Geneva, near Lausanne, of girdle mounts, rings, trinkets and precious stones by Duke Amedeo VIII of Savoy suggests that it was sometimes possible to buy a surprising quantity of such things from a goldsmith resident in a small town. Again they must have been of good quality to attract such a customer. His purchases were bought as New Year's gifts from the goldsmith Gennet de la Fontaine and included eight sets of silver belt mounts, three pearl rings, seven rings set with red pastes, six large and eleven small rings, three table diamonds, a diamond cut to the shape of a shield, a gold *bullette* (trinket), an emerald, three other rings and five silver thimbles.[30]

# 3  STORES OF PRECIOUS STONES

Kings and princes, great noblemen and even rich merchants invariably kept a store of precious and semi-precious stones and cameos. In 1206 Count Gauthier, *camerarius* of Philippe-Auguste of France, is several times recorded as receiving precious stones and jewels to be consigned 'to the tower'. On one occasion he receives for this purpose twenty-three sapphires, eleven balas-rubies, two garnets, an emerald and three brooches, while later, on the Sunday after the Feast of St Bartholomew, he is given nine rubies, sixteen sapphires and a diamond 'to be put in the tower', together with sixteen emeralds and four brooches. On the day before the Feast of St Matthew he put away in the same place an emerald and seven sapphires and five rings that had belonged to the Archbishop of Rheims.[1]

By merchants stones were kept as a reserve of valuables but in noble and princely circles they were stored for use in jewellery and plate or to give away as presents. Precious stones were often given as presents at weddings and at New Year and on other occasions. When Jeanne, daughter of Duke Arthur II of Brittany, married Robert de Cassel, the second son of Count Robert of Flanders, in 1324, she was given a ruby by the Bishop of Thérouanne, and at this time or later she received presents from her husband of a fair ruby, a small ruby, a diamond, two sapphires and an emerald, and from her mother the Duchess Yolande a small emerald. It was customary to keep for re-use the stones and bits and pieces that were not immediately wanted from objects which had been broken up. The practice of keeping a store of precious stones and pearls was fostered by the conditions of mediaeval goldsmiths' work, in which the patron or customer was so often expected to supply the costly gold and gems which were the raw materials of the art. For safe preservation precious stones were frequently mounted in rings or else in simple mounts or *chatons*, like the 'flat red stone with letters around in gold' that belonged to Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, on his death in 1322. There existed a variety of these *chatons* which are called *cloux* in fifteenth-century French, English and Burgundian inventories. The term perhaps indicates that the stones set in them were intended to be used for embroidery. The inventory of Mary of Burgundy taken in 1482 includes '61 balas-rubies, both large and small, set in gold *cloux* to put in embroidery; also twenty rubies, both large and small, set in little *cloux* to put into embroidery; also, 24 diamonds, of which the largest part are table-cut, set in little *cloux* to put into embroidery'. Stones were also kept loose, wrapped in a bag or cloth. Sometimes when unmounted they might be fixed for safety in wax; in 1416

Jean de Berry had at least two emeralds mounted in this fashion.[2]

The acquisition and possession of precious stones were matters of thrilling interest and deep satisfaction to mediaeval princes, as well as providing them with a treasure which could be used to increase their magnificence of array and largesse in the form of dress, jewellery and plate. After seven centuries we can still hear the tones of excited urgency in which Henry III instructed his goldsmith Edward of Westminster in 1245 to pay any price for an emerald he had seen in London and had spoken of with the king and, if not already set in gold, to have it mounted in a gold ring against Henry's return to London. Merchants were naturally attracted by such eager customers; in 1241 Henry paid Pierre Lemaire, 'merchant of Paris', £99 for precious stones, and in 1244 he bought 'divers precious stones' from Matthew of Venice. His son, Edward I of England, had in 1299 a store of twenty-five different stones of various colours including peridots – stones of a yellowish-green colour. At his death in 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, had a miscellany of precious stones, a parcel of sapphires wrapped in a cloth, a collection of garnets, sapphires and some forty pearls left over from plate that had been melted, two 'fair rubies' and a 'fair diamond' that had belonged to his father, Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders from 1280 to 1305, eight large stones 'of the fashion of garnets', two emeralds, six large clear sapphires and one other sapphire.[3]

Some stones came to be cherished, like Robert's 'fair diamond', for their family associations. In 1370 Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen Dowager of France, left a small diamond which her brother Philippe, King of Navarre (1305–43) had given her many years before 'that he ever wore upon his person because it had been their father's'. It had belonged then to Louis, Count of Evreux (1275–1319), the brother of Philippe le Bel of France; probably it was either mounted in a ring or carried in a purse. As always, large size was an important factor in the appreciation of stones: few fourteenth-century princes can have been without their 'great balas'. That of Queen Clémence de Hongrie, sold after her death in 1328, was bought for the huge sum of 1000 Paris livres by the great merchant company of the Bardi of Florence. In a will made in 1386, nearly twenty years before he died, Philippe of Burgundy ordained that the 'fair balas-ruby of Flanders' and the small ruby called 'the Count's ruby' that had belonged to his father-in-law, Count Louis of Flanders, should continue after his death to belong to his wife Marguerite, the heiress of Flanders, and to all their sons and successors who were Counts of Flanders.[4]

Probably one of the best pictures we have of a store of gems of an early fourteenth-century king is a list made on 1 February 1323 of jewels which Jaime II of Aragon was handing over to his queen Elisenda. He gave or lent her a flat (*pla*) sapphire, ten sapphires mounted in gold, four stones 'called sapphires', also mounted in gold, an oriental sapphire mounted in silver-gilt, two pierced sapphires, another mounted sapphire, ten unmounted sapphires and 'a precious stone called sapphire', thirty-three garnets and twenty-two of smaller size, all unmounted, and twelve medium-sized stones 'called garnets', each mounted by itself in gold, four balas-rubies unmounted, seven little stones 'called balases', each set in gold, a stone 'with the figure of a balas', six large pearls, four emeralds set in gold, a little ruby set in gold, a cameo mounted in gold, another 'of the old fashion', also mounted in gold, a third 'which is mounted but has not been set in any work' and a fourth mounted in silver-gilt set with little garnets. In addition he gave her various other precious stones, pearls, crystals, small garnets and small sapphires, and some gold settings without stones. And probably these were only part of his full treasure of loose stones. Great noblemen, as we have said, also accumulated stones. When Don Gonzalo Ibañez de Baztán, who had been Alférez (standard-bearer) of Navarre in 1266, made his will in 1318, he made bequests of a stone – apparently a ruby – that had belonged to the King of Navarre, of another ruby (*pegmia*, of his best emerald, of a third ruby and of 'the sapphire that I took from Don Joan Beneit'.[5]

Once in the possession of a mediaeval prince or princess, pearls were often carefully graded according to size and quantity from the seed-pearls required for embroidery to large pearls. If pierced, they were kept on strings. An inventory taken in 1482 of the jewels of Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, gives us an unusually precise glimpse of how they were graded. She had 174 pearls 'of a fairly large size', 156 of 'another middling size of pearls', and 110 which were also of 'a middling size', some which were 'smaller round little pearls', 48 'very good pearls', 192 'of another sort of pearls', and two marks five ounces' weight of large pearls. Separately listed as set in a pin (*brochette*) was a pear-shaped pearl – these begin to be frequently mentioned in the fifteenth century – and she had one Scotch pearl. Another classification often found is 'fine orient pearls' – reflecting their particular prestige. Great quantities of pearls, as we have already said, were in circulation or held in store. In 1294 Isabelle, Countess of Flanders bought thirty strings of pearls from Mahieu of Arras, the Paris goldsmith of the Counts of Flanders and in 1299 Robert, Count of Artois, bought two hundred and ten fine large oriental pearls from a Parisian mercer or goldsmith. Often such purchases were for use in embroidery. By her will of 1305, for example, Marguerite, Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, left Huguette her 'workwoman in silk', all the silk, gold thread and pearls 'that I have by me when Our Lord gives me his command'. But they were also bought for use in jewellery. In 1323 Maistre Jehan de Florence, chaplain to the Count and Countess of Hainault, shopping in

Paris for the wedding jewels and trousseaux of their elder daughters, bought five hundred and forty pearls at two *esterlins* a pearl to be put on a *doroir* (hair-band) for one of their daughters. Large stocks of pearls were also held by great personages in England. In 1373, for instance, John of Gaunt ordered 1808 pearls of the largest sort to be delivered from his wardrobe to one of his wife's maids and 2000 of the second size.[6]

Although goldsmiths must always have held at least some small stock of precious metals and gold, they were often supplied by their patrons with gold and precious stones, particularly when they were required to make jewels of especial importance. Maistre Jehan de Florence, for example bought at the same time *les estoffes* of a great gold crown, set with large sapphires, fine rubies and large fine orient pearls. He chose them in company with Simon de Lille, the great Parisian court goldsmith of the 1320s and 1330s who was to make the crown 'and then Simon took it all entirely on himself and finished the work', which cost the enormous sum of 2000 livres parisis. Again in 1327–8 the count and countess bought '100 stones for rings, brooches and little crosses'. At her death in 1323 Marie of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples had a store of much that a goldsmith might need to make jewellery or jewelled plate. Of precious stones she had 'burnt' rubies and emeralds – stones which had been put in the fire to improve their colour – a flat emerald, two black pearls, thirteen large pearls, a quantity of pierced corals, and a quantity of doublets of Paris work. In addition and most surprisingly, she had 'a certain quantity of white enamel' and 'a bag of eighteen pieces of red glass for making enamels and similarly pieces of white glass for making enamels', as well as five of the decorative cloisonné enamels on gold called *esmaux d'or* which appear to have been a Parisian speciality of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[7]

Naturally the situation was often more complex; when for example a goldsmith was called on to refurbish or alter jewels, we find him charging for gold and precious stones that he had added to them from his own stock. In February 1355, for instance, when the Parisian goldsmith Guiot Villain was called to Bar to work on the plate and jewels of Countess Yolande, he charged for the gold he had added to a coronal, for $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of gold and forty pearls of his own he had used in enlarging and altering a cloak clasp – carefully distinguishing them from the 12 sapphires belonging to Yolande with which it had originally been set – and also put in a bill for the silver, gold and enamel he had used to make a girdle for Yolande's husband Henri de Bar. This last was a debt that appears to have been incurred in 1340, when Yolande and Henri were married.[8]

During the earlier Middle Ages this practice of supplying the goldsmith with gold and stones was beyond all question a very frequent and general one. Thus the statutes enacted in 1233 for the goldsmiths of Venice appear to assume that the customer will give the goldsmith the gold and pearls and precious stones and cameos that he is to use. But not all jewels and plate were made to commission, and for jewels made for

stock gold, silver, pearls and precious stones had to be procured by the goldsmiths themselves, from merchants or from other sources. We are probably correct in imagining that there were many goldsmiths like the London goldsmith Thomas of Barking who by his will of 1329 left his son Roger all the tools and utensils pertaining to his craft and a small case of stones and pearls not set in gold. We get a strangely vivid glimpse of late thirteenth-century London goldsmiths purchasing small parcels of broken gold and precious stones and pearls and second-hand jewels from an inquisition instituted in June 1303 into a robbery from the treasury of the wardrobe of Edward I, which was kept partly in the treasure chamber in the cloister of Westminster Abbey. The ringleaders were a certain Richard of Podelicote (Puddlicote) and William del Paleys. They carried out their daring theft allegedly with the connivance of the sacristan, Adam of Warefield, who was said to have received some of the stolen valuables, and aided and abetted by four of Adam's servants and by the Cellarer and other monks of the abbey. Richard got a mason named John and a carpenter named Adam to break open the door of the treasure chamber, and stole a great quantity of precious jewels and plate. When arrested he still had in his possession precious stones, gold brooches, girdles, silver drinking bowls and écuelles to the huge value of £2200, even though he had already taken some of the stolen treasure to Northampton and Colchester and disposed of it to goldsmiths there. The ring of thieves and dissolute monks was not a savoury one: Adam the Sacristan was alleged to have given a brooch and a gold ring from the treasure to the daughter of William Russel, proctor of the Arches, to induce her to become his mistress, while Richard of Podelicote was a frequenter of taverns and had a mistress called Jane Pickard and many undesirable associates.[9]

His principal accomplice in disposing of the stolen goods, however, was a rogue of a goldsmith called John of Newmarket, whom all witnesses agreed had bought part of the treasure from Richard knowing it to be stolen. He was found still in possession of a certain amount of gold and three precious stones and was promptly arrested and clapped into Newgate. The unfortunate London goldsmiths who had bought gold or jewels from John, all unwittingly, were also arrested and their evidence taken, revealing what they had bought and the various channels by which it had reached them. Walter of Walpole had bought three gold rings from Richard of Podelicote and then disposed of them to Robert of Pipehurst, who had used their gold to make other jewels, which he had then sold. Robert also bought some gold which another goldsmith, John of Bridport, had acquired from Richard. In addition, John of Bridport had bought from Richard fifteen seed-pearls and six large pearls which he later sold to Robert le Convers. Robert in turn sold them to Adam, the King's goldsmith. John of Bridport also bought a gold brooch from Richard, while Golfridus of Bradelee had acquired a silver platter from the same source. The great goldsmith William Torel had also bought from Richard: he had acquired two gold rings set with little rubies. The gold of these

he sold to Nicholas of St Botolph and his partner William of Beaupho and the rubies to a third goldsmith, Richard le Broun. John of Bridgeford had bought a gold brooch and used it to make new work. A woman called Imania the porteress had sold Thomas of Frowick little rubies and four emeralds she had got from John of Newmarket and nine little rubies and twelve emeralds she had got from Nicholas of St Botolph, who had acquired them from John of Newmarket together with another ruby which he had sold to John le Perrier, evidently a lapidary or dealer in precious stones. A servant named William bought the gold of a number of broken rings from Richard and sold it to Adam of Bentley – evidently, Adam, the royal goldsmith – who used it like so many of his colleagues to make new work. Twenty-eight Scotch pearls were what John Bonaventure had bought from Richard, while from John of Newmarket William of York bought more broken gold for use in new work.

It continued to be ordinary usage during the later fourteenth century and later for the patron to pay for and often to supply the gold and precious stones and sometimes indeed the enamels which were the raw materials of the goldsmiths' art. For instance on 24 November 1377 King Charles V of France paid Franchequin de Toget, merchant of Paris, for the stones that were to be mounted in a rich gold chaplet he intended for his wife Queen Jeanne de Bourbon. They cost $2318\frac{1}{2}$ francs, made up of 400 francs for a large oriental balas-ruby, 500 francs for two other balas-rubies, also large, but evidently inferior, 110 francs for a fourth balas-ruby, $318\frac{1}{2}$ francs for a balas-ruby weighing 91 carats, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ francs the carat, 250 francs and 200 francs apiece for two large sapphires, 330 francs for two other large sapphires, and 60 francs for four large pearls and four diamonds. These were set by Franchequin or by goldsmiths in his employ; for this work and repairing some of the King's plate he received an additional 150 francs. Again Philippe, Duke of Burgundy ordered his treasurer in 1365 to pay his court goldsmith Josset de Halle of Dijon 124 deniers of gold francs of Dijon to buy gold and 15 deniers of gold francs to buy the clear red enamel called *rouge cler* for use on a girdle he was to make for Philippe. In 1367 a pound of blue and green and half a pound of black and white and two ounces of *rouge cler* 'for enamelling' were bought from the Paris goldsmith Jean Huvé for Josset to decorate an enamelled badge (*esmail*) the duke had ordered him to make.[10]

These documents suggest that in the 1360s the best French enamel colours were made in Paris – otherwise we should expect a court goldsmith in an important provincial city like Dijon to have been able to compound enamel colours of sufficient quality. Again in 1367 Yolande de Bar gave Gui Villain, goldsmith of Paris 'seven small diamonds, twelve pearls, three balas-rubies, a sapphire, a mark and two ounces of gold and a gold brooch decorated with the Fountain of Youth' for him to make out of them 'certain works for the said lady'. When Philippe of Burgundy wanted to oblige a favourite courtier or to make a present of jewellery to a daughter, he sometimes gave them either money

or pearls or precious stones or gold towards having a jewel made for themselves. In 1375 he gave his favourite chamberlain Guy de la Trémoille a gift of twelve large pearls towards a chaplet and 200 gold francs with which to buy more pearls. In 1388 he made his little daughter-in-law Marguerite, Countess of Nevers a present of sixty large pearls, which had cost eight francs apiece, 'to put into a chaplet of hers of gold along with other pearls and precious stones that he had given her at other times'. And in 1390 his duchess, Marguerite of Flanders, was given fourteen pearls, bought from a Genoese merchant living in Paris, in order to have a frontlet made of them.[11]

Sometimes great personages sold their stones to other great personages. In 1368, for instance, Enguerrand VII, Sire de Coucy (d.1397), one of the greatest of French lords, sold Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy 4950 large pearls and six balas-rubies, and 1045 pearls together with 5 esterlins of seed-pearls that had once been on Enguerrand's pearl-embroidered chaperon, probably for use on a pearl-embroidered chaperon (hood) of his own which Philippe's embroiderer, Robinet de Varennes, was busy making for him in preparation for his wedding to Marguerite of Flanders. On occasions precious stones passed down as heirlooms, at any rate in the wealthy county of Flanders. In 1366 the Sire de Cohem pledged to Louis, Count of Flanders for 200 écus a precious stone known as the *pierre de Cohem*. Naturally the Counts themselves had stones they regarded as heirlooms. We have seen that, if widowed, Duchess Marguerite of Burgundy, as the only daughter and heiress of Count Louis de Mâle of Flanders, was to keep in her own possession 'the fair balas of Flanders' and the ruby known as 'the Count's ruby', which were to pass after her death to those of her descendants who became Counts of Flanders. Again in 1397 her husband Philippe paid the Genoese merchant Antonio Gentili 15,000 francs for a great balas-ruby 'in the intention of having it placed after his death in the church of Saint-Benigne in his town of Dijon, to be given to the Duke of Burgundy who shall succeed him and thereafter to each Duke . . . in proof of his entry into possession of the said duchy'.[12]

The collecting of precious stones went on eagerly throughout the fourteenth century. In 1306–7 the accounts of Philippe le Bel of France record purchases from the Parisian goldsmith Lorrain Deschamps of a square balas-ruby to be put among the 'jewels of the crown' and of twenty-six large pearls. The aumuce, or inner cap of the great crown worn by King Jean le Bon in 1352 at the feast of his newly founded Ordre de l'Etoile was sewn with one hundred and twelve large pearls bought from the Genoese merchant Giovanni Adorno. Even during his semi-captivity of 1359–60 in England, Jean spent £323 6s 8d on buying *joyaux* from a Genoese merchant who dealt in precious stones (*marchand de pierrerie*) – an enormous sum. Such jewels were sometimes kept under the personal charge of the king himself. Jean's son Charles V kept his sapphires, either mounted in rings or as pendants or else unmounted, his balas-rubies and certain other jewels, relics, purses and rings in 'a little flat

coffer of which he has the key' and 'in a coffer of cypress-wood that the King constantly has carried about with him' and again 'of which he has the key'. Other stones were enclosed in a box of silver-gilt kept inside this coffer – these were the emeralds and diamonds, all mounted in rings. A box of ebony, banded with gold which was enamelled white and engraved with the initials Y and C for Jeanne and Charles, held the jewels of his Queen Jeanne de Bourbon, again set in rings. The cameos, together with sapphire and signet rings, and rings set with other stones, were kept in another coffer, of which the King also kept the key.[13]

In England too stones were regularly collected, again either mounted in rings or unmounted. Among the treasures of Henry V, inventoried in 1423, apart from stones set in rings, there are many mentions of unmounted stones and pearls. To give only some of the entries, we read of nine rubies of different sorts and two small balas-rubies, of a triangular diamond set in a gold *chaton* (*clou*), of two other small diamonds set in gold *chatons*, of twenty diamonds set in gold *chatons*, of nineteen other diamonds set in gold *chatons*, of twenty-three more diamonds set in gold *chatons*, of one hundred and fifty-one balas-rubies, of thirty-seven of the balas-rubies called 'scales', twenty-eight unmounted sapphires, nineteen emeralds, a bag of small pearls, four unmounted rubies, two hundred pearls on ten strings, eight pointed diamonds set in gold and sixty-nine pearls of divers sorts.[14]

During the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the three great Valois princes of France, Louis of Anjou, Jean de Berry, Philippe of Burgundy, were all eager purchasers of rare and valuable stones. In 1388 Philippe of Burgundy sent the Venetian merchant Jaquere de Finet (Jacopo Finetti) – a connoisseur of stones – especially from Paris to purchase for him in Venice 11,606½ livres' worth of jewels and precious stones which his *argentier* (keeper of the wardrobe) stored away in the Duke's coffers. His purchases comprised firstly, a gold brooch set with a huge balas-ruby weighing 208 Parisian carats, with three pearls each weighing about fifteen carats and with three square sapphires, and rimmed with twenty-five small pearls; secondly, a string of eighty pearls weighing five carats apiece, twenty balas-rubies weighing 360 carats threaded with the pearls, thirty-six pearls of 11 carats each and eight balas-rubies threaded on the same string, weighing 70 carats. This was a large purchase, but Philippe made many smaller ones too. In 1368, for instance, he bought from an Italian merchant settled in Paris, Galeas du Porche, 'an oriental ruby' and a diamond. During the 1390s he bought a 'very large fine balas-ruby' weighing 180 Genoese carats from Jean Picamel, a Genoese merchant living in Paris (1392–4); a square balas-ruby from another Genoese merchant (1395); and a 'fair ruby', from yet another Genoese merchant settled in Paris (1398), which he gave to Jean, Duc de Berry. So important were these purchases to him that in 1374 there is a record of the purchase of a balance and a little weight of a mark 'to weigh pearls and

precious stones'. Presents of single precious stones become very common from about this time: as gifts for the New Year of 1380, for example, Marguerite of Flanders, Philippe's duchess, gave her mother the Countess of Flanders a ruby and a diamond, for the New Year of 1383 Philippe gave away five diamonds and a sapphire, and for that of 1386 two large balas-rubies, the one eight-sided, the other six-sided, and three large round pearls.[15]

Jean, Duc de Berry (1340–1416), stands out as a connoisseur as well as a collector of precious stones. He bought many of the rich stones in his collection from Venetian and Florentine and Parisian merchants, but received others as presents from his royal and princely relations. The significance of stones of price in the late fourteenth century is shown by the fact that we now find the most important of his rubies receiving their own special names. Jean de Berry owned the Great Balas of Venice, bought from Valentina Visconti in 1407, the Balas of Orange, bought in 1408 from two French courtiers, the Balas of the Chestnut, the Balas of David, the Balas of the Cock-Crest, the Ruby of the Ear, the Ruby of the Quail, the Ruby of Gloucester, the Ruby of the Cloud, bought from a Florentine merchant, the Balas of the Pope, a ruby called the Heart of France, the Ruby of Apulia, the Ruby of the Dimple, a fine small ruby called the Barley Grain, the Ruby of the Mountain, bought in 1405, the Ruby of Berry, bought in 1408, a ruby called the Coal of Burgundy, and the King of Rubies, bought for him as a present by his nephew Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, in 1413, and given this name by Jean de Berry, so great was his delight in its splendour.[16]

Jean loved rubies best, but he also had a great sapphire called the Sapphire of Melun, another called the Great Sapphire of Burgundy, an emerald called the Good Emerald, a pointed diamond called the Diamond of St Louis and the Diamond of Chartres. Two pearls were also distinguished by special names, the Great Pearl of Berry and the Great Pearl of Navarre. Some of these stones were bought by Jean from goldsmiths, others from Italian merchants, some Genoese, some Florentine, some Venetian. One of his emeralds came from a Parisian merchant named Jean Pannier who is described as a *marchand de pierrerie*, that is, as a dealer in precious stones; this and other references indicate that the *gemmarii* of the twelfth century had their successors in the fourteenth century. The merchants must have exploited the Duke's passion for stones, or else the market fell after his death, for the valuations made of them at his death fell far short of the huge sums he had given for them.[17]

Important stones still continued to be eagerly purchased in the fifteenth century, often by a considerable straining of resources. In 1471 René of Anjou agreed to give Eleanora Congiunta, the widow of one of his Neapolitan supporters, and her heirs an annual pension of 400 florins in return for 'a certain notable jewel, that is, a balas-ruby which is a precious stone' she had sold him some time before for the huge sum of 18,000 florins. This pension was awarded over and above a sum of 7100 florins already disbursed from his treasury and other payments of 2990 florins. Some princes, like the alchemically

inclined Emperor Frederick III (r.1440–77), even made themselves expert assessors of precious stones and pearls. An early biographer, describing Frederick's policy of collecting fine stones and pearls to enhance his imperial splendour, records: 'How great was his delight in these things is indicated by the fact that in purchasing he made various tests of them in skilful fashion, and invariably weighed pearls with his own hand and if at any time something was needful to be done to counteract the frauds of dealers he was incessant in making trial of stones and pearls. And if he found any of them to be false or artificial, he would quickly reject the purchase and send them away.'[18]

Precious stones were also collected by some who had relatively little jewellery, and in such cases were acquired merely as a reserve of valuables. Paolo Guinigi (1376–1432), who made himself lord of the merchant city of Lucca in 1400, accumulated great quantities of them. One of his principal suppliers was the Genoese merchant, Tommaso Soffia, who lived in Venice, and whom we shall encounter again attempting to sell a rich jewelled collar in England. In 1418 Tommaso rendered an account to Paolo for stones bought to the value of 5960 gold ducats, and in the same year he sold him a ruby of 8 carats for 500 gold florins. After Guinigi's fall in 1430 the Comune of Lucca attempted to claim a large quantity of precious stones he had pledged in Genoa, and instructed six merchants of Lucca in a letter of 3 March 1431 to try and recover them.

> The Comune finds itself with some most notable jewels in Genoa, among them five balas-rubies, one table-cut of 101 carats, one a half-egg shape which is called *covetta* [i.e. *en cuvette*] of 72 carats, another square table-cut ruby of 43 carats, another square table ruby of 37 carats, all of which are of most excellent colours, and their weight well full, and there is too a brooch which is of a table diamond of shield shape which is thus $\nabla$, but longer, with three pearls, each of 12 carats, with a fair ruby, well set-off, and with a pearl that is one of the notable pearls of the world of 14 carats, and a large diamond with a point of $4\frac{1}{2}$ carats. And there are many other jewels, balas-rubies, sapphires, rubies and diamonds that are very notable. And the said jewels are in pawn at Genoa for about 11,000 crowns.

The merchants were to make a special effort to redeem the balas-rubies and rubies and the brooch and a diamond and pearl 'for we do not think the world has the equal of many of these jewels'.

The inventory taken on 29 August 1430 or more probably 1431 after Guinigi's fall lists great quantities of jewels. He had two sorts of pearls, large and middle-sized, all pierced, for all were kept on strings. Some of these strings were knotted together as bunches of three or five and these bunches were provided with a small silk cloth for protection and a button of seed-pearls for handling. There were 198 large pearls, eighteen of which were evidently specially fine, for they were described as large and noble, and eighty-nine middle-sized pearls. The sapphires were fifty in all, fifteen large, one carved in relief with

a flower, four middle-sized, and nineteen small, and some which were rather miscellaneous in sort or quality. One is described as 'a flat piece of sapphire, pierced', one as 'an oriental sapphire with eight corners', two were sky-blue in colour, and eight were 'poor little sapphires'. Surprisingly there were very few emeralds – only three and those small – but there were large numbers of rubies and balas-rubies. Of balas-rubies Guinigi had twenty large and fourteen small, together with some of miscellaneous kinds, a large eight-cornered balas, seven pieces of balas – one circular and pierced, four middle-sized and two small, all again pierced – and 'three poor little balases'. Of rubies he had forty-five in all. His diamonds were mostly cut stones. Five were mounted in gold settings, three being large and pointed, one table-cut, and one heart-shaped, while another pointed diamond was set in a ring 'enamelled in Paris fashion' and a second of 'native point [*puncta naiffo*]', that is uncut, was set in a gold *chaton*. A large flat eight-cornered diamond was mounted in a gold flower. Guinigi's other diamonds were all apparently unset: six were pointed, four were cut, and four are simply described as small. The term *puncta naiffo* is borrowed from the French *naif*; such a use of French terminology makes it possible to wonder whether diamond-cutting at this date was still not largely French. After the fall of the great French merchant and financier, Jacques Coeur, in 1451, he was found to have very little jewellery, but rather more precious stones. The royal receivers appointed to examine his plate and jewels in Tours in 1453 found that he had seven pierced balas-rubies and a large cabochon ruby, four pointed diamonds, one described as *naif* and all, except for one small one, set in rings, two sapphires, one a large pierced cabochon stone, a pierced pearl hanging from a little gold *brochette* (pin), a string of eighteen pearls and one of four small pearls.[19]

Often of course there were not enough stones on hand to make new jewels, either because they were pledged or because they were unsuitable, or because there were simply not enough in reserve. In 1360 Pierre de Florence, a goldsmith of Chambéry, sent in an account for work done for Bonne de Bourbon, Countess of Savoy during 1359. One of the charges was for the gold and fashion of a brooch which was unfinished because he had not been supplied with enough pearls. Occasions like princely weddings frequently led to a frantic search for precious stones to mount in the rich gifts of plate and jewels that it was customary to distribute with ostentatious liberality on such occasions to family, friends, household and courtiers. In 1368 Philippe of Burgundy was making his officers hunt out precious stones from all quarters for his forthcoming wedding with Marguerite of Flanders – he is recorded as buying pearls large and small, balas-rubies, diamonds, and other precious stones of all kinds. Those sold to him by Enguerrand de Coucy alone cost 11,000 livres. In addition old jewels were broken up, or else their stones were temporarily or even permanently removed from them to make new ones. For four star brooches intended as badges of King Jean le Bon's newly founded chivalric Order

of the Star (the *Ordre de l'Etoile*), the French royal goldsmith Jehan le Brailleur broke up in 1350–1 a small gold chaplet and took from it ten balases and eleven clusters of pearls, each of six pearls surrounding a large central pearl. In its turn by 1379–80 the crown fashioned for the feast of the Ordre de l'Etoile, 'a great crown of very great workmanship', records Charles V's inventory, 'called the *Couronne de l'Estoile*', had lost many of the stones from its four large and four small fleurons, indeed 'it was already taken to pieces in King Jean's time'. In 1380 one of the gold crowns left by Charles V was pillaged of its five sapphires in order to enrich three other crowns and a cross, and in 1381 it also lost its five balas-rubies.[20]

The same fate also overtook small jewels: the same inventory records 'a little reliquary pendant in which there was once a cameo with the Annunciation of our Lady, the which has been taken out to be put into the cross of cameos [*croix aux camieux*] that the King has had made this year'. And it was far from being the only object to be so despoiled. In 1411, during a decade when France was impoverished by faction, war, and by the weak rule of the mad Charles VI, a royal journey to Saint-Omer led to the rifling of a number of jewels to fit out the King anew; for instance, pearls were taken from a *joyau* to be set in a collar and brooch. But even wealthy patrons resorted to the same device: Jean de Berry had a number of new jewels fashioned from the gold and stones of old. In 1413, for example, he had a small gold reliquary pendant which he always wore at his neck from a black lace set with a sapphire engraved with a half-length figure of God the Father, and around it were six rubies taken from a girdle, and six large pearls taken from a brooch in the shape of a crown.[21]

Gold for new jewels was also obtained by breaking up old ones – refashioning indeed was undoubtedly why so much mediaeval jewellery is lost – or as often as not from gold coins given by the patron to the goldsmith. As early as 1206 the accounts of Philippe-Auguste of France record that 66 besants and 28 obols of gold were given to Stephanus Pullus 'for the making of the king's rings'. Coins indeed were such usual sources of gold that in 1312 we find Mahaut of Artois paying for a gold florin that had been used by a goldsmith for gilding an Agnus Dei. On other occasions however we find gold actually being purchased: in 1305–1 for instance, we find an entry in the French royal accounts of 51 livres and 4 sols paid to Guillaume de Vaudetar 'to buy half a mark of gold to make a brooch for the King'. Sometimes both gold and coins were given: in 1391 Count Amadeo VII of Savoy commissioned a gold girdle from his court goldsmith Annequin and supplied him with the gold in the form of 64 French gold écus, 100 florins in écus, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of gold.[22]

All this may seem of greater historical than artistic interest, but it does suggest what is also hinted at by other documents, that in the design of the jewels they wore great patrons were often closely involved, not only providing stones and gold but conferring with their goldsmiths and approving patterns and

models. In 1241–2, for instance, Henry III of England commanded gold brooches to be made for him decorated with the alphabet, and ordered forty small emeralds to be bought for setting in them. With the vogue for decorating all sorts of jewels with initial letters and personal devices that swept courtly Europe during the fourteenth century, such interventions by patrons, both men and women, must have become even more frequent, since the goldsmiths needed precise instructions for jewels which incorporated such individual motifs, often charged with a highly personal significance to the wearer. Jewels of this kind, simply recorded in accounts as purchased from goldsmiths, must often in fact have been carefully commissioned. Thus between the death of Charles V of France in 1380 and 1389 his son Charles VI 'with the consent and ordinance of our lords his uncles, that is to say, the Dukes of Anjou, Burgundy and Bourbon has on several and divers occasions caused to be taken several of his jewels, both crowns, chaplets, brooches and other ornaments, and had them broken up to make other brooches and jewels after his own device and ordinance and that of his said lord uncles and to make ornaments for certain of his dresses so as to appear more honourably during a number of festivals, weddings and journeys where he has been during the said time'.[23]

We can see this actually occurring in that delightful fifteenth-century French novel, Anthoine de la Salle's *Petit Jehan de Saintré* (completed 1459). A great lady of the French court takes the youthful Jehan de Saintré for her knight and instructs him in chivalry and the ways of courtly love. She orders him to have made and then wear a bracelet of gold enamelled with their devices 'embroidered with six good diamonds, six good rubies and six good and large pearls of four to five carats', which jewels she gives him in a purse together with 2000 écus. Jehan summons the royal goldsmith Gilbert Lorin, and says, 'Gilbert, my friend, I would like a gold bracelet enamelled in my colours and with my device, and embroidered on the two sides with the two diamonds, six rubies and six pearls you see here'. Gilbert was delighted with the jewels, and the bracelet was made in two days. This example is from a novel, but in 1452 René of Anjou paid his court goldsmith Jehan Nicolas for making three little *fillets* (probably small rings), which were engraved and enamelled inside and outside and had a 'tear of diamond' set in each, and for having refashioned them four times 'according as the said lord devised them'.[24]

René had a close personal interest in goldsmiths' work: hence his exacting insistence on refashioning until his taste was satisfied. But other patrons also had jewels refashioned to suit their personal taste. Thus in 1452–3 Queen Margaret of Anjou, René's daughter and wife of Henry VI of England, bought a new collar and had John Otte, one of her court goldsmiths, set two diamonds and a ruby on it, and hang from it twelve rubies and twelve pearls. That exceptional patron, Jean, Duc de Berry (1340–1416), who formed a collection of manuscripts and objects remarkable for its extreme refinement and also for its occasional anticipations of the humanist tastes of the Renaissance, can also be seen directing closely the design of his own jewels, and even at times of jewels that were to be presented to him as gifts. On 19 May 1408, for instance, he bought a great balas-ruby from the Genoese merchant Giovanni Grimaldi for 16,000 gold écus; this was set in gold as a brooch by one of his favourite goldsmiths, the talented German Herman Rince (or Roussel). He then had other stones set in it, a pointed diamond which he bought already set in a gold rose, two large table diamonds, one of them octagonal, a large square diamond and a large pearl. Again in a little gold reliquary pendant he assembled around a little cameo or hardstone figure of the Virgin and Child he had bought from the painter Jean Grancher two small cabochon rubies, a citrine sapphire' a 'longish ruby' which was the largest cut from a stone called the *Ruby taigneux* (Clouded Ruby), the Ruby of the Ear, which his Duchess gave him as her New Year present in 1409, four diamonds, two 'cut in the fashion of several half-lozenges' – in other words with triangular faceting – and two which were the smallest of five diamonds taken from a brooch in the shape of a crown, and two table diamonds, bought from the merchant Baude de Guy.[25]

During the earlier Middle Ages imported Byzantine objects introduced or modified types, styles, and techniques in jewellery as in other branches of goldsmiths' work. The spell of the splendours and treasures of Byzantium was potent over Western imaginations: in the 1140s for instance Abbot Suger would ask eagerly of travellers returning from Jerusalem and Constantinople whether the great goldsmiths' works he had caused to be made for Saint-Denis were equal to the treasures of Hagia Sophia. The importation of Byzantine objects is only spasmodically documented, but we hear of Imperial gifts to the Popes and to Western rulers of such jewels as *encolpia* and crowns, and imperial Byzantine princesses who were married to the kings and emperors of the West brought with them jewels and goldsmiths' work. Prelates returning from the East brought Byzantine reliquaries back with them, and the sack of Constantinople in 1204 despatched these and other Byzantine works of art in even greater numbers to the West. There is no doubt too that the jewelled magnificence of Byzantine imperial costume was envied and imitated by some of their would-be rivals, the Emperors of the West. Two of them in particular copied the dress and deportment of the Byzantine emperors. The Annals of Fulda complain of Charles the Bald (d.877) that after his imperial coronation in 875 he affected Greek dress, and despised the costume of his ancestors. And for his coronation at Rome in 996 Otto III wore a costume resembling that of the Byzantine Emperors, and later prescribed the ceremonial of the Byzantine court for his own court and for himself.[1]

The jewellery of the so-called Gisela treasure, found in Mainz in the late nineteenth century, and almost certainly the treasure of an Ottonian empress or princess, is wholly Byzantine in type and style. Byzantine silver nielloed crosses appear hanging from chains in a number of the early mediaeval hoards found in Gotland and Sweden, and these were certainly worn at a humbler level than the court, if only because they are of silver, not of gold. The style of such imported pieces was translated in the West from the ethereal elegance of Byzantium into a cruder and harsher art that has nevertheless greater strength than its prototype.

We know little of eleventh- and twelfth-century goldsmiths' work and jewellery outside the Imperial lands but, during these centuries of the formation and consolidation of local variations of the style we call Romanesque, we find on the few occasions when obscurity is dispersed by a document or by an object, that the greatest goldsmiths led an itinerant life, summoned from one region to another by great patrons. About 1110–20

the English royal goldsmith Anketil was lent to the King of Denmark and spent seven years as his goldsmith and mint-master. In the 1130s Suger called goldsmiths from Lotharingia – the region of the Meuse and Lorraine – to work for him at Saint-Denis. Of Godefroid de Clair, a great mid-twelfth-century Mosan goldsmith of Huy, near Liège, we know that he was employed at a number of royal courts and so may have worked in France and England and even in Scandinavia and Spain. In England the abbey of St Edmundsbury called in Magister Hugo in the 1130s to make the bronze doors of the church and illuminate its Bible. Nicholas of Verdun, the greatest goldsmith of the late twelfth century, worked for the abbey of Klosterneuburg in Austria and the cathedral of Tournai in Flanders. Although the presence of these great goldsmiths in alien regions did not necessarily provoke local stylistic revolutions, the major styles overflowed in this way their regional frontiers and were admired, and sometimes copied elsewhere.

This international movement of goldsmiths continued during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the court goldsmiths of King Charles Robert of Hungary (r.1308–42) was Petrus Gallicus of Siena, then one of the greatest and most inventive centres of the goldsmiths' art in Italy, who worked for the king in the 1320s and 1330s. In 1331–3 the court goldsmith of Aymon, Count of Savoy, the first to bear the official title of *aurifaber domini*, was a certain Guillaume le Flaman (Guillaume the Fleming). Goldsmiths moved to great centres of patronage, like the Papal Curia; Italian, German and French goldsmiths were all attracted to Avignon while the Curia resided there in the fourteenth century. In Paris, itself, there were not only German diamond and gem cutters, but German and Netherlandish goldsmiths as well, especially towards the end of the fourteenth century. Among them were some of the most famous goldsmiths of their time – Guillaume Vandethar, Claux de Fribourg, Hans Karast, Herman Roussel. The same situation prevailed in lesser centres – for instance in Hungary, important for all European goldsmiths in the Middle Ages as the only major producer of gold. During the fourteenth century there are records of Hungarian and German goldsmiths in Buda, the capital, and during the fifteenth there are records of goldsmiths from Germany and Italy as well as native-born Hungarians. Louis of Anjou, of all the four remarkable sons of King Jean le Bon of France perhaps the most discerning connoisseur and dedicated accumulator of goldsmiths' work, had as his court goldsmith Gusmin of Cologne, whose heart was broken when his patron melted down many of his works to finance his

campaigns to obtain the crown of Naples. The court goldsmith of King Juan II of Castile (r.1406–54) was Hans of Ulm. And such men as these were often merely the most prominent of the goldsmiths employed at the court. How diverse the origins of goldsmiths and goldsmiths' work might be even at a comparatively small court is illustrated by the goldsmiths who worked for King Charles the Noble of Navarre. During his long reign from 1387 to 1425 he is found employing Frenchmen, Spaniards, Flemings, Germans, an Italian and a Jew, often simultaneously, and gave custom besides to goldsmiths in Paris, with which as a member of the French royal house he naturally had close ties.[2]

Itinerant merchants carrying precious stones and fine jewels, both new and second-hand, to the courts and towns and fairs of Europe, also brought news of novelties and changes in fashion, just as they brought news of war and change in the political world. And wealthy travellers and pilgrims in that travelling age, when men and women were constantly on horseback along the highways of Europe for one purpose or another – pilgrimage, service to a king and lord, visits to the Papal Curia, the acquisition of learning, a crusade, the pursuit of work and a living – at times returned with jewels, as well as with pilgrim badges and relics. We have seen that when Bishop Wolfger of Passau went to Rome in 1203–4 he had topaz rings made there. When she passed through Genoa in 1333, Marie des Baux, wife of Humbert II, Dauphin of Vienne, bought jewels. Again, when Henry of Bolingbroke, later Henry IV of England, went on a knightly *reise* to Prussia in 1390–1, he had collars made in Königsberg, and on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1392–3 he also had collars made in Prague and Venice and bought three brooches at Milan, and a girdle and two collars at Chivasso.[3]

Naturally the history of the spread of fashions, styles and techniques is difficult to trace during centuries when continuous history was written by chroniclers who were far from having a wide knowledge of contemporary costume and art throughout Europe and when we have to rely on the laconic descriptions of inventories for much of our information. But, as with Gothic architecture, so the relative universality of mediaeval jewellery, with only regional variations in type and design and style, must have its explanation in the diffusion of knowledge of fashions and technical innovations from the centres in which they originated. We ought not perhaps to underestimate the influence of the goldsmiths themselves in introducing novelties in order to tempt their customers. A short, but significant sentence in the *Legenda* of Santa Margherita of Cortona relating to the period 1275–1300, reports a revelation to the saint of Christ's displeasure with goldsmiths, merchants and artificers 'who through avarice are ever intent on new and various means of enriching themselves'. And when in 1386 three merchants who were partners 'in the trade of goldsmiths' work, gems, and silver work' passed a contract with two goldsmiths of Puy to make rings for them, they stipulated that these were to be varied in style 'according to the fashion of the time [*secundum*

*cursum temporis*]'. If such pursuit of profitable novelties is found in the goldsmiths of a minor Tuscan town and of a provincial French centre, how much more must it have been the case in great cities, with customers who were not merely well-to-do local merchants, patricians and small nobles, but kings, princes and mighty barons and their wives.[4]

From the late twelfth century until the end of the fourteenth century and even later there can be no doubt of the general primacy in mediaeval Europe of the goldsmiths of Paris. There were indeed other major centres of the goldsmith's art throughout the Middle Ages. Cologne, the largest city of Germany, was long the great metropolis of goldsmiths' work in the Imperial lands. In Italy, Venice seems to have outdistanced all rivals by the early thirteenth century. In October 1225 the Emperor Frederick II ordered a coronal from a goldsmith of Venice named Marino Nadal and it was another Venetian goldsmith who made in 1327 a richly jewelled girdle for Carlo, Duke of Calabria, while he was ruling in Florence. Less surprisingly the rulers of neighbouring northern principalities also bought jewels in Venice. In 1340, for instance, Duchess Margareta of Tirol bought jewels and rings there, and in 1417 Queen Barbara von Cilli, second wife of Sigismund, later Roman Emperor, sent courtiers from Budapest to buy jewels and other things for her in Venice. Regulations about the standard of silver in exported girdles reveal what a trade there was in such objects from Venice. And in the thirteenth century London too was noted for its girdles. But already early in the same century Paris had a surpassing reputation for its jewels and goldsmiths' work. In the romance of *Hervis von Metz* the young Hervis, born the son of Thierry, the Prévost (head) of the merchants of Metz and Aelis, daughter of the deeply indebted Duke of Lorraine, is sent from Metz with his uncles at the age of fifteen to buy *joiaus de Paris*, furs and Flemish cloth up to the sum of 4000 marks at the great fair of Provins in Champagne. The rolls of the payment of the *taille* compiled in 1292 and 1300 reveal that in 1292 there were 116 goldsmiths working there, and in addition two *orfèvres-valets* or workmen, and that in 1300 the number of goldsmiths had increased to 251, and the *orfèvres-valets* to 7.[5]

There is much historical evidence that Parisian jewels were eagerly bought throughout Western Europe. In 1224–5, for instance, Venetian documents mention 'twelve girdles of Paris work and twelve rings and two gold brooches', the whole being valued at 6 pounds. At the end of the century, in 1285–6, Adam, goldsmith to Edward I and Queen Eleanor of England was sent to Paris to buy kerchiefs, garlands and other trinkets for their daughters. Jewels from Paris also made acceptable gifts: in the same year King Philippe of France sent a small coronal set with sapphires, large emeralds, little rubies and pearls to Princess Eleanor of England, while to her father King Edward he sent a gold brooch set with precious stones, though Edward, perhaps caught short with a sudden need to make a present, gave it away soon afterwards. Great foreign personages

often bought jewels in Paris or commissioned jewels to be made for them there. In 1335 Jean de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, asked Louis, Count of Flanders to stand surety for him to the tune of 4500 livres for 'jewels of gold and precious stones' he had bought and money he had borrowed of the great Paris royal goldsmith Simon de Lille. And in 1377–8 Margaretha van Brieg, Countess of Holland commissioned Rogier (Rutgher) of Paris to make her two girdles, one richly embroidered with 2200 pearls, the other richly mounted in gold and set with one hundred and one pearls, a balas-ruby, a sapphire, and twenty-eight small balases and sapphires.[6]

From the thirteenth century the style and fashions of Paris in jewellery were spread by their reputation. They were also spread by kings and princes, some like the Kings of England and the Counts of Flanders, Hainault and Brabant with feudal lands in France and close family connections with the French royal family, others, like the King of Portugal, of French ancestry. Dynastic intermarriage linked these and other great princely families with the Kings of Castile and Aragon, who had in addition close ties of marriage with the King of England. The prestige of Parisian styles among such personages is in one sense only another expression of the dominant prestige of northern French culture throughout much of Western Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Anglo-Norman court was one of the major centres of that culture, and French remained the language of the English court, and of English law, administration, literature and gentility until the late fourteenth century. In Spain and north Italy the culture of the Languedoc, what we call Provençal culture, was long dominant, especially in the language and forms, the themes and mentality of poetry. Some of the great princes of Northern Italy, like the Counts of Savoy and the Marquises of Montferrat were important representatives of one aspect or another of that culture. Northern French culture also established itself in Italy. The romances of Northern France were carried by wandering minstrels into the Lombard plain early in the twelfth century, as we know from the Arthurian carvings on the cathedral of Modena. And the thirteenth-century Florentine Brunetto Latini wrote his *Livres dou Tresor* (c.1260–9) in French 'because it is the most common and most delightful speech'. Later the Counts of Savoy in particular formed from 1355 strong dynastic ties with the French court. In the imperial lands, French styles in art, dress and literature crossed the Rhine during the late twelfth century and began to affect radically the powerful culture of twelfth-century Imperial Germany. From about 1200 German romances of chivalry speak loud and admiringly of 'French' styles of dress. The evolution of style in Germany was sufficient to affect styles in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Scandinavia, though here too there were direct contacts with Paris. Norway and Denmark were in addition exposed to influences from England. Even Cyprus became another outpost of French art and culture from 1192 when the Lusignans, great French nobles from Poitou, and titular kings of Jerusalem, became kings of the island.[7]

In the second half of the thirteenth century the spread of French styles and fashions was also assisted by the extraordinary political expansion of the Angevins as the power of the Emperors weakened in the course of their interminable conflicts with the Popes. Charles of Anjou, the brother of St Louis, conquered the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1266 and established the Angevin dynasty there. His son Charles II lost Sicily, but continued to rule over Naples which remained a kingdom in the hands of his descendants until 1442. The Angevins of Naples kept up close ties with France, particularly as they also ruled over Provence, and imported French and Provençal fashions and manners into Naples. There are letters of the 1270s from Charles of Anjou ordering jewellery and articles of dress to be bought for himself, for his queen and for their households in Paris. This preference for France and French art also expressed itself in the employment of French goldsmiths at their court. After the extinction of the dynasty of Arpad in 1301, they made good a claim to the Hungarian throne, and in 1308 Charles Robert of Anjou, the eldest son of Charles II of Naples, became King of Hungary. The result was a fresh importation of French Gothic art and culture into a region where they had already begun to make themselves felt some seventy years before.

The network of kinship and alliances that linked the royal and princely houses of Europe promoted the exchange of jewels between distant courts, not least in order to display splendour and generosity. Thus Henry III of England sent in 1222 a girdle, brooch and ring to Haakon IV of Norway. Again on 10 January 1311 King Jaime of Aragon thanked Countess Mahaut of Artois, mother of the French queen, for a gift of jewels she had sent for his wife Blanche of Anjou. As Blanche had just died, he had given the jewels to his daughters. Queen Maria of Aragon (d.1346) left among other jewels to her daughters Constance, Queen of Sicily and Princess Juana six gold brooches 'made in the fashion of France and set with precious stones and large pearls'. During the fourteenth century France continued and extended its cultural hegemony. When the Counts of Luxembourg, a great feudal family of the southern Netherlands which had close ties with France and the French court, became Kings of Bohemia in 1310, they continued to maintain their French connections. The cultural ascendancy of France over the Netherlands – or rather, over its aristocracy was completed in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century by the Dukes of Burgundy, a junior branch of the Valois. The impact of French fashion on other societies is vividly illustrated by Italian sources. Already in 1232 the great Sienese merchant Aringhieri de Magiscolo who, like many of his kind did his chief business at the great fairs of Champagne, bequeathed to his wife the scarlet gown 'for which I sent to France'. An anecdote told by the fourteenth-century Catalan friar and moralist Francisco Eiximenis reveals how potent in Naples was the influence of French fashion. Under the rule of King Robert the Wise (r.1309–43) 'some noblemen of France and their wives and households came

to Naples and, as certain of the Neapolitan men chose to go dressed in the French fashion like these strangers, immediately the ladies also wanted to follow them for their pleasure. And little by little it became the custom to wear short, tight dress.'[8]

In Spain the court of Navarre, ruled in the fourteenth century by kings of French royal blood, naturally maintained close contacts with Paris. Under Charles the Noble (r.1387–1425) the court even had in Perrin Frezet from 1397 to at least 1411–12, a sort of Paris goldsmith by appointment, who came from time to time to Navarre, as in 1411–12. It also commissioned works from other Paris goldsmiths – in 1398 Hans Crest made a collar of gold enamelled white, red, black and blue for Charles, who also ordered works to be made 'in the fashion of Paris' by goldsmiths resident at the court. Thus a collar in the fashion of Paris six or more fingers' wide was made by Juan de Egues for Charles to give to 'Mosén Bertran de Ezpeleta, on the day he was knighted'. Elsewhere in Spain there was also a sense of Paris as the capital of fashion. In 1350 Pere (Peter) III of Aragon drew up in Perpignan a letter of instructions to an agent who was going to the Papal Curia in Avignon.

> We command you to purchase for us in Avignon a fair French girdle mounted with silver without *cacota* or purse . . . and large and flat buttons, of the fashion they wear them in France, of those *geneteis*, of three or four sorts, and two dozen of each sort, and twelve pierced stones between balas-rubies and sapphires of price, to the value in all of 100 livres, a little more or less, but if they may not be had for this price, then twelve stones fit for our very dear consort the Queen to wear of which six should be fair and fine. And this we leave to your discretion. And all these things you shall transmit to us by a sure hand, or bring them when you come.

Again a letter of December 1388 from Joan I of Aragon, a king who maintained close bonds of cousinship and alliance with Charles VI of France, asks his emissary in Paris to send him patterns of 'the new fashions and devices' for his embroiderers to copy for the new clothes he is having made against next Easter. The emissary is to have a book made up of them 'of various sorts and of the fairest and strangest and most pleasing kinds there can be'.[9]

At the end of the fourteenth century Paris seemed more than ever supreme in the art of jewellery and in fashion. In 1427 San Bernardino could still admonish the ladies of Siena: 'as soon as a new fashion comes, as soon as a courtesan comes dressed in the French manner, it will straightway be taken up. Is there a girl that is marriageable or married who is not dressed in the modern style? As soon as they see the new dress, they have their own spoiled to turn it into the new fashion.' But the factional strife and the war with England which disrupted the life of the French court and of Paris during the first decades of the fifteenth century diminished some of their exclusive prestige, especially as the goldsmiths' art now began to be practised with equal or near equal reputation in other centres. In the Netherlands the magnificence of the Burgundian court, largely settled there from the time of Duke Philip the Good (r.1419–67), gave new patronage to the goldsmiths of a region traditionally fertile in goldsmiths of talent, and we hear of important ducal commissions to the goldsmiths of Bruges. In Germany the established primacy of Cologne began to be challenged by the goldsmiths of South Germany, and especially of Nuremberg. During the fifteenth century moreover German and Flemish goldsmiths travelled even further afield than in the previous century – Paris and Avignon had long attracted them – settling in Spain and Venice, where they had a strong and in some cases formative influence on local styles. The princely courts continued to employ court goldsmiths, but goldsmiths and jewellers are found practising in many smaller centres, and it seems that jewellery was often the principal staple of their trade. There is evidence that these smaller men often kept an eye on the course of fashion.[10]

Yet French jewels long kept something of their old prestige; in 1501 in preparation for the wedding of his son Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon Henry VII of England sent to France 'for diverse and many jewels' to the tune of £14,000, then a truly enormous sum. The consequence of French influence was in some places the creation of hybrid fashions in jewellery. In the kingdoms of Spain, so exposed to Moorish influence, the influence of Parisian or Burgundian fashion and later German goldsmiths remained dominant in court jewellery, but the liking for earrings, necklaces of beads, and bracelets, continuous throughout the Middle Ages, though visible to us now only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was undoubtedly influenced by Moorish jewellery and added strong national elements to jewellery worn both at court and outside it. Similarly the court jewellery of Hungary, originally Byzantine in style, became French Gothic during the thirteenth century, as the Gothic style in the decorative arts spread eastwards. Yet lingering Byzantine influence preserved the earring in Hungary for many decades, and preserved it too in South Italy and in Sicily, where Muslim influence was superadded. But here too French Gothic styles in other forms of jewellery won ascendancy after the Angevin conquest of Naples, though the earring and bracelet survived as local fashions, both in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily.[11]

All this provides some background to what has already been indicated as the most striking feature of mediaeval jewellery from the later thirteenth century onwards – its general uniformity of type and style throughout Europe. From Trondheim to Cracow, from Buda to Palermo, from Cordoba to Edinburgh much the same types of jewellery were worn in the same period – chaplet, coronal, brooch, girdle, later collar and pendant as well. All this jewellery came to be in styles that are derivatives of the Gothic style, however much their renderings of it differ. It is impossible to determine from the little evidence we have whether these main types of jewellery spread from a single centre, but it seems most unlikely, for the circlet, girdle, and

brooch appear to have been common to all the countries of Christendom. A fundamental break with the fashions in jewellery of the barbarians seems to have taken place under the Carolingian empire. Its history cannot now be traced, though the classical past was certainly a potent influence and, as we have seen, the influence of Byzantium at times was paramount. By contrast we can be reasonably certain that in jewellery the Gothic style spread outwards from Paris, and that Parisian styles, fashions and techniques continued to exercise a strong influence over the rest of Europe well into the International Gothic age. But Gothic soon found its own national and local expressions in the countries of its adoption, in Italy becoming schematically linear and flat, with little inventiveness of ornament, whereas in Germany ornament becomes exuberant and the miniature architectural forms so characteristic of the style are exploited for their picturesqueness in the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth for daring sophistications and combinations of line.

It was only natural that the first impulse of innovation, essentially the substitution of Gothic forms for earlier Romanesque forms, should be transmuted into such regional or local interpretations of the new art. Direct French influence becomes less viable as these local styles acquire vigour and power, and begin to be carried into a larger sphere. To complicate the picture there existed provincial fashions in jewellery. We have no means of discovering when these first appeared, but it is certain that regional costumes and fashions were well established by the later thirteenth century. When Gerolda, a Calabrian lady, was taken in Sicily as his mistress for a night by Jaime II of Aragon in the 1280s, she was brought to him 'wearing a tunic of emerald green, with on her head a head-dress [*quelipa*] of carnation colour with gold in the Calabrian fashion, a girdle of silver-mounted stuff [*camuzzus*] which had belonged to her father and with her hair bound up in the Latin fashion'. We have references from the second quarter of the fourteenth century to Catalan dress, and to its influence on the costume and costume accessories of Rome. But, although we know that these regional styles existed, regrettably few are mentioned, much less described. Still we know that in jewellery they ranged from the wearing of certain ornaments that had fallen out of fashion elsewhere, as with the earring, which continued highly popular in mediaeval Spain and in South Italy and Sicily, to jewels characteristic in design for some reason or another of a certain region, like the chaplets of the fashion of Provence owned by Robert the Wise of Naples in 1316. But, if a fashion became universal, it modified local idiosyncrasy. Thus jewels with motifs of initial letters or personal devices were worn throughout Europe in the fourteenth century, forming an international visual language. There was probably some variation too at different social levels, most of all perhaps between the court and those beneath the court.[12]

The duration of fashions in jewellery was short, and especially so in the fashion-conscious fourteenth century. Writing between 1348 and 1352 'On avoiding excess of ornament in women',

Canon Konrad von Megenberg (1309–74) of Regensburg declares 'Metals subtly wrought have only a very short life of praise, for, after they have enjoyed a covert reverence, immediately they are ridiculed with open and lasting derision'. We have a significant description from the early 1390s of the extreme mobility of fashion in the later fourteenth century, when there was a wish to surprise the eye by abrupt changes in modes, and as we shall see by dazzling richness of ornament. We owe it to the much travelled Florentine merchant and author Franco Sacchetti (*c.*1332–1400) who was struck not only by the extremes of change he had witnessed in fashions and ornaments, but by the trend to uniformity which had succeeded the regional diversity of his younger days.

O how many fashions have been altered in my own time though the inconsistency of the living, and especially in my own city of Florence. What a sight it was to see the women formerly with the necks of their dresses so low at the neck that they showed even more than the armpits. Then they gave a jump, and had collars that rose up to the ears; and all of them are fashions that are beyond the mean. I the writer of these lines could not describe, even if I wrote as much again as this volume contains, all the changes of fashion there have been in my own day. Yet however often they changed in our own city, this did not mean that they altered in most of the other cities of the world, for the Genoese had never changed their own costume, nor the Venetians theirs, not the Catalans either, and this was also true of their womenfolk. But today it seems to me that everywhere men are at one in inconstancy; inasmuch as the men and women of Florence, the Genoese, Venetians, Catalans and all Christendom are dressed after one fashion, so that you cannot tell one from another. Would to God that they would abide by this, but quite the contrary, if a fool appears with a new fashion, everyone copies it. So that everywhere, but especially Italy is mutable and swift to take the new fashions.[13]

So much said and with all due reserves, we can isolate something of the history of the design and technique of jewellery in the Middle Ages, by concentrating on those elements that were or became part of a general vocabulary of style throughout Europe. As jewels were the work of goldsmiths, abundant use was made in them of the goldsmith's techniques of gem-setting, filigree, niello, enamel, engraving, casting, embossing and stamping which were common to them and to goldsmiths' work in secular and ecclesiastical plate. Much of the repertory of ornament was also common to jewels and plate. Some jewels were composed primarily of precious stones, though the framework and setting of such jewels was never quite so completely subordinated to the display of the stones as it has been in the comparable jewellery of modern times. Especially frequent was the cluster brooch, with one large stone or cameo encircled by a number of smaller ones. In jewels of this kind the setting was of precious metal, but served as a ground and frame and was of secondary importance. Other jewels – for instance most girdle

mounts and many ring brooches – were entirely of metal and for their richness of effect depended entirely on the decorative techniques of the goldsmith. Then there were those jewels which mingled these two types, combining worked metal and precious stones for additional richness. Few mediaeval jewels composed primarily of precious stones survive, since they were destroyed or re-set with the same thoroughness as in later ages. Beautiful as many of them must have been, the survivors of those made entirely in metal or in a mingling of precious metal and precious stones perhaps tell us most clearly about the hopes, aspirations, and fears and affections of their mediaeval wearers.

In the evolution of its design jewellery was profoundly influenced by the major changes of style in the Middle Ages which it reflects in its own miniature guise. As in other kinds of goldsmiths' work the taste of the early Middle Ages was for heavy forms with great richness and three-dimensional complexity of surface, obtained by the use of stylised animal motifs, applied foliage and filigree, with cloisonné enamels and cabochon gems set in high collets or claw-settings forming at once patterns of colour and accents of culmination. The rigid majesty of ordonnance of this style, which in its later expression we may call Romanesque, was displaced during the thirteenth century by the new aesthetic of Gothic art. Although it cannot now be shown when or where Gothic design was first applied to jewels, probability, as we have just seen, favours the workshops of Paris at some date during the early decades of the thirteenth century. It was in Paris and about this time that the design of church plate was first completely transposed into a full Gothic style and it is likely that the innovating impulse found contemporary expression in other forms of art. Once the new style had been introduced it spread quickly to Italy, Germany, England and Spain and to Northern and Eastern Europe too.

Gothic design lays stress on lightness and elegance rather than richness and weight and prefers to use fewer enrichments, more lightly articulated, so as to emphasise pattern and line. If this was the underlying spirit of Gothic design, its characteristic stylistic expression in jewellery, as in the other mediaeval decorative arts, was its preference for pointed, as opposed to rounded forms, though the circle was never ousted as a fundamental element from the design of jewels such as the ring brooch or cluster brooch. This emphasis on angular forms eventually affected even the collets in which stones were set, the ovals and roundels of earlier periods being replaced by angled collets – usually hexagonal – which are miniature Gothic forms. These seem to have attained their most pronounced form in the fourteenth century. The collets on the Pala d'Oro of Venice, dating from 1342–5, are large and bold with four steeply sloping sides, shaped as triangles or rather perhaps as trapezoids. As in the other arts, the inspiration here came from architecture and especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find much use of forms and motifs derived from Gothic architecture. Gothic ornament was also adapted to

jewellery: so the lozenge, one of the style's favourite ornaments, becomes a form frequently found in jewellery. So far as we can tell from our very limited information, early mediaeval jewellery, which was much influenced by Byzantium, seems to have made considerable use of cloisonné enamel, usually in the form of stylised ornament rather than of figurated motifs. Enamels of this kind, decorative or figurated, sometimes replaced stones as the central feature of brooches: in Chrétien de Troyes' romance of *Li Contes del Graal*, written *c*.1180, Gawain sees goldsmiths in the town before the castle of the King of Escavallon making 'jewels worked with enamels'. During the thirteenth century, when taste was of notably graceful sobriety and sophistication, there seems also to have been a marked liking for the bold, elegant simplicity of niello. Enamel continued to be used in the form of the purely decorative cloisonné enamels with floral motifs on a transparent green ground which seems to have been a speciality of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris, or else of champlevé enamels with their severe, strong matt colours for small heraldic or ornamental motifs.[14]

Much thirteenth-century jewellery was naturally transitional in feeling, simplifying and articulating more clearly the elements of the earlier style, but retaining its high collets and some of its rich ornament, more especially filigree. An example of a Transitional jewel from the Rhineland, where the late Romanesque style kept a powerful hold well into the first half of the thirteenth century, is a brooch from the Colmar Treasure where the massive forms of a cross superimposed on a square begin to receive a Gothic angularity, and are decorated with scrolling filigree stems of Romanesque richness, but largely Gothic lightness and elegance. In true early Gothic jewellery the three-dimensional surfaces of earlier jewellery with their patterns of stones on a rich depth of filigree disappear, since in early Gothic design the definition of a geometrical form and the imposition of a geometrical pattern are paramount principles. Rich filigree scroll-work loses its importance as a major decorative technique by the end of the thirteenth century, and its place is taken by single motifs of stems and foliage which, whether stylised, as in early Gothic, or treated with a coiling, three-dimensional verisimilitude as in late Gothic, dominate the ornamental vocabulary of jewellery. Filigree, a speciality of Venice, was used there either by itself or in a special type of enamelling, in which the filigree forms the outlines of enamelled motifs. From Venice this last technique spread to Hungary where it became very popular. There are occasional records elsewhere of the use of filigree as an independent, rather than decorative technique: thus Daniel de Bonte, a court goldsmith to King Charles of Navarre from *c*.1406 to *c*.1429, executed for him a device 'made of interwoven silver [*fecha en tecido de plata*]'.

Stones and pearls and other motifs are now isolated on or against plain surfaces, and for the three-dimensional complexity of Ottonian and Romanesque art are substituted designs in which at most a contrast of two planes is sought by raising gems, pearls and figurated motifs above a flat ground. Sometimes

a tiny stone was set on another stone: in 1328 Queen Clémence de Hongrie left 'a garnet set on another stone, in a little hollow [*cuve*]'. Pearls were frequently set on metal prongs, with pin-heads. These last were sometimes given an ornamental form, and sometimes the head of the pin is set with a tiny stone – a technique found in fourteenth-century France and in the Angevin kingdom of Naples.[15]

Pearls were very often used in clusters, either of pearls alone, or else of pearls arranged around another stone, when the prongs have multiple heads. Stones continue to be raised in collets or claw settings. The ground, when decorated, is decorated in techniques – engraving, niello, enamel – that enhance its surface without modelling it deeply. The figural elements of early Gothic jewellery tend still to be stylised; later moreover they were etherealised by the delicate transparent colours of the new technique of *basse-taille* enamelling, which swiftly attained to a general popularity in jewellery as well as in goldsmiths' work proper shortly after its invention *c.*1290 – probably in Siena. It was to remain a favourite decorative technique, especially in Italy.

The first serious modification of this aesthetic of rigidly clear outline, of rigidly clear patterning combined with isolated motifs and stones and pearls used singly or in clusters seems to have occurred in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, under the impulse of the new naturalism that now begins to modify the formal rigidity of Gothic art. The taste for a fretted and crocketed outline which appears in later phases of Gothic art is expressed in jewellery by setting single stones or pearls on prongs around the edges of the form (see pl.37). This device, in use by the middle of the century, will become increasingly general. Figural motif and setting are integrated into a tableau-like effect, organic natural forms, notably the lopped tree-trunk, begin to be used as frames or as ornamental motifs, and vigour of design is replaced by romantic elegance. This loosening of formality into a soft, gay naturalism was the impulse of style which led to the popularity in Paris from the 1360s of the first painterly technique in enamelling, *émail en ronde bosse*. In this small figures in gold are wholly or partly coated with enamel, white and blue being favourite colours.

In the earlier fifteenth century naturalism becomes bolder and more pronounced, especially in Germany, where Late Gothic motifs were interpreted with a wild freedom and a linear inventiveness that have no parallel in France. German goldsmiths carried this idiosyncratic style to Spain and Venice, and naturally it was highly influential in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. In non-figurated jewels there was a tendency to mass the stones and pearls in tight juxtaposition, so reducing the importance of the setting. The first years of the century saw the invention of the most painterly and illusionistic of enamelling techniques, painted enamel, in which the goldsmith emulates the illuminator of miniatures. Unlike *émail en ronde bosse*, however, painted enamel seems never to have become a favourite technique for jewellery in the fifteenth century, though it was very

occasionally used in the Netherlands, where it was, if not invented, then certainly developed. The Victoria and Albert Museum's small painted enamel plaque of the Crucifixion executed in Flanders *c.*1430, perhaps once the central panel of a devotional triptych, is a very great rarity (cat.92, pl.152). Probably the resistance to painted enamels was because the original restricted palette and low key of the technique made it no rival to the brilliant whites and blues of *émail en ronde bosse* or to the rich translucent red of *rouge cler*, a colour which appears to have been invented by French goldsmiths in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century and to have spread from France to the rest of Europe. Its French origin is confirmed by the names given to it in fifteenth-century English – *rouseclare* – and fifteenth-century Spanish – *rosicler*. This rapid evolution of techniques is significant of the decorative importance of enamelling during the later Middle Ages; a brightly coloured object always gave pleasure to the eyes and rejoicing to the heart of mediaeval man. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, we notice the growth of a taste for enamelling in black, corresponding rather to the similar taste for niello in fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy. Black enamel was perhaps especially favoured for devotional jewellery; certainly Tudor devotional jewels, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum's gold paternoster (cat.81, pls.144, 144a, b) or the Norwich gold tau cross (pl.64), are enamelled black. And documents suggest that black was also fashionable in France.

Fashion then had real meaning during the Middle Ages, even if it did not always change as swiftly as in later times. There was a clear consciousness of modernity of style: in 1313 a brooch belonging to Edward II of England is listed as being 'of old workmanship'.[16] About major alterations in the types of princely and aristocratic jewellery worn at different periods we are reasonably clear. Bourgeois jewellery in most respects either followed aristocratic and princely fashions or was a simplified version of them; it is discussed in the last chapter of the book. During the early Middle Ages, apart from rings, the most usual jewel of great personages was probably a large brooch either in the form of an ornament on the breast or of a clasp at the neck of the robe or of a fastening for the cloak. The brooch was supplemented, at any rate from the late twelfth century and probably earlier, by a richly mounted girdle or belt. We do not know precisely when coronals began to be worn by great lords and ladies as well as by persons of princely or royal rank, though this also seems to have been well before the end of the twelfth century. They are preceded as a head ornament by the chaplet or simple circlet. Under Byzantine influence, necklaces and earrings of great splendour were worn in the West, especially at the Imperial court in Germany and at the Norman court of Sicily.

The waning of the influence of Byzantine modes at the end of the twelfth century led to the disappearance for a time of the necklace, earrings and bracelets from most of Western Europe, at any rate as significant ornaments at court and in high

seigneurial life. The parure of the great in the thirteenth century was essentially a coronal, chaplet or circlet, a large brooch, and a richly mounted belt or girdle, and together with rings these were to remain the primary items of jewellery until the late fourteenth century. Thus the private jewels of Edward I of England, the special ones among them kept in an ivory box which was locked and sealed, consisted in 1299 only of rings, brooches, a pendant of gold set with a sapphire, a few loose precious stones and girdles. There was besides a brooch of gold set with a small ruby and with tiny garnets which he is said to have worn regularly. Again, when Jean II, Duke of Brittany, died in 1306, his personal jewels consisted of a chaplet of gold and precious stones, a cameo mounted in gold and with gems 'on both sides' (presumably for use as a brooch), three plain gold brooches (probably ring brooches), a small gold brooch and another gold brooch both set with precious stones, a big gold brooch set with large pearls, two Agnus Dei medallions, three girdles, one with mounts of gold, the other two of silver and a large number of rings. The same relative sparseness appears in the jewellery of King Heinrich of Bohemia, as revealed by the inventory of his treasury taken in 1335 after his death. A good large gold crown set with precious stones was plainly the most important of his ornaments, though it was at the moment pawned for 20 marks to Dom Conrad, the parish priest of Flaurlingen. Next in importance was a gold brooch set with precious stones. Seventeen small gold brooches set with pearls were perhaps really the equivalent of buttons, and thirty eagles and lions of silver-gilt were probably dress ornaments. Heinrich also had an Agnus Dei, two small pendant crosses, a silver-mounted girdle, a pomander mounted in silver, three paternosters, a gold pin and a silver-gilt falcon, presumably some sort of brooch. He also had thirty-two rings, both large and small, and eighteen stones for rings, also both large and small.[17]

Of the jewels of an early fourteenth-century queen, not of the front rank, we perhaps get some notion from those mentioned in the will made in 1327 by St Isabel of Portugal. She had a crown or coronal of emeralds, another of large balas-rubies 'which are set rose-fashion', and a third set with yellow sapphires. She also had a small coronal, no doubt for more ordinary wear, which 'has pierced stones' – perhaps these were set on prongs or some other form of support along the upper rim of the coronal. Grander perhaps even than these was a gold crown, which contained relics set under jasper. Hanging from a gold chain she had a crystal reliquary pendant with relics of St Bartholomew – crystal was a favourite container for reliquaries, both large and small, in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, since it combined preciousness with transparency. She also had a round brooch and a reliquary cross of a piece of the True Cross 'set in three pierced stones of sapphire', and *teixees* – cloak clasps – in the form of eagles and peacocks (*paaos*), the latter set with stones.[18]

Sometimes these royal jewels were bought *en suite*. In 1307,

for example, King Philippe le Bel bought from his court goldsmith Eudes Qualom a crown, a gold chaplet matching the crown, a *tresson* or hair-band, a gold girdle, and a fleur-de-lis set with sapphires, the whole forming a complete parure of jewellery for a French queen or princess. The jewels taken from Countess Yolande of Bar, granddaughter of Count Robert of Flanders, as she was passing near Laon in Vermandois on Monday, 7 March 1362, give some impression of the sumptuous jewels of a very great lady of mid-fourteenth-century France – of one, moreover, who seems to have had a great taste for jewellery. Among her dresses were some articles of finery that count as jewelled costume – a horned head-dress embroidered with pearls 'as large as peas', another on which single large pearls alternated with four small pearls, a hat or chaplet of red velvet worked with a vine pattern in large pearls, another chaplet or coif of threaded pearls, some as large as beans, and a chaplet embroidered with pearls. Several of her dresses were embroidered or otherwise decorated with pearls. She had a gold cloak clasp set with pearls and sapphires, a number of small gold brooches, one set with a ruby in the centre and with two large pearls and two small diamonds, three with pearls and rubies, three with pearls and sapphires. She had a little pendant cross set with four pearls and three rubies, a box of cypress wood containing a set of paternosters of fifty large pearls, separated by six sapphires as marker beads, and a pendant hanging from it of a cameo set in gold and a jewelled brooch for fastening it to the person. She also had many gold rings, some set with rubies, diamonds and an emerald, including one set with a great engraved sapphire, a pomander or musk-ball called a *pomme de muglias* mounted with a circular band of pearls, and a store of eighteen balas-rubies, 'some pierced and some for piercing', of three sapphires and thirteen strings of large pearls. It is not surprising to learn that Yolande also had a rich toilet set to aid her in arraying herself – a mirror of enamelled silver, three combs and a hairpin of ivory and a pincushion full of big gold pins.[19]

Men's jewels always remained fewer and simpler. Even in 1364, after fifty years of increasing luxury, the jewels of King Jean le Bon of France, if we exclude his many rings, were still comparatively simple, though more numerous than those of Edward I. Four of his brooches were set with precious stones, one with a ruby encircled by six small emeralds, the other with a sapphire cut to resemble a shield and four pearls, a third with a balas-ruby in the centre, encircled by three large pearls and three diamonds, and a fourth of a diamond encircled by three sapphires and two balas-rubies. One of his two great ceremonial brooches was set with a cameo encircled by fleur-de-lis. Less important were a small enamelled gold brooch set with four pearls and three diamonds and a brooch that was simply enamelled. A gold chain with a signet ring suspended from it and another given to him by his host King Edward III, which had a diamond ring as well as a signet, were for wear round the neck, as were a small pendant of an unmounted sapphire, a gold cross, a silver *Agnus Dei* medallion and two silver reliquary

Fig. 9 Unknown German Prince, anonymous. Oil on panel.
German, c.1490–1500. Illustration from Buchner, 1953, pl.194.
Untraced, formerly private collection, London

pendants, one enamelled with 'the Virgin and God the Father', the other set with two balas-rubies in the middle and with pearls. A gold reliquary pendant was also enamelled with the Virgin and God the Father. Presumably both pendants represented the Coronation of the Virgin. For his waist he had five gold-mounted girdles. The most important of his jewels, a great gold chaplet, had been bought 'lately' in London, where the king was a visitor or, rather, a self-constituted prisoner. Finally he had two paternosters of 'bad gold' and others of amber and knotted silk.[20]

These seem to have been Jean's personal jewels, largely brought with him in the exceptional circumstances of his captivity. His ceremonial jewels, coronal, state brooch, state girdle, would of course have been much more splendid. In the 1360s Jean, Count of Armagnac, in Southern France, had a gold circlet set with rubies, sapphires and emeralds, a large gold brooch set with eleven rubies and a gold girdle garnished with pearls, which were clearly for ceremonial wear. In the third quarter of the fourteenth century the collar and decorative chain appear and eventually begin to rival the brooch in importance, though the brooch was never entirely displaced as an important ornament,

even by the increasingly prominent pendant. At the end of the century the bracelet begins to be worn. During the fifteenth century the circlet, chaplet and coronal lose their old importance; they are now more and more confined to weddings, making way in the case of women for elaborate forms of head-dress and in the case of men for the hat. We probably get a fair idea of the jewels of a semi-royal Castilian lady of the early fifteenth century from the list which Doña Juana Sarmiento, Condesa de Medinaceli, drew up in 1429 at the instance of her husband Don Luis de la Cerda. She had two gold coifs and two coifs of dark silk 'serrated in the Aragonese fashion' and ornamented with silver, unas fuelles (a bellows-shaped brooch?) of gold, set with a large balas-ruby, a large emerald and three pearls, a gold cloak clasp set with a large balas-ruby, a large diamond and a large pearl, a set of 399 gold beads, almost certainly for wear as a long bead necklace of a type peculiar to Spain at this date, a gold collar set with ten rubies and ten pearls of price, a girdle whose riband was old and worn, but which was mounted with gold, and a girdle of dark leather with a gold tag at one end and a gold buckle at the other from which hung little silver-handled knives.[21]

In the Middle Ages, as now, some changes of fashion in jewellery were certainly prompted or influenced by changes in costume, though not so much by alterations in the style of dress as by its comparative simplicity or richness. Thus it was during the very fashion-conscious fourteenth century, with its new peacock sense of display, both of the body and of the stuffs that clothed the body, expressed in the appearance of close-fitting garments of rich materials, elaborately cut and tailored, that the collar and chain, those significantly large and magnificent neck-jewels, eventually became dominant ornaments. And the increased dignity of the hat from c.1340–50 onwards led to the vogue of the jewelled plume and hat-badge.

The collar and the girdle were the dominant women's jewels of the fifteenth century. In 1467 the Burgundian chronicler Jacques du Clercq, writing of costume in the Netherlands, says that ladies now wear broad silk girdles of some four or five thumbs' breadth, with mounts of silver-gilt that might weigh five, six, or even eight ounces of silver, and broad gold collars 'of divers fashions' round their necks. The typical male jewels of the late fifteenth century are best shown in a German portrait of a boy-prince, painted c.1490–1500 (fig.9). On his head he wears a garland, with a pendant jewel hanging down his hair – a German and Austrian fashion, not a general one throughout Europe. On the left is a jewelled agraffe, on the right a circlet and a jewelled cross pendant hanging from a lace with a tuft at the end. The portrait of an older prince would of course have shown one important article of jewellery not worn by so young a boy – a collar of device or of a chivalric order. Nor does he wear a chain, though this had become a symbol of gentility in the second half of the century, perhaps indeed because a chain signalised gentility or lesser nobility, rather than very high rank.[22]

# 5 'JEWELLERS', JEWELLERY DESIGN AND THE RETAIL TRADE

In the Middle Ages jewels of precious metal were the work of goldsmiths, not of specialist jewellers. The *joailliers* who appear in early documents were it seems not working jewellers but mercers, who sold jewellery and precious goods in general. Indeed the Latin word *jocalia* (French, *joyaux*) signified in its widest sense a treasure of precious goods of all kinds and was used of textiles and textile ornaments decorated with pearls and jewels, as well as of jewels and plate, though it gradually came to acquire the more restricted meaning in which we use its derivative today. This narrowing of sense probably took place in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. In a case heard in the Aragonese courts in 1438 it was debated whether the dresses of a testatrix were included in a bequest of her jewels (*jocalia*). Before giving judgment, the judge consulted a number of ladies on the question and in accordance with their opinion gave sentence that dresses were not included under jewels.[1]

Only towards the end of the fourteenth century do we find goldsmiths so specialised in the making of jewellery that they are termed jewellers. The making of jewels had its own special requirements. Besides mastering the art of designing and making beautifully worked mounts, using a variety of techniques – casting, stamping, engraving, filigree, niello-work and enamel – the mediaeval goldsmith had to have an eye for the quality of stones and for the best means of polishing or cutting and setting them so as to enhance their beauty. The thirteenth-century Florentine poet Dino Compagni (1246–1324) declares:

> If a goldsmith wants to be in good estimation he must have a subtle knowledge of gold and silver and stones, and be aware of their current value. His worth lies in finished workmanship befitting the shape and standard of what he is making. He may use gold or silver or copper, and must study fine design and engraving and the mounting of stones so that they make a fair show in rings. Let him follow his course in all honesty and fair-dealing, and let him never pass off glass as fair pearl, for the worth of his art does not lie in the hammer alone.[2]

Very obscure is the question of how jewels were designed. We have a few testimonies to the intervention of patrons in the design of special jewels, but little evidence as to how more ordinary jewels were devised. The few surviving inventories of mediaeval goldsmiths' shops make no obvious mention of the lead patterns that were part of the stock of the Renaissance

Fig. 10 Die. Bronze. Height 18cm, width 10cm. Scandinavian, mid to late fourteenth century. Vestfold Fylkesmuseum, Tønsberg, Norway

Fig. 11 Reverse

Fig. 12 Die. Bronze. Height 13.5cm, width 5cm. Hungarian, fourteenth century. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest

goldsmith and of which examples still survive in the Amerbach Collection in the Historisches Museum, Basle, even though it is a fair surmise that these existed in the fifteenth century. Indeed we have only one reference to designs and patterns at all, in the inventory of the shop of the Dijon goldsmith Thomassin de Béthisy taken in 1453, which mentions a coffer in his workshop containing 'burnishers, patterns [*patrons*], designs [*pourtraicteurs*], enamel and other little things serving for goldsmith's work'. As almost the entirety of Thomassin's stock was of jewels of various kinds, it is a fair surmise that these patterns – in fact probably models, as opposed to drawings and designs – were for jewellery, rather than for plate, which was in relatively small demand in the French provinces during the fifteenth century. A few stone moulds for making girdle mounts and dress ornaments (figs.10, 11, 12) survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, notably in Norway, Sweden and Hungary and there is one of Scottish or Irish origin in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The use of such stone moulds is known to have been widespread in the making of pilgrim badges, and it is probable that it was general too for the making of cheaper jewellery.[3]

There is some evidence from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that specialised parts of a jewel were on occasions executed by different goldsmiths. Juan Garvain the Younger, a court goldsmith of Navarre, was commissioned in the 1390s by King Charles the Noble to make a gold collar of his device of chestnut trees and leaves, and of his motto *bona fe*. As executed, the collar was composed of thirteen large leaves and thirteen small trees with tiny leaves. The trees and leaves were made by the goldsmiths Anton and Juan Bordin, and the motto was engraved on the large leaves by the goldsmiths Juan Bonsau and Colin de Lyz. Colin also seems often to have come to Garvain's assistance when enamelling was required. A case of the use of false stones from 1438–9 reveals a similar division of labour at the commercial level in mid-fifteenth-century Paris. A goldsmith named Guillaume de Laire was discovered to have in his possession certain false stones, viz a large and a small doublet made to look like rubies, two sapphires which Guillaume had foiled or tinctured as thickly as diamonds when setting them in two gold rings, and a gold collet in which Guillaume intended to set the large doublet. This in turn was to be mounted on a gold bear, which was then in the hands of Jehan Chevalier, an enameller, presumably for enamelling. On examination Guillaume admitted that a merchant named Jehan Desbonnes had given him these false stones and also the gold to make the bear and the rings. The bear itself had been fashioned by yet another craftsman, named Anthoine de Brezy. Here we have a situation in which a merchant, either personally or as an agent, commissions jewels from a goldsmith and gives him the necessary gold and stones. The goldsmith farms out the fashioning and enamelling of the most elaborate piece to specialist workmen, who work it, after which he himself will set it with a collet containing what purports to be a ruby.[4]

These documents provide one of our few glimpses into the interior of a mediaeval workshop, and reveal situations familiar from much later times. On the one hand we have the commissioning of a work from a goldsmith who, far from executing the work himself, farms out significant parts of it to specialist craftsmen. On the other, we have goldsmiths, probably in a small way of business, who work partly or entirely wholesale, making jewels – most probably largely rings and small brooches – for sale to other goldsmiths and to mercers, all probably in a larger and more prosperous way of business. There survives one record from 1429 of just such a Paris goldsmith almost certainly specialising in such small cheap jewels. On 12 December that year Pierre Bienvenue was summoned before the Paris guild to give an account of why twelve little gold rings he had made were of gold inferior to the touch of Paris. His answers reveal something of the situation of the goldsmith who was really a maker of petty articles for re-sale to other tradesmen, rather than a goldsmith selling directly to the public. It appeared that contrary to all the guild regulations he had not been given the usual caution on starting up in the craft, had never taken out a mark, and had worked away with no one guaranteeing his skill. By his own account he had nevertheless been twenty-four years a goldsmith, and was a good and honest workman. As he never did anything but small work, i.e. rings and jewels, he claimed that he had never needed a punch with a mark, for such wares could not really be marked – a statement in complete accord with the legislation of the day, which tended to exempt jewels from marking because of the small amount of metal used in them. Pierre was told to obtain a punch, and he presumably continued in his modest, if irregular, career.[5]

With goldsmiths who had their own workshops it was not necessarily the master who did the real work. In small shops, where the master perhaps had only one or two apprentices and journeymen, no doubt he undertook part of the actual work in company with his men. But in great shops, where there might be as many as six workmen or more, this was probably not quite so much the case. In one of the stories in Antoine de la Salle's *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (1432) the house of a Paris goldsmith is so full of workmen that a carter cannot be given a bed for the night. Only in two or three of the known French documents, the fullest and best published of all, is the veil of anonymity that conceals the contribution of such workmen lifted. One occasion was in June 1367, when Philippe the Bold of Burgundy gave drink money to 'several workmen goldsmiths [*valles orfevres*] dwelling in the house of Vinant of Cologne, at Paris, for wine for a gold girdle they made for my lord which he had at this feast of Pentecost'. The payment for the gold and fashion of the girdle was of course made to the master goldsmith, Vinant. Another is in 1478 when René of Anjou made a gift of three florins to the six workmen (*compagnons*) of the goldsmith Margery of Avignon, who had made five badges for his minstrels. Again the payment was made to the master goldsmith. On pressing occasions a master goldsmith might hire additional hands: in 1378, when Duke Philippe was about to pawn plate and jewels in the city of Bruges, he had them hastily refurbished by his

court goldsmith Josset de Halle, who had to hire four extra workmen and lodge them in his house and pay them 3 *gros* a day for twenty-seven days to get the work finished in time 'notwithstanding the workmen the said Josset already had'.[6]

Jewellery – most of all in the form of rings – was made by goldsmiths in most mediaeval towns, but the only two smaller places now known to us where it was a speciality of production were Le Puy in Velay (Auvergne) and Ragusa on the Adriatic. At Le Puy the existence of a supply of low-quality gem-stones and of a great pilgrimage church seems to have stimulated the making of rings, trinkets and other kinds of jewellery, both for local sale and for consignment to the shops and fairs of Paris, Châlons, Dijon and elsewhere. In the Middle Ages the streets leading to the cathedral were lined with the stalls of goldsmiths, anxious to attract the custom of pilgrims, and each paying a rent of pepper to the bishop for the right to hold his stall. As regards gem-stones Le Puy had its own mine of inferior sapphires, as we have already seen, and also a supply of garnets and other semi-precious stones, largely gathered from rivers. Indeed an inscription on the cathedral, now lost but recorded in the seventeenth century, declared 'As precious stones flow in abundance in India, so do they in Velay, and their virtue is approved'. And certainly the sapphires of Le Puy are cited in a French verse lapidary of the second quarter of the thirteenth century, even if only as being 'held by folk as of less price' than the darker sapphires of Turkey. They never lost this reputation for inferiority: the inventory of Cardinal d'Estouteville lists in 1482 'cheap sapphires of Le Puy'. Le Puy also had a supply of river-pearls from the fresh-water mussels of the rivers Ance and Virlange.[7]

Guillaume Rousseau of Le Puy was already supplying Philippe-Auguste of France with precious stones in 1206. And already in 1266 Eudes, Count of Nevers, died in the Holy Land possessed of 'twelve little rings of Le Puy'. Rings indeed were the principal articles of jewellery made at Le Puy, though from the statutes granted in 1367 by Charles V to the goldsmiths of the town and other documents it appears that they also made other jewels, paternosters, garlands and some plate. The trade seems to have been organised, at least in part, by merchants, who commissioned wares from working goldsmiths. In 1369, for instance, Jean Toussaint of Paris and Pierre Durgiat of Tiranges dissolved a long-standing partnership for dealing in goldsmiths' work and other goods. Such merchants carried jewels to sell at fairs and to individuals. Some went regularly in the second half of the fourteenth century to the fair of Châlon-sur-Saône. A document mentions 'ring-makers of Le Puy' and 'sellers of rings of Le Puy, of brooches [*taiches*] and paternosters' as attending the fair in 1353. Among later 'sellers of rings and engravers of seals' frequenting it are mentioned Antoine Boyer of Le Puy (1368), Jehan Flandy (1370) and Barthélemy Menade (1377). Sometimes the clients of such merchants might be more exalted: in 1376, for instance, Antoine Banniet, 'merchant of Le Puy', sold a sapphire to Duke Philippe of Burgundy.[8] We have one of the contracts made by merchants of Le Puy with working goldsmiths

to produce the articles in which they dealt. In 1386 three of them, who were in partnership to deal in goldsmiths' work and precious stones, lent Vidal Solvaing and his wife Cathérine, goldsmiths of the town, 88 deniers d'or, equivalent to 88 gold francs. In return the Solvaings were to deliver to the partnership at the end of every month half a mark's weight of rings, enamelled, engraved or otherwise decorated, made, says the contract most interestingly, according to the fashion of the time (*secundum cursum temporis factarum*). If the rings were to be set with pearls, these were to be supplied by the partners. From each ounce of gold the Solvaings were to make only eight to ten rings and no more; the fashion of these was valued at 7 francs, or at 35 if Vidal Solvaing supplied the gold, and they were to be credited with these sums until the loan was repaid. The Solvaings bound themselves to work on this basis for the partnership for two years, together with two journeymen.

In 1408 a town census showed that there were forty-nine goldsmiths settled in Le Puy, each owning a shop, and they had sufficient work to keep seven refiners of gold and silver occupied. Indeed when Charles VII forbade in 1456 the melting and refining of gold and silver in order to prevent a scarcity of coinage, he was forced to grant an exemption to the goldsmiths of Le Puy, who 'from ancient times had been used and permitted to buy from the *changeurs* of the town or other persons gold and silver, and refine it, whenever need arose, in order to convert and employ it in their trade and works'. The King was moved to grant this exemption by the importance of the craft in Le Puy 'which he desires may be kept up'.[9]

The jewels of Le Puy were usually unmarked, because of the poor grade of metal in which they were worked – a defect that as we saw attracted the notice of the wardens of the Paris goldsmiths' guild in 1389. And in 1443 the goldsmiths of Dijon enacted that 'in view of the great sale which the rings both in gold and in silver that are made at Le Puy in Auvergne have had in the past in this town' they would allow the goldsmiths, merchants, and mercers of Dijon to sell them 'provided that stones are set in those which are of gold, that these stones are fine and of value, and that the gold be good and up to the standard declared above in these statutes or at the very least enamelled with fine enamel. And, as regards the rings of silver, they should be good and again enamelled with fine enamel.' And indeed among the stock of Thomassin de Béthisy, a goldsmith of Dijon, in 1453 was a 'ring of hollow gold of the fashion of Le Puy, in which is a ruby of Alexandria' and another, also of hollow gold, set with a small turquoise. All these pointers suggest that Le Puy specialised in the manufacture of relatively cheap and showy jewellery. The town continued to be a market for jewels in the fifteenth century: the author of the *Quinze joyes de mariage* (*c.*1420) describes the pilgrimage which attracted such crowds to the town and tells of a husband whose wife gives him her girdle and paternosters so that he can touch the relics and the 'holy image of Our Lady' with them, amid much pushing and jostling. They have made the pilgrimage in fulfil-

ment of a vow for the gift of a son, but now the wife sees 'rich ladies and demoiselles and bourgeoises in their company buying paternosters of coral, jet or amber, ensigns [i.e. pilgrim badges] and other jewels' and has to have some too, though the couple are not rich. And its merchants continued to travel in quest of customers: we read of a Queen of Navarre sending in 1427 for a certain Bartholomé 'of Le Puy in France' to come from Aragon to be given certain commissions.[10]

The making of jewellery for export became an established craft in Le Puy because of the existence in the neighbourhood of stones and pearls, and because the confluence of pilgrims to the cathedral of Notre-Dame provided a ready market, which enterprising merchants extended all over France, the Netherlands and Spain and possibly further still.

The rise of a jewellery-making craft in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) on the Slavonic coast of the Adriatic, was connected with the opening during the later thirteenth century of silver mines in Serbia. These provided an important new source of raw silver; earlier supplies had come from the mines of Goslar, in North Germany, and those of Hungary, opened in the early thirteenth century. To these Serbian mines were added in the early fourteenth century new silver mines in Bosnia. Ragusa, then a mercantile republic under the suzerainty of Venice, opened a trade in silver coins with Venice but, when these dropped in value on the market in 1310, turned to the production of silver jewellery and plate as a means of utilising profitably the continuing flow of silver from Serbian mines. Goldsmiths were deliberately encouraged to settle in the town, and their number rose from about eight in the late 1270s to about sixty-six during the first half of the fourteenth century, forming a significant proportion of a city population that appears to have amounted to about 3000 to 4000 people in all. By 1327 the craft was so important that statutes were issued by the city government regulating the quality of silver and the price of work in silver-gilt and white silver. Much of the trade was handled by Venetian merchants, as well as by Ragusan merchants, who contracted for articles and sold them on the Venetian market. In typical contracts the merchant generally provided the goldsmith with the metal, and stipulated the articles to be made, the delivery date and the price. Later, Florentine merchants were also involved in the trade, though Venice remained the principal market.

It appears that jewellery far exceeded plate in importance among the productions of the Ragusan goldsmiths, a fact which comes as no surprise to the student of mediaeval goldsmiths' work, for this was the general pattern throughout Europe. Then as now many could and did acquire personal ornaments of precious metal, but only the great and the well-to-do could afford articles of plate. The peculiarity of Ragusan jewellery is that it appears to have been largely in silver – the only raw material in ready supply to the city. There seems to have been little gold – consequently we hear much more of silver-gilt than of gold jewellery, nor does there seem to have been any considerable supply of precious stones, though there are some references to pearls, the cheapest of mediaeval decorations with pretensions to value. Not surprisingly then the chief articles of jewellery manufactured in Ragusa were silver buttons and beads (*perle*) and silver mounts for girdles – as we shall see, a silver-mounted girdle was a relatively frequent costume accessory in the Middle Ages, worn by many men and by any bourgeoise with pretensions to standing, as well as by patrician and noble ladies, whereas girdles with mounts of gold and precious stones were the prerogative of the very great and of the vain and presumptuous.

Other articles manufactured were *cercelli* (earrings). At this date these were probably originally made for the Slavonic, rather than the Venetian market, as indeed the term *cercelli slavoneschi* used of some of them in documents would suggest. But after 1310 it appears they were sold outside the Balkans; Venetian merchants would of course have found a sale for them in the Greek lands of Romania and in South Italy and Sicily. There was also a great production of silver coronals, showing how general the wearing of such originally noble ornaments had become. The range of prices was wide, being conditioned by weight, workmanship and gilding, and clearly corresponding to wide differences of design and ornament. A plain silver coronal cost 2 ducats in 1348, a silver-gilt one 4 ducats in 1329, but more expensive coronals were also produced. Coronals were commoner than *frontali* or frontlets; documents mention frontlets composed of silver plaques, or decorated with pearls. All in all, however, silver girdle mounts probably exceeded in artistic importance anything else produced by the Ragusan goldsmiths, if only because they commanded the highest social range of customers – in 1385 King Stephen Dushan of Serbia ordered a weighty silver girdle. In addition there are records of single commissions for girdles, as well as bulk orders, suggesting some excellence of facture. Some were exceedingly costly, like one made in 1313 of silver thread, with mounts in relief, which weighed 11 lb and cost $71\frac{1}{2}$ ducats; others could be had for about 12 ducats. The probability is that Ragusan jewels, apart from such special types as Slavonic earrings, reflected the styles current in Venice, where so many of them found such a ready sale.[11]

The trade in jewellery and goldsmiths' work has so far been discussed in terms of the goldsmiths themselves and of the great itinerant merchants who bought jewels and took them from place to place to show them to great personages. The goldsmith's shop was of course the great place in which to buy jewels and we have a number of representations from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of such shops with customers choosing or making purchases. Examples are the famous picture by Petrus Christus of St Eligius (pl.2) in the Metropolitan Museum, which gives us a glimpse into a mid-fifteenth-century Flemish goldsmith's shop, and a miniature from a fifteenth-century Flemish manuscript in the collection of Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (pl.3), which shows a man and two ladies in a

goldsmith's shop pointing to jewels they would like to examine.

Part of the stock of jewels in such shops seems to have consisted of articles obtained from elsewhere – at fairs, from merchants, from goldsmiths working for sale to the trade – or bought second-hand or acquired as pledges. We can be certain that many goldsmiths' shops in the fifteenth-century Netherlands and the provinces of France had stocks of jewels – rings, small brooches and the like – from Paris and Le Puy, obtained from itinerant merchants. But equally other jewels were certainly made in the workshop – by the master goldsmith himself, and by his journeymen and apprentices. And goldsmiths also took their stock to sell at fairs. A fourteenth-century poem describing the wares sold at the Parisian fair of Lendit mentions silver jewels: 'Afterwards come the jewels of silver, which are goldsmith's work'. Indeed such was the pressure to get ready wares for such fairs in the Paris of the 1420s that a goldsmith might order cartloads of charcoal made from willow-wood 'to hasten on several works of his merchandise' against the fair of Lendit. Much of the jewellery sold at such fairs must in fact have been of the cheaper sort, for such silver jewels certainly were. We get some idea of the stock of cheap jewels that a merchant might sell at a French provincial fair from a list of articles stolen in 1375 by a thief from some merchants while they were lodging at an inn in Châlons during the *foire chaude* (warm-weather fair) held there from 24 September to 20 October. They comprised a little gold ring, of small value, two silver rings of writhen work (*entourses*), thirty small silver buttons, two brass rings, another ring set with a red stone, four pearls and some poor glass stones. At great French fairs, especially those held in Paris, important and costly jewels could be sold, at any rate in the later Middle Ages. The same situation prevailed in England. In 1372 the Goldsmiths' Company of London ordered its wardens to visit every year 'divers fairs for to make search and assay of divers things touching the craft of goldsmiths'. In fact the Company's ordinances forbade London goldsmiths to go to fairs to sell their work, but we know of two infringements of this rule which were detected and punished in 1369 and there were doubtless many that went undetected. The provision was renewed in 1420–1 under a stiff penalty of £10.[12]

The great competitors of the goldsmiths for the retail trade in certain kinds of jewellery were undoubtedly the mercers, a name comprehending all sorts of dealers in fineries, from the rich merchant to the small pedlar. This was because one of the principal traffics of the mercers was in stuffs, in articles of dress, in thread, in precious stones and seed-pearls for embroidery and in ribands, pins, combs and other costume accessories, of which jewellery was a natural extension. The thirteenth-century *Dit des Marchands* describes the great merchants of all countries coming to Paris to buy its mercers' wares, and says they well know how to enquire their way to rue Troussevache and rue Quincampoix, the two streets where the greatest and richest mercers were to be found, intermingled in the case of rue Quincampoix with goldsmiths' shops. Here they could buy,

according to Philippot, author of the poem, gold and silver spangles, silk girdles, purses 'and jewels of every sort', coifs and kerchiefs for the head, wimples, hair ribands, ivory knives, 'and many a rich and fine jewel, croziers for bishops, abbots and archbishops, crucifixes and figures of silver and carved ivory: I could never tell you all the jewels of silver and silk and of fine gold that are found there'. The *Dit du Mercier*, another thirteenth-century poem, pretends to be the sales-talk of a wandering pedlar, who tells of all the wares he carries in his heavy basket – he sells cases for jewels, pewter brooches for children, silk coifs, chaplets which in front are of gold braid, *chapels* of fine cloth decorated with little flowers and birds for youths to wear before their mistresses. He also sells cheap imitations of precious jewellery: 'I have little brooches of gilt brass', he says, 'and of silvered latten: and so fond are folk of latten that often it is valued as silver.' Besides these he can sell his customers 'fine ribands to fasten cloaks with great buttons of gold and silk, and many girdles, red and green, white and black with decorative metal mounts that sell very well at the fairs'. He has big brooches of brass, rings, baldrics and fair cloak clasps – he will give three for an egg, they are second-hand but only lately were quite new. For old women he also has something, paternosters. In exchange for his wares he will take not only eggs, but iron or pennies.

Reality corresponds to these verses. In 1305 Countess Mahaut of Artois paid a Parisian mercer for eighteen girdles, thirteen purses, seven chaplets, four hair ribands and a dozen rings, all intended for her daughter. The stock-in-trade of mercers was just as rich in the luxury-loving fourteenth century. A schoolmaster of Bruges, writing dialogues to teach French in the fourteenth century, says 'the mercers sell cloth of gold and silk, precious stones and pearls, and bonnets, pins and needles, coffers and writing-horns, awl-cases and punches, ink-horns and styluses, knives and sheaths, forks and forklets, coiffes and hangers, and straps and laces and silk for embroidery'. In 1375 just such a pedlar–mercer came to offer his wares in the palace of Poitiers to Jean de Berry's children; they and their servants bought girdles, gloves, paternosters, a mirror, a knife, a case or box. From Guillaume Barinier, a mercer of Lyons, René of Anjou bought in 1478 a whole assortment of articles, a set of cornelian paternosters, three strings of cornelian beads, twenty-eight chalcedony beads, a white ostrich feather and another ostrich feather, a curative stone, six small girdles of type known as *demi-ceints*, two with gold mounts, and two large girdles, one with gold mounts on a stuff of gold brocade, seven ivory combs and a little silver figure of St Christopher.[13]

Plainly the mercers must often have 'caused to be made' for their stock those articles of jewellery – and they were many in the Middle Ages, as we shall see – whose base was of textile, but whose decoration consisted of mounts of precious metal, plain or enamelled or sometimes, though more rarely, jewelled, and of embroidery in pearls and, again more rarely, in precious stones. The statutes of the Paris mercers of c.1258 and 1324

assume that they will commission, sell and buy silver-mounted and pearl-embroidered girdles, *tressons* (hair ribands) and chaplets. There can be no doubt that many goldsmiths worked for mercers, either directly or else indirectly through merchants who commissioned them to make rings and mounts for girdles and head ornaments which they subsequently sold to mercers. The charter granted in 1327 by Edward III to the London Goldsmiths' Company speaks darkly of

> many practising the goldsmiths' craft who keep their shops in dark lanes and obscure streets [and] make counterfeit articles of gold and silver such as coronals, brooches, rings and other jewels in which they set glass of different colours to imitate true stones, and put more alloy in the silver than they should do, selling their works to mercers and other people who have no knowledge of such things.

The ordinance of 1372 of the London Goldsmiths' Company ordering the wardens to visit fairs annually to inspect all the goldsmiths' work on sale there adds 'found as well in the hands of mercers or haberdashers as in goldsmiths' hands, and as well in fairs without towns as within towns'. It is plain that in the later fourteenth century the custom of retailers of various kinds was highly important to small goldsmiths, for in 1377 the poor goldsmiths of London complained to Parliament that the great goldsmiths of the city had endeavoured to compel 'the said poor goldsmiths not to work, buy or sell to any Mercer, Cutler, Jeweller, Upholder or any other denizen or foreigner anything of their workmanship except they sell it at treble the value, and that none of them should take any plate, girdle, or anything else of gold or silver to any Lord or Lady, or any other person to the end of their own profit'. The purpose of these restrictions seems to have been to keep the small goldsmiths working for the great goldsmiths, and to prevent them from making direct sales.[14]

The French mercers eventually divided France into eight or ten regions, including Paris, each controlled by a *roi des merciers* who employed paid deputies in all the more important towns of his own region. They came to exercise a strict authority because the members of the specialised crafts whose wares they sold were so dependent on their custom. There was already a *roi des merciers* in thirteenth-century Paris, but the history of the office has not been properly traced. The *rois des merciers* made it their business to protect and levy dues from itinerant merchants who were not members of their corporation, and eventually assumed to themselves the right of refusing to allow craftsmen to exercise their craft without obtaining *lettres de maîtrise* from the *roi des merciers*. These letters were only issued in return for the payment of certain dues and the *rois des merciers* also interfered in the workings of guilds, and usurped the right of inspection of the shops of guild members which properly belonged to the wardens of the guilds. In fifteenth-century Blois the *roi des merciers* had jurisdiction over 'all paternosters, of whatever sort', 'all rings of gold or silver of whatever sort' and 'all fine stones and other stones that are set'. Their powers seem to

have been weakest in Paris, and the English mercers were never able to gain a similar footing in England. The French mercers eventually appear to have divided themselves broadly into wholesale mercers, largely concerned with the importation of wares in gross, and retailers, who might range from the keepers of large shops to itinerant merchants and even what we might call pedlars. In the strictly regulated mercantile world of the Middle Ages, where the exercise of an art or craft was severely confined, at any rate in theory, though not so severely in fact in practice, to the members of a particular guild, mercers were allowed exceptionally to assemble freely a whole range and assortment of goods, both at home and in other countries, for sale in their native place.[15]

In Paris entry into the corporation of mercers was free to all who had sufficient capital and knowledge of the trade, though they could employ no more than two apprentices or two workwomen. They appear in the city as a corporation as early as 1137, when they had a location assigned to them in the Halles or market of the city in return for an annual payment of 5 sous. Their regulations, confirmed *c.*1260 by Etienne Boileau, reveal that they were already making and trafficking freely in those articles, like girdles and chaplets, which frequently combined textile ribands with a decoration of gold or silver mounts or pearls. In the embroidery of girdles, chaplets, head ribands (*tressoirs*) and purses the regulations forbid them to employ thread of gold or silver wrapped round silk and any metal mounts that are used on them must be of gold or silver. No gold of Lucca may be used to embroider girdles, chaplets, cloak fastenings or head ribands ornamented with fine pearls, but only fine gold or fine silk. Chaplets to be decorated with fine pearls must be woven of silk or the stuff called *fourin* (from *forain* = foreign?), as no other stuffs are good enough. Parchment and linen were not to be used to make chaplets, cloak fastenings, or hair-bands, and false pearls must not be used in combination with real pearls, or beads (*perles*) of any other metal than silver-gilt. No old girdle, circlet or chaplet might be covered with new silk, or given a decoration of pearls or silver 'inasmuch as an old thing must not be added to a new'. Hollow mounts of silver – presumably thin stamped mounts – or mounts of silver over iron were not to be employed – as we shall see in discussing girdles, the quality of girdle mounts of silver or gold was a constant preoccupation of mediaeval customers and mediaeval authorities.

In Paris jewellery and other luxury goods were so notable a speciality of the city that by 1323 they were on sale in a special market hall in the Halles des Champeaux, the ancestor of the modern Halles of Paris. Jean de Jandun, who wrote a Latin description of Paris in that year, calls the building 'the joyous dwelling-place of gaiety, which presents in the greatest heaps of pricelessly precious treasures, all and every sort of jewel. There if your means and will are sufficient, you may buy every sort of ornament that the skilfullest invention of design hastens to think up in order to satisfy the desires of your wants.' On

the stalls of the ground floor were heaped up a whole range of clothes, ranging from fine to finest in quality; elsewhere were piles of furs, indispensable for lining and trimming garments in the Middle Ages, and heaps of silk, also much used for trimmings, and other stuffs both rare and strange. On the floor above, where the stalls were arranged to look like one long street,

are displayed the special ornaments suitable to the various parts of the human body. For the head there are crowns, garlands and bonnets, ivory combs for the hair, mirrors for the eyes, girdles for the loins, purses for the sides, gloves for the hands, brooches for the breast and all the rest of such things, which the shortage of Latin names, rather than any defect of my visual knowledge compels me to pass by in silence. Yet, that all these innumerable splendours of refined bodies, whose infinite quantity of individual components is an obstacle to completing a profound and detailed description of them, may be touched on at least superficially, let me declare that in this market so many and such various ornaments for wedding celebrations and the great feasts of the year smile up into the eyes of those who walk through it, that when one side has been only half inspected, impulsive desire hurries you to the other, and even when you have been down the whole length, an insatiable desire of renewing your delight would make you repeat your inspections, if reason were to trust herself, not once or twice, but almost an infinite number of times, by going to the beginning again.

From this description clearly an important part of the traffic in jewellery was already in the hands of the mercers. By the late fourteenth century and certainly before 1396 the mercers had removed to a room of their own, in length some 80ft and long known as the Salle des Merciers, in the Palais Royal (the modern Palais de Justice). 'Here are sold divers jewels of gold, of silver, of precious stones' write Guillebert de Metz, in the description of Paris he compiled between 1407 and 1434. The Piedmontese poet Antonio da Asti (Astesan) is full of praise in 1451 for the rich stuffs to be seen there, 'nor is there wanting work in silver or more precious work in gold, or in copper or iron and every other metal. Here, along with furs and books, you will find precious stones, games of chess, dice, and dolls for little girls.'[16]

In Venice too the mercers sold jewellery and also dealt in rich stuffs and costume accessories, retailing in addition all sorts of other articles. They had their own special station in Piazza San Marco and Piazza San Polo, where they sold their goods. The first regulations of their *arte* or guild, issued in 1271, reveal them as engaged in the same sort of traffic in fine costume accessories – gloves, girdles, purses – as their colleagues in Paris. They also sold church vestments, crosses, banners, bandeaux and hats and head ribbons. The regulations gave them control of any leather-worker who wished to make certain goods which were normally the concern of the mercers – though gloves, purses, breeches, girdles and gloves were excepted from this rule. The mercers themselves seem to have had a fairly free hand, the

authorities contenting themselves with forbidding any mixture of real gold with false gold thread or inferior silk with better silk in making and embroidering purses, girdles or other works of silk.

Even at this early date many of the mercers of Venice were foreigners, attracted by the influx of goods and travellers to the city, and by its great wealth and, as in Paris, a number were certainly women. In order to control the quality of the goods sold, each mercer was rather strictly bound to keep the 'station' assigned to him, and the practice of peddling wares through the streets of the city was strictly forbidden, except on certain feast days. By 1300 the increase in luxury made it necessary to forbid the selling of gold and silver braidings counterfeited in tin. During the fifteenth century the number of mercers steadily increased, and the regulations of 1471 expressly declare that foreigners had been flooding into the city – Flemings, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians and other nations – and had begun making various articles of the mercers' trade. They list a whole stream of Northern goods flowing into the Fondaco dei Tedeschi which were to be sold exclusively by the mercers – including paternosters, girdles, brooches, garlands. Girdles indeed were so often sold by mercers that by this date the Venetian girdle-makers were one of the special divisions of the mercers' guild. We have little information about mercers from mediaeval Germany.[17]

There was also competition of other kinds. In Venice itinerant merchants wandered up and down by San Polo, selling 'pearls, buttons and jewels of gold and silver'. In mid-fourteenth-century Siena the goldsmiths accept in their statutes of 1361 that the city's bankers and silk merchants have in stock 'works of gold and silver, which they buy and sell'. Since some at least of the bankers were well aware of how to 'refresh' old works so that they looked like new, they resolved that every six months, on entry into office, the new Rector of the art should call the goldsmiths of the city together to decide if there was any need to take action about their doings. They also enacted that if anyone from inside or outside the city who was not a goldsmith opened a shop for wares of gold or silver – either new or old, refurbished, or refreshed – or if any silk merchant or person of another art had such merchandise in stock for sale, the goods they sold must be of the approved gold and silver standard. Brokering in second-hand goods was forbidden to the mercers of Paris by their regulations of 1324, which declared 'you cannot be a broker [*courtier*] of the merchandise in which you are a merchant'. By the early fifteenth century there certainly existed brokers in second-hand goldsmiths' work, at any rate in Paris, for in 1414 a certain Jehan Carré, described as a *courtier d'orfèvrerie*, was given 515 francs' worth of jewels by a Damoiselle Perrenette Garnelle to sell on her behalf. Of these 314 francs' worth were bought by Charles, Duke of Orléans. The ordinances of the goldsmiths of Barcelona in 1456 provide that all whose occupation was that of dealing in gold and silver should be subject to the jurisdiction of the wardens of the goldsmiths' guild, and

to prevent theft they were not allowed to melt down plate or jewels without the knowledge of the said wardens. Another regulation concerned a different class of dealers, the *corredores de encante* or second-hand dealers, who were inhibited from selling publicly or privately in Barcelona jewels and plate that were new, or else had been refurbished by giving fresh lustre to the gold, by burnishing or by whitening silver.[18]

Some goldsmiths, like those of London, tried on occasions to discourage the selling of goldsmiths' work except in the shops of goldsmiths. In 1355 those of Paris would allow no scrap dealers, pedlars or itinerant mercers to buy or sell work in gold or silver, the only exception being that they might buy them to sell as scrap metal. But even in London goldsmiths' work, especially jewellery, was sold in the shops of mercers and haberdashers, as was only natural, given the intimate association of jewellery and articles of costume. The goldsmiths of Paris stole a march over the mercers by claiming in the fourteenth century that all wares with mounts of gold or silver were goldsmiths' work and should not be liable to the tax farmer's imposition of 4 deniers per livre as articles of mercery, rather than to the royal tax directly levied by the king on goldsmiths' work. They demanded the exemption of paternosters of gold and silver, of gold and silver thread, of gold leaf and soldered gold, of pouches and purses mounted with gold and silver, of pin cases, articles worked with embroidery in gold or silver thread, pearls and precious stones, of cloak straps with mounts of gold, of silver, of precious stones or pearls, whether on leather or silk, of all girdles, again whether of leather or silk, and all chaplets that were similarly mounted, of pins, buckles, knives, cases, writing-horns and ink-horns, mirrors, buttons made or decorated with gold, silver, pearls or precious stones. And in conclusion they declared: 'even supposing, without prejudice, that the farmers may levy the tax on all such articles when sold by the mercers, there can be no good reason for levying the tax on them when they are sold by goldsmiths'. This dual retailing through mercers and goldsmiths of richly mounted costume accessories was general throughout much of Europe.[19]

One of the arguments used by goldsmiths to defend their rights and privileges against the mercers was their ability to detect fraud and the precautions they took to prevent imposition on the customer. The charter granted to the London goldsmiths in 1327 declares as we saw that mercers were often the victim of such malpractices as the use of below-standard silver and glass stones imitating real ones. The Paris goldsmiths too when claiming freedom from the mercers' tax declared that 'of long time they have been in possession of the right to seize in mercers' shops and goldsmiths' shops and elsewhere all the works in gold and silver, whatsoever they may be, that are mounted on silk and other stuffs and to search and examine into the goodness of the said gold and silver and, if it be bad, to have their masters and wardens take it to pieces and chastise it'. And indeed in 1396 when the Concierge of the Palais Royal, in response to complaints, seized jewels from the booths of the

mercers who were now installed, it will be remembered, in a hall on his premises, he found fourteen girdles whose enamelled silver mounts had lead set beneath the enamels to increase the apparent weight of the metal, rings of bad gold and brooches with stones foiled so as set them off to better advantage and stones set in gold which ought only to have been set in silver. The records of the Paris goldsmiths' guild from 1345 to 1457 reveal a number of such cases and not only in the case of mercers. In 1345–6 the makers of latten ring brooches were found to be setting their wares with enamels which were intended to look like garnets. In 1347–8 the goldsmiths detected some of their own members selling rings which appeared to be of enamelled gold, but in reality were of gold-plated silver and copper; these were traced to their original maker, a certain Perrin Pougeri, who was then seized and imprisoned. In 1348–9 they discovered a goldsmith–merchant named Maistre Remain de Tournont ready to set out on an itinerant journey with packages of false jewels made by others and by himself. They were set with false stones, and their enamels 'were neither good nor sufficient' and, worse still, they were made of base metal covered with gold leaf to make them look like fine gold. There was evidently a large quantity of them, for they weighed 85 marks when confiscated. Maistre Remain was set up in the pillory to expiate his crime. In 1374–5 they once more found rings on sale in several shops which appeared to be of enamelled gold but were in fact gold-plated silver; again these were traced to their original makers, two men named Girard Alorge and Perrin Pillon. During the same year they found a gold ring set with a glass between sections of sapphire, which had been made for a Lombard by Robert du Montacelin. In 1380 a goldsmith named Thevenin Oursel was found to have given fourteen rings for gilding to an *esmailleur* named Jehan George; their gold had been adulterated with silver. Other similar crimes are recorded in the years that follow, plated rings, false stones, as well as the perennial laments about girdle mounts, which we shall discuss when we come to the special subject of girdles.[20]

# 6 PURCHASING JEWELLERY

How was jewellery bought in the Middle Ages? It might be thought that with so many goldsmiths' and mercers' shops this was a simple enough affair, but in fact it was more complex than might appear at first sight. Kings and princes and great ecclesiastics generally had court goldsmiths in their households, to make their plate and jewels. They also repaired or refurbished their employer's jewellery; for instance in June 1399 Maestro Giorgio Carraf of Catania, court goldsmith to King Martin of Sicily, was paid 'for a certain work in silver for making rings and repairing girdles and a certain brooch of our lord the king and for their gilding'. But with jewellery, more than with many forms of art, novelty and variety are of the essence and such great personages also gave custom to other great goldsmiths of their time, either at home or abroad, occasionally attracting foreign goldsmiths into their service. Thus, although the Austrian dukes who ruled in Tirol gave commissions for jewels and girdles to their local goldsmiths, they also bought jewels in Venice and commissioned girdles and brooches in Verona and Padua. In 1297 for example Maestro Simone, goldsmith of Verona, was commissioned to make three girdles, ten brooches and two girdles of silver set with precious stones. For such work it was customary to pay the master an earnest, as appears from this and from another Tirolese document of 1306 recording an earnest paid to Silvestro, goldsmith of Padua, for girdles.[1]

At this summit of the hierarchical ladder of degree, merchants regularly came to kings or princes or their treasures and offered jewels directly to them for sale. Even so the great often had recourse to purchase of jewels on the open market. In 1235 Henry III of England ordered the Mayor and Sheriffs of London to take from the goldsmiths of the city about two hundred marks' worth of jewels 'to wit, large brooches, rings and handsome girdles' and to allow none of them to be sold by their lawful owners until St Ivo's fair but to keep them for the King's use and have them 'appraised by honourable valuers'. And this is only one of several commands of the kind. At other times, as in 1242, Henry was content to instruct his treasurer to buy three handsome brooches with good and suitable stones. Again in 1243 his agent was adjured 'as you love us and our honour' to buy three gold brooches set with precious stones, one of the value of 30 marks, one of the value of 20 marks and one the value of 6 marks and bring them to him at Faversham.[2]

Jewellery that was commissioned directly would certainly be the subject of negotiation, either between the principal or principal's agent and the goldsmith. This is well documented for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris, where the princes

of the French royal blood and rulers of the great feudal territories of France and the southern Netherlands usually obtained their most important jewellery. Sometimes such great personages themselves bargained in person over the price of such jewels. In 1323 Guillaume, Count of Hainault and his wife, Jeanne de Valois, sister of Philippe, who later became King of France, went to Paris for the fête of Queen Marie of France. While they were there, the Countess Jeanne made a bargain for a great gold chaplet, set with large balas-rubies and great orient pearls with the goldsmith Simon de Lille, while her husband also made a bargain with the same goldsmith for a gold-mounted girdle, set with eighty-four diamonds, emeralds and rubies, and for a great fleur-de-lys brooch of gold – worn as we shall see by all fourteenth-century princes and princesses who belonged to the blood royal of France or who were related to it. The fleur-de-lys was set with large oriental rubies, large emeralds and large orient pearls. Count Guillaume gave Simon a down payment of 100 sols for the girdle, whose price was 80 livres. Direct bargaining of this kind between patron and goldsmith continued until the end of the Middle Ages – in 1477 René of Anjou paid for a girdle mounted in silver-gilt of the type known as a *demi-ceint* 'of which he agreed the price himself with the goldsmith of Marseilles'. If a jewel was really costly the goldsmith might offer to guarantee its value – no doubt largely as a warrant against suspicious or bad gold, or poor or false stones. In 1333 the same great Parisian goldsmith Simon de Lille gave Jeanne de Cassel, daughter of Count Robert of Flanders, on completing her payment of 850 florins for a brooch of figures of the King and Queen of France set with emeralds and sapphires, a promise 'to guarantee the said jewel at my own expense under the obligation of all my goods'.[3]

Far more often perhaps the chaplain, that general factotum of noble and princely households in the Middle Ages, would be entrusted with the task of buying jewels for such great and busy personages. Several letters from Charles of Anjou, the first Angevin king of Naples, still survive giving instructions to a chaplain or to some other cleric of his household to buy textiles and the sort of jewels that were essentially costume accessories for Charles and his queen and for their households. In August 1272 he despatched a cleric in his service named Denis of Traviciaco to France with a letter to the bailiff of his appanage of Anjou and the Dean of Saint-Martin in Angers ordering them to pay the bills for the jewels and other articles that his consort Marguerite of Burgundy has ordered Denis to buy in Paris. Charles mentions in the letter only three dozen chaplets of

pearls and twelve *tressoirs* (hair ribands) of pearls, so it must have given him something of a shock to read the list of what had actually been bought when it was sent him by the Dean of Angers in December. Denis had purchased twelve silver brooches, two silver-mounted girdles and four silver-studded girdles, all decorated with pearls, four small girdles, also studded with silver and decorated with pearls, two chaplets decorated with eagles and pearls, two chaplets decorated with silver rosettes, twenty-six chaplets and six small chaplets, all decorated with pearls, ten *tressoirs* decorated with pearls and two *tressoirs* decorated with pearls 'of two fashions'.

We have another letter from Charles of 5 February 1277 to Jehan de Villemarcy, a cleric of his household, ordering him to buy in company with Jehan Troussevache, Charles's cupbearer, familiar and chamberlain, a whole list of articles for his own use and that of his queen. Jehan de Villemarcy was to get two carts to carry them and they were to be consigned by him to Jehan Troussevache, who was to deliver them to the treasurers of the royal chamber with a note of the exact price of each item. The jewels he was to buy were three dozen girdles mounted in silver-gilt, two dozen girdles mounted in plain silver, six dozen gold brooches – probably simple ring brooches for fastening – a chaplet, a *tressoir* of *bisette* for the Queen, two dozen pearl-decorated chaplets, a dozen *tressons* of pearls to be given away as presents and six dozen chaplets *de poisson*. Charles was writing from Rome, but does not say where all these items were to be bought, though the probability is they were to be acquired in Paris. Another letter of 1281 orders a certain Maestro Enrico da Santo Memmio, again a cleric, to buy rich textiles, furs, household stuff and jewels for the use of Charles himself, and of his queen and household. The jewels Maestro Enrico was to buy were five dozen gold brooches, at a price described as thirty *solidi*, four dozen chaplets of pearls for ladies, of two sorts, a dozen *tressoirs* and two dozen small and narrow silk girdles.[4]

We saw that three jewels were ordered in Paris by the Count and Countess of Hainault in 1323. In August of that year they were collected and others were purchased by their chaplain Maistre Jehan de Florence, who set off from Mons, accompanied by a servitor named Jehan Bouvet, solely on this errand. In all the pair spent twenty-five days on this first visit to Paris, buying jewels and textiles and plate, with the aid of brokers and other intermediaries. Their visit was in fact not long enough and Maistre Jehan came back to Paris for fourteen days in October to complete his errand. The chaplet and girdle were wanted by the Count and Countess for the approaching marriages of their eldest daughter Marguerite, who was affianced to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria and of their second daughter, Jeanne, whose marriage to Wilhelm of Juliers was held that September. Accordingly Maistre Jehan was especially charged with the purchase of the jewels to be worn and given away at these weddings – gold coronals, chaplets, brooches, girdles. First of all he bought a great gold crown, choosing the stones – fine rubies, fine emeralds, and large fine orient pearls in company with the goldsmith

Simon de Lille, who then made the crown which cost in the end the great sum of 2000 Paris livres. For half that sum he also bought from Simon de Lille a second gold crown set with similar stones and pearls together with a gold chaplet set with rubies, emeralds and orient pearls of 200 livres, and two other gold chaplets, one for 160 livres and one for 100 livres. A rich girdle, whose mounts of gold were set with rubies, emeralds and orient pearls, was bought for Jeanne, who wore it at her marriage to Wilhelm of Juliers. For her elder sister Marguerite a second one was purchased for 180 livres from a goldsmith on the Pont-Neuf: it was set with fine rubies, fine emeralds and orient pearls – and cost 360 livres, as became an elder sister and future empress. Finally he bought from another goldsmith on the Pont-Neuf a hair ornament of a type known in Flanders and Northern France as a *doroir*, probably a riband mounted with goldsmith's work, set with rubies, emeralds and pearls. This was also intended for Marguerite, and was refurbished and finished by Simon de Lille. A second *doroir* set with red and blue false stones (doublets) was bought for Jeanne, while for the Countess herself Jehan bought a gold ring set with an orient ruby. To carry back these and his other purchases Maistre Jehan bought a horse, and on his first journey back to Mons was accompanied by the son of Simon de Lille, by a goldsmith of Binche, in Hainault, and by a courtier, Florent de Beaumont. Meanwhile the Countess of Hainault had bought brooches, two diamonds and an emerald from this same goldsmith of Binche, no doubt to serve as wedding presents.

Great personages of lesser standing also entrusted purchases of jewellery to their chaplains. In 1278, when Almengarda, daughter of Teduce Forzaté, a great patrician of Padua, and niece of Giovanni, bishop of the city, was to be married, her trousseau was bought, largely in Venice, by the bishop's chaplain Pietro, including her hair ornaments, to which Pietro added later purchases in Padua. By the end of the fourteenth century it seems to have become less common to use the chaplain for such purposes. For instance, purchases of jewellery by the Counts and Dukes of Savoy and their family in the fifteenth century, if made away from home, were generally made by *écuyers* (squires) in their service. And now some princes even went shopping themselves. On his visit to Venice in 1469 the Emperor Frederick III went in person round all the shops in the city, pricing goods in spite of pleas from his hosts that he should choose the more dignified course of having them sent for inspection to his lodging. In the end he spent his days 'seeing jewels and buying none of them'. A Milanese who was showing him many fine jewels was thrown into agonies when the emperor's lords took a string of eight pearls from him and let it fall at Frederick's feet. He cried out in distress, made the Emperor shift about so that he could pick up the pearls as they lay round his shoes, and finally was expelled from the chamber for submitting the Emperor to such undignified treatment. René of Anjou and his family seem to have taken great delight in this sort of personal shopping for jewellery. On a visit to Paris in February 1451 René drew 20 écus in ready money from his treasurer 'that he desired to have

in order to buy jewels at his own pleasure, in going about the city of Paris'. His daughter Yolande drew 12 écus for the same purpose 'of buying the little trinkets of Paris'. Later in the 1470s, when René and his second queen, Jeanne de Laval were living in Provence, the arrival in Marseilles of the Venetian and Florentine and French galleys with their cargoes of luxury goods and rarities, often from the Levant, was a signal for them to make purchases, usually by deputy. Thus in 1477 René sent Jehan Oche to buy 'little trinkets' on the galleys – probably those of Venice just arrived in Marseilles.[5]

Precious jewels were also acquired as a speculation, and taken to the great fairs of Europe. Here they were bought direct by customers or their agents or else by merchants for re-sale to distant princes and great noblemen, as was also the case with precious stones. At the great international fair of Lagny, in Champagne, in 1294 the Paris goldsmith Mahieu d'Arras bought for Isabelle, Countess of Flanders, twenty-four rings set with emeralds, each at 65d, eleven rubies, each at 45s, twenty-nine rings set with sapphires and garnets, each at 13s 7d tournois, and sixty-three sapphire rings at 6s 5d each. This custom of buying at fairs, already documented in the early twelfth century, was still flourishing in the fifteenth. Thus in 1443 at the Paris fair of Toussaints (All Saints' Day), Champion, an esquire of the Duke of Savoy bought a number of costly jewels intended as presents for the Duke of Saxony and his family. From a merchant named Sacouz Corbon he bought a large diamond set in a gold mount and from a Parisian goldsmith named Guillaume le Macon he bought a gold collar, set with sixteen small pendant pearls, and having a pendant (called a *fermaillet*) set with a pearl, a ruby and a small pearl. From Guillaume he also bought a small gold collar set with little stones and pearls and a gold bracelet with a *rollin* (scroll?) set with six pearls and six rubies. A second gold bracelet from which hung a ruby ring he bought from Jean Moris, while from Perrinet de Campremy he purchased a diamond ring to hang from the first bracelet. In all he spent (under the supervision of the ducal treasurer) 674 ducats, a sum from which it can be seen that really rich and costly jewels were on sale at fairs. The bracelets Champion had bought were then slightly adjusted by a goldsmith of Geneva who set the great diamond in a gold ring, re-made the ruby ring, which was too small, and fashioned two little chains by which to suspend them from the two bracelets.[6]

In the fifteenth century fairs where costly jewels could be bought are recorded in other countries. In Castile rich jewels were bought and sold at the great annual fair of Medina del Campo, the largest and most international fair of late mediaeval and Renaissance Spain, frequented by merchants from Flanders, Italy and France. A list drawn up in May 1443 records the jewels Don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba purchased there for his wedding with Doña Maria de Herrera – the actual choosing was done for once by a lady, Doña Blanca Enriquez. She bought a chain made of gold of ducat standard which Don Pedro took for himself; it is possible that this was made at Medina, or

altered afterwards, for the price of 25,020 maravedís included both gold and fashioning. The jewels he bought for his bride also included a 'gold collar for the throat' whose price of 6140 maravedís included '1200 given to Giralté for his fashioning'. The other jewels were a slender gold chain 'for the throat' with a pendant cross set with a ruby on one side, a diamond on the other, and a pearl at each of the ends, and two gold rings, one set with a ruby, costing 25 florins, the other costing 50 florins, no doubt because it was set with a pointed diamond, and was enamelled green and *rouge cler*. Fairs had the same importance as marts for jewellery in Germany. In 1495, Paul Mulich bought pearls, gold brooches, chains and rings at the fair of Frankfurt for his brother Matthias, a great Lübeck merchant. Some of these were no doubt offered to the great princes of northern Europe, the Dukes of Schwerin and Mecklenburg, and the King of Denmark, to whom Matthias Mulich was a supplier of precious objects. In addition to fairs, Paris, Cologne and Venice remained major centres for the trade in jewels right up till the end of the Middle Ages; thus in the fifteenth century the goldsmiths of Cologne were selling jewels to kings and queens and princes, and exported them so far as Italy. There was often a particularly great trade in rings.[7]

In the thirteenth century merchants were already travelling widely to buy and sell jewels. Philippot, author of a French poem called the *Dit des Marchands*, which was probably written in Paris and celebrates the life and traffic of thirteenth-century merchants, tells us that there were merchants of silk, gold and silver and precious stones who travelled everywhere to buy. There were some who sold goldsmiths' work and some who sold crystal, jasper and amber. Itinerant merchants regularly travelled round Europe offering a selection of jewels to great ladies and to princes. In 1290, shortly after Christmas, Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of King Edward I, bought at Westminster from Jean le Romeyn, merchant of Paris, *tressoirs* (hair ribands) and ribbons, two of gold, six of pearls, chaplets, girdles, purses, and a set of pins. From Roger of Accon (Acre), a merchant of Palestine who dealt in Syrian wares, as his name suggests, she bought eight ear-picks, hung from silk laces, perfumes – four balls of musk, six 'apples of amber' – as well as a selection of Venetian glass and Damascus metal basins, paying him too 'for the carriage of the jewels which the said Roger brought from Paris to Libourne in Gascony in the year 16 (1287–8) by command of the Queen'. During the same year she bought through her own goldsmith Master Adam three gold chaplets and two coronals set with rubies and emeralds from the Parisian goldsmiths Nicholas and Lawrence de Champagne. In October she purchased a girdle of Paris work from her esquire Thomas de Capeles to give a workwoman of her niece Mary of Brittany, and again through Master Adam she bought *owches*, *fermails* (two sorts of brooch) and rings from a Florentine merchant named Labro Filippi.[8]

Labro Filippi was only one of his kind. Throughout the Middle Ages, as with the supplying of precious stones, so the

supplying of precious jewels was always largely in the hand of itinerant Italian merchants. This was certainly true of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Merchants from Siena, Venice, Lucca, Florence and Genoa, many of them of course bankers and money-changers and moneylenders as well as traders, all participated in this traffic. It is not certain how they acquired the often really rich and precious jewels that came into their hands, but the presumption must be that many were pledges that had come into their hands in return for loans and had not been redeemed. Alternatively we must suppose that they were bought second-hand or commissioned on speculation – this last a fascinating, but as yet unprovable possibility. The rich Genoese notarial archives of the thirteenth century reveal that they quite often acted as agents for goldsmiths, sometimes making up their stock from quite small individual consignments. The trade in Genoa in precious stones and jewels was already vigorous in the 1250s. The stones were generally set in rings, either for sale as rings or for convenience of carriage – such rings were generally put on a *doigtier* or finger-sized rod. In 1251 a merchant is recorded as taking abroad two strings of pearls and a brooch set with precious stones. A Florentine entrusts in 1253 a merchant going to Montpellier with rings set with emeralds and diamonds 'and other jewels and precious stones', along with which the same merchant carried three gold rings set with sapphires, turquoises, little rubies and emeralds and silver brooches consigned to him by a goldsmith. The same goldsmith sent off to Sicily other gold rings set with sapphires, and a further consignment of six gold rings set with emeralds and turquoises, and crystal beads. Among the things an agent appointed by a merchant from Piacenza in 1263 was to obtain in Bologna from Lapo Davanzati of the Societas Falconieri of Florence and bring to Genoa were three cameos set in gold and surrounded with small emeralds and ten gold rings set with rubies and small emeralds. It is clear from these and other documents that Montpellier was an important centre for the sale of jewels by the middle and third quarter of the thirteenth century.

In 1262 Gregorio di Bernardino, a great Sienese merchant, is recorded as owning a gold crown set with five large sapphires, four balas-rubies, sixteen small sapphires, fourteen small rubies and balas-rubies, eight small emeralds, five sapphires large and small, thirty-eight large pearls and a large number of little pearls, which was perhaps the imperial crown of the Emperor Frederick II and was then in the hands, possibly for purchase or redemption, of Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini. And that Gregorio had dealings with Naples as well as with the Papal Curia appears from a document of 1265 recording him as trading there.[9]

The accounts of the Tirol in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century show Italian merchants regularly selling jewels to the court. In 1296 Luitpold (Leopoldo), 'servant of the Frescobaldi in Padua brought to the lord in Cries' eighty-one girdles with mounts of silver-gilt, forty-one brooches, six

gold, the rest of silver-gilt, two hundred *noduli* (buttons) of silver-gilt, and two girdles of black stuff mounted with silver. In the same year Cavolo and Vanni Dolcebene 'of the company of Messer Lambertazzo of Florence' were paid 'for the brooches of silver-gilt with gems they have just brought' and for ten 'silver-mounted silk girdles'. In 1305–6 the great Florentine company of the Bardi supplied plate and jewels for the wedding of Eleanor, daughter of King Charles II of Naples, to King Frederick III of Sicily. Again in 1309 Castelluccio di Cristoforo, of the company of the Baccosi of Lucca, supplied the gold crown which was given to Clémence de Hongrie, daughter of Charles Martel, son of Charles II of Naples, on her marriage to King Louis X of France. Humbler merchants travelled with humbler jewellery. In 1334–5 a Venetian merchant named Beltramo was robbed of 'gold, silver, rings etc.' that he was bringing into the Kingdom of Naples from the Apulian coast.[10]

Throughout the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth the Genoese and Florentines remained particularly enterprising vendors of goldsmith's work, followed by the Lucchese and Venetians. Many of the Italian merchants who had dealings with the French court were either Genoese or Florentine. Evidently such merchants sometimes received commissions to seek out jewels of a certain kind, or to have them made. In 1299 the court accounts of Tirol record that Curzio Forese and Vanni Dolcebene 'of the Florentine company' charged for the making of that standard ensign of exalted rank, a great gold eagle brooch set with precious stones, and received payment for the gold and stones they had purchased and for the facture. Again Guillaume Nicolas, of the Bardi of Florence obtained a gold eagle brooch for Louis, Count of Flanders in 1335–6. Such merchants often seem to have had a shrewd sense of when to arrive on the scene. Thus, when Jeanne de France, daughter of King Jean le Bon was to be married to Charles, King of Navarre in February 1353, Vincenzo Lomellini of Genoa appeared with a suitable crown to be given to her on her wedding-day. It was of gold, set with seven very large emeralds, thirty-seven small ones, twenty-eight balas-rubies, seven clusters, each of fourteen pearls enclosing a diamond, seven clusters of large pearls, each cluster consisting of three pearls and a little ruby, and fourteen diamonds. In the late fourteenth century a number of such merchants found it worth their while to settle in Paris, so great was the demand from king, royal princes, and court for precious jewels and other works of price.[11]

Naturally Italians also made their way to England carrying *joyaux* for sale on speculation. We can gain some impression of the importance of their traffic in the middle years of the fourteenth century from their dealings with Edward, the Black Prince (1330–76). From 1352 to 1362 he spent huge sums on the purchase from Italian and other merchants of jewels – a term that then included plate and rich stuffs, but we know that many of the Prince's purchases were of precious stones and jewels in the modern sense. Among his principal Italian suppliers were the brothers Martin and Hanekyn Parde (Martino and

Giovannino Pardi?) of Pistoia, in Tuscany, the Provanas, Lombard merchants from Carignano in Piedmont, and Andrew and John de la Mare (Andrea and Giovanni della Mare?) of Genoa. Probably Genoese too was Saladin Grimbaud (Saladino Grimaldi?), while Giacomello del Torre was Venetian. From them the Prince acquired pearls and precious stones, as in 1361, when he bought from John de la Mare and his partners first 480 pearls for 1005 marks, purchased at Waltham, then another large lot of pearls purchased at his Wardrobe for 1300 marks, then 8459 pearls, probably seed-pearls or small pearls, at the feast of Windsor for £115 16s 8d. At Windsor too he also bought from them a ruby, and later at Kennington, his Surrey manor, 'a fine ruby'. The Pardes, and especially Martin, were evidently favourite suppliers of jewels, for the Prince appears to have bought continually from them, and among his purchases we read of ouches (brooches), rings and jewels generally. The Provanas may sometimes have acted as agents for the Prince in commissioning jewels, for it is hard to explain otherwise why he should have bought an ouch of the Order of the Garter from them in 1359. The sums involved in these purchases were so very large – for instance in 1355 £1459 15s 8d to Martin Parde alone – that the Prince generally paid in instalments. Thus by a bond of August 1355 he engaged to pay Parde the £1459 15s 8d by payments of £50 at stated terms over six years. And by September of that year Parde had also received £1673 17s 8d on account for previous purchases of jewels. The prince also bought jewels from French and German or Netherlandish merchants – in 1355 for instance Richard van Hamme, 'Almant', sold him a button and three brooches – but they were certainly far less important than the Italians as his suppliers of pearls, stones and jewels.[12]

In England these merchants sometimes encountered difficulties in their traffic. In 1379 it was enacted by the king, in response to a prayer of the House of Commons 'that no man may bring into England cloths of gold or silk, kerchiefs, precious stones, jewels of any kind, or furs' unless he paid gold or silver to the value of 12d into the royal treasury in the Tower of London. In accordance with mercantilist theory, this was to increase the amount of gold and silver in the realm. In 1381, no doubt for the same reason, Parliament petitioned against the export of plate and jewels and, although the petition was not put into effect, by an ordinance of the same year it was forbidden to import and export plate and jewels without paying customs duties, except under special licence. Thus in 1390 Bartholomew Lumbard, merchant of Lucca, was given licence to bring to England and show to King Richard II two crowns of gold set with precious stones and other jewels and take them away again if not wanted. Lionel Gauter, otherwise known as de Vivaldis, merchant of Genoa, tried to evade all licence or customs duty when he imported in 1392 'diverse jewels of no small value and other goods', including precious stones worth £400. He offered them for sale secretly, and even sold some, but was found out, arrested and only released in January 1393

on payment of a fine of £50. In 1409 Tommaso Soffia, a Genoese merchant settled in Venice, who was one of the principal suppliers of jewels of Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca from 1400 to 1430, obtained licence from Henry IV to import and sell to the King or any other person 'a certain collar of gold; with a pendant hanging from the said collar, in the which are set four rubies, one balas-ruby, five sapphires, and ninety-three pearls'.[13]

By the mid-fourteenth century Bruges, the great mart of the Northern world, appears to have become something of a centre for the purchase of jewellery and precious stones, as well as of other luxury goods. In 1362 a certain Jacques le Prestrel brought Queen Jeanne of Navarre from Bruges a number of gold crowns, including one with eight fleurons, a chaplet of gold and pearls, a gold cross, eight large and twenty-four middle-sized balas-rubies, as many emeralds of both kinds, twenty-four diamonds, one hundred and thirty-six pearls and other things besides. Merchants also found their way to the courts of Spain with jewels to sell. In October 1379 the Infante Joan of Aragon instructed his officers in the province of Roussillon that Thibaut Ligranger, 'merchant of *joyaux* in the city of Troyes', was coming to him in Perpignan, bringing various *jocalia* of gold and silver and other sorts, and was to be allowed to pass without paying any dues. Often such merchants formed a special connection with certain courts. Thus in the late fourteenth century Mono de' Cassini, a Lombard, nephew of a certain Federico Bini who was settled as a merchant in Barcelona, became the favourite merchant of Charles the Noble, King of Navarre. He sold the court jewels, textiles, plate and spices and was entrusted with the execution of its orders for jewellery and other luxuries to be purchased elsewhere, most probably in Barcelona. And in 1427 we find Charles's queen sending to Aragon for a merchant named Bartolomé del Puy – probably an itinerant French merchant from the jewellery-making centre of Le Puy – in order to give him certain commissions he was to execute for her. Merchants of this kind continued to travel over fifteenth-century Europe with precious jewels. In 1436, for instance, Amadeo VIII of Savoy ordered one merchant, Raphael Vineis, to be paid for a gold ring set with a table diamond and another, Stephanus de Bala, to be paid for two small gold brooches and a gold chain, all four having been personally delivered into the duke's own hands. And on 11 April 1445 Henry VI's treasurer Lord Sudeley took delivery of a jewel which had been bought for a thousand marks from Johann Rollyngswerd, 'Marchaunt of Almayne and servaunt to the Erchebisshopp of Coloigne'. This was a gold collar of the type known as a 'peytrell'. It was set with ten diamonds, seventy rubies, and one hundred and forty large pearls, and had a pendant set with a lozenge-shaped table diamond, three 'feyre rubees' and three large pearls. 'The whiche jewell forthwith the same day the seyd Tresorer of England bare yt un to the Kyng.' Cologne was still the leading centre of goldsmiths' work in Germany, so perhaps the collar was made there. At the end of the century Henry VII still

repeatedly bought jewels from 'Lumbards'; thus in 1493 he paid £100 for a 'jewell bought of a lumbard' and in 1495 £2560 'for divers juels bought of the Lumbards'.[14]

The customers of such merchants might take the initiative in asking merchants to bring jewels for them to see. This was particularly the case with great ladies, whose movements were often restricted by etiquette and the preoccupations of their high station, as well as by household tasks. In August 1389 Queen Violante of Aragon wrote from Saragossa to Francisco Casages, a merchant of Barcelona who had evidently just returned from a trading voyage to the Levant. 'We have learned', she says, 'from certain persons that you and your ship are come home safe and sound, at which we are pleased, and pray you that if you have brought the slaves you were charged at your departure to buy, then send them to us incontinently by a person deputed. And if you have brought cloth of gold and silks, pearls, jewels and other things that you are of opinion may be suitable for us then send them on likewise, for we shall make you well content.'[15]

On occasions the great sold or exchanged their jewellery. Kings kept their ears open for news of important jewels that came on to the market and took steps to secure them or at least to have a sight or a reliable report of them. After the death of the Emperor Henry of Luxembourg in Tuscany in 1313, his crown and other jewels came into the possession of some Italians, probably merchants, probably as pledges. On 20 September 1316 King Robert of Naples, though in his life Henry's enemy, commissioned Lello Lavazzano, a Roman in his mother's service, to go to Rome and induce those in whose hands they were to bring them to Naples, so that Robert could see them with a view to buying them at agreed prices. Again in 1322 Charles IV of France, hearing that Jaime II of Aragon was thinking of disposing of a crown and other jewels, sent a Florentine in his service named Vance Riche (Vanno Ricci) to ask if Jaime would be willing to send them to him for inspection. In answer Jaime explained that he would gladly comply, but that he was bound by a vow he had made during a long and serious illness, a vow he had fortified by a sworn oath, to deposit them in the Dominican convent of Barcelona, so that they might be sold by the bishop of the city and others deputed to execute his vow. Jaime's intention, not declared to Charles, was to satisfy all his debts and any persons with claims against him by means of this deposit. The Bishop and his colleagues have no power to release them, he continues, but Charles is most welcome to send experts to inspect the crown and other jewels – which included, as we know from other documents, three gold crowns set with gems, pearls and precious stones, and two ceremonial girdles of gold adorned with precious stones. It will be worth his trouble, for the jewels are truly precious, and he can then agree a price with the Bishop and his colleagues. Charles seems to have proceeded no further in the business and in 1323 Jaime ordered the three crowns and girdles to be sold.[16]

Sometimes jewels were sold within the family. About 1324 Count Robert of Cassel bought from his mother the Duchess Yolande of Brittany 'a great crown of rubies and emeralds' and a chaplet decorated with enamels and with motifs richly embroidered in pearls and set with sapphires and balas-rubies. Great ladies also bought and sold jewellery among themselves. At her death in February 1378 Queen Jeanne de Bourbon had a great gold circlet of eight plaques, set with twenty-four balas-rubies, four large sapphires, sixteen emeralds, sixty-four large pearls and seventy-six small diamonds which she had bought from the Countess of Pembroke. Another circlet she had bought from the old Queen Dowager, Jeanne d'Evreux (d.1370), was called Charles, after old Queen Jeanne's husband, Charles le Bel (d.1328) and was set with large balas-rubies, emeralds and clusters of pearls, each cluster set alternately with a balas-ruby and an emerald. A third circlet had been bought from Blanche d'Orléans (d.1392), daughter of old Queen Jeanne: it was formed of four lozenges set with large balas-rubies, four set with large emeralds, and eight set with clusters of pearls, each cluster having a sapphire in the centre. On the death of various fourteenth-century French dowager queens their jewels were sold – no doubt to pay their debts and legacies – and those of their jewels that were wanted by their relations had to be bought by them. This was the case with both Queen Clémence de Hongrie (d.1328) and Queen Jeanne d'Evreux (d.1370).[17]

The accounts for 1325–8 of Countess Jeanne of Hainault show how varied were the sources from which jewels were obtained in the early fourteenth century by a great lady of French royal birth but married to a prince of the Netherlands. From the goldsmith Adam de Saint-Quentin, a goldsmith of Bruges, she bought in 1326–7 precious stones, rings, and other jewels and in 1327–8 ninety-four orient pearls, a gold brooch (affiquet), a sapphire and a reliquary, probably a reliquary pendant for wear, for it was set with a cameo and a garnet. She also bought from him two ounces of gold, silk and two ounces of bisette. Adam seems to have been her favourite goldsmith in the Netherlands, and she often had dealings with him. But she also had dealings with a goldsmith of Delft, named Jehan, a mercer named Arnoul de Liége, from whom she bought girdles, purses and pouches, with a woman called Le Beghe d'Escaupons, from whom she bought a gold brooch, and with Nicolas the paternosterer, who sold her six pairs of paternosters. From Luke, a merchant of Genoa, she bought a gold reliquary, again probably a pendant. In Paris her favourite goldsmith remained Simon de Lille; in addition to payments of money due from her husband and herself, probably for the jewels bought for the wedding of their daughters, she bought from him a chaplet for herself and one for her daughter Philippa, the future wife of Edward III of England, two gold brooches (fermaux) a hundred ring-stones and a diamond, brooches for fixing on the costume (affiques) and little pendant crosses. This pattern of purchases, from goldsmiths local and in Paris, from mercers and merchants, is repeated in the accounts of Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of

Holland and his wife Countess Margaretta, during the years from 1358 to 1378, and can be taken as typical of the Middle Ages throughout their duration.[18]

Like the finest cloth, the richest jewellery was so costly that even the wealthiest feudal princes were often unable to pay for it immediately. Some difficulty of this kind probably lies behind a bond of 26 May 1336 in which Cathérine de Vienne, widow of Philip of Savoy, Prince of Achaia, declares that she and her son-in-law Humbert de Villars have agreed that Humbert was to buy the jewels, ornaments and dresses of his wife Beatrice of Savoy, Cathérine's daughter. Cathérine recognises that she and her son were in fact bound to make these purchases, and she now acknowledges that she owes 1500 gold florins on their account. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the goldsmith might be given sureties for payment, and the debt would be acknowledged in a formal document. We find transactions of this kind even between the wealthy Counts of Artois and the goldsmiths of Paris – on 7 December 1292 for instance Simon de Hangest attested that Count Robert owed 10 livres to Simon Bonnart, goldsmith of Paris. Payment by instalments was a very common device. For a gold coronal costing 1000 livres tournois bought for her daughter-in-law from Jehan Nevelon, goldsmith of Paris, Philippine of Hainault pledged in September 1310 payment 'in good faith and loyally' in two terms, half by Christmas of that year and half by Candlemas the end of January 1311. Similar letters to other goldsmiths pledged payment for a coronal, a gold girdle, a chaplet of gold set with large pearls, and a gold brooch shaped as an elephant bought for a daughter, for four brooches, including a lion brooch of silver, for her son and a gold coronal and chaplet for her daughter-in-law. In 1335 Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, himself stood surety for Jean de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, over a purchase of jewels and a loan of money, guaranteeing the great Parisian goldsmith, Simon de Lille, payment of the 4500 livres parisis that these transactions had involved.[19]

As jewellery of the finest kind was so costly, it was often lent between princes or their wives, either from motives of friendship or kin. In January 1291 Isabelle, Countess of Flanders and Namur, lent Beatrix, Countess of Luxembourg, a gold coronal set with good precious stones, worth 500 livres parisis, a gold brooch with a lion, worth 300 livres parisis, and a gold chaplet worth 60 livres parisis, together with a gold cup. The loan was solemnly recorded in a document by which Beatrix undertook to return them a year later. In these circumstances it is not surprising if old jewels were sometimes refurbished, even for royal weddings. In 1313, when the jewels of the Infanta Isabel of Aragon were being assembled for her marriage to Frederick of Hapsburg, Duke of Austria, hair ribands and other jewels, probably her dead mother's, were refurbished for her by the goldsmith R. Guasth. He was paid 'for adjusting gold *tressoirs* and for inserting or replacing the stones missing from the same *tressoirs*, and for adjusting a gold garland and replacing the stones and pearls that were missing from it'.[20]

Again then as now when jewels were required for some great occasion like a wedding, they were sometimes borrowed: in 1385 Charles VI lent his uncle Philippe of Burgundy a whole set of jewels – crowns, circlets and coronals, cloak clasps, *tressours* (hair ornaments), girdles – from the royal jewels to be worn at the wedding festivities in Cambray of Philippe's son Jean and his daughter Marguerite. For the same occasion Jean, Duc de Berry also lent Philippe a fine heart-shaped brooch of gold, set with a large cabochon ruby encircled by eight big pearls and a gold eagle brooch – a symbol, as we shall see later, of princely rule – set with a large cabochon ruby and a pendant pearl. He also lent him thirteen large sapphires, twelve large balas-rubies, twelve fine large pearls, thirty large old pearls, a balas-ruby in a gold ring and thirteen large pearls. Some or perhaps almost all of these were taken from a gold chaplet belonging to Jean called the *chapel de Genèvre* in order to be lent to Philippe. The same custom prevailed in England. On 9 February 1441 some jewels that Henry VI had lent to Humphrey, Earl of Stafford for his daughter's marriage were returned to his treasury: they consisted of his two most richly jewelled royal collars, the 'riche coler' (in fact only eleven links of it were sent) and the Icklington collar.[21]

The taste for the display of rich jewellery was not confined in the later Middle Ages to the great and wealthy; all classes were anxious to make a show. In fifteenth-century Venice the hiring out of jewels – brooches, both for head ornaments and the breast, collars and rings – had become a trade, of which the vigilant city magistrates took note in a decree of 7 December 1453, ordering all those who practised it to report themselves to the state treasurers within eight days, and to pay them henceforth half the hire they received on any jewel worth more than 25 *lire di grossi*. And we shall see that during the later decades of the same century the hiring-out of bridal crowns became quite common in Tudor England and in late fifteenth-century Germany.[22]

Although precious stones and jewels, like plate, were certainly accumulated as a resource in time of need, they were principally kept as a reserve for wear and display. For the Middle Ages preferred to keep stones and gems mounted in splendid rings and jewels, as we have already seen. Curiously enough it was usually wrought objects like jewels and plate that seem to have been used as pledges, rather than unmounted stones. The most important and valuable jewels were of major importance as pledges. Henry III of England pledged his jewels a number of times, and in the fourteenth century his grandson Edward III raised large funds for his wars in France by pledging his richest crowns. It has even been suggested that the gems and precious stones bought in Genoa by King Manfred's agent Giuseppe da Brindisi in 1248 were really pledges, and that the whole transaction was fictitious, veiling a covert attempt by the Hohenstaufen to raise money. But this seems a superfluous conjecture: such transactions were carried out quite openly by laymen. In 1263, for example, King Jaime of Aragon pledged coronals and garlands

of gold and *guelpas* (?) and *monilia* (probably brooches) of gold and certain other jewels 'for certain sums of gold ounces'. Even the Papacy took part in making loans on the security of jewels, in spite of its official condemnation of usury. An entry in the inventory of the Papal treasury at Avignon taken in 1353 lists a gold coronal with eight fleur-de-lis and eight sapphires 'sold', as it tactfully expresses the transaction, 'under certain conditions by the Lords G. de Combornis and G. de Fursaco in the name of the Lord Arnault Dondenchent, Marshal of France'. This wording was merely to conceal the fact that the coronal had been deposited as a pledge, for on 10 December 1354, so an annotation to the entry tells us, 'the said coronal was taken from the treasury . . . by command of our Lord the Pope and restored to the said Marshal, because he paid the deposit'.[23]

In the chronic shifts to which even princely households were often reduced, lesser jewels and plate were often used as pledges. In 1307 Heinrich, a moneylender of Merano, rendered to the rules of Tirol a final account by which it appears that in 1304 he lent Duke Otto 68 Veronese marks against the Duke's gold girdle. Against the Duke's silver girdle he had lent 10 marks, against his gold brooch 10 marks, against two other girdles 48 marks, while against Duchess Ofme's gold garland he had lent 20 marks which she had used to give alms on Holy Thursday, and another 8 marks which her chamberlain Gesco had received on her behalf. Another Tirol list of 1320–1 reveals the frequency with which court jewels were pawned. Steublin, a court chamberlain, had pledged a girdle with silver-gilt mounts on a red riband to buy medicines, and another girdle with a silver riband to buy a knife. Another member of the household had pledged a great gold cloak clasp (*tassel*) and a silver-mounted girdle on a silver riband to a moneylender. Heinrich of Merano was still in business for he had lent 10 Veronese marks on a good gold *tassel*. A gold girdle and a great gold brooch were pledged in Augsburg, and four girdles, two with silver mounts and a silver riband, the other two with silver-gilt mounts, were pledged in Innsbruck, while a girdle entirely of silver and a good brooch had been pledged in Brixen to buy wine.[24]

We can see something of the rôle of jewels as pledges in princely affairs during the later fourteenth century from a series of documents recording jewels pledged and redeemed by the Counts of Savoy. In 1352 Amadeo VI, the Green Count, redeemed jewels to the value of 7900 florins from two bankers, one of Chieri, the other of Asti. His Countess pledged her jewels in 1366 to two Jews, in order to provide funds for Amadeo's expedition in aid of the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus. This was a large sum for an important political purpose, but small sums were also raised by the same means. In 1377 Amadeo VI borrowed 46 ducats from a citizen of Savigliano on the security of a ring set with a balas-ruby, which had been a gift from Pope Urban VI. In 1378 he negotiated a secret loan from various lenders, and pledged jewels and plate which were redeemed in 1380. The Countess, now a widow, pledged her jewels once again in 1390 to a Jew of Strasbourg, named Rachet. Her son

Amadeo VII resorted to the same devices. During his war against the Marquis of Montferrat he pledged in Savigliano a brooch of gold and precious stones to raise 200 florins, redeeming it in 1391 for 220 florins. In 1392 his jewels were given to a Parisian Jew resident in Chambéry named Beneiton, who took a weekly interest of a denier of Lausanne for each gold florin he had lent on their security. Amadeo VIII redeemed them in 1406, together with a jewel he had pledged to Beneiton.[25]

A vivid image of a lender on such pledges of jewels and plate is conjured up by a legal document of 1476–7 concerning Canon Jacques Bodon (d.1475) of Le Puy, in Auvergne, which we have already shown as a centre of jewellery manufacture. Bodon, it declares,

was greatly exalted in the goods of fortune, for he had property worth 30,000 écus, and among other things, a hare of gold with diamond eyes drawing a cart that was also of gold, a Siren all of gold, holding a mirror of pearl, and the said hare was worth 6000 écus; a gold girdle that belonged to the Lady Bonne [probably Bonne de Berry, Countess of Armagnac, who died in 1435] of great value, pledged to the said Bodon for 3000 ducats; a sheep with a great fleece of gold, a fair gold cup and other trinkets and jewels, to so great an extent that both in money contaminated [i.e. by usury] and non-contaminated he possessed and was rich with 30,000 écus.

Bodon seems to have been the son of Raymon Bodon, a goldsmith of Le Puy recorded in 1408, so his interest in fine jewellery and plate must have been hereditary as must his interest in pledging, for goldsmiths lent money on jewels and plate. This was a practice dating, we can assume, from quite early times. Thus in 1321 we have a record of a ring belonging to the Queen of Bohemia which was redeemed from the goldsmith Ortelin in Merano.[26]

Jewels were also used as security against purchases. Thus in 1347 the Dauphin Humbert of Vienne, the last independent prince of Dauphiné, deposited a jewelled altar-dossal, a girdle of gold orphrey, set with pearls and precious stones in gold *chatons*, and a portion of a chaplet of cloth of gold sewn with large pearls and twenty diamonds, and some balas-rubies, rubies, sapphires and pearls 'all contained in small wooden box' with the Florentine Lapo di Bianco Ruspi of Avignon as a guarantee of 3930 gold florins, part of the price of some rich pieces of devotional plate he had purchased from him.[27]

In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries jewels were often displayed with plate by kings and princes to impress their subjects, and even more perhaps emissaries and passing travellers, who might make report to their own princes or government of the wealth and magnificence they had been privileged to behold. In 1433, when the Burgundian traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière, esquire-carver to Philip the Good, was entertained at the Court of Austria, the Archduke Albrecht V (II) sent his chamberlain Peyser, who, 'though but a squire', was the keeper of his jewels, to show them to him. 'I saw the crown of Bohemia,

in which are some very good stones, among others the largest ruby I ever saw. It seemed bigger than a full-sized date, but it is not clear and there are some dimples that show a few black spots inside.' When the great Bohemian nobleman Baron Leo of Rozmital (1426–80), brother-in-law of King George Podiebrad of Bohemia, visited Brussels in 1466, ostensibly on a pilgrimage to Compostella, he was shown the treasure of Philip the Good which 'far outdid the Venetians' treasure in precious stones and pearls'. Tetzel, Rozmital's German attendant, noted the duke's jewelled hat 'worth 60,000 crowns', and 'an ostrich feather on his hat, 50,000', and adds 'Item, so many costly jewels that they could not be shown to us, for the keeper of the jewels said he could not show them in three days. He told us that his lord had so many jewels he had not seen them all in many years and indeed did not know where they were'.[28]

When Rozmital went on to London, here too he was shown the royal treasure in the Tower, including a cup shown only to strangers from foreign countries, 'for it is thought right to show it to them'. Even in secretive Castile the travellers saw the royal treasure in the Alcázar of Segovia. The value of precious stones and pearls in impressing other rulers was well under-stood by the Emperor Frederick III (1415, r.1440–77). An early biographer writes that

> he had several jewel-caskets of carefully chosen gems and pearls, that were also of great price, not so much to delight his mind with the charms of their colour or nature, as to excite emulation or rather envy of his ostentation in foreign princes. He is said to have expended 300,000 gulden on pearls and gems to adorn his crown and imperial mantle, and to have spent 10,000 on payments to embroiderers and makers of crowns. This was borne out by some British pearl merchants who, on seeing him seated in his majesty in a jewelled crown, valued his robes and crown at a million.[29]

# 7 JEWELLERY FOR MEN AND WOMEN, GIFTS AND RELIGIOUS OFFERINGS

One difference between the Middle Ages and modern times is that there was rather less distinction between the sexes in the types of jewellery they wore. Both men and women had brooches and rings and girdles and pendants and chains and collars and coronals and circlets and chaplets. The greater richness of appearance of women's jewellery and ornaments was partly due to the greater number of head ornaments and of costly trimmings to the dress that they wore, and partly to a difference in social custom – men reserving their jewels for festivals, while women then as now generally walked out in fine dress, which might be even richer on Sundays and feastdays. This must be one reason why so much mediaeval sumptuary legislation restricting jewellery primarily concerns itself with women. Yet even so certain types of jewel – jewelled head ribands, frontlets for the forehead, earrings, short collars or necklaces worn round the throat rather than over the shoulders and some kinds of girdle – were exclusively feminine. And it seems that many men before the fifteenth century had little jewellery beyond a girdle and rings, and in the fifteenth century a chain or collar and hat badge in addition. In general then they were always much less fully and sumptuously jewelled than women, except at the level of very great feudal lords, princes and kings, who had special reasons for magnificence. Yet even they were often more simply attired and jewelled except during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century, when mediaeval luxury and display in dress and jewellery reached their final culmination.

There were moreover sanctions, either imposed by legislation, or personal, such as notions of professional or social propriety or trends of religious feeling, that influenced the wearing of jewellery. Then as now, as women and men advanced in age they tended to dress more plainly. The thirteenth-century Lombard poet Ugo da Persico declares that among the things that disgust is 'an old woman in *trecce* [head ribands] like a maiden'.[1] Piety often laid a restraining hand on a youthful tendency among women to indulge in rich jewellery and dress, and matronly austerity was often equipped solely with a girdle and a set of paternosters. This was also the case with devout men, while merchants, notaries, physicians and the like clearly often felt that the wearing of any jewellery other than a girdle discreetly ornamented with silver was unbecoming to the severe dignity of business or professional life.

Yet the difficulty of generalising about such things is illustrated by the contrast of opinion we sometimes find on the subject of which sex ought to be the more richly arrayed. A certain Bartholomew of Bruges, writing before 1348, was of the opinion that the man ought to be the more richly dressed, as he has power over the woman. But he must observe a certain restraint in his array. For the German Canon Konrad von Megenburg (1309–74), who composed his *Yconomica* in Vienna or Regensburg sometime between 1348 and 1352, the woman has the greater right to some array. In his chapter 'on the prevention of excess of ornament in women', he advises any husband who fears to fall into extreme poverty not to indulge himself or his wife in sumptuous ornaments. To those whose fortune has shoulders strong enough to bear it, discretion may allow a moderate expenditure, but 'I have seen knights and citizens fall into scantily clad nakedness through presumptuous spending on ornaments'. According to Aristotle, men and women should dress alike, so that equality in dress may promote continuance of love. Konrad, however, is of a different opinion. 'Although it may be possible for husbands and wives to wear the same cloth in cloth-making lands like Flanders, Brabant and other similar places, in lands far distant from these only the rich can do this, and then only in their ceremonial dress.' Generally then, he says, we see only women wearing cloth of silver, silk and crimson, as if their tender nature requires kindlier treatment, and also because a woman can preserve sumptuous raiment longer than a man, since she goes less often abroad and labours less. 'And also it is more fitting that a woman should chain a man to her by her pleasing attire than the contrary, for a bird of freer flight requires the greater art in its pursuers.' In addition there were local differences of opinion about when girls and women ought to wear fine dress and jewellery: in certain fourteenth-century cities of Spain and Italy, opinion allowed to unmarried girls, in order to attract suitors, a richness of jewellery which it discouraged in married women.[2]

Some jewels, not only brooches and collars, when intended for women were feminine in inspiration and feeling, and are sometimes described as women's jewels in contemporary documents. Often these must have been smaller in size. Certain kinds of brooch were worn, at any rate at certain periods, by women, others by men. An Italian document of 1119 speaks of a 'woman's gold brooch [*nuscam auream femineam*]'. By contrast in 1360 Queen Jeanne de Boulogne of France mentions a large star brooch as 'a large man's brooch'. But as this brooch was her son's badge of the Order of the Star (*de l'Etoile*) it was perhaps a special case. Yet on occasions there must have been little to distinguish men's from women's jewels. In 1505, for instance, when notaries were inventorying his dead wife's effects, Jean d'Abzac de Barbonne, Baron of Talairan in Languedoc, declared

that a gold chain of forty-three links was his. 'True it was that he had given it to his said wife to wear and adorn herself when need should be and during her lifetime or for so long as it pleased the said lord.'[3]

We know little of ordinary usage in the wearing of jewellery. It figured as a matter of course on great occasions, at feasts and festivals – weddings, banquets, dances, tournaments and the great religious anniversaries of the year, which the Middle Ages celebrated with secular splendour as well as pious devotion. At the early fourteenth-century court of Aragon, for instance, the great annual festivals were Nativity, Quinquagesima, Easter, the feast-days of St John and St Michael, and All Saints' Day; and for all these occasions the king and queen had new clothes made for themselves. At the Carnival festivals the Spanish traveller and pilgrim Pero Tafur witnessed in Venice during the 1430s the Venetian ladies 'were all dressed in brocade and very rich brooches'. Moreover kings, queens, nobles and knights can rarely, if ever, have appeared in public without some jewel in token of their degree. In January 1396 when the Picard lord Ogier d'Anglure and a company of pilgrims returning from Jerusalem were received by King Jacques of Cyprus in his palace at Nicosia, after giving them audience he sent for his Queen, Héloise of Brunswick, to come to the *salle*. She appeared 'very honourably arrayed, and wearing a very noble and rich chaplet of gold, precious stones and pearls on her head. Her four sons were very gracefully arrayed and habited. Her five daughters were also well apparelled, and each wore a chaplet of gold, precious stones and pearls on her head.' Even more was this richness a matter of course if the king held court in state. At the court held by Louis XI at Saumur in 1241, the saintly king might wear only a cotton chaplet on his head, but the King of Navarre sat at a table 'well adorned with girdle [*courroie*], brooch and chaplet of gold'.[4]

Some satirical verses of Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose* (*c*.1280) are the *locus classicus* for the wearing, or should we call it flaunting, of jewellery in later thirteenth-century France.

Certes, he who tells truth must say that women do great shame to God when in their folly and waywardness they do not hold themselves content with the beauty God gives them. Each of them has on her head a coronal of flowered cloth of gold or silk, and prinks and adorns herself with it when she goes about the town, so that a poor and unfortunate woman is humbled thereby whenever she has to wear something cheaper and more modest on her own head to increase and perfect her beauty . . . and so seeks for the beauties of God's creation in several forms, either in metals or flowerets or other strange things. Men too are without a doubt just the same, for we, to appear more handsome, put chaplets and ornaments on the beauties God has given us.

And in a slightly later passage he adds:

Men press round the wife, not for her beauty or to amuse her, but merely for the pleasure of seeing the jewels – gold brooches and rings, dress and furs – that she wears when she

goes to dances and foolish assemblies. You carry there one hundred livres' worth of gold and silver on your head . . . What good to me are these garlands, these *coiffes* with gilt bands, these gilded *tressoirs* [hair ribands], these ivory mirrors, these circlets of finely chased gold, preciously enamelled, and these coronals of fine gold that never cease to madden me, so fair are they and so well-furnished, with so many fair precious stones, sapphires, rubies and emeralds. Who does you so well? . . . These gold brooches set with fine stones you wear at your neck and on your breast, and these belts and girdles whose mounts cost as much as the gold and seed-pearls they bear.[5]

We get too the occasional hint of a sense of occasion in documents: in 1289 for instance, Queen Eleanor of England had four girdles made and harnessed 'against Christmas'. Again on 30 April 1290 a coronal was issued to her to give to her daughter Joan for her wedding. References to actual jewels that were worn only at feasts are rare, perhaps because this was something taken for granted; but in 1370 two of the jewels of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, late Queen Dowager of France, are mentioned as having been worn at festivals 'hanging from the side of the said lady'. One was a gold cross set with a cameo in the middle and four diamonds, and containing relics of the True Cross and St Margaret; the other was a little gold box, decorated with a few small rubies and emeralds, also containing relics. Both were most probably attached to her girdle. On ordinary occasions she wore a silver apple-shaped reliquary containing relics that had belonged to her mother the Queen of Navarre.[6]

As always, jewels seem to have been made both for best wear and for more ordinary occasions – there are many references in wills and inventories to jewels of all kinds as being best or second-best. From scattered references it is plain that in bourgeois and peasant society of many parts of Europe in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries richer ornaments, notably girdles, were reserved for wear on Sundays and Holy Days. In 1348 a bourgeoise of Lyons bequeaths her garland for Sunday wear, in 1418 another bequeaths 'a silver girdle that the testatrix used to wear on days that were not holidays'. In one of the *novelle* of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (*c*.1349–51) the young Tuscan peasant woman Belcolore has pledged the girdle that she wears on feastdays and that was part of her trousseau on marriage, and without it feels that she cannot go to church or to any place where it is important to be smartly dressed.[7]

Probably girdles and brooches were the articles most commonly worn daily throughout the whole of Europe, at any rate until the end of the fourteenth century. The girdle may not always have been worn indoors: the Castilian poet Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, writing in 1340, says of the bawd Trotaconventos when she goes to corrupt Doña Endrina in her house that she put the girdle he had sent as a lover's gift around her waist. Chaucer describes the wife of the carpenter of Oxford as wearing a 'ceynt [girdle] . . . barred al of silk' and 'a filet brood of silk,

and set ful hye' and adds 'a brooch she baar upon her lowe coler / As brood as is the boos of a bokeler'. Perhaps this was intended to illustrate her vanity and lightheadedness; far more probably the wearing of rich brooches every day was proper only to the noble and knightly classes. There are in fact occasional references in wills and other documents to brooches of gold as being worn daily by noblewomen and ladies. In 1446, for example, Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, mentions in her will the gold brooch 'that I wear daily'. Men too wore brooches regularly: in 1488 William Chauntrell of Southwell in Nottinghamshire made a bequest of his brooch of gold and pearls 'which I used to wear on my cloak'. From the thirteenth century onwards the devout also wore paternosters; thus in 1394 Sir Brian de Stapilton mentions 'my amber paternosters that I used to wear'. Men and women both wore cross pendants or precious stones from laces, like Lord Scrope who left his wife in 1455 'my crosse and my cheyne, that I bere about my neck'. However, pendants were often worn hidden under the robe or tunic. In the fifteenth century probably many noblemen and knights and their wives and daughters wore chains of gold or silver every day, and this custom was copied at times by rich merchants. These observations all concern Northern Europe; there were certainly national and local variations in the jewels it was customary to wear daily. In south-western France – the Lyonnais and Provence – the women normally every day wore a garland, probably what we should call a bandeau rather than a wreath, and this was probably also the case in Piedmont, for the statutes of Vercelli define *jocalia* or jewels as 'the garland . . . and the circlet [*volta*] and the *coatia* [?] that are worn every day'. In wealthy mid-fourteenth-century Genoa, an English pilgrim saw in 1344 the ladies of the city walking about 'in cloth of gold, surrounded with variety wearing golden coronals inset with precious gems, their hair hanging down behind, adorned with precious stones and jewels'.[8]

Weddings were the universal occasion on which all who could afford it clad themselves in their richest jewellery and finest array, as part of the tradition – general throughout Europe – of celebrating marriages as sumptuously as possible. Sumptuary laws almost everywhere tried to exercise a check on display and gifts at weddings, but custom was invariably too strong for them to acquire real force. A mediaeval espousal was among the wealthy and noble protracted by our standards. First came a formal betrothal, legally the binding part of the contract, followed at a greater or less interval of time by the wedding ceremony, when the festivities often lasted several days. Both the betrothal and the wedding day were occasions for the wearing and the giving of jewellery. Giving indeed was not confined as it is now to the bride and bridegroom; they gave presents to their own and to each other's friends and relations and both their families lavished gifts on each other. Clothes and jewellery figured largely among such gifts. The bride naturally wore jewels and was often richly dressed and jewelled for the first time in her life, though on this point as we have

seen there were two schools of thought in mediaeval Europe. By far the larger school believed that maidenly modesty and simplicity of attire were alone proper to a maiden, but another, vocal only in certain regions and cities of Spain and Italy so far as we can tell, opined that a maiden needed to be richly garbed and jewelled in order to attract suitors. In some places, fourteenth-century Barcelona, for example, the sumptuary laws would for this reason allow unmarried girls a sumptuousness of dress and ornaments that was rigorously forbidden after marriage, when matronly modesty and simplicity were required. In the chapters on sumptuary laws, on coronals and on chaplets – the principal ornament of European brides – these usages are illustrated more fully, but since what they contain mostly concerns women, it is important to remember that men too, especially men of royal rank, were richly jewelled for their weddings. In 1337, for instance, Pedro IV of Aragon ordered for his wedding to Marie d'Evreux a rich but light crown set with pearls and precious stones, another that was lighter still, a coronal or garland, and rings set with emeralds, rubies, diamonds and large pearls. Some were for his own wear, but others, like the rings, were probably intended for presents.[9]

Since weddings were the great occasion on which women received presents of jewels, it may be useful to have some idea now of what the highest in rank received or expected to receive on marriage. Imperial and royal ladies were splendidly equipped with jewellery for their weddings, but the types of jewellery that they received were largely the same as those in general use. When Isabella, the sister of King Henry III of England, married in 1235 the Emperor Frederick II, she was given an imperial crown of finest gold and precious stones and of the most excellent workmanship, decorated with figures of four English kings who had been sainted martyrs and confessors and so had been 'specially deputed by the king to the custody of his sister's soul'. She also received rings and brooches of gold set with precious stones. The jewellery given by King Charles II of Naples to his daughter Eleanora on the occasion of her wedding to King Frederick III of Sicily in May 1302 was perhaps even more magnificent. As jewels for her head Eleanora was given a coronal of gold with twelve fleurons set with pearls and precious stones, a garland of eighteen gold links set with four large sapphires, five small rubies and other small stones, and large pearls, and a gold chaplet or garland bearing eight shields enamelled with her arms and those of her husband and set with pearls and precious stones. In addition she had four *tressoirs* made in Paris, one mounted in gold set with pearls and small stones, the others mounted with pearls and enamels. As a princess and queen she had an eagle brooch, sewn with large pearls, and set with collets containing emeralds, rubies and balases. She was also given three girdles. One was narrow and of silver-gilt set with pearls and precious stones. It was of Paris work, as was her second girdle of green silk decorated with rosettes of gold and of pearls. The third was also of silk decorated with rosettes and large pearls.[10]

At great seigneurial or princely marriages, the coronals might equally be surpassingly splendid. In 1341 Jeanne of Brittany, Dame de Cassel, lent her daughter Yolande two gold crowns to wear 'for ornament on the night and day of her wedding' to Henri, Count of Bar. The heavier had six large fleurons and six small ones fashioned like small trees, and was studded with pearls, sapphires, balas-rubies, and emeralds, while the other had eight large cross-shaped fleurons, and eight small trefoil-shaped fleurons, and was studded with pearls, balas-rubies and emeralds. Both were decorated with square and other enamels. Again at her marriage ceremony held at Gien in April 1410 little Cathérine of Burgundy, daughter of Duke Jean Sans Peur, wore a gold crown set with forty-five balas-rubies, forty-five sapphires and one hundred and eighty-six pearls, together with a gold collar whose pendant was set with a diamond, a balas-ruby and five pearls, and a girdle of gold. No wonder that mediaeval moralists, when advising against marriage, were apt to cite among their arguments the costly presents that a wife expected from her husband.[11]

We have too a list of the jewels which Philippine de Luxembourg, Countess of Hainault, gave her daughter Marguerite on her marriage in 1298 to Robert, Count of Artois, and which Marguerite wore on her wedding day and the day after. The principal parure consisted of a gold coronal, of fourteen links, set with rubies and emeralds, of a fleur-de-lis brooch, in sign of kinship to the French royal house, set with rubies, emeralds and pearls and with an enamelled reverse, and a girdle of rubies, emeralds and sapphires, of seventy-seven links. These were exchanged, presumably on the day after the wedding, for a second coronal of cut rubies and sapphires of eighteen links, a chaplet of rubies and sapphires of twelve links, and a *tressoir* (hair-ornament) of rubies and emeralds. There follows a long list of jewels which were wedding presents and of jewels and other things which it was the custom for the bride to present to her ladies and others on marriage, at any rate in households like that of Hainault, in order to display the princely quality of liberality in largesse. From the third quarter of the fourteenth century we have a list of the jewels bought in Paris in 1377 by Amadeo VI of Savoy for the marriage of his son Amadeo with Bonne, the daughter of Jean, Duc de Berry. There were presents for the bride. She received a brooch set with pearls and precious stones, a mantle clasp set with gems and pearls, a great chaplet of fine gold set with pearls and precious stones, and another, evidently for much more usual wear, for it was less than a quarter of the value of the first, a *coiffe* for the head garnished with large pearls and precious stones and 'worked with designs' and a girdle decorated with pearls and precious stones. In addition a gold brooch even richer than that bought for the bride was purchased as a present for the Queen of France.[12]

This magnificence, great though it seems, was surpassed during the last decades of the fourteenth century. When Richard II of England cemented his policy of reconciliation with France in 1396 by marrying Isabelle, the daughter of Charles VI, the child-bride — she was then a little girl of six or seven — was given a splendid array of jewels, whose solemn glitter is in strange contrast with the touching entry in their inventory that records 'the dolls of the said lady, garnished and equipped with vessels of silver-gilt and other things appertaining'. First came a great jewelled gold crown of eight fleurons over a circlet of eight plaques, separated by jewelled bars, and a second crown. There were three chaplets of gold, one of ten, and two of seven hinged plaques, again all richly jewelled. There was only one state brooch, the symbolic fleur-de-lis of the French monarchy; her other three were all cluster brooches, of pearls, or in one case, pearls and sapphires encircling a large stone. Two of her three girdles were of jewelled gold links or plaques, the third of jewelled gold mounts on a black stuff. She also received three gold collars of her father's livery of broom-cods, two rich gold-mounted and jewelled cloak straps, a jewelled *coiffe* or head-dress with a frontlet of jewelled gold, a gold-mounted *tressoir* or riband for her hair, consisting of one hundred and sixty mounts, forty set with a balas-ruby, forty with a sapphire, and the remaining eighty with a cluster of four pearls. Finally she had a set of gold paternosters, garnished with pearls and gold buttons enamelled green. The day before her wedding her future uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, gave her the great mediaeval symbol of princely estate, a gold eagle enamelled white and thickly set with gems and pearls, and on her wedding day he gave her a gold crown with light fleurons. On her wedding day she was also given a circlet of gold and precious stones 'in the fashion of a garden', presumably therefore of branches and flowers, by Richard's cousin, Edward, Earl of Rutland.

During her progress to England she had received other gifts of rich jewels and plate. At Saint-Omer her great-uncle, Philip of Burgundy, gave her a rich brooch; at Calais she received a chaplet which was really a forehead ornament, for it was a half-circlet set with large balas-rubies and sapphires and large pearls. The ladies who met her at Dover gave her a gold crown and other rich gifts, and she was presented with a second crown by Richard at Canterbury. A Eltham he gave her a collar — what we should call a necklace — 'all of diamonds, rubies and large pearls'. John, Earl of Huntingdon, gave her a collar that mingled her father's device of broom-cods with roundels of a rosemary with a pearl in its centre and of the English royal device of an ostrich, and a cluster brooch of a diamond encircled by three balas-rubies and three large pearls, which was alleged to have cost him 18,000 francs. Lord Derby gave her a brooch or pendant with another royal English device, a leveret or grey-hound set with a balas-ruby and a large pearl hanging at its neck. From the Earl Marshal she received a girdle of pearls set with Ys (for Ysabelle) of gold, and its ends studded with pearls and stones. Richard also gave her a belt, intended to be worn as a scarf, which was garnished with his family device of feathers in gold. He also gave her other gifts, a gold circlet set with diamonds and pearls and a ruby, a chaplet of large pearls

arranged as roses, on red velvet, with hanging buds of gold enamelled white and green, and a badge of his device of a hart set with six large pearls round a sapphire. She also was given a brooch by John of Gaunt, when he entertained her to dinner. After her entry into London Richard gave her a coif of pearls, while the City of London gave her a gold circlet set with gems and pearls that was said to have cost 12,000 francs. Finally, on the day of her coronation in London Richard gave her a 'very rich' circlet of diamonds, rubies and pearls, which was, or was henceforward to become, a customary present from English kings to English queens for their coronation, and his uncle, Edward, later Duke of York, gave a cluster brooch of a large diamond encircled by pearls.[13]

Gifts of jewels on marriage were not by any means always left to the discretion or generosity of the husband. Frequently they were carefully negotiated between the bridegroom or his family and the bride's family, as part of her dowry and to ensure that she had jewels proper to her estate. The contract of marriage drawn up in 1384 between Guy, Comte de Chatillon, and Jean, Duc de Berry, for the marriage of Guy's son Louis to Jean's daughter Marie stipulated that Jean was to give clothes to her and jewels to Guy. The most detailed surviving stipulation of the jewels that a noble bride was to receive on marriage is Spanish and dates from 1471. The groom was the great Castilian nobleman Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, the bride was Beatriz, daughter of Don Juan Pacheco, Maestre of Santiago. Their marriage contract, drawn up on 20 March 1471 in Segovia, stipulated that Don Rodrigo was to purchase for Beatriz 'clothes and jewels and ornaments and trimmings that are proper to her estate and person'. Their precise nature and value were negotiated between Don Juan, the bride's father, and Don Rodrigo's special representative. As regards jewels, they agreed that Don Rodrigo should buy 'a collar for the shoulders, of up to five marks' weight of gold, a chain of three marks' weight of gold, a collar for the throat of one mark's weight of gold, with some stones and pearls, another collar for the throat of one mark's weight of gold, one mark's weight of gold in bracelets, a broad girdle mounted with another mark's weight of gold, another small girdle with a half mark's weight of gold, two hundred orient pearls, and some rings set with stones'. It was further agreed that these should be presented by the groom at the wedding, which was to take place in Córdoba at the end of the year. On 16 November receipt was given to Don Rodrigo's chamberlain for the jewels and trousseau he had delivered to Doña Beatriz. To anyone acquainted with mediaeval ways there is no surprise in discovering that the actual jewels presented did not correspond exactly with the jewels stipulated. Beatriz received a collar of thirty-five links, weighing three marks, six ounces and two reales, another collar of twenty-five links, enamelled and weighing five marks and six ounces, a chain 'of brushwood' — evidently of the fifteenth century's favourite lopped-bough motif — which had twenty-six links, and weighed eight marks two ounces, two bracelets which seem in fact to have been armlets and twelve bracelets for the wrist, six enamelled and six burnished, weighing altogether two marks, two ounces and six reales, a gold 'jewel' (probably a brooch) with a falcon on its front and set with a ruby, a table diamond and four pearls.[14]

As we have seen, a general exchange of jewels was also customary at weddings. At bourgeois and patrician weddings the bride and groom and their families usually exchanged presents. Presents were also distributed to friends and well-wishers: in 1291 the town of Montauban in Gascony found it necessary to forbid bridegrooms to give or to cause others to give on their behalf jewels of any sort outside the house where the bride was actually present. At princely and great baronial weddings it was usual for the bride and bridegroom to exchange presents of jewels and for presents of plate and jewels to be given to their relations, members of their household and to important guests. At the wedding of Duke Philippe of Burgundy in 1369 to Marguerite of Flanders, he made lavish gifts of girdles and gold brooches. To his mother-in-law, Countess Marguerite, he gave a gold brooch set with four large orient pearls and four large diamonds around a central ruby. To his bride Marguerite he gave a gold brooch set with three diamonds and three large pearls, which she in turn gave to the Count of Dammartin. At the double marriage at Cambrai in 1385 of his son Jean with Margaret of Bavaria and of Wilhelm of Bavaria with his daughter Marguerite, Philippe distributed among his wife's ladies-in-waiting a brooch in the form of a monkey, set with four balas-rubies, a sapphire and twelve pearls, two brooches shaped like a rose, each set with three sapphires, a balas-ruby and nine pearls, a gold brooch of a little white dog, set with two balas-rubies, two sapphires, four pearls and a diamond, a gold brooch of a white eagle, set with a balas-ruby, three sapphires and four pearls, a gold brooch of a white stag, set with three balas-rubies, two sapphires and sixteen pearls, and a gold brooch with a white man, set with three balas-rubies, a sapphire, nine pearls and three little diamonds.

The total value of the presents given during the wedding and the subsequent festivities was 77,800 livres, of which the jewels alone accounted for 50,000, the rest being gifts of plate. Again when his little daughter Cathérine was married to Leopold of Austria in 1388, Duke Philippe gave the Countess of Montbéliard a brooch decorated with a gold rose and set with a large balas-ruby, two sapphires, a diamond and three pearls, while the Countess's daughter received another gold brooch set with three large balas-rubies, a sapphire and six large pearls. To Madame de Sainte-Croix he gave a brooch of a white eagle set with three large sapphires, a square balas-ruby and six large pearls, while the Admiral of France received a brooch bearing a white unicorn set with two sapphires, two pearls, an emerald and a balas-ruby. For her part, Marguerite his Duchess gave Duke Leopold, the bridegroom's father, a gold brooch set with three sapphires, a balas-ruby and nine large pearls, and to his wife's brother a gold brooch of a white lion head set with four

balas-rubies, a sapphire and eight pearls. To her son-in-law she gave a gold brooch set with a gold lady and with a balas-ruby, a sapphire, two diamonds and four pearls. The bride gave her husband what was plainly a lover's brooch of gold, for it had a man and woman in white, set with four balas-rubies, a sapphire and eight pearls. Her brother Jean, Count of Nevers, later to be Duke Jean Sans Peur, gave him a simple cluster brooch of gold set with three balas-rubies, three sapphires and six pearls.[15]

Jewellery and precious stones were often given as a present or reward on other occasions besides weddings. We catch glimpses of this custom as early as the thirteenth century, and it was presumably much older. In 1206, for example, the account of King Philippe-Auguste of France, which we have already found recording so many purchases and gifts of precious stones and brooches, lists an almost equal number of distributions of them. For instance a certain Cadulfus received a ruby that had come from Alfonso IX, King of Castile, the Countess of Blois was given a brooch set with rubies and emeralds that had belonged to the King's mother, Alix de Champagne, who had just died, while Robert de Courtenay received four emeralds and a brooch set with ten emeralds that had also been Alix's. Louis, Philippe's son, also received a brooch set with emeralds and his wife, Blanche of Castile, was given another. A sapphire was given to Robert the Falconer, another sapphire to a preacher named Stephen. And a good number of other recipients are listed, some of whom no doubt received their jewels or precious stones as gifts, while others were issued with them simply as loans. Again in 1254, among the rich gifts Henry III sent to some great French noblemen who were his guests figured gold brooches and silk girdles 'such as it behoved so great a king to give and such magnates to receive', says the chronicler Matthew Paris. English clerics and bishops, anxious to obtain favours from high ecclesiastical and secular authorities, were often lavish with gifts; one of the entries in a note of the expenses of Robert, Bishop of Durham from 1274 to 1283 reads: 'For jewels, viz silk girdles and rings given in London to messengers and servants, 117s' and in 1280 Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, ordered his proctor at the Roman Curia to present Pope Nicholas III 'with jewels to the value of about 40 or 50 marks'. In 1307 King Philippe le Bel of France gave the daughter of Jaime, King of Majorca, a crown made by his court goldsmith Eudes Qualom, originally it would seem for the trousseau of his daughter Isabelle on her marriage to Edward II of England, but not used for this purpose. And in the same year he gave a gold brooch worth six marks to a messenger from Spain. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, indeed, and perhaps before, brooches were common gifts to messengers and to visitors of modest rank, such as heralds and knights. During 1285–6 for example Edward I of England gave a gold brooch to Federigo, a knight who had come as a messenger from Sancho IV of Castile, and to another foreign knight named Dounede de Bedford. Again in 1373 John of Gaunt gave the herald Montague a brooch made by his goldsmith Nicholas Twyford.[16]

During the Middle Ages as now, husbands and wives gave each other presents of jewellery, always as we have seen on marriage, but also on other occasions later. It was likewise the custom to give jewellery, as well as other kinds of presents, at the New Year – such New Year gifts were known in France as *étrennes*. This was a regular custom among the great, who gave presents to each other and to their households, and received them in their turn. For New Year's Day in 1392, for instance, Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, bought a whole list of jewels from the Paris goldsmith and *changeur* Jehan Tarenne to give as presents of this kind – beginning with a fine large square diamond for her brother-in-law the King and followed by rings set with a sapphire or other precious stones or pearls for such humble but important persons as the nurses to Princess Isabelle (b.1389) and Princess Jeanne (b.1391), the King's daughters, or the Queen's *femme de chambre*, washer-woman and workwoman. In 1411 her son Charles d'Orléans gave presents to a miscellany of persons – a little gold cluster brooch of a ruby and five pearls to his cousin Bonne d'Armagnac, a gold cluster brooch of a ruby and six pearls to 'the little hermit of la Sayere, who brought us my cousin's presents (*étrennes*)', gold rings set with precious stones which were given to his brothers, and a diamond flower given to his sister Marguerite, while his other sister Jeanne received a ring set with a round faceted diamond. The trusted counsellors of the household and their wives received diamond rings or diamonds while the gentlemen, knights and squires of the household received each a diamond mounted in gold. Twelve of the retainers – chosen 'at our will and pleasure' – got a gold ring apiece, or else one of six purses of silver thread. The chamberlains by contrast were given *tasses* (drinking vessels) of silver-gilt.[17]

The custom also prevailed in England. A list of New Year's gifts made by Edward II in 1315 includes gold brooches set with emeralds and two little gold flowers which were given to Brother Philip de Barton for the King's oblations at Epiphany. Again in January 1373 Edward's grandson John of Gaunt is found ordering payment to be made to the London goldsmiths Nicholas Twyford, John Palling, John Skilling and Herman Van Cleve 'for divers silver-gilt hanaps and divers gold beads [paternosters] and gold brooches and rings and phials and other jewels bought from them for us and given away on New Year's Day at Eltham last year'. Generally great regard was had to rank and hierarchy in these gifts, and great heed was also taken of the future wearer, and also not to incite jealousies by giving jewels that might appear to be of different value to servitors and ladies occupying the same kind of post or position at court. Thus when Amadeo VIII, Count of Savoy, ordered his New Year's gifts for 1416 from Thibaut de Bos and other goldsmiths of Paris, he was careful to attend to all these considerations. For his wife, Marie of Burgundy, he ordered a gold collar which incorporated his own device of oaks with her family device of sheep, which as we shall see had been much used by her mother Marguerite of Flanders, wife of Duke Philippe the Bold of

Burgundy. It had a pendant or central motif of a shepherdess, also enamelled, who was shown seated with a distaff. A separate payment was made to Thibaut for a diamond to set in the shoulder of a dog enamelled white which sat or lay on the robe worn by the shepherdess, and for a pearl set on her distaff. The duke's agent had to go elsewhere for a ruby to set in the shepherdess's chaplet: this was purchased from Pierre du Poro, a Lucchese merchant 'dwelling in Paris'. He also bought from Thibaut a silver girdle, then silver-gilt quivers and fifty silver ones – presumably badges for distribution in the household – and a brooch of enamelled gold shaped as a wheelbarrow, again for his wife, Countess Marie. Twelve brooches of lambs of enamelled gold each set with a diamond were also bought, six at five écus and six at six écus, so there was evidently some slight difference in quality which was no doubt clear to the recipients. Eight gold brooches set with pearls and a sapphire were bought for Countess Marie's ladies, 'at twelve francs apiece'.[18]

Philippe of Burgundy was particularly generous in his gifts of jewels, both in order to further his political views and to gain the reputation for largesse so essential to a mediaeval prince. Not only did he distribute jewels lavishly every New Year – at first, in the 1360s and 1370s, largely girdles and brooches, in the 1380s almost exclusively brooches, later, in the 1390s, with the addition of some collars and chains – but he gave them as tokens of goodwill, as wedding presents, and as diplomatic gifts. Exchanges of gifts of jewels at royal or princely feasts seems to have been common in the fourteenth century between hosts and their guests if these were of equal rank. But Philippe was especially lavish in 1402 when he entertained the Duchess of Brittany to supper; he made her a present of a gold coronal of twelve great links and twelve fleurons, set with balas-rubies, sapphires, emeralds and large pearls worth 5000 écus, while to her husband the Duke he gave a gold brooch set with a balas-ruby and eight 'fine and round' pearls. Generally such gifts were purchased from goldsmiths, but occasionally or in emergencies the Duke bought them second-hand – thus in February 1379 he ordered Amiot Arnaut, his *receveur des finances*, to be paid for a silver girdle, decorated with scrolls enamelled green, which 'Monseigneur had from him and gave to Jehan de Cagent, his cupbearer squire'. A brooch was a frequent wedding gift, as can be illustrated from his accounts for 1386 when he gave one set with a square balas-ruby, three sapphires and three clusters each of twelve large pearls encircling a square diamond, to his nephew Charles de Berry 'on his wedding-day'. This was bought for 1400 francs from Pierre Labourbien, a *marchand pierrier* (merchant of precious stones) of Genoa. In the same year his duchess, Marguerite, gave Cathérine de Vendôme on her marriage to Jean de Bourbon, Count of La Marche, a little cluster brooch of gold of seven pearls with a balas-ruby in the middle as a present – again on her wedding-day. And in the same year as his wedding-gift to one of his chamberlains Philippe bought a gold brooch of a cherub set with a balas-ruby from Perrin Remont, goldsmith of Paris.[19]

Romantic love was from the twelfth century one of the great animating interests of mediaeval society, and it found expression in jewellery, as in other forms of art. That expression had several aspects, corresponding to the nature and role of the different forms assumed by mediaeval love – the social relationship of betrothal and marriage, in which romantic forms of gallantry and display concealed the essentially practical and formal nature of the contract, the highly stylised chivalric reverence for an unattainable mistress, or the illicit commerce of seduction and adultery. In assessing the role of love in mediaeval jewellery it must be remembered that only among the poorest classes was a free choice of partner possible to the young; and even among these we may be certain that parental authority was often exercised, both over choice and refusal. Among the nobility, gentry and the patricians and bourgeoisie of the towns marriages were arranged, and young girls were carefully watched and warded before marriage. Among the classes then that could afford gold and silver there was no social situation in which two persons mutually attracted could freely make each other gifts of jewellery. Moreover it would have been impossible for a maiden to wear openly jewels given by a lover not sanctioned by her family, or for a wife to accept openly jewels from a man who was not her husband or her close kinsman.

As we have seen, the giving of jewellery to a bride first on betrothal and then on marriage was a recognised social custom throughout Western Europe, and in most countries it seems also to have been expected that either her family or the bridegroom should provide her with the ornaments suitable to her standing as a married woman. In addition to these the bridegroom must often have given the bride-to-be some personal token of love – usually a brooch or a ring – and most of the ring brooches which bear lover's inscriptions were surely gifts of this kind, or gifts made in the years following marriage, before the young girl had grown into a serious and dignified matron, whose prime ornaments were a girdle and a paternoster. A formal symbolism was evolved, as we shall see more fully later, to express the various sentiments appropriate to such modes and stages of relationship: for instance, the heart brooch, where the form figures the gift of the lover's heart to the beloved or the *fede* brooch, in which two clasped hands form the ring of the brooch, pledging unbroken faith. Both these types of brooch were universally popular throughout the West from the late thirteenth century, and we can deduce that they represented widely diffused and deeply felt patterns of sentiment, in which the gift of love and the plighting of faith were most significant motifs.

More complex is the problem of jewellery given by lovers in the illicit sense of the word. The mediaeval lover often opened and pursued his campaign of attraction and seduction by means of gifts, not least gifts of jewellery – 'jewels and goods are wooers' as a late fifteenth-century German author succinctly puts it. In his little poem of advice to ladies, *Le Chastiement des*

*dames*, the thirteenth-century French poet Robert de Blois counsels them: 'Take jewels from no one, unless you wish to do him a disservice. Where you do not wish to do a disservice, no lady who aspires to honour and wants no blame should keep such jewels. And know well that if she takes them, he who gives them sells them to her dearly, for jewels given for love soon cost her honour. They are not a gift pure and simple at all, rather such gifts cost dearly, for a lady whose soul and body are injured has made a very dear bargain. Know that this comes from covetousness: when covetousness makes a lady take them, she cannot long defend herself from doing mischief and grievance to God and the world.' Robert is even unwilling that she should accept secret gifts of jewellery from her kinsmen. 'If any relation desires to give you a jewel, you ought not to refuse him, whether it be a fair girdle or a fair knife, a purse, brooch or ring. Provided there be naught but a good intention between you, take all in assurance and thank him for it gratefully, and hold it dearer for his affection than for its worth. But you are forbidden to take rich gifts or receive them privily: taking and giving in private soon leads to thoughts of folly.'[20]

The giving of jewels in the chivalric relationship of courtly love is difficult to trace, so absolute were mediaeval notions of honour and discretion. Here the lover had of necessity to conceal his love under enigmatic language and symbols, so as not to expose the lady of his thoughts to scandal and dishonour. In the fourteenth century the device and motto provided a resolution of this problem, for they enabled the chivalric lover to conceal within an image – a flower or bird, a letter – the object of his cult, while figuring, if only by remote allusion and private significance, the mood of his passion, whether of hope, longing, or despair. We shall find many instances of this symbolism when we come to discuss the jewels of the fourteenth and fifteenth century and in particular the brooch and collar. The discretion of lovers and their contemporaries has meant that it is now almost always impossible to pierce to the true import of their symbolism, beyond the suggestion of an attitude in the lover – almost never do we know the true name of the mistress. In the chivalric code romantic love was valued as a spur to the lover to achieve valour and renown, but it was not to be directed to vicious ends. Counselling his son Jacques, who became one of the pattern knights of Burgundian court chivalry in the fifteenth century, Guillaume de Lalaing declared 'few noble men have attained to the high virtue of prowess and to good renown if they have no lady or maiden with whom they are in love, but take care, my son, that it be not with a vicious love, for that would ever redound to you as a great villainy and reproach'. In fact Jacques was placed in a highly embarrassing position at the festivities held in 1445 at Nancy by René of Anjou for Charles VII of France. He was favoured by two great ladies, Marie de Bourbon and Marie de Cleves. One gave him as a chivalric favour to wear during the tournaments a wimple fringed with gold and pearls, the other a sleeve richly embroidered with pearls and precious stones. At the banquet held after he

had won the prize he was seated between them: one secretly gave him a very rich diamond, the other a very fine ruby set in a ring.[21]

The forms of courtly love affected those of amorous commerce that had seduction or adultery as its purpose. Indeed it is probably unwise to make a complete distinction between the two: ambivalence and ambiguity were omnipresent in such relationships where appearances were everything and conformity to a romantic convention of service to a mistress an essential part of courtesy in love. The *Arrêts d'Amour* of the Parisian poet Martial d'Auvergne, probably written *c.*1460–6, are the decisions of a court of love – Martial was a *procureur* at the Parlement of Paris – and in their narratives of imaginary cases give some picture of the role of jewels in contemporary love affairs. In one a lover says he has given his mistress several trinkets and jewels – two small gold rings, a turquoise, a very pretty Agnus Dei mounted in silver-gilt and other small tokens besides. His mistress objects that she never asked him for anything: it is he who has constrained her to accept such gifts. In another the lover gives his mistress a handkerchief fastened 'to a fair heart of gold'.

It was customary for a mistress to reciprocate these gifts. We should never signify an amorous inclination by the present of a toothpick, but in the *Arrêts d'Amour* a lover fallen from grace is able to prove his mistress's former affection by citing her gifts of 'a vulture's claw mounted in silver-gilt that his lady had given him to pick his teeth' and of 'a little heart decorated with tears that he had always worn and still wore for the love of her between his shirt and his flesh'. For it was always possible to hide a jewel under the dress – such concealment endowing it with a secret poignancy and intimacy very much cherished by mediaeval sentiment. Probably, too, the situation in the Provençal romance *Flamenca* (*c.*1260) where the lover Guillaume gives Flamenca's maids presents of jewellery to gain their favour is in strict correspondence with reality. He gives them 'cords and frontlets and hair ribands, brooches [*noxas*], and clasps and rings, buttons filled with musk, and other jewels too'.[22]

One of the ways in which a wealthy mistress showed her affection to a poorer lover was by the gift of jewels – a form of amorous generosity alien to English sentiment, but still one of the *leitmotifs* of Balzac's *Le Père Goriot*. Brantôme, the historian of sixteenth-century French court life, speaking from long experience of the etiquette of gallantry, goes so far as to declare: 'For the sake of her honour every great lady ought to give her servant gifts. They may be small or great, money or trinkets or jewels or rich favours . . . but in this everything must be weighed with care, and the man should be discreet enough not to draw from the woman's purse as much as he would like'. The situation occurs in mediaeval fiction: in Antoine de la Salle's *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, completed in 1459, the great court lady who takes the young Jehan de Saintré as her knight gives him a purse whose colours and

interlaced letters are to be his device in future. It contains 12 écus which he is to spend on fine clothes, but this is only an earnest of larger sums she gives him, including as we saw jewels to have a bracelet made. Here fiction merely reproduces what took place in reality. In the 1480s the poor German knight Wilwolt von Schaumburg received from his mistress, to whom he had sworn life-long service while she in return pledged eternal fidelity, all the trappings, ornaments and jewels in which to make a figure at the tournaments of Franconia — horses, silken cloaks and silken hats richly adorned, gold chains and other jewels. And at one parting she gave him a little bundle in which she had enclosed fine shirts, hats of cloth of gold, strings of pearls, a rich gold chain, a gold cross set with five diamonds, and other precious gifts.[23]

Sentimental jewellery in the Middle Ages usually took the form of lovers' tokens. As we have just seen, certain types of brooch were designed to pledge faith or express affection and loyalty. Hair was not mounted in brooches as in later times, but the gift of hair was already a sign of affection, especially between lovers. It seems to have been the custom for girls or women to weave it into ribands and girdles and wear it on the person in this fashion. In *Cligès*, one of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, written in the later twelfth century, Sare d'Amors interweaves her own hair into a shirt which she sends to her lover Alexandre, son of the Emperor of Constantinople. In the *Roman de l'Escouffle* the hero wears on his right arm a silk sleeve, fastened at the wrist by a massive gold brooch decorated with two leopards. It is embroidered with gold flowers and with a border of letters which the daughter of the King of Persia, who loves him wholeheartedly, has worked in her own hair. In *Flamenca*, the hostess of the hero Guillaume collects his hair after his chaplain has cut it in order to weave it into a cloak strap of white sendal, which she then intends to present to the heroine Flamenca. In a late prose version of the story of the Châtelain de Coucy, the lady of Fayel makes for her lover a lace of silk interwoven with her hair which he wears as a *bourrelet* round his helm, where it falls behind in two tufts decorated with buttons of pearls. These are literary references; there is only one documentary reference to a jewel made of hair in this fashion. It dates from the later fourteenth century, and refers to a jewel worn, surprisingly, not in the chivalric world, but in the bourgeois society of Douai in Flanders. This was a girdle left to his daughter Katérine in 1377 by Lauwin Le Couttelier, a bourgeois of the town, made of his mother's hair, no doubt interwoven with another stuff, and mounted with silver-gilt.[24]

Gifts of jewels also marked other occasions, such as royal visits. When Charles VI came on a state visit to them at Dijon in 1390, Philippe and Marguerite of Burgundy gave presents to the royal entourage. Among other jewels Philippe gave a gold brooch with little bells, set with a ruby and five pearls to Charles d'Albret, a nobleman of semi-princely rank, a gold pearl-shaped jewel with a sapphire at the end to Pierre de Navarre, and to the King's secretary Jean de Montagu a little gold brooch with a white stag mantled, Charles VI's device, set with two balas-rubies, two sapphires, and ten pearls. Marguerite gave the royal councillor Jehan le Flament a set of gold paternoster beads with marker-beads of pearls and a gold pendant cross set with four balas-rubies and four pearls, and a brooch decorated with a white doe. Philippe's son Jean Sans Peur, like his father, used jewels as diplomatic gifts: in 1409, when Regnier Pot was sent on an embassy to Bohemia to negotiate a marriage, he was equipped with jewels with which to win the goodwill of key courtiers — a gold collar set with seven balas-rubies and fourteen pearls, a brooch set with a ruby, three diamonds and three pearls, a rich gold scarf embroidered with six large pearls and three large balas-rubies.[25]

Tilts and tournaments also gave rise to gifts of jewels. The Austrian knight Ulrich von Lichtenstein, in his disguise as Dame Venus, rode in 1227 from Venice to Bohemia challenging numbers of gentlemen to tilt with him, and in four weeks gave away two hundred and seventy gold rings to those who had met his challenge.[26] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries jewels were frequently offered to honour prowess in war or as prizes in tournaments, which were often held to mark such occasions as great weddings. After a skirmish before Calais in 1350 Edward III gave a prize of a chaplet of pearls to the French knight Eustace de Ribemont, whom the English had taken prisoner, as having been the best combatant of the day on either side, and begged him to wear it 'for love of me'. Again, King Charles VI of France won at a joust at Saint-Pol in 1390 a little chaplet of gold, weighing 7 ounces 25 esterlins, whose twenty-six links were shaped as marguerites, each set with a precious stone or pearl — in all six balas-rubies, seven sapphires and thirteen pearls. The prizes given at the Burgundian court were particularly lavish under Philip the Good, who was anxious to earn chivalric prestige by the princely virtue of largesse. At the jousting held during his marriage to Isabelle of Portugal in January 1430 there were prizes of gold brooches, of a gold chain, of diamonds and of rubies.[27]

Such prizes were also offered at tournaments got up by private arrangement, as at a tournament held in Paris c.1405 for the wedding of a daughter of a majordomo of the royal household. Towards the end of the celebrations the ladies who were present 'suggested to the knights and the amorous gallants that for love of their mistresses they should hold an honourable feast at which they should joust and be richly attired. They for their part would have made at their own expense a gold bracelet with a shield and a very rich chaplet, and they would come to watch and give them to the knight who acquitted himself best'. It seems in fact to have been a late mediaeval custom for ladies to take the initiative in instituting a tournament and offering a prize of a jewel in this way. On 17 April 1465, for instance, as Anthony Wydeville, Lord Scales, the brother-in-law of Edward IV, was speaking on bended knee to his sister Queen Elizabeth after high mass, 'the ladies of hir compaigne aryvid aboute me; and they of theire benyvolence tied aboute my

right thigh a Coler of goolde garnysshed with perre and was made with oon letter. And when I had it, it was nerr my hert then my knee. And to that Coler was tied a noble Floure of Souvenaunce, enamelid, and in manir of an emprise'. The letter was evidently the initial of Wydeville's lady and, by accepting the jewelled collar, with its gallant allusions to his love and to faithful remembrance, Wydeville bound himself to appear as champion in a tournament to be held at London. In fact he sent a challenge to the Bastard of Burgundy together with the Floure of Souvenaunce, which the Bastard was to touch if he accepted the challenge, after which Wydeville would wear it 'as my most derrest thing' until their passage at arms was accomplished. The tournament was eventually held in June 1467.[28]

It seems also to have been the custom for their relations to give presents of jewels to young men when they received knighthood. Flamenca, the heroine of the Provençal romance, hearing that her cousins are to be knighted, spreads out a great number of jewels on a carpet in her chamber 'so that she can be advised which of them will make the most suitable presents'. It was also the custom, at any rate in France, to present jewels to anyone about to set off on a long journey or a crusade. In 1248, when Jean, Sire de Joinville, was setting off to join St Louis on his ill-fated crusade, he dined at the abbey of Fontaine l'Archevêque, whose abbot, Adam de Saint-Urbain 'gave great abundance of fair jewels to me and to my nine knights'. Again, when Louis's brothers set sail from Acre, the Count of Poitiers borrowed many jewels from them, and then distributed them to Joinville and the others who remained with the King.[29]

Jewels were also offered by pilgrims and visitors and by devotees to the shrines of the saints or to favourite Roods and statues of the Virgin and saints. In 1368 for instance, Thomas Morice, a pious and wealthy citizen of London, left his girdle of black stuff with silver buckle to the Crucifix at the north door of St Paul's, another of yellow stuff with silver buckle together with five gold rings to the image of the Virgin in the new work of the church, and a third girdle of blue stuff to the much venerated shrine of St Erkenwald in the same church. The custom of making such offerings was an ancient one, and it appealed deeply to the impulsive devotion of mediaeval man in his anxious quest for aid and protection from God and the saints. Jewels were offered either as votive gifts, that is to obtain or to give thanks for favours, or else to forward some pious work like the making or ornamenting of a shrine. Abbot Suger describes in the 1140s how kings and princes and great men visiting his church took off their rings to offer their gold for the making of the golden altar-table that was to be the frontal of the shrine of Saint Denis and how archbishops and bishops offered their investiture rings for the same purpose. Rings were among the jewels most frequently offered to shrines. But other jewels were also given as oblations. In 1223 John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, offered the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury 'four enormous sapphires, than which we have never seen finer', declares the chronicler Matthew Paris. In

1244, 1251 and again in 1252 Henry III offered precious gold brooches to the shrine of St Alban and in 1247 Richard of Cornwall offered a great gold brooch to the tomb of St Edmund of Canterbury at Pontigny. These were often fastened to the shrine or hung from it as perpetual offerings: thus the two brooches Henry offered in 1251 he ordered to be fixed irremovably to the shrine of St Alban. Legend gathered about the great ruby given by the King Louis VII of France in 1179 to the shrine of St Thomas Becket. One story said that the King had refused the Archbishop of Canterbury's first request to give the ring to the shrine because he believed it ensured him success in all his undertakings, and offered a huge sum of money instead. The Archbishop had just accepted the money when the stone leapt out of the ring and embedded itself in the shrine. The ruby, later known as the Regale of France, is mentioned with awe by all mediaeval visitors to Canterbury, and was later worn by Henry VIII in a ring and by Queen Mary Tudor in a collar.[30]

The kings of England made such offerings of jewels, either in person or through agents, to shrines as part of their regular oblations. This custom was already in vogue under Henry III: in 1239–40, for example, Henry ordered a gold brooch to be bought for 37s 6d and an emerald ring for 10 marks and offered at the shrine of St Edward in Westminster Abbey. Under the reign of his son Edward I brooches were still the most frequent gifts. In 1299–1300, for instance, Edward I and his Queen Eleanor offered gold brooches, averaging 5 to 6 marks in value to twelve shrines throughout England – to the shrine of St Wilfrid at York, to that of St Oswin at Tynemouth, to that of St Cuthbert at Durham, to those of St Augustine and St Thomas Becket in Canterbury, to the shrine of St Alban at St Albans, to the shrine of St Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, to that of St Hugh at Lincoln, to that of St Cuthbert at Durham, that of St Wulfstan at Worcester, that of St John at Beverley, that of St Etheldreda at Ely, that of St Edmund at Bury St Edmunds, that of St Wilfrid at Ripon. Some of the shrines – notably those of St Wilfrid, St Cuthbert, St Thomas Becket, St Edmund and St John of Beverley – received two or more offerings of such brooches, which were also offered to an image of the Virgin venerated in Canterbury Cathedral, to Chichester Cathedral, and to the revered image of Our Lady of Walsingham. Sometimes the offerings were made by the King or on his behalf by his son Prince Edward in person; at other times a court official of rank was despatched to make the offering on behalf of the King or Queen. Edward and Eleanor also made offerings to shrines in France, where of course many of their domains lay, and with whose court they had intimate dynastic and political ties. In 1285–6, for example, they and their sons and daughters made offerings of gold brooches to the French royal shrine of Saint Denis, to the shrine of St Martin at Tours, to that of St Wulfram at Abbeville and to that of St Eutropius at Saintonge, as well as to the shrine of St Edmund Rich at Pontigny. The brooches given to these and to

shrines in England were not personal jewels, but were bought to be offered from William of Farendon, William of Blyth, Ralph Raby and other English goldsmiths.[31]

Some mediaeval statues of the Virgin are still adorned with jewels given by the faithful. The earrings worn by the late ninth-century reliquary statue of St Foy (pl.11) were the gift of a devotee in the late tenth century. In the thirteenth century an enamelled shield was added to the saint's robe, in the fourteenth, sections of three girdles or coronals were attached to it, and in the fifteenth a circular cluster brooch of a crystal in a claw setting, surrounded by emeralds and buds in red and green enamel, was set at her neck. The eleventh-century Golden Virgin of Essen wears a thirteenth-century eagle brooch (fig.84); the early fourteenth-century Vierge de Roncesvaux wears a necklace with a triangular pendant and a girdle which are

probably fifteenth-century. The practice continued and still continues: the much venerated fourteenth-century reliquary bust of St Agatha (fig.13) in Catania, Sicily is hung with a remarkable collection of votive jewellery, dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and the fourteenth-century shrine of St Simeon at Zara (Zadar) still has a remarkable collection of votive rings. The anonymous English author of the treatise *Dives et Pauper* (1405–c.1410) wryly supposes that the saints on earth 'were not arayid so gay, with shoon of silver and clothes of gold, of baudekyn, of velvet, ful of brochis and rynnges and precious stonys, as their ymagis been to which the people offyred'. Dives, one of the speakers in the dialogues of which the book is made up, says that churchmen would rather have 'a broche or a ryng of silver or of gold than a peny or a halpeny though the broche or the ryng be but of easy [low]

price' in order to induce folk to make offerings to richly dressed and jewelled images.

The wills of devotees are sometimes very particular about how their jewels were to be used. In 1325 Marianne Le Muisit, a bourgeoise of Tournai, left her good girdle 'to girdle the image of Our Lady of Tournai'. John Baret of Bury St Edmunds left in 1463 to the shrine of St Edmund his best heart brooch of gold decorated with angels and four white enamelled scrolls and set with a ruby 'to be hange, naylyd, and festnyd vpon the shryne onn my coste by the auys of my executours wher they and the ffertrerys thynke and fynde a place moost convenient, to the wourshippe of God and Seynt Edmund'. In 1463 Lady Euphemia Langton of Farneley, near Leeds in Yorkshire, widow of Sir John, left her chaplet of pearls to decorate the canopy that hung above the Host in Leeds parish church 'there to serve in perpetuity the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ', her cluster brooch of a ruby encircled by pearls to the chapel of the Virgin in the monastery of St Mary's, York, and to the parish church of Shireburn in Elmet an alabaster image of the Virgin, together with a collar of SS — an English livery collar of which we shall hear more later — partly of silver, partly of gold, and its pearl-rimmed gold pendant set with three pearls and a ruby. The collar, she declared, was bequeathed on condition that it remain in perpetuity on the image and be never removed therefrom. In 1465 another pious widow, Lady Margaret Stapilton left her best gold ring 'that I wear on my finger' to be hung by a silk lace round the neck of the image of the Saviour at Newborough, in Yorkshire. To the image of the Blessed Virgin at Scarborough, Lady Margaret Ashe left in 1465 her pendant cross of gold set with pearls, also ordering by a frequent mediaeval custom that a man should be hired at her expense to go to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn in Scotland to offer on her behalf a gold ring set with a diamond. In 1498 Lady Anne Scrope left her gold heart brooch, set with a diamond in the middle, to the Rood of Northdor. To Our Lady of Walsingham she left ten beads of her great gold paternoster, which was threaded with crimson silk and gold, and had a great button of gold, and a tassel of the same cord, and ten each of its remaining beads to Our Lady of Pewe, to the shrine of St Edmund at Bury, and to the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Sometimes the testator even dressed out a statue in jewels. In 1502 Lady Joan Chamberlaine of York left her wedding ring, a girdle of gold stuff harnessed with silver-gilt and a paternoster of coral beads with gauds of silver to 'that blessid image of Saynt Anne' in the monastery of St Mary's, York, 'and I will that the rynge, the day of my bureall, be putt on hir fynger, the gyrdyll abowt hir, and the baydes in hir hand'.[32]

Hanging round the portable shrine of St William of York, the city's patron saint, in the late fifteenth century were six girdles, two of them silver-gilt, one of silk interwoven with gold, three pairs of paternosters of silver-gilt, two pairs of coral, two of chalcedony, all with silver-gilt gauds, little crucifixes, six brooches set with stones and eight rings. To the shrine of the saint proper were attached girdles, one of crimson silk with buckle and mordant of gold, the other a *demi-ceint* of silver-gilt, and four pieces of coral, two unmounted, two mounted in silver-gilt. About his head reliquary hung paternosters of silver, coral and amber, a small mordant or pendant of Venetian gold set with stones and pearls from a girdle, rings, a brooch of enamelled gold, a gold cross set with precious stones and pearls, a pair of gold paternosters 'of great price', an Agnus Dei, two figures of St George and one of St Elias, seven crosses, a pomander of silver-gilt, a silver eagle (either a brooch or pendant) and an enamelled fleur-de-lis. In the same cathedral of York the shrine of Archbishop Richard Scrope (*c.*1350–1405), who had been executed under Henry IV and was greatly venerated in the North as a saint and martyr, attracted continual gifts in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century — the girdles and Agnus Dei of an early list had swelled in 1509 to a long inventory of jewels and ex votos displayed on three cloths. On the first cloth hung among other objects eight silver crucifixes, seventeen silver girdle buckles, three Agnuses and two silver tablets (a kind of pendant). On the second were more crucifixes and another Agnus, girdle buckles and mordants of gold, a silver chaplet, two silver-mounted girdles, a paternoster of silver with gilt gauds, and eleven rings. On the third hung a silver St George on horseback, crucifixes, more Agnuses, a gold brooch with an angel and set with a precious stone, a gold heart brooch enamelled white and green, another tablet, and silver-mounted girdles. Later offerings to the shrines, as listed in 1519, included a gold baldric ornamented with bells, a gold chain with crucifix set with five sapphires, and a gold collar of SS offered by Sir Nicholas Bowet of Lincolnshire to the shrine of Archbishop Scrope.[33]

The inventory taken in 1441 of the offerings made to the miraculous image of the Virgin in the cathedral of Lausanne, much venerated in the Middle Ages, especially by the House of Savoy, gives an impression of the votive jewels of a Continental shrine in the mid-fifteenth century. The image itself held a diamond ring and a little silver cross hung round its neck. From the arm of the Christ Child hung a little silver-gilt pendant cross with a white figure with green ornaments and round his neck a paternoster of small corals with a silver-gilt bar and a little enamel hanging from it. In the treasury were eight collars of the Order of the Collar founded by Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy, in 1362, one of gold and another of silver offered by Amadeo himself, the others of silver and silver-gilt, including one given by Humbert, Bastard of Savoy, probably *c.*1440. A collar of silver, 'in the fashion of white and red roses' had been offered by Louise, wife of Amédeé de Châlons, probably in the late fourteenth century. There were a number of small jewels, silver heart pendants, some probably votive, a jasper stone set with a silver cross, and two pendants of round stones, one hanging from a silver chain, one from a silk lace, a ring set with a chalcedony stone 'miraculously discovered', a sapphire ring, three rings and a tiny brooch all strung from a thread of

silver, a brooch set with a sapphire, a girdle of blue silk with mounts of silver-gilt. A coronal of silver-gilt adorned with precious stones had been left for the head of the Virgin by Bince Gollion, wife of a patrician merchant of Lausanne, and the wife of N. Gimel, another patrician of the city, had left a coronal of pearls 'of small value' for the same purpose. During the years from 1441 to 1449 a lady's collar hung with the little bells so fashionable in the fifteenth century was offered *c*.1443; in 1446 the Bishop of Lausanne gave three gold rings set with precious stones to hang by a gold chain above the Virgin's head, to which two more gold rings and one of silver-gilt were soon added. Two more rings were offered *c*.1449.[34]

In 1535 the image itself appears resplendent with jewels. To the Virgin's crown was fixed a brooch of pearls and gems, and on her forehead was a jewel set with a red stone encircled by pearls and other stones. On her breast was a brooch set with a red crystal in the centre of four other stones. The Child's crown was stuck with various brooches – a cluster brooch of a little ruby encircled by six pearls, a round brooch of silver-gilt, with four pearls on its rim, a brooch of a spinel ruby, encircled by eight emeralds and seven pearls, a cameo of God the Father encircled by four violet-coloured stones and eight pearls, a reliquary brooch set with a ruby and several pearls, a silver-gilt brooch set with six pearls, and a little brooch set with a sapphire. Round the Child's neck a pendant set with three precious stones hung from a chain. From a chain round the Virgin's neck hung an oblong crystal set in a pendant. Other jewels were on or around the image: a brooch with the head of St John the Baptist cut in mother-of-pearl, a little silver-gilt cross set with a painting of the Crucifixion, a pendant of mother-of-pearl carved with figures of St James, St Barbara and St Catherine in a case of silver-gilt with the *Ecce Homo* under glass, a little figure in silver-gilt of the Virgin, two large Agnus Dei medallions, and a pendant of an oblong piece of chalcedony. The treasury now contained, besides objects of the kind already described, chains and collars, including new silver collars of the Order of the Collar, chains of silver and silver-gilt, many paternosters of various materials – jet, chalcedony, jasper, amber – and rings. Plainly, however, many or all of the offerings were swept away by the Chapter from time to time to make room for new, and converted to pious purposes.[35]

It was also a custom for pilgrims to take jewels with them on pilgrimage with which to touch relics or a holy statue. Naturally they also took them to Palestine so that they might touch the Holy Places. They could also buy such jewels in Jerusalem and bring them back home, where they made very acceptable presents to family and friends. From his pilgrimage in 1418–19 the great Gascon lord Nompar II de Caumont (1391–1446) brought back in a coffer of cypress-wood a whole quantity of jewels bought in Jerusalem. There were a set of paternoster beads of white ivory, six other sets of 'black musk', and fifteen cords of paternoster beads of cypress wood and one of aloe-wood, thirty-three silver rings which had touched the Holy

Sepulchre, twelve crosses of silver-gilt and a chalcedony mounted in silver, probably a pendant, all of which had touched the Holy Sepulchre and 'the other holy relics', a precious stone 'of two sorts of stone' mounted in gold with a pearl which also had touched the Holy Sepulchre. A large gilt cross and a pearl and twenty-seven mother-of-pearl crosses, had also touched the Holy Sepulchre. In addition Nompar acquired some precious stones with curative properties, one that was good for the *huiles*, five serpentine stones, one white, one dark blue, and three yellow, all of which 'are good against poison'. The only rich jewel in the valuable sense that he brought back was a gold cluster brooch of a ruby encircled by eight pearls. 'All these jewels', he writes proudly, 'I brought back from that land to give to my wife and to the lords and ladies of my own parts.[36]

# 8 SUMPTUARY LAWS

In the Middle Ages, as earlier and later, jewellery was worn to proclaim rank or wealth, as well as for ornament. In the eyes of princes and nobles jewellery of gold and precious stones was the prerogative of those of knightly degree and above. Christine de Pisan voices this feeling in her biography of King Charles V of France, written in 1403–4, when she says that because of all that those belonging to the order of chivalry endure in war from hard beds, cold, misadventure and the perils of assault and battle 'rich array decorated with orphreys and glittering with gold and precious stones were established for them as being a thing due and pertaining to them'. This was also the view of the Church. Preaching a sermon against vanity in his native Siena in 1427, the popular Franciscan preacher San Bernardino began by condemning all those who wore garments that were not proper to their rank and occupation in life. Merchants must not wear the soldier's *giornea* or tunic, women must wear modest dress that does not reek of the showy courtesan. Precious dress is allowed only to royal persons and to great lords; the rich man may dress more honourably than the artisan, but must not go beyond due limits. 'What need is there of so much silk dress in Siena, or of so much embroidery'. The Tuscan peasantry of *c.*1400 were less aspiring: the Beato Giovanni Dominici wrote in his *Regola del governo di cura familiare*, 'No peasant woman longs for a coronal of pearls, though she sees it on the head of a countess; in her degree she seems to herself as well-adorned with a rope of the fish-eyes or oyster-shells called mother-of-pearl, as the gentlewoman with true pearls and fine balas-rubies'.[1]

In jewellery the most prestigious metal was gold, for which even silver-gilt or silver were seen as poorer substitutes, most suitable for wear by those who were merely of the degree of knight or esquire. Indeed one or two silver jewels were in all probability the only objects in precious metal owned throughout the Middle Ages by poorer knights and squires. Richer knights, however, might certainly have gold jewels: in 1302, for example, the French knight Bernard, Sire de Moreul, left his daughter a gold coronal and a brooch with a lid (*le fermail à couvercle*). But rich or poor, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries all took gifts of collars and badges from their kings and lords with covetous delight.

Another expression of this importance of jewels as symbols of rank was the jealous resentment that made laws forbidding wealthy citizens and their wives to wear the magnificences of gold and precious stones which were the prerogative of their superiors. A French royal ordinance of 1283 commanded that 'no bourgeois or bourgeoise . . . shall wear or be allowed to wear gold or precious stones or girdles of gold or set with pearls or coronals of gold and silver'.[2]

This law, enacted in the pattern feudal society of thirteenth-century Europe, expressed its fear that the divinely ordained hierarchy of society would be threatened if fine clothes and costly jewels were allowed to be worn indiscriminately instead of remaining badges of noble rank. Plainly among those not of high degree there was just as little passive acceptance of this order, as defined by the nobility and the clergy, in matters of jewellery as in other aspects of mediaeval social life, and among the rich and aspiring there was constant emulation of the ornaments the nobility thought proper only to themselves. Yet the frugal merchant classes themselves were often united in their disapproval of extravagance and pretension in jewellery and dress, particularly among their wives and daughters. The feeling was no doubt encouraged by mediaeval religious sentiment, so strong in its condemnation of female vanity and ostentation. We find Italian communes, French towns and German free cities all enacting sumptuary laws against display and expense of this kind from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Nevertheless even in such communal governments there was sometimes an eye to mark social distinction within a general restriction. For instance, the statutes of Pistoia in 1332 allowed the wives of knights, judges and physicians to wear ornaments of silver-gilt rather than of plain silver, like other women, and there were also exemptions for them in later sumptuary laws. For men of this sort constituted a patrician class in the fourteenth-century Tuscan communes; the poet Francesco da Barberino, writing in 1318–20 his poem of advice to women on their conduct, *Del reggimento e costumi di donna*, allows greater freedom of deportment to any girl who is the daughter of a knight, a respected judge, or a respected physician, or of a gentleman whose family has had or still has members of knightly degree.[3]

What Italian civic regulations in general imply is that the conversion of too much money into extravagant apparel and ornaments was seen as a serious threat to the stability of fortunes and to the nice balance of relative civic rank and importance among patrician families, and so to the social stability of the city itself. There seems especially to have been a widespread anxiety in the Italian communes that coronals with fleurons should not be worn, no doubt because the pretensions to high nobility that they implied were resented and feared by the jealous communal spirit. And there was also an anxiety that

those lesser ensigns of noble and knightly rank, the circlet and garland, if worn at all, should not be worn by those whose degree did not entitle them to such ornaments, or in too expensive a form, lest they cause jealousies among the wives of citizens. Equally deep-rooted was an objection to the broad borders usually made or embroidered with gold and silver thread, or sometimes of lengths of beaten gold foil, and decorated with precious stones, pearls or enamels, which were the chief enrichment of mediaeval robes, tunics and mantles, and which were resented for their arrogance of luxuriousness, perhaps because such ornaments, like the coronal, had originally been those of princes and nobles and their families. These borders – *fixiae*, *friside*, *frisaturae*, *infrixitrae* – we shall call trimmings, braidings or orphreys. Even in some feudal societies – notably Aragon, Castile and Sicily – there was a similar disapprobation of expenditure on jewellery and ornaments, motivated partly by a wish to discourage vanity among all classes, and partly too no doubt by a wish to check wasteful ostentation, especially in women. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find sumptuary laws being enacted locally or generally in this sense in every country of Europe, particularly from *c*.1340, when brightly coloured apparel of costly materials, richly embroidered, fastened by buttons of gold or silver or amber or pearl, and trimmed with gold facings, often decorated with pearls or precious stones, began to be flaunted by both sexes, and especially by rich and patrician women and young men, openly in the streets before the disapproving or jealous eyes of older folk.

It was in Spain, earlier than in any other country so far as is known, that the first sumptuary laws were enacted which specifically forbade jewellery. In 1234 King Jaime I of Aragon (El Conquistador), forbade to all, including himself, the wearing of slashed, striped or trimmed dresses, 'nor may any wear on their clothes gold or silver, neither orphreys, nor oripel . . . nor *affiblays* [brooches or clasps] of gold or silver'. Alfonso X of Castile followed suit in 1252 with an ordinance forbidding the wearing of gold braiding on dress, especially by women, who were to flaunt no borders of gold or silver or embroidered seed-pearl on their robes and head-dress. He found himself, however, obliged to renew this inhibition at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1258, where even great lords (*ricos hombres*) were forbidden to adorn their mantles or robes with silver or crystal or buttons or long cords or more than light fur trimmings, or to wear hats with trimmings of gold or silver.[4]

These regulations for Aragon and Castile were followed in 1306 by a sumptuary law for Roussillon and Cerdagne – now part of Southern France – but then part of the Spanish kingdom of Mallorca whose kings, a junior branch of the House of Aragon, also ruled over these two counties. Like its Aragonese predecessor, this law was fairly severe in its prohibitions. It begins with the usual sweeping enactment that women and maidens were henceforward forbidden to wear gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, and then proceeds to list the permitted exceptions. Of exceptional interest – because it throws light on

a local fashion of decorating the hair which apparently persisted into the nineteenth century – is the regulation allowing women to put into their hair no more than three or at most four and half pairs of the long silver-gilt pins called *membrets*. They may fasten their dresses with brooches of silver or silver-gilt, and these must be plain or at best decorated in relief, as may be the clasps or brooches with which they fasten their cloaks. But these cloak fasteners may not be decorated with pearls or stones or enamels – indeed their value must not exceed their worth as plain silver – and no woman may wear on her cloak the other ornaments known as *bulles* and *caixets* (buttons?) or a chain of gold or silver or enamelled ornaments to a weight of more than twelve ounces. Nor may she decorate any mantle or cloak with gold, silver, pearls or precious stones, save for the borders down the front, the chaperon and the *ailettes* which may have ornaments of silver or silver-gilt, provided their price does not exceed thirty sous for round mantles, or fifty for capes. Although buttons, brooches and clasps may be gilt, chains worn round the neck must be of plain silver and may not exceed three *cannes* in length. Finally this sumptuary law, like some other laws enacted elsewhere, allows unmarried girls a rich display of jewellery, collars, pearls and what they will, to a value of twenty sous. This was to allow them to attract suitors; married women were forbidden all such vanities.[5]

In 1348, against a now rapidly mounting tide of sumptuous display and rich ornament, not only in Spain, but throughout Europe, Alfonso XI of Castile once more forbade the wearing and trimming of cloth with gold and embroidery of seed-pearls, and at the same time buttons of gold, silver, amber and enamel, dresses embroidered with seed-pearls, gold and silver thread or slashing of gold. No one except the king and the infante his heir was to wear cloth of gold or silk; even his other sons were to wear only cloth of *tapete* (an unidentified stuff) or silk without gold or ornaments. There was, however, a special dispensation for the weddings and joustings of great lords, who might wear two suits of cloth of gold at these occasions. Such a great man might give his bride one suit of clothes embroidered with seed-pearls to the value of 4000 maravedis for their wedding, but apart from this and two other suits she was to receive no other gift of clothes until four months after it. Knights and squires were to observe the same rule, but with the difference that the value of the pearls on any suit they gave was not to exceed 2000 maravedis. Alfonso then confirmed an ordinance he had just enacted for Toledo, forbidding among other things the giving of jewels to a bride, but allowing the wives of Mozarabic nobles, knights or squires to wear silk dresses with braiding of gold or silver according to their custom, and even extending this privilege to the wives of the common people. The dispensation was made in order to keep the loyalty of these Christianised Moors. He also confirmed a similar ordinance for Seville, allowing bridegrooms to give only one suit of clothes that had gold braiding and embroidery of seed-pearls to their bride. Any lady whose husband maintained a horse could wear gold braiding on

her dress, but no embroidery of seed-pearls or other ornaments.

Much subsequent Castilian legislation shows the same tendency as these ordinances of 1348 to regulate the wearing of rich ornaments on costume according to rank, rather than to forbid it absolutely like earlier legislation. Rich dress was certainly very common by 1380, when all, excepting only the royal princes, were forbidden by Don Juan I to wear dresses of cloth of gold or silk or ornaments of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones in sign of mourning for the great Castilian defeat by the Portuguese at Aljubarrota. More typical was an ordinance of 1395, in which Enrique III forbade any married woman whose husband did not have a horse worth 600 maravedis to wear silk, or ribands or garlands of gold or silver, or pearls. This injunction was repeated in more detailed form in 1404 when wives whose husbands had no horse worth 1200 maravedis or saddle-colt aged three years upwards and worth 600 maravedis were commanded not to wear ribands or garlands, girdles, earrings (*zarcillos*), strings (*sartales*) of beads of gold, silver, precious stones or pearls or any other ornament of gold and silver. But the taste for rich ornamentation continued, and at the Cortes of 1452 Juan II was asked to revive the ordinances of Alfonso XI. His petitioners observed first how superfluous and damaging to the kingdom was the extravagant expenditure of men and women on rich stuffs and furs, on ornaments and trimmings of gold, silver and pearl for their own dresses. Moreover such attire was now being worn not only by those whose high lineage and great estate and lordships made it their right, but even by the wives of craftsmen, who were wearing dresses and ornaments meant for high-born ladies, of great estate and lordship, to the confusion of all proper distinctions and to their own great impoverishment, and to the shame of those of good descent who could not afford similar dress and ornaments. The King promised to enquire into the matter, but seems to have done nothing.

Aragonese legislation followed the same pattern. In 1382 the wearing of pearls, precious stones, trimmings and embroidery of gold and silver was forbidden. A noble lady, Doña Blanca, wife of Don Pedro Sánchez of Catalayud, who wore a dress at a feast in the following year which did not conform to this ordinance, was sternly punished, in spite of powerful pleas in mitigation – not an exceptional piece of severity in the Middle Ages. It seems that sumptuary regulations long continued to be enforced in Aragon: but Spanish royal laws were perhaps exceptional among feudal societies in imposing such strict restraints in the wearing of jewellery on the noble and knightly classes.

Spain took the lead in sumptuary legislation, but by the later thirteenth century alarm at the increasing luxury of jewellery and dress began to be generally felt. In 1274 at the Council of Lyons Pope Gregory X prohibited all excess of female ornaments. This was not a mere empty proclamation: the Florentine Simone della Tosa records that at Easter 1275 'by will of the Pope women were no longer allowed pearls, and a certain tire of birds' feathers, and were forbidden trimmings of gold and silver'.

It is from about this time onwards that we find inhibitions or restrictions on the wearing of jewels or jewelled trimmings figuring in most European sumptuary laws, whereas they only appear sporadically in earlier sumptuary legislation. The first civic sumptuary regulations to inhibit or regulate jewellery are from Southern France. They date from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and precede by some few years Pope Gregory's general prohibition. Just as the earliest princely sumptuary legislation to limit the wearing of jewellery was Aragonese, so the earliest civic legislation to limit or forbid it was enacted by the great and wealthy city of Montpellier, as part of the Kingdom of Mallorca under the rule of a junior branch of the House of Aragon. In 1268 a city statute concerning weddings forbade women to wear silk dresses or robes embroidered with gold, silver or pearls. Furthermore no woman was to wear either a garland of pearls or buttons. Despite this stern inhibition of ornament, only five years later in 1273, the city fathers found themselves obliged to lay an embargo on much worse excesses. Women, they now declared, were not to wear coronals or garlands of gold or silver, or brooches of gold and silver or chains and clasps of gold and silver. Nor might they wear clothes of cloth of gold or silver or silk. Montpellier had grown rich in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a centre of gold-refining, and the tendency for the wives of wealthy citizens to flaunt the ornaments of noble rank is very marked in all early mediaeval cities which had grown rich by trade and banking and industry. We shall find it in Siena, Florence, Venice and Messina, and in the great cloth-weaving cities of Flanders, as well as in great capital cities like London and Paris.[6]

Even smaller places were affected by the trend. In 1274 the Capitals of Montauban called together a communal parliament of bourgeois, merchants and artisans in the king's hall and, 'after diligent discussion by the worthiest men of the town', enacted to the honour of God, the Virgin, St James and the other saints of Paradise, and to the safeguard of the honesty of their women and to the common profit of the townsfolk, certain sumptuary regulations. None of the women of Montauban were to wear on robe or dress or chaperon trimmings of gold or silver braid, or gold, silver, silk, ermine, otter or vair. Equally forbidden to them was the wearing of pearls, of precious stones and of ornaments of any other kind, sewn or fixed to the cloth. They were not to wear silver chains, or clasps or other ornaments of gold and silver, and their cloak cords, though they might be of pure silk, were to contain no gold or silver thread. No knights or nobles were present at this assembly, so what we have here is a picture of the rich dress and jewellery of townsfolk and merchants' wives. In 1291 these regulations were tightened. No woman was in future to wear a garland of any sort which was worth more than ten sols tournois, inclusive of the fashion, and to have more than two of these. Nor might she have more than ten buttons of gold or silver in her dress, nor was any single button to be worth more than three sols tournois.[7]

In Castile civic legislation concerning jewellery began in

1286, when the city of Córdoba forbade all knights and squires on marriage to give to their bride more than two dresses, of which one might be scarlet. Neither dress was to be trimmed with orphreys or fur, or to be accompanied by a girdle of gold, silver, or pearls. In 1296 Córdoba was followed by Barcelona with an ordinance enacting that no man was to wear pearls or orphreys of gold or silver, and no lady to wear orphreys, pearls, or works in gold and silver except on their mantles, where they might wear clasps with chains or brooches of silver-gilt. This was only the first of a long series of sumptuary statutes enacted in fourteenth-century Barcelona, then a royal capital as well as one of the greatest trading cities of the Western Mediterranean. In an attempt to arrest these vanities at source and also to restrict expenditure on weddings, the Concejo ordained in 1324 that no man of whatsoever condition who was taking a wife might give her jewels great or small or bestow any on anyone else on her side or his own. This prohibition was renewed in 1325 and 1327, and was strengthened in 1345 when bridegrooms were forbidden to give jewels or any other present to the bride's parents or brothers or relations and friends. In this new ordinance Barcelona re-enacted other old prohibitions of 1296. Women were once again forbidden to wear trimmings of gold or silver or silver or pearls, either in their dress or mantle, nor might they wear on their chaplets real pearls or precious stones or indeed any other sort of gold or silver leaf – these last presumably foil or thin stamped mounts. However, they were allowed coifs whose bands of network were decorated with ornaments in silver-gilt and two mantles with silver clasps linked by silver chains or silver-mounted straps, with no inset pearls or precious stones. These prohibitions were renewed in 1362 and 1363, with special reference to brides, whose dress was to be severely plain and, although richness of dress was allowed to women by an ordinance of 1367, the use of precious stones was strictly forbidden, even in paternosters.

The ordinances of 1368 forbade bridegrooms to give a ring to their brides during the time of their betrothal, and the bride to give her bridegroom any sword, dagger, purse or cap or any other jewels or apparel. The bridegroom could only make gifts of plate or pearls or jewels to his bride on their wedding day, and their friends and relations were, so it seems, only allowed to make gifts of plate or jewels on the day of the betrothal or wedding, for they were now forbidden to make them on the day before either ceremony. The city's fathers also took occasion once again to forbid all women to wear trimmings of gold, silver or pearls, or of other rich stuff or work, and also to inhibit them from sporting pearl embroidery on their head ribands (radonells), riding cloaks and chaperons, either inside or outside the house. Men too were not to wear pearls or orphreys on their dress, while further regulation was even more specific in its prohibitions of pearls for women. They were not to wear pearls in their head ornaments or dress or even in their paternosters, either indoors or outside. Men might wear silver cloak clasps, but otherwise, whatever their degree, were to wear no

pearls or gold or silver on their dress except for buttons of silver or silver-gilt, which could be worn on the collar or sleeves. This ordinance was renewed in 1350 with variations and additions. Some twenty years later, however, luxury had increased to such a degree that an ordinance passed between 1380 and 1390 condemned all embroidery of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, and all paternosters and collars of gold. Similarly Mallorca in 1384 forbade all trimmings or embroidery of gold, pearls, precious stones.

Lesser cities of Catalonia now followed suit, a sure indication of a universal rise in luxury and display. In 1350 the Consejo of Lérida forbade all women to wear frontlets, cords, pearls or ribbons on their heads or veils excepting only a chaplet of gold or silk, or gandayas (hair-nets). Ten years later their prohibitions were extended to forbid all trimmings of gold or precious stones on garments and all ornaments of gold, pearls or precious stones, real or doublets, or garlands, network coifs, gandayas and head-dresses, while men were now forbidden to wear buttons that were enamelled, set with pearls or of pierced work. Similarly Mallorca in 1384 forbade all trimmings or embroidery of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, buttons and girdles of silver or silver-gilt, all rings set with precious stones, all pins with heads of pearls, all paternosters, brooches and collars of gold or silver set with precious stones. Trimmings of gold, precious stones and pearls seem alone by contrast to have troubled the civic authorities of the great city of Valencia in 1372 and of Saragossa in 1391.[8]

Italian sumptuary legislation begins in the 1270s and, like the Spanish legislation, marks a crisis of alarm especially in the communes at the rapid and general increase in the wearing of rich dress and ornaments. Indeed in the *Legenda* of Santa Margherita, who lived in Cortona from 1274 till her death in 1297 as a Franciscan tertiary and recluse, Christ himself tells the saint: 'I made complaint of the newly invented vainglory in clothes and other ornaments, which are the occasion of unlawful profits and cause mortal sin in those who look on them, impressing imaginations of uncleanness in their minds, and for this reason, perfumed waters, ornaments and ribands offend me mortally'. In Sicily as early as 1273 the city of Messina, then a great and prosperous entrepôt of Mediterranean trade, attempted to forbid its ladies to wear any frontlet of gold or pearls except when their heads were uncovered, in effect, indoors; moreover, they were not to fasten their mantles with cords set with pearls. None were to wear girdles whose weight of silver or gold exceeded a certain measure. Nor could they wear braidings in which more than thirty bobbins of gold thread had been used. It was strictly forbidden to wear double borders of pearls and braiding, 'as has sometimes been done'. And in any case braidings were to be worn only on dresses of silk, and none were to be worn that were embroidered with pearls. However, these regulations had been obtained from King Charles of Anjou without the concurrence of a powerful party in the city, and were in consequence revoked on receipt of strong protests.[9]

In Tuscany the great wealth of Siena in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, founded on banking and trade, appears in the early date of its first sumptuary laws, enacted between 1277 and 1282. These forbade married and single women and maidens to wear coronals or garlands, either indoors or out, but in spite of this general prohibition they were allowed to wear circlets or garlands of silver of up to two ounces' weight, provided they had no fleurons and no setting of pearls or other work, and they might be gilt 'according to custom'. Braiding and trimmings to the dress were severely restricted and it was strictly forbidden to substitute trimmings of gold or silver sheeting for the permitted material — silk and gold thread interwoven — and equally strictly forbidden to decorate the permitted trimmings with mounts or studs of gold, or with gems and precious stones. As for pearls, 'we enact that no woman, married or single, and no maiden can or should wear within or without doors pearls on her head, either in garlands or coronals or *tressoirs* or in braidings, robes or brooches, or any part of her person'.[10]

We can still hear in the *Legenda* of Santa Margherita some of the background of gossip and murmurs and puritanical disapproval which led to such enactments. The saint was led by a revelation from Christ to disapprove of a certain seemingly devout lady of Cortona, among other reasons for her habit of censuring others for washing in perfumed waters and for wearing jewels and rich head ribands to which their rank did not in her view entitle them. In fact the ladies of Siena were deeply discontented by the prohibition forbidding them to wear coronals and garlands, and early in December 1291 they appealed to Robert, Count of Artois, who happened to be passing through the city, to use his influence to have it abolished. Robert asked the Podestà of Siena to persuade the Consiglio to abolish the regulation for ever, and with an artful appearance of courteous concession it agreed to lift it, but only until the beginning of January. Curiously enough in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of the *Buon Governo* in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, painted in 1338–40, a lady dressed in scarlet and riding on a white horse wears a crown with fleurons. It is usually suggested that she is a bride but her escort is too small for a bridal cortège.[11]

The sumptuary laws of Siena probably inspired those of Pisa, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one of the three great trading cities of Italy and a Mediterranean power. Its statutes of 1286 attack a luxury that reflects the city's last decades of opulence and greatness, which in reality had ended some three years before, with the loss of the sea-battle of Meloria against Genoa. They included a draconian rubric comprehensively forbidding all rich head jewels and other ornaments.

No woman of the city or district of Pisa may bear on her head through the city of Pisa any coronal or garland in the fashion of a coronal, of gold or silver or pearls, nor any other sort of coronal, nor any pearl upon her [i.e. tresses], in any fashion whatsoever. Nor may she wear any belt [*schiagiale*] or girdle mounted with more than a pound's worth of silver,

reckoned without the riband, whether of silver-gilt or ungilt. And no woman may wear on her head or back braids, ribands for her tresses, or ribbon or cord or brooches on which is set any pearl or little silver coin of Montepellier [*milliarensis*], on her breast or on any part of her body, nor pearl buttons either.

Unlike Siena, where it was only an excess of richness that was forbidden, apart from a silver-mounted girdle the only exception allowed was for ornamental aprons, which might be worn provided they did not exceed forty soldi in value. If the statute was infringed, the husband had to pay a fine and might pay it if he so wished from his wife's dowry, her own private fortune. Moreover denunciation of an infringement was accepted from anyone. Tailors and embroiderers were forbidden to make garments adorned with pearls and rich trimmings, and finally 'we shall not suffer nor allow any goldsmith or any other person, man or woman, to make or to have made, by himself or by another, any coronal or garland of gold, of silver, or of pearls, nor any other coronal'.[12]

It is in late thirteenth-century Perugia, Bologna and Venice that we find the first public expression of another powerful motive that prompted the enactment of mediaeval sumptuary laws: alarm at the increasing pomp and expense of weddings, which stirred up rivalries among wealthy citizens and stung with humiliation those who felt that an equal display was proper to their standing, but beyond their means. For a noble or patrician family the marriage of a daughter meant not only finding her a suitable dowry, but paying for an expensive trousseau and prolonged festivities, and the cost might often be crippling, as it can be crippling in India still. The first sumptuary laws of Perugia, enacted in 1266, and of Bologna, enacted in 1289, make no reference to jewellery, but in Venice, where there was long a semi-Byzantine tradition of richness in women's ornaments, the city fathers found reason some thirty years later to regulate its wearing. In May 1299 a special commission of the Maggior Consiglio imposed a limit on wedding presents, on the number of guests at wedding feasts and on the bride's trousseau, and then enacted that no man, woman or lady might wear trimmings or ornaments of pearls. The only exception they made was for brides, who might wear pearls on their wedding-dresses, though these were not to exceed in value a certain sum, and a garland of pearls. By contrast *dressadori* (hair ribands) of pearls were strictly forbidden, under penalty of a fine, and no woman or lady was to own more than one set of buttons of gold or amber or any *drezzeria* (hair ornament) of pearls worth more than a certain sum.

Yet in spite of such regulations luxury increased and in 1334 Venice enacted new sumptuary regulations which gave up the attempt to forbid the display of gold, silver and gems absolutely, and instead resorted to the device of attempting to regulate their value. Once more brides were forbidden to wear trimmings of pearls, and trimmings of besants of stamped metal were now also vetoed, except in certain cases. Women could wear a

brooch to clasp their mantles, but it was not to be set with pearls, and not to exceed in value a certain sum, and each might have for her own use a single chaplet with jewelled ornaments which might even be of gold, but again only if not worth more than a certain sum. No litle girl of ten years' age or less, 'excepting only those that are brides', was to wear ornaments of precious stones or pearls on the dress. The trimmings of gold and silver on wedding-dresses were again to be below a fixed value. No man above the age of ten was to wear trimmings or ornaments of pearls, gold or silver, except for buttons on his sleeves or for fastening his dress. Finally in 1360 the city authorities declared that no woman living in Venice might wear a brooch or other jewels, or a girdle of silver worth more than twenty ducats. No girl below the age of eight might wear gold, silver or pearls or other jewels saving only besants of silver or gold of the sort sold at fifteen the ounce. Jewels of any kind were not to be worn by boys below the age of twelve, but from twelve to twenty they were allowed to wear girdles whose value did not exceed twenty-five ducats.[13]

Matters followed much the same course in Perugia. Luxury had evidently increased in that wealthy banking city by the early decades of the fourteenth century, for a statute of February 1318 declared sharply: 'Item, on account of the superfluities of pearls, gold, silver and other ornaments and dresses of wool and silk, we enact that no woman may dare or presume to wear or bear on her head a coronal or garland, riband or plaiting of gold or silver or pearls or precious stones, nor any ornament on any part of the body, except for breast brooches [*pectorelle*] and buttons [*monilia*] of gold or silver and gilt or silvered orphreys, which they may wear provided they do not exceed in worth the sum of ten pounds'. Twenty-five years later, however, in 1342, the Comune found itself enacting once more:

> To avoid the useless expenses continually being made by the women of the city and *contado* of Perugia we ordain . . . that no man or woman, of whatsoever condition and estate, dignity, preeminence or greatness, whether citizen or foreigner, from the *contado* or from the district, may dare from this day forward to wear or to bear any orphreys, coronals, hair ribands, or any ornament on cloth or dress or on head or on chaperon or on their body, of gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, crystal, glass, amber, enamels of whatsoever sort, form or material, or silk, exception being made for a brooch on the breast, buttons that are gilt or silvered and girdles such as they think fit, which may be worn without penalty, as also precious stones of any sort in rings. And women are allowed to wear ornaments to the value of twenty-five pounds in money.[14]

A sumptuary ordinance of Bologna, enacted in 1289, during the same decade as the first sumptuary regulations of Siena and Pisa, shows that ostentation of dress and jewellery was already an endemic feature of life in several of the great Italian cities of the later thirteenth century. It began by forbidding women to wear furs or trailing dresses — these last always an offence in

the eye of the mediaeval moralist and legislator — whose train was more than a foot and a half in length. No lady (*domina*) great or small of the city or *contado* of Bologna was to presume to wear a coronal or garland composed of pearls or circlet of beaten gold or silver, or to wear any ornament of pearls on any part of her person, except in a ring. Equally none were to wear any bandeau or net 'in which gold is inserted or interwoven, or to wear any *tressoir* [riband for plaiting the tresses] or nets [*rete*] decorated with any sort of gold or silver except for gold or silver thread'. Those who contravened were to lose the coronal or circlet or ornament of pearls. Moreover no male above the age of twelve, and no married woman could wear trimmings or besants on their dress. However, a special concession was made to unmarried maidens of good birth (*domicelle*), who might wear four braids. This illustrates one of the human contradictions we have mentioned among the sumptuary laws of different cities: some insisted on maidenly modesty for girls until the moment of espousal; others, realising that a girl might need to set off her charms to attract a husband, allowed maidens some richness of ornament, but forbade it after they were married. Bologna went even further than Siena and Pisa by prohibiting all ladies, great and small, from daring to wear on any of their clothes brooches or clasps of gold and silver, either at the neck or elsewhere, above a certain value. Ten years later by an ordinance of 1299 the Consiglio del Popolo modified these stipulations and allowed women to wear coronals of pearls and *tressoirs* of gold and silver cloth, in return for payment of an annual tax. But another statute of 1301 once more forbade absolutely the wearing of richer head ornaments in the shape of coronals set with pearls, or circlets of beaten silver or gold.[15]

The enactment of sumptuary laws seems to have become a general preoccupation in Italy from around 1300, testifying to the universal increase in luxury and display. We already know those of Bologna and Venice. In 1299 Florence passed a sumptuary law, not actually forbidding the wearing by women of certain jewellery and ornaments, but imposing an annual fine on those wishing to wear them. This was to be applied to all those who wanted 'to bear on their head any ornament of gold or silver or precious stones or even of counterfeit stones or of pearls' — ornaments of gold thread were by contrast allowed up to a value of three lire without incurring a payment. Trimmings woven of gold or silver or silk thread, gold or silver *scannelli* (clasps?), or pearl embroidery, if worn on the mantle, were also penalised, as was 'any ornament of pearls on any other part of the dress'. In 1302 Mantua enacted a law forbidding all women 'of whatsoever condition' to dare or presume to wear any hair ribands (*intrezzatorium*) or fastenings for the tresses (*capillorum intervinculum*) which were of pearls, precious stones (*spoleta*), or else harnessed with gold. Nor were they to be bold enough to wear on their heads any coronal or garland or other ornament made of pearls, or of 'sheets of gold or silver' — presumably either plaques are meant, or alternatively other materials covered with thin sheets of metal foil. Even if of gilt vellum these chief

ensigns of vanity might not be worn. Forbidden too were braidings or trimmings along the collar or elsewhere on the dress of pearls, stones, corals, silver, gold, or emerald, though some buttons were allowed. Also permitted was a silk lace to fasten the cloak, but its clasps must not be of silver or gold.[16]

A sumptuary law had been passed in Naples in 1290, but without reference to jewellery; in Sicily, however, the other kingdom of the Italian world, the Aragonese Frederick II enacted in Messina in 1308 severe sumptuary laws, whose spirit was perhaps inspired by the severe Hispanic sumptuary laws of the thirteenth century and by those, proposed but not enacted, for Messina in 1273. Men were absolutely forbidden all trimmings of gold, pearls and silk, but these were allowed to women. Both sexes were forbidden costly saddles and horse-trimmings and rich dress for riding out, favourite ostentations of Spain and Naples as well as of Sicily. Feminine jewellery was strictly regulated. Women were not to wear chaplets with ornaments of pearls or enamels, though they might wear bands of stuff on their hats. This rule was not to apply to the wives of knights: they might wear garlands decorated with pearls, precious stones and gold, just as they pleased, provided their width did not exceed two fingers' breadth, and provided they had no fleurons. Here in the feudal kingdom of Sicily then we find the garland is an ensign of knightly rank, but only when worn without fleurons, which presumably were reserved for those of baronial or princely rank. Frederick, however, was one of the legislators who saw the need for girls to adorn themselves, and a further proviso enacts that maidens can deck themselves with ornaments as they like, up to the day on which they are married, and for a whole year afterwards. Then they must strip their robes of ornaments and obey the regulations about dress and garlands. Finally a special fashion of Sicily and Naples was addressed in a clause forbidding women to wear earrings (*urcilli*) of more than a certain price. Later, in 1383, Messina was to improve on these regulations by forbidding its citizens to wear any trimmings or pearls or jewellery at all.[17]

A second wave of legislation begins in Lombardy in 1316, when Parma forbade women to wear coronals or garlands or head ornaments (*testeria*) of pearls or ribands of gold and silver. In 1327 it was the turn of Modena to forbid all women, married or unmarried, to wear, either at home or abroad, coronals, circlets, cords or garlands of gold, silver, or gems, or indeed of any kind. Nor might they wear *intrezzatori* (head ribands) that were gilt or silvered, nor any girdle or purse worth more than a certain fixed sum each, and they were to sport no braiding of gold, silver, gems or pearls, again above a certain value on any dress of whatsoever kind. Nor might their maids attend them in hair ribands of silk. Milan, surprisingly, passed no sumptuary legislation for much of the fourteenth century, perhaps because as the seat of a princely court there was much less anxiety to maintain some appearance of equality of dress among the citizens. However, a convention of all the towns and cities of adjacent Piedmont which met at Pinerolo in 1328 agreed on sumptuary

laws. The trend is also found in central Italy: in 1333 the great commune of L'Aquila in the Abruzzi forbade the wearing 'on robes, cloaks, cloak laces, garlands for the head and the other ornaments of women, of pearls, enamels, gold, and precious stones and borders of gold and silver'. Those who already wore them on their dress and jewellery were to remove them within a month.[18]

The 1330s saw the resurgence of sumptuary legislation in several of the great Tuscan communes. The chronicler Giovanni Villani, describing the Florentine sumptuary law of 1330, complains that the women of the city 'greatly exceeded in superfluous ornaments of coronals and garlands of gold and silver, pearls and precious stones, and nets [coifs] and *tressoirs* of pearls and other contrived ornaments for the head of great cost, and likewise in dresses made up of divers cloths and of stuffs set off with silk and in various fashions, with ornaments of pearls and of buttons of silver-gilt often coupled together in files of four to six, and brooches of pearls and of precious stones on the breast with various symbols and letters'. The law, passed in April, forbade them to wear any coronal or garland, whether of gold, silver, pearl, gems or silk, or indeed anything that resembled a coronal or garland, even in painted paper. Nor could they wear nets or *tressoirs* except of the simplest kind, or any dress of rich or fashionably worked stuff, much less any braiding or trimming of gold, silver, silk and precious stones, or even of small enamels or glass. This allowance of rings was to be two at the most, and they might wear no belt or girdle with more than twelve bars of silver. As for men, they were to wear no ornaments at all of silver, not even a girdle.[19]

The Comune of Pistoia, then a wealthy banking city, followed suit in 1332 by issuing strict prescriptions about women's jewellery. Sternly forbidden was dress sprinkled with ornaments of gold, silver, enamels, pearls, precious stones, glass, mother-of-pearl, coral, crystal or amber. Permitted were brooches or buttons of plain silver, though the wives of knights, judges and physicians might have them in silver-gilt, and all could wear gilt pins. A modest garland of silver or silver-gilt was also allowed. Arezzo also issued a sumptuary law in the same year of 1332, again forbidding the wearing of gold, silver and pearls. Pisa, which had been attempting to forbid the wearing of coronals and garlands of gold or silver since 1286, was obliged yet once again to renew the prohibition in 1350 when all coronals, garlands or circlets 'of gold and silver or pearls or of gilt copper or silvered pewter, amber, coral or crystal or of any other material or fashion made to look like a coronal' were forbidden except for a frontlet of slender silver or a silver-gilt chain of fixed weight and value. Bands of silk and silver pins were however allowed. Similarly no woman might wear pearls or any kind of gem or amber, coral or crystal on her dress, and as regards buttons the allowance was restricted to twelve buttons of amber on the breast (if half-buttons the allowance was raised to sixteen) and silver-gilt buttons for fastening the sleeves of their dress and on the breast. She might also wear up

to six pairs of clasps or buckles on the dress and clasps of silver or silver-gilt for fastening the cloak. These sumptuary laws of the late 1320s and 1330s in Modena, L'Aquila, and the great communes of Tuscany suggest that there must have been a striking increase in richness and display of women's jewellery in Italy during these years.

In 1366 care for distinction of ranks and anti-feudal prejudice renewed Pisa's prohibition against coronals and garlands. No woman of whatsoever estate and condition was to wear a coronal of gold or silver, whether or not it was adorned with gems or precious stones or pearls. But women were allowed to wear a frontlet (*fronzale*) or garland of pearls, and hair ribands, to the value of eight gold florins, but 'nothing in the form of a coronal'. The degree to which opinion remained opposed to other forms of jewellery also remained unmodified: no woman might wear pearls or precious stones on her dress, but she was allowed trimmings of gold or silver thread, to the value of three florins at most on one dress, and the usual allowance for buttons of silver-gilt on the sleeves and along the dress. She might also wear a girdle, so long as its silver did not exceed one pound's weight and its value was not above ten florins, but it must contain no pearls of precious stones. Finally girdles and coronals were forbidden as wedding presents. Not surprisingly the same ordinances had to be reenacted in 1386.[20]

Encouraged by the statutes of neighbouring Pistoia and Florence, Lucca, too, another prosperous Tuscan mercantile city, whose merchants ironically dealt largely in such sumptuary goods as the splendid silks made by Lucchese weavers and in jewels, also forbade conspicuous consumption at home in 1337. Again head ornaments of precious metal were among the chief jewels to which objection was taken – no woman might wear a garland or other sort of head ornament that was worth more than three florins and indeed any garland or coronal that was within the permitted value must be marked – presumably with some sort of town mark. If this applies to the metal and not to the textile – the marking of women's clothes as a check on conspicuous dress was becoming a feature of Italian sumptuary legislation – then it constitutes a very early reference to the marking of jewellery, which because of its small size and the small amount of silver generally used in making it usually was allowed to escape the administrative net. Various sorts of hair ribands and bandeaux and cords for plaiting the tresses were by contrast permitted, provided they were only of silk. No girdle might be worn that was worth more than four florins; indeed no goldsmith of Lucca was to presume to make one with mounts of gold or silver that were worth more, and girdles of this kind must also be marked.

No ornament of gold or silver or other metal might be worn on the mantle, dress or chaperon, with the solitary exception of a brooch of brass on the chaperon. If an existing dress had braidings of gold or silver, these might still be worn on it, but none were to be added to new dresses, except on those of marriageable girls, who were allowed such trimming above the

girdle. The wearing of pearls, by any woman 'of whatsoever estate or condition', was absolutely prohibited at home as well as out of doors and, although buttons were allowed for fastening the gown (*guarnaccia*) they were not to be of pearls, though on the sleeves they could be of silver or silver-gilt. Luxury had evidently spread fairly low in the social scale – contrary to modern belief – for the city fathers also found it worth their while to enact that no servant-maid was to wear a girdle or dress ornamented with gold or silver, or buttons of silver or counterfeit silver, or to wear enamels on her gown. In late fourteenth-century Lucca the endemic problem of wedding extravagance also raised its head: in 1380 a number of the leading citizens addressed a letter to the Comune asking it to regulate the cost of weddings as they could no longer afford to incur their great and inordinate expense 'for to all is manifest the inordinate multitude of trimmings of vair, braids, pearls, garlands, *chiavale* [clasps or pins] and other expenses'.[21]

In 1343 Siena enacted a new and very detailed set of sumptuary laws. They largely concern women, a feature of much of this later legislation. Once more they are strictly forbidden to wear coronals, either at home or abroad, and may wear only one garland, with or without ribbons, that is worth more than one gold florin, and it must have no decoration of pearls. But they may wear in addition garlands of leaves or flowers, which were of course decorative at little or no cost to their husbands' pockets. The strict prohibition against the wearing of pearls was renewed in connection with girdles, of which again women were allowed only one, and that not in excess of four gold florins in value. It was also extended to frontlets, which girls could wear of any fashion they preferred, except that they must not be worth more than forty soldi and might have no ornament of pearl or precious stone. No one was to sport any pearls, enamels or precious stones on clothes, girdles or other ornament for wear or for use by men or women, except on rings, paternosters and armour. However children might wear them at the neck as brooches or pendants, and one exception was allowed in the case of enamels, which might be worn on girdles. No one might wear them on the sleeves or the breast or elsewhere to a weight exceeding four ounces. Buttons of copper might be sported, again up to four ounces' weight, and they might be worn not only for the functional purpose of fastening, but as an ornament 'fixed and sewn both in a straight line and crosswise, save that the buttons must not go above the elbow'. The wives of knights, counts, judges, physicians and doctors of law were allowed the privilege of wearing up to six ounces' weight of buttons. The statute concerning trimmings allowed knights, judges, physicians and doctors of law to wear them of whatever sort they chose. Otherwise no one was allowed to wear on chaperon, hat or bonnet, or on the breast or at the neck or on the sleeves or the sleeve-openings (*fenestrella*) or anywhere else on the dress 'any gold, silver, enamel, pearls, precious stones, glass, mother-of-pearl, coral, crystal or amber in any form or sort'. Finally the fashionably rich clothes of the day were

prohibited, more especially 'any dress, chaperon, bonnet or hat on which are any letters or figures of trees, fruits, flowers, leaves or of any animal of figure of any animal, either printed, sewn, drawn, applied, infixed or affixed'. This Sienese set of statutes resorts to a would-be crafty device for inducing obedience to its precepts which is also found much earlier in the sumptuary laws of 1274 and 1291 of Montauban in Gascony, and was to reappear in a sumptuary law enacted by the Prévost of Paris in 1360. This was to declare that jongleurs and courtesans might flaunt all such finery of jewels and trimmings without let or hindrance.[22]

During the second half of the fourteenth century there was a further striking increase in sumptuousness of jewellery, not least in the wearing of precious stones. Earlier Italian legislation had often attempted to forbid the wearing of jewels and jewelled garments almost entirely, or with only minimal concessions. The new legislation found itself obliged to grant larger tolerances. Florence in 1355 enacted new sumptuary ordinances forbidding the wearing of dresses ornamented with pearls and precious stones, of girdles or belts worth more than fifteen gold florins – quite a liberal allowance – or of any coronal, garland, circlet (archiello) or other head ornament worth more than ten gold florins. They might have only one girdle or head ornament of such price. Moreover it was allowable to give presents of jewels at weddings only up to the value of sixty florins. Plainly the absolute prohibition of the older Florentine ordinances, forbidding all jewellery, except for modest mounts of silver on the girdle, had now been relaxed to accord with new standards of luxury.[23]

In 1366 Perugia once more repeated the well-worn prohibition of coronals of gold or silver, whether ornamented with precious stones or not, but it now, as a concession to the new luxury, allowed the wearing of a frontlet or a garland of pearls and of tressoirs, as long as they did not ape the form of a crown and were not worth more than eight gold florins, quite a respectable sum. No woman might wear pearls or precious stones on her dress, but here too another concession was made, for she was now allowed trimmings on one dress of gold or silver thread up to the value of three florins, and could wear buttons of silver-gilt on her sleeves and elsewhere. Girdles were restricted to a value of ten florins or below, and to a weight of one pound or less, but must not be set with pearls or precious stones. By contrast with these new licences, neither girdles nor coronals might be given as wedding presents. Contrary to this new spirit of slight relaxation, Bologna enacted a new ordinance in 1376 forbidding the wearing of pearls and precious stones, and limiting the weight of precious metals on girdles.[24]

After lamenting that the inordinate pomp and display of the arrogant prevent worthy citizens from being able to afford the expense of marrying their daughters, the first sumptuary ordinance of Milan, issued in 1396 under the rule of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, forbids women to wear trimmings or embroideries of pearls, and all men of whatsoever degree and condition, excepting only knights, to wear braidings of pearls, or any other pearls, gold or silver on their dress, and more especially the spangles, sometimes leaf-shaped, of silver-gilt or silver or silvered metal which were such a feature of rich costume in the fourteenth century, or to wear any other form of gold and silver ornament on their dress or chaperon. But they might wear buttons of this kind on their sleeves and on their mantles. In 1398 Bologna followed suit, with an ordinance declaring that no woman of whatsoever degree might wear any gems or precious stones about her person, or any pearls, gold or silver-gilt, whether enamelled or not – it was argued that enamel was a cheaper form of ornament and reduced the glitter of gold and silver. But they might wear hair ornaments woven of gold or silver thread of up to an ounce weight, and gilt or ungilt tressoirs were permitted to ladies of forty years or over. This first rigour was however modified in subsequent clauses, according to a well-known mediaeval legislative habit. Women might wear ornaments of silver-gilt or enamelled silver up to the twelve-ounce weight, excluding any cordons of silver thread, gilt or ungilt, which they could wear – presumably as cloak straps – up to six ounces weight. In addition they might wear girdles decorated with mounts of silver, gilt or ungilt, enamelled or not enamelled, provided that the weight of metal did not exceed ten ounces, and that no pearls or precious stones were set in them. But the wearing of bracelets on the arm, or of devices and collars round the neck was strictly forbidden.

Despairingly the Sienese returned to the charge in 1426. The preamble of their new sumptuary statutes is a delightful expression of male exasperation at female obstinacy in extravagance and ingenuity in evasion.

> Considering the great disorders that are committed by women in their dress and ornaments, which is a thing very prejudicial to men, and in order to provide by means of orders and statutes that as soon as they are forbidden one fashion they do not instantly find another worse and more expensive than the first, and desiring to set the fashion in which they ought to dress and wear silver and jewels in such a manner that they may wear no other new fashions and ornaments, but dress and be adorned in the following guise, which is handsome and honourable . . .

Again the statutes that follow have plainness and limitation of enrichment as their object. On one single dress women may wear no more than eighteen ounces of silver-gilt, and nothing enamelled of any sort and no embroidery of silk or gold or silver. They may wear a girdle of silk brocaded with gold and harnessed with silver-gilt and enamelled if they so wish, but it must cost no more than twelve gold florins – quite a liberal allowance. As a concession against previous statutes, they may now wear a garland of pearls on white silk or cloth, but it must have no ornament of gold or silver and be worth no more than twenty-five gold florins. With it they may have hair ribands (intrecciatori) of white or black silk, but always within the limit of this sum.

Garlands and hair ribands of plain black silk may on the other hand be worn without question. Otherwise they may have paternosters of jet or coral with a pearl button and wear up to three gold rings set with stones or pearls, but no other ornament. No sanctions were attached to these provisions, which consequently were flouted, and so had to be reenacted with penalties in 1433. The privilege of wearing enamelled girdles was now withdrawn, and enamelled rings were also forbidden; pearls, it was once more declared, might be worn *only* on garlands and as a button on paternosters, and no one was to have more than two garlands and chaperons of silk and pearls.[25]

Such statutes, in spite of their constant reenactment, were by no means invariably a dead letter. On 17 November 1327 Roberto Adimari and five ladies of Florence, including no less a personage than Monna, wife of Giovanni Villani, the chronicler whose laments against extravagance in jewellery and dress we have just heard, appealed against a sentence and fines laid on them for wearing ornaments forbidden by the city's statutes. About 1340 the Florentine merchant Pegolotti notes that the sumptuary laws of the communes against pearls had greatly reduced demand for them. Yet it is plain that many women disobeyed them. Florence in 1343 resorted to the desperate measure of insisting that dresses and jewels should be publicly produced by women, so that they could be marked as authorised by the monks deputed for this purpose. A long series of Florentine documents from the 1340s onwards records fines imposed for contraventions of the sumptuary laws, for wearing coronals of silver-gilt, for wearing an unmarked coronal, for wearing too rich a silver-mounted girdle at a wedding, for wearing out of doors a girdle of gold decorated with enamels or embroidered pearls on the robe, for wearing a garland, brooch and girdle set with pearls. So preoccupied did the city fathers become with the problem that in 1355 they ordered frequent inspections to be made through the streets of the city to see if the sumptuary laws were being infringed. Things were no better in Bologna. In the single year 1365–6 seventy-four contraventions of the sumptuary laws are recorded. And in 1401 the Commune took the same step as the Florentines of fifty years before and ordered the ladies of the city to present their rich dresses for approval and marking before a specially appointed official. And, in spite of the repeated rigorous prohibition of coronals, they evidently remained generally recognised symbols of rank or wealth. In the frescoes painted by the painter Barna da Siena *c.*1380 in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, Job and his wife in the scene depicting the days of their prosperity are shown wearing gold coronals. Again in a late fourteenth–early fifteenth-century Umbrian Madonna della Misericordia, of gilt and painted wood (Bargello, Florence), showing all sorts and degrees of men (right) and women (left) kneeling beneath the Virgin's mantle, the men and women in the front rank wear gold coronals and richly patterned clothes, that distinguish them sharply from those of lesser estate behind.[26]

Mediaeval Germany was a society divided between princi-

palities and lordships, whose style and values were wholly feudal and chivalric, and self-governing free cities where, if the style of life was sometimes patrician, its stuff was manufacture and merchandise. Sumptuary legislation seems not to have been greatly required in the first half of the fourteenth century. Only five sets of civic regulations were issued between 1300 and 1350, suggesting that there was as yet little richness in burgher or patrician jewellery, and that the luxury and display of France, Italy and Spain had not yet become a feature of the city life in Germany. Things changed in mid-century, when a number of the free cities began issuing sumptuary regulations against new and extravagant fashions and jewellery. By 1400 thirty sets of regulations had been published; in the next half-century only twenty-five were issued, but this decline was followed by a striking rise from 1450 to 1500, when forty-five sets of regulations were published. This corresponds to the dramatic increase in luxury and wealth which is documented in German portraiture and other sources. All these regulations followed much the same lines as those of other European countries, faced as they were with the same general fashions in rich array and jewellery. Speyer, in the upper Rhineland, enacted in November 1356; 'In addition, no woman or maiden shall wear gold, silver, precious stones or pearls on their cloaks, robes, dresses or hats, nor on ribands, brooches or girdles, in no manner or wise', while men were forbidden to wear hats decorated with enamels, gold and feathers. In the same year and month the civic authorities of Frankfurt ordered that

> All men and women over whom we have authority shall not wear the following hereunder named: no gold, nor silver nor any precious stones or fine pearls; in addition neither men nor women may wear more than two rings on their fingers . . . Also women may wear a brooch of gold or silver of a heller's weight or under, but not over, and women may also wear girdles of gold up to the value of a mark of silver or under, but not over.

The Swiss city of Zurich objected, like so many Italian cities, to the wearing of rich crowns and chaplets by the ladies of the city: henceforward, it declared in 1371,

> None may wear a crown-chaplet [*kronschappel*] of silk, of gold, of silver or of precious stones and none shall wear head-dress with silk, gold or precious stones on it . . . nor shall veils have trimmings of gold, silver or precious stones or silk. . . . No married woman, widow, or daughter may wear a girdle that cost more than five pounds.

Luxury had increased well beyond these bounds in late fourteenth-century Nuremberg, where the city fathers even legislated against ostentation in paternosters: none were to be worn that were worth more than twelve heller – a very small sum. In addition they forbade the wearing of silver girdles worth more than half a mark of silver, and the sporting of fine pearls or embroidery of silk and pearls on clothes. To adorn the plaits of the hair with gold, silver, pearls or precious stones was also strictly forbidden, and burgher women – as opposed to patrician

women – were not to wear rings or brooches of gold and silver. More democratically, Ulm *c.*1400 inhibited patrician and burgher women alike from wearing pearls, gold embroidery or braidings and multi-coloured silk ribands, but found itself compelled in 1411 to be more specifically restrictive. On necklaces, garlands, hair ribands and dress, the city now ordained, there might be worn no precious stones or pearls, no gold rings, no ornaments of gold and silver thread or of stamped gold and silver (i.e. besants or spangles). Only a little brooch, in value worth no more than ten Rhenish gulden, might be worn on the garland, hair riband, head-dress or on the breast.[27]

The aspiration to rich dress and array which gradually made itself felt everywhere in Europe among all classes of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century society naturally found expression in England too. Already the chronicler Ralph Higden (1293?–1363?) of Chester had noted a presumptuous dissatisfaction among Englishmen with the dress of their own estate. 'These men despiseth their owne and praiseth other mens . . . what byfalleth and semeth other men, they wolleth gladly the take to them self; therefore it his that a yeman arraieth himself as a squyer, a squyer as a knyght, a knight as a duke and a duke as a kyng.' A very English sense of class distinction, typically nicely graded and influenced by considerations of money and property as well as of birth and rank, animates Edward III's sumptuary law of 1363, enacted against the 'outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people, against their estate and degree'. The sweeping French separation of *noblesse* and *bourgeoisie* is carefully nodified into a distinction between those with more than a thousand marks a year, from land or rental, who may wear what rich stuffs and ornaments they please, and the rest, who are carefully graded into classes according to degree, income and profession, and according to their estate were given a limit which their expenditure on clothes was not to exceed.

Those with more than 100 marks might dress as they please, except that they might wear no ermine or letuse (white fur), and ornaments and precious stones only on their heads. Knights with no more than £200 a year might wear no cloth of gold nor any robes or mantle furred with miniver or ermine, or embroidered with precious stones and pearls or indeed embroidered at all. Their wives and daughters could wear precious stones only in their head ornaments. Esquires and gentlemen in general were also forbidden to wear fur, cloth of gold or silk or silver or dress that was embroidered, and they might not wear 'ring, buttons, nor owche of gold, riband, girdle, nor none other apparel, nor harness of gold nor of silver, nor nothing of stone, nor no manner of fur'.

The same sanction applied to their wives. But esquires with land or rental of up to 200 marks yearly were allowed to wear cloth of silk and of silver, and 'riband, girdle and other apparel reasonably garnished of silver'. And their wives might wear miniver, but again precious stones only in their head ornaments. These distinctions regulated the enactments for the lower classes. Merchants, citizens and burghers, artificers and handi-craftsmen both in London and elsewhere who had goods to a clear value of £500 yearly might wear the same apparel as esquires and gentlemen with land or rent of up to £100 yearly. So too might their wives. But other handicraftsmen and yeomen were to wear no precious stones 'nor cloth of silk, nor of silver, nor girdle, knife, button, ring, garter, not owche, ribband, chains, nor no such other things of gold nor of silver, nor no manner of apparel embroidered, aimelled [enamelled], nor of silk by no way', and their wives and children similarly. As for the servant classes, 'grooms, as well as servants of lords, as they of mysteries and artificers', they too came under the same inhibition as the independent handicraftsmen and yeomen, together with their wives and children. These statutes, as was the way of such statutes, were probably disregarded almost as soon as they were published, for in 1388 we find that they had to be renewed, especially for the benefit of 'labourers, artificers, grooms', for the common people had 'such pride in divers fashions of dress and ornament that scarce one of the people was distinguished from another by splendour of dress or adornment'.[28]

Jewels were also worn by children, and so were made of suitable size for them to wear. This may account for the existence of such tiny ring brooches as those in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.6, pl.120; cat.14). Probably too the Museum's little late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century shield brooch inscribed *a b c d cest ma lecon* (cat.20) was a child's brooch, since otherwise its size and inscription are difficult to explain. We find references to children's jewellery quite early. In 1265, for instance, little Eleanor, the daughter of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, bought a gold brooch of twenty penny-weight, and gave it on 3 August to the 'little boy' of John de Haia. In 1312 Mahaut, Countess of Artois, bought a *capellet d'or* – a little gold chaplet – for her little granddaughter Jeanne, then only four years' old, to wear. Such ornamenting of children with jewels also went on among the wealthy bourgeoisie. In 1381, for instance, Nicaise de Mons, a wealthy widow of Douai, bequeathed 'a child's girdle harnessed with silver' – plainly a small version of the rich girdles which were a principal ornament of proud bourgeois ladies. In Italy, at any rate by the fourteenth century, it was the custom for new-born babies to be given little silver crosses or a piece of coral to wear round their necks, obviously even more for protection of the infant than as an ornament – coral being regarded by mediaeval Italians as highly prophylactic. The Child can be seen wearing a coral of this kind in a number of quattrocento paintings of the Virgin and Child. But gifts of this kind had reached such an excess of value in mid-fourteenth-century Siena that in 1343 the Comune forbade gifts of money or ornaments 'such as little crosses or corals' that exceeded 40 soldi in value. The same custom prevailed in Barcelona, where in 1345 the city councillors forbade the giving of money or jewels to godchildren at baptism. Presumably the three little branches of coral mounted with silver which were listed among the stock of the Dijon goldsmith Thomassin de Béthisy in 1453 were intended as baptismal gifts for children.[1]

Italians seem indeed to have been at particular expense to trick out their children in fine clothes and ornaments. On the late thirteenth-century mosaic of the *Discovery of the relics of St Mark*, in San Marco, Venice (pl.1), a little girl, clinging to her mother's girdle, wears a chaplet of pearls and has her hair interwoven with strings of pearls. Round her neck hangs from a lace a large circular medallion pendant of gold set with stones and pearls, while round her waist is a long girdle. Her jewels and costume, with the exception of the pendant, resemble in miniature those of her very fashionably dressed mother. Another little girl who stands nearby wears a gold coronal with fleurons, whose circlet is set with sapphires and emeralds. Her dress too resembles her mother's and it seems that mediaeval girls in general when tricked out in their best were replicas in miniature of adult fashions and jewellery. The sumptuary laws of fourteenth-century Venice, as we have seen, were at pains to regulate the wearing of ornaments by children. At first, in 1334, boys below ten were allowed to wear trimmings or ornaments of pearls, gold or silver, but no girl under the same age, 'excepting only those that are brides', was to wear ornaments of precious stones or pearls on her dress. In 1360 these rules were altered and tightened: boys below twelve were not to wear jewels of any kind, and girls below eight were to wear no gold or silver or pearl ornaments on their dress except for inexpensive besants of silver or gold. In the Siena of 1343 too boys and girls were forbidden to wear trimmings decorated with pearls, enamel or precious stones, but could wear them at their necks 'provided they are not applied, interwoven or sewn to the cloth' – in other words, they could wear brooches and pendants. Sienese indulgence in tricking out their children in ornaments was still scandalising San Bernardino in 1427: 'When I think too of your children, how much gold, how much silver, how many pearls, how much embroidery you make them wear', he exclaims in a sermon. There were evidently other regions of Europe where it was traditional to deck out children in silver ornaments: in 1528 an edict of Count Enno II of Friesland ordained 'that all our subjects dress their children according to the old Frisian manner, and adorn them with silver ornaments'.[2]

Royal and noble children often gave presents of jewellery to other children, like Eleanor of Leicester. Charles (b.1368), the eldest son of King Charles V of France, and his younger brother Louis (b.1372), later to be Charles VI and Louis, Duke of Orléans, are found in the 1370s regularly making such presents at the New Year. In 1375 Charles gave the little Charles d'Albret a gold brooch set with precious stones, while Louis of Orléans gave the even smaller Louis d'Albret a gold paternoster. Another gold paternoster was given by Charles to the son of Jean II of Armagnac. In 1376 Charles gave his brother Louis a gold reliquary pendant, set with precious stones. Their father also gave them presents of jewellery: at Near Year in 1377 for instance he gave Louis a little brooch set with a balas-ruby, three pearls and three diamonds, and to both of them a chaplet decorated with pearls. We can assume, however, that what the two ordinarily wore was rather plain, like the two little silver girdles with silver-handled knives that their father bought for Charles and

Louis in 1377, though Charles also wore daily a little gold cross set with sapphires.[3]

By contrast the state jewellery of such children in the later fourteenth century could be very rich indeed. Charles V's two little daughters Marie and Ysabel, who died very young in 1377, Marie at the age of seven, Ysabel at the age of four, had a number of magnificent jewels for special occasions. Marie had a 'great crown', with eight fleurons which had been made up by the royal goldsmith, Gabriel Fatinant. It was set round the circlet with thirty-six large balas-rubies, twenty-eight emeralds, sixteen large pearls and fifty-six middle-sized pearls, arranged as eight rosettes. Her small crown had eighteen fleurons, suggesting a low coronal, set with rubies of Alexandria, emeralds and pearls. To wear with these, or so we can presume, she had a girdle of gold, of the type known as a *demi-ceint*, set with one hundred and forty-seven pearls, eight sapphires and two balas-rubies, and in the *pendant* of the girdle with another balas-ruby, and she also had other equally rich *demi-ceint* girdles. One had a riband rimmed with little pearls and set with twenty-five studs of gold, on one of which was a roundel of pearls enclosing a small balas-ruby, and a gold buckle set with four sapphires and three clusters of pearls. Another was decorated with little letters of M for her initials and with fleur-de-lis of gold. Marie also had gold rings, quite a number of pendants to wear – little gold crosses, reliquaries, figures of the Virgin, tablets – little brooches of amusing form, rich paternosters, one strung with beads in the shape of her initials MM, the others of pearls, gold, sapphires and rubies. Ysabel likewise had a gold crown, given to her by her great-aunt, Blanche, Duchess of Orléans (d.1392). She too had a *demi-ceint* girdle decorated with gold letters of Ys for her name and with gold fleur-de-lis, as well as a pearl-embroidered girdle and a *cordelière* or a girdle of friar's knots, the knots being executed in pearls. Four gold buttons conjoined her father's initial C and her own Ys, and like her sister she owned gold pendants, though only two tablets are specified as hers, and a set of paternosters of gold and pearls with a little gold medallion. There was a similar magnificence in late fourteenth-century England. In February 1398, when Blanche, the eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Derby, later King Henry IV, was only six years old, she was dressed for a ceremonial occasion in a robe of damask cloth of gold, a gold chaplet, and a gold collar of SS, the livery collar of her grandfather John of Gaunt which became the favourite collar of his son Henry and later the court collar of the Lancastrian house.[4]

The ducal accounts of Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy contain several references to jewellery purchased by him or by his duchess, Marguerite, for their eldest son Jean (b.1371) as a child. Among the first jewels that were bought for him was a gold shield brooch, set with a sapphire in the centre, and with three large balas-rubies and three clusters of pearls. This, Philippe purchased from a goldsmith of Paris as a New Year's gift for 1374. As her New Year's gift for 1375 Marguerite gave little Jean a girdle of pearls, with a buckle and mordant of gold – the

girdle of pearl-embroidered stuff having presumably been purchased separately, for the Parisian goldsmith who made the buckle and mordant was paid only for these. After her return to France, Philippe amused his great-niece Isabelle (b. November 1389) the girl-queen of Richard II of England, by playing games with her: in November 1403 he is found giving Isabelle and her young sister Jeanne (b.1391) two diamonds 'which he lost to them at the game of cards'. Occasionally these children's jewels must have shown a charming fancy of their own. In 1390 the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier repaired a little gold windmill, set with a ruby, pearls and tiny balas-rubies, which had been made 'as a plaything' for Isabelle, the baby daughter of Charles VI of France. It was fastened by a gold pin which the infant Isabelle seems quickly to have broken, along with other pieces of the windmill, for du Vivier charged for the repair of the pin and also for refixing four pearls, two balas-rubies and a ruby. Clearly this was a jewelled version of the *molinet* that was a favourite plaything of mediaeval children.[5]

It was not only the laity who wore jewellery in the Middle Ages. The passion for it was general, and in spite of their vows of poverty it was necessary to make regulations inhibiting monks and nuns from wearing it. In considering the jewellery of nuns, it is important to remember that on their profession they were sometimes given a plain gold ring in token of their espousal of the Church from the twelfth century onwards. Such rings were however ensigns of their profession rather than jewellery in our sense. In 1227 the Synod of Trier forbade nuns to wear any jewels or brooches or gold or silver rings or gold braids or silk girdles. The statutes of the Hôtel-Dieu of Troyes, drawn up in 1263, forbid the nuns to wear precious stones, unless when ill, when of course their curative properties were of value. In 1299 the Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward I of England notes among the royal jewels 'a little gold ring set with a sapphire which was one of the rings provided for the nuns of Amesbury contrary to their profession'. This must have been one of the sapphire rings presented by Edward to his younger daughter Mary and the thirteen other novices who professed with her at Amesbury in July 1285; contrary to the rules of the house, it would seem, though the sapphire itself was certainly chosen as a stone that encouraged chastity. A further exception to convent rules was made by Edward, for in 1305–6 he bought from the goldsmith Frowyk two gold brooches for this same daughter Mary, now aged about seventeen. Perhaps he felt this was a licence that could be granted to a nun of royal birth. If so, this was also the view of Mary's brother Edward II, who as his New Year's gift for 1317 gave her a gold brooch set with six emeralds.[6]

Chaucer's description of his Prioress Eglantine, with gold pendant hanging from her paternosters decorated with the letter A for love and inscription AMOR VINCIT OMNIA, reveals how nuns could contravene the letter of such rules. A list of some of the jewellery stolen from two royal Spanish nuns in 1342, the Infanta Blanche of Aragon, Prioress of Sigena, and her

sister the Infanta Maria, an oblate in the same house, shows that the discreet elegance of Chaucer's Prioress had its counterpart in real life. The princesses had no gold jewellery, except for four rings, each set with a precious stone – a balas-ruby, a sapphire, an emerald and a turquoise – kept in a purse hanging by a cord of murry-coloured silk. With pious simplicity their five brooches were all of plain silver, except for two, one which had silver-gilt cusps and one which was silver-gilt and set with an amethyst – an unpretending substitute for a ruby. They also had pendants of precious or semi-precious stones – a 'large stone called a beryl' mounted in silver with two hoops, an agate – a little barrel-shaped reliquary container of silver-gilt suspended by a cord of red silk, a silver-mounted Agnus Dei, a coral and a pomander, a silver mordant for a girdle and a silver chain. The tradition that allowed nuns of royal or princely birth some licence in wearing jewellery which, if pious, was also precious, was general in the fourteenth century. In 1370 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux of France left her relation, Soeur Marie de Bourbon, Prioress of the Dominican convent of Poissy, 'a little gold case that on feast days hung by the side of the said lady, in which are several relics, and on the lid are rubies of Alexandria and a little emerald and pearls' as well as some towels decorated with her arms. To another relation, Soeur Jeanne de Navarre, a nun in the abbey of Longchamp, she left a silver ball (*pomme*) containing relics which she also wore at her side and which had belonged to her mother, the Queen of Navarre.[7]

Abbesses of noble birth and probably nuns of noble birth too also permitted themselves some licence in the matter of jewellery, though keeping, like the royal nuns of France and Aragon whose jewellery we have just considered, largely either to a discreet simplicity or to types of ornament that embodied visible piety or some prophylactic virtue. So much is evident from the jewels left by Alix de Frolois, Abbess of the great Benedictine abbey of Jouarre, near Meaux, in France, in or shortly before 1369. She had in her chamber a red coffer containing a gilt Agnus Dei, suspended from a chain, two gold rings set with sapphires, and five precious stones – a peridot, a cameo, two emeralds and a ruby – two pomanders and two round balls of beryl, a piece of coral and three sets of paternosters. The accounts of the Bonis brothers, merchants of Montauban in Gascony, show a Minorite nun of the town leaving them in 1342 a pledge of a gold ring set with a sapphire which was later redeemed by her abbess Marie de Penne, while in 1347 Marie de Penne herself is found buying two pomanders (*pomas d'ambra*). It seems in fact to have been an accepted custom, at any rate in Montauban, to buy rings as presents for any girl who became a nun. In 1346, for instance, P.R. Folcaut, a bourgeois of Montauban, bought two gold rings set with sapphires to give to his niece who was entering the Minorite convent, and in the following year P.R. de Forabosc bought an expensive gold ring for his niece who was entering the same convent. The only other nun's jewel mentioned in the accounts is a string of amber beads that Finas Astor, a merchant's widow of the town, bought in 1347 to give to her daughter Sor

Felipa, another Minorite nun, undoubtedly to make a set of paternosters.[8]

However restrained this jewellery, in spirit or quantity, it did not go uncensored. Writing between 1370 and 1390 Eiximenis, the great Catalan friar, inveighs against nuns who wear dresses with trimmings of gold and silver, contrary to their vow of poverty, who have richer seals, rings and paternosters of amber and coral than laywomen. They wear pearl-embroidered girdles, and Agnuses stitched to velvet. He lays his finger on the principal motive for all this finery: the desire of nobly born women or of the daughters of rich families to maintain the same style of life as their sisters in the world.[9]

Many of the higher clergy made no bones about wearing rich rings and brooches and girdles and their example was followed by the lesser clergy. The clergy of the archdiocese of Milan were several times admonished for their secular style of dress and jewellery. As early as *c*.1211 an archbishop admonished them that among other things they were not to wear *nuscae* (brooches or pendants) on their breasts, or orphreys on their dress. In 1215 the Lateran Council, convoked by Pope Innocent III, forbade clerics to wear girdles mounted with gold and silver among other articles of worldly dress. It is clear that ordinances such as that of the Council of Albi, held in 1254, which forbade clerics to presume to wear brooches or buttons of gold or silver on any of their garments, or even of gilt or silvered metal were no more successful in their attempts at restraint than any of the sumptuary laws that sought to bridle the laity.[10] Yet from the scanty remaining documents it does not in fact seem that during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clerics in general wore any very great quantity of jewellery. The ornaments that were ordinarily owned for wear by those clerics who owned jewellery at all were much the same as those worn by men in lay life – rings and gold brooches and silver-mounted girdles, with occasionally a coronal. This relative simplicity was not modesty, but a reflection of the comparative simplicity of male jewellery. It contrasts with the splendour of their ecclesiastical vestments and the number and stateliness of the pieces of plate from which they and their household ate and drank. Hence the chief cause of offence was often either a brooch or a girdle mounted in silver and gold. By contrast clerics seem to have maintained some restraint during the luxurious later Middle Ages; there are no records of them wearing the decorative brooches or the collars and chains and bracelets which added so richly to men's ornaments from the late fourteenth century.

But puritanical mediaeval opinion was against their wearing any ornament of gold or silver at all. When offered some jewels, possibly as part of the well-established custom of making courtesy presents to the great as an inducement to favours, St Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1234 to 1240, though advised by his entourage to accept them, replied pithily *Inter prendere et pendere non est nisi una litera* (There is only one letter's difference between taking and hanging). And he was commended by another biographer for never wearing rings on

his fingers or brooches at his neck. Giraldus Cambrensis has left an unkind picture of two late twelfth-century abbots, one of Evesham, the other of Abingdon, embracing each other warmly at the thought of their wealth, and wearing gold rings set with gems on their fingers, which they flashed about ostentatiously, 'though to clerics of this kind they are only allowed at divine service' – a rule that was in fact relaxed in the later Middle Ages.[11]

Rings were undoubtedly the jewels most generally worn or owned by clerics – indeed bishops and archbishops wore them as insignia of office, and they were also collected both for giving away as presents and as securities. But, as against those clerics who austerely wore no jewellery at all and those who wore only a very little, quite a number of great or wealthy clerics often owned several rich ornaments – rings, brooches, girdles – and wore them in haughty defiance of austerer notions, or careless indifference to them. This was possibly truest of those who were of princely or noble birth; the tendency to live a secular style of life, such as their relatives lived, hunting, hawking, dining well, was endemic among such well-born clerics, and found expression in dress and jewellery. In 1296 Guillaume, Bishop of Cambrai, who was the younger brother of Count Jean of Hainault, made special bequests of 'our ring with the balasruby, which the King of France gave us', and of a sapphire ring. But these were by no means all of his jewels, for he allowed his executors a choice of one of two jewels each, and made bequests of girdles, to be chosen by the recipients, to his brother and great-nieces. Even the lesser clergy of Flanders sometimes possessed rich stones or rings: c.1300 Jean Makiel, canon of the church of Saint-Pierre of Lille makes a bequest of 'my fair emerald'. But some of their jewellery was unexceptionable, like the crucifix mounted in silver with figures of the Virgin and St John that was willed to his niece in 1380 by Jacques Piquette, a priest who belonged to a wealthy family of Douai. It hung from a lace of green silk, and was fastened to his person by an *affiquet* or brooch set with three garnets. His other jewel was a ring set with a square yellow stone 'that some call a peridot and others a topaz'.[12]

When Walter, Abbot of Peterborough, died in 1243, among the rich plate and jewels found in his chamber were two great brooches of gold and thirty gold rings. Not only abbots, but their subject monks were prone to worldly ornaments: in 1294, for instance, a general chapter of the great abbey of Saint-Victor at Marseilles ordained that 'no monk may wear a girdle of silk or of leather barred with silver or any other unbecoming metal'. Martin of St Cross, Master of the Hospital of Shireburn in Yorkshire, left in 1259 as part of a large collection of plate and other rich goods a gold ring set with a diamond and four small emeralds and others set with rubies and sapphires, as well as 'purses, laces and other little jewels', a great girdle of black stuff harnessed with silver-gilt, a girdle of silk and gold intermixed, also harnessed with silver, and a third of the same kind, together with a great brooch of gold. Again when Richard of Gravesend,

Bishop of London, died in 1303, he left a gold brooch, a gold pendant cross, and a few gold rings. Rather more was left in 1307 by Thomas Bitton, Bishop of Exeter. He had three gold brooches, a large number of rings, three silk girdles and four silk laces, these last perhaps serving to suspend his stones of beryl mounted in metal, including a large one in a silver mount, or else his two pieces of coral, his other stones or his small jet cross. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the jewels of bishops and archbishops escheated to the English crown on death. In 1299–1300 the king's treasury received a small gold brooch set with a dark-coloured cameo and another set with a white cameo which had belonged to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, along with three gold rings set with rubies, another set with emerald, one set with topaz, and one set with peridot. In addition it received twenty-five unset peridots and a number of other small stones, presumably semi-precious, of various colours. Other gold rings were collected from the estates of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and other bishops. In the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury the archbishop was entitled to the second-best ring of a dead bishop; on one occasion in 1310 when the monks of Ely withheld the pontifical ring of their dead bishop, the archbishop promptly claimed it.[13]

The jewellery owned by French bishops was much the same, if the estate of Pierre Gogueil, Bishop of Le Puy in Auvergne, who died in 1327, is anything to go by. He left a silk girdle with silver mounts and a gold brooch (*nouche*) and two brooches (*nouches*) of enamelled silver, nine gold rings, a small reliquary that may have been a pendant, with a cameo on one side and the Crucifixion on the other. There are greater signs of mundanity in the jewels of Amalwin (d.1348), Abbot of Saint-Victor of Marseilles, for besides a girdle of red silk harnessed with silver he had a coronal of silver-gilt set with pearls and glass stones. But it is only fair to say that this may have been a crown for an image of the Virgin or saint which had been left in his safe keeping. Yet ironically enough, as we have seen, the chapter of Saint-Victor had prohibited the monks of the abbey from wearing girdles of silk, barred leather, silver or any other unbecoming metal. Ithier, Abbot of Cluny, too, when he died at Avignon in 1348, left a crown of silver-gilt that lacked some of its stones, and another silver crown broken into pieces. And, although Bernard de Novodomno, auditor of the Rota, left no crowns or brooches in 1353, he left a girdle of silk interwoven with silver thread, and barred and plated with enamelled silver, and another six silken girdles 'of divers colours' harnessed with silver. Again, Armand de Narcès, Archbishop of Aix, left in 1348 a girdle of green silk harnessed with silver-gilt and some stones of red glass, and another of silver thread harnessed with enamelled silver. French princes did not necessarily share clerical prejudice against clerical jewellery: in 1395 Philippe of Burgundy commemorated his chaplain's first mass by presenting him with a silver-gilt brooch engraved with an ass's head. We do not know how this sally of ducal humour was received by the chaplain. More graceful in any case was Philippe's New Year's gift in

1393 of a gold cross with a crucifix figure enamelled white to the Bishop of Arras.[14]

Even cardinals did not necessarily keep any great state of personal jewellery, if the inventory of Cardinal Goffredo of Alatri, taken in 1287, is any guide. He left twenty-three gold rings, a tiny silver pendant cross, a little silver image that may have been a religious badge or pendant, two crystal stones, possibly for wear as pendants, and two old girdles, one of black, the other of red silk, both with silver mounts, a pomander of silver, and a silver toothpick. Yet the discreet richness of ornaments that a Curial prelate of the Avignon Papacy could accumulate in the mid-fourteenth century is disclosed by the jewels of Giovanni di Magnavia, Canon of Agen in Gascony, who was Collector of Papal revenues for the Patrimony of St Peter in 1345 and later, in 1361, became Bishop of Orvieto. Magnavia had three girdles, one of black leather lined with white leather and harnessed with bars of silver along the whole girdle and with a buckle and pendant (*puntale*) of silver, one of silk whose silver ends (*capita* = heads) were fringed and gilt, and one of violet silk, with a buckle, pendant and bars of silver, from which hung an old silk pouch containing four coins and a little silk purse containing a small silver cross. Two other little silver crosses were, like this one, presumably also for wear on his person, and an object described as 'a certain piece of silver with a little castle of silver-gilt and a good stone' was probably a pectoral or pendant. A little silver seal hanging from a silver chain was an indispensable appurtenance of his high offices, but we get a hint of some ostentation in 'eight little shields with the arms of the fleur-de-lis' which were presumably horse-pendants or ensigns. He had no brooches, but by contrast quite a number of rings, some presumably given to him in the traffic of presents which was such a feature of life of the Curia. These numbered some seventeen to twenty in all, twelve of gold, five or so of silver. Some were set with glass stones or modest stones like amethyst, though one is described as 'of good gold, with a diamond set in steel', and two were set with sapphires and one with an emerald. Three set with intaglios or cameos were the most remarkable. One stone cut with the heads of St Peter and St Paul with a cross between is what a Roman prelate might be expected to wear and even that carved with the figure of an elephant is not untoward, but what are we to make of that set with a cameo of a naked man with a lover? Magnavia also had a surprisingly large collection of ring and gem-stones and pearls – sixty-two stones of various sorts kept in a little ivory box, a quarter pound's weight of seed-pearls, more seed-pearls wrapped in a green cloth, twelve small pearls and a string of large pearls, five small unset sapphires and two garnets in silver-gilt mounts, a few balas-rubies, a few pieces of crystal, including five round balls, a piece of chalcedony and a piece of amber. But there is always of course a real possibility that this stock was accumulating for use in church plate and vestments.[15]

Clerical worldliness seems to have been general in North Italy. We have already mentioned the ordinances of Milan, but these were not unique: in 1303, for example, the Cathedral Chapter of Verona forbade the canons –canons were generally among the wealthier mediaeval clerics, and so were often of noble birth – to wear garlands, trimmings of orphrey and silver buttons. Spanish clerics showed the same inclination as the clergy elsewhere to secular dress and jewellery. In 1129 an Archbishop of Tarragona forbade priests to wear coloured and silk-embroidered mantles and brooches and girdles which had ribands of silk or mounts of gold and silver, while in 1239 one of his successors prohibited the canons and clergy of the cathedral of Vich from wearing dress of red or green sendal or from sporting gold on their shoes, bridles, saddles or pectorals – horse jewellery was always a favourite Iberian form of finery. Again, in his *Partidas* Alfonso the Wise of Castile (r.1252–84) prohibited prelates from wearing brooches and girdles with gilt buckles. Some seventy years later another Archbishop of Tarragona still had to prohibit all rectors, priests and clerks of his diocese and household from wearing any gold or silver-mounted girdle, sword or dagger. Yet what records we have of jewels owned by bishops again suggests that they had little jewellery except in the usual form of rings. When Bernardo Calvo, the saintly bishop of Vich in Catalonia, died in 1243 he left eight gold rings and one of silver, all set with stones, and an unmounted topaz, all of which he had bought himself. In 1327 Raymond of Avignon, Bishop of Lérida, left twelve gold rings and one silver ring, valued at 60 florins, but his personal ornaments, some thirteen stones and some silver-gilt girdle mounts (*platones*) and a toothpick were altogether valued at no more than a florin.[16]

In Germany clerical licence in wearing secular fashions and ornaments brought down severe animadversion from various diocesan synods and councils. The Synod of Cologne complained in 1333 that some clerics wore tunics that were tight and so short that they barely covered their knees, and had sleeves which dangled down to their legs, and moreover were of various colours and designs, or of chequer-work of green and red. They shod their feet in red, blue or green shoes, had long chaperons that were embroidered in silks or in gold and silver thread or decorated with various designs and figures, and lavished great attention on their hair and beards. Not content with such worldliness, they wore girdles variously ornamented in gold and silver (which ought to be spent for the poor) into which they thrust knives with handles of precious metal that in appearance were semi-daggers. Nor were they ashamed to appear so attired in the churches where they held their benefices and, even worse, during divine service, to the great scandal of clergy and people. In 1337 the Council of Trier followed suit with a similar denunciation, and an especial complaint of chaperons that were decorated in gold or silver or with patches of differently coloured cloth. Matters were no better by 1360, when the Synod of Cologne also uttered a condemnation of parti-coloured or vari-coloured dress, and in particular of chaperons and tunics decorated with dangling ornaments of gold and silver. German nuns, though less addicted to peacock gaiety and fancifulness, were as

prone to secular fashions, and in particular to large-headed pins of precious metal, sometimes set with gems – all habits that were condemned at the same synod. There was no amendment by 1408, when the Synod of Halberstadt pronounced severely against the wearing of dress of red and green and of wide sleeves, and forbade the wearing of girdles and knives with silvered or gilt mounts, or indeed by 1420, when the Council of Lübeck forbade the wearing of gold or silver buttons (*tenacula*) on robes or round the neck or on the chest or round the sleeves.[17]

We have some vignettes of clerical pomp and pride of jewellery from two English fourteenth-century authors. Chaucer slyly says of his Monk

> For to festne his hood under his chyn,
> He hadde of gold ywroght a ful curious pyn,
> A love-knotte in the gretter end ther was.[18]

The anonymous Franciscan who wrote the treatise called *Dives et Pauper* between 1405 and c.1410 declares that

> these men of Holy Church that boocle their shone with boocles of silver, and use great silver harneys in their girdles and knyves, and men of Religion, monks and chanones, and such other that usyn great nouches of silver and gold on their copes to fasten their hoods against the wind and ridyn on high horse with saddles harnessed with gold and silver more pompously than lord or lady, be stronge thieves and do great sacrilege, so spending the goods of Holy Church in vanity and pride, in lust of the flesh, by which goods the poor folk should live. A lady of a thousand mark by year can pin her hood against the wind with a small pin of laton twelve for a penny, but a monk that is bounden to poverty by his profession will have a nouche or a broche of gold and silver in value of a noble or mickle more.

There is evidence from wills, sources which cannot be suspected of satirical or moralising exaggeration, that many English clerics of the fourteenth and fifteenth century had jewellery. In 1374 Thomas Madfrey, a Canon of Wells and of the Chapel Royal, Windsor, left a blue girdle decorated with griffins of gold that must have been an article of richness and splendour. In 1395 John of Scardeburgh, Rector of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, a notary public, and plainly a man of substance, left a girdle of blue silk adorned with his initials J and S in silver-gilt, another blue girdle mounted with roses and a silver chain, an old girdle mounted with plain silver, a set of sixty paternoster beads of coral which had gauds of silver-gilt and a little silver figure of St George hanging from them, valued at 20d. In 1412 Roger of Kirby, Vicar of Gainsford left a girdle of silver and silver-gilt, another of silver, a set of amber paternosters and an Agnus Dei. In 1421 Canon Thomas Greenwood of York left John Fairfax a gold brooch, apparently his only jewel. John Wyndhill, Rector of Arncliffe in Craven, a client of the Percy Earls of Northumberland and plainly a well-to-do cleric, left in 1431 a pair of amber paternosters, a girdle of red stuff harnessed with silver-gilt, a best girdle with silver mounts, a little girdle of green and white stuff mounted with silver-gilt and a leather belt with silver mounts. William Revetour, a chaplain of York, left his sister in 1446 an eagle brooch of gold rimmed with precious stones and a pair of jet paternosters, with silver-gilt gauds in the form of a tower and with a cross hanging from them. In 1452 William Duffield, Canon residentiary of York, and also of Southwell and Beverley, left rings, a girdle of black stuff with silver-gilt mounts and two others for riding out, both with nine bars, a buckle and a mordant of silver-gilt. What these documents suggest is the same pattern as earlier references: a little discreet richness of personal jewellery, mostly in the form of silver-mounted belts or girdles, with at most a gold brooch in addition, but rather exceptionally. Handsome paternosters, if displaying a little vanity, perhaps escape censure as professional adjuncts. Again these few personal ornaments are in striking contrast with the ample services of plate, often ambitiously decorated, owned by some of the same clerics.[19]

# IO AMULETS, TALISMANS AND PROPHYLACTIC INSCRIPTIONS

Both precious stones and engraved gems could also be worn primarily as amulets and talismans.[1] The designs on the engraved gems which were used for this purpose were known in the Middle Ages as sigils. Mediaeval sources make it plain that stones mounted to be worn as charms were mounted either in rings and bracelets or as pendants, that is as ligatures and suspensions, to use the terms of magic. The Castilian prince Don Enrique de Villena, admittedly a firm believer in the occult arts, writes in the early fifteenth century in his *Arte Cisoria* that the esquire carver at the table of his lord must not forget to wear on his hands 'rings that hold stones or other substances that are powerful against poison and infected air, such as ruby, and diamond, and jacinth, emerald, and coral, and unicorn and serpentine, and bezoar and pyrops or the stone made of the heart of a man who has died of poison'. There is little or no evidence for thinking that stones or gems in general were set in other types of jewellery – brooches, chaplets, girdles – for special magical or indeed for special mystical reasons, except in rare instances. An alternative method of wear was to carry them in a purse hung from the girdle. In 1305 Guy, Count of Flanders had 'a great sapphire of virtue which is in a little purse of silk.' In 1323 King Jaime II of Aragon had a purse 'in which was a jasper stone mounted in silver,' and in a little painted purse 'three stones, and a piece of *cayronus* [roughstone], and some white earth and six cornelians'. His contemporary, Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders kept a jasper stone engraved with Noah's Ark and mounted in silver-gilt, in a silk purse, 'not mounted in a ring'.[2]

The formal belief that stones possess powers to induce hatred or love, to protect their wearers from harm and disease or to promote conception and safe childbirth had its origins in early Babylonia. Here first their influences were associated with the influences of the stars, and ordered according to a relationship between the colours of the stones and the colours of the planets. Faith in their properties was given an apparently scientific foundation by the Greeks, who attributed medicinal virtues to stones because they believed them to be formed by heat and cold acting on the elements of earth and water, and so linked them with the medical belief that heat and cold were powerful factors in disease. In the first century AD Dioscorides recommended that softer stones should be taken in potions, while harder ones should be worn as pendants – the latter a tradition, as we shall see, that continued to the end of the Middle Ages. During Alexandrian times Greek scientific belief in the properties of stones became tainted with the astrological

traditions which associated certain stones with certain planets when engraved with astrological and religious sigils. To these were added magical beliefs concerning stones: those embodied in the Greek lapidary of Damigeron (variably dated to the first, fifth or sixth century AD) were particularly influential in the Middle Ages because a Latin translation of this work survived in the West after the original Greek had been lost from sight. These magical traditions were doubted but nevertheless recorded by the Elder Pliny in his *Natural History;* this in turn was used in the seventh century by St Isidore of Seville for his largely factual discussion of precious stones in the sixteenth book of his *Etymologiae* (622–33), the most enduringly popular encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages.

The general belief of mediaeval man in the properties of precious stones and gems was undoubtedly coloured by crude superstition. But the notion that stones possessed medicinal and protective powers was also entertained by learned clerics, and even by such rational thinkers as the thirteenth-century philosophers Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas. Many lapidaries were written during the Middle Ages, but incomparably the primary source of the mediaeval lore of precious stones and gems was the *Liber Lapidum* (the Book of Stones), a poem written towards the end of the eleventh century by Marbodus, Bishop of Rennes from 1067 to 1081. This lapidary embodies in its Latin hexameters lore taken largely from Damigeron, with additions from Pliny and St Isidore. From the very beginning, though Marbodus intended its mystic lore only 'for me and a few friends', it had a vast circulation, quickly finding its way into the hands of monks, physicians, apothecaries and goldsmiths in France, England, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy. As early as the first decades of the twelfth century it was translated into French verse, and new renderings of it into French verse and later prose were made from the end of the twelfth century. During the fourteenth century it was translated into Italian, English, Irish, Danish, Hebrew and Spanish. For the medical and magical virtues of precious stones Marbodus claims a divine origin, in as much as they have been infused into them by God, for nothing can possess such properties without descending from him or receiving his sanction. What to us then appears merely superstitious was to the mediaeval mind yet another evidence of God's presence in the world of creation. As his source Marbodus claims an ancient oriental book, one written by Evax, King of the Arabs, for the Emperor Nero. Having clothed his little poem in the mantle of this spurious authority, he discusses each of the principal stones in turn – among them

the diamond, the sapphire, the emerald, the pearl – describing their place of origin, their appearance and their properties.

Much of the lapidary given by Albertus Magnus in his *Book of Minerals*, probably compiled *c*.1260, derives from Marbodus, so well-established was his reputation. Obviously we cannot give all that these two authors say about all the precious stones they discuss, but it is interesting to see what they record of the lore of the principal precious stones used in mediaeval jewellery. For Marbodus the diamond is invaluable to enchanters; those who carry it about with them acquire strength and power and are preserved from nightmares, ghosts and poisons, from quarrels and from their enemies and cured of insanity. It should be set in gold and silver and worn on the left arm. Albertus Magnus enlarges on these themes: the diamond's power is increased if it is mounted in gold or silver and steel, and magicians say that if bound on the left arm it is good against enemies, insanity, wild beasts, savage men, disputes, quarrels, poisons, and the assaults of ghosts and nightmares. The sapphire in Marbodus has even more valuable qualities: for him it is the stone most suitable for kings to wear on their fingers. It protects the body and keeps its members whole and unbroken; whoever wears it cannot be cheated, or overcome by envy or disturbed by fear. It can release captives from prison, and inclines God to hear favourably the prayers of the wearer. It promotes peace and reconciliation, is the best stone for divination by hydromancy. It arrests internal heat and excessive sweating and is good for ulcers, the eyes and headaches because of its cooling powers, and also cures the stammer. Finally whoever wears it will be entirely chaste. For Albertus Magnus too it makes a man chaste, cools heat, checks sweating, cures headache and pain, invigorates the body, promotes peace; it also makes men pious and devoted to God and confirms the mind in goodness. Because of this union of practical and moral qualities it was, as we shall see, by far the most popular stone for pendants, and for ecclesiastical wear in jewellery. The emerald for Marbodus is good for those who wish to use it to scry into the future; to those who wear it reverently it gives wealth, and persuasive words in cases of lawsuits, as if it contained in itself some occult power of eloquence. Hung round the neck it cures the tertian fever called *emitreteus*, and also the falling-sickness. It soothes weary eyes by its green softness, and has power to turn aside tempests, and to restrain the impulses of lust. Albertus Magnus recommends it for just the same qualities. Strangely Marbodus assigns no occult qualities either to the ruby – which he calls carbuncle – though he salutes it the finest of all stones that have burning fires, or to the pearl 'whose white beauty is so admired both on dresses and in gold'.[3] The old French translations are also silent about the qualities of the ruby, but attributed to the pearl powers against gout and eyesoreness.

The mediaeval literature of sigils and their virtues and powers is also considerable. Typical of the instructions given in such works as Marbodus' lapidary about wearing them as talismans are some entries in a thirteenth-century English manuscript treating of the kinds of protection to be obtained from engraved gems and precious stones. It recommends that

> chalcedony should be pierced, wrapped in leaves, hung from the neck or on the arms, that the chrysolite should also be pierced and hung on the left arm, that the diamond should be set in a ring of gold, silver or iron and bound on the left arm.

Its other recommendations concern gems engraved with specific subjects, some of which are to be carried on the person, most probably in purses.

The practice of using magical arts to try to compel demons to enter stones or rings and confining them there was evidently widely practised, for it was formally condemned by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris in 1398, in a general censure of superstitious practices. But naturally we have no references in inventories to magical jewels of this kind, since the practice was by its nature secret and illicit.[4]

References to other sorts of prophylactic stones and jewels of a more legitimate kind are by contrast quite frequent. In fact many of those censured by the Faculty were associated with what we should call 'white magic', for they embodied a common belief that magical practices were permissible if no evil was intended by them. Thus the Faculty also declared that it was an error to think there was nothing idolatrous in making offers or promises to demons to induce them to accomplish our desires, or in kissing or wearing something in their honour. Similarly they condemned as erroneous and blasphemous the belief that good angels could be confined in stones, as well as demons. The making of magic rings which gave the wearer certain powers or cured certain diseases was particularly obnoxious to the Church, and was condemned in the fourteenth century by Pope John XXII in the bull *Super illius specula*. One type was the cramp ring which had to be made while the Passion of Our Lord was recited and was reputed to cure the cramp – a superstition condemned in the first half of the fifteenth century by San Bernardino of Siena in one of his sermons. Certain individual stones, either precious or simply *pierres estranges* as they are called in French inventories, and certain engraved gems were credited with a special virtue of healing various complaints or diseases or of assisting delivery in childbirth, but all these special stones seem to have been kept apart, and not worn on the person, except when required. In 1482 for instance the goldsmith Thomas de Saint-Pol sold Queen Charlotte of France a 'strange stone, sewn with stars' which he mounted for her in gold. The stone cost 4 livres 16 sols, and the gold and fashion of the mount 48 sols.[5]

Mediaeval references to stones of this kind show that the statements of the lapidaries about the virtues of precious stones were not just mere book learning but had wide currency among mediaeval people and influenced their beliefs and purchases. As we have seen, Marbodus and Albertus Magnus both recommended the sapphire as good for the eyes, and sure enough among the jewels left by Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, in 1322 were 'a great clear sapphire mounted in arrow-shaped gold [i.e. held by an arrow-shaped mount] hung from a little cord in

an old purse and said to be good for the eye' and 'two little sapphires that are good for the eyes, kept in two little bags tied together'. Again Maria of Hungary, wife of King Charles II of Naples left at her death in March 1323 'a sapphire for the eyes mounted in gold' and 'a stone of jasper mounted in gold which is good for clotting blood'. In 1398 Philippe of Burgundy bought 'a sky-blue sapphire which preserves from fire'. It was not only princes who cherished such stones. In 1342, Richard Constantyn, a London draper, left his son John a sapphire 'of virtue' and a silver ring set with another 'stone of virtue'. The Tuscan poet Francesco da Barberino recommends in 1318−20 that maidens should wear a topaz before marriage to help them preserve their chastity, for it checks the force of their carnal desires. Particularly valued were stones believed to assist in childbirth. By his will of 7 October 1318 Don Gonzálo Ibañez de Baztán, a great noble-man who had been Alférez of Navarre in 1266, left Joan González 'the stone that aids in childbirth [la piedra partera]'.[6]

It seems to have been quite usual to mount such stones 'of virtue' either in rings or else in special frames solely for their protection and for ease of handling. Thus in 1379−80 the inventory of Charles of France lists 'a longish Oriental sapphire, for touching the eyes, mounted in a gold fillet'. The practice went back into early times. As we already know, the cameo of Aesculapius given to St Albans by King Ethelred was credited with magical powers of assistance in childbirth, and was described and drawn with much awe by the chronicler Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century; from his drawing (fig.6) we can see it was enclosed in a silver mount. Two curative stones listed in the inventory of Charles V of France in 1380 both had their own leather cases. One called the *Pierre Saincte* (holy stone), 'which aids women to have children', had a gold mount set with four pearls, six emeralds and two balas-rubies, and a shield of the arms of France on the back. The other, a stone which cured gout, was engraved in intaglio 'with a king and Hebrew letters' on both sides, and set in a gold fillet which also had an inscription on the back.[7] Kings and princes seem on occasions to have had a gold or silver figure of an eagle − the symbol of princely rank − to display such stones, no doubt so that they could be placed near their persons on ceremonial occasions and exercise their protective virtues. In 1295 Edward I of England deposited with Amadeo V, Count of Savoy, a gold eagle weighing two marks, set with nine sapphires, seven balas-rubies, thirteen garnets and thirty-seven various emeralds, twenty-six pearls and two garnet eyes with a cameo (*bermayou*). Again in 1411 King Charles the Noble of Navarre bought from an Aragonese merchant an eagle of silver-gilt and its corresponding foot: from its beak hung 'a stone of virtue [piedra de valut]'.[8]

Alternatively such stones might be wholly unmounted as was a large 'strange stone' that belonged in 1455 to Philip the Good of Burgundy and again had the virtue of assisting delivery. Bezoar-stones were a recognised antidote to poison, and as such were sometimes given as presents: in 1404 the Maréchal Boucicault gave Jean de Berry a bezoar stone, valued as a counter-poison,

which was mounted in gold and hung from three small gold chains. It seems to have been usual in great households to lay in a stock of *pierres estranges:* in 1476 René of Anjou's wardrobe keeper (*argentier*) laid out 6 gold écus on *pierres estranges* for the King's use, and the purchase was repeated in November 1478, when René's goldsmith Jacques Escalle was given 15 écus to buy *pierres estranges* at the fair held on All Saints' Day at Lyons. The virtues attributed to individual gems and rings were not necessarily thought to be shared by other stones or jewels of the same kind. Naturally too credulity in the virtues of such stones varied from individual to individual. If in 1474 Gabrielle de La Tour, Comtesse de Montpensier and Dauphine of Auvergne had no less than twenty or so *pierres estranges* beside her, some mounted and some unmounted, already the inventories of Jean de Berry betray in 1416 a more sceptical mentality. The Duke certainly had 'six stones against poison, unmounted', a *pierre estrange* mounted in gold and hanging by a gold chain, so as to be worn, and another 'in the fashion of a crescent' that was un-mounted, all of which seem to have passed muster as being of some practical use. But of a 'large unmounted greenish stone which is against poison', the inventory-makers note 'this stone was afterwards discovered to be of small effect and little worth, and so was not priced, and it was given to a number of my Lord's servitors'. And again of a longish round stone, said to have the virtue of preserving from thirst, trial had been made and 'it was found to be of no worth'.[9]

Belief in sigils too was by no means merely bookish. We hear in documents of a number of stones cut with devices that were probably talismanic. Talismans, for example, were in all likelihood the cameos set in gold, which decorated a belt of lion's skin belonging in 1313 to Edward II of England. The lion's skin itself was believed to possess magical and medicinal powers. Thus Charles V of France owned in 1379−80 a belt of lion's skin to which was sewn a pouch of sendal containing three gold *enseignes* 'which have been made against sickness in the kidneys'. In his treatise *De virtutibus* Albertus Magnus declares that anyone who wears a girdle of lion's skin will have no fear of his enemies. And in 1398 the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, in its censure of superstitions, pronounced that whoever believed that lion's skin and certain other substances had the power to constrain or expel demons was in error. Magical too perhaps was a girdle of green silk harnessed with silver and set with thirty-three mounted cameos, inventoried in the papal treasury at Avignon in 1353.[10]

Prophylactic inscriptions to ward off harm were also common. These were either religious or else magical names and formulae. To religious formulae the mediaeval attitude was more rationally superstitious than is often supposed. In the thirteenth century, St Thomas Aquinas gravely debated whether it was right to wear sacred words round one's neck: in other words, inscribed on parchment or some other substance. He answered that it was wrong to use words that invoked the demons or any unknown names, for under them might lurk something unlawful. Equally,

mysterious characters were not to be mixed up with the words of scripture; only the sign of the cross was lawful. Again no faith should be put in the fashion of writing or of linking words together, for this would be superstitious. What was wrong, in fact, was to wear them because of a belief in their magical, rather than in their spiritual power. In the mid-fifteenth century the great German philosopher Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa preached a sermon against superstitions on the verse *Ibant Magi quam viderant*, a very appropriate choice of text, for as we shall see many mediaeval superstitions clustered about the Magi and the Gospel texts associated with their history. He condemned all magical and superstitious beliefs – the wearing of ligatures, for example, which included rings, bracelets and collars worn for magical reasons, credence in mysterious characters and words and names. Like St Thomas, he declares that, while it is lawful to wear relics on one's person, or the gospels, or the Lord's Prayer, this may only be done in a spirit of faith, and not from any belief in their special magical properties or in a special way of wearing them.[11]

Alas, there is much evidence that most mediaeval people confused faith and magic and treated verses from the Gospels and holy names as formulae of power. A certain amount of the magical lore of the ancient world survived into the Middle Ages: for instance, belief in the virtue of characters, of names and of certain formulae, like the familiar ABRACADABRA. Quite a number of mysterious characters, names and formulae were inscribed on rings and brooches, sometimes in bewilderingly abbreviated form; the Museum's collection includes several brooches which bear deliberately cryptic inscriptions of this kind. Of some formulae we know the significance: thus the word ANANIZAPTA was a charm against falling sickness and sudden or violent death. This was much dreaded in the Middle Ages because of the need of the soul to enter the afterlife fortified by the sacraments. In the early sixteenth-century *Tractatus de superstitionibus* written by the Spanish cleric Martín de Arles, the letters are explained as standing for *antidotum Nazareni auferat necem intoxicationis sanctificet alimenta pocula trinitas alma* (May the antidote of Jesus avert death by poisoning and the Holy Trinity sanctify my food and drink). Another favourite word was AGLA, standing for the Hebrew words ATHA GEBRI LEILAN ADONAI (Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord), an invocation of divine powers. AGLA appears on an early fourteenth-century English brooch, found near Devizes, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (pl.57 *left*), shaped as a letter A together with the French inscription IO FAS AMER E DOZ DE AMER (I cause men to love and I give the gift of love) on the reverse.[12]

Names of power were usually Christian in import. Particularly popular were the names of the Three Kings, CASPAR MELCHIOR BALTHASAR; they were believed to give protection against various forms of sickness. Christ's name was also used either by itself or in various formulae. One very popular formula was the titulus of the Cross: IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM; it is engraved on the back of the Kames brooch (pl.30) of *c.*1300. The Five Wounds of Christ and the Cross itself were also invoked both from fervent piety and as charms. The formula IESVS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT from a verse of St Luke was considered as a safeguard against thieves and enemies, on the argument that as Jesus escaped safely from the Jews 'so surely mowen man passen the perele of thefes'. This was one of the mediaeval formulae that interested seventeenth-century antiquaries. The great lawyer and scholar John Selden (1584–1654) is recorded in his posthumous *Table Talk* as saying:

> There are two Reasons given why these Words *Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat*, were about our old Gold: the one is, because *Ripley*, the Alchymist, when he made Gold in the *Tower*, the first time he found it he spoke these Words, *per medium eorum*, that is, *per medium Ignis et Sulphuris* (through the midst of Fire and Sulphur). The other, because these Words were thought to be a Charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a Man could not take it away.

Selden rightly inclined to this second reason. The protection of the Virgin was naturally much invoked, again in various formulae, from AVE MARIA to MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI (Mother of God remember me), the first of which appears on objects in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cats.2, 11). So too the names of God, of the Evangelists and of various saints were considered powerful charms.[13]

Certain religious motifs and scenes and some saints were much depicted in jewellery – significantly usually on pendants, which were among the most intimate of all personal jewels – not merely from devotion, but for specific protection from specific kinds of harm. Some customs, such as the wearing of a cross or of a figure of St Christopher, are still common today, and from much the same motives as in the Middle Ages. But they are only vestiges of a whole system of invocations, of the Cross as a defence from violent death or sudden harm, of the Adoration of the Magi as a protection against epilepsy, headache, fevers, the dangers of the road, sudden death and sorcery, of St Sebastian against the plague, of St Barbara against fire and sudden death, of St Catherine of Alexandria against imprisonment and for delivery from gaol, of St George as patron of chivalry, to name only some of the most popular. If we exclude rings, perhaps the one prophylactic charm generally worn by all classes was the Agnus Dei which, as we shall see, was worn as a pendant or suspended from the girdle. Otherwise only occasionally do we find a reference to jewels and stones of this kind as being worn by the great. King Jean le Bon of France, for instance, left on his death in London in 1364 two toadstones in silver mounts and 'a toadstone in a silver shield' which were undoubtedly worn as a charm, for the toadstone was believed to detect poison. Again, in 1380 his son Charles V left a number of prophylactic jewels, including a gold brooch enamelled blue with AVE MARIA on one side and the names of the Three Kings on the other. But jewels that were primarily charms

figure only exceptionally among the jewellery of such personages – thus Queen Charlotte de Savoie, wife of King Louis XI of France, seems to have had a superstitious addiction to charms. Instead they sought protection in their jewellery from more orthodox sources – imagery of the Gospels and of the saints. Rings, however, as the most usual form of ligature, are the great exception to this rule. Accordingly, we must look in less exalted classes for the regular wearers of magical and prophylactic inscriptions. Indeed it is no surprise to find them engraved on ring brooches and rings far more often than on any other kind of jewel, for these, at any rate until the late fourteenth century, were the jewels most commonly worn by all classes of society below the great nobility.[14]

The amorous device is the other form of inscription commonly found on mediaeval jewels, again most often on ring brooches and rings, whose form in itself symbolises unity. These were usually in French, the international language of love and gentility in mediaeval Europe, but sometimes we find them in Latin, like the AMOR VINCIT FORTITUDINEM of a *c.*1300 brooch found near Canterbury (fig.79) – a real-life predecessor of the AMOR VINCIT OMNIA on the brooch with a crowned A that hung from coral paternosters on the arm of Chaucer's Prioress Eglantine. Many are still charming in their delicate grace of sentiment: IE SVI CI EN LIV DAMI (I am here in lover's place); IO SUI FLVR DE FIN AMVR (I am the flower of purest love); PENSEET DE LI PAR KI SUE CY (Think of him by whom I am here) – all examples from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century ring brooches. A very popular motto was SAVNZ DEPARTIER (Never to part) which is found on a number of surviving jewels (see cat.22, 29) and is recorded in 1423 as inscribed on a collar belonging to Henry V of England. Others were distinctly saucy, like that on a thirteenth-century gold ring brooch, found in Essex, and now in the British Museum:

> JEO SUI FERMAIL PUR GARDER SEIN
> KE NUS VILEIN N'I METTE MEIN
> (I am a brooch to guard the breast
> So that no knave may put his hand into it)[15]

# 11 EARLY MEDIAEVAL JEWELS AND PARURES

The earliest account we have of a woman's parure in the Carolingian age, the first great epoch of mediaeval civilisation, is in the law code of Thuringia, in central Germany, codified by Charlemagne in 802. This ordains that a daughter shall inherit from her mother 'the ornaments of her neck', that is her chains, her brooches, her necklaces, her earrings, her bracelets. Until the end of the twelfth century these remained a woman's chief jewels. The ceremonial jewels of a Carolingian count are known to us from the will of Count Eberhard of Friuli, made in 867, shortly before his death. To his eldest son Unroch he left a sword with a hilt and haft of gold and a dagger with a handle of jewelled gold, a girdle of gold and gems, his spurs of gold and gems, a dress of cloth of gold, a cloak of cloth of gold together with a gold brooch for clasping it. To his second son Berengar he left dress and jewels that were only slightly less splendid: two swords, one with a hilt of gold and silver, two daggers, one of gold and gems, one of silver and gold, two belts of gold and gems, two gold spurs, a dress of cloth of gold. To his third son Adelard he left two swords with hilts of ivory and gold, a dagger of ivory and gold and another of gold, and a belt of ivory and gold and two belts of gold and gems.[1]

This document suggests a heavy magnificence of gold and gems, and such hints as we have from other sources confirm this impression for the whole of the Carolingian age. When King Harold of Denmark was baptised at the imperial palace of Ingelheim in 826, among other rich gifts the Emperor Louis the Pious gave him a gold crown, a crimson cloak thickly sewn with precious stones, gold robes, a gold sword-belt, a pair of gold armlets and a jewelled girdle. Since Harold was being admitted by his baptism into the community of Christian kings, we may take it that these were the ordinary jewels of royal dress. To his queen, who was baptised at the same time, the Empress Judith gave jewels equally suited to her royal estate, a tunic stiff with gold and jewels, a golden bandeau or circlet ornamented with precious stones, a great brooch for her breast, a flexible collar of twisted gold for her neck, a pair of armlets, and a girdle set with gold and gems. Writing between 888 and 897 Abbo, author of a poem on the Viking siege of Paris in 885–6, reproaches the men of Francia, that is of the lands we know as Northern France and Belgium, with vanity, sensuality and love of dress. 'A gold brooch clasps the upper part of your dress, you warm your bodies with Tyrian dyes, you desire only a golden cloak for your covering and the only girdle that cherishes your loins is one that is powdered with gems.' Between 917 and 933 Adalolphus, lay abbot of the great

monastery of Saint-Bertin, at Saint-Omer in the Pas-de-Calais, gave a gold belt to make a chalice and his gold bracelets to make its paten. In 959 the wife of a certain Rodulfus accompanied her husband's gift of land to Saint-Bertin with the gift of two gold earrings (lunulae). And in 1010 Count Ermegaud of Urgel in Catalonia bequeathed to Santa Maria de Vich his best mantle with its clasp of gold, and to another church his girdle with a buckle of gold.[2]

Much less is known about jewellery during the centuries from 800 to 1200 AD than about later mediaeval jewellery. Indeed it would be absurd to pretend that we can make out more than a fragmentary account of jewellery in the earlier Middle Ages. We are particularly poorly informed about certain periods, especially and remarkably the twelfth century. This is partly because so few pieces survive, but also because we have hardly any inventories of jewellery from these years, and only very general references to it in chronicles or documents from which little that is factual can be deduced. Pictorial or sculptural representations tell us relatively little, either because they are stylised, or because they generally show figures in the dress of humility or sanctity. And the hoards and burials that reveal so much about the jewellery of the Dark Ages are now few. The most notable of such hoards are those found on the island of Gotland, the great trading entrepôt of the Baltic in the earlier Middle Ages, to which should be added a treasure of gold jewellery found in 1880 in the old imperial capital of Mainz. The Mainz hoard is of incomparably the greater significance: it dates from the late tenth or early eleventh century, and consists of the brooches, necklaces and other ornaments of an Ottonian or Swabian empress or princess, who used to be identified as the Empress Gisela (d.1043), wife of Conrad II. One brooch is in the museum at Mainz, the other jewels are now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick in Berlin, unfortunately now much damaged by fire.[3]

All in all it would seem from our scanty evidence that the principal ornament of Ottonian and Romanesque Europe was the brooch. This could either take the more utilitarian form of a ring brooch, an open circle fastened to the garment by a pin, or else be a majestic ornamental brooch, generally of circular or oval shape, richly decorated with filigree, precious stones and pearls. There were of course variations within these forms, and also other types, but we can only surmise their existence rather than their range. Thus a quadrilobe imposed on a square or on another quadrilobe appears to have been a popular form; it was perhaps of Byzantine origin. Artistically the most notable of

principal role was as prominent ornaments, proclaiming the high rank and wealth of the wearer. Not all brooches were clasps with pins for fastening. The well-known mid-twelfth-century statue of a queen from Corbeil, now in the Louvre (fig.14), shows the figure wearing a large circular brooch which does not fasten a parting at the neck and was probably meant to be understood as stitched to the material. Other thirteenth-century brooches represented on sculptures seem likewise to be figured as stitched to the material: this appears to be true, for example, of some of the great breast ornaments shown on the founder statues of the Emperor Otto I and his wife the Empress Adelheid from the west door of Meissen cathedral (*c.*1250) and the statues of founders of the west choir of Naumburg cathedral (*c.*1260) both in Saxony. And from a document of 1205 we know that King John had a coronation mantle of samite to which a brooch was stitched. The brooch-shaped objects of the Mainz treasure, then, are most probably ornaments intended to be worn in this way, stitched through the two small hoops attached to the back (pl.5). This must also have been the case with the two cross-shaped ornaments from the Mainz treasure, again sometimes identified as cloak clasps (pl.4). The probability is that they were sewn to either side of the mantle or dress at the neck, rather as enamelled discs are sewn to either side of the neck on the mantle of King Roger of Sicily (*c.*1133–4) in the Schatzkammer, Vienna.[4]

A number of great brooches survive from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Among the Mainz jewels is a great circular domed brooch (pl.6) which appears to be a majestic example of a very common type and illustrates this essential difference very clearly. It is a composition of bosses, intended to raise the stones with which it is set into conspicuous and stately prominence. Small bosses holding eight cabochon gems – four amethysts, four crystals – encircled as lobes a great central domed boss culminating in a cabochon gem, originally perhaps a sapphire, but now a piece of blue glass. For greater prominence this is raised on a low openwork arcade. Additional richness and intricacy of surface is given by the use of filigree, while colour is enhanced by a band of conventional palmettes, enamelled in white, red and green, running round the collar of the domed boss. As always in mediaeval jewellery pearls form a secondary pattern of their own among the stones, decorating tiny lobes around the margin, alternating with gems on the smaller bosses, and counterpointing the decoration of the central dome. The stones are held by collets (literally, collar settings) but also by claw-settings, which made their first appearance, so far as is known, in the Ottonian age. These allow the access of light to the back of the stone, and so give it greater transparency; they also present rather than frame the stone. The gold breast ornament of *c.*1200 in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.86, pls.146, 146a, b), though it was probably worn from a lace, is still conceived as a version of this type of brooch. In variants of this design the bosses protrude as independent elements, or else a secondary boss is added at intervals on the



Fig. 14 Statue of a Queen from Corbeil. French, mid twelfth century.
Museé du Louvre, Paris

these variant brooches, also from Mainz, but now in the Hessisches Museum, Darmstadt (pl.4), are two beautiful late tenth-century ornaments shaped as a cross superimposed on a St Andrew's cross. The cross is formed by a horizontal bar of three sapphires *en cabochon* and a vertical bar of two amethysts. As a foil against these stones the St Andrew's cross is decorated with filigree scroll-work, but small sapphires set in a lobe at the end of each arm reassert the pattern of blue. Pearls are set at the ends of the cross arms and around the central sapphire, and the whole rests on an arcaded edge.

The ring brooch goes back at least to the fifth century AD, and owed its long popularity to its practicality as a fastener. Essentially it was a functional object that received decoration. The more massive types of brooch also often served a useful purpose as fasteners of a dress or cloak at the neck, but their

outer rim, producing an outline with some resemblance to a star.

Naturally such an ambitious design was reduced or simplified in smaller brooches, of which a number survive, mostly in Germany. But the taste for prominent stones and intricate surface richness, generally produced by the use of designs in filigree and granulation, enhanced on occasions by cloisonné enamel, dominates Western European jewellery from the early Middle Ages until the appearance of the Gothic style. In the East this form of brooch, using essentially a design of concentric circles, went back to late antiquity; but here it is probably of Byzantine inspiration. For the jewellery of the Ottonian Emperors and their successors was much influenced by Imperial Byzantine jewellery, which the Ottonian Emperors evidently consciously imitated, in their anxiety to proclaim themselves the lawful Roman Emperors of the West, in spite of Byzantine reluctance to concede them this status. Indeed cloisonné enamel (enamel placed in *cloisons* which form the design) was itself a Byzantine technique and seems to have been imported into the West in the tenth century. The Ottonian court was familiar with the jewels of Constantinople not only through embassies and trade, but from those brought to the imperial court by the Byzantine princess Theophano (940–95?) on her marriage to the Emperor Otto II in 972. Indeed it would seem that the styles of imperial Byzantium dominated the Ottonian court. The tenth-century Towneley brooch in the British Museum has been called German and Byzantine by equally reputable authorities.[5]

Brooches of this type are also found in eleventh-century Scandinavia.[6] A gold one of decidedly Germanic type is in the Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo; the central raised disc is crowned by an oval amethyst set horizontally; four other stones were set round its edge, isolated in collets above coils of granulated filigree, while the outer rim was again set with four stones, corresponding to the arcs between the four inner stones, alternating with raised bosses decorated with granulated filigree. A square brooch in the same collection of the first half of the eleventh century has borders of corded wire and contains a square frame in the centre of which a stone was set on a stylised flower in filigree. Scrolls of filigree decorate the ground, and the corners of the inner and outer squares were set with stones, all probably amethysts, like those which remain. Besides the large circular brooch we have just described, the Mainz treasure includes two great eagle brooches, one of which (pl.7) is still in Mainz, an object of harsh dignity with its inset panels of white, dark blue and green enamel. Eagle brooches, already popular with the Germanic tribes of the Dark Ages, were insignia of imperial and royal rank; later, as we shall see, they came to be symbols of princely and high seigneurial rank as well. Here, however, we should note the use that is made of an openwork design, in which the central motif is apparently cut out, and enclosed within a ring frame. The central motif thus gained prominence when the brooch was worn, being silhouetted against the stuff beneath. In the Mainz treasure brooches, the

eagles have still greater prominence, because their heads and tails interrupt the circle of the ring. When all their enamelling was intact, they must have glowed with a barbaric magnificence of colour. Openwork brooches of this type were to continue to be made throughout the Middle Ages.

Probably the two necklaces found at Mainz (pl.8, fig.15) were also ornaments proper to imperial rank, for they have parallels in the costume of Byzantine empresses. Certainly they are Byzantine in inspiration, with the chains treated as slender elements of suspension so that the gems appear as a pattern of drops. The smaller necklace consists of loops formed by two chains joined by a shield-shaped central motif set with an antique gem. From the chains hang other small chains from which are suspended antique gems, and three more antique gems are also suspended from the central motif to form a kind of pendant. The larger necklace is at once a necklace and a pectoral or breast ornament. The necklace proper is simply a plain loop of chain that hangs round the neck; the real emphasis is on the network of dangling chains and stones that hangs below. This is formed by five long vertical chains linked by six transverse chains to form a series of vertical oblong panels. The crossings of these chains are marked by gem-stones set in collets, while in each panel the centre of the upper chain is marked by another gem from which dangles a chain suspending a gem or pearl. Similar chains hang free from the bottom transverse chain, which is emphasised in the centre by a crescent-

Fig. 15 Necklace. Gold, enamels, cameos, stones. Length 64.5cm. German (Mainz?), late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin
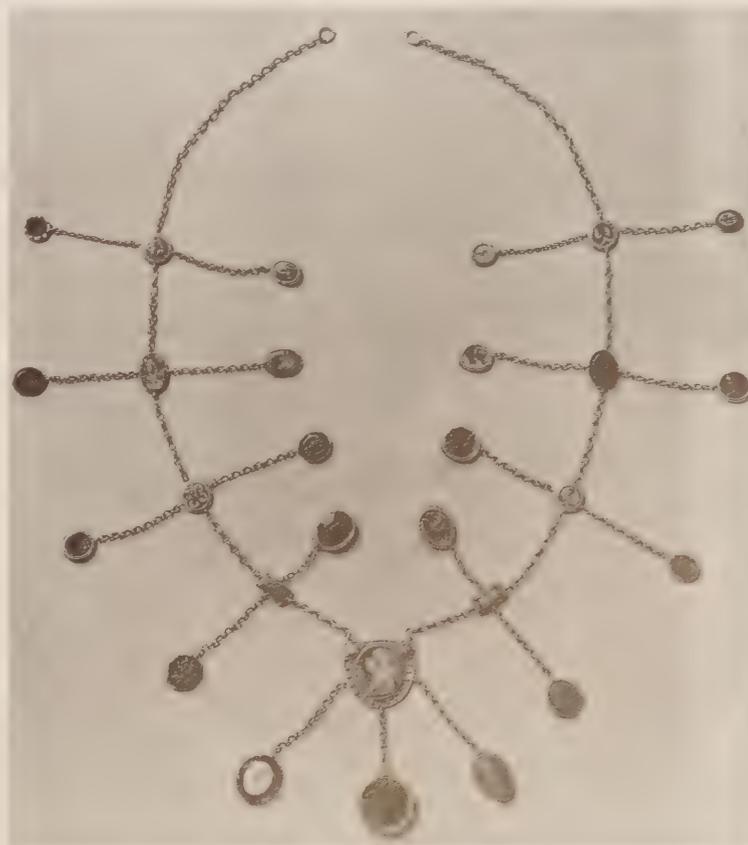
Fig. 16 Earring. Gold, enamel. Diameter 4 cm. German (Mainz?), late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin



Fig. 17 Earring. Gold, precious stones, pearls. Diameter 3.8 cm. German (Mainz?), late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin

shaped motif, studded with gems and pearls. The whole effect, when worn, must have offered a subtle contrast between the delicate glitter of the chains and the bold pattern of the gems and pearls, swaying like drops of coloured light as the owner moved.

The treasure also includes a great rarity, five earrings, crescent-shaped, on the Byzantine model (pl.9, figs.16, 17); and decorated with precious stones and filigree on the outside. The rear side of the smaller pair has a further enrichment in the form of a decoration of palmettes enamelled in opaque red, pale yellow, white and green, on a blue ground. Earrings of this crescent pattern must have been common in the early mediaeval West if only because one of the Latin words for earring at that date was *lunula*, literally little moon, i.e. a crescent. Earrings of a different design are worn by the famous statue of Sainte Foy at Conques in central France, which dates from the tenth century (pl.10). These are shaped as a vertical oblong suspended from a hoop; on each of the four sides of the oblong are set small cabochon garnets, while from the bottom dangle little chains set with small garnets mounted *à jour*. This design is also very Byzantine in its emphasis on length and on the sway of the pendant chains. The wearing of earrings was general throughout mediaeval Europe until the end of the twelfth century; in the later eleventh century St Anselm (d.1109), who was born in Italy and lived in France and England, writing in his poem *De contemptu mundi* of the various arts by which women improve their beauty, says: 'There are some too who pierce their tender ears, so that gold or a costly stone may hang therefrom'.[7]

The Mainz treasure also included four brooch-shaped objects of uncertain use, which were tentatively identified by Von Falke in 1913 as *tassels*, that is, as cloak clasps or cloak buckles. Unfortunately we have no early evidence for the use of pairs of clasps linked by a lace or chain such as held cloaks at the neck in the late twelfth and thirteenth century. Kings and emperors are sometimes depicted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with a cloak draped over the left side of the body and fastened in antique fashion on the right shoulder by a brooch that is usually either round or lozenge-shaped, forms whose popularity for brooch clasps persisted as late as the fourteenth century. This was, however, only one fashion of wearing the cloak; other representations show great personages with the cloak hanging behind and fastened by a round brooch at the middle of the neck and this mode persisted into the thirteenth century. In a full-page miniature of the Coronation of Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunswick and his wife Matilda of England, executed c.1173–5, in the *Gospels* of Henry the Lion (pl.11), the male emperors and dukes wear no visible jewellery, but the cloaks worn by the Empress Richenza (d.1141) and the Empress Matilda (d.1167) are clasped at the neck by large circular gold brooches of the same general type as the Mainz brooch.

Brooches of precious metal were also worn by noblemen and noblewomen. In 1143–6 Roger, Castellan of Lille, gave his brooches of gold and silver and his silver plate to the monks of the abbey of Seclin to make a head reliquary of St Piat. Shield-shaped brooches decorated with a motif probably first appeared during the twelfth century, as heraldry became the sign-language

of European nobility. The earliest surviving example of a type of brooch that is more common in the thirteenth century is a gold kite-shaped escutcheon brooch (fig.18) of *c*.1180 found at Folkingham in Lincolnshire. This is engraved with a lion, probably in allusion to the arms of Simon, Earl of Northampton, who married Alice of Gent, heiress of the barony of Folkingham. As the brooch is small and delicate, Alice (d.1185) was quite possibly its original owner. In England by the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries gold and silver brooches and other jewellery were not uncommon among lesser knights and esquires and their followers and families. Indeed they may well have been common among them much earlier; it is simply that we lack all documents that might inform us one way or the other. Some must have been simple and relatively inexpensive brooches, like the silver brooch worth 2d of which Liuf, the man of Adam of Beeston in Yorkshire, was robbed in 1201, or the brooches stolen by two men from Cologne from a London woman named Wimarea in 1210, which together with her rings were worth 10d, or the gold brooch valued at 3d stolen from Nicholas Basset of Warwick in 1239. These were presumably small ring brooches of thin metal. Other brooches were certainly far more costly: in 1203 Ralph de Mora of Yorkshire gave his kinsman Duncan de Mora 20 marks and one gold brooch for the manor of Deighton, while in 1210 William de Mera of Gloucestershire complained that he had been robbed of a gold brooch and ring worth 40d which his lord had entrusted to his care. In 1224 Henry III of England confiscated from his enemy William Martel, 'a large gold brooch with sapphires and garnets', while among the jewels alleged in 1234 to have been extorted by his officials from the Jews were gold brooches valued at 2 marks, a gold brooch weighing four pennies valued at 43d and a gold brooch worth 3½ marks.[8]

We have at least one reference to a regional fashion. A Neapolitan document of 1181 mentions a gold *soldu* (from *solidus*, a coin) to wear on the breast. If not an actual coin — and gold coins are known to have been worn on Byzantine marriage girdles — then it was presumably a round brooch, but more probably it was a coin worn as a brooch according to a Byzantine or Byzantine-inspired fashion. For the influence of Byzantium continued to be felt in South Italy and in Sicily, Venice and Pisa, late into the thirteenth century, not least in the wearing of earrings. In 1190 Matteo Calbani of Venice bequeaths a gold *bulla*, presumably a circular pendant, which had figurated decoration, for it is described in his will as 'in the fashion of a *cona*'.[9]

We have no detailed descriptions or pictures of twelfth or early thirteenth-century brooches, but the account drawn up in 1206 of jewels that had entered or been given out from the treasury of Philippe-Auguste of France does mention some brooches that had just come into the King's possession on the death that year of his mother Alix de Champagne, daughter of Thibault II, Count of Champagne, who married Louis VII of France as his third wife in 1160. One brooch was set with ten emeralds, one with rubies and emeralds, and two are simply

described as set with rubies and emeralds. Alix also left nine emeralds, six rubies, six sapphires and a ruby. Emerald-set brooches appear to have been popular in France during these decades, for Gauthier, the royal chamberlain, received four brooches with emeralds to be put away in the royal treasure-chamber 'in the tower'. It is not clear if two of these were the brooches set with emeralds that were delivered according to the same account to Louis, Philippe's son, and to Louis's wife, Blanche of Castile. If we can divine a taste from such scanty references, it would appear that a number of these late Romanesque French jewels seem to have been set with only one kind of stone. Philippe-Auguste himself had a gold brooch set with eight sapphires which was plainly a state brooch, and two other brooches, each set with twelve emeralds. We know little about English brooches. In 1215 King John of England called in various jewels from the monasteries where they were deposited in custody; among them were a number of good brooches. These were principally set with sapphires, evidently John's favourite stone and probably esteemed by him for its virtues, for he also had nine sapphires and a citrine sapphire for wear as pendants. Four of them were set with sapphires and garnets —

Fig. 18 Brooch (Folkingham brooch). Gold. Height 4cm, width *c*.2cm. English, *c*.1180. Private collection, on loan to the British Museum, London

Fig. 19 Effigy of Gerard III of Gelders (detail). Dutch Limburg, c.1230.
Onze Lieve Vrouwe Munster, Roermond, Netherlands
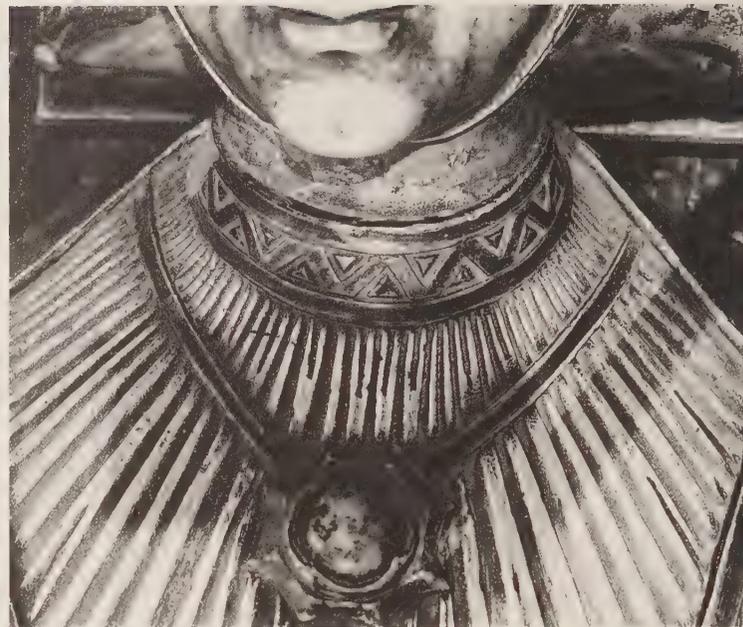


Fig. 20 Effigy of Margaretha of Brabant (detail). Dutch Limburg, c.1230.
Onze Lieve Vrouwe Munster, Roermond, Netherlands

one with six sapphires and six garnets. The others had fewer stones, either three of one kind and three of the other, or two sapphires and four garnets, supplemented by other stones, in the case of one by two pearls and little turquoises, in the case of two others by a variety of stones. Another was set with little sapphires and other little stones, and a sixth with eight green jasper stones. The range of stones including turquoises and jasper, suggests a taste for a variety of colour, for it is greater than we should expect to find in rather later jewellery. It suggests too a typical Late Romanesque taste for a rich surface of little stones, perhaps distributed over filigree. In 1216 he had 'nine large brooches with many precious stones' and one which was of an uncommon kind, for it was set most unusually with diamonds in the centre, encircled with rubies and emeralds. There will be few or no later references for a century and a half to diamonds so prominently mounted.[10]

We have a few other crumbs of information about early mediaeval jewellery from documents and a few surviving pieces, mostly from the hoards found in Gotland. A favourite form of necklace was the *murenula*, a long flexible chain-like necklace made apparently of interwoven strands of gold or silver which got its Latin name from a fancied resemblance to the slippery, flexible fish known as the *murena*. A twelfth-century flexible silver-gilt chain found in Dune, Gotland, is probably what was described as a *murena* in contemporary documents: it has a fibula-shaped clasp and ends in a filigree ball. Filigree balls of this type are the main elements in another silver necklace, of c.1200, found at Amunde, also in Gotland. A short hollow cylinder with moulded lip is attached to either side and through these the necklace is threaded together. Another found at Dune is a composite necklace of gold and silver-gilt made up of oval beads and conical half-beads which range in date from c.1100 to

c.1300. Of quite a different type is the riband of cloth of gold, clasped in the centre by a mandorla-shaped brooch, which fits tightly round the neck of the Virgin of Sansepolcro, signed and dated 1199, in the Dahlem-Museum, Berlin.[11]

By the later twelfth century, but probably much earlier too, it was the custom in the Empire to wear a pendant suspended by a riband round the neck, and the Victoria and Albert Museum has an example (cat.86, pls.146, 146a, b), which was probably worn in this manner. Representations of this type of jewel have sometimes been wrongly interpreted as figuring cloak clasps, although because of the strain it is intrinsically improbable that a cloak would ever be held by two straps running down to a brooch fixed on the chest, which is what this interpretation implies. Ribands with pendants certainly continued to be worn in parts of Europe as late as the 1230s, and probably for some decades afterwards, for Count Gerard III of Guelders and his wife Countess Marguerite of Brabant are shown wearing them on their effigies of that date in the abbey church of Our Lady, Roermond, in Dutch Limburg (figs.19, 20). Two magnificent mounted-crystal pendants of c.1100 still survive in Stockholm (fig.21) and some twelfth and thirteenth-century silver medallion pendants worn either in this fashion, or from laces and chains also survive in Sweden where they presumably continued the fashion of the Viking age for wearing pendants of bracteates and oriental coins. They are generally slightly convex, and a number present the feature of a decoration that was upside-down when the medallion hung flat against the chest, evidently in imitation of the pendants of classical antiquity. Only when the wearer lifted the medallion up to look at the design was it seen the right way up. A magnificent gold chain hung with a late antique cameo of Constantinian date, which was found in the later ninth-century barrow grave of a Lemuzian

princess in Moravia, has the cameo suspended in exactly the same manner. Two such pendants, one silver, one silver-gilt in the Stockholm Historiska Museet, are engraved with a stylised acanthus plant – a motif presumably borrowed from German Romanesque metalwork – on a ground decorated in one case by dotting, in the other by wrigglework. The hoop of one terminates on the medallion in a stylised dragon head; this was evidently a common motif for it appears on a figured medallion of this class, a silver pendant of *c*.1200 engraved with the martyrdom of St Erik, King of Sweden, who was assassinated in 1160, while hearing mass, because of his support for Christianity (fig.22). The martyrdom is figured in symbolic rather than narrative fashion, as on the pilgrim badges which had just begun to become common in Western Europe. Below, two angels hold the headless body of the King; in the centre, two more hold his crowned head, which is encircled by a halo; above, the hand of God points downward from a cloud. All the motifs are engraved on a ground decorated by a ring-holed punch.[12]

The riband from which such a pendant hung was presumably passed through a corded ring, like the two which still remain on the St Erik medallion and on one of the acanthus-decorated medallions, or else through hasps fixed to the back of the medallion pendant, as is the case with the Museum's breast ornament and appears to be the case with the ribands worn by Count Gerard and Countess Marguerite. The Countess of Falkenstein and one of her daughters wear what seem to be circular jewelled pendants, possibly of mounted crystal in the case of the daughter, possibly in the case of the Countess a precious stone, for it is encircled by a line of dots which here, as on the hat of her husband the Count, seem to indicate sparkling. Count Gerard certainly wears a pendant of a precious stone set in a brooch mount of stylised leaves, while his consort Marguerite also wears a precious stone in a broad octofoil mount with incurved sides. It is possible that this custom of wearing ornaments suspended round the neck by ribands was more



Fig. 22  Pendant. Silver. Diameter 3.5 cm. Swedish, *c*.1200. Found Längbro parish, Landshövdingebostället, Närke. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

general throughout Europe than present evidence suggests. In 1228 Stephen of Fretwell of Oxfordshire complained that he had been robbed of two gold rings, worth the considerable sum of a mark, and two pennies that he wore round his neck. Rings indeed long seem to have been worn suspended round neck or arm. Riband collars with pendants are known to have been worn in early fourteenth-century Spain, but we do not know if they were also worn in France and England, for no documentary or visual evidence has survived to tell us.[13]

The other ornaments that were much worn by both men and women were *armillae* (armlets at this date as often or more often than bracelets). A ninth-century glossator explains that in Italy women wear bracelets of gold and silver of two or three fingers' width on their right arm. The gold *armillae* worn by St Matilda (*c*.895–968), Queen of Germany and wife of Henry the Fowler, were of exquisite workmanship – 'decorated with wondrous art' in the words of her biographer – and clasped her arms so tightly that to take them off required the assistance of a goldsmith. On the night of her husband's death, however, in 936 they flew open at a touch of the saint's little finger, so that she might offer them to the priest Adeldach in order for him to begin saying a mass at once for Henry's soul. Other *armillae* of which we read, like those offered to the shrine of St Cuthbert

Fig. 21  Pendants. Rock crystal, silver. Left: diameter 4.3 cm. Right: diameter 2.7 cm. Scandinavian, *c*.1100. Found Dalhem parish, Dune, Gotland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

in Durham by King Edmund (r.940–6), or to the king and queen by the tenth-century Anglo–Saxon nobleman Brihtrich and his wife Aelswitha, or again those offered to the church of St Peter at Gembloux in modern Belgium by a lady named Condrada in the late 1090s, were also of gold.[14]

The most important *armillae* known to us are those once part of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, dating from *c*.1170 AD, and a pair of enamelled copper, sometimes thought to have been given as presents to a Russian ambassador by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1165. They are not armlets or bracelets in the strict sense of circles and are perhaps best described as plaques fastened by straps to the upper arms. Evidently then the term *armillae* covered a number of types of arm ornament, including bracelets and armlets. Possibly the wearing of gold armlet bracelets ceased in England after the arrival of the Normans in 1066, for the chronicler William of Malmesbury (*c*.1080–1142), describing the dress of the Anglo–Saxons before the Conquest, says that 'their arms were laden with golden *armillae*'. This might be taken to imply that the wearing of such ornaments had become uncommon in Norman England in the early twelfth century when he was writing, and that they were or had become essentially a Germanic, rather than French ornament. Alternatively he may merely mean the fashion for wearing numbers of them on the arm, for the Anglo–Norman Adam du Petit-Pont, writing before 1150, mentions *brachilia* – 'girdles for the arms' – but admittedly as ribands, and with no mention of gold or silver mounts. In her *Lai of Le Fraisne* Marie de France, who seems to have written at the Anglo–Norman Court *c*.1175–90, speaks of suspending round the arm a ring (*anel*) of fine gold weighing about an ounce, set with a jacinth in a collet and with an inscription about the band.[15]

In the imperial lands, as is clear from the *Nibelungenlied* among other sources, armlets and bracelets retained all their old importance into the early thirteenth century. In the poem they are worn either as a pair on the arm and wrist, or in great numbers – the Margravine Gotelind has a chest brought in and takes from it twelve bracelets which she fastens round Volker's arm as a reward for his song. They seem indeed in the poem to be the favourite jewels to give as presents: Kriemhild gives a messenger as a reward for good news twenty-four bracelets set with fine gems. All the surviving early bracelets come from hoards found in Gotland. One, found at Kyrkebringe is of gold and made of strong wires interlaced to form loops. It dates from *c*.1100 and the type seems to have continued throughout the twelfth century. Other gold examples of the same type were found at Amunde and Dune: one of these is linked by a hook and hasp. Another type from Amunde was of intertwisted gold wires; the two examples seem to date from 1000 or shortly afterwards. These are of a Viking type, rather than in the tradition of Carolingian and Ottonian art. Yet the technique may have been widespread; for perhaps a pair of *entrecosei aurei*, bequeathed in 1123 by Pietro di Enzio of Venice to his daughter
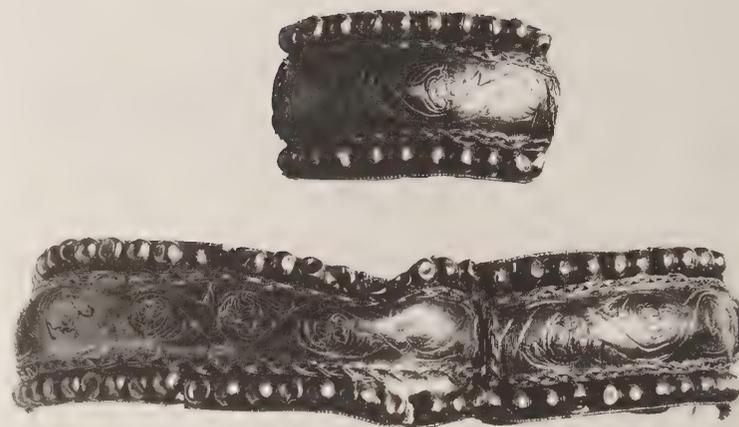


Fig. 23 Bracelet. In two fragments. Gold. Lengths 4.2cm, 14.5cm, width 2.5cm. Scandinavian or North German, twelfth century. Found Kinne Kleva parish, Västergötland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

Nella to be given to her on the day of her marriage, were of twisted filigree.[16]

The only bracelet in Romanesque style to survive, which is also in Stockholm, has a provenance from Västerås in Gotland (fig.23). It is heavy, and made of two hinged semicircles of gold, engraved lightly and a little crudely with a conventional acanthus scroll of a type familiar from twelfth-century German metalwork. The scroll runs between a border of very thin and delicate filigree interlacing applied along the sides and round the borders of each of the semicircular panels. The edges between the end of the convex plate and the lightly ribbed outer ring of the baseplate are filled with a border of little gold balls. The contrast between the slight crudity of the engraving and the technical excellence of the filigree interlace suggests that the bracelet may be of Scandinavian or North German origin, rather than a jewel produced in some major centre of goldsmith's work, like Cologne.

We get some hints of the jewellery thought proper to French and English ladies in the twelfth century from Anglo–Norman compilers of Latin dictionaries or vocabularies and from the French and Latin glosses that were added to their works. The earliest, Adam du Petit-Pont (d.1150), couches his little book in the form of a description of a manor house, round which he is shown by his hosts. In the chamber they open a coffer containing jewels – a strictly realistic detail, for references in the English Curia Regis Rolls of the early thirteenth century show that it was long the custom to keep jewels for safety in a coffer in the *camera* or bedchamber of the master and the mistress of the house, where it would be directly under their eye. In the coffer Adam saw garlands, coronals, bandeaux, circlets, the diadems worn by women, hairpins, earrings, hair-bands, together with various sorts of hats and other 'ornaments of the head'. Adam does not mention nets for the hair, but these were current in late twelfth-century Naples, where a document of 1184 mentions 'a gold net for the head of a noblewoman'. For the neck, shoulders and breasts there are collars (*torques*), buttons, brooches, both of gold and humbler metals, slender

flexible necklaces (*murenule*) and slender chains, bracelets, cloak clasps (*fibule*, glossed *tachet*). For the waist there were girdles – *semitacia* or *semitinctia* (explained by a Latin glossator as a girdle made of two different colours of leather, white and black), *cingula* (explained by the French glossator as girdles for men), *succinctoria* (explained by the French glossator as a baldric), *strophea* (explained by the French glossator as *liseres* or borders: braidings), *catulae* (unhelpfully glossed in Latin as a kind of girdle). For the arms there are *brachilia*, glossed in Latin as 'girdles which go about the arm'.[17]

We deduce that the principal jewels of a twelfth-century French or English lady were a coronal or a chaplet, earrings, a brooch and a collar – what we should call a necklace – and a slender chain. This picture is more or less that painted by our second dictionary-maker, Alexander Neckham (1157–1227). For Alexander a matron ought to check the liberty of her straying hair by a band or net. She should fasten the collar of her tunic or chemise with a brooch or a pin, and wear in addition a collar and earrings. These, however, were the full panoply of the great and very wealthy; all the evidence suggests that at the level of the lady of the manor brooches and rings were usually the main jewels owned. Thus in 1212, when Alicia, widow of Harold of Codwell, a Lincolnshire lady, complained that Walter of Coventry had broken open a coffer in her chamber and taken a box containing her mother's jewels and silk dresses, the jewels were five gold brooches and three gold rings. This must have been even more true of men. In 1200 when Richard of Lancelles of Devon complained of a similar robbery, what he lost were brooches and rings, the robber even drawing the rings off his fingers as well as taking those in his coffers. Again in Oxfordshire in 1224 Nicholas de Burave was robbed of one gold and three silver brooches. Hardly ever do we hear of other sorts of ornament; but the little gold cross worth 2d that was stolen in the fields from Harry Poyntie of Suffolk in 1222 cannot have been unique.[18]

It may be noted that neither Adam nor Alexander appear to think of girdles or hair-bands as ornamented with gold or silver mounts. Yet already in 1083 Queen Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, left to her abbey of La Trinité at Caen 'my two hair-bands [*ligaturæ*] of gold on which there are crosses, and that which is sculptured with pictures'. Chaplets and circlets, if we can trust the German poets, were equally rich and splendid in the twelfth century: in the *Niebelungenlied* (*c*.1200) Hagen rebukes the Burgundian knights and tells them it is time to wear their helmets, not chaplets set with gems.

The only surviving gold head ornaments of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries have been found in Scotland. Three (now in the National Museums of Scotland) were discovered in 1863 at Plan in the Isle of Bute, in a hoard containing Scottish coins of David I and English coins of Henry I and Stephen. The hoard seems to have been concealed at some date between 1140 and 1160, which must therefore be more or less the date of the head ornaments. All are of the same form: the longest measures 17 inches, and at its greatest height 3/16 of an inch: it tapers away from this height to circular ends which are pierced with holes, presumably so that a thread could be drawn through to fasten the band, almost certainly on the forehead, over a veil or other head-covering. It is decorated with a zig-zag pattern, familiar from other twelfth-century goldsmith's work, and this also appears on the ends of the next longest head-band, measuring 13 inches. The third, which is broken, is decorated with a pattern of diaper. The gold is extremely thin, so that the bands are light and flexible. Two rather later bands were found in 1923 on the site of the nunnery at Iona. The nunnery was founded in 1203, but the silver spoons found with the completest head-ornament seem to date from the later decades of the twelfth century. This head-band (fig.24) is of the same form as the Plan head-bands, except that it tapers away to rounded ends, which are pierced with the same holes for drawing a thread. It is now in two pieces, but when completed was

Fig. 24 Head band (Iona Gold Fillet). Gold. Complete length of fragments 35.2 cm, width 1.1 cm.
Northern European, twelfth–thirteenth century. National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh

35.2 cm long, and 1.1 cm high at the centre. It is chased with an elegant design of stylised foliated scrollwork between pearled borders – its delicate formal elegance admitting us to one of our few glimpses of Romanesque glamour. The other Iona head-band is only a fragment, and was decorated in the same fashion as one of the Plan head-bands, with a motif that runs inwards from the ends for only a little way. In this case the ornament is a line of bosses, terminating in two arranged as a cross. It is worth considering if these are not the *ligadurae* of which Queen Matilda speaks in the Latin of her will, but as so often with early jewellery we have here on the one hand objects without a name and on the other names without objects. Nevertheless the sophistication of the scrollwork ornament on the complete Iona fillet suggests that here is some representation of the gold head-bands worn by great ladies in the Scotland and England of the twelfth century and possibly elsewhere as well.

Brooches and rings were probably the commonest jewels worn in late Romanesque France. Thus in 1199 a great lady, the Countess of Montferrand, mother of the Dauphine of Auvergne, left her jewels of silver and gold to be sold 'under the advice of my daughter' together with articles of plate and dress in order to raise money to give effect to certain pious legacies. In fact the nuns of a convent she wished to benefit received two articles of plate and 'rings and brooches [*monilia*] and girdle and purse' in fulfilment of her legacy. It is a fair presumption that the girdle, and possibly the purse as well, were mounted in precious metal. That gold or gold-mounted chaplets were in use in Venice by 1156 is proved by a document in which a father, making a formal statement of his wedding gifts to his daughter, says he sent her on the Easter following the wedding a gold chaplet worth five pounds of Veronese *denari*.[19]

Foppery and display, especially at court, were just as characteristic of the twelfth century as of later times, though it is hard on occasions to discern their exact forms through the thunderous denunciations of ecclesiastical authors, outraged by such vainglory. The aureate style of Romanesque prose and the heavy severity of Romanesque architecture and ornament often conceal from modern eyes this frivolous, courtly side of twelfth-century life, with its cultivation of elegance and wit, its smartness of polish, its love of fashion and of airs and graces. Such worldliness revelled in fine clothes and fine jewellery, for which it certainly provided a market that must have given some impulse, with its love of novelty, to mutations of style.

At the end of the century Alexander Neckham speaks blisteringly of the affected deportment of the arrogant fop: his supercilious motions of the eyebrows, his haughty eyes, his quick alternations of colour, from the fiery flush of anger to a deathly pallor. He snaps his fingers, walks mincingly, always with one shoulder forward, twisting his neck from side to side, and often moving hastily. Sometimes he affects to walk with dignified composure, but at others moves as bullyingly as a wrestler, as proudly as a peacock, or as daintily and delicately as if walking on the surface of a hair. When he speaks, he either pretends to

lisp or to soften his voice into affectedly broken pronunciation of words, or thunders like some giant of fable. He boasts of his descent from the Swan – Alexander evidently had his eye on one of the great Anglo–Norman barons who claimed descent from the Knight of the Swan, the fabled ancestor of the Counts of Flanders. God, in the words of Isaiah, will eventually carry him off with all his ornaments and jewels and change him into a bald and stinking corpse.

Later, we hear a little more precisely about some ornaments that give offence. First come the ornaments of horse harness – a pectoral decorated with gilt or golden bells, a bridle with iron teeth, horse blankets studded with gilt or silvered nails, a saddle painted with flowers and figures. As for fashions, Alexander cannot list their superfluous inventions. None are allowed to be men of courtly fashion unless their dress recalls the dress of minstrels – presumably by a certain vivid strangeness. Clothes are bought solely to strike admiration into the beholder: 'new clothes forsooth must display some novelty, so that the change of shape may proclaim them to be new clothes. Men study to look like women, women like men, not only in their dress, but in the cut of their hair.' Youths have their locks curled, women cut theirs short, men cultivate long tresses. Eyebrows are plucked into the desired shape and are kept from meeting with anxious care. The cheeks are plastered with lead and the eyebrow blackened with antimony and, where nature had been niggardly of hair, tresses belonging to others supply the deficiency. 'Venal purchases decorate venal bodies.'[20]

This fashionableness, as far as we know, did not greatly affect life for those of less than noble or knightly degree in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, if certain testimonies are to be believed. Thus the late thirteenth-century Italian chronicler Riccobaldo of Ferrara writes under the year 1234 of the times (of the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa):

Rough were the customs and manners of the Italians in the days of this emperor. Men wore bandeaux of iron scales on their heads, stitched to bonnets [*birette*], which they called *maiate*. . . . The attire of men and women then was cheap. There was either no gold and silver or very little on dresses. . . . Maidens and brides wore no precious ornaments on their heads. Married women bound their temples and their cheeks under the chin with broad bandeaux.

Again Dante, writing c.1315 in Canto XV of the *Paradiso*, says of old Florence that its citizens were sober and modest and wore 'no golden chain or crown or girdle', a state of affairs which had certainly ended by 1299, as we saw in Chapter 8.[21]

The thirteenth century, an age when the chaplet or coronal and the girdle begin to rival the brooch in splendour in the jewellery worn by great men and great ladies, must be seen not as an age of sober restraint, as has sometimes been thought, but as an age of changing fashion and style. In its later decades there was an increase in the lavishness of jewellery and in the social range of those who wore it. Thus certain ornaments, notably the chaplet and the girdle, that previously were generally

Fig. 25  Miniature of Count Siboto IV von Falkenstein and his family. From the Codex Falkensteiniensis (f.1r). Parchment. German, 1166—90. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich

made of textile mounted with silver or gold are now also made of solid metal, and paternosters, once the austere token of a life of prayer and poverty, are made in gold, pearl and precious stones. Again jewels of gold, once the prerogative of those princely, noble or knightly degree, begin to be worn by women of patrician or rich bourgeois standing in towns and cities, who also affect on their robes and mantles the trimmings of gold or silver thread or laminations, set with stones, pearls and gold or silver, that formerly had also been worn only by those of high degree. There is some evidence that their husbands, at any rate in certain places, soon began to follow suit. A second increase in luxury during the fourteenth century was to culminate in the opulence of the International Gothic age in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century. It is true that the necklace, bracelet and earrings disappear, except in Spain, Hungary and South Italy and Sicily, but this was due to the waning influence of Byzantine court jewellery which in the self-confident early Gothic age no longer excited the same humble imitation.

The prestige of the Byzantine court must in any case have been severely weakened by the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade and the installation of a Latin Emperor of the East. But, whilst its influence prevailed, we must imagine court dress at great occasions and ceremonies as offering a stiff magnificence. An anonymous Polish chronicler describes the noblemen of the court of Duke Boleslas I (d.1025) as wearing collars 'of an immense weight', while the court

ladies were so bowed down by their heavy coronals, brooches, pendants, chains and armlets of gold and by their dresses trimmed with braidings of gold and precious stones, that they had to be supported as they walked. The miniature of the great Bavarian nobleman Count Siboto IV von Neuburg-Falkenstein (d.c.1200) with his wife and two sons (fig.25), executed between 1166 and 1190 shows a great noble family of the imperial lands dressed in simpler fashion, but in dress that is nevertheless apparently heavily trimmed with jewelled braiding. The Count wears a heavy round hat with jewelled rim and central jewelled braid, topped by a tuft that may itself be a jewel. His short robe has a heavy jewelled border round the neck and a broader one, again apparently jewelled, along the bottom. His mantle is plain, but his countess wears one that is patterned in lozenges, each lozenge with a pearl or gem in the centre, and with a heavy jewelled border running along its edge. Her robe has a jewelled border, with beneath what may be a round brooch or pendant on a riband. The son whom she admonishes also wears a short robe and cloak with jewelled borders; the cloak is clasped by a brooch. The other son wears a broad jewelled girdle.[22]

So little do we know of jewellery from before about 1200 that all its types are gathered here into a single chapter. But from then onwards we know so much more that we shall now discuss each type of ornament in turn, beginning with the noblest ornaments of all, those of the head.

In the Middle Ages men and women of rank and wealth wore various kinds of head ornament, ranging from the stately coronal, the chaplet, the garland and the circlet, all of which encircled the head, to the frontlet which simply decorated the front or forehead. The simplest and commonest of all these types of mediaeval head ornament were the chaplet, circlet and garland. It should be said at once that distinction among the three was vague and loose in the Middle Ages, nor were they always very clearly distinguished either from the crown or coronal, except that in general they were low, not tall, and, if they had fleurons, these tended to be small. Chaplets had their origin in the plain bandeau worn around the hair in Carolingian times. Already in the ninth century ladies wore them richly jewelled; we have seen that the Empress Judith, wife of Louis the Pious, gave the wife of Harold, King of Denmark, a bandeau ornamented with precious stones. During the thirteenth century and probably earlier they were often used to hold a head kerchief or veil in position, as on the statue of Isabelle de France, daughter of St Louis (d.1271), executed in the early fourteenth century, which shows her wearing a chaplet for this purpose. And as now they were used to keep an arrangement of hair fixed in place, or simply to prevent the hair from becoming dishevelled by the wind.[1]

Often however they were simply worn as an ornament and ensign of rank. On the founder statues of Naumburg (*c.*1260–5), for instance, the Margravine Regelindis wears the low circular flat-topped toque of the thirteenth century encircled by a chaplet ornamented with large discs, each set with a large stone and rimmed with pearls; between each pair of these is a lozenge-shaped *chaton* set with a stone. It is difficult to generalise about mediaeval practice, but such evidence as we have suggests that girls, at any rate below the rank of princesses, generally wore only a single head ornament, such as a chaplet, and this was of exemplary simplicity, so great was the store the Middle Ages set by maidenly modesty. Rich head ornaments were a symbol of married status, as we shall see, and were for this reason among the customary presents given to a bride. Chaplets were however not exclusively female ornaments, but were also worn by men. In 1313 a Papal Legate to Cyprus found himself obliged to forbid the clergy of the island to wear 'a coronal of linen, like lay knights or servitors'. And indeed the French mercer who peddles his wares in a heavy basket through the streets in the thirteenth-century poem *Dit d'un Mercier* offers not only silk coifs to the ladies, 'fit to be worn with chaplets of gold braid', but also 'chaplets for young gentlemen, with orna-

ments of flowers and birds, very smooth and very elegant, for them to wear on their heads before their lady friends'.[2]

The history of the chaplet is complicated by its origins as a bandeau of cloth and by the habits of mediaeval inventory makers, who often describe as chaplets of gold and silver chaplets that were really of cloth with mounts of gold or silver. We shall encounter the same problem with girdles. Consequently it is difficult always to be certain whether a chaplet was entirely of precious metal, or of a stuff decorated with silver and gold. Thus at his death in 1302 Raoul de Nesle owned chaplets variously described as *II chapiaus d'or a rosetes* (two gold chaplets decorated with rosettes) and *IX chapiaus d'or seur soie* (nine gold chaplets on silk), but it is reasonably certain that both sets were in fact composed of gold mounts on a textile band. Moreover, to add to the possibilities of confusion, chaplets entirely of metal co-existed, as we shall see, with chaplets of gold or silver-mounted or pearl-embroidered stuff. From representations in works of art we know that chaplets in the form of bandeaux with a few ornamental mounts – probably known as brooches in the Middle Ages – continued to be worn until the end of the Middle Ages. Thus in 1297 Princess Margaret of England on her departure to join her husband in his duchy of Brabant was given by her father Edward I ornaments of gold wrought in the form of birds, of leopards – the English royal ensign – of lozenges and other forms to wear at her own pleasure on her chaplets. The gay young musician of Nuremberg (fig.185) known as the Hansel, who plays his shawm, dressed in the fashionable dress and jewels of the 1380s, wears just such a chaplet. The chaplet also has associations with the garlands of flowers that were worn on occasions of rejoicing or at parties of pleasure, and consequently motifs of flowers are sometimes found among its decorations. It seems on occasions to have been fastened by means of a cord; thus in 1258–68 we find a mention in the accounts of Aragon of a cord costing four *sueldos* for a chaplet of sendal for wear by the Queen. When made in precious metal the chaplet and circlet were often formed of hinged plaques for flexibility and relief of pressure, as in the Bargello coronal (pl.15). The number of these plaques in any particular chaplet is carefully specified in early inventories. Thus a chaplet of rubies and sapphires bought by the Countess of Hainault for her daughter's wedding in 1299–1300 was 'of twelve pieces'.[3]

Circlets of rich stuff or of precious metal were already in use in the mid-twelfth century and probably earlier, but were perhaps rather less common than in later times. Yet a gift of one is mentioned in Venice by a certain Conrado as part of the

dowry of his daughter Mariotta in 1156; his name *manduca caseum* (cheese-eater) does not suggest an illustrious origin. Certainly by the later thirteenth century chaplets of gold and silver were already in general use: in *c*.1277–82, for example, the sumptuary laws of Siena forbade the wearing of *corone* and *ghirlande*. The chaplets of gold worn by the great were generally set with gems and pearls. That left by Eudes de Bourbon, Count of Nevers, in 1266, was of gold, set with precious stones and pearls. In 1284 Charles I of Anjou had in his treasury a chaplet with fleurs-de-lis – evidently it was what we should call a coronal or low crown – set with precious stones and pearls. The treasury also contained a chaplet 'of pearls and stones' that had belonged to King Stephen of Hungary, whose daughter Maria (*c*.1257–1323) had married Charles's son, the second Charles, in 1270. A chaplet of gold set with pearls and gems listed in 1299 among the treasures of Edward I of England had belonged to Blanche of Castile, Queen of France (1188–1252) or to her granddaughter, another Blanche, 'as Adam the gold-smith used to say, he having been across the seas and seen it'. Again, in 1297 Edward I of England lent Count Guy of Flanders a circlet mounted with gold, pearls and precious stones.[4]

Chaplets and circlets might also be ornamented with enamels; chaplets of this kind, according to Jean de Meung, were very fashionable in later thirteenth-century France. Sometimes these enamels bore armorial devices, as on the gold chaplet set with emeralds and rubies and little gold shields (*targetes*) with the arms of the Counts of Hainault and Artois that belonged in 1301 to the Countess of Artois or on the chaplet belonging to Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, in 1302, which had lozenge-shaped links enamelled with the arms of Hainault. Again, Robert de Flandre, Count of Cassel, bought in about 1323 for his wife Jeanne de Bretagne from his mother-in-law Yolande de Montfort, Duchess of Brittany, an enamelled chaplet decorated with large motifs of pearls and with sapphires and balas-rubies. Again, in 1338 Edward III of England had a number of enamelled chaplets, for instance a chaplet set with translucent enamels on gold – probably French cloisonné enamels or imitations of them – and with clusters of pearls 'and a doublet inside'. The Bargello coronal (pl.15) is set with cloisonné enamels and gives some idea of how they were used in combination with precious stones on head ornaments. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century the chaplet was sometimes tiered, no doubt for greater impressiveness, like the chaplet 'on two rings [*verges*] set with rubies and emeralds' that belonged to Raoul de Nesle in 1302 or the gold chaplet 'on three little rings set with rubies and emeralds' composed of fourteen links, which belonged in 1301 to Marguerite de Hainault, Countess of Artois. Probably the coronal 'on four rings set with sapphires and little rubies' that Robert of Cassel bought in Paris about 1323 was an even richer version of such chaplets. They were evidently fashionable for in 1328 King Philippe of France bought the 'good chaplet on two thin rings' set with balas-rubies, emeralds, pearls and rubies that had belonged to his sister-in-law, Queen Clémence de Hongrie.[5]

We get a picture of fashionable French chaplets of *c*.1300 from a list of jewels belonging to Marguerite de Hainault. Her chaplets and hair ribands (*trechons*) were of both kinds – of pure goldsmiths' work, in the form of hinged plaques, and of textile ribands with mounts of gold and jewels. Some of the chaplets and tressons were *en suite*, but this was not universally the case. One gold chaplet of twelve plaques was decorated with rosettes of rubies and emeralds, while another was of rubies and emeralds set in foliage on fourteen plaques. A third was of twelve plaques, set with sapphires and rubies. Her heraldic chaplet that we have already encountered, typical of the strong taste of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century for heraldic decoration, was of twelve gold plaques, set with rubies and emeralds and bearing little shields enamelled with the arms of the Count of Hainault and the Count of Artois. Some of the ribands were of plain white, others were of embroidered silk, like one embroidered with the arms of Henri de Ligny. This had no mounts of gold or jewels, but other chaplets of silk riband were decorated with gold beads (*perles*) or gold rosettes, or else were jewelled with rubies and emeralds, no doubt set in gold *chatons* and stitched to the material, or with blue and red doublets, when they were for wear on lesser occasions. One was decorated with gold 'pearls' and 'white pearls', another with blue pearls (river pearls or blue beads?), doublets and grains of gold. Other ribands were of *or nué*, a term variously glossed in modern times as embroidery of mixed gold and silk or as shaded gold. One of these was worked in an openwork technique, and had a central ornament of four pearls surrounding a doublet. Others of *or nué* were decorated with enamels, whether on gold or silver is not recorded. Some were of interlaced gold wire (*or trechié*) while others were of oven gold or silver (*bisette*). Another type of decoration was with besants – originally the term meant Byzantine gold coins but by the thirteenth and fourteenth century it often indicates simply roundels or mounts of precious metal. Jeanne de Bretagne, Countess of Cassel, had about 1331 a chaplet decorated with besants, with three stones set side by side, and with two rubies and an emerald. A second chaplet was set with a pierced besant – perhaps here really a coin – an emerald and a ruby.[6]

It was natural that on chaplets worn by princesses at their weddings the decoration should figure heraldically or symbolically their rank. Marguerite de Hainault's chaplet with the arms of Hainault and Artois was clearly a wedding chaplet. We do not know how old this custom was, but it was certainly in vogue in England too during the late thirteenth century. Chaplets appear often to have been worn for their weddings by princesses who were not marrying kings or emperors – at any rate in England; pride in the blood royal of France and perhaps a more general wearing of coronals among bourgeoises as well as noblewomen, seems to have persuaded the princesses of the Netherlands on occasion to wear crowns for their weddings. In England two at least of the daughters of Edward I wore chaplets at their weddings. Thus for her wedding on 8 July 1290 to Duke Jean of Brabant Princess Margaret was given chaplets of gold, set with

pearls and rubies and wrought in sapphires with the leopards of the English royal arms. She was also given matching gold girdles.[7]

Only the best and most costly chaplets and circlets were of gold; less expensive ones were of silver-gilt or silver: thus a Neapolitan document of 1296 mentions 'a circlet of silver-gilt'. Such circlets were common in mid-fourteenth-century Florence, though contrary to the city's sumptuary laws. We hear for instance of a circlet of silver-gilt of fifteen pieces shaped as vine branches with leaves – presumably panels of scrolling stems on a base-plate – and set with buttons of plain silver and red and blue stones, which Angela, wife of Jacopo Gori of Florence was accused of wearing in 1344. The motif of buttons of plain silver seems to have been popular in Florence during these years, for in 1343–4 Selvaggia, wife of Filippo Bonaiuti, was fined for wearing a circlet of silver-gilt set with glass doublets, enamels and buttons of white silver. But other and cheaper varieties, sometimes only of gilt or silvered vellum, were in common use. A sumptuary law enacted in 1371 in the Umbrian city of Gubbio, not one of the major cities in Italy, forbids women to wear

> any coronal, garland or frontlet or circlet in which there is gold, enamel or silver, a pearl or pearls, a piece or pieces of mother-of-pearl, or any precious stone or stones, coral, crystal, or amber, or in any shape or form that is gold or silver, gilt or silvered, wholly or in part.[8]

Such head ornaments, even when wholly of goldsmiths' work, were really transmutations into precious metal of the humbler cloth bandeau. Indeed chaplets and circlets and garlands continued to be made of rich stuff, of silk, or of cloth-of-gold, embroidered with pearls and sewn with ornaments of gems and precious metal, like that owned in 1301 by Marguerite of Hainault, which was silk decorated with rosettes of gold and pearls, or another that was bequeathed in 1341 by Doña Leonor de Guzmán, set with six oriental sapphires and five rubies on a bandeau embroidered with seed-pearls. In the late thirteenth century great ladies and their waiting-women might themselves weave such ornaments. In 1290 for example Thomas Caimmill, esquire to the Princess Margaret (1275–1318) fourth daughter of Edward I of England, was paid for 4 ounces of silk and 200 ounces of gold thread and for a spindle that he had bought for his mistress in 1289 for the making of garlands and the head ribands known as *tressoirs*. Margaret is also known to have embroidered on silk, like many mediaeval ladies, and so could decorate as well as weave her own head ornaments.[9] At times, however, it seems that this silk or stuff was really little more than a lining to a metal chaplet. Again chaplets might be of gold wire – probably filigree – like one belonging to Mahaut d'Artois, which was twisted to form square panels set with garnets. Or they might be made of threaded or interlaced pearls. In 1271 Guy, Count of Flanders, bought five pearl chaplets and in 1362 Yolande de Bar was robbed 'of a chaplet all of pearls all interlaced on thread and a great quantity of

pearls all as large as beans'. A combination of pearls and small enamels seems to have been popular in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a decoration: in 1338 Edward III had at least two chaplets of this kind. More poetical in effect, however, must have been chaplets such as that owned by his father Edward II in 1324: 'a circlet of gold with gold roses, and in the midst of each rose a ruby, and between the roses a cluster of oriental pearls with a sapphire in the middle'.[10] Sometimes there was evidently a principal jewelled ornament, no doubt in the centre, with other pearls and stones at the sides. This for example must have been the case in 1346 with Queen Maria of Aragon's

> chaplet [*liguar*] of pearls, in which is a sapphire set in gold, and around and about it twelve small precious stones, that is, six small rubies and six emeralds. Also there are in the said chaplet ten balas-rubies and nine sapphires and many large pearls, of which none are missing.

On other occasions the ornament might be formed of pearls, like the eagle of large pearls – the eagle, as we shall see, was an ensign of princely and noble degree – set in a chaplet of large pearls that was stolen from Sir Guichard d'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1377.[11]

The importance of pearls in the decoration of chaplets must explain why chaplets of pearls were often made by embroiderers. Thus in 1368 Philippe of Burgundy bought a jewelled ornament – described as a little gold brooch (*fermaillet*) set with four large pearls and a balas-ruby – to put into a chaplet of pearls made for him by his embroiderer Robinet de Varennes. And in 1386 he paid Estienne Bievre, another of his embroiderers, 'for the fashion of a chaplet of pearls which he made for Monseigneur'. Such simpler chaplets as 'the silk chaplet ornamented with small pearls' owned in 1363 by Monin de Reulée, a humble knight of Burgundy who was in Philippe's service, were probably made by embroiderers working for mercers.[12]

In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy chaplets of pearls seem to have been particularly popular. Indeed, as two coronals of pearls are mentioned in a Venetian document of *c*.1224, it may be that they were already popular there in the twelfth century. Other Venetian documents mention a bequest in 1245 of a chaplet or coronal with large pearls, in 1302 of a chaplet of pearls weighing three ounces and twenty carats and a chaplet of pearls 'worked with the arms of my sons'. These Venetian chaplets too were evidently of two sorts, pearl-embroidered ribands, and strung pearls, and indeed both types can be seen in the mosaic of *c*.1270 in San Marco depicting the *Discovery of the Relics of St Mark* (pl.1), worn by the lady spectators. Again, when Almengarda, daughter of Teduce Forzaté, a great patrician of Padua, was to be married in 1278 to Enselmino degli Enselmini, among the other things that Pietro, chaplain to her uncle the Bishop of Padua, bought for her trousseau were seven ounces of pearls to make a garland – here undoubtedly what we should call a chaplet – and hair ribands for her head. The only head ornaments mentioned in the mid-fourteenth-century inventories

of ladies of the great Acciaiuoli family of Southern Italy are 'a garland of pearls of silver with eighteen rosettes of pearls' and 'a finer garland of pearls'. Giovanni de Mussis, a chronicler of Piacenza, writes in 1388 that some of his luxurious fellow townswomen wore chaplets of pearls which were called *terzolle*, because they were made of three hundred large pearls arranged in three rows. Their value ranged from 100 to 125 gold florins, an enormous sum.[13]

Sometimes, too, chaplets were composed of peacock feathers fixed into a framework of base or precious metal. According to the twelfth-century chronicler Roger of Howden, in 1185, when Henry II had obtained the lordship of Ireland from Pope Lucius III, the Pope sent him a royal crown of cloth of gold and peacock feathers as a token of his goodwill in granting the bull. Peacock feathers were still the favourite headgear of St Louis in the mid-thirteenth century, and were also worn by other princes. The accounts of Aragon, for example, between 1258 and 1268 record the purchase of a chaplet of peacock feathers for one of the royal Infantes. They were fixed on to a riband which cost ten dineros, and the whole was fastened by a cord costing two sueldos. Peacock-feather chaplets long remained in fashion: in 1348 for instance Alerame Lercari of the mercantile city of Genoa owned a chaplet of pearls and peacock feathers. Indeed their popularity lasted until the end of the Middle Ages. So general was it that in Paris as early as *c.*1260 there was a guild of *chapeliers de paon*, makers of *chapeaux* of peacock feathers – confusingly the mediaeval French word *chapel* was used both for a hat and for a chaplet, and this is also the case with the Latin, Spanish and Italian equivalents. The craft served only an aristocratic clientele, for its practitioners declared to Etienne Boileau, who compiled their statutes about this time along with those of the other crafts and guilds of Paris, that 'this trade serves only the church, knights and great men'. The early fourteenth-century effigy of a lady in Scarcliff Church, Derbyshire (fig.26), shows her wearing what appears to be a circlet set with feathers; it probably gives a reasonably faithful image of the appearance of chaplets of this kind. Many of the products of the *chapeliers de paon* were not of course chaplets, but hats covered with peacock feathers: these were worn by men of high degree in Germany as well as in France and elsewhere. Gay reproduces a German miniature of *c.*1300 which shows a man wearing a tall hat covered with peacock feathers. Surprisingly enough, although a Florentine sumptuary law of 1388 forbade women to wear dresses ornamented with peacock feathers, it permitted the use of them for chaplets or garlands.[14]

Like all jewellery, circlets and chaplets were subject to the vicissitudes of the mode, above all in the modish fourteenth century. Those of Paris were highly fashionable even in the early thirteenth century, so much so that *feseresses de chapiaus d'orfroi* (women-makers of chaplets of orphreys, that is of gold stuff embroidered with silk, pearls and precious stones) are recorded *c.*1260 as a separate craft there. The work was largely in the hands of women, but men were also permitted to engage



Fig. 26 Effigy from Scarcliff Church, Derbyshire. English, early fourteenth century. Illustration from Stothard I, 1817, pl.35

in it. Chaplets of parchment and linen were not allowed to be made 'because they are false'; forbidden too was work in fine pearls which used ordinary thread or cotton. The making of chaplets was probably often in the hands of women elsewhere; certainly in 1353 Queen Giovanna I of Naples is found paying a certain Madonna Clemenza for making her chaplets. Paris chaplets long continued fashionable. In 1324 Edward II of England had 'a chaplet of Paris, harnessed with doublets', while in 1338 his son Edward III owned 'a frontal chaplet of Paris, garnished with *doublets* and small pearls'. At a less exalted level, when the Provençal noble Pierre de Grignan and his son contracted in January 1344 to marry Beline and Beatrice, the daughters of another Provençal noble, Artaud d'Aiguedine, Artaud undertook to give each of the girls as part of her dowry 'a suitable Paris chaplet'.[15]

Some of the chaplets and circlets that belonged to Queen Jeanne de Boulogne of France in 1360 are described as being 'of

the new fashion', and one of the 'old fashion'. It seems that this and its fellow unfashionable circlets and chaplets were composed of roundels. One of the latter is described as 'a circlet of roundels of pearls with a setting of large rubies and large sapphires made in the old fashion'. So splendid were its sapphires that it was called 'the chaplet of the sapphires'. Of the other old-fashioned chaplets also formed of roundels, one was of eight roundels, set alternately with five large rubies and four smaller emeralds and with four large emeralds encircled by twelve large pearls with a diamond between each pair of pearls. Between each of the roundels was set a pair of rubies. Another had sixteen roundels, each with a rim of twelve pearls encircling alternately a balas-ruby and an emerald; these reappeared between the roundels, set singly, again in alternation. Of those that were 'in the new fashion' one had large lozenge-shaped plaques set in the centre with a ruby and an emerald side by side and pearls along the edge. This went by the name of 'the chaplet of the great lozenges'. The others had shield-shaped plaques. One had shields set with pearls and precious stones, intermingled with plaques of rubies about an emerald; another had shields set with pearls alternating with square plaques set alternately with a ruby and an emerald and bordered with rosettes.[16]

Plainly the angular forms of lozenge and shield were the new fashion, but in fact we find the Gothic lozenge shape already being used as early as 1302 in the chaplet 'of lozenges, enamelled with the arms of Hainault' belonging to Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France. The jewelling of the lozenges and shields may have been the novelty, unless of course the wheel of fashion had come full circle. That this was indeed so is suggested by two chaplets belonging to another great Franco–Netherlandish lady, Yolande de Bar, granddaughter of Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, and wife of Henri, Count of Bar. In 1370 she pledged to two Lombards of Bruges 'a good gold chaplet of half-lozenges, in which are six works of pearls, six works of sapphires and six works of balas-rubies, and three emeralds, two large and one small are missing' and 'a chaplet which is called the chaplet of the lozenges' of ten *tresches* (plaques), set with emeralds, balas-rubies and pearls. Significantly, in 1355, when Yolande had called Guiot Villain, a goldsmith of Paris, to make or refurbish jewels and plate for her, the gold chaplet he repaired was of the roundel form – it is called in Villain's account 'the chaplet of four semicircles'. In mediaeval jewels we can hardly ever be certain that we see an individual patron's own preferences in the choice of precious stones and their settings, whereas these often appear in figurated motifs, initial letters, and devices and other symbols, in which personality was sometimes overpoweringly expressed. But it is quite plain from these descriptions that Queen Jeanne had a great liking for the alternation of rubies and emeralds in her jewels. If more proof is wanting, we find it in a little chaplet with a thin border sewn with fleurs-de-lis which, so she tells us, 'I hold very dear'. This had plaques alternately of four large pearls encircling a diamond, of four large pearls encircling a ruby, and

of four large pearls encircling an emerald. Again the twenty-nine links of her gold girdle alternated links in which a ruby was encircled by four pearls and four sapphires with links in which four small balas-rubies were set about an emerald. Her two other chaplets were of gold topped with pearls.[17]

The fashion for jewelled lozenge-shaped plaques also appears in a circlet which had belonged to the Duchess Blanche of Orléans, who had sold it to her nephew Charles V of France. It is described in 1380 as 'of eight lozenges, four of four large balas-rubies, and four of four large emeralds, together with eight more lozenges of pearls, and in the middle of each of these pearl lozenges is a sapphire'. This must have been a very costly jewel and indeed in April 1390 Louis, Duke of Orléans, paid a Genoese merchant named Manuel de la Mer (Emmanuele della Mare?) 3000 gold francs for a chaplet of gold set with precious stones and pearls, bought for his wife, the Duchess Valentina. So significant were chaplets and circlets in mediaeval eyes that certain particularly rich or splendid ones were the first jewels to be known by names of their own. As we have seen Queen Jeanne de Boulogne had one in 1360 known as 'the chaplet of the sapphires'. In 1376 Queen Jeanne de Bourbon had circlets known as the Circlet of St Denis, the Circlet of Jehan de Lisle, from the name of the early fourteenth-century Parisian goldsmith who was its maker, and the Red Circlet, a small circlet so called from the twenty large and small balas-rubies set in it.[18]

In the fourteenth century the motifs of chaplets might be surprisingly fantastic. In 1302 the jewels left by Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, included a 'chaplet of hares' ears set with rubies and three emeralds, of fourteen pieces'. One owned by Edward III in 1338 had a decoration of enamelled organ pipes and oriental pearls. Another had eighteen links enamelled with crosslets of translucent enamel (*de cler colour*) and set with clusters of sixteen oriental pearls, false stones and enamels, while a third had enamels of little birds, probably champlevé enamels of a well-known fourteenth-century type, and false stones. A curious chaplet, listed in 1337 among the jewels of the Seigneur de Naste, a junior member of the house of Hainault, was decorated with gold stags' heads, but the stag was a symbol of princely rank, and the motif is therefore probably less fanciful than now might appear. This interpretation is supported by earlier evidence: in 1311 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, pledged a coronal with stag's antlers of gold. The fourteenth-century vogue for devices introduced itself even into the chaplet. Louis d'Orléans, for instance, gave his wife Valentina in 1390 a gold chaplet, set with eight diamonds and eight rubies, which had the form of broom-cods, the royal device of Charles VI of France. But more often the motifs of the chaplet seem to have been purely ornamental. In an inventory taken in 1400 of plate and jewels, some of which had belonged to Edward III and Richard II, Henry IV appears as owning a gold chaplet set with five balas-rubies, five sapphires, ten diamonds and one hundred pearls, five of whose ten links were shaped as mermaids.[19]

The chaplets left by Marguerite of Burgundy in 1405 were all of links, each usually decorated with a precious stone encircled by pearls or other precious stones. A common device was to use one cluster composition of pearls and a central stone on half the links, and another, varying the central stone and sometimes the encircling pearls and stones, on the other half. Thus one of Marguerite's chaplets had sixteen links, eight set with six pearls encircling a balas-ruby and eight with six pearls encircling a sapphire. This, like others of her chaplets, came equipped with a *bourrelet*, the heavy circular roll, sometimes with raised ends, that was popular as a head-dress in the late fourteenth centuries. There was evidently a tendency to approximate the form of chaplet links to brooches: thus the ten links of one of Marguerite's chaplets are described as being 'in the fashion of brooches'. Indeed the cluster motif found on them of a large central stone encircled by a ring of pearls and precious stones was, as we shall see, very popular on fourteenth-century brooches. It is plain too that the appearance of the technique of *émail en ronde bosse*, which we shall find powerfully affected the form and motifs of brooches, also influenced the two other principal jewels of the fourteenth century, the chaplet and the girdle.

Girdles must await a later chapter for discussion, but we should notice here Marguerite's chaplets decorated in much the same International Gothic taste as the brooches of the 1380s and 1390s, and in the same white enamel which appears to have been the earliest form of *émail en ronde bosse*. She had a gold chaplet of fifteen links, each having a white bird in the centre and each set with six pearls, a sapphire and a balas-ruby. On another great gold chaplet of ten links, two ladies held alternately on each link a sapphire and a balas-ruby; those holding a sapphire were encircled by six pearls and three balas-rubies, those holding a balas-ruby by six pearls and four sapphires. Between each pair of links were small white flowers. Six of the twelve links of a third gold chaplet were enamelled in white with her family device of swans and six with little dogs, both motifs that recur on jewellery bought by Marguerite's husband, Philippe. In a more colourful and naturalistic taste, belonging to a more advanced stage in the technique of *émail en ronde bosse*, was a gold chaplet in the form of a *floquart*, a rich textile head ornament, apparently of German origin. This was enamelled white, green and black, and was set with four balas-rubies, four sapphires and thirty-two pearls and shimmered with pendant spangles. Altogether it seems to have been an ornament typical of the gay and lively fashions of the late fourteenth century. Chaplets in the form of *floquarts* seem to have been fashionable from about 1395: in 1396 Richard II gave his child-bride Isabelle of France a *floquart* powdered with large pearls and in 1413 Cathérine of Burgundy was given a gold *flocart*, on which was a 'brooch', a separate central motif set with six pearls encircling a balas-ruby. The fifteenth century's development of this new passion for organic naturalistic ornament appears in Charles the Bold's gold chaplet of *c.*1467 which was 'made of branches and garnished with several balas-rubies, sapphires, emeralds and

pearls', and was evidently a composition of the century's favourite motif of lopped boughs, sometimes known as the 'dry-branch' motif.[20]

The taste for heavy jewelling which was so characteristic of the fifteenth century also paraded itself on circlets and chaplets. Among the earliest rich jewels of this kind of which we have records are three chaplets and *zoie* (*zoia* was the Venetian name for a jewelled chaplet or circlet) belonging to Antonio, the last Scaliger lord of Verona, which he sent to Venice for pledging in 1387. One was of pearls and precious stones; the second, 'a chaplet or else *zoia*', was set with forty-five pearls, sixteen balas-rubies, fifteen sapphires and sixteen emeralds, and had originally contained fifteen stones more. The third, described as 'a *zoia* for a lady', was set with nineteen balas-rubies, nineteen sapphires, several emeralds and one hundred and twenty pearls. Among the circlets left by Henry V of England in 1422 was a gold circlet set with thirty diamonds with another thirty-eight 'of different sort', another seventy-two of yet another sort again, seventeen large balas-rubies together with thirty-seven balases of a different kind, eleven rubies and thirty-six clusters of four pearls each, totalling one hundred and fourteen pearls in all. A second, less rich circlet was set with twenty-five sapphires, twenty-five balas-rubies and one hundred and fifty-six small pearls. Even a circlet described as 'small' was set with seven balas-rubies, three garnets, thirteen emeralds and thirty-nine pearls.[21]

This splendour of stones was not exclusively kingly: a gold circlet belonging to the Countess of Hereford which is listed in the same inventory was set with thirty-two balas-rubies, forty emeralds of various sorts and sizes, seven sapphires 'of divers sorts' and ninety-six pearls. Even chaplets that were essentially ribands with mounts of precious metal set with jewels – usually known as *fermaux* or *broches* in French inventories, either from their resemblance to brooches or because this was as we shall see a generic term for a small jewel – were often of great richness. A chaplet of gold of this kind that belonged to Philippe the Good of Burgundy *c.*1430 is described as 'garnished with very fine stones: viz in front a gold brooch [*fermail*] set with seven large pearls, each of ten carats, encircling a pointed diamond, with a great fine square balas-ruby below. Around the said chaplet are twenty or twenty-four other brooches, each set with a balas-ruby in the middle and with large pearls numbering in all 268, each of four or five carats, and the said chaplet is well worth 5000 francs.' This taste for rich jewelling lasted in chaplets throughout the century: in 1477 René of Anjou had his goldsmith Pierre Adam make a chaplet set with nineteen table diamonds and eighteen table rubies for a court lady, Ysabeau de Beauveau, Mademoiselle de la Jaille, and another set with fifteen table diamonds and sixteen table rubies and with a round boss between two stones as a central feature for her kinswoman Mademoiselle de Beauveau.[22]

But even at this late date the ordinary form of chaplet still remained the chaplet or fillet of pearls. In 1391 Lady Margery
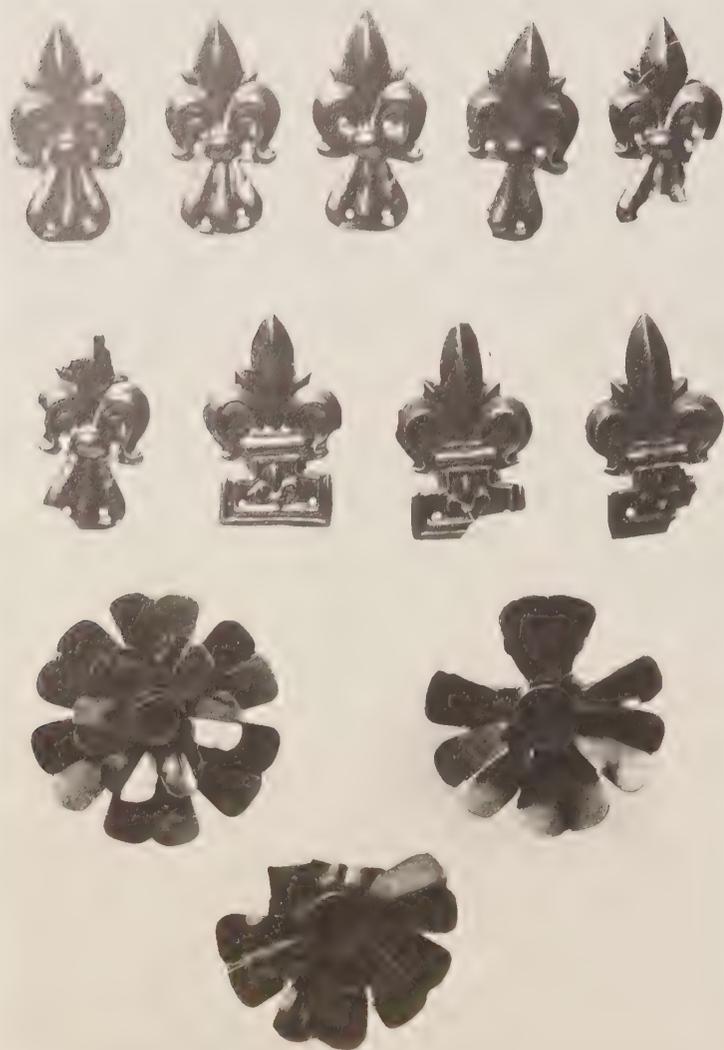
Fig. 27 Elements from a garland. Silver-gilt. Rosettes: diameter 4 cm. Links: height 3.5 cm. Swedish, fourteenth century. Found Badeboda Treasure, Åseda parish, Småland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

de Aldeburgh, the widow of a Yorkshire knight, left three fillets of pearls, one described as 'of pearls of a sort', the other as a long fillet with a *treyel*, that is trellis of roses (a coif?) and one as a fillet of pearls with five leaves. Again in 1401 Elizabeth de Thorp, another Yorkshire lady, made bequests of three fillets of pearls. Hawise Aske, the widow first of a Yorkshire merchant, then of a Yorkshire gentleman, bequeathed in 1451 a fillet of pearls and to a little girl a chaplet of pearls. As pearls were symbols of purity, they were considered a suitable head-dress for a maiden. In 1308 Mahaut d'Artois bought two 'chaplets of goldsmiths' work with pearls and pearl-work' from a gold-smith of Paris to give to her cousins, three daughters of the Sire de Sully. And in 1349 when Perronette, orphan daughter of Maître Hughes a notary of Salles, near Grignan in Provence, was taken into ward, her sole jewel was a garland of pearls. Again about 1469 little Paola Gonzaga, daughter of the Marchese Lodovico, was painted by Mantegna in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castello of Mantua, wearing a chaplet of pearls as she leans against her mother's knee, eating an apple.[23]

Strictly the garland was a special form of the chaplet, though plainly the word was often used loosely for any light circlet or fillet or low crown. Originally it meant a reproduction in precious metal or in mounts of precious metal fastened to a textile band of the garlands of flowers that were so popular for festal wear in the Middle Ages, indeed so much so that in thirteenth-century Paris there was a special corporation of garland-makers. In 1261 Henry III of England had nine garlands of gold, five of which had been made in Paris. Possibly it was one of these that the chronicler Matthew Paris saw him wearing in 1247, as he sat on a throne in Westminster Abbey at the translation of the relics of the Holy Blood 'clad in a golden garment of the most precious brocade of Baghdad, and with a low crown of gold (such as we call *garlanda*) on his head'. In 1297 Edward I of England had one of gold set with pearls and precious stones, made in fifteen pieces. Much simpler and of a type that must have been very common in the Middle Ages was a small garland which King Robert of Naples had in 1316. It consisted of a silk ribbon, decorated with pearls and little silver shields.[24]

Probably garlands were often decorated with rosettes, recalling their origin in real garlands. Fragments from a fourteenth-century garland in Stockholm (from Badeboda) consist of sexfoil rosettes cut from sheet metal (fig.27). The principal rosette is a double rose, set in the centre with an oval collet held by a corded ring which once contained a stone; two of the single roses also have plain collets for missing stones. Each lobe of the rosettes is cut as a double petal with a line down the middle and curves upwards. In one form or another this design was evidently universal. Garlands decorated with roses were evidently well-established in the late twelfth century. On his effigy of *c*.1247, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Count Heinrich of Sayn, near Coblenz, in the middle Rhineland, wears a garland of roses as a symbol of his rank (fig.28). Again a garland of gold set with pearls, sapphires, emeralds and rubies which had belonged to Blanche of Anjou (d.1310), first wife of Jaime II of Aragon, was decorated with twenty roses. Maria, daughter of Philippe d'Evreux, King of Navarre, and wife of Jaime's grandson Pierre III, left at her death in 1346 a garland of gold set with nine roses – each set with a large ruby, four large emeralds and four diamonds, alternately with a large emerald, three large rubies and three *chatons* containing four very large pearls set round a small emerald – together with another richly set rose kept separately. A garland of silver-gilt worn in 1343–4 by Nicolosia, daughter of Bonaccio Bonaiuti of Florence, was worth more than 100 florins, and was decorated with 'double roses and buttons of white silver resembling pearls'. And in 1358 Queen Beatriz of Portugal left her granddaughter Beatriz, who was no doubt named after her, 'a garland of gold with enamelled roses set with sapphires between each rosette, and a pearl set in each rosette'. One worn by King Charles VI of France at a joust in 1390 was small and of gold, with twenty-six plaques shaped as marguerites, set with six balas-rubies, seven sapphires and thirteen pearls. And in July 1453 the French

royal treasurer was ordered to pay for sixty *chaplets* of silver-gilt roses which King Charles VII had given as presents on the feast of Epiphany. The popularity of garlands continued into the sixteenth century: among the jewels offered to Lincoln Cathedral listed in an inventory of 1536 were nine silver garlands. Three were set with pearls and precious stones and one of these was mounted on black velvet.[25]

The garland was probably the gayest and least formal of mediaeval head ornaments, perhaps because of its association with the festal garland – 'it betokeneth gladnesse' writes the fourteenth-century author of *Dives et Pauper*. The early fourteenth century Tuscan poet Francesco da Barberino tells a story from his own knowledge which illustrates its role in the game, at once gay and passionate, of courtly love. A lady offered some incense on the altar of her church. An admirer, who like all mediaeval admirers was lurking about in the church for a sight of her, promptly swept it up, putting a goodly sum in its place so as to placate the priest. He then had a garland made for himself in which he wore the grains of incense set like pearls, wearing one too set in a gold ring on his finger. There were evidently local fashions in garlands. In 1316 King Robert of Naples also had some 'of silver set with pearls in the Provençal fashion' – this was because he was also Count of Provence, where in fact we know that garlands were often worn, for they were ordinary jewels given to a bride. A rich garland that belonged to Louis of Anjou in 1379–80 was for 'tiring in the Spanish fashion'. It was composed of plain hinged plaques, to which variety was given by the various designs in which its precious stones and pearls were set. In the centre it had a rosette of seven large pearls, and from either side of it dangled a pendant ornamented with eleven other pearl rosettes of similar device, set between balas-rubies and sapphires.[26]

In Germany chaplets or garlands long continued to be worn as festal ornaments, particularly at weddings. The Elizabethan traveller Fynes Moryson remarks in the 1590s that at wedding feasts

> the young men on theire bare heads weare Krantzes; that is Garlands of Roses, both in winter and sommer, presented them for a favour by the bryde at the dore of her house, as wee present gloves. The women likewise weare Garlands of Roses on theire heades, and chayns about their neckes. And during the Feast the young men and virgins, for tokens of love, exchanged garlands, and the young men sometyme wore the virgins chaynes.

In their wedding portrait of *c*.1457 (figs.29, 29a) Ladislas Postumus, King of Hungary and grandson of the Emperor Sigismund, wears a *kränzlein* of white roses while his child-bride, Madeleine of France, wears a bridal coronal over her hair as well as a rich collar. Such *kränzleinchen* were worn not only at weddings but also at feasts. On his way home from the Holy Land in 1433 the Burgundian traveller Bertrandon de la Brocquière was entertained in Buda by Albrecht II (King Albert of Austria, and after dinner one day was taken to see the wedding



Fig. 28  Effigy of Count Heinrich von Sayn. Rhenish, *c*.1247. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Fig. 29 Ladislaus v of Hungary and Madeleine of France, betrothal portrait, anonymous copy of the original of 1457. Oil on panel. Austrian (?), sixteenth century. Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest

Fig. 29a Detail

in the apartments of the Archduchess Elizabeth. To wear the Archduchess gave him 'a chaplet of gold thread and silk, a ring with a diamond to wear on my head according to the fashion of the country'. Again when he reached the castle of Linz on the Danube, his hostess, a very handsome lady from Bohemia, gave him presents of 'a diamond to put in my hair, after the Austrian fashion, and a chaplet of pearls ornamented with a clasp and a ruby'. The late fifteenth-century portrait of a young German prince surrounded by all his jewels (fig.9) shows him wearing just such a garland or chaplet with a pendant jewel.[27]

From Antoine de Lalaing's account of the ceremonies of the wedding of the Count of Lodrone held at Innsbruck in October 1501 in the presence of the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian I, it is plain that such garlands with pendant rings set with jewels were an ordinary feature of German weddings

as well as of German festivals. On the day before the wedding, Apollonia, the bride, sent the Archduke and all the great men and knights *kränzleinchen* of her colours, woven of gold thread and of white and crimson silk, with a pendant ring set with precious stone, which in the case of Maximilian and the great nobles were diamonds and rubies. 'It is the custom', writes Lalaing, 'for the ladies and maidens to send *kränzleinchen* when they are getting married. The burgher women do the same, but at their weddings something is given in return for these *kränzleinchen*, which the nobles do not do.' The day after the wedding Philip sent the bride a hat of black velvet ornamented with diamonds and pearls he had worn the previous Sunday, in return for her *kränzlein*, which he now put round his neck to wear as a collar, being followed in this by several of the great lords who attended him. As we shall see, such chaplets or garlands were much worn in fifteenth-century Germany on hats.[28]

The distinctive feature of the coronet, coronal or crown – it went by all names without regard to the rank of the wearer – was its prominent fleurons; these grew ever taller and more elegant from the late thirteenth century.[1] Always the most splendid and solemn of head ornaments, from the thirteenth century onwards the crown or coronal was the badge of rank proper to kings and princes, nobles and noblewomen, knights and esquires and their wives and daughters. It was in fact worn as a symbol of noble degree from Scandinavia (fig.30) to Italy. The aristocratic nature of its fleurons was recognised in the

Fig. 30  Tomb effigy of Margareta Finnsdotter Amundssøn. Scandinavian, 1343. From Finnøy Church, Rogaland, Norway. Historisk Museum, Bergen
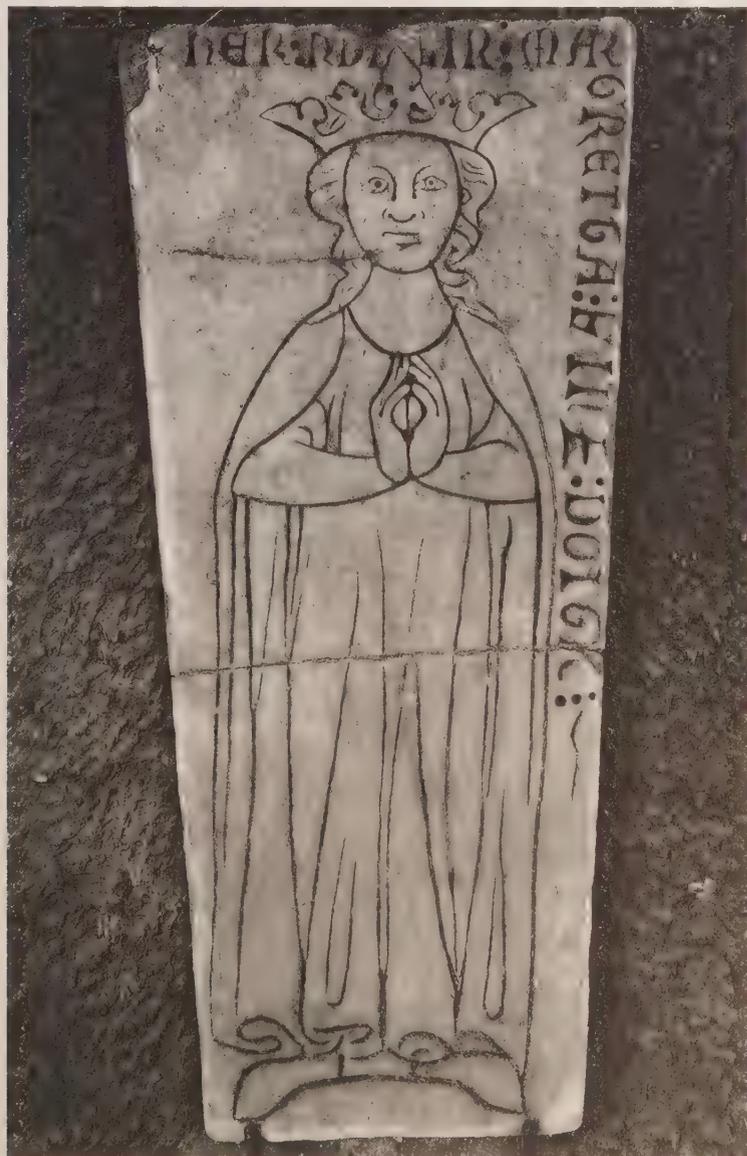


sumptuary statutes of Siena, enacted between 1277 and 1282, which forbade the ladies of the city to wear circlets or garlands with fleurons (*giglecti* – little lilies). The same opinion prevailed equally in the other great Tuscan republic, for in 1343–4 a Florentine lady was fined for wearing a coronal of silver-gilt.[2]

The steps by which the crown with fleurons came to be worn so universally are not now fully traceable. When it first appeared in the ninth and tenth centuries it was undoubtedly exclusively a royal symbol, its trefoil fleurons deriving ultimately from the trefoil ornament of precious stones that marked the centre of the Byzantine imperial *stemma*. One of the earliest representations of a crown with trefoil fleurons is in a contemporary miniature of the Emperor Charles the Bald (846–69) which has four. From surviving crowns and pictures of crowns dating from the tenth century and later, it would seem that this remained the ordinary number of fleurons for some four centuries and more. At first the crown with trefoil-shaped fleurons was perhaps worn only by the Carolingian emperors, but by the third quarter of the tenth century it had appeared in England, where King Edgar (959–75) is shown wearing one in a contemporary miniature. By the middle decades of the eleventh century it was being used in Castile, where King Ferdinand I (1035–65) again wears one in a contemporary miniature. It was under the Capetian kings of France that the trefoil, originally a stylisation of a Byzantine ornament, developed the fleur-de-lis form that became characteristic of mediaeval crowns and coronals from the thirteenth century onwards.

If this is a true account of the early history of the crown with fleurons, then it is a first exemplification of the evolution, often repeated in the Middle Ages, by which an ornament originally exclusive to one rank in the hierarchy of society was gradually usurped and worn by persons of less exalted degree. Here an imperial ornament becomes after about a century an ornament worn by kings. They in turn were to see it adopted by their greater barons, a process that was certainly completed by the second half of the twelfth century. Thus we know from Dom Martène's record of 1708 that he saw a head reliquary of the Apostle St Philip in the cathedral of Troyes wearing a gold crown set with precious stones – he describes it as 'a small ducal crown of gold' – which had belonged to Count Henri I of Champagne (1152–81).[3]

All our evidence so far has concerned men, but queens too wore crowns, though at first these seem to have been circlets rather than crowns with fleurons. Indeed the wearing of a gold circlet by the queen at her coronation has survived as a custom

Fig. 31 Crown on the Silver Virgin. Gold, precious stones, pearls. Diameter c.13 cm, height c.6 cm. Spanish (?), twelfth century. Tesoro, Catedral, Toledo

in England into modern times. A broad circlet was in fact often worn by queens as a crown. The gold and jewelled circlet known as the crown of the Empress Kunigunde, dating from 1010–20, still survives in the Schatzkammer of the Munich Residenz (pl.12). In the late twelfth century the Byzantine princess Irene, wife of the Emperor Philip of Swabia (r.1198–1209) is described as wearing 'a royal diadem, not however a crown, but a circlet'. The circlet worn by a Virgin in the cathedral of Toledo probably gives a reasonably faithful impression of a twelfth-century royal or princely circlet (fig.31). We do not know when queens began to wear crowns with fleurons, but they had certainly begun to do so before the middle of the twelfth century, for the seal of the abbey of Vicogne of 1149 shows the Virgin wearing a crown with four high fleurons, and Virgins wearing crowns of this type are represented on seals of the abbey of Breteuil (1183), of the chapter of Senlis (1213) and the chapter of Soissons (1213). By the middle of the century too some great noblewomen and even ladies were certainly wearing such crowns, though often possibly with only low fleurons, rather than with the prominent fleurons of royal and princely rank. During the thirteenth century eight fleurons replaced four as the usual number on crowns and coronals, but

crowns and coronals with more than eight fleurons are frequently recorded in inventories, and a number of royal crowns seem to have continued to be made with only four fleurons. It was customary to set the circlet of the crown with stones and pearls, and the three divisions of the trefoil or fleur-de-lis also offered natural frames for stones, which were often alternated from fleuron to fleuron.[4]

Although the crown remained the prime emblem of kingship and, in the lesser form of the circlet, the prime emblem of princely rule – in 1313 King Philippe le Bel of France at a solemn court held in Paris where all the princes present wore their crowns was surprised to find Count Robert of Flanders without one – they had also become by the mid-twelfth century generally worn symbols of noble, even of gentle birth. All of the rank of esquire and lady and above seem cheerfully to have adorned themselves with the sort of coronal they could afford; thus the French knight Bertrand de Maroeul could leave a gold coronal to his daughter in 1302. The biggest and richest were naturally worn only by royal and princely personages or by great nobles and noblewomen, so distinguishing them from those of lesser rank. There do seem however to have been some special rules for great state ceremonies, as we shall see. The term circlet should not be interpreted too literally in the later Middle Ages as always meaning the plain broad band set with jewels of the earlier Middle Ages, for coronals with low fleurons could also be described as circlets in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Whatever their shape it would in fact never have been possible to confuse with a simple coronal the great jewelled crowns of kings and queens and princes. No purse other than a royal purse could afford such a gold crown as that which King Stephen V of Hungary gave to his daughter Maria when she married Charles II of Naples in 1270. Its chief jewel was a great ruby, but in addition it was set with three large, one hundred and sixty middle-sized and twenty small balas-rubies, thirty-eight large pearls, twenty emeralds and twelve sapphires, while its fleur-de-lis and lesser fleurons were each set with more small balas-rubies. In all the crown weighed 2 pounds.[5]

Coronals were worn especially at festivals, both solemn and light-hearted. This use was well-established in Italy by the early thirteenth century, if the chronicler Rolandino of Padua (1200–76) is to be credited. He records that in 1214 the nobles of Treviso ordained a Court of Solace and Mirth, to which they invited many knights and ladies from Padua. The principal festivity was a Castle of Love – 'a fantastic castle was built and garrisoned with dames and damsels and their waiting women, who without help of man defended it with all possible prudence'. The castle was fortified with precious stuffs and assaulted by the men with engines that fired fruit, spices and sweetmeats.

What shall I say [rhetorically enquires Rolandino] of the coronals of gold set with chrysolites and jacinths, topazes and emeralds, rubies and pearls, and of the ornaments of every kind with which the ladies safeguarded their heads from the attacks of the assaulters.

We can form some idea of later thirteenth-century South Italian coronals at any rate from three remarkable busts of women, executed most probably in the 1270s. One, generally known as Sigelgaita Rufolo, is now in the cathedral of Ravello (fig.155), while the second comes from a house at Scala, near Ravello. The Rufolo were a wealthy and powerful merchant family in Angevin service, who built a great palace for themselves in their native town. Sigelgaita wears a high coronal with scrolling ornaments of iris leaves rising from a jewelled circlet; in the thirteenth century this would probably have been known as a garland. The Scala lady wears a coronal with leaves and a dress richly trimmed with braidings decorated with pearls and stones and metal mounts. The third bust is in the Metropolitan Museum, and shows a woman wearing a coronal also of leaves.[6]

Coronals were certainly worn at the court of King Charles I of Naples, not surprisingly, since Charles was the brother of St Louis of France and had originally been known as Charles of Anjou. The contemporary chronicler Saba Malaspina speaks of the jewelled garlands worn at a festival held on 12 June 1272 by Charles for the knighting of his son. 'On the king's right hand sat the queen, in a dress of cloth of gold, and a mantle of various colours; and not only the married women but the maidens as well had copied the queen's jewelled garland.' Nicolò Rufolo, husband of Sigelgaita, is known to have been a banker and royal servant high in the favour of Charles, and in all probability we have in her bust and the Scala bust portraits of wealthy merchants' ladies in their richest ceremonial dress, imitating in their coronals an aristocratic fashion of the Angevin court of Naples. Something of the sort must have been worn by the rich ladies of contemporary Siena to provoke the sumptuary law enacted between 1277 and 1282 forbidding them to wear coronals with fleurons. The strong contrast between Sigelgaita's coronal and her long Byzantine-style pendant earrings is a perfect illustration of the hybrid culture of South Italy immediately after the Angevin conquest of 1265, and it is perhaps true to say that the Gothic coronal only became general in Italy from the fourteenth century.

Coronals may often have been worn by royal and princely ladies even on ordinary occasions, for in January 1296 Edward I's court goldsmith Adam charged for putting a great ruby and a great emerald into the coronal of Edward's daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, in place of those which were lost when the King — notoriously bad-tempered — 'cast the same into the fire'. Often they were light in design — no doubt to make them more suitable for wear on more ordinary occasions. In 1299–1300 Edward I of England had a little crown of gold of filigree or gold thread (de opere fili) 'on a tissue of silk decorated with stones'.[7]

In the Middle Ages her wedding day was the day on which a woman appeared most sumptuously dressed and jewelled. But in many places it also marked the moment from which she put off maidenly modesty, and assumed the full panoply, and notably the head ornaments of a married woman. It is not surprising then to find that crowns and coronals were worn by brides at their weddings — a custom dating from classical antiquity and one that lingered long in Germany and Scandinavia. In one of his sermons preached in Siena in 1427 San Bernardino describes a Sienese bride being conducted after the wedding feast to her husband's house.

> She is so ornately dressed with her braidings of silver, with her trinkets and her fingers full of rings. She is all smoothed down, with her hair dressed and combed; she wears a little garland on her head; she wears a girdle, and she glitters with gold all over. She is on horseback in such great triumph that never was the like.

Given the matronly significance of head ornaments, a crown or coronal was among the wedding gifts a girl might expect from father or bridegroom or from a lady who was one's mistress or feudal superior. For the thwarted marriage of Matilda of Hainault to Giovanni, Prince of Achaia, Maria of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples, had goldsmiths make, probably c.1318, a gold crown set with precious stones and pearls, tressoirs (ribands for binding the hair) of gold, and a gold frontlet, which were still among Maria's jewels when she died in 1323. Sometimes the crown assumed the humbler form of a circlet, like the gold circlet bought in 1309 by Mahaut, Countess of Artois to give 'to the daughter of the Damoizelle de Brakencourt, when she was married'. To a girl of lesser degree she gave in 1316 a cheaper parure as her wedding present, a silk girdle harnessed with silver-gilt, a tressoir (hair riband) and a chaplet of pearls. Yet in 1302 a French knight, Bertrand de Maroeul, gave his daughter 'gold crowns, circlets and brooches' on her marriage, so that degree, though so important in the eyes that looked down from above, was far from being always the regulator of wedding jewels and their value.[8]

Clearly a coronal was a much grander wedding gift than a circlet, and so was the only suitable gift for a great baronial or princely bride. In 1315 Mahaut of Artois bought in Paris 'a crown and chaplet of gold set with rubies, emeralds and pearls, the which were given to the daughter of Monseigneur de Saint-Pol when she married Monseigneur Jehan de Nesle'. Again in 1376 the treasurer of Savoy paid the Jews Agino Ruffo and Samuel of Aubonne for a coronal of gold which Countess Bonne had given to the daughter of the Seigneur d'Aix. Sometimes a coronal might be given on the day of betrothal: in 1290, for instance, Queen Eleanor of England gave a coronal to Clémence de Vagour die Desponsacionis sue. In early fourteenth-century Naples a coronal was already an ordinary part of a noble girl's dowry. In December 1332 Paolella di Bonsignore (de Domino bono) was given as part of her dowry 'a garland or crown made of gold pieces, precious stones and pearls'. Again in 1351 another girl named Ceccarella received 'a coronal with fleurons of gold, pearls and precious stones'. Elsewhere in Italy the same custom prevailed. In a tale of the Decameron (1349–51) Boccaccio tells how Gualtieri, Marquis of Saluzzo, when about to marry, bought 'girdles and rings and a rich and beautiful coronal, and

all the other things needful to a newly wedded wife'. The account of the expenses of a wedding in 1348 in the patrician Alberti family of Florence confirms that this incident in the story is not fanciful. Among the jewels purchased for the bride were a coronal of gold or silver and a *cayula* of pearls (a sort of coif) and a coronal of pearls, two silver *surceintes* (outer girdles), silver buttons, rings set with diamonds and pearls, and precious stones and pearls. And in another of Boccaccio's tales a bride receives before her wedding feast rings and a coronal from her husband.[9]

A crown or coronal or lesser head jewel, according to degree, remained a standard wedding gift to the end of the Middle Ages. The anonymous treatise *Dives et Pauper* (1405–c.1410) says of English brides 'Thre ornaments longyn principally to a wyfe: a rynge on her fynger, a broche on her breste and a garlonde on her hede the ryng betokeneth true love . . . the broche . . . cleannesse in herte and chastity . . . the garlond betokeneth gladnesse and the dignitie of the sacrament of wedlocke'. Probably garlands were the standard wedding gifts of many parts of Europe, though by no means all – no garlands are recorded in the accounts of the Bonis brothers of Montauban in Gascony for example, except for two Pisan garlands, almost certainly of textile, which were bought by their landlord's wife in 1345. They were certainly usual wedding gifts in Provence. A wedding contract drawn up in January 1310 for the marriage of Alasia Novelli, of Salles, near Grignan, in Provence, promises her husband that her dowry will include a garland of silver, and a silver garland figures in the dowry of another bride of the same district in 1337. A note of yet another dowry at Grignan made in 1346 specifies that the silver garland must be of up to one gold florin in value, and a silver garland of quality suitable to the dowry and the quality and standing of the parties was still being demanded in Grignan in 1374; in case of dispute, it was to be 'at the arbitration and device of our lord of Grignan'.[10]

Head jewels were just as important in north-eastern Italy. When a daughter of the noble family of Accarisio of Trieste married the Venetian patrician Antonio Erizzo in 1371, her jewels included, besides a robe decorated with fifty besants of silver and a tunic with silver buttons (*asole?*) and a cord of amber paternosters, a chaplet of gold, a pair of *stroppoli* (a head ornament, perhaps pins?) and a gold coif. In Friuli, by 1465 the contract for a bride's dowry could even oblige the husband to provide 50 gold ducats to buy ornaments for the bride's head – presumably coronals or frontlets and *drexadori* (hair bands) – and to 'honour her to both parties'. In Sicily things were the same. In 1403, the jewels in the trousseau of Ilaria La Grua, a noble bride of Palermo, consisted of 'a frontal of pearls on a leaf of gold; with enamels on silver and fleurons in the centre', a coronal of silver-gilt, a chaplet or rope of pearls, a pair of gold earrings (*cerchielli*) set with precious stones and pearls – these were a Sicilian fashion, as we already know – four paternosters, a diamond, a balas-ruby, a sapphire and an emerald ring, a small girdle of silver-gilt with enamels on silver, and some 'clear enamels' probably for mounting

in other jewels or for use as dress ornaments.[11] Although crowns and coronals were sometimes given on or before the betrothal or the wedding day, this was far from being invariably the case, and for reasons of expense they were frequently given after the wedding ceremony proper. Thus when Artaud d'Aiguedine of Provence contracted to marry his two daughters Béline and Beatrice in 1344 to Pierre de Grignan and his son, the clothes and Paris chaplets which he gave as part of their dowry were to be made for Béline immediately after marriage, but for Beatrice only two years later. What a future bride of any means or standing seems to have been able to expect of her relations or bridegroom was the provision of head ornaments suitable to her new dignity as a married woman. In great families the sums lavished on such ornaments might be considerable. Many years after the marriage in 1321 of his sister Mathilda to Bernard, Sire d'Albret, a great Gascon nobleman of semi-princely rank, Count Jean I d'Armagnac by a notarial document drawn up in the château of Albret in 1361 formally admitted a liability for the huge sum of 4600 écus to cover the purchase 'of a certain precious chaplet of the sort proper for the ornament, estate and decoration of the head of a lady of high degree'.[12]

By the later fifteenth century, as the crown and coronal were steadily displaced for ceremonial wear by elaborate head-dress they became more and more closely associated with wedding festivities. Thus a list of the jewels of the Duchess of Orléans made in 1487 lists 'a crown for marriage'. Most were of course not able to afford so expensive a jewel as a crown for their weddings, and in the late Middle Ages many parish churches acquired crowns or circlets which were hired out for weddings. In England these were known as 'bryde-paists', the word paste being perhaps derived from the French *passe* or *pace*, which originally meant a frontlet. The term is first recorded in Sir Thomas More's *Supplicacion of Sowleys*, written in 1529, in the course of a disapproving reference to 'gay gowynys and gay Kyrtels, and much waste in apparell, rynges and owchis, with partlettes and pasties garnished with perle'. The context suggests that what More had in mind were embroidered frontlets or bandeaux, or at any rate a Tudor version of these earlier head ornaments. Indeed later sixteenth-century references suggest that in England such bride-pastes were usually circlets or garlands or frontlets, rather than crowns proper, which by contrast were usually bought by churches in Germany and Scandinavia to be hired out at weddings. Bride-pastes disappear from England about the end of the sixteenth century, but church crowns continued in use in Germany and Northern Europe for centuries more. A fifteenth-century silver crown of this kind survives in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig.32); the openwork motto *trewelich* (truly) alternates in its circlet with enamelled rosettes.[13]

The crowns worn by the great were already magnificent in the thirteenth century. The crown belonging to the Sienese merchant Gregorio di Bernardino in 1262 which was perhaps an imperial crown was set with five large sapphires, four balas-rubies,

Fig. 32  Crown. Silver, enamel. Diameter 8cm, height 2.9cm. German, c.1450. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

sixteen small sapphires, fourteen small rubies and balas-rubies, eight small emeralds, five small rough sapphires, thirty-eight large pearls and very many tiny pearls. Another crown deposited by the Cardinal was also large, and set with eighty-two great pearls, twenty-seven balas-rubies and thirty-one sapphires. A third large crown evidently for state wear had eight plaques, four enamelled, and four with figures, and was richly jewelled with sixteen rubies and balas-rubies, eight emerald plasms, sixteen sapphires, and many pearls and corals, and had pins set with seven sapphires for joining the crown at the back – presumably like a number of mediaeval crowns it was hinged. These three crowns probably represent best and second-best ceremonial wear; for more ordinary occasions the 'little coronal [coronetta] of silver set with pearls' that was also deposited no doubt served well enough.[14]

A few crowns survive from the thirteenth century, almost all from contexts with royal or princely associations. But since at this date the design of the crown was only very rarely exclusive to the rank and office of the wearer – the imperial crown and crowns with a cross above the centre of the forehead are perhaps the great exceptions to this rule – it is fair to use them as evidence of the types of ceremonial coronal in use during this period, which saw the transition from late Romanesque art to early Gothic in goldsmiths' work. The earliest is the beautiful gold crown in the treasury of the Cathedral of Namur (figs.33, 33a). This has been set since the thirteenth century with relics of the Crown of Thorns sent from Constantinople in 1205 by Henry of Flanders, brother of the Latin Emperor Baldwin, to his other brother Philip II, Count of Namur, and given by Philip to the cathedral in 1207 along with other relics. But these cannot always have been mounted on the crown. Neither the letter from Henry to Philip which accompanied his gift of these and other relics, nor Philip's own deed of gift of 1207 of the relics to the cathedral mention any precious container for the Holy Thorns, though Henry does carefully specify in his letter that certain relics of the True Cross which he has despatched together with the Holy Thorns are mounted in a precious reliquary of gold and contained

in a rich case of gold. Since the Namur crown is of gold set with precious stones, it is most improbable that he would have failed to mention it if the Holy Thorns had already been mounted in it when sent from Constantinople. Indeed the gold cross and case he sent from Constantinople were in all probability Byzantine mountings, rather than objects Henry himself had commissioned. Probably then the crown was given as a suitable mount for the relics after they had reached Namur, being offered because by its shape and preciousness it proclaimed the nature and preciousness of the relics themselves, according to a very mediaeval sense of aptness in the form of reliquaries.

In all probability then we have here the coronal of one of the Counts of Namur – its richness of gold and precious stones forbidding us to entertain any first wearer for it of less than princely rank. Possibly it was the gift of Philippe himself at some date between 1207 and his death in 1212: he was certainly renowned for his magnificence and exalted lineage and was the husband of Marie, daughter of Philippe-Auguste of France. And he is said to have given all his gold and silver plate on his deathbed to

Fig. 33  Crown (Holy Thorn reliquary crown). Gold, precious stones, pearls. Diameter c.19cm, height c.7cm. Flemish, c.1210. Trésor, Cathédrale, Namur, Belgium



Fig. 33a  Reverse view
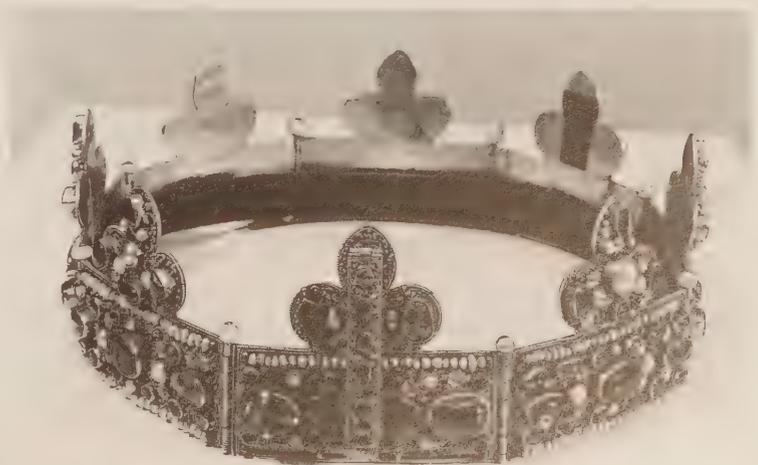
the church and to the poor. The crown consists of eight hinged rectangular plaques; the hinges are composed of interlocking sections, each being fastened by a pin topped by a large pearl. Across the middle of each plaque is set a row of three large oval stones, the largest of the three being placed in the centre, with a pearl to either side of it. The border of the plaques is formed as a gold cord; above and below on the long sides is a secondary rim of pearls, arranged in a straight row and held by a thread of silver. The ground is richly decorated with filigree scrollwork and octofoil rosettes mounted on small cylinders soldered to the base, and with two rows of smaller precious stones, one above, one below the central row. From each plaque rises a low trefoil, of a form transitional between Romanesque and Gothic. Each of the fleurons is set with precious stones and pearls. All the stones, which include sapphires, emeralds, rubies, topazes, and amethysts, are cabochon, except for one which is table-cut; most of the collets are straight-walled, but there are a few claw settings. In style the crown evidently dates from the early decades of the thirteenth century – the filigree work is paralleled on the shrine of Notre-Dame at Tournai, completed in 1205 – and a date c.1210 is most probable.[15]

A heraldic or princely symbolism appears on two thirteenth-century Spanish crowns. One, stolen from Seville Cathedral in 1873, is now lost or destroyed, but is known from a photograph. It is exceptional in having vertical, rather than horizontal hinged plaques, each surmounted by a pinnacle on each of which is set an eagle in relief. An attempt has been made to suggest that the crown is an imperial Hohenstaufen crown because of the use of this motif of eagles – the eagle was the imperial badge of the Hohenstaufen – but there is much evidence, as we shall see when we come to discuss eagle brooches (see chapter 19) that by the thirteenth century the eagle was widely used as a symbol of sovereignty. More probably the crown is an Aragonese crown, made under the influence of a Byzantine or imperial crown, which alone would account for its vertical plaques. Constance of Sicily, daughter of King Manfred, and so the granddaughter of the Emperor Frederick II, married Jaime I, King of Aragon, and for this reason the imperial eagles were used in association with the royal arms of Aragon by their son Jaime II, as many documents describing objects made for him prove. The imperial descent of Constance and Jaime would account satisfactorily for the attempt to imitate an imperial crown. A presumption might be that it was originally made for Constance herself, and subsequently descended to her son Jaime. Eleanor, Queen of Aragon (d.1359) left 'a crown with eagles' which is mentioned in the will of her nephew Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, drawn up in 1362, and the Aragonese royal jewels included in 1323 a crown with eagles which seems to be identical with a crown that was redeemed from the Templars in 1303. Crowns with eagles were not unique to the House of Aragon, at any rate by the 1340s. An inventory of the jewels of Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy, drawn up in 1341–4 lists 'a gold crown of sixteen eagles in eight of which are set four rubies, three emeralds and a pearl each, and in each of the other

Fig. 34a Detail



Fig. 34 Crown (crown of Sancho IV or of Alfonso X of Castile. Silver-gilt, cameos, sapphires. Length 55 cm, height 4.5 cm. Spanish (?), late thirteenth century. Tesoro, Catedral, Toledo
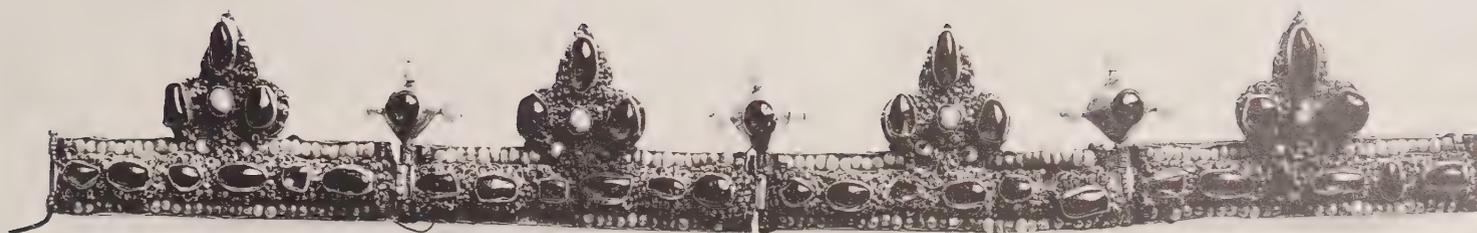
Fig. 35  Coronal fragment. Gold, precious stones, seed pearls.
Length 19.2 cm, height 2.8 cm. Hungarian, mid-thirteenth century.
Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest

eight three emeralds, a ruby, and four pearls'. They were fixed to the upper edges of a circlet, apparently of sixteen links, each set with seven little rubies. On the circlet between each pair of eagles was set an emerald, making sixteen emeralds in all, and it seems that the circlet was also decorated with eight clusters of four pearls encircling an emerald.[16]

No such complex problems attend the other Spanish crown or rather coronal with decoration of heraldic symbols. This is a low coronal or circlet found on the head of Sancho IV (1284–95), King of Castile, when his tomb in the cathedral of Toledo was opened in 1948 (figs.34, 34a). It consists of eight hinged plaques of silver-gilt, each measuring 4.5 cm by 7 cm ($1\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in). They are set alternately with sapphires, cut *en cabochon*, and antique cameos contained in ribbed collets. From each rises a three-towered castle – the heraldic badge of Castile – whose Gothic windows indicate a date in the later thirteenth century for the crown, rather than a date in the early thirteenth century which has been advanced for it. The predominantly heraldic design is in keeping with the heraldic garments and girdle (pl.106, fig.206) found on the body of the Infante Fernando de la Cerda (d.1275), Sancho's elder brother, which again supports a late date. The probability is that this is a ceremonial circlet or coronal, rather than a full state crown; it would have been worn at feasts and at jousts and other similar occasions. A number of coronals or representations of coronals survive that in all probability were not royal, but belonged to princes or great nobles or their wives. A small link from a mid-thirteenth-century gold coronal still survives in the British Museum (pl.13). In form the gold plate which serves as its base is a narrow oblong with a low fleur-de-lis-shaped fleuron. To it are attached high collets containing small sapphires, emeralds and balas-rubies, on a rich openwork three-dimensional ground formed by scrolls of coiled bands set with tiny grains of gold, between narrow borders of seed-pearls. At the ends are hoops for the small bars attaching one link to another. What seem to be further links from the same coronal are now in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Budapest (fig.35). The effect of the complete coronal must have been a subdued richness and elegance. Even royal personages wore such low and unassuming coronals: as

we saw in 1299 Edward I of England had a small coronal of gold filigree and precious stones mounted on a silk backing. Bolder is the coronal worn over a flat-topped cap by the Margravine Uta (fig.51) on her statue in Naumburg cathedral (c.1260). It has tall fleurons which overtop the cap, with arched motifs between rimmed apparently with pearls, while *chatons* of different shapes – semicircles, lozenges, discs – are set on the circlet.[17]

Although the two main components of the crown and coronal, the circlet and fleurons, remain constant elements, there were increasing variations in their design from c.1250. In a number of crowns or representations of crowns dating from the later

Fig. 36  Effigy of Henry III (detail). English, c.1274.
Westminster Abbey, London

thirteenth and early fourteenth century the upper rim of the circlet, instead of being a straight line, is formed as a series of curves or double curves. An instance in portraiture is the crown worn by Henry III of England (d.1272) on his effigy in Westminster Abbey (fig.36). The crown on the reliquary head of Charlemagne in the Treasury at Aachen, probably donated by Richard of Cornwall in 1262, the so-called crown of the Emperor Henry II in the Schatzkammer of the Residenz, Munich, and the Polish crown known as the crown of Boleslaus Chobry, are all examples of this type. The tendency of this change is to accentuate with typically Gothic elegance the pattern of curves formed by the lines of the trefoils, and to substitute linear lightness and grace for the solemn richness of Romanesque and early thirteenth-century crowns. At the same time there was a tendency to add complexity to the simple forms of trefoil fleurons and circlet by enriching them with decorative motifs. Between the trefoil fleurons on the richly jewelled gold crown found in a tomb believed to be that of the Hungarian king Stephen V (d.1272) are set lesser fleurons composed of triple vine leaves; they are in fact the heads of the pins that fasten the hinges of the eight plaques of which the crown is composed. In the centre of each plaque, flanked to either side by a precious stone, is a large gold rosette also set with a precious stone. The petals of this rosette project above and below and complicate the outline, enhancing its richness.

With the thirteenth century disappear the plaques richly decorated with filigree which were plainly a feature of many thirteenth-century crowns and probably many twelfth-century crowns as well. Towards the end of the century, fleurons became much taller, rising on high stems, and also more slender, with a further effect of refined line or elegance. Three crowns illustrate this development. An early to mid-fourteenth-century crown of silver-gilt set with glass and precious stones and pearls (pl.14) in the Residenz, Munich still has low fleurons over an incurved rim, except for the central fleuron of all, which is tall. On a low coronal in the Musée du Cinquentenaire, Brussels, the tall fleurons stand out by contrast with the small plaques from which they rise. The crown of Marie d'Anjou, queen of Hungary (d.1385), found in her tomb at Nagy-Vorad, shows late fourteenth-century fancifulness flourishing and accentuating the springing lines of such tall fleurons. In the fourteenth century crowns and coronals were almost always decorated entirely with jewels. One of the few exceptions, was the 'good gold coronal' pledged in 1361 by Yolande de Bar. This was set with six large and six small florins as well as with 'good and rich pearls and precious stones'.[18]

A beautiful coronal of silver-gilt, set with stones, and dating from the middle or third quarter of the fourteenth century (pl.15) is in the Carrand Collection in the Bargello, Florence. It is composed of twenty-eight hinged plaques, either lobed and shaped, or oblong; the hingeing gives it an extraordinary suppleness of flexibility. The lobed and pointed plaques are arranged in groups of three; the two on the outside are set with a red

octagonal stone, table-cut, while the central plaque is decorated with a rosette of cloisonné enamel, with motifs in red and yellow on a green ground. Between each group of three lobed and shaped plaques, is an oblong link set with a large oval cabochon stone — five red, two violet, one yellow and one agate. From this rises a fleuron, made up of several sections attached to a baseplate, and topped by a cross. Originally there were seven such fleurons, but only five now survive. The trefoil of each fleuron is set with three red stones in collets; below, a large shaped quatrefoil is set with an enamel, echoing the decoration of the shaped links below; below this again are two more shaped sections, the upper decorated with a cabochon red stone, the lower with a cabochon white stone. The whole has a masterly elegance of style typical of the fourteenth century. The small stones and enamels are given value by being set in cone-shaped or sexfoil-shaped collets with thin ribbed edges; thrown up in this way, they form miniature accents of colour that contrast with the great size of the stones held in simple claw settings on the oblong links at the base of each fleuron.[19]

Fleurons were generally trefoil-shaped, but again from early in the fourteenth century there is evidence that, like the motifs of chaplets, they sometimes become more fancifully symbolic in design. In 1311 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, pledged a gold coronal 'with gold stag's horns, set with rubies, emeralds, sapphires and pearls, of fourteen links', while in 1400 the English royal jewels included five fleurons, evidently from a broken-up crown, of five eagles, four of them crowned, and all richly jewelled. The symbolism of these two crowns was princely, since stags and eagles were both emblems of sovereignty. The silver-gilt coronal (pl.16) dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century found in the shrine of St Simeon at Zara (Zadar) in Dalmatia, to which it was probably given by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary in 1383, has tall Gothic fleurons, but between them are motifs of a stylised branching tree surmounted by a small head of a king, whose crown is tipped with three pearls. As so often with mediaeval circlets and crowns, this Hungarian coronal is composed of hinged plaques — the tree and head motif rises above each junction — and is set with rubies, pearls and sapphires. Hungary was ruled from 1308 by Angevin kings, of whom Elizabeth's husband King Louis of Anjou (1342–82) was the greatest and most powerful. Hungarian fourteenth-century court art was deeply influenced by German Gothic art and this coronal, which is not a great state crown but one for more ordinary ceremonial wear, probably gives us a fair idea of a fanciful royal coronal of the period. The taste for devices so characteristic of late Gothic culture eventually influenced even coronals, jewels essentially conventional in their form and symbolism. In 1468, for instance, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had a jewelled coronal of gold among whose five large and five small fleurons rose shafts bearing the Burgundian device of flints. It was perhaps for wear at the solemn chapters and feasts of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[20]

During the later fourteenth century new modifications

Fig. 37 Coronal. Silver-gilt. Length 55cm, height 4.5cm. Hanseatic,
fourteenth century. Found Badeboda treasure, Aseda parish, Småland.
Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm



Fig. 37a Detail

appear in the design of crowns. Many were now elongated and made tall, with high fleurons to match that are an extension of the circlet and not, as in previous crowns, separated from it by a border. A royal crown of this type is that found in the grave of Casimir III, the great King of Poland (d.1370), and another is worn by Richard II of England in his famous portrait in Westminster Abbey (pl.92). Crowns of this kind were also worn by women. In their exaggeration and also their rejection of compartmented design for interflowing forms such crowns are a typical expression of an age when elegant fancifulness was preferred to rigid formality. Moreover, even on later fourteenth-century coronals and crowns of standard design the fleur-de-lis of the fleurons become pinnacle-like in their elegant elongation. At the end of the fourteenth century the coronal reached even greater extremes of splendour and richness among royal and princely personages. In 1403 the dowry of a princess of Savoy included a gold crown 'which makes a chaplet', consisting of eight plaques, set with four large and twelve smaller balas-rubies, twelve sapphires and forty-eight large pearls, and of four large fleurons, set with twelve balas-rubies, four large sapphires and one hundred and eight large pearls, and four small fleurons, set with four balas-rubies and twenty-eight pearls. Fortunately one gold crown still survives which allows us to realise the magnificence of such objects in the International Gothic age (pl.17). It is recorded among the royal jewels

handed over to Henry IV in 1400, when eight of the diamonds were noted as 'counterfeit' and was brought to Germany in 1402 by Princess Blanche of England, daughter of Henry IV, on her marriage to the Count Palatine, Ludwig of Bavaria. Its links are shaped as hexagons with incurved sides in circles, the borders of the circles enamelled alternately red and blue and decorated with five-petalled flowers in white enamel over the enamel ground. Each hexagon is set with a central sapphire and with rubies alternating with clusters of four pearls surrounding pointed diamonds at each point of the sexfoil – the order of rubies and diamonds is reversed in each link in contrast with its neighbour. Above rise tall fleurons alternating with small ones. The fleur-de-lis of the tall fleurons is set with a central ruby between four sapphires; their stems are set with a further sapphire, one above and one below a cluster of pearls enclosing a small sapphire. For contrast, a sapphire framed by rubies decorates the small fleurons. As the crown is known to be older than the marriage, it has been called English, French or Bohemian because Anne of Bohemia was Richard II's Queen. In favour of an English origin is the use of counterfeit diamonds in so rich a coronal; French royal crowns seem to have made no use of false with real stones in important jewels, whereas the opposite was the case in England, as we have already seen.[21]

A simple silver gentlewoman's coronal (figs.37, 37a) of the fourteenth century from Sweden has evidently been decorated

by stamping, and this technique was also used even for princely coronals. Our best indications of how the techniques of stamping were employed for the decoration of rich gold circlets, garlands and coronals come from the 1379–80 inventory of Louis I of Anjou. His circlets were all of hinged plaques. The front plaque of one was composed of a great square raised mount set with a large emerald; from each of its sides a branch extended itself bearing three trefoil-shaped leaves, while from each of its corners a long leaf ran across to the corresponding corner of the plaque making a sort of frame. All this applied foliage was in hollow relief, obtained by punching and stamping. Sometimes such applied foliage was in high relief, giving a three-dimensional decorative effect, and this was used in several of the circlets, where foliage was clearly the dominant decorative motif. A similar three-dimensional effect was also sought in a small circlet composed of twenty-one gold six-petalled roses, with their petals upcurling to form deep cups. In each of the roses was set a flat circular piece of gold, finely engraved to figure the stamens; and each rose was set in addition with a stone or a pearl, making in all five balas-rubies, five emeralds and eleven pearls. Each rose was riveted to a flat square gold plaque with an engraved decoration of a foliated medallion; to this was fixed a twisted cord moulding encircling the base of the rose. These plaques were hinged to small oblong bars of gold, each ornamented with a twisted cord, and enamelled green on the outer part and delicately engraved elsewhere. In contrast with this naturalism some of the motifs of the plaques of Louis's other circlets were geometrical: thus the front plaque of one circlet was shaped as a lozenge set with a square *chaton* which held a large round-bellied emerald in a claw mount. A pierced medallion of tracery decorated the base on each of its four sides, while on each side of the lozenge itself were shield-shaped motifs, again decorated with tracery. Another had a square front plaque of plain burnished gold with a subsidiary square at the corners; to this was riveted a crenellated, stamped, star-shaped double *chaton* of eight pointed lobes with curving sides which held a large cabochon balas-ruby.[22]

By their nature the crown and coronal were conservative in design and there was little change in the fifteenth century from the trefoil-shaped fleurons which were their principal motifs. The fleurons seem to have become broader and lower than the slender towering ornaments of International Gothic crown, but that is all. Instead another change overtook the crown and coronal. From the late fourteenth century they began to dwindle in importance, as a hat, a rich *coiffe* or a head-dress became the ordinary state wear of even the greatest personages. During the fifteenth century several attempts were made to combine the crown and coronal with men's hats and bonnets and with the lofty and elaborate head-dresses worn by women – there are even representations of them fitted on to princely headgear above the brim. There was little difficulty in doing so, since the crown of the hat or bonnet was usually circular, and the crown is treated as a more than usually rich and stately hatband.

But the development emphasises the transformation of the coronal into a mere symbol of rank, worn only on very special occasions of state.

While it ceased to be generally worn as an ornament, the crown retained its importance as a symbol of nobility. The sole early mediaeval distinction among crowns and coronals seems to have been that between the great state crowns worn as insignia of rank by emperors and kings, especially those that bore a cross, and the circlets that were worn by lesser rulers. There is some evidence that, when the Romans bestowed the Patriciate on early mediaeval emperors, as a mark of this dignity they gave them the right to wear a gold circlet. This custom is attested as early as the visit to Rome of the Emperor Lothair (823) and was still current at the end of the twelfth century. Again when a twelfth-century emperor bestowed a crown on a neighbouring king or prince, it took the form of a circlet, and this seems also to have become the custom among kings when creating dukes – then a semi-royal title. The twelfth-century English chronicler Roger of Howden relates, for instance, that when Prince John became Duke of Normandy in 1199, at the ceremony of inauguration held in Rouen Cathedral the archbishop put on his head a gold circlet decorated along the upper rim with gold roses. Again a gold circlet was the ducal ensign of Aquitaine. But, apart from this distinction between a royal crown and a ducal circlet, there is no evidence that special types of coronet, such as the strawberry-leaved coronets worn by later earls, were used to distinguish various degrees of noble rank in the Middle Ages. What does seem certain, on the contrary, is that the circlet, originally no doubt a plain band, acquired fleurons and became essentially a simpler and smaller version of the crown. The usage of bestowing circlets as a mark of dukedom continued throughout the Middle Ages and was gradually extended to the ranks of next degree. The process can be illustrated from England. When Edward III in 1343 created his son Edward Prince of Wales, among the insignia of this new rank which he bestowed on him was a garland (*sertum*) or circlet of gold. Again when he created Lionel, another son, Duke of Clarence, Lionel received a circlet as a mark of dukedom. The usage of investiture with a circlet gradually came in for lesser dignities. In 1385, when Richard II created Richard, Earl of Oxford, Marquess of Dublin, he gave him a circlet of gold and a sword, and by the reign of Edward IV (1461–83) it had become the custom to give newly created earls a circlet. When Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was created Premier Earl of England by Henry VI in 1444, he and his heirs male were empowered 'to wear a gold circlet upon his head . . . on feast days in all places where it is convenient as well in our presence as of others'. A similar sort of distinction seems to have been observed in late fifteenth-century France: at the coronation of Charles VIII in 1484 the secular peers all wore gold circlets, but those of the dukes – then a royal or princely rank – had two fleurons, while those of the counts were plain. But these usages of great state ceremonies do not seem to have affected ordinary

practice in the ceremonial or festal wearing of crowns, coronals, chaplets and garlands.[23]

As we have said, the increasing importance of hat and head-dress led at first to awkward attempts to combine them with crowns and coronals. On men's hats and bonnets the crown and coronal could remain circular and, when the coronal was fitted on to a woman's *hennin*, as it occasionally was, encircling the rear of the crown of the head, this was also the case with women's coronals. On those women's head-dresses, by contrast, in which the hair itself was elaborately padded out and dressed before receiving a large and fantastically shaped head-dress, often richly jewelled and made up of contrasting pieces and materials, the crown became a climax and complement of the whole structure, a secondary, rather than a primary ornament. Already in 1381 Lady Burton, wife of Sir Thomas Burton, wears a shaped coronal on her coif in the memorial brass she had made for herself in Little Casterton Church, Rutland. About 1395 Queen Ysabeau de Bavière of France wears her coronal fitted between the summits formed by the sweep of a rich U-shaped *bourrelet* over her high *hennin*. On the jewelled coif which Joan Nevill, Countess of Arundel, wears on her effigy of *c*.1462, the crown is integrated into a broad, jewelled head-dress, forming as it were its culmination (pl.18). This integration in the mid-fifteenth century seems to have led to various distortions of the coronal so that, as in Joan Nevill's, it sometimes loses its circular form, and becomes a sort of cresting shaped to the head-dress. This seems to have been particularly the case in England. On the effigy of a Duchess of Exeter formerly in St Katherine's Hospital, Regent's Park, London and now in St Peter ad Vincula, in the Tower of London, the crown rises upwards at an angle, forming a V-shaped terminal ornament on the rich head-dress of openwork lozenges on a flowered base. As the century advanced this fashion became even more extreme: on the portrait of Queen Margaret of Scotland, painted in 1476 by Hugo van der Goes, the crown is a band of jewelled cloth of gold with high fleurons of goldsmith's work stitched along the upper rim, and curves backwards and upwards from the high temples to fit over the jewelled back of the cap beneath.[24]

We hear in Sicily of a silk *cayula*, a sort of coif, 'with its little coronal of gold and little leaves'. In France too the crown came to be worn simply fitted over the low close-fitting coif of the end of the century. But we may suspect that it was worn by great persons less and less frequently, except on the most ceremonial of occasions. Its steady disuse is perhaps reflected in the sumptuary law published in 1445 in Perugia, one of the last of its kind enacted with mediaeval types of jewellery in mind. It speaks no more of coronals, a theme on which the city's legislators had been eloquent for nearly two centuries, and merely forbids the wearing of garlands or any other head orna-ment exceeding thirty florins in value. The same is also true of Siena: the sumptuary law of 1343, like its predecessor of *c*.1280, found it necessary to prohibit absolutely the wearing of coronals, inside the house as well as in the street. The statutes of 1426–7

and 1433 by contrast again concern themselves only with gar-lands. But crowns and coronals perhaps disappeared from fifteenth-century Italy more quickly than from Northern Europe, partly perhaps as a result of the influence of the Renaissance on societies that were essentially less feudal in spirit than those of the North. Outside Italy the chaplet and coronal and crown still continued to be worn, not least among the middling ranks of the hierarchy. For knights perhaps they continued to be made for wear on the helm. We find references throughout the fifteenth century to their use. The jewels of the Norman knight Yves de Vieux-Pont, taken prisoner at Agincourt in 1415 and then carried off into captivity in England, where he died, included a chaplet of gold, formed of eleven large links, six set with a balas-ruby and five with a sapphire, each stone encircled by four clusters of three pearls, and eleven smaller ones, set with balases and sapphires and with two pearls on each link. In 1411 Jacques le Muisis, a bourgeois of Tournai, paid the goldsmith Colart le Cureur for enlarging his silver circlet. At Lausanne in 1465 the daughter of Antoine Pitet, a widow who had left the image of the Virgin a legacy of thirty-six pounds of wax, was allowed to commute this for her crown of silver-gilt, set with precious stones, which was to be used for adorning the Virgin's chapel on solemn feast days. In 1473 Ralph Smith, a Yorkshire gentleman, left to the shrine of St Wilfrid at York 'my crowne of sylver and gilted'. The custom of wearing coronals of precious metal as an ordinary ornament perhaps lasted longest in Scandinavia. The exiled Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, writing at Rome in 1555 an account of his native North, describes how even the plebeian maidens of Schening in Östergötland used 'in former days' to wear crowns of silver-gilt a palm's breadth in height on feast days, and declares that the peasants themselves were rich enough to wear silver ornaments of this and other kinds.[25]

A smaller version of the circlet and coronal was the frontlet, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries often worn by women as part of or in association with rich and fantastic head-dress. It did not encircle the head, but was fixed across the forehead, as its name implies. It too was originally a bandeau of cloth, and continued to be made of cloth until the end of the Middle Ages. Thus in 1387 Queen Ysabeau of France bought twelve frontlets of black silk from Jehanne la Gilleberde, a woman mercer. These frontlets of stuff, like circlets and girdles of cloth, were enriched from an early date with mounts in precious metal or with stones and pearls. In 1338 Edward III of England owned a silk frontlet embroidered 'with castles and armed men and with horses, in little pearls' and another made in Paris, which was a real piece of costume jewellery set with false stones and little pearls.[1]

Fig. 38 Effigies from Atherington, Devon. English fourteenth century.
Illustration from Stothard I, 1817, pl.100



A BARNET AND LADY AT ATHERINGTON DEVON

But frontlets were also made of gold or pearls. One mentioned in a Neapolitan document of 1349 was of 'pearls, enamels and leaves of gold'. By this date they were clearly important enough in Naples to be considered as appropriate a gift as a coronal to make part of a bride's dowry: in 1362 Rita di Sanframondo, on her marriage to Masello Capuano, was given a great gold frontlet set with precious stones and pearls; we are told that it was formally delivered to the bridegroom and his father after the wedding ceremony. Leaves were perhaps a common motif in imitation of garlands: the effigy of Muriel (d.1290), first wife of Brian Fitzalan, in St Gregory's Church, Bedale, Yorkshire, which seems to date from 1318, shows her wearing a head-dress with a frontlet of ivy or vine-leaves fixed across the front of her head-dress. Another frontlet from Naples is described in 1376 as having five large gold links each set with five large pearls on prongs, and four small links each set with two small pearls; it was set besides with two sapphires, three large balas-rubies and other small stones. In 1407–8 Maria, Queen of Aragon, owned one of gold, formed of eight plaques, each set with a balas-ruby, and nine set with a great pearl, while in the early 1420s Giovanna II of Naples had a frontlet of gold set with pearls and precious stones.[2]

Such frontlets of gold and silver seem to have become more common in the International Gothic age, and to have shown all its poetical elegance of luxury. A French document of 1393 mentions 'a frontlet of gold with white violets and set with two balas-rubies'. The frontlet of a lady on a fourteenth-century effigy in Atterington Church, Devon (fig. 38) is composed of repeated lozenge motifs. The frontlets of Louis of Anjou described in his inventory of 1379–80 were particularly rich. As always, this inventory gives the clearest idea of the techniques used. One frontlet was composed of five hinged gold plaques, each as wide as a narrow thumb, enamelled with plain green enamel. The central plaque was decorated with a square setting riveted to the plate beneath and containing a square table-cut balas. Another two were composed of a single length of gold plate of about a finger's width, turning up at either end to form a crescent or semi-circle. Inside the curve was set a plaque, enamelled *rouge cler* (clear red) on one, crimson on the other, and bearing the settings and prongs of gold which held the stones and pearls with which the frontlet was set. In one case this was a fine large balas resembling a heart, in the other an octofoil rosette of eight fine pearls. A fourth frontlet was composed of leaves of gold set with precious stones and pearls and stitched to a piece of stuff of about a finger's breadth; its middle was marked

by a large, oblong table-cut and faceted sapphire, pierced by a transverse hole through which ran the thread by which it was held. A 'crescent to wear on the forehead' is described as 'a tiring in the fashion of Scotland'. Made of a strong, thick stuff, it was curved at the base, straight at the top, and rose into a horn at either end. It was overlaid with a leaf of gold to which were attached by wire and otherwise pearls forming rosettes of two different sizes and the settings of its precious stones.[3]

In the fifteenth century frontlets of pearls were much favoured. The inventory of the château of Les Baux, in Provence, taken after the death of Countess Elipde des Baux, in 1426, lists two frontlets of pearls, one of 96 pearls arranged in three rows, and one of 50 pearls arranged in two, and a *bourrelet* (a circular roll) of green taffeta to which was fixed a frontlet of six small links of gold, each set with a pearl surrounded by two balas-rubies and two emeralds, and with clusters of four pearls. Unlike the chaplet and the crown, the frontlet seems to have maintained its popularity, perhaps because it was far more easily adjusted to or incorporated with the elaborate coifs and head-dresses of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. Indeed a list of jewels lent by King Charles VI of France to Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1385 assumes that *coiffe* and *frontal* belong together, and speaks of *le frontal d'une autre coiffe*. Eleanor of Navarre, wife of Jean, Count of Foix and the greatest lady in Gascony, had no coronals or circlets when her jewellery was inventoried in 1442, but only a frontlet of pearls. Again the inventory of the château of Coursan, in the Aube, taken in 1482, lists only 'a frontlet garnished with pearls and having spangles and buckles of silver'. By the middle of the century, at any rate in France, frontlets had come to figure among bridal ornaments, accompanying or more probably substituting for the crown. In 1453 the stock of Thomassin de Béthisy, a goldsmith of Dijon, included 'two frontlets of seed-pearls for brides' and another French document of 1460 mentions 'a bride's frontlet, garnished with pearls'.[4]

*Tressoirs*, or *tressons*, known in England as tressours or tressures, in Venice as *dressadori* and in Tuscany as *intrezzatoi* are often found in inventories in association with chaplets and were regarded as important head ornaments in the Middle Ages. They were used to plait or dress the hair in fashions that the veils and other forms of head-dress worn by pictured and sculptured figures of women in the earlier Middle Ages have all too often concealed from us. They owed their importance to the fact that in general only maidens wore their hair loose in mediaeval times; on matrimony the hair was bound up and shaped in various successive styles, from the long twin plaits of the earlier Middle Ages to the rigid coils and plaits of the fifteenth century. For such constrained hair styles ribands were essential and they were evidently of very early origin, for already in the mid-twelfth century they are listed by Adam du Petit-Pont as head ornaments. If he is queried as being essentially a word-collector for a dictionary, then we should note that *treciae* and *bindae* are mentioned in Venice in 1191, though admittedly not as jewelled objects. Indeed jewelled hair bands surely originated as plain



Fig. 39 Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino, by Piero della Francesca. Oil on panel. Urbino, c.1472. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

ribands that were wound or laced in various fashions through the tresses and plaits of the hair, as we see in Renaissance guise in Piero della Francesca's portrait of Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino, painted probably c.1472 (fig.39), in which a white riband passes over the hair on the crown, is wound round single tresses forming coils at the side of the head, and has a jewelled ornament on the top, the arrangement also being held by large jewelled pins set in the side over the ear. The process is described by Boccaccio in his *Corbaccio* (c.1355), where the vain and corrupt wife

> gathered her hairs to her head, and on them put some sort of wrapping bands of silk, which she called *trecce* and, having fixed these under a delicate net of thinnest silk, she had suitable garlands with flowers handed to her and, putting the garlands on her head, divided the flowers all over, painting her head with them . . . and placing none without first taking counsel of her mirror.[5]

As jewels, most *tressoirs* wound through the hair must have been ribands with mounts of precious metal, and set or embroidered with pearls and precious stones. Presumably where there were mounts of metal or stones, these were so disposed as to allow the riband to be wound comfortably round the tress

without catching in the hair or pressing on the head. This was plainly the case with the 'pair of *attrezziatoi* of red silk, on which are white and blue pearls, and the figures of lions and eagles and stags and boughs' that a great patrician lady of Siena, Madonna Ducaressa, wife of Griffolino Ildebrandini, recovered from a deposit in 1272. Again, in 1286 Herbert of Orléans, Vicar of Sicily for Charles I of Anjou, had a *tressoir* ornamented with little silver-gilt pipes, pearls and corals — the presence of this last material probably indicating a Sicilian or Neapolitan origin. In the thirteenth century then they were already of great richness and variety of ornament and later were often made the object of denunciation in sumptuary laws and sermons. Indeed in the England of *c.*1300 the wearing of gold-mounted tressures was a symbol of wealth and rank; a poem of this date, denouncing wordly vanity, speaks of

The ryche ledies in huere bour

That wereden gold on huere tressour.[6]

The *tressoirs* listed in 1302 in the inventory of Raoul de Nesle had presumably belonged to his second wife, Isabelle de Hainault. They were a small gold *tresson* (here, as first said, we can be certain that gold simply means gold-mounted) decorated with rosettes, probably gold, and pearls, probably embroidered; a *tresson* of silk set with a pearl and a square doublet, another silk *tresson* with mounts of enamelled gold lozenges and a decoration of pearls, two that were simply bands of rich stuff, and a *tresson* and matching chaplet set with rubies, emeralds and pearls. A common design was to stitch single stones or pearls in single settings of gold or silver side by side, so as to combine flexibility with splendour. At times, as we can see from a list of jewels belonging to Marguerite of Hainault, Countess of Artois, in 1301, chaplets and *tressons* were made to match.[7]

Some however were simply strings of pearls which were bound over the hair, as can be seen in Carpaccio's *Embarkation of St Ursula* (1495) where the saint's hair is held by strings of pearls, one string being topped on the crown of the head by a jewel. In 1389, for instance, Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans brought from Milan 'two hundred large pearls threaded together, with which Madame binds up her hair'. In Italy pearl-embroidered or decorated *tressoirs*, like pearl-decorated chaplets were very popular — we have already seen that a *drexatura* decorated with pearls was one of the only two jewels bought in 1278 for Almengarda Forzaté of Padua. As jewellery, when not ribands richly mounted with gold or silver, precious stones and pearls, they were formed of links or hinged plaques of precious metal, set with precious stones and pearls. They could be very sumptuous or elaborate ornaments. A *tressoir* of gold decorated with pearls and gold shells is mentioned in Naples as early as 1260 and another Neapolitan document of 1406 mentions one of great length and richness, for it was decorated with precious stones and pearls set in collets of gold; four hundred and seventy collets were set with pearls and there were seventy-nine collets of plain gold. Such richness was by no means exceptional. Blanche of Anjou, Queen of Aragon (d.1310) left 'a garniture of

gold in the fashion of a garniture of a *tressoir*, of very great length, in which are set several pearls and emeralds and rubies'. Again Queen Maria, wife of Peire of Aragon, left at her death in 1346 a *tressador* on which rubies and emeralds and pearls were arranged four by four — in other words, rosette fashion — around a little ruby or pearl and alternately a little emerald. As a contribution to the building of a church of the Carmelites in Paris Queen Jeanne d'Evreux bequeathed in 1349 her *tressons* of goldsmiths' work, 'which are of rubies of Alexandria, of emeralds, and of pearls, each set by itself'. On her death in 1370 she left a *tresson* of gold on a *bisette* (riband of gold or silver) 'in which are 175 pearls, with little blue pearls and red bosses', another *tresson* of *bisette* and blue cloth mounted with gold crescents and finally one mounted with stones of red glass and pearls. Two *tressons* which figure among the valuable jewels pledged by Countess Yolande de Bar in 1370 to raise her son's ransom were extraordinarily rich. One was of gold links or plaques enamelled blue and set in all with eighty-six balas-rubies and eighty-six pearls, arranged alternately as a single stone or pearl between a pair. The other was of gold set with one hundred and thirty-four emeralds and rubies of Alexandria and one hundred and thirty-four pearls. In 1385 King Charles VI of France lent his uncle Duke Philippe of Burgundy a number of rich jewels for the wedding of his son Jean and his daughter Marguerite, among them a gold *tressoir* of two hundred and nine pieces, a third of them garnished with emeralds, a third with balas-rubies, and a third with clusters of four pearls.[8]

Other *tressoirs* were much less rich. A Parisian *tressoir*, recorded in Naples in 1373, was made of silver-gilt plaques, set with pearls, and little pipes also of silver-gilt, set with pearls and corals. They must often have been decorated with pearls, so much favoured in the Middle Ages for head ornaments. In 1313, when the trousseau of the Infanta Isabel of Aragon was being got ready for her marriage to Frederick of Austria, six ounces of large and small pearls that had belonged to her mother Blanche of Anjou were handed over to a noblewoman of Barcelona named Sibilla de Saga so that a *fresadura* (i.e. *tressoir*) and a chaplet (*liguar*) could be made for her from them. A *tressoir* belonging to the treasury of King Edward II of England in May 1324 is described as of orient pearls: it consisted of links, each set with four pearls and with small enamels 'in clear colours, blue and green'. Another was set with pearls and sky-blue doublets, simulating sapphires. The combination of pearls and enamels was highly favoured in the first half of the fourteenth century. In 1338 Edward III had a chaplet of eighteen links enamelled with crosslets in translucent enamel and set with clusters of sixteen orient pearls and red false stones (doublets) and other clusters of pearls, another decorated with enamels on gold 'of clear colour', and clusters of pearls each with a doublet in its centre, one decorated with enamelled birds and doublets, and two decorated with pearls and enamels.[9]

The clearest description we have of how French *tressoirs* were made in the third quarter of the fourteenth century is contained

in the descriptions of some gold *sautouers* or short *tressoirs*, which were inventoried in the 1379–80 inventory of Louis I of Anjou. The base was formed of a riband woven of thick Venetian gold thread. To this was stitched an oblong plate of gold through two small pierced leaves at either end. The plate was set with a tall collet in which a sapphire was held by four claws. The second plate was the same size and shape as the first, but engraved, and had a small plain gold roll in the middle and a small prong on which were set two pearls. It was stitched next to the first plate through four holes and so the decoration continued. In all this *sautoir* was set with twenty-eight sapphires, twenty-eight balas-rubies and one hundred and twelve pearls. Other *sautoirs* belonging to Louis were designed for costumes of the English fashion, or of the French and English fashion. That for the English fashion had as its base a long riband of gold thread. To this were stitched forty-six hollow rosettes composed of cinquefoils with a pointed lobe enamelled green between each semicircle, the whole riveted through the points to a gold edging that ran below. The rosettes had crested rims, and their void was filled by an embroidery, or couching of gold thread; over this was applied a gold foil to which was attached a large cinquefoil rosette of pearls of price, pierced and threaded to the base, each rosette made up of five small cinquefoils composed of seven pearls apiece. The *sautoir* was completed by two extensions, each set with six rosettes of gold and pearls. The *sautoir* for the French and English fashion was composed of fifty-five lozenges of gold foil stitched to lozenges of stuff covered by lozenges of black sendal which in their turn were stitched to a long ribbon of gold thread. To these were attached, again by threading, fifty-five lozenges of pearls of price employing in all 1375 pearls.[10]

Another type of hair ornament was the *doroir* or *dorure*, which was current in the Netherlands and France for at least three centuries or more. The term first occurs in the early fourteenth century. Even so great a scholar as Victor Gay glossed the *doroir* as a brooch, though realising later that it was synonymous with the *dorure*, which he interpreted as a band for a head-dress. It is perhaps worth pointing out therefore that *doroirs* are classed among head ornaments in the posthumous inventory of Marguerite of Burgundy, taken in 1405, coming between coronals and chaplets. Moreover one of the very earliest references to *doroirs*, in 1323, implies that ordinarily they were textile ribands, for it described a *doroir* bought in Paris as a *doroir d'orfèvrerie*, that is a *doroir* of goldsmith's work, set with red and blue doublets. This was bought by the family chaplain for Jeanne, the second daughter of the Count of Hainault; for the eldest daughter Marguerite he bought on the Pont-Neuf another *doroir d'orfèvrerie* set with rubies, emeralds and orient pearls – Marguerite was to marry the Emperor. These *doroirs* were presumably made of links of gold but, as we have just pointed out, the more ordinary form of *doroir*, like the more ordinary chaplet, hair riband and girdle, was of some rich stuff mounted with gold and silver.

This was certainly the case with three of the four that be-longed in 1405 to Marguerite of Burgundy. One was of a riband of the gold stuff known as *bisette*; it was sewn with clusters of five pearls, with small balas-rubies and square sapphires. A second was of red stuff, and was powdered with gold rosettes 'of goldsmith's works' and with pearls. The third was again on a *bisette*, powdered with rosettes of pearls. Only the fourth, described as a gold *doroir*, powdered with pearls, rubies and emeralds, may have been entirely of goldsmith's work, and even this is very doubtful, given that we know the term *d'or* (of gold) was ordinarily used to mean gold-mounted. Some were evidently embroidered: in 1323 Marguerite of Hainault also received 540 pearls to make a *doroir*; evidently they were to be embroidered on to a textile base. In Northern France and Flanders *doroirs* were evidently a normal part of the head ornaments of a rich or noble lady, for in 1331 Thomas Le Mannier, a bourgeois of Douai, names *doroirs* among the jewels 'that appertain to women'.[11]

As we have seen, Gay supposes that they were headbands worn on the temples; what is certain is that by 1514 they were bands running round the lower part of the head-dress. Beaulieu and Bayle suggest that by 1405 the *doroir* was essentially a trimming of the coifs and horned head-dresses that were so generally worn by the beginning of the fifteenth century. If so, it is difficult to understand why they are listed as independent ornaments in Marguerite of Burgundy's inventory. However, they must certainly have been worn incorporated in some way into such elaborate head-dresses after these became fashionable, so that they became hat-bands or trimmings. Originally they may have been intended to hold veils in place rather than to encircle or bind the hair, for the tresses of the hair proper were bound up as we have just seen by the rich ribands known as *tressons*.[12]

The ornaments known in France in the fifteenth century as *templettes* and in England as *templys* were also head ornaments. These seem to have been used to hold or bind the fashionable tresses also known as *templettes* or *templieres* that became the mode from about the third quarter of the fourteenth century. These lay against the sides of the head, from forehead to jaw, and were made to fall in a vertical line or else curved in a stiff semicircular coil rather resembling a ram's horn. In France *templettes* were only occasionally decorated with goldsmiths' work; curiously enough they seem to have been more ambitious in England. In a robbery at the house of Sir John de Boys at Harrow in 1426 eight *tempelers* with fillets of gold and pearls were stolen. In 1435 the will of Isabel, Countess of Warwick mentions 'my grete templys with the Baleys', and we can judge of the imposing pomp in which Agnes Bedford, widow of three rich Hull merchants, appeared before the ladies of that wealthy seaport, by the two pairs of *templeyrs* 'adorned with pearls' that she mentions in her will of 1459. For such ornaments were ordinarily those of noblewomen.[13]

Such magnificent head ornaments as we have described in the last three chapters made their appearance principally at festivals and ceremonies and other occasions for great show. The brooch or clasp in the form of a brooch was on the other hand indispensable at all times either for fastening the neck of a dress or tunic, for clasping a cloak, as an ornament on the breast or chaperon, or, in the late Middle Ages, on the hat or head-dress. So much were they the single jewel of importance worn by all that the terms *nouche*, *ouche*, *broche*, *firmaculum*, *monile* were often used in the fourteenth century to signify other ornaments, such as the pendants that hung from paternosters – which, being without pin or clasp for fastening, would never be classed in

modern times as brooches. The brooches of princes and great lords could be of enormous size, at any rate in the thirteenth century, when large brooches were worn as a symbol of high rank by both sexes. In 1247 Richard of Cornwall offered to the tomb of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Pontigny, a brooch 'exceeding the width of a human palm adorned with most precious gems' whose like or equal, the awed Matthew Paris tells us, 'could not be found even among kings' treasures'.[1]

That this was no exaggeration is proved by the effigy (fig.40) of the Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg (d.1291) and by that of the great Swiss nobleman, Ulrich von Regensberg, incised on his tombstone of *c*.1290 (fig.41), which shows him wearing an

Fig. 40 Effigy of the Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg. German, *c*.1291. Dom, Mainz

Fig. 41 Effigy of Baron Ulrich von Regensburg. Swiss, *c*.1290. Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich
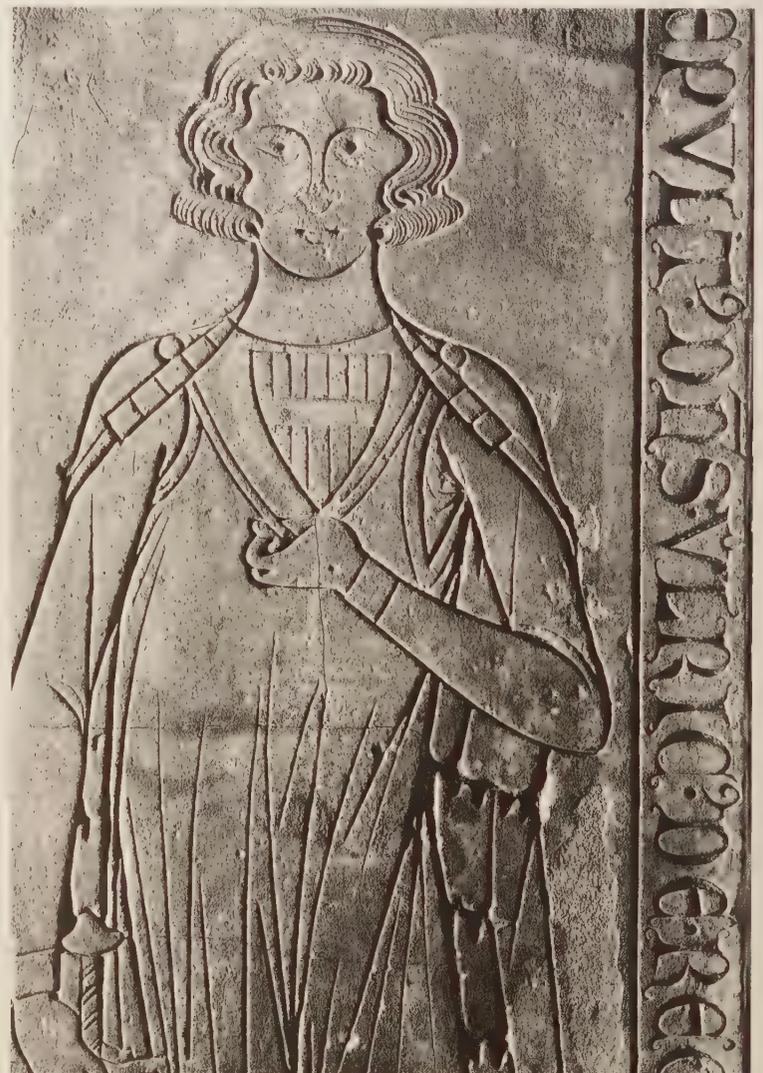
enormous shield brooch of his own arms, by the Schaffhausen brooch, which measures 15cm high by 12·5cm wide (6 × 4in), and by the great early fourteenth-century Motala brooch (pl.27), which is 19.2cm (7½in) in diameter. Such very large brooches continued to be worn as ceremonial ornaments into the fifteenth century, though towards the 1360s and 1370s even princes and princesses usually had only one or two brooches of this great size, and plainly for state wear only. Joanna von Pfirt, the wife of Albrecht II of Austria, who is shown in ceremonial dress on her statue of c.1363 or a little later (fig.42) from the façade of St Stephen's, Vienna, wears a mantle clasped by a great square brooch of this kind, composed as a Gothic octofoil enclosing a quatrefoil in the centre of which is a shield. Indeed it seems that in the fourteenth century such large brooches were generally worn as mantle clasps, rather than at the breast or neck of the robe. In 1346 Queen Maria of Aragon left a gold brooch for a cloak that was plainly large and important, for it was set with thirteen rubies, thirteen emeralds and fifty large pearls. Again, on the effigy of Queen Eufemia of Denmark (d.1330) her great brooch is worn as a mantle clasp (fig.74). And a gold brooch made for Amadeo VI of Savoy (d.1383) and set with eight square balas-rubies, four sapphires, each of eight facets, eight large pearls and twelve diamonds, all around a square sapphire, was intended as a mantle clasp. Whether or not as cloak clasps, great brooches continued to be made. In 1371 the Chambéry goldsmith Pierre de Florence is recorded as making a great gold brooch for Countess Bonne de Bourbon of Savoy, while about the same time Jean I, Count of Armagnac (1319–73) pledged a large gold brooch set with eleven rubies.[2]

They were evidently regarded as among the most suitable jewels for presentation to princes, for in 1377, on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Charles IV to Paris, Queen Jeanne de Bourbon gave great gold brooches, set with precious stones, to Wenceslas, King of the Romans, and to his namesakes the Dukes of Luxembourg–Brabant and Saxony. By this date the heavy jewelling of such brooches advertised the princely rank of their wearers. Great brooches of this richly jewelled kind were still worn in the fifteenth century: c.1430 Philippe the Good of Burgundy had a brooch known as 'the very large brooch, set with three large balas-rubies and one large and rich sapphire in the middle encircled by nine big pearls'.[3] We also find armorial or symbolic brooches. From the mid-fourteenth century the kings of England regularly wore brooches bearing a shield with the 'arms of St George' – his cross on a shield. Among the brooches which had belonged to Edward III and Richard II that were delivered in 1400 to Henry IV on his accession was a 'great brooch with the escutcheon of St George', the cross itself being made of balas-rubies, and the spandrels of the shield being set with pearls. The shield was encircled by eight balas-rubies, eight sapphires, fourteen diamonds, thirty-two large pearls in a rim of fifty-five pearls. A second large brooch of the kind was very similar, and was only less splendid because its eight diamonds were counterfeits. In 1434 Henry VI



Fig. 42 Statue of Joanna von Pfirt. From the west front of the Stefansdom. Austria, c.1363. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Vienna

had a state brooch (owche) of 'Seynt George armes'. It bore a St George's cross set with thirteen small balas-rubies, and was also set with eight more balas-rubies, six sapphires, fourteen diamonds, two counterfeit diamonds and ninety-one pearls, besides the eight clusters of pearls which also decorated the brooch, seven of four pearls each and one of three. Its great weight, 30 ounces troy, must have precluded its being worn for long. By contrast utilitarian brooches for fastening were often extremely simple, at any rate in the earlier Middle Ages. In 1206 Philippe Auguste handed back to his treasurer a rich gold brooch set with sapphires, clearly a state ornament, together with a 'plain gold brooch' which was 'for fastening his camisia [shirt]'. Yet simple ring brooches might be worn even on the richest ceremonial costume: on their brass in St Bendt's Church in Ringsted King Erik VIII Menved of Denmark (d.1319) and

Fig. 43  Brass rubbing from a brass of Erik VIII Menved and Ingeborg of Denmark from St Bendt's Church, Ringsted. Brass and inlaid alabaster. Flemish, c.1319. Rubbing from Archives, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

his queen Ingeborg (fig.43) both wear simple ring brooches on their royal robes of estate.[4]

The various words used for brooches in the documents and literature of the Middle Ages – *firmaculum, monile, nusca, fermail, ouche, nouche, broche, fermaglio, vorspan* – were not applied rigorously, and do not distinguish the various sorts of brooches used from each other. In France there may originally have been a distinction between the *fermail*, which literally was a clasp and must at first have meant a brooch for fastening a slit, and the *affique* or *affiquet* which seems to have been a decorative brooch, pinned on the dress like a badge. By the thirteenth century this difference, if it ever existed at all, had disappeared, or at any rate was not maintained. For Robert de Blois, a thirteenth-century French poet who wrote a little

poem of advice to ladies called *Le Chastiement des dames*, speaks of the *affiche* as a fastener.

Take care that you allow no man to put his hand into your bosom, save he who has the right to do so; know that he who first invented the brooch [*affiche*] made it for this reason, that no man should put his hand into a woman's bosom if he has no right and she is not married to him.

This purpose of the ring brooch, also mentioned in the inscription on the thirteenth-century example in the British Museum, is already expressed in 1184 by the poet Johannes de Hauville in his *Archithrenius*:

My bride shall wear a brooch [*monile*] – a witness to her modesty and a proof that hers will be a chaste bed. It will shut up her breast and thrust back any intruder, preventing its closed approach from gaping open and the entrance to her bosom from being cheapened by becoming a beaten path for any traveller, and an adulterous eye from tasting what delights the honourable caresses of a husband.[5]

For our knowledge of designs and ornament and their evolution as regards brooches we have to depend even more closely than usual on the marriage of visual with documentary evidence. One of the commonest types of brooch was the ring brooch, which survived late in Scotland as the plaid brooch and also had a long history in Scandinavia and Hungary. They were most used for clasping garments that had a split at the neck. The great ring brooch portrayed on the statue of a seated king on the west front of Wells Cathedral (fig.1) shows how they were worn *c*.1250. The pin is thrust through the lower edges of the vertical slit which divides the robe at the neck and is then made to rest on the upper face of the ring. Many ring brooches used the principle of the pull of the stuff when pierced by the pin as their sole method of fastening; others, less common perhaps, used a hasp into which the pin was fixed, as now.

Sets of ring brooches were used from the fourteenth century and probably earlier, for fastening long slits in garments, like those that fasten the surcoat of an effigy of *c*.1300, identified by Carderera as that of Don Berenguer de Puigvert, in the Catalan monastery of Poblet (fig.44). They sometimes formed a stately series of substitute buttons or cloak clasps like the 'twelve little gold brooches, with a crown in each, to serve for a mantle strap [*estaiche*] set with precious stones' recorded in the French royal accounts of 1412, though these were probably, but not certainly, mounts rather than fasteners. Marguerite of Burgundy left in 1405 'eight little gold brooches of one fashion', decorated with a 'half-lion' on a green terrace above a piece of mother-of-pearl and rimmed with seven pearls, and a set of six others, all of a white fleur-de-lis on a field of *rouge cler*, again rimmed with eight pearls. Brooches were also used for fastening purses and keys to the person, sometimes to the side or chest, most usually perhaps to the girdle. The inventory of Charles V of France lists in 1379–80 four brooches for purses. Three of them bore the names of the Three Kings of Cologne, certainly as a

Fig. 44  Effigy of Don Berenguer de Puigvert from the monastery of Poblet, Catalonia. Spanish, c.1300. Illustration from Carderera I, pl.14

containing relics of the True Cross, of the Holy Blood, the Crown of Thorns and others, or stones and amulets against poison. But such brooches also served a utilitarian purpose. In 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy had a number of little gold brooches, one of them enamelled with white Ms, another with white towers, for fastening purses or keys and two little round ones of silver-gilt for keys. Other objects held in such purses were seals, signets, precious stones of special value, and paternosters.[6]

Brooches were used too for fastening other articles of jewellery to one's dress; for instance, in her portrait-miniature in the *Hedwigs Codex* of 1353 (pl.19) St Hedwig, Duchess of Silesia, wears a paternoster fixed to her bosom by a lozenge-shaped brooch. In 1374 Duke Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy bought from a Parisian goldsmith 'a gold brooch with a little cross hanging from it, the whole sewn with precious stones', which was plainly a means of suspending a cross on the person without recourse to the usual lace or chain. And indeed just such an object survives in the Carrand Collection in the Bargello, Florence (pl.20). It is of gold; the lozenge-shaped brooch, fastened by a pin, is formed as a frame set with stones (some now missing), held in high collets which are riveted to the base. The cross is hinged to the frame; after the brooch was fixed to the stuff by the pin, it was brought down, concealing the pin, and held by a small plug on its underside which fits into a hole on the point of the lozenge beneath. This elegant brooch cross is generally dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, and is usually considered to be Parisian. The type was also found in England, for John of Gaunt (1340–99) owned a gold brooch (*broche*) listed in 1422 in the inventory of his grandson Henry V, from which hung a cross of serpentine. In turn all this may explain an entry in the account of the administration of the will of Maria of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples (d.1323), which speaks of 'a little cross of gold with a sapphire and four balas-rubies on one side and four rubies, an emerald and eleven pearls on the other and a brooch of pearls'.

The custom of pinning sacred jewels or relics to the person directly or indirectly by means of brooches was not only royal, but general. In 1347 Jeanne de Presles, a rich widow of Paris, left 'a small little brooch from which hung the purse in which were kept the four Agnuses', while in England in 1354 Isabella Corp, a rich London widow, left a small gold brooch (*nouche*) from which hung an Agnus Dei. Jewels of purely secular kind were also worn in this way: in 1453 the great French merchant – financier Jacques Coeur had 'a pierced pearl, hanging from a little gold brooch [*brochete*]'. Other objects of more useful purpose were also worn pinned to the person by a brooch: in 1322, for instance, Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, left a silver fleur-de-lis-shaped brooch from which hung three of the 'serpents' tongues' so popular in the Middle Ages for assaying food. More problematical is a brooch (*monile*) that belonged in 1317 to Amadeo V of Savoy: of gold and silver, set with rubies and emeralds, from it dangled three pieces of amber. This must

charm against theft. All four were quite rich – one was set with three balas-rubies, three square emeralds and six large pearls, one with four balas-rubies and four diamonds, one with 'six very large and fine pearls', a square balas-ruby, and two others, and below these, with a cameo of the Crucifixion 'enclosed under a door'. Richest of all was

a gold brooch, for hanging purses from his *cotte*, at the chest, worked with foliage and written in letters with the names of the Three Kings of Cologne and below is a seated Emperor holding an orb and sceptre, in which are set three sapphires and three square balas-rubies.

The purses that hung from such brooches often contained relics, like the little blue satin one which held a little oblong gold reliquary, richly set with jewels and a cameo, of Our Lady,

Fig. 45  Brooch (Aosta brooch). Gold, Roman agate cameo, stones, pearls.
Height 10.5cm, width 9cm. Rhenish, c.1200. Duomo, Aosta, Italy

material beneath, an antique cameo of Peace is encircled by the ovals of small collets enclosing pearls, sapphires, turquoises, emeralds, rubies. Four large collets set with stones in the centre of each side – a garnet above and a red stone (a replacement) below, a sapphire to either side – impose four firm points of pattern on the design. Four slightly smaller collets holding pearls between these stones impose secondary points of emphasis. Pacing through the outer line of collets are sixteen figures of lions, chosen as symbols of lordly rank and power, while on the middle line are set sixteen figures of eagles, another lordly symbol, between sixteen garnets. The reverse (pl.22a) is decorated with the standing figure in relief on a diapered ground of the great Swiss nobleman for whom the brooch was made in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Count Ludwig von Frohburg (probably the third (recorded c.1204–59) rather than the fourth (recorded c.1240–79)). He wears a cap, mantle and long robes and holds a hawk, raising a finger to give it a command. He is identified by a much misliterated Lombardic inscription in niello as OOMETRS DWDDWIOI DE VKOBVKD, the illiterate engraver's interpretation of COMITIS LVDIWICI DE VROBVRC. The design of the setting of the Aosta and Schaffhausen cameos as concentric oval bands can be presumed to have been typical of such settings in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.[8]

In two German brooches of the second quarter of the thirteenth century the rich filigree so characteristic of Ottonian and Romanesque art is still dominant. On one fine brooch of gilt-bronze, shaped as a domed oval with decoration in silver-gilt filigree, now part of the Carrand Collection in the Bargello, Florence, the filigree encircled a huge central oval stone or cameo, now missing (pl.23). Four other small stones in cylindrical collets are still set at the cardinal points on the outer rim, which is decorated with an edging of stylised palmettes. It is of the type known by German art historians as *schneckenfiligran* (snail or spiral filigree), and is enriched with flowers and lies on the ground in rich yet spacious coils. This type of filigree is first found in the Rhineland on the Marienschrein in Aachen (completed 1237) and on the rear side of the shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne, executed during the same decade, and the brooch probably dates from those years and may well also be Rhenish. As it is of gilt-bronze and silver it was probably worn by a lady of knightly degree or by the wife of a lesser baron. The other brooch is of gold, and was found in Mainz c.1870 (fig.46). It shows that the tradition of brooches containing motifs in openwork, already present in the eagle brooches of the early eleventh century which form part of the so-called Gisela treasure, continued into the thirteenth century. The outer frame consists of a ring set with collets containing middle-sized cabochon stones. The intervals between are filled with rich scrolls of filigree coiling in alternate directions. In the centre, on a star-shaped motif whose arms are also decorated with small cabochon stones and filigree, is superimposed a great claw setting holding a large cabochon stone.[9]

either be the earliest recorded mediaeval brooch with dangling ornaments, or else the amber was worn either as a charm or for its sweet smell.[7]

At its simplest a plain circle, the ring brooch could be enriched. In the Oxwich brooch (pl.21) this is done by the addition of collets set with stones or cameos, in the Victoria and Albert Museum's beautiful thirteenth-century French brooch (cat.8, pls.121, 121a) by applying to the ring a wreath of vine leaves and grapes encircling high collets holding rubies and sapphires. Both designs had popularity, for other examples are known. Beautiful as ring brooches often are, it is cluster brooches such as the early thirteenth-century Aosta brooch (fig.45) or the Schaffhausen Onyx (pls.22, 22a) which are the richest expression of the thirteenth-century jeweller's art. There is unanimity that the magnificent Aosta brooch must date from c.1200, and German scholars have been inclined to call it Rhenish. The brooch is oval, and consists of a Roman agate cameo in a gold setting of a triple border of filigree, set in the outermost border with pearls on prongs, with smaller cabochon stones set between them and in the inner borders. Like a number of other mediaeval jewels it has survived because it was presented to a church, in this case the cathedral of Aosta for use as a morse, and it still keeps its fourteenth-century leather case of decorated *cuir bouilli*, a very rare survival. In the Schaffhausen Onyx, the most splendid of mediaeval cameo brooches, which appears to have been worn stitched to the

Large brooches of this kind, often circular or oval, were best brooches, worn on the grandest of occasions to advertise the rank and dignity of the owner. When the tomb of the Emperor Frederick II (d.1250) in Palermo was opened in 1781 his imperial red silk mantle or cope was seen to be clasped by an oval gold brooch (fig.47) set with an amethyst surrounded by twenty small emeralds and by four large pearls set one at the top and one to either side. In 1327 St Isabel of Portugal bequeathed to her monastery of Santa Clara 'my great brooch of the cameo pierced in the middle of the *goo*[?]'. Accordingly quite a number of cluster brooches of the stately Schaffhausen type – a central stone, usually a cameo, surrounded by smaller stones and motifs in precious metal – either survive from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries or are mentioned in records, though it must be said that our earliest certain documentary information about cluster brooches comes from two lists prepared in the 1260s. In the earlier of these, a list of jewels pledged or deposited in 1262 by Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini with eight Florentine merchants, the cluster brooches were all circular in shape. One had a gold head in the centre, encircled by two large balas-rubies, two emeralds, four small sapphires, four small balas-rubies and eight large pearls. Another had a cameo head in the centre, encircled with three rubies, three sapphires and six large pearls; another a central sapphire, and around it two rubies, two other sapphires and thirteen pearls; a fourth seems to have had no central stone, but to have been set with three large sapphires, two large balas-rubies, four large pearls, four small emeralds and four small rubies, while a fifth was set with

Fig. 46  Brooch. Gold, stones. Diameter 7cm. German, early thirteenth century. Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz





Fig. 47  Tomb of Frederick II (d.1250) in Palermo Cathedral on opening in 1781. Illustration from Daniele, 1784, pl.Q

a ruby in the centre, encircled by four emeralds and four large pearls. The other early list of cluster and cameo brooches to survive is English. Late in 1267 financial necessity drove Henry III to pawn the jewels and plate he had collected over many years for adorning the shrine of Edward the Confessor. There were six brooches in all. Three were set with precious or semi-precious stones in the middle – the best with a sapphire in an outer rim of rubies and pearls, the others with a garnet and with 'poor emerald primes and balas-rubies'. The other three all had a cameo in the centre.[10]

Not all such brooches were circular or oval, though these rounded forms were undoubtedly very common. Quite a number of brooches were square or oblong – the Middle Ages did not

Fig. 48  Brooch. Silver-gilt, stones. Height 2.5 cm, width 2.5 cm. German (?), first half of thirteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

usually distinguish these two shapes clearly. Two or three brooches of this kind are known to survive, one is in Florence (fig.48), and another in Hungary (fig.49). The example in Florence is small, and of silver-gilt, set with green stones. It is decorated in openwork, pierced with a circular hole in the centre, and fastened by a pin. The square form is also recorded on sculpture and in documents. In 1262, for instance, Cardinal Ubaldini also deposited a square brooch set with two rubies, two sapphires and four pearls. At the end of the century, in 1301, a list of jewels belonging to Marguerite of Hainault, Countess of Artois, includes a lozenge-shaped brooch and a square brooch, described as *a couvercle*, that is, with a lid, and it is possible that, like the early fourteenth-century German letter E brooch which was formerly in the Hirsch collection (pl.56 *left*), they were made in two hinged parts, with a base that was pinned to the dress and a lid that clipped over. The lid of the lozenge brooch was thickly sewn with rubies, sapphires, emeralds and pearls, while the lid of the square brooch was set with three rubies, two emeralds and four pearls. In 1271 Henry III of England also had two square or oblong gold brooches, one set with a large balas-ruby in the centre, the other with a large sapphire. The ruby brooch had four emeralds and four large oriental pearls round its rim, the sapphire, two rubies and two emeralds and four pearls. This combination of eight stones or pearls with a central stone seems to have been favoured in thirteenth and fourteenth-century design, for what reason beyond tradition does not appear. A London document of 1317 also mentions a brooch of triangular form (*unum firmaculum dictum*

*Nouche triangulare*) which had belonged to a dead citizen called Richard of Blountesham; this is most unlikely to have been unique, though no example of the form survives. The quatrefoil, probably already popular in the twelfth century, continued to be popular in the thirteenth; we have already encountered the silver-gilt quatrefoil brooch set with a cameo of the Bargello (fig.8). In the fourteenth century it was to lose its vertical emphasis, and become more of a lobed circle. The cross shape too probably had an early origin, but our first known record of it is a gold brooch left by Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders. This is described in 1322 as 'a gold brooch in the manner of a cross set with five large rubies'.[11]

Plainly too brooches were still decorated in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century with non-figurative enamels like those which ornamented the jewels of the Ottonian and Romanesque past. A Parisian gold brooch (pl.24), formerly in the Forgeais collection and now in the Bargello, Florence is, however, one of few examples of an enamelled brooch from the thirteenth century. It consists of a circular plaque, of slightly convex form, on which is set a five-pointed star with incurved sides. This is decorated in cloisonné enamel – a favourite technique of thirteenth-century Paris – with five stylised fleur-de-lis stems in blue and white enamel on a green ground; these emerge from a circle containing a cross to form an open star.

Fig. 49  Brooch. Silver-gilt, stones. Height 7.3 cm, width 5.8 cm. Hungarian, late thirteenth century. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest
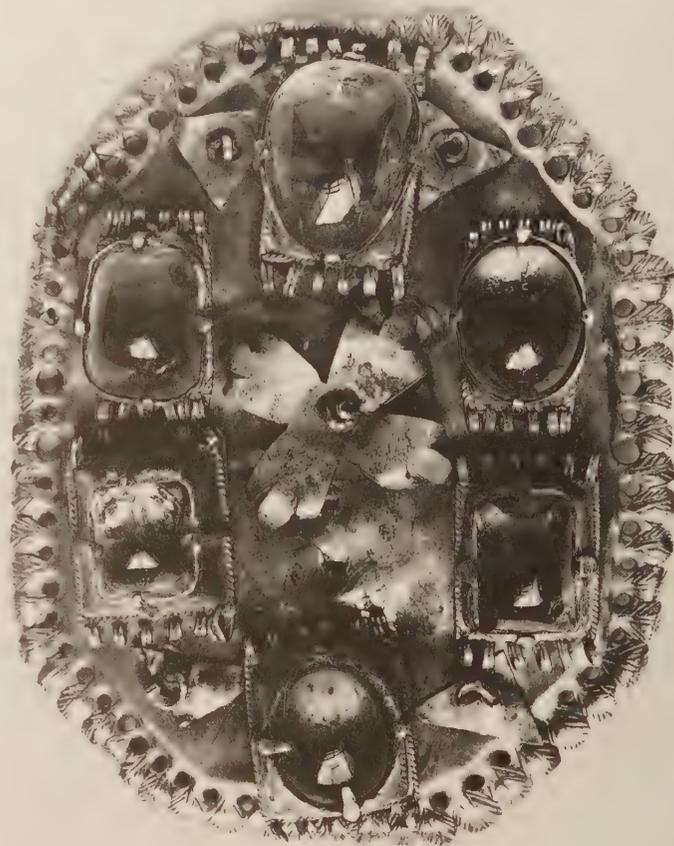
The spandrels between the circular frame and the incurved sides of the great star are pierced and decorated with openwork palmettes executed in filigree. The rim is ornamented by pointed motifs – ten in all – tipped by balls; alternately between each pair are a decorated ball and a collet which originally contained a stone, though only the paste for fixing now remains in one or two. The brooch is fastened by a pin. It probably dates from the early decades of the century, for it has none of the overall dappling of delicate stylised foliate and floral motifs which patterns the deep translucent green of late thirteenth-century Parisian *émaux de plique*, and there is a certain traditionalism which has led some scholars to give it a much earlier date.[12]

We have many references from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries to cluster and cameo brooches that were large and splendid. Among the imperial brooches of the Emperor Frederick II (d.1250) returned to King Charles II of Naples in 1298 by Pope Boniface VIII were 'a great cameo mounted in gold' and a gold *monile* (brooch) set with two emeralds, two balas-rubies, a cameo and four large pearls. As a wedding present the Neapolitan knight Giovanni Maletta gave Charles's daughter Eleanora in 1305 'a great *nouche* of gold with a white cameo set in the middle in the form of half a lady, with divers precious stones and pearls'. And about 1308 Count Robert of Flanders pledged to Thomas Fin among other jewels 'a brooch with a great square emerald in the middle and with four large pearls and four balas-rubies'. Some of the richer brooches returned to Edward II in 1313 after the death of Piers Gaveston were cluster brooches, set with cameos. One of gold set with two emeralds, two rubies, two sapphires and eleven pearls around the cameo had been a gift 'from the Queen of Germany'; another, with a white cameo and set with nine emeralds and nine garnets, had an enamelled back, while a third was simply set with a white cameo. A fourth, which had come from the estate of a Bishop of Bath and Wells, was set with black cameo encircled by small emeralds. Others in this list of brooches were cluster brooches with a simple stone in the centre; the richest was a gold brooch with a sapphire in the centre; set round it were two emeralds, two rubies and four pearls.[13]

Most of these brooches were of types that seem to have been already current in the early Middle Ages. Some changes introduced into the design of large brooches by the Gothic style are documented by those depicted on the statues of founders in the cathedral of Naumburg, in Germany, which seem to date from *c*.1260. The Margrave Ekkehard (fig.50) wears a brooch formed as a cross imposed on a square baseplate with bevelled edge. The arms of the cross are formed as discs rimmed with what appear to be pearls each containing a *chaton* set with a stone, apparently table-cut, while the centre of the cross is a large

Fig. 50  Statue of the Margrave Ekkehard (detail). German, *c*.1260. Dom, Naumburg, Germany

Fig. 51  Statue of the Margravine Uta (detail). German, *c*.1260. Dom, Naumburg, Germany

Fig. 52  Statue of the Margravine Regelindis. German, c.1260.
Dom, Naumburg, Germany



Fig. 53  Statue of the Margravine Gerburg. Germany, c.1260.
Dom, Naumburg, Germany

table-cut stone with sloping sides. The Margravine Uta (fig.51), his wife, wears a brooch formed as a six-pointed star, with a circular stone in a raised collet in its centre. The Margravine Regelindis (fig.52) wears an escutcheon brooch, set with a large cabochon stone in the centre and a small stone in each of the corners. The brooch worn by the Margravine Gerburg (fig.53) is designed as a lozenge, combined with a quatrefoil: a lozenge-shaped stone is set in a high collet in the centre and a smaller stone in each of the four lobes of the quatrefoil. The quatrefoil was long to remain a typical Gothic design for brooches: in 1378, for instance, Margaret de la Tonk, a rich London widow, left a gold quatrefoil brooch.[14]

All these four brooches are distinctively Gothic in motif except for the escutcheon brooch. As we have seen, brooches shaped as a pointed shield were already being worn in twelfth-century England, while great shield badges blazoned with arms were worn by emperors, kings, princes and great noblemen in the thirteenth century. As a merely decorative form, which also conveyed a pleasing suggestion of rank, their popularity seems to date from the fourteenth century. A number of shield-shaped girdle mounts were found in Gotland in the Dune treasure which date from this century and in any case before 1361. In 1322 Eleanor de Bohun or her father Humphrey owned a gold and jewelled eagle brooch (nouche) 'cut like a shield'. The

jewels pledged by Jean I d'Armagnac, probably in the 1360s, included 'two shields [écussons] of pearls' which were evidently thickly sewn with pearls, for together with two M-shaped brooches they were set with more than 174 pearls. In 1368 Duke Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy gave Louis II, Duc de Bourbon, as his New Year's gift, a gold shield brooch decorated with letters – perhaps a motto – and set with twenty-two orient pearls. During the same year he bought from Enguerrand de Coucy, one of the greatest noblemen of France, a huge brooch 'in the fashion of a shield', weighing a mark and a half of gold, and bearing a white stag couchant, no doubt a sculptural motif in the then novel technique of émail en ronde bosse. It was set with a particularly large and fine oriental ruby, and with three large square balas-rubies, seven large diamonds and six large pearls. A few years later, in 1374, Philippe's wife, Marguerite of Flanders bought from the Parisian goldsmith Jehanin le Cauchois as her New Year's gift for little Jean, their lately born son and heir 'a shield set with three large balas-rubies, three clusters of pearls and a sapphire in the centre'. The Museum collection includes (cat.20) charming little shield-shaped brooch, probably for a child, inscribed a b c d c'est ma lecon (a b c d is my lesson), dating from the later fourteenth century. But there seem to be few records of great armorial brooches in the fourteenth century and we can assume that they fell out of

fashion during that gayer period, so much more bent on display of brightness and glitter, rather than of blazons of rank. A devotional version of the shield brooch is recorded in England in the early fifteenth century, when jewellery with pictorial or symbolic religious motifs had become much more fashionable: it is a 'gold shield with the arms of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ' listed in 1422 in the inventory of Henry V. Presumably it figured the Instruments of the Passion, or else the five wounds of Christ as roundels in the centre or at the ends of a cross.[15]

The supreme example of the Gothic interpretation of brooches composed of patterned jewels is the great star brooch, dating from the mid-fourteenth century, now in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (pl.25). Here the pearl-tipped arms of a great six-pointed star and of a lesser six-pointed star alternate around a central circle, the arms of the larger star and of the circle being outlined with pearls. A small inner circle is marked by another round of pearls, resting on small stems which form a wheel-shaped openwork ground whose hub is set with an amethyst. Between the two circles of pearls, amethysts and emeralds are set in collets and claws in compartments, and these stones are used again in careful alternation with each other and with pearls on the arms of the stars. The whole effect is of a dazzling pattern of red and green on gold, with the lines of white pearls imposing a shining framework on incantations of counterchanged colour. Star brooches of this richness were surely princely and the Verona brooch probably belonged to a lady of the Scaliger family, lords of Verona. In 1354 Queen Giovanna of Naples bought twenty-three large pearls, two enamels and five rubies which were to be put on to 'a star of gold on our corsage'.[16]

Beautiful though the Verona brooch is – in some ways perhaps the most beautiful of fourteenth-century non-figurative jewels – it is evidently only the culmination of a style. With it was found another, smaller brooch (pl.26), probably from the same shop, which shows a similar mastery of colour-patterning. It is of gold, shaped in a curvilinear, florid Gothic style into a large central quatrefoil, with a smaller flanking quatrefoil above and below, and a trefoil at either end. Something of a cross shape is given by ogee-pointed mounts attached to either end of the main quatrefoil. These outlines are softened, almost blurred by the stones set within them on very high collets, and by the pearls fixed round the edge and in clusters over the junction of each of the vertical mounts. Set in the centre quatrefoil is a large blue-glass stone, with four large incurving facets, which is matched at either end on the trefoils by a smaller blue-glass stone. Between these, the smaller quatrefoils are each set with an amethyst like one of the ogee mounts: as the corresponding ogee mount contains an emerald, the two empty collets beside the amethysts presumably once contained emeralds too. This brooch is also of interest as it seems to be the earliest surviving mediaeval brooch with a rim of pearls on prongs.

The most magnificent of Gothic disc brooches, sometimes incorrectly identified as a morse, was found in the river Motala,

in Sweden (pl.27), and dates from the early decades of the fourteenth century. It consists of a baseplate of solid gold, to whose centre is fixed a six-pointed star enclosed within a circular frame set with grotesque birds alternating with small sapphires and originally also with small pearls, now missing. In the centre of the star is a deep-blue cabochon sapphire, set in a vertical oval collet. Its colour is in deliberate contrast with the pale sky-blue of the other, smaller sapphires on the brooch. It too was once also surrounded by three pearls. The arms of the star are decorated with figures of a seated older man playing a viol alternating with a kneeling youth and the points are decorated with large pale sapphires. From between the arms emerge six bars, three of them with a little dragon crouching on them. At the point where these reach the inner circle they are set with octagonal table-cut rubies which as we have seen are among the earliest of their kind known to survive. The bars, which also reinforce the baseplate, continue to the outer rim, where they are again each set with an octagonal flat-topped ruby. The arms of the star point in contrast to collets at the rim containing three emeralds and three amethysts, so forming an outer border of large stones, between which were originally set small clusters of four pearls encircling small stones. Within this border is an inner ring of griffins, lions and eagles cast in flat relief and set on prongs punctuated by small rubies and sapphires.

The stones and the grotesque birds of the star's immediate frame are raised, and so are silhouetted with noble severity of colour and form against the gold ground. To enhance the three-dimensional effect and to separate the inner motifs of star and sapphire the grotesque birds of the circular frame of the star and the figures round the central sapphire are set at a vertical slant by means of the prongs that are their support. The style of the grotesques, which have parallels in such pieces of French secular goldsmiths' work as the Parisian enamelled ewer of c.1330 now in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, the extreme refinement of workmanship, the skill with which the stones are contrasted and the smooth sharp cutting of the rubies, which must have been chosen and shaped especially for the brooch, indicate that the brooch was probably made by a highly skilled German or Parisian goldsmith. It was worn by means of a large and long vertical pin, now broken, originally fitting into a hasp at the bottom. The pin alone would indicate that the brooch was not a morse, which is essentially a mantle clasp, even without the secular motifs adorning the front of the brooch. The Motala brooch was also held by two hoops, no doubt for a lace at the side. There can be little doubt from the eagles, lions and griffins, all symbols of rule, that this was originally the brooch of a great nobleman or noblewoman or of a prince or princess. Two such large brooches appear to be shown being worn simultaneously on a rather worn fourteenth-century sandstone statue of a female saint from Gotland (fig.54).[17]

Not all brooches were necessarily jewelled in formal patterns: for instance, in 1338 the brooches of Edward III of England

Fig. 54 Statue of a saint. Swedish, fourteenth century.
Ardre, Gotland, Sweden

small emeralds'. Here the figures, whatever they were, must have been set to either side of the central stone, and possibly formed, rather than decorated, the setting. Another round brooch, as we saw, had a gold head in the centre, with two large balas-rubies, two emeralds, four small sapphires and eight large pearls ornamenting the setting. A third was 'made with the figures of lions', and was set with three emeralds, two balas-rubies and four large pearls, while a fourth was 'made with eagles', and set with five large sapphires, four balas-rubies, seven large pearls and many other stones and small pearls. These also sound like large and stately brooches, with formal motifs of lions and eagles of typical mediaeval princely symbolism. Some appear to have had the shape of the animal motifs they figured.[18]

In princely and noble jewellery, figured brooches, to judge by surviving inventories, were certainly much less common than cluster or cameo brooches before the 1360s. Even after that date, when naturalistic and romantic motifs and devices become frequent in brooches, they probably never came to outnumber them. But possibly there was a greater solemnity and richness in much of the jewellery of the great which now conceals from us a lighter and wider repertoire of figural motifs in some of their other jewels and in the jewellery of the less great. In 1242, for instance, Henry III of England commissioned emerald-set gold brooches that were decorated 'with the alphabet' – presumably the letters ABC. An entry in his accounts records '25 marks 5$^s$ for 33s 10d weight of gold to make the King's brooch with the alphabet, 40s for 40 small emeralds bought to finish it, and 12 marks for work thereon'. We know from documents that lovers and animals decorated a number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century brooches; probably these were often treated as small sculptures, in relief, as on the Motala brooch (pl.27). It was in order to give such sculptural motifs a greater vivacity of colour and naturalism that the technique of *émail en ronde bosse* was invented or revived in the Paris of the mid-fourteenth century.[19]

There are remarkably few references to religious subjects before the last three decades of the fourteenth century except when cut on cameos, but even such religious cameos seem to have been uncommon on brooches, so far as we can tell from documents. Among the jewels given to the Infanta Isabel of Aragon on her marriage in 1313 to Frederick of Austria was a gold brooch set with small stones, in the centre of which was a cameo 'in the form of a Crucifix'. Again, old Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, third wife of King Charles IV le Bel (d.1328), left at her death in 1370 a little gold brooch enamelled with the Crucifixion. And in 1377–82 Bonne de Bourbon, Countess of Savoy, had a gold brooch 'in the middle of which is a figure of the Blessed Mary with four large balas-rubies, a large sapphire, a large emerald and nineteen large pearls'. It seems in fact to have been the pendant, hanging nearer the heart, and less a formal mark of rank than the brooch, and more of a private, personal jewel, which received significant religious decoration.[20]

included 'a gold brooch powdered all over [*poudre plein*] with pearls'. We have little information about figured brooches from the thirteenth century, but they undoubtedly existed. Thus in 1285–6 Elene la Zouche gave King Edward I of England 'a gold brooch with a large pale-blue sapphire and the figure of a woman'. The only surviving document in which they figure at all largely is in the list of jewels deposited by Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini in 1262, in which a number are mentioned. One was 'made with figures, and set with a large emerald in the middle, two large balas-rubies, and fifteen

From a survey of early types let us turn now to the evolution of their designs. A difficulty in tracing the changes of the ring brooch and the history of its varieties is that many of those which survive are of a plain or lightly decorated sort. This must be because the ring brooch was broadly speaking the simplest and least assuming of mediaeval brooches, since it was essentially a practical fastener. Thus on the statue of a maiden from a house in Friedberg, which appears to date from *c*.1250, her modesty and maiden estate are indicated by the absence of head ornaments and the simple ring brooch she wears (fig.55). Yet even plain ring brooches were on occasions very richly ornamented. A favourite technique of the thirteenth century for this purpose was niello. A nielloed gold ring brooch (figs.56,



Fig. 56  Ring brooch (brooch of Peter of Hum). Gold, niello. Diameter 5.2cm. Venetian or Yugoslavian, *c*.1300. Upravi Narodnog Muzeja, Belgrade
*right*: Fig. 56a  Reverse (detail)

Fig. 55  Statue of a woman from a house in Friedberg. German, *c*.1250. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



56a) in the National Museum, Belgrade, which has on the front a Slavonic inscription in Lombardic letters and a band of stylised leaves on the outside, is decorated on the reverse with an outer ring of animals, real and grotesque, birds, and again an inner ring of stylised leaves. The inscription ZAPON VELIKOG KNEZA HUMSKOG PETRA-PRETENDE COMITI PET indicates that it belonged to a Count Peter of Hum. It has been associated with the Prince Peter of Hum who became Grand Duke of Split (Spalato) in 1222 and died between 1226 and 1234, but the style of the ornament leaves no doubt that the brooch dates from *c*.1300. Though there is always the possibility that it was made in Venice or by a Venetian goldsmith, it is a striking proof of the spread of French styles to remoter parts of Western Europe for nielloed decoration of this type appears to be French in origin, and decorates the underside of a French brooch in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.8, pls.121, 121a). An interesting feature of ring brooches is that certain types, like the plain ring and the *fede* brooch, seem to have been worn generally throughout Europe, or to have been current in local versions of what was plainly a widely spread type. Other types were perhaps confined to certain regions only – though in the virtual absence of evidence from many countries, like France, Italy and Spain, we cannot be certain.[1]

In addition, on the best ring brooches of important or wealthy wearers the ring was sometimes richly jewelled, with stones and pearls set in collets and foliage or filigree set round it (cat.8, pls.121, 121a). An early thirteenth-century brooch recently discovered in excavations at Waterford, Ireland, in the thirteenth

Fig. 57  Brooch fragment. Gold, garnets,
sapphires, turquoises. Length 4.4cm, height
1.8cm. Hungarian, mid-thirteenth century,
Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest



Fig. 59  Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 1.8cm.
Northern European, mid-thirteenth century.
British Museum, London



Fig. 60  Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 2.2cm.
Northern European, mid-thirteenth century.
British Museum, London

century a great port, has blue and green glass encircled by formal late Romanesque filigree scrollwork (pl.28). A later brooch, perhaps of *c*.1225−40 in the Carrand Collection (Bargello, Florence) has a cast ring, richly decorated with cast filigree of naturalistic oak stems with acorns. At the top and bottom is a large conical collet, containing a ruby, while between these are four smaller collets containing emeralds, two square, two shaped to the stones. At both ends of the pin is a little lion hidden among foliage. Another, perhaps rather later example, in the same collection (pl.29) is decorated on the ring with eight tall cone-shaped collets set with small cabochon rubies (six now missing), with naturalistic foliated scrolls running between. On

Fig. 58  Ring brooch. Gold, garnets, sapphires. Diameter 3.7cm.
English, late thirteenth century.
Manchester City Art Gallery, Manchester, England



the back, in niello, is the inscription AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMN. A fragment of a thirteenth-century gold ring brooch from Hungary (fig.57) is set with sapphires, pearls, turquoises and sapphires in this style to match a coronal, four links of which still survive (fig.35). The type was also current in England: a gold brooch found in Manchester (fig.58) is set with garnets and sapphires alternately in eight high collets; the intervals between them are raised bosses decorated with punched work and surmounted by an open fruit pod containing seeds − a motif otherwise unrecorded in thirteenth-century goldsmith's work and perhaps indicating a date late in the century for the brooch. A stone is also set in the pin, a feature found on other thirteenth-century ring brooches.[2]

Brooches with high collets tend to disappear from *c*.1300 to be replaced by brooches with low ones. The early fourteenth-century gold Oxwich brooch (pl.21) is set with cameos and rubies in low collets, and presumably Edward III's gold *fermail* of 1338 set with 'four cameos and four emeralds' or his other *fermail* set with 'three rubies and three cameos' rather resembled it in aspect. Probably in fact this most essential of functional brooches, worn by all classes, also received, when intended for the great, various kinds of additional ornamentation of which we have no knowledge. Thus of four gold *fermalx* stored on a nail which Edward III also owned in 1338, one was 'garnished with pearls and enamels'. Of all these rich and finely executed ring brooches coarser versions, using silver and rather dubious stones survive: for instance a thirteenth-century silver-gilt ring brooch in Stockholm seems to be a cheaper copy of a brooch of the type of that in the Carrand Collection: it has high conical collets set with red and blue stones, four large, four small, with stylised foliage between. Another brooch in Stockholm is an even cruder version: the foliated motifs between its high collets set with blue, red and green stones are very degenerate.[3]

During the thirteenth century the form of the ring in more important brooches begins to be elaborated − at least so far as we can tell in the absence of evidence for types of design and their
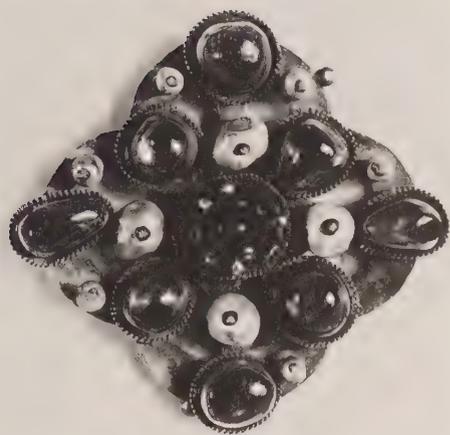
Fig. 61 Brooch. Silver-gilt, garnet, rubies, sapphires, pearls. Diameter 3.7cm. French, c.1325–49. Musée de Cluny, Paris

Fig. 62 Ring brooch. Silver, stones. Diameter 5.1cm. Northern European, before 1348. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany

Fig. 63 Ring brooch. Silver, stones. Diameter 2.8cm. Northern European, before 1348. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany

evolution during the centuries before the thirteenth. In two thirteenth-century silver brooches in the British Museum (figs.59, 60) the ring in one is shaped as two dragons, in the other as a man fighting a dragon. The gold Kames brooch of c. 1300 in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (pl.30) is a design of six dragons with eyes of yellow glass, biting each other's tails. A ring brooch formed of dragons – two with scrolling wire round their bodies – is also in the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm; plainly the motif was widely current.[4]

The ring itself had already been varied in outline. The design of a quatrefoil found in the massive brooches of the twelfth century is adapted to a ring brooch on the statue of Eutropia, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, on Rheims cathedral. The quatrefoil remained a popular design in ring brooches as well as solid brooches into the fourteenth century. An example is a silver-gilt brooch set in the centre with a cut garnet and on the lobes with rubies alternating with sapphires, these coloured stones being relieved by the whiteness of the pearls set between. It was found with the Colmar Treasure and so dates in all probability from before 1349 (fig.61) (Paris, Musée de Cluny). The Hattatt Collection includes a lozenge-shaped ring brooch which probably dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and appears to be English. Formerly in the Gay Collection was a similar lozenge-shaped gold brooch, set with four stones in collets, one on each side, with a pearl also in a collet, ornamenting each of the floriated points of the lozenge. Between and around the collets was an ornamentation of stylised filigree vine-scroll. The Carrand Collection (Bargello, Florence) has a thickly jewelled thirteenth-century gold brooch of hexagonal form. It has six large collets set with four red and two green stones (partly real, partly imitation), and six small collets on the outer rim holding imitation pearls. Around the collets runs rich filigree scrollwork.

These quatrefoil, lozenge-shaped and hexagonal brooches parallel solid brooches of similar form, and illustrate a tendency

of the ring brooch to echo in outline the form of the more costly solid brooches. Yet it too was on occasions of monumental size. A great silver-gilt ring brooch of c.1300 in Stockholm is decorated with four griffins and two lions, and set with crystals alternating with garnets, with a great crystal on the pin. Another in the same collection, is decorated with an openwork frame of medallions around a central medallion. To each medallion border is applied a griffin or a lion; in the central medallion, soldered to the pin, is set a large oval crystal, originally encircled by smaller stones; in the intervals of the smaller medallions are smaller oval crystals set in raised collets between the medallions; these collets too were originally decorated with smaller stones. Above and below the central motif is held to the top and bottom of the outer frame by a hoop.[5]

These brooches also illustrate how during the thirteenth and fourteenth century Gothic design imposed its own variations on the ring, though it must be emphasised that they never ousted the pure circle, which continued in general favour. Lobed forms became popular; in 1324 Edward II had a gold sexfoil fermail 'garnished with leaves, pearls, three sapphires and three orient balas-rubies' and a fine early fourteenth-century English or French sexfoil brooch is in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collections (cat.11). The Kindrochit brooch (pl.31) of silver parcel-gilt is an equally fine late fourteenth-century example of the type. In obedience to the Gothic taste for faceted surfaces the upper surface of the ring was frequently shaped as two angled facets, allowing room for more or longer inscriptions. The ring itself continued to be given a pointed form, sometimes as a lozenge as on the fourteenth-century gold brooch, probably French, in the Carrand Collection, to which a cross is attached (pl.20), sometimes as a simple four-pointed star, as in a brooch in Münster (fig.62), where the incurved sides were set with stones and the points are set with ribbed balls, sometimes as a hexagon or octagon, and sometimes of a more florid and complex profile, especially in North Germany, Scandinavia, and the Baltic lands (fig.77). A ring brooch in Münster (fig.63) consists

Fig. 64 Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 2.2cm. Northern European, before 1348. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany



Fig. 65 Ring brooch. Silver, stone. Diameter 2.4cm. Northern European, fourteenth century. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



Fig. 66 Brooch. Silver, stones, crystal. Diameter 3.2cm. Northern European, before 1348. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany

of a square with incurved sides, to each of which is attached an oval collet. These are linked to each other and to the pointed ends of the square by motifs of scrolling leaves. Maidenheads were a very popular motif, at any rate in Germany and Scandinavia, symbolising no doubt in stylised and generalised form the object of the wearer's affections. Ring brooches in the collections of Münster and Nuremberg (figs.64, 65) are instances of this type; the heads are cast and applied to the ring. The motif was also incorporated with other motifs. A star-shaped brooch in Münster intermingles it with stones and a central star of foliage (fig.66).[6]

A form of brooch that had a long popularity in Scandinavia,

where they are often described as 'Hanseatic' brooches, set stylised birds or animals on raised openwork bosses, giving to the ring by this simple device a lobed profile and a richer intricacy of surface effect (fig.67). Brooches of much the same type were also current in Hungary, suggesting that the design was once popular throughout the Central Europe of the thirteenth century. A fifteenth-century example of this long-repeated design is in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection and is probably Hungarian (cat.31, pl.126). A fourteenth-century sexfoil brooch in Stockholm has a broad silver-gilt baseplate on which are raised six medallion bosses stamped alternately with griffins and lions with ladies' heads stamped and applied between

Fig. 67 Ring brooch. Silver-gilt. Diameter 8.2cm. Swedish, fourteenth century. Found Rösta parish, Ås, Jämtland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

Fig. 68 Ring brooch. Silver-gilt. Diameter 9.4cm. Swedish fourteenth century. Found Rösta parish, Ås, Jämtland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm
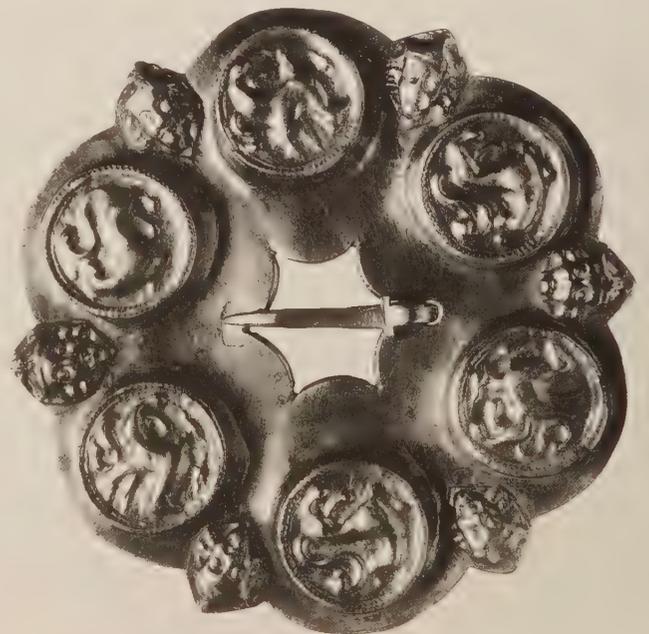
(fig.68). This was evidently another standard design, for it also appears on another silver-gilt fourteenth-century ring brooch in Stockholm (fig.69). The symbolism of these brooches – originally invented to display princely might: the lions and griffins – and chivalric gallantry: the ladies' heads – has been copied for a humbler market that naively admired and copied its betters.[7]

Sometimes the central area, usually left void, or else crossed by a simple vertical bar, as in the late fourteenth-century Glenlyon brooch, from the British Museum (pl.32), contained a motif to which the ring becomes a frame. A fourteenth-century German cinquefoil ring brooch of c.1330–40, formerly in Stettin (figs.70, 70a), contains a pair of lovers holding a shield; columbine cups dangle from each of the five inner points of the frame, while on it a rhyming Low German inscription in Lombardic letters proclaims that love will keep the wearer true. Two lovers appear to have been a popular motif: what may be a silver-gilt quatrefoil ring brooch of c.1325–50, now in Halle, has two lovers clasping hands (fig.71). Sometimes Cupid aims an arrow into a lady's heart, as on a brooch now in Nuremberg (fig.72). In the Stettin brooch the pin runs behind the figures, but in some of the brooches from a treasure found near Pritzwalk, in Brandenburg, an ornamental motif on a disc or shield is set on the pin itself (figs.73, 73a). Evidently by the fourteenth century the pin was found disturbing in more elaborate brooches, and so means were taken to disguise it in part, or at least reduce its prominence, while enriching the effect of the whole. This fashion, which appears on other North German brooches, is also found on some Scandinavian brooches; the pin in such



Fig. 70 Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 7.3 cm. Middle European, c.1330–40. Destroyed, formerly Muzeum Narodowe, Stettin, Poland



Fig. 70a reverse

Fig. 69 Ring brooch. Silver-gilt. Diameter 9.3 cm. Swedish, early fourteenth century. Found Neder-Kalix parish, Töre, Västerbotten. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm
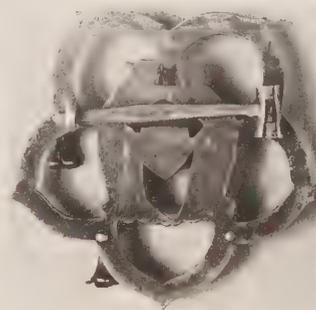


brooches becomes a support for a decorative motif, which no doubt reduced the visual effect on the eye of the fold of stuff that had to be pinched up for the thrust of the pin. The use of the shield as a motif in brooches where its charges are, as in the Pritzwalk brooches (figs.73, 73a), purely ornamental, is another instance of the powerful appeal of heraldry in the hierarchical Middle Ages – false shields of arms already appear on late thirteenth-century Limoges enamels. And the gold brooch with the royal arms of England with which Margaret de la Tonk, a rich London widow, fastened her silver paternosters to her person in the 1370s was surely another instance of misappropriated heraldry.[8]

A more authentic shield fills the centre of the great sexfoil ring brooch which clasps the mantle worn by the effigy of Queen Eufemia of Denmark (d.1330) in Sorö (fig.74). Its great size and the rich decoration of the lobes of the ring show that the ring brooch could still be regarded c.1350, when the effigy was made, as a stately royal jewel, but such evidence as we have suggests that large ring brooches ceased to be ornaments for the great after the early fifteenth century. The last example I have been able to trace is a great ring brooch inventoried in

Fig. 71 Ring brooch (?). Silver-gilt. Height 3.4cm, width 3.2cm. German, c.1325–50. Weissenfels treasure. Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, Germany
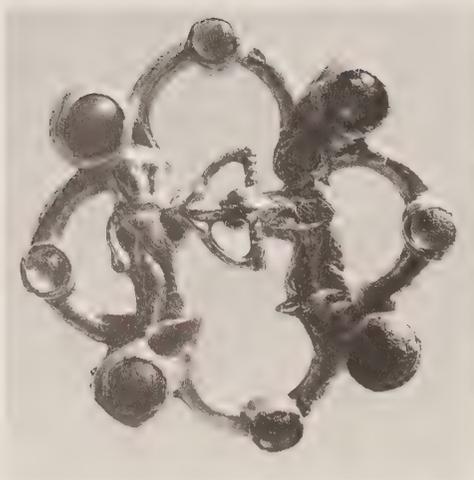


Fig. 72 Ring brooch. Silver, stones. Diameter 2.2cm. Northern European, first half of the fourteenth century. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



Fig. 73 Cloak clasps and brooches from the Pritzwalk treasure. Silver, enamel. Northern European, first half of the fourteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin

Fig. 73a Central brooch. Diameter 6.8 cm

(fig.75). In others the ring is divided into sections by stones (fig.76) as in the British Museum's gold ring brooch of c.1300, set alternately with rubies and sapphires. Where the ring is hexagonal or octagonal, the sections may be alternately raised and ribbed, then sunk and inscribed. Towards the end of the century a continuous scroll or scrolling ribbon may curl itself round the entire frame, again creating a contrast of surfaces. Eventually even the naturalistic lopped tree-trunks, so dear to fifteenth-century taste, were adapted to the form, as we can see in the Victoria and Albert Museum's beautiful Spanish fourteenth-century brooch (cat.18, pl.123). Small engraved designs or figures, as for example those of St George and St Christopher on one of the Victoria and Albert Museum's ring brooches, probably English, later fourteenth century (cat.17) also appear about this date.[10]

In Scandinavia, and probably elsewhere in Northern Europe, the ring was elaborated in the fourteenth century into very complex decorative forms. A silver brooch from Telemark in Norway (fig.77) has an inner ring of corded wires; encircling this is a round of settings for stones, forming a second circle, and the whole is enclosed by a third decorative band to which

Fig. 74 Effigy of Queen Eufemia. Scandinavian, c.1350. Sorö Church, Denmark



1413–14 among the jewels of Alfonso of Aragon. It was composed of three concentric rings of gold enamelled white and green, and set with three middle-sized rubies and three large pearls; on the pin was a triangular seal of Solomon, set with a large pointed diamond with four facets, placed in the centre of a flower enamelled white. The whole was certainly a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century jewel. Small ring brooches continued to be made with much elegance of design and execution. In brooches of finer quality subtlety and refinement increase in the late fourteenth century. For instance a beautiful French gold ring brooch of c.1400–10 in the International Gothic style in the Carrand Collection (Bargello, Florence), is exquisitely enamelled with three formal bands of blue, white and blue, with four heads of Christ reserved in the metal (pl.33). It is inscribed in delicate Gothic letters *Jesus/autem/transitat/per/med.*, also reserved in the metal. Another gold brooch of much the same date and of similar delicate elegance – it too was once decorated with enamel – was recently discovered at, 's-Hertogenbosch, in the Dutch Brabant (pl.34).[9]

The motifs on the Pritzwalk ring brooches range from a little genre scene of a man chopping wood to the long-established motif of 'strong Samson overcoming the lion'. During the fourteenth century the ring itself was ornamented in various ways, in the severe style that preceded the exuberance of Late Gothic. In one type of early fourteenth-century brooch found in the Borders of Scotland, Northern England and most recently at Hereford, the ring is a silver wire divided into sections by collars or knops and decorated with applied rosettes or quatrefoils

Fig. 75 Ring brooch. Silver, silver-gilt. Diameter 6.8cm. Scottish or English, early fourteenth century. National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh



Fig. 76 Ring brooch. Gold, rubies, sapphires. Diameter 3.8cm. English, c.1300. British Museum, London

are fixed eagles alternating with roundels decorated with raised bosses arranged to simulate flowers. The openwork patterns so formed give a fretted richness to the originally simple form. Rings formed as a sequence of medallion roundels, usually stamped with a motif – a human head, a stylised animal or bird form – are also as we have seen characteristic of fourteenth-century Scandinavia. They perhaps echo German ring brooches with maidenheads such as those already discussed (figs.64, 65).[11]

Simpler silver-gilt brooches of this openwork type were found in the Amunde hoard, from Gotland, until the Danish sack of 1361 the great entrepôt of Northern trade in the Baltic. In one pattern wires are curved into an oval shape, and linked by bands; their inner sides form a hexagon, while across each oval and at the junction of each pair runs a decorative motif. In another design the ring becomes a lozenge, framed by bosses set in oval coils of wire. In a further variant the bands of wire forming the lozenge are protracted into a cross shape, with the bands expanding into a palmette form set with bosses. More conventional is a brooch in which the ring is a composition of stylised ribbed pointed leaves. In England a favourite motif of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the 'writhen' form – in which a frame is given a twisted effect, so creating a design of contrasting bands, as in the beautiful gold brooch of c.1400 from Doune, Perthshire, now in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (pl.35). In such brooches bands of plain metal and enamel were sometimes contrasted. A small brooch 'wrethen with gold and blue' was among the jewels of Edward III, Richard II and other personages handed over to Henry IV in 1400. Its appearance can be surmised from the writhen-frame

heart brooch in the British Museum (pl.54 below). The writhen form was however also popular in the France and Netherlands of the later fourteenth century, where it is described as tors (twisted).[12]

Finally, it should be remembered that inscriptions, as we have already seen, were by far the commonest decoration of ring brooches. Often they are elegantly lettered, and executed in enamel or niello, rather than in simple engraving. The Museum's collection of ring brooches gives a fair selection of those usually found, from the mysteriously cabbalistic to the piously prophylactic, from the offering of love to its consummation in firmly pledged troth. Perhaps, however, we may cite here as an example of the sentimental love of melancholy so popular in the Middle Ages, Sir Brian de Stapilton's gold brooch inscribed with the amorous sentiment soffre me convyent (suffering is my lot) which he bequeathed to his daughter in 1394. For as so often with mediaeval jewellery, where we almost always have the record without the jewel, or the jewel without the record, to link a sentiment with an individual we have to cite a document.[13]

Two special fourteenth-century varieties of the ring brooch, the brooch with clasped hands and the heart brooch, will be discussed by themselves, because of their significance as tokens of love. One other variety, however, the wheel brooch, can be dealt with here as it was a purely ornamental pattern, with no overtones of amorous device. In wheel brooches the outer frame is circular or lobed, and bars radiate to it from a centre set with a large stone or other decorative motif. Here too then the ring form is no longer functional. In most of the surviving examples,

all dating from the fourteenth century, the outer frame and bars are set with stones and crystals and, although they are of bronze and silver-gilt, it is plain they are the surviving poor relations of a much richer kind of brooch. The type was certainly current in Scandinavia and also in England, where it is represented by a large and handsome gilt-bronze brooch set with crystals, amethysts, false emeralds and pearl beads of early fourteenth-century date. It consists of a sexfoil ring, to which is hinged a star formed by three intersecting bars, two diagonal, one transverse, at whose intersection is set a great collet which once contained the large central stone which was the principal ornament of the brooch. In brooches of this kind too it was obviously felt that the pin was an obtrusively utilitarian feature, for the pin, now missing, originally fitted under the transverse horizontal bar. The star was presumably lifted when the brooch was being pinned and then fastened down to conceal all indication of the mode of attachment. In such a brooch the metal is a simple framework for a pattern of stones. Found in Edworth in Bedfordshire, it is now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology.[14]

A fine wheel-shaped brooch of silver-gilt in the cathedral treasury of Split in Dalmatia (fig.78) has a framework decorated with red stones, probably garnets, and oval enamels of fair ladies set in elaborately mounted bosses and collets; in the centre is a hexagonal boss enamelled with two young lovers. It seems to date from the middle to late fourteenth century and may be Venetian or Ragusan in origin. The wheel brooch probably went out of fashion at the end of the fourteenth century together with the

other large types of Gothic brooches whose design was purely abstract. The inventory of Marguerite, Duchess of Burgundy, taken in 1405, still lists 'a small gold brooch in the fashion of a wheel, set with four sapphires and four large pearls and little pearls around, and the stone in the middle is missing'. However, in keeping with the stylistic trends of the time, this may alternatively have been a naturalistic representation of a wheel, or a figuration of St Catherine's wheel, a popular badge of pilgrimage to the monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, which was visited by many pilgrims to Jerusalem. In January 1398 King Martin of Sicily redeemed 'a round gold brooch, made in the fashion of a wheel of St Catherine, with certain pearls and precious stones'.[15]

Amorous imagery, such as we have just seen on the Split brooch of *c.*1360, seems to have made its first appearance in the design of brooches during the thirteenth century, signalising the triumph in yet another art of the lighter spirit of *amour courtois* over the solemn magnificence of earlier times. On occasions the amorous sentiment was confined to a motto or sentiment, and this was perhaps frequently the case in the thirteenth century. A tiny oval brooch of *c.*1300, found near Canterbury in the 1870s (fig.79), and now untraced, was set with a cameo of a faun taking a thorn from the foot of another faun, encircled by the inscription AMOR VINCIT FORTITVDINEM (Love conquers strength). It was fastened by a pin, but also had a loop for suspension, perhaps as we have seen, from another brooch. Other brooches conveyed their message of love by means of little figures. We have already seen one or two fourteenth-century examples on

Fig. 77  Ring brooch. Silver, formerly gilt and with stones. Diameter 8.5 cm. Norwegian, fourteenth century. Found Telemark.
Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo
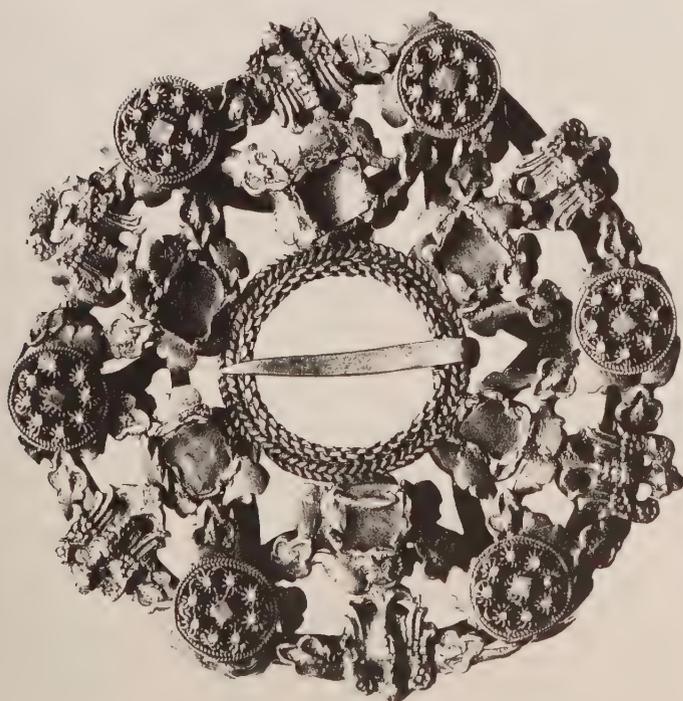
Fig. 78  Brooch. Silver-gilt, enamels, stones. Diameter 13 cm. Venetian or Ragusan, mid to late fourteenth century.
Cathedral treasury, Split, Yugoslavia
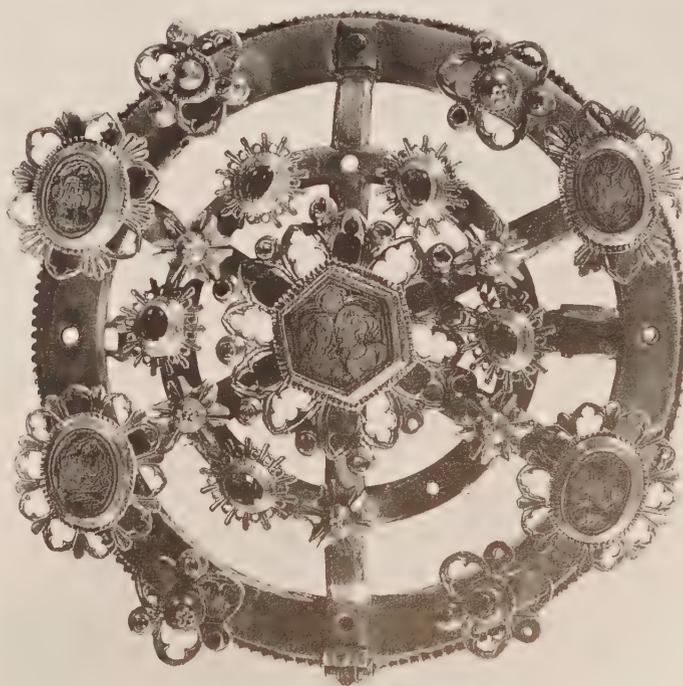
Fig. 79 Brooch. Silver, cameo. Illustration from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 1878, 2.S.VII 1867–78. English, *c.*1300. Formerly Mrs Smith, Canterbury (untraced)

German fourteenth-century ring brooches, but lovers were universally popular. Among the jewels which King Henry III of England deposited for safe-keeping with his sister Margaret, Queen of France, in 1261 was a gold brooch 'with two lovers' which had been recently made, for it was 'of our new treasure'. That is if the second inventory description of it in 1272 is correct, for in 1261 it is described not as *cum duobus amantibus*, but as *cum duobus diamantibus*, that is, with two diamonds. If it did depict lovers it may have looked something like the two lovers of *c.*1325–50, now in Halle (fig.71), who clasp hands. One of the few early jewels of solid form decorated with an amorous scene to survive is a tiny circular brooch (diam. 4cm) of the first decades of the fourteenth century now attached to the Reliquary of the Holy Thorn in the treasury of Monreale, in Sicily (pls.36, 36a). It consists of a plate of silver to which are applied a youth and a girl, executed in relief in gold, standing on a green enamelled terrace, embracing. On an encircling band is the inscription in gold letters + VRAY DIEV: D'AMOURS: QVAR: NOVS: TENES: A NOS: AMOURS (True god of love, for you keep us to our loves). The frame is also extremely interesting, for it is the earliest surviving design in a jewel, as opposed to a ring, to employ the motif of the heart and another symbol of fidelity, doves. The heart motif, set with an amethyst, itself in its red colour a symbolic choice, is placed between a pair of doves, set with an emerald, here possibly figuring purity, alternating with trefoils of pearls. The jewel has been attributed both to Venice and to Paris. But in our present state of knowledge we cannot make a certain attribution to either city. French was a courtly language of North Italy, and we have too few mediaeval jewels to make sure judgments of whether certain techniques were confined to certain workshops.[16]

Lively motifs from nature or from the bestiary are also recorded in brooches, again marking a departure in spirit from the lions, dragons and eagles of earlier times. Among the earliest of such brooches known to us is the brooch 'in the guise of an elephant' which Philippine, Countess of Hainault

bought in 1310 from Simon Nevelon, a leading goldsmith of Paris, as a present for a daughter. It is possible that 'two little gold flowers' given by Edward II of England among his New Year's gifts to Father Philip de Barton for his oblations at Epiphany are the earliest recorded brooches of flower form. In 1328 Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France had a brooch 'with two popinjays', another with 'two jays' and a third of 'a cock'. And at her death in 1348 Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne left three little brooches of butterflies, like the bird jewels of Queen Clémence a very early instance of a recurringly popular motif in jewellery.[17]

Probably these early fourteenth-century brooches were a little austerer in aspect than those of the International Gothic age because they were more stylised. We can assume that in them playfulness and delicacy of fancy did not soften formal rigidity of style, though no doubt they gave it a greater linear elegance. Brooches of established motifs of animals also continued to be made: a brooch 'in the fashion of a lion, sewn with precious stones and pearls' belonged to Count Guy of Flanders at his death in 1305, while in 1306 his successor Robert pledged a great gold brooch 'in the form of a lion', set with a great sapphire, six great rubies, six great emeralds, and rimmed with seventeen other precious stones and pearls. Like the other brooches just mentioned this probably had the shape of the animal it figured: certainly animal and bird-shaped brooches became common in the later fourteenth century. The leaf form found in the beautiful Cividale pendant (pls.66, 66a) of *c.*1294–1309, which was almost certainly made by a French goldsmith in Naples, is also recorded in a great gold state brooch 'in the fashion of a vine-leaf' set with a great balas-ruby, thirty-three sapphires, thirty-seven other balas-rubies, seventeen emeralds and one hundred and seven large pearls which was in the treasury of King Robert of Naples in 1341.[18]

At other times, the motif was figured on the brooch. A great gold brooch which Jaime II of Aragon entrusted on 29 November 1318 to the Archbishop of Tarragona to hold as a means of satisfying his creditors bore in the centre a gold cross. This was set in the middle with a cameo, and elsewhere with two emeralds, two rubies and three large pearls. Around the rim of the brooch were mounted a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire and four large pearls, and within them, presumably below the cross and fronting one another, were two lions, on which were figures of a king and a queen wearing their crowns. The regal symbolism of this motif is obvious, even if its precise meaning is now hard to divine. The whole of the rest of the surface of the brooch was ornamented with small emeralds and sapphires. Religious motifs as we saw were still rare in brooches. A brooch with the Coronation of the Virgin is recorded in 1328 among the jewels of Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France: it is described as 'another little brooch set with small stones, with a Coronation enamelled'. It was bought for the small sum of 6 Paris livres by Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, Clémence's sister-in-law.[19]

Certain light and elegant motifs, probably in more evolved form and with greater complexity of design, recur on the gold brooches of Queen Jeanne de Boulogne of France (1326–60), as listed during the last year of her life and after her death. A small gold brooch set with three emeralds and three clusters of three pearls had a dog and stag in the centre, no doubt a motif from the hunt. Another round brooch with a flat top displayed a spotted dog holding an inscribed scroll, as well as a large sapphire, eleven pearls, two diamonds and, on the circular part, probably round its rim, six clusters of four pearls each with a diamond encircled by six rubies between each pair of clusters. Clusters, this time of three pearls, recur on a small brooch with a lady holding a parrot in its centre. No French brooch of this type appears to survive, but attached to the mantle of the Christ Child of Sarnen in Switzerland (pl.116, fig.208) is a circular silver-gilt brooch, of c.1370, in which little silver-gilt figures of a lady gesturing to a dog are set on a ground of blue translucent enamel. The brooch has a typically German corded rim to which six leaves are attached by a stem. This may give some image of Queen Jeanne's brooches of this kind – the use of little figures applied in relief on a plain surface or on to a ground of enamel, found also on the little Monreale brooch, was perhaps much more widespread on fourteenth-century jewellery than surviving jewels and records would allow us to suppose.

Three of Queen Jeanne's brooches integrated stones or pearls into a figural motif: a small one had a sapphire held by two griffins of gold, another had a tree planted in a tub and two jays perched on it, pecking a pearl, but the third with a sapphire set on 'a round green bank' may have been a pendant rather than a brooch. Another brooch in the queen's keeping but which belonged to her eldest son the Duke of Normandy, later King Charles V, was of quatrefoil shape, and decorated, presumably on the lobes, with letters of gold, probably a motto or prophylactic inscription, and with four balas-rubies and four sapphires and eight clusters of three pearls each. In the centre was a woodwose, or wild man of the forest, with letters around him. In all these brooches there is little mention of enamel, though it presumably played some decorative role, and *émail en ronde bosse*, which was to decorate so many brooches from the later 1360s onwards, is conspicuous by its absence. They represent an intermediate stage between the playful brooches of the early part of the century and the poetical naturalism or romantic blazonry of devices that became such a feature of late fourteenth-century jewellery. Their motifs have parallels in the motifs that decorated French secular plate of the period, in which the wild man and the lady holding a bird were commonplaces of enamelled decoration.[20]

A number of brooches bought in the middle decades of the century by Edward, the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III of England, were by contrast enamelled, though their motifs are not specified. Between 1347 and 1349 he bought a gold brooch that was enamelled and set with diamonds and pearls,

three others that were enamelled and set, one with an oriental ruby, the other two with a diamond in the centre, as well as with other stones, and six that were enamelled and set with six stones and pearls. Only a few of the brooches he bought later, between 1352 and 1362, seem to have had what may be called imaginative figurations, rather than devices. One, bought in 1352 as a present for his sister Joan, was set with a figure of a noble lady. She seems to have been framed to either side of the brooch by an emerald and by a pinnacle surmounted by a pearl; above her head was a balas-ruby, encircled by three diamonds, and below her feet was a balas-ruby and close to this three clusters of three pearls, each cluster having a great emerald in its centre. On two others were figured episodes which seems to have originated in some mediaeval animal satire or fable, such as the *Roman de Renart*. They were small round brooches of gold, set with three pearls, on which goats of gold – presumably separately made and attached – were shown carrying a lion upside down from a staff. These were given by the Prince to two knights in his service, Sir John Chandos and Sir William Daubigny. A gold brooch, also bought in 1352, had a rose in the centre, with a crown above, and was set 'with a beast of two birds' – but it figured one of the Prince's devices.[21]

During the middle and third quarter of the fourteenth century many brooches seem to have been decorated with motifs which would probably strike us as heraldic in their design and vigorous formality. In 1358 Queen Beatriz of Portugal mentions in her will 'a little castle [*castellete*]' which was possibly a brooch in the form of the three-towered castle of the arms of Castile. It was a gift from her daughter Maria (d.1356) who married Alfonso XI of Castile in 1328, and was an appropriate present because Beatriz herself was the daughter of Sancho IV of Castile. It was set with two cameos cut with figures of lions, one white, one *tenado* (tawny?), which were encircled with small pearls and precious stones, while at the top was a single larger pearl. Other brooches displayed devices, which were to become ever more fashionable and popular as the century advanced. We shall therefore discuss them in more detail when we come to treat of International Gothic brooches and of the badge. A brooch made in 1359 by Hannequin, a great court goldsmith 'dwelling in London' for the captive King Jean of France had a griffin in the centre, perhaps as a gesture of courtesy to his host Edward III. For the griffin was a device of Edward, who bore it on his private seal and had 'a great brooch with a griffin and an elephant set with thirteen diamonds and fifty-four pearls' and three other brooches each with a griffin and each set with thirteen diamonds and thirty-two pearls. The gold for Jean's brooch cost 4s 6d, the fashion 30s, a rare glimpse of the proportionate expense of workmanship to material in the pricing of such objects.[22]

The brooches pledged by the boy-king Richard II in 1379 included several with devices and several of princely or other symbolism; as he was only eleven or twelve they can hardly have been made for him, but must have belonged to his father

the Black Prince or to his mother Johanna, the Fair Maid of Kent, or to his grandfather Edward III. They included a great brooch and three smaller ones each having a griffin in the middle which had presumably belonged to Edward III. Two were decorated with white harts in the middle, with rubies set on the shoulders, and three others with the same motif, also set with rubies. The badge of the white hart, which became Richard's own, had in fact been borne by Johanna his mother, and the brooches were presumably once hers. A large brooch was decorated with four wild boars 'of azure' and five others had white dogs (probably leverets) with rubies on the shoulder. The references to motifs coloured white suggests that they were enamelled in *émail en ronde bosse*; other evidence, as we shall see, suggests that this had become a common goldsmith's technique in the London of the 1370s.[23]

The swan was the device of the Counts of Flanders, who claimed descent from the Knight of the Swan; but, as the brooch 'with thereon one swan upstanding' which Countess Margaretha of Holland acquired in 1372 was bought from Zegher 'the merchant of Hague', there must be some doubt as to whether the motif was a badge or purely ornamental. Again among the jewels of Jeanne, Duchess of Brittany, pledged by her husband Jean IV to Richard Lyons, a vintner of London, and restored to her by decree of Edward III in 1376 were several gold brooches decorated with motifs of this kind. Two bore a white griffin, again presumably enamelled in *émail en ronde bosse*; one of these was set with a balas-ruby on its shoulder – plainly this was a favourite spot for setting a stone in an enamelled figure of a beast – and was encircled by clusters of six sapphires and six balas-rubies and by twelve clusters of pearls and diamonds. A third brooch, set with a great sapphire, had a griffin of plain gold in the centre, shown standing (rampant?) and encircled by sapphires, balas-rubies, pearls and diamonds. If not borne for symbolic or decorative qualities Jeanne's griffin brooches may have been worn by the Duke and Duchess of Brittany to blazon their close ties, personal and political, with the English court, since they figured a device that had been adopted by Edward. They illustrate in fact a difficulty to which we shall recur, how to distinguish when a motif that was in general currency is used as a personal device, and when for its universal symbolic value. Two other brooches bore a gold lion, with above a surround of pearls and diamonds and balas-rubies and a sapphire set beneath it. Another had St George, the favourite chivalric saint of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in its centre, encircled once again with sapphires, balas-rubies, pearls and diamonds. In the newer, more romantic taste of the 1360s was the duchess's great gold *nouche* of a white stag in a park, 'powdered with little stones [*poudre de pareye*]' and set with balas-rubies, sapphires, pearls and diamonds. Finally she had a small cluster brooch, which was set with a balas-ruby in the centre, a cluster of three sapphires and another of three pearls, and a rim of thirty-six pearls.[24]

Louis of Anjou's gold brooches, when inventoried in 1379–80,

offer as always the clearest picture of the design and techniques of brooches in the 1370s, just before the full advent of romantic naturalism. Their taste is purest fourteenth-century Gothic. Two are described as large; one of them was octagonal, with a border of openwork branches and foliage running round it, set with small beads, enamelled black. In each of its corners a diamond hung down in a long setting, and the centre was set with seven oriental rubies, three balas-rubies, four diamonds, twenty-nine cut sapphires and six pearls. The back was engraved with fleur-de-lis, and the whole brooch was described by Louis, the greatest connoisseur of goldsmith's work, of his day, 'as very subtly and sharply worked and with very great pains' though one of the diamonds is censured as 'rather crudely cut and with unsquared facets'. The other large brooch was merely an assemblage of pearls and precious stones, so much so that exceptionally a price is given for every one of them with no attention paid to the design, only to the shape and weight of the stones. With Louis's middle-sized gold brooches we return to the world of art. All were fastened by a pin and hasp. One was shaped as a circular medallion with four borders; its outer border was engraved with branches on a matted ground; another border was enamelled black, with the posy *Cuer de vray ami Doit avoir mercy* (A true lover's heart ought to have mercy) reserved in gold letters, with gold rosettes between the words. Inside the circle were two nude angels, their loins covered with a cloth of gold, singing from an open book inscribed with the musical notes of the *Alleluia*, which they held jointly. Above and below were hawthorn stems, and a great gold collet riveted to the book held a fair sapphire in four claws. The borders were set with four balas-rubies, also in claw settings, and four clusters of pearls – each encircling a diamond.

Another of Louis of Anjou's middle-sized brooches was very like this first one, not least in that it too bore a motto, or rather a posy: *c'est pour le mieulz bien me doit plaire* (It's for the best: well may it please me). Its principal motif was not anything that might be expected from this sentiment, for it figured a mantled St Michael spearing the Devil in the form of a dragon. Another two brooches were shaped as sexfoils with a pointed lobe enamelled green between each of their semicircles. These lobes were richly decorated with foliage applied in three layers: the bottom layer the biggest, the second smaller, the third smallest of all. All this leaf-work was enriched with engraving and the central boss of the brooch was also engraved with a sun. To the centre of this was riveted a high collet which on one brooch held a heart-shaped ruby, on the other a sapphire. Each of the lobes was set with a pearl, and elsewhere on the brooch there were three sapphires and three balas-rubies besides. One of the two remaining middle-sized brooches was a strikingly architectural design. Again in form it was a sexfoil, whose outer lobes were decorated with foliage and other motifs in two alternating designs. The inner motif of the brooch was a sexfoil rosette with pointed lobes, defined by a raised moulded border. Round its outer edge ran a line of intersecting roundels

enamelled black and green, with inscriptions reserved in gold, forming a circular frame which was enclosed on the outer side by elaborate architectural decoration. The centre was pierced with a great medallion filled with circular windows in openwork tracery and set with a ruby in a high claw setting, encircled by other stones. The back of the brooch was another great medallion filled with window tracery 'like a church', in a border formed by a rosette with a raised rim running round the edge over a ground of green enamel.

Of the small gold brooches one was also architectural in design. It was circular, with a cresting round the edge, and an inner border of seventy small pearls, arranged in pairs. In the centre, in a crested setting, was a large antique cameo with several figures, set on an openwork medallion of tracery resting on a ground of green enamel, encircled by fifty-eight tiny emeralds. Another small brooch also had a pattern of circular tracery, to which were riveted four high collets set with a small balas-ruby, with in the centre a large octagonal collet, to each of whose sides was attached a half-figure of a queen holding a collet set with a tiny emerald, while the octagonal collet itself contained a sapphire. Louis's other small gold brooch was shaped like an upturned cross, with foliage set with pearls on each of the ends, and foliated branches, also jewelled, protruding from the two lower inner corners. The horizontal arm was enamelled with a green bank, spotted with white and red and with flowers in relief above it, enamelled in *rouge cler*. Towards either end of the cross a spray of foliage rose from this bank above the arm, and to each of these sprays was riveted a scroll with an inscription in little letters. The crossing was enamelled blue with white flowers which had red centres; to either side of it was a figure, one of a man pointing upwards, the other of a woman playing the *vielle*, both in relief. Above rose a sort of hollowed arch topped by turrets, inside which were two half-length figures of men, one in armour, one holding a stick which was figured in relief.[25]

The Gothic brooch changed in aspect and design during the later fourteenth century. It is plain from documents that, until the third quarter of the fourteenth century, most richer brooches were jewelled either as cluster brooches or in other fashions, with only a few displaying figural motifs. Thus of the sixteen or so brooches left by Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France in 1328 only four were figured, the rest were cluster brooches and letter brooches. Again most of the brooches bought by Edward the Black Prince between 1347 and 1362 were jewelled rather than decorated with motifs. In 1352, for instance, he bought a gold brooch set with three balas-rubies and an emerald as a present for his mother, Queen Philippa, while for his sister Isabel he bought a brooch set at the top with a great ruby and two small emeralds and at the bottom with a great emerald and two small rubies, with at the sides two diamonds and in the centre three clusters of two pearls and two diamonds. Three little brooches bought at the same time were all three of a single pattern, half-moon or trefoil-shaped, and set with pearls and stones. Later, in 1359 he bought what was evidently a gold cluster brooch, set with a great diamond in the centre, encircled by pearls and stones. This is one of our earliest records of a jewel in which the diamond was the prime stone: the only preceding mention as we saw was of a brooch set with diamonds in the centre that in 1216 belonged to King John.[1]

Even after the great increase in the use of figural motifs which can be documented from the later 1360s, cluster brooches of a central stone surrounded by other stones and pearls continued to be extremely popular. We know something of the designs of cluster brooches from the 1360s and 1370s. Lozenge-shaped and square-shaped brooches, already worn in the thirteenth century, now became newly popular variations of the round cluster brooch – it will be remembered that the lozenge became a very fashionable motif in chaplets in the mid-fourteenth century. In 1370 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux left three gold lozenge brooches. One was set with a cameo of a white head, encircled by small rubies and emeralds, and by four large rubies and four large pearls. The two others, bought from Maistre Jehan Halequin, were matching – each had a central sapphire, and both were sewn with little rubies of Alexandria and tiny emeralds, but in one there were only four pearls while in the other there were eight. Jeanne's square cluster brooch had a central balas-ruby, encircled by four pearls and four emeralds.[2]

Of all these types, only the round cluster brooch appears to have remained very popular. The brooches left by Marguerite of Burgundy in 1405 still include a certain number of cluster brooches with a large central stone, usually a balas-ruby or sapphire, encircled by other stones and by pearls. A favourite combination for all such brooches, when circular, was a large coloured stone in the centre, in a ring of six pearls, or of three pearls and three stones. Thus a brooch bought by Henry V of England from a goldsmith named Marc Guisedone at Nantes in France was a cluster brooch of a balas-ruby encircled by six large pearls. There were other arrangements of stones. In 1360 Queen Jeanne de Boulogne had two important cluster brooches, one with a sapphire at the top, thirteen pearls on the circumference and in the middle a square green stone, and the other set in the centre with a cameo and two diamonds, and with four large balas-rubies arranged two above and two below and two large pearls, one to either side, besides two empty settings. A number of these brooches contained diamonds, but usually only two or so. The slow ascent of the diamond into equal prominence with the ruby, emerald and sapphire evidently accelerated towards the end of the century, for in 1376 Edward III received as a pledge a brooch of four rubies, twenty-five diamonds and twenty large pearls encircling a large sapphire that belonged to Raymond, lord of Mussendon.[3]

Although the later decades of the fourteenth century saw the rise of *émail en ronde bosse* as the court technique of enamelling, rich brooches continued to be made with decoration in translucent enamel. In Languedoc, far south of Paris, for instance, we find Bernard, Sieur d'Orbessan buying in 1388 a gold brooch (*nostla = nouche*) 'enamelled in clear enamel with two white lilies, and over the said lilies two angels hold a pierced sapphire with three large pearls'. Some late fourteenth-century brooches seem to anticipate the approaching taste of the fifteenth century for heavy jewelling, like a brooch bequeathed in 1400 by Lady Johanna Hesilrigg to the head of St William of York, 'a brooch [*monile*], in English nouche, of gold, with a sapphire in the centre, and a diamond above, and encircled with pearls and emeralds'. As we have already noted, enormous brooches of bold or complex abstract design now become much scarcer, though they do not disappear altogether, for they were still worn on great ceremonial occasions or as clasps for the mantle. In 1389, for instance, Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, brought with her from Milan as part of her dowry a great gold brooch, set with a large balas-ruby in the centre, with five other small balases, a large sapphire and twenty-two other sapphires, six diamonds, and fifty-four large pearls. It weighed two marks, five ounces and two and a half sterlings. Another, smaller, hexagonal brooch weighing four ounces and nine sterlings, was

set with four balas-rubies, three sapphires and twelve pearls. But these were only two of her thirteen brooches; all the others were small and figured. Plainly there was setting in a fashion for smaller brooches, and for the sort of miniature sculptural figure to which *émail en ronde bosse* lent its liveliness and purity of colour.[4]

Among the earliest tokens of the delicate and poetic naturalism of the new International Gothic age, with its feeling for the grace of animals and birds and for soft elegance of colour, is perhaps the brooch shaped as a peacock, with outspread tail, set with stones and pearls, which belonged to Charles, Duke of Normandy in 1363. Brooches and pendants (often difficult to distinguish in inventories) with the actual form of animals and birds continued to be worn. Among the jewels left by Queen Isabella of England in 1358 was a dragon (in mediaeval parlance a serpent) 'with a foot and wings of silver-gilt'. In 1376 Jeanne of Brittany had an ermine, the badge of Brittany, formed of one hundred and four pearls, with seven diamonds round its neck while in 1380 King Charles V of France, as the Duke of Normandy had now become, left a 'stag of pearls which has horns of dark blue enamel and a bell at its neck'.[5]

The new technique of *émail en ronde bosse* makes its earliest recorded appearance in jewellery during the 1360s, first of all in the form of white enamel. In 1368 Duke Philippe le Hardi bought from one of the greatest of French noblemen, Enguerrand VII, Sieur de Coucy, a crescent-shaped brooch, 'on which is enamelled a white stag', that was set with a large, fair ruby, two small rubies, four large diamonds and twelve round pearls. Earlier, in December 1367, he had paid Winant of Cologne, goldsmith of Paris, for a gold girdle with mounts of eagles and of enamelled white swans – the badge of Flanders – in preparation for his wedding to Marguerite of Flanders, and these references indicate that *émail en ronde bosse* was now becoming popular in court jewellery. The technique had spread to England by the early 1370s, for in 1373 John of Gaunt owned a gold eagle enamelled white, presumably made for him, since eagle brooches, as we shall see later, were insignia of princely or high feudal rank. And by the early 1380s brooches with figurated motifs enamelled white in *émail en ronde bosse* were plainly highly fashionable. In 1382 Duke Philippe gave as New Year's gifts a brooch of a lily enamelled white to his nephew the King, and to a nobleman one of a dog enamelled white. And from this time onwards brooches with motifs enamelled in white reappear constantly among the jewellery he bought.[6]

The taste and favourite motifs of Parisian brooches of the late 1370s and 1380s appear in these and other purchases Philippe made from the city's goldsmiths. In March 1381, when Charles VI came to visit his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy at Corbeil, Philippe made him a present of a gold brooch jewelled with a balas-ruby in the centre and with a sapphire and seven large pearls and figured with a lion volant (a winged lion) probably a device. As New Year's gifts for 1381 he bought a gold brooch shaped as a basket and set with precious stones and pearls, another

with a motif in the centre of a naked child riding a panther and a little angel above, set with four sapphires, two balas-rubies, and twenty-three pearls, a third decorated with a violet, and set with a sapphire and a pearl; in January he also paid for a fourth of a violet enamelled white and set with precious stones, and a fifth, again set with precious stones and pearls, of a leveret enamelled white and shown on a mat. For his New Year's gifts of 1383 he bought brooches which seem to have been both in an older and a newer taste. In the older taste were a gold panther, stag and griffin and two gold eagle brooches, one set with a balas-ruby and six large pearls. Probably in the new, more naturalistic taste were the brooches of a leveret and a doe, of a blue leveret and a bramble, of a falcon taking a gold heron, and of a rose set with a diamond – an early occurrence of what was to become one of the most popular motifs for brooches throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though not by any means the earliest, for in 1352 Edward the Black Prince bought a gold rose which he gave way to Master John de Gatesden. For New Year in 1384 Philippe gave Marguerite, his duchess, another gold brooch 'in the fashion of a rose', set in the centre with a balas-ruby and round the edge with five pearls and five flowerets enamelled blue. To his little daughter Marguerite he gave another rose brooch, again set with a balas-ruby and five pearls. To Madame de Bully he gave a brooch shaped like a crown with two little white pigeons above and set in the centre with a balas-ruby encircled by three large pearls and with two sapphires on the horns of the crown. His chamberlain Guy de La Trémoille received a gold brooch 'in the fashion of a sheep', a device of Duchess Marguerite which Philippe also used. To his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, he gave a brooch of a little angel, again set with a balas-ruby flanked by two pearls on either side and to his nephew King Charles VI a jewelled gold brooch of two gerfalcons.

From his purchases made during 1384 as New Year's gifts for 1385 we can divine an emphasis in Parisian jewellery on a sculptural or figured motif, as often as not enamelled, rather than on heavy jewelling, as the principal element of design. Most of them were bought from the Parisian goldsmith Pierret Remon. One was in the fashion of a white lady, another in the fashion of a lady in clear red enamel (*rouge cler*) holding a squirrel, a third 'in the fashion of another lady in *rouge cler* seated on a doe' set with a diamond. Others figured an eagle, a seraph and a siren. Yet others were in the form of 'two children [enamelled] white sitting in a garden', of a white stag set with sapphires, balas-rubies and pearls, of a gold eagle holding a white hare in its talons, on a ground enamelled in *rouge cler*, a white greyhound (leveret) standing on a green terrace with a balas-ruby in the middle and a rim of pearls, of a white pigeon, of a parrot and of a second seraph. As a present for his little nephew Charles de Berry he bought brooches of a little white dog, of a leveret enamelled white on a blue rock, of an eagle holding a white flower, of a sheep set with precious stones. He and his duchess bought other brooches of a white stag, one as their New Year's

gift to Jean, Duc de Berry, and of two white ostriches, garnished
with stones, probably as gifts to their Austrian relations to be,
*austruces* being a rebus for *Osteriche* (Austria, as spelt in Burgundian
documents).[7]

Some of these motifs, like the popinjay (*papeguay*, parrot)
and the stag or hart had long been traditional in jewellery and
Philippe's later purchases confirm that others too were either
traditional, or else motifs in a current repertory. Thus as gifts
made in 1386 and 1387 by Philippe or by members of his family
we read of brooches of a white lady, of a child riding a horse, of
a cherub, of a leveret (three times), of a white unicorn, of a
parrot 'enamelled its own proper colour', presumably green, of
a falcon, also enamelled its own proper colour, of a panther
enamelled white, of an enamelled eagle, of a lion volant, of a
lion enamelled white, of a dog enamelled white, and of a bird
enamelled white. Stones and pearls were mostly added purely
decoratively on and around these figures, the stones in *chatons*,
the pearls often on prongs. A sheep set with a balas-ruby and
two large pearls, a dog with a balas-ruby on his back and three
pearls on his neck, a squirrel with a balas-ruby in his side and a
pearl on his neck were among the brooches given to Cathérine
of Burgundy for her trousseau as Duchess of Austria in 1393.[8]

Most of these motifs — the falcon, the unicorn, the eagle, a
lady — recur in the brooches bought in 1387 from Herman
Roussel of Paris to be offered as gifts at the wedding of Philippe's
daughter Cathérine to Leopold of Austria, together with a sun
and a rose of gold and white. Brooches of animal heads, no doubt
inspired by heraldic crests, were also common: in 1386–7 the
duke bought gold brooches of a lion issuing from a cloud, of a
white lion's head, of a white reindeer head, of a white demi-hart.
Some motifs figured the chivalric cult of courtly love, like the
gold brooch with a God of Love, garnished with two large balas-
rubies and four large pearls that Philippe bought in 1388 for his
wife to give to their nephew Louis II of Anjou. Saints were not
common on princely brooches: the first of four mentions of a
figure of a saint in the Burgundian accounts occurs in 1385, when
the Duke bought a gold brooch bearing a figure of St Michael
enamelled white, and set with three balas-rubies, three round
pearls and a shield-shaped diamond. In 1388 he bought a second
gold brooch of a St Michael, set with a large balas-ruby, two
sapphires and three pearls, which he gave to Madame de Coucy.
The motif of St Michael, generally popular as a protector against
sudden death and of the soul after death, seems to have been a
favourite with the French royal house, but it was not only found
in France. There still survives in Stockholm a beautiful gold
brooch of St Michael of *c*.1400 which has been attributed to
Lübeck (fig.80). This was originally fastened by a pin (now
missing). It is shaped as a quatrefoil, with convex sides enclosing
a sunk central frame in which is the figure of St Michael, cast in
relief and applied, within a low crocketed frame. The sides are
decorated with a design of a crown in a framework of stylised
foliated stems surrounded by white enamel. At the base is a
hoop for the suspension of a ring, stone, pearl, or other motif.[9]
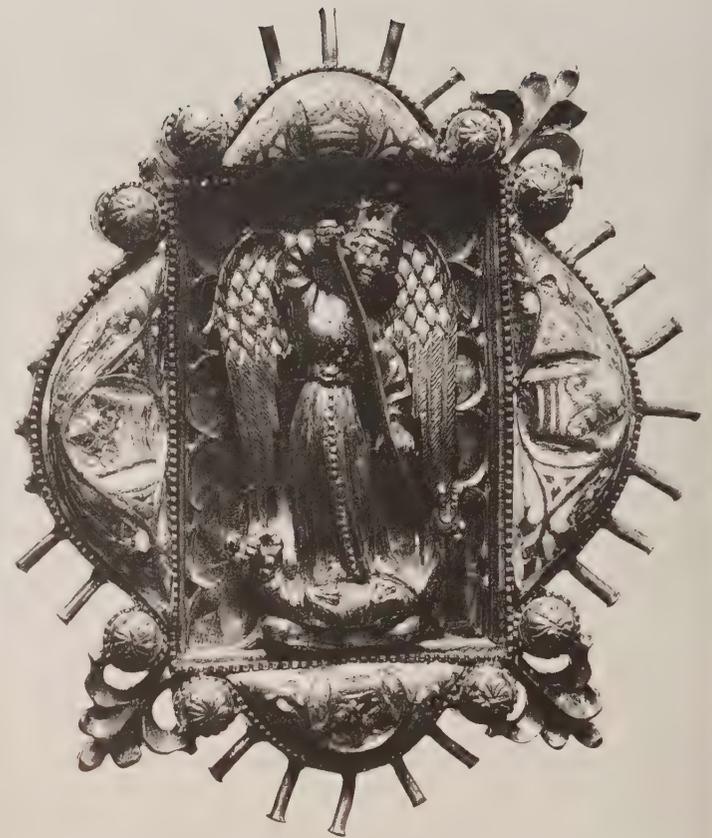


Fig. 80 Brooch. Gold. Height 5.4cm, width 4.5cm. Lübeck, *c*.1400.
Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

Another saint, St George, was popular among all who were
knights or aspired to knighthood — from king to esquire — as
the patron of chivalry and the man-at-arms. In 1389 Philippe's
Duchess Marguerite gave her son-in-law Louis de Bourbon a gold
brooch of St George set with three balas-rubies, a diamond, and
nine pearls. And to an English knight called John of Lancaster,
her husband Philippe gave in 1388 a second gold brooch with a
figure of St George, set with three balas-rubies, nine pearls, and
a diamond in the middle. Brooches of St George, the chivalric
saint, were of course especially suitable as presents to knights,
indeed to all who prided themselves on knighthood, as for
instance Edward III of England, who had an especial devotion
to the saint. It seems however that representations of saints
were not necessarily worn openly during much of the fourteenth
century, but were concealed within jewels whose outward
aspect was secular. In 1377, for instance, Sir Guichard d'Angle,
Earl of Huntingdon, was robbed of 'a gold brooch set with a
large sapphire surrounded by large pearls and with a figure of
St George inside the same brooch that when a man wanted to
see he could open the brooch'. This in itself testifies to the
increase in ostentation of piety and pride we find in the brooches
and pendants openly decorated with saints or devices that
become so popular from the late fourteenth century. An even
more popular motif was that of an angel, sometimes particularised

as a cherub or seraph, but more often simply called an *angelot*. The *Pietà*, so common on devotional tablets or pendants, as we shall see, also appeared on brooches: a silver-gilt Franco–Flemish shield-shaped brooch of *c*.1425 (fig.81) (now in the Bargello, Florence), shows the Risen Christ seated in a chair, showing the wounds in His hands. Above, a graceful angel holds the corded rim and displays the figure in a composition adapted from a common version of the Imago Pietatis.[10]

Some designs integrated stones into a figural composition. Figures of ladies and angels were very popular for this purpose. Thus at New Year in 1386 Philippe gave away a gold brooch set with three pearls with a little angel in the middle holding a large sapphire, and later that year he paid Pierre Remon for a gold brooch 'in the fashion of a lady holding a harp in one hand and in the other a diamond, garnished with two balas-rubies to either side of her and a sapphire below her feet and with six large pearls', and for a second brooch of a lady holding a diamond in one hand and a balas-ruby in the other, in a rim of five large pearls. Herman the German, probably the well-known Parisian goldsmith Herman Roussel, was paid a month later for another brooch of 'a lady seated on a blue cushion, holding a balas-ruby and with ten pearls around'. This brooch, like others of the Duke's purchases of brooches made about the same time, was probably rather novel in design. Jewels of this type evidently displayed an increasing trend to a refined pictorialism and an elegant naturalism of motif. As his New Year's gift for 1386 Philippe gave his wife Marguerite a brooch figuring a stag drowning in the water and two leverets, all three enamelled white. The stag was set in the middle with a balas-ruby and at the sides with three sapphires, and round its neck and that of the two dogs was hung a pearl, while elsewhere on the jewel were three clusters of three pearls each. Another brooch that he bought from Herman in 1386 had a green bird on a white flower and was set with three sapphires, a balas-ruby and three pearls.[11]

Two brooches Philippe bought in 1387 as New Year's gifts were shaped as pavilions: the larger one, for presentation to his daughter Cathérine, Duchess of Austria, was set with a balas-ruby and eleven large pearls, the smaller, given to his other daughter Bonne de Bourgogne, had the same jewels, but the pearls were smaller. The motif seems to have pleased the Duke, for in 1388 he gave as a christening present to a godson 'a gold brooch in the fashion of a pavilion with a lady inside'. In recognisably International Gothic taste was the gold brooch of a lady seated in an orchard, holding a large diamond and en-circled with two large balas-rubies, two large sapphires, eight large pearls in two clusters, and two other diamonds, that was his New Year's present to the King in 1390. Again, however, the motif was more stereotyped than we might suppose, for as a New Year's gift in 1393 he again gave away a gold brooch of a lady seated in an orchard. More traditional perhaps was his present in 1390 to his son of a gold brooch of a lady seated on a unicorn 'all enamelled', set with three balas-rubies, three large pearls and with a large sapphire in the centre, and probably



Fig. 81 Brooch. Silver-gilt. Height 5.3 cm, width 4.2 cm. French or Flemish, *c*.1425. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

more traditional in motif too was a gold brooch of a griffin riding on a doe, set with two balas-rubies, a sapphire and six pearls which was a gift made on one of his journeys in 1389.[12]

Another marked taste of the International Gothic age was its delight in elegant representations of flowers and birds and animals. We have already encountered instances of this but they seem to become commoner in jewellery from about 1390. The brooches Philippe bought as New Year's gifts for 1392 included three with motifs of flowers: one, given to Jean IV, Duke of Brittany, with a *fleur de plaisance* (?), one with a white rose, given to his chamberlain, and one with a white *violette de mars*, given to the Admiral of France. In many instances the bird or animal was perhaps a solitary motif decorating the brooch or else formed the brooch itself. This may well have been the case with the brooch of a crane, set with a balas-ruby in the centre and also with three sapphires and twelve pearls that Philippe gave as a gift in 1389, and again with the brooches of a lark, a partridge, a pheasant and a doe, all richly jewelled, that he bought as New Year's gifts in December 1389 from a Parisian *changeur*. More pictorial were the brooches of a white hart lying under a white flower, which he gave to another of his chamberlains as a New Year's gift for 1392, and of a white doe lying in a meadow that he gave in 1393 to the marshal of his household, again both richly jewelled. There was too a taste for what can only be called

motifs of a romantic heraldry or romantic blazonry of devices and mottoes, such as the little brooch of Charles VI's device of a flying stag, of gold set with a balas-ruby that he gave, as a New Year's gift in 1390 to Charles' daughter-in-law, Valentina Visconti, Madame de Touraine, or like the hand issuing from a cloud and holding a scroll that figured on a gold brooch he gave to a chamberlain in 1392. To the same taste belonged the two brooches with motifs of a dove, holding a scroll, enamelled in a sun, and of a deer enamelled white with a scroll inscribed *plus hault*, both owned by Philippe in 1389. Finally a taste for the exotic orient, which we shall find in the camel brooches of this or the next decade, appears already in 1388 in the little gold brooch 'with a Saracen, garnished with three sapphires, one balas-ruby and a large horned pearl' that he gave as a New Year's gift for 1389.[13]

The motifs of the brooches Philippe bought up to his death in 1404 seem to maintain the same rather characteristic and limited repertory. The figure of a white lady recurs often. Plainly her spell was a romantic one, as an image of grace and beauty and of a gentle power of subjugation over hearts. The cult of this motif, so essentially chivalric and amorous, appears in other forms of art, as in a drawing in the Louvre, where a lady is seated in a meadow, a falcon on her left wrist and her right hand holding a lap-dog. She wears a collar of flowers, and a great flower-shaped brooch is fastened to her shoulder, giving us perhaps some impression of the flower brooches bought by Philippe of Burgundy. As New Year's gifts in 1392 Philippe gave his nephew Charles VI a gold brooch of a white lady with several broom-cods – now Charles's favourite device – enamelled in the royal colours of white and green, and set with a large diamond, a large balas-ruby, a large sapphire and seven large pearls. To Louis, Duc de Bourbon, he also gave a brooch of a white lady, less richly jewelled, for it was set only with a balas-ruby, two sapphires, and six pearls and to his nephew Pierre de Navarre he gave another, with two rubies, a sapphire and five pearls. Two of the brooches he gave away at New Year in 1393 were also of a white lady. Some brooches of these decades in the treasuries of Essen and Osnabrück are ornamented with white ladies or ladies in other colours, and probably give a reasonably faithful image of the motif as used in the Parisian brooches of the day (pls.37, 38).

Two other brooches given away in 1393 suggest a fanciful variation on the theme: 'a green lady seated in a white flower', 'a lady in a white flower'. Indeed the gifts of 1393 provide some enlargement of the repertory of motifs though not beyond the range of taste already defined. There were brooches of 'a feathered bird', of 'a white lion lying in a park', of 'a white flower and two squirrels', of 'a unicorn enamelled white', 'a white hare spotted with black', of a hawthorn enamelled white. The dog, the stag, the popinjay and the rose remain constant motifs. In December 1392 the Duke gave a brooch of a white stag to the young Maréchal Boucicault, soon to become famous as one of the patterns of chivalry of the day, just before he set

off on a crusade to Prussia, then a proving-ground, as we know from Chaucer, for knights aspiring to display their chivalry in the service of God. In 1394 Philippe gave his two sons Anthoine and Philippe each a gold brooch with a motif of 'four gold feathers' – feathers were one of the devices of his nephew Charles VI – while to others he gave brooches of two white birds and of a marguerite which symbolised his wife. More exceptional was the brooch of 'a naked lady' given to a knight, but this no doubt was of a mediaeval sedateness of suggestion. To the officers of his wife's household he made presents of twenty-five little brooches 'in the fashion of purses [*gibecières*]'. For the New Year of 1395 he gave Charles VI a brooch of a tiger – another royal device – and to the Duc de Bourbon a brooch of a 'white hermit', while his chamberlain received one of a 'white angel'. For 1397 he gave away brooches of sheep, his own and his wife's device.[14]

Much the same repertory of motifs and much the same process of evolution of taste appear in English gold brooches. We already know the large brooch of gold with a great white stag in the centre, set among precious stones, figuring among royal jewels which had been pledged to John Philpot and other London merchants to raise money, and were redeemed in 1378 by Richard II. We know too the jewels that Richard pledged in 1382, a large brooch and three smaller ones, each with Edward III's device of a griffin in the centre, five brooches 'in the fashion of white dogs set on the shoulder with rubies', another large brooch, enamelled in blue with four boars, four brooches 'in the fashion of eagles', three 'in the fashion of white stags, set with rubies', and six 'in the fashion of keys'.[15]

Among the royal jewels of Edward III, of Richard II and his Queen Anne of Bohemia, of Joan, Duchess of York, of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester and of Sir John Golafre that were handed over to Henry IV in October 1400 were many richly jewelled brooches. Motifs include a child, a queen, a white doe, a white falcon on a perch, a white eagle with a falcon, an eagle seizing a doe, a griffin seizing a doe, a white angel holding a sapphire, a reindeer couchant on a green bank, with a sapphire set between its horns, a gold rose set with a balas-ruby and little pearls encircled by thirty-three other pearls, a white flower set with a heart-shaped sapphire and six little pearls, a round ring with a white eagle perched on the top of it, a white flower set with a balas-ruby in the centre of a great gold brooch whose spandrels were set with three sapphires, three clusters of pearls, and two diamonds, a gold child seated on a leopard, a young lady standing among white flowers and holding a parrot, a child of gold and a white doe, a young lady and a unicorn, a black eagle standing on a green terrace, a hart lying under a tree, with twenty-seven pearls hanging from the branches and from its horns, and a maiden seated in a sun. Of these, the brooches with a white falcon certainly belonged to the Duchess of York, whose husband's device it had been, while the eagle and griffin brooches probably belonged to Edward III or Richard II.[16]

The brooches of a queen and of a white falcon were, so we

are told, large. Probably much smaller were the brooches of this kind worn by the knightly classes: in 1394 Sir Brian de Stapilton of Yorkshire left 'a nouche of gold enamelled blue, with a pelican in the middle'. Henry V had a small brooch of a gold stag, set with a balas-ruby in the middle and six pearls around the rim. And among the jewels confiscated from Thomas, Earl of Worcester in 1403 were a gold brooch of two eagles, set with a balas-ruby, three sapphires and three clusters of three pearls, another with a stag in the middle, set with a sapphire, two balas-rubies and three clusters of three pearls each, and a third, set with a balas-ruby and six pearls, of a moorhen standing on a green bank. The vogue for such brooches had also spread to Spain by the first half of the 1390s, for between 1393 and 1396 Joan I of Aragon sent his daughter Joana, Countess of Foix, as a New Year's gift 'a gold brooch with the device of an elephant enamelled white that stands in a meadow. It has a castle on its back, and at the top of the castle is a maiden enamelled white holding a bird in her hand. The said brooch has one balas-ruby, three sapphires, and six pearls.'[17]

Again some of these brooches evidently took the shape of the motif itself, without frame or mount. This was certainly the case with a number of brooches dating from the 1370s, like the gold brooch in the form of a stag's head set with a diamond that was pledged by Amadeo VI of Savoy in July 1378. Similarly among the jewels of Edward III and Richard II of England handed over in 1400 to Henry IV was 'a white helm of St George with a shield of mother-of-pearl: the helm set with a large sapphire and eight pearls'. By the 1390s many brooches of this kind were perhaps used as accessory ornaments, rather than for prominent display at neck or breast, perhaps instead on the hat or head-dress, a subject to which we will come shortly. In 1408 Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, had ornaments of a gold phoenix, with a hanging pearl, of a gold sling with a pearl inside, of a gold grasshopper enamelled green, of a little gold hen enamelled white, and of a gold oriole. And among the jewels bought by Amadeo VIII of Savoy from Thibaut du Bos, a goldsmith of Paris, to offer as New Year's gifts in 1415 were 'a gold wheel-barrow, enamelled blue and other colours', and twelve gold lambs, also enamelled, and each set with a diamond. But there is always the possibility, though unlikely, that these may have been pendants, rather than brooches. The British Museum's late fourteenth-century gold brooch (pl.39) figuring a pelican in her piety, is one of the most remarkable of known examples of this type of brooch. The bird, represented with bold naturalistic asymmetry, is actively posed standing astride a scroll, which is touched at either end by the tips of her wings and feet. In a high setting on her breast is a ruby, the focal point of the design, figuring her blood, which she is drawing for her children, symbolised by a small pelican perched on the left. In the centre of the scroll, which is inscribed with the mysterious letters *y m t h*, is set a high square collet holding a diamond; below are three dangling elements, probably settings for pearls. The jewel, with its refined realism of treatment of a favourite

mediaeval symbol of the Passion, is typical of the strange and beautiful union of elegant naturalism with poetic suggestiveness of allegory in late fourteenth-century art.[18]

These examples have largely been chosen from France and England, but the same taste in brooches prevailed in the princely courts of Northern Italy, always greatly influenced by the courtly and chivalric culture of France, even to the extent of using mottoes in French. As part of her dowry Valentina Visconti brought from Milan in 1389 a variety of small gold brooches. One was of a white hart with a scroll inscribed *qui dient plus hault*, set with four balas-rubies and four large pearls; another was 'of a half-hart [*demi-cerf*], enamelled white, with no pearls or stones', presumably a hart couped, as in a heraldic blazon. Two had the motif of a doe in the centre of a gold roundel. The same motif was repeated as a doe and a little doe in a third brooch set with two sapphires, a diamond, and three large pearls. Valentina also had brooches of birds and animals as so much favoured in France, and in the same half-symbolical, half-naturalistic taste. There was a brooch shaped as a pelican, enamelled white, set with a large ruby in her breast, figuring her piety, as in the British Museum brooch, and also with four large pearls; another small brooch of a turtle dove holding a scroll and sitting on a gold nest against a sun-burst — the turtle dove was an emblem of fidelity, particularly conjugal fidelity in love and was also a device of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Valentina's father. A third brooch of two little doves, another emblem of conjugal love, was set with a balas-ruby, a sapphire and three large pearls. One brooch of a castle was small, and set with three diamonds and pearls about the castle; other brooches displayed a lady playing a harp and a lady holding a large square balas-ruby, and was also set with a little sapphire and three large pearls. The brooch of a crown was probably crown-shaped; it was set with four balas-rubies, two diamonds and eleven pearls. The jewels given as part of her dowry to Elisabetta Visconti in January 1396 also included a brooch of a white stag, set with four balas-rubies and ten pearls.[19]

The constant recurrence in fourteenth-century brooches of a fixed repertory of motifs — a hart or stag, a lion, a griffin, a leveret, a unicorn, a parrot, a panther, a doe — prompts the question of their general symbolic significance. The lion, the griffin and the hart retained the associations of lordliness which had already made them symbols of a princely nature from an early date — certainly from the thirteenth century. The parrot and panther and his like were by contrast surely intended simply to amuse or delight the eye. Other motifs were undoubtedly devices, like the brooch of a sheep, given as we know by Philippe to his chamberlain in 1384, or the similar brooch of a sheep and a marguerite he gave to another chamberlain in 1392, or like the brooch of Charles VI's device of a flying stag (*cerf volant*), set with a ruby, which as we saw the same Duke bought in 1389 from a Parisian goldsmith to give to his new niece Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Touraine. We may suspect that this was also the case with the gold brooch 'in the

fashion of a sun on a rose enamelled white, garnished with a great balas-ruby, a sapphire and six large pearls', that he gave to his son-in-law Louis de Bourbon in 1393.[20]

Yet a difficulty is that the repertory of motifs seems always to have been limited, in keeping with the eternal tendency of the human imagination to work at any given period within a fixed vocabulary of style and ornament, so that the same motif can be used in jewellery purely decoratively and also be adopted by a great man and his descendants as a device. A bear was certainly the device of Jean de Berry, but not all brooches displaying bears had an association with him or were inspired by his device. In 1390, for instance, Philippe of Burgundy bought a gold brooch of 'a bear enamelled white' to give as a jousting prize, and in 1392 he gave another jewelled gold brooch of a bear to Philippe d'Artois, Count of Eu, as a New Year's gift.[21] In the case of the hart and doe and leveret and other animals and birds of the sort, it is possible that some form of general symbolism of the kind advocated in early mediaeval treatises on heraldry may have been associated with them. Thus the *Tractatus de Armis* of Johannes de Badio Aureo written *c.*1395 and the *De Studio Militari* of Nicholas Upton, written between 1444 and 1446, are among the earliest treatises to give mediaeval reasons why some of the animals and birds that appear on mediaeval jewels were also borne on coats of arms. These reasons in turn may explain why such creatures were popular motifs on brooches. The lion is the chief of beasts, and is the noblest and bravest of all animals, showing no fear, but loving those who treat it well. To bear it in arms signifies bravery, might, high courage, gentle birth and liberality. It was thus the perfect symbol of princely rule and chivalric ideals. The stag signifies prudence in war without rashness; the bear signifies fierceness and strength, the dog loyalty. The dragon, too, signifies strength and fierceness in battle, or greatness and high birth in the bearer; the leopard fierceness, the panther fierceness, but also gratitude for kindnesses received. The unicorn symbolises chastity. So much for four-footed beasts. The eagle is queen of birds, and is of princely generosity, dreaded by other birds of prey; the field of gold on which it is borne by the Emperor signifies temperateness and mercifulness of rule. The griffin signifies a strong man whose fighting spirit combines the nature of the eagle, which the griffin resembles in its head and talons, and that of the lion, which its hinder parts resemble. The swan may signify beauty of singing voice, but also beauty of body. The hawk signifies a warrior with even greater dexterity of mind than body; the falcon is the prince of noble hunting birds; the pelican a pattern of piety and self-sacrificing love.[22]

But we must beware of pushing such interpretations too far, for mediaeval writers were extraordinarily ready in advancing fantastic or rationalising explanations where no true explanations were known to them. And that something of this or a similar symbolism may have had an influence on the repeated use of certain motifs can only be a surmise; in the end all may have been no more than part of a vocabulary of ornament. But at times mediaeval choice of imagery was certainly influenced by genealogical beliefs or mysterious events. Swans were worn by descendants of the Swan Knight, the fabled ancestor of Godefroy de Bouillon, the leader of the First Crusade. The white swan was used by Philippe of Burgundy after his betrothal to Marguerite of Flanders because she was descended from the Swan Knight. Richard II's badge of a white hart with a gold collar, found on brooches distributed by him as a device, recalls the legend of a stag killed in the forest of Windsor close by Bagshot which had a gold collar round its neck with a French inscription claiming it was put there by Julius Caesar. Was Richard's stag an expression of rivalry with France? For a similar stag, also wearing a collar of copper-gilt put round its neck by Julius Caesar, was hunted down by Charles VI of France in 1380 in the forest of Senlis, and was, as we shall see, the origin of his device of a flying stag, wearing a gold crown round its neck.[23]

It is the vogue for badges and devices that swept the noble and princely classes of Europe in the fourteenth century, especially from the 1340s onwards, that makes it so difficult to establish whether the motifs of a number of later fourteenth and fifteenth-century brooches were merely fanciful or simply generic in their symbolism, or whether they had some significance for the owner or wearer as a badge or device. Personal emblems were contrived or chosen by the bearers themselves, or else by a poet or literary man to whom they turned for a pretty conceit. It was Petrarch himself who had devised in 1365 for Gian Galeazzo Visconti the device of a turtle-dove in a radiant sun with the motto *à mon droit* that we have seen figured on one of the brooches of his daughter, Valentina Visconti. Devices of this complex sort were almost always deliberately arcane in meaning, however everyday the symbols they sometimes employed, and often their true or full significance was known only to the bearer and inventor. Other devices were simply armorial, rather than personal. The ermine brooch or pendant restored in 1376 to Jeanne, Duchess of Brittany, by Edward III was a motif of this kind, for the ermine was the badge of Brittany. We have seen, too, that a number of English fourteenth-century royal brooches bore the griffin device of Edward.[24]

A number of the brooches inventoried after the death of Charles V of France in 1379 were also heraldic or semi-heraldic in design – for instance a gold brooch of a griffin, another of a grotesque beast with a head-dress and a stag's body, a small gold brooch shaped as a lily, another shaped as a crown, a large brooch of a crescent of four rubies and a balas-ruby held by two hands, and set with four more balases, four diamonds, and twenty-eight large pearls. Marie, his little dead daughter, had a gold lily too, but charmingly, with a gold bell hanging from it. In 1372 John of Gaunt gave his sister-in-law Joan of Kent, Princess of Wales, as a New Year's gift 'a white leveret of gold with eight sapphires' and also took from his Wardrobe 'three white leverets on terraces of gold', presumably in order to give these too as presents. From other references in his accounts to leverets on buttons and plate it is plain that he used the motif as a device and indeed the

canon lawyer Adam of Usk records that in 1399 on his return to England John's son Henry, Duke of Lancaster wore a collar of leverets.[25]

As his device Jean de Berry used as we know a bear. His inventory of 1413 includes a brooch of a bear made at his command of 'enamel, or glass tinted emerald colour and mounted in gold in the fashion of a brooch' and on 29 August 1414 he sent a bear set with jewels valued at 3000 scudi to Niccoló d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara. Jean V, Duke of Brittany, had a bear which was a gift from Jean and which he exchanged with the Earl of Richmond about 1411 for a 'gold bear enamelled white, garnished with precious stones', possibly originally also a gift from Jean de Berry, to whom Jean of Brittany gave another bear. Probably a gold brooch of a bear enamelled white, and set at the neck with two pointed diamonds, one square, one faceted, a table-cut ruby and a large pendant pearl and on the forehead with another ruby, which appears in a Burgundian inventory of *c.*1430, had been a gift from Jean to his brother Philippe of Burgundy or to Philippe's son, Jean Sans Peur. It evidently was prized, for it is listed among the jewels of Mary of Burgundy in 1482 and was still in existence in 1500. About 1405–8 Valentina Visconti had a gold brooch or pendant of the Orléans device of a flail 'enamelled with a lady shooting at a bird'.[26]

Among the jewels that had belonged to his predecessors which were listed in 1399–1400 for Henry IV of England, were two brooches in the guise of the royal device of fetterlocks, set with two white leverets. These are unambiguous examples of brooches in the form of a device. But, if we read the list made at her death in 1405 of the many brooches owned by Marguerite, Duchess of Burgundy, we shall find it difficult in certain cases to decide whether the motif was purely ornamental or a device. There can be no doubt about the gold brooch garnished with thirteen pearls of a white hart lying on a bank, with a sapphire set in its head, and two balases, a sapphire, two clusters of eight pearls and two diamonds set in the bank, for this is described as 'being of the device of King Richard of England'. It figured Richard II's well-known device of a white hart wearing a gold crown round its neck which he had already adopted by 1386, when he pawned certain jewels 'in the fashion of white herts'. A later inventory of Marguerite's grandson Philippe, taken *c.*1430, lists two other 'brooches of a stag of the device of King Richard', both rather differently jewelled. One was set with twenty-two large pearls, two square balas-rubies, two sapphires, set to one side of the brooch, and a ruby, the other 'in the fashion of a stag', in other words reproducing the form of the animal, was set with a ruby, a balas-ruby, three sapphires, three large pearls 'and on the horns of the said stag are fourteen pearls, and round its neck hangs a gold chain'. This badge seems to have been worn by all Richard's family, allies and adherents: in 1398 for instance his uncle John of Gaunt bequeathed to Richard his best gold brooch of a stag, and to his daughter Philippa, Queen of Portugal, 'my second-best gold stag'. It was well-known in France to be Richard's device: in 1396 Philippe

of Burgundy gave a gold stag of Richard's device to John of Gaunt – perhaps one of those John bequeathed two years later. Gold brooches of a stag also appear among the jewels left in 1422 by Henry V, son of the Lancastrian rival who usurped Richard's throne. If they were not treasure confiscated from Richard and his adherents, they must have been made for the Lancastrian kings, perhaps with no overtone of device, for the motif was popular in itself as a princely symbol. Be this as it may, Henry had a gold stag set with a balas-ruby and another set with a sapphire, a balas-ruby and three pearls; these were probably shaped as stags, which may also have been the case with his 'little brooch [*nouche*] of a gold stag, set with a balas-ruby in the middle and with six pearls round its border'.[27]

A stag was a favourite choice for a princely device in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; we have already seen that in 1380 Charles VI, hunting in the forest of Senlis, ran down a stag which had a chain of gilt copper round its neck inscribed *Caesar hoc mihi donavit* (Caesar gave me this). Charles did not allow the stag to be killed, but from that time onwards wore at his neck a pendant of a winged stag crowned with gold and took stags with gold crowns round their necks as the supporters of his arms. The small white sheep enamelled white on some of Marguerite's gold brooches is known to have been a device which she and her husband used frequently, perhaps in allusion to the wool which was the grand fount of Flemish wealth, and it is found repeated on her collars. Even her square brooch of 'two sheep holding a wolf' may have contained an allusion to the same device. Her white bear leaning against a green tree set with nine pearls and holding a balas-ruby in his paws was probably a present from her brother-in-law Jean, Duc de Berry, and her brooches of a white leveret were too many not to be a device – and indeed her husband Duke Philippe bought brooches of a leveret in Paris in the 1380s. The brooch of a sun enamelled white, rising from a cloud, uses a device that had originally been used by Edward III of England, but was also adopted by Charles VI of France in 1384 on his marriage to Ysabeau de Bavière, and it is presumably in this French version that it figured among Marguerite's brooches. A white lion seated in a cornflower, set with two pointed diamonds, and on its breast with a ruby and six pearls, was again possibly a device. Her eight little brooches of a demi-lion on a green bank on a ground of mother-of-pearl may also have been a badge of some kind, whereas the six crescents enamelled red and blue of a large round gold brooch were probably heraldic. Others of her brooches made use of the broom-cod device of King Charles VI – we read of a green broom-cod, open to show a child inside and of a brooch of flowers of broom. Even more distinctly allusive to the royal blood of France were her fleur-de-lis brooches, one set of six 'of a fleur-de-lis enamelled white on a field of *rouge cler*' presumably being the equivalent of a set of buttons. English, by contrast, may have been her brooch of three ostrich-feathers, over a central balas-ruby, with below three clusters, each of three pearls and three sapphires.

Her brooches of turtle-doves were probably sentimental devices, signifying conjugal devotion, of which the turtle-dove was a symbol in the Middle Ages. Personal devices likewise were the many brooches with small white flowers as the principal motif, especially as one was enamelled in the French royal livery colours of white and green. A shield-shaped brooch, enamelled white and sewn with marguerites and pearls was equally plainly an elegant personal device.

Marguerite's other brooches give what is probably a fairly representative image of the fancy of her age. On the one hand we have brooches that seem simply to continue the tradition of a romantic bestiary mingled with observation of nature – brooches of 'a little bird, enamelled several colours, with a little ruby set in its breast and a sapphire on its back', of a white peacock, of a falcon holding a small sapphire, of a hound, of a white leopard with a pearl hanging at its neck, of squirrels set with little pearls, of a unicorn enamelled white and set with four balas-rubies, three clusters of four pearls, a diamond in the middle and seven other pearls, of a candlestick with a little lion holding up a mirror, of a thistle. One brooch of this kind seems to have been a *drôlerie:* it figured a white camel carrying two gold panniers, with a monkey seated on its back. Others belonged to a different taste, in which the liking for naturalism turns towards realism, sometimes poetically transfiguring a motif from everyday life, sometimes gently observing it. Of the more poetical perhaps were brooches of a shepherd enamelled white, holding in his hand a white flower set with a ruby, and of an orchard, also enamelled white. Of the more realistic perhaps were brooches of 'a shepherd's little hut, with a child at the door', of a 'child learning to walk', of a man weaving mats, with a ruby on his shoulder and a diamond in his hat. A heavier realism of fancy appeared in such conceits as the brooch in the shape of a beaver hat.

Little scenes of figures from chivalric and courtly romance were also represented on brooches, as on so many other mediaeval works of art. We have seen that in 1360 Queen Jeanne de Boulogne had a four-lobed brooch with a wild man in the centre and another of a lady holding a popinjay, and that in 1367 Yolande de Bar had a brooch of the Fountain of Youth (*Fontaine de Jouvence*). In 1400 the jewels of England also included brooches with a young lady among white flowers holding a popinjay as well as a young lady with a unicorn and another seated in a sun. Marguerite of Burgundy's only brooch of the kind seems to have been a white lady holding a bird on her wrist. So late as 1418 Charles VI of France still possessed a small gold brooch, described as 'of great workmanship', which showed a castle on a bank and a lady standing before it with two stags; at the top was a large pearl, and to either side a large ruby.

A number of brooches survive which give some impression of the aspect of all these brooches that were bought by Philippe and Marguerite of Burgundy either as gifts or for themselves. Some actually have the same or similar motifs, indicating that these too belonged to a general repertory, and were not rare or singular

fancies. Thus a brooch in the Carrand Collection, Florence, has a camel enamelled white lying on a bank (pl.41), while among the brooches in enamelled gold (pl.37) in the treasury of Essen Cathedral, in the Rhineland, we find the motifs of a white lady, a swan with outspread wings, a kid couchant, little white flowers, of a white doe couchant set with little pearls, of an eagle, displayed sinister, of a huntsman with a dog and hare. Another brooch formerly in the Gay Collection (untraced) has a child enamelled white on a blue flower and resembles one of the Essen brooches extraordinary closely in motif and treatment. The motif of a child also appears on a similar brooch in Berlin (Schlossmuseum). Another brooch in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, has a lady falconer, holding a lure in her right hand and a falcon by a cord in her left.[28]

The form of these and other brooches of this same period show the stylistic changes, all in favour of naturalism, brought about by the International Gothic taste for romantic realism. The circular medallion form continues to be used. In thirteen of the Essen brooches (pl.37), the edge is formed by a roll with an interlacing pattern in translucent green enamel. Within these are the enamelled motifs, but the stones, pearls and crinkled gold leaves that decorate them are raised on stalks to quite a height, varying from 6.5 to 13 mm ($\frac{1}{4}$–$\frac{1}{2}$ in). In another three of the Essen brooches the outline, rather than remaining a smooth circle, is enriched by a raised rim of pearls on outward-bending prongs. It is not quite certain from documents when such rims of free-standing pearls were introduced into jewellery, fretting the previously sharply defined linear outlines of form, so characteristic of Gothic art. But the middle of the fourteenth century is a probable date, since the smaller Verona brooch of *c.*1325-50 is already fretted with pearls (pl.26). The pendant worn by Duke Philippe the Bold of Burgundy in a portrait formerly at the Chartreuse of Champmol of which copies survive (pl.40) shows him wearing an oval pendant from his collar with an outer frame of rays of pearls. The use of outer rays of pearls becomes increasingly common in fifteenth-century brooches. A predominance of pearls is one of the characteristics of the International Gothic brooch in *émail en ronde bosse*, perhaps because their white iridiscence matches the the white of the enamel. Equally a favourite stone was the sapphire, perhaps because the ethereality of pearls and sapphires matches the romantic lightness of the style better than the richer colours of other precious stones. In certain brooches of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the frame is formed of a bough with lopped branches, still very severe and stylised, and without the organic exuberance of realism that will prevail during the later fifteenth century, especially in Germany. This lopped-bough motif was known as *bresseronné* or *brossonné* work in France, where it is documented as early as 1364. The frame of one of the Victoria and Albert Museum's late fourteenth-century Parisian reliquary pendants (cat.39, pl.131 *left*) is formed as a sort of paling of this lopped-bough work – providing yet another example of how motifs originally strictly formal and geometrical,

were translated during the decades around 1400 into naturalistic forms.[29]

In more innovative brooches this bough-frame is no longer circular, but bent to form a pointed oval, with the ends intersecting at the top. In both circular and oval types the outline is fretted or diversified by pearls, mounted singly or in clusters on prongs, or by broad late Gothic foliage, usually with undulating leaves, lightly tooled, and in both the stylistic consequence is the substitution of a natural form, implying something of the irregular freedom of nature, for a geometrical one. This more fanciful and pictorial treatment is continued in the motifs such brooches enclose. In some of the Essen brooches – the two seated ladies, the three of a swan, a stag and a doe, where a figural motif is represented against the background of a meadow, the theme is treated pictorially, with the meadow rising behind as a typically mediaeval high horizon, and the area above treated as a sunburst, whose rays in two of the brooches extend above the frame and contribute to the fretting of the outline. The background in such brooches is no longer conceived as a flat whole, but is pierced for a further effect of naturalism, and this effect is carried still further in the Cleveland gold brooch of a white lady (fig.82) which now forms the principal medallion of a necklace. In the larger Essen brooch (pl.37) of a white lady, the treatment is decidedly worldly and fashionable: she wears a blue hat with wide upturned rim and decorated with white flowers, and a peacock-coloured mantle. These motifs were evidently conventional to the style, for the lady falconer in the Berlin brooch is set against a sunburst in the upper half of the brooch, and is seated on a bank enamelled translucent-green, with white flowers.

In some of the Essen brooches with purely formal motifs, the central figure – a star, an eagle, a quatrefoil – is silhouetted within the open ring of the frame, or alternatively shown against a sunburst, as in the case of the couchant kid. In those of white flowers, a light green-enamelled sexfoil frame is inserted into the hollow of the gold ring, which no longer has the rigid outline of earlier Gothic sexfoils, but is a composition of flexibly interlacing stems. The flowers rise from its lobes around a more formal central motif of a rosette supporting a prong bearing a flower of pearls encircling a blue or mauve stone. On the two brooches of ladies and on that of the swan, thin stalks of gold rising like the stems of plants carry leaf-shaped motifs of gold which must have moved and shimmered with a delicate effect of scintillation when the brooch was worn. On the lower part of the robes of the two ladies are set quatrefoil flowers formed of a central red and blue stone encircled by four pearls, forming a jewelled motif in the centre of the brooch. Again in the lady falconer brooch the inside of the border is rimmed with six flowers, once enamelled, on prongs. Plainly brooches in this style offer a new naturalistic composition of planes, though their delicate intricacy of spatial treatment is still restrained by a very Gothic formality. Their three-dimensionality indeed is so marked a stylistic feature that we are probably justified, as



Fig. 82 Brooch. Element of a later necklace. Gold, enamel, pearls. Diameter 4.4cm. French, c.1400. Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio

we shall see, in regarding it as a German, or at least, a Rhenish interpretation of the style.

The complexity of design and technique of such brooches can be illustrated from the camel or dromedary brooch in the Carrand Collection (pl.41). It is of gold, set with a sapphire and pearls. The outer border is formed by a circle of gold, from which rise five pairs of pearls set on prongs, alternating with pairs of leaves that are enamelled green, each pair having a little pearl nested within it. The whole forms a high, embowering rim. The bottom of the circle is filled by a small, semi-circular plate, whose lower part is enamelled white, with maroon spots, and decorated with a sapphire set so as to rise above the surface. Above lies a white camel, or more accurately, a dromedary, enamelled white, the hairs being indicated by forms of delicately chiselled gold. He is encircled by a bower of white and blue flowers and green leaves that also rise above the surface, as in the Essen brooches, and form a kind of garland around his figure. Again as in the Essen brooches, the background is formed by a thin gold plate cut into a sunburst of rays. The whole, like so many of the brooches in this style, is a triumph of miniature poetic naturalism, in which the various elements of the jewel, pearls, enamelled leaves, sapphire, camel and bower are fused into a composition that is pictorial and yet stylised, gentle and yet sophisticated. Such brooches are among the most characteristic expressions of International Gothic art,

not least in their search for softness of effect and delicate purity of colour.[30]

This style, using *émail en ronde bosse* and other elegantly naturalistic techniques and forms, is generally called Franco–Burgundian, but there seems little justification for the term. With singularly few exceptions all the brooches bought by Philippe of Burgundy from the 1360s until his death in 1404 were bought in Paris, and the presumption must be that the style is Parisian, or at any rate quickly became a Parisian style. The trend of French Gothic art as the fourteenth century entered into its later decades was towards greater realism and naturalism, and these brooches fit logically into this evolution. But the goldsmiths of fourteenth-century Paris were a cosmo-politan group, and some of the most important of them, like Herman Roussel or l'Alemant, were in fact German. It is interesting and may be significant that among the earliest jewels decorated in *émail en ronde bosse* bought by Philippe le Hardi was a girdle of gold, of eagles and white swans enamelled 'that he commissioned from Vinant Winost of Cologne, gold-smith of Paris, in the early months of 1367 to wear at Pentecost [6 June]'. As the Essen brooches were probably made in Cologne or in the neighbouring Rhineland – one or two have inscriptions which are much abbreviated but seem not to be French – the style may have originated in that city, the greatest centre of goldsmiths' work of fourteenth-century Germany, and been carried to Paris. Alternatively of course it may have spread from Paris to Cologne. The costume of the white lady on the brooch mounted on modern chains as part of a necklace in the Cleveland Museum seems to date from the 1380s; it and the eleven other brooches mounted on the same necklace are the principal other early survivors of the style. The necklace has a provenance from the Low Countries, and a dealer's tradition claimed that it was a votive offering made to the Virgin of Louvain by Margaret of Brabant. Even if this is correct, a Parisian origin for the brooches would be more than possible. However, the style plainly did not remain a Parisian monopoly, for we find it in England in the early 1370s, in Spain by the 1390s, and there is, as we have seen, and will see again, a virtual certainty that it had possibly an origin and certainly a life of its own in the Imperial lands.[31]

One great change in the wearing of brooches must now be noted. During the late thirteenth and fourteenth century it is reasonably certain that most brooches were ordinarily worn at the neck either to fasten the dress or as clasps for the mantle, or else as ornaments on the breast. Jean de Meung, writing *c.*1280 in the *Roman de la Rose* attacks women for wearing, among other jewels, rich brooches at their necks and on their breasts:

Ces fremaus d'or à pierres fines

A vos cols et à vos poitrines

In the later fourteenth century they were worn in some numbers on the breast on such occasions as weddings. Chaucer says of his Griselda at her wedding:

A corone on hire heed they han ydressed

And sette hire ful of nowches grete and smale

It seems reasonable to suppose that originally brooches which clasped a cloak or dress were those called *fermaux* in French, and that those which were simply decorative and stuck into the cloth on the chest were the brooches called *affiques* (*affiches*) in French inventories, or if small, *affiquets* in the diminutive. The British Museum's little gold brooch (pl.42) set with a ruby and once with other stones which originally had an outline fretted with projecting pearls on prongs is probably an example of what the later fourteenth century would have called an *affiquet*.[1]

Brooches of this kind, stuck on the person, were probably even more commonly worn among the lower classes than among the great and noble. The thirteenth-century French poem *Le Chastiement des dames* advises a lady never to refuse a jewel offered as a present by a relation – whether a fair girdle or knife, purse, *affiche* or ring – and enquires whether she wants wimples, girdles, gold stuffs, rings and *affiches* from the fair of Troyes. In 1392 a suppliant for grace to the French king declares that he went 'to the place where it is usual in Saint-Quentin at Easter-tide to sell *affiches* and other jewels [i.e. ornaments] of lead and watched the said *affiches* and jewels being sold'. In 1480 the poet Martial de Paris bids adieu 'to the presents, trinkets, *affiquets* that we gave the ladies at New Year'. Finally we note that because the term *affiche* essentially means something affixed to a surface, it was sometimes used to mean mounts on a girdle or on some other object. The appearance in the middle decades of the fourteenth century of the hat as a usual article of headgear for princes and noblemen – they first became fashionable in France *c.*1350 – and of increasingly elaborate head-dresses for women, worn indoors as well as out

of doors, introduced new positions for brooches and other jewels. What seems at first sight to be a very early reference to a hat-badge occurs in the accounts for 1335 of the Dauphin Humbert of Vienne, when his treasurer records the purchase in Rome where the Dauphin was on pilgrimage, of a *bonetta* and payment 'for making a targe of silver-gilt that it was lacking'. Presumably this was some sort of roundel; but the difficulty in accepting it as a very early hat-badge is that *bonetta* means a saddle-bag as well as a bonnet.[2]

Again by 1356 ornaments were frequent enough on the hats of the burghers of the imperial city of Speyer, in the Upper Rhineland, for the city's sumptuary laws to forbid men to wear gold or enamels on their hats, but there must be some doubt whether the municipality did not have in mind hat-bands, rather than hat-badges. Even in the later fifteenth century in the

Fig. 83 Isabella of Portugal, anon. Oil on panel. Flemish, *c.*1430. Musée du Louvre, Paris

great Portuguese altar-piece of St Vincent by Nuno Gonçalves, probably painted c.1467–70, and now in the Lisbon Museum, a figure, perhaps Prince Fernando, wears a hat to whose hat-band is attached a small gold roundel. But in 1395 King Charles VI of France is recorded as wearing a fine scarlet toque decorated with a rich brooch or badge (affiquet), and most of the English kings of the fifteenth century from Henry VI onwards are shown in their portraits wearing jewels in their hats (pls.43, 44). And in 1396 Pierre Desrez describes a lady as wearing 'affiquets of fine gold richly burnished on her head'. In various forms the custom prevailed equally in France, the Burgundian lands, the Empire and Spain, as again we know from portraits. Sometimes indeed the hat was worn stuck full of brooches and badges, as in a German portrait of a young man of c.1500 possibly by a Tirolese master, which shows the hat stuck with a crowned Gothic M, a St Christopher, and two brooch-like jewels. We have occasional references to hat-jewels in literature. In 1485 the lively humanist cleric Paolo Santonino saw the great imperial nobleman Count Leonhard von Görz wearing on his hat of tawny wool 'a balas-ruby, of good size and great price, mounted in gold and set on the figure of a lamb, which ornament the Germans call a brooch'. Women put jewels on various parts of the head-dress: Isabel of Portugal (fig.83), who married Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430, wears a brooch stuck in the front of the long narrow cushion of brocade which rises to the summit of her hennin and falls behind as a rich veil of pearl-bordered brocade. A later Duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of York, in a portrait painted c.1480 (fig.154) wears a brooch of the letter B (for Burgundy) over a pearl drop on the broad rim of her hennin.[3]

In spite of this new fashion, hat-jewels are not often specified as such in fifteenth-century inventories. The reason for this can be deduced from Santonino; it is because they continued to be called by the generic names of brooches, affiquets, owches, or enseignes. Only in the Renaissance do they come to be distinguished as hat-badges, and to be elaborately figured with little sculptural figures or reliefs. Almost all those represented on earlier portraits are jewels of gold and precious stones, or else simply devices, like the gold chantepleure – her own device – that Marie de Cleves, Duchess of Orléans had made in 1455 for her brother Adolf of Cleves to wear in his hat. This is not to say that figurated hat-badges were never worn in the fifteenth century. In 1448, for example, the accounts of Valenciennes mention 'a gold badge in the fashion of a St John'. And in 1451 René of Anjou gave his court goldsmith Jean Nicolas an old écu from which to make a badge of the Apostle John, for whom René had an especial devotion, for wearing on his hat. Again Prince Henry of England owned in 1504 a hat-badge – 'a plate of gold for a hatt' – enamelled with a battle-scene, which had been given him by Lord Darcy. The use in documents of the general terms for brooches to describe ornaments intended to be worn in the hat, and the fact that there were no special designs for such ornaments, does mean however that we cannot always be certain whether the brooches of the fifteenth century we are now about to discuss were for wear on the breast or on the hat, or indeed in both places. The small ornaments known as affiquets in French inventories are as likely as not to have been worn on the hat and head-dress. But the term often means a trinket with a pin at the rear that could be stuck in various places as a badge or ornament, so that even here generalisation is dangerous. On a portrait of Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, which shows her as a girl and was therefore presumably painted c.1460–5, her hat-badge is a pendant of an oblong balas, set vertically on a vertical oval gold mount, and hung from three links of chain, the whole being pinned by a gold-headed pin to the head-dress.[4]

There is evidence from the fourteenth century that figures of saints were often worn stuck in the dress. The Yeoman in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales wears a silver figure of St Christopher on his chest no doubt to protect him on his pilgrimage – 'A Christofre on his breast of silver shone'. And just such a little late fourteenth-century badge or brooch of silver-gilt of St Christopher, measuring about 5cm. (2in.) high, was found in an excavation at Kingston-on-Thames and is now in the British Museum. It has a pin behind for fixing into a bonnet or garment.[5] A special variety of the hat-badge was the agraffe for a plume. These eventually became translations into jewellery of the real plumes that were worn by those of gentle, knightly or noble degree. The wearing of real plumes is mentioned in Germany – where hats decorated with feathers have proved an enduring fashion – in the thirteenth century. Ostrich plumes appeared there at the beginning of the fourteenth, and then pheasant feathers are recorded. Hats were originally worn only by German knights or those of higher degree (see fig.19 for Count Siboto von Falkenstein); only in the fourteenth century did they begin to be worn by burghers. The wearing of plumes naturally led to the introduction of ornamental modes of fixing them, and already in 1356 the sumptuary ordinances of Speyer were forbidding men not only to wear hats decorated with enamels and gold but also with feathers. As usual attempts to suppress the mode were doomed to failure.

According to a contemporary French chronicler the vogue for wearing a plume in the hat began in France in 1356. It was already current in the Balkans as well as in Central Europe, for in 1323 the Irish pilgrim Symon Symeonis (FitzSimon) says that the Slavs of Dalmatia 'use a white hat which is oblong and round; in its top nobles affix a feather'. The use of plumes quickly spread in France to even the humblest classes of knight and squire, even if in very modest form; in 1363, one of the four simple jewels left by Monin de Reulée, a bastard écuyer (squire) in Burgundian service was '1 ring of base silver, for fixing a plume in a felt hat'. The remaining three were two silk girdles, one mounted with little studs of base silver, the other with a buckle and mordant of base silver, and a silk chaplet embroidered with pearls. Far richer than Monin's plain poor ring was the 'gold pipe, for holding plumes on a hat, garnished with several

sapphires, balas-rubies and pearls' that his lord Philippe of Burgundy bought from a *changeur* of Paris in 1373.[6]

From the early simplicity of a gold sheath hat agraffes, with the usual evolution of so many mediaeval jewels, developed fantasy and elaboration of form. Thus in 1418 Charles VI of France had 'a gold brooch for holding three plumes, in the fashion of a crescent, with a fleur-de-lis enamelled above a sapphire, two balas-rubies and twenty-one pearls'. During the fifteenth century the design of such agraffes for holding plumes, normally stiff and formal, was sometimes invaded by the fashion for lopped-bough ornament; thus in 1454 the French royal accounts record a payment for a 'plume and for its foot in the fashion of a tree-trunk, with several roots'. The plume itself was sometimes simulated either by a textile, presumably stretched over a stiff base and mounted with jewels, or else wholly in precious metal. A hat-plume richly jewelled in the heaviest Burgundian taste, described in the inventory of Charles the Bold of c.1468, was 'covered with black velvet, garnished with two large shields of diamond, a great table diamond and seven large table balas-rubies, with two great round balas-rubies, three very large pearls, and 146 other good pearls'. A miniature of the gold plume set with gems and pearls, that was looted from Charles's tent by the Swiss after the disastrous battle of Grandson in 1476 gives some impression of the appearance of plumes that were wholly in precious metal (pl.45).[7]

Hat-plumes of gold, plain or jewelled, became a customary part of princely magnificence in the fifteenth century. Not only princes, but their privileged attendants also wore them. In 1434 Piedmont, the herald of Amadeo of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont and heir to the duchy, was fitted out with a gold plume. Similarly in 1471, a gold plume set with a little ruby was bought for a member of the household of Duke Amadeo IX of Savoy and a second plume of the same kind was bought the following year for Vauthier de Chignin, *écuyer* (equerry) of the stable to Duke Philibert. During the early 1470s the princes of the house of Savoy bought several rich gold plumes. As New Year's gifts for his little sons Philibert and Charles Duke Amadeo IX bought in 1471 from a goldsmith of Geneva two gold plumes, one set with a pelican executed in pearls, rubies and a diamond, the other with a dog, similarly executed in pearls and precious stones. From the pelican plume dangled in addition pendant pearls. In 1473 Amadeo's widow Yolande de France once more bought two gold plumes as New Year presents for Philibert and Charles, each set with four large diamonds, four large rubies and twenty pearls. Here again is another proof that the taste for heavy jewelling we are now to discuss was not exclusively Burgundian, but general to the fifteenth century. Finally the jewels of Duke Philip of Savoy included in 1497 a plume 'with four large pearls and a hog-backed diamond and a round balas-ruby at the bottom, and eight smaller pearls hanging from the said plume'.[8]

During the fifteenth century the princely passion for collecting precious stones, and increasing virtuosity in their cutting, led to the creation of jewels whose object was to display large and important stones of various kinds in close juxtaposition, rather than to incorporate them into a formal setting in which gold played an important role as a ground and contrast. Although cabochon stones were still prized, table-cut stones, pointed diamonds and faceted stones now figure much more prominently in jewels. And there are now many more references to pear-shaped pearls, which cannot have been unknown before, but which obviously became generally popular as the fashion for garnishing jewels with dangling pendants, light or heavy, spread and became general. The date of introduction of this fashion for heavy jewelling is not known, but we have seen that in 1380 one of the large brooches of Louis of Anjou was so much a pure assemblage of precious stones that the value, shape and weight of the stones are given. Nevertheless an entry like that in the c.1430 inventory of the jewels of Philippe the Good of Burgundy is wholly uncharacteristic of the fourteenth century: 'a gold brooch in which there is one large ruby weighing 35 karats'.[9]

In the North the vogue for such heavy jewelling seems to have come in before 1419, for a brooch that had belonged to Philippe's father, Jean Sans Peur, who died in that year, and which was inventoried c.1430 as 'the good large brooch of my late lord', in other words as his state brooch, was set with four good balas-rubies and three clusters of three pearls each, its richness being relieved by two small pendant *touffes*, probably the French royal device of broom-cods. Other early Burgundian brooches, inventoried c.1430, reveal the same taste. One, described as 'the brooch called the old brooch' was set with 'Monseigneur's large ruby', encircled by ten fine large pearls and two table-cut diamonds. Another, described as a large gold brooch, was set in the centre with a very large sapphire, three very large cabochon rubies and nine large pearls set around these great stones in three clusters. The fashion may have arisen independently in Italy, perhaps at the splendid and ostentatious court of the Visconti of Milan, who united aspirations to the hegemony of Italy with an anxiety to put themselves on an equal footing with the other princes of Europe, to which their upstart origins and illegal seizure of power did not of themselves entitle them. Hence their cultivation of alliances with Nothern princes of royal birth – Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Louis, Duke of Orléans – and their constant displays of magnificence, in jewels as well as in other forms of state. Certainly the dowry given in January 1396 to Elisabetta Visconti on her marriage to Ernst, Duke of Bavaria, includes jewels described as 'a sapphire, a balas-ruby, a diamond and a large pearl all mounted together', valued at 800 gold florins, 'two rubies set in gold', valued at 200 gold florins, and 'a sapphire and a diamond mounted in gold', valued at 100 gold florins.[10]

The passion of the great Valois princes – Jean de Berry, Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy – for single stones of great price must however have done much to stimulate the fashion in Northern Europe. Even Henry V of England had in 1422 a cinquefoil brooch of gold, described as 'made of balas-rubies

and garnished with a diamond and five pearls'. Although neither Jean Sans Peur, Philippe the Good or Charles the Bold were such prodigal spenders on jewellery as their progenitor Philippe le Hardi, they were all vain of the great stones they owned. The compiler of Duke Philippe the Good's inventory of jewels c.1430 speaks proudly of his rubies, including 'the largest balas-ruby of France'. During the fifteenth century individual stones or compositions of stones begin to acquire their own names or to suggest names for the jewels in which they were set: thus a great Burgundian brooch, *Les trois frères* (the Three Brothers) made before 1420 for Philippe the Good of Burgundy or for his father, consisted of three large, square, table-cut rubies, the Three Brothers proper, set round a large diamond pointed and faceted, and three large pearls (pl.46). In an inventory of c.1430 of Philippe's jewels, it is described as 'my lord's brooch'. This famous jewel, later described as a pendant, was sold to Edward VI in 1551, and was worn by King James I as a hat-badge – he is shown wearing it, for example, on his hat in the portrait of him now in the Pitti, Florence. It was later pawned by Charles I, then redeemed and finally sold in 1649. A brooch called *Le Bouton* (the button) was composed of a large cabochon balas-ruby, a large pointed diamond and a large round pearl. In 1487 Marie, Duchess of Orléans, had a balas-ruby named *Le Treille* (the trellis) and a jewel of a faceted diamond, two rubies and a large pearl, 'the whole together named *Le Loirre* [the lure]'.[11]

Most of the gold brooches Philippe the Good of Burgundy gave to his niece Agnes of Cleves on her wedding in 1439 to Charles, Prince of Viana and heir to the throne of Navarre, were of this heavily jewelled kind – one was set with a great square table-cut ruby, a large pointed diamond with four facets and with six large pearls, another with a ruby heart, a faceted diamond and a large pearl, a third with a small ruby, a pointed diamond and a pearl with a dangling chain 'made of leaves'. A variation of such designs was to set a large stone in a framework studded with small stones and pearls. As already noted, contrary to what is so often supposed, this taste for jewels massively set with stones was far from being purely Burgundian. In 1442 the sole brooch, valued at 1200 florins, of Eléanore of Navarre, Countess of Foix, was of gold, set with a large diamond, a large table balas-ruby and three large pearls. The English Lord Fanhope (d.1443) owned two more or less matching brooches of gold, set with three great balas-rubies and in the centre with a 'grete perle made in the manner of a cocle [i.e. shell]'. From each of them hung three little gold chains to which were attached three great pearls; the more important of the two was distinguished only by a great sapphire. After Fanhope's death Henry VI bought the pair from his executors. Simpler were two brooches bequeathed to her son by Isabell Despencer, Countess of Warwick in 1439, described as 'myn oyche with my grete diamond, and my Noych with my Baleys'. In 1488 the principal brooch of James III of Scotland was 'the grete diamant with the diamantis sett about it'. In 1490 François II of Brittany had a square gold brooch, with a shield-shaped

diamond in the centre encircled with four small rubies and a pearl of price in each of its corners.[12]

The taste for composing ornamental motifs, almost invariably flowers, of pieces of diamond still continued; among the brooches Duke Philippe sent with Agnes of Cleves in 1439 was one set in the middle with a flower of five pieces of diamond, with a ruby above, and two little chains below 'garnished with four large pearls and foliage of gold'. Charles the Bold had a number of brooches set with diamond flowers composed of four, five or six pieces of diamond. Two small brooches inventoried in 1482 among the jewels of Charles's daughter Mary of Burgundy give a very clear idea of some of the motifs composed by assembling pieces of diamond. One had a rose formed of twelve pieces in the centre and was set around its edge with three pointed diamonds, two cabochon rubies and an emerald. From it hung three pendants, one set with a lozenge-cut faceted diamond, and the others with pear-shaped pearls. The other little brooch was shaped like a windmill – a motif we have already encountered in children's jewellery. It had eight little table diamonds set round its edges, with little ornamental pieces of gold separating each pair; as its central motif it again had a diamond rose, this time of fifteen pieces.[13]

In more and more brooches motifs continued to be figured simply as themselves, without an enclosing frame. Thus in 1482 the jewels of Mary of Burgundy included a brooch that was probably much earlier, for it was in the form of a tress, and so may have been an Austrian jewel, using the device of Albrecht of Austria's Order of the Tress (founded between 1365 and 1386). Its jewelling indicates that it was a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century piece, for it was set with a huge shield-shaped diamond, a fine table-cut balas-ruby and great pear-shaped pearl, and was also decorated on its edges with three rosettes enamelled white. But by far the favourite-shaped form was a flower of some kind, usually a rose. At his death in 1422 Henry V of England left 'a gold brooch, fashioned as a rose, garnished with a sapphire'. Again c.1430 Philippe the Good of Burgundy had two gold brooches 'in the form of a rose', one set with a cabochon balas-ruby encircled by six large round pearls, the other with a large balas-ruby encircled by six others. Two of the three gold brooches pledged to Sir John Fastolf by Richard, Duke of York, in 1452 were of this kind: 'a nowche of gold with a greet poynted diamand sette up on a roose enameled white' and a 'floure of gold, garnysshed with ij rubyes, a diamande, and iij hanging peerles'. Rose jewels were also worn in Spain: in 1453 Juan II of Castile had a 'round jewel enamelled white and green and with a great balas-ruby set in it, which jewel is in the fashion of a rose'.[14]

Sometimes the motif was elegantly varied, nor in spite of their popularity were the flowers always roses. A gold brooch inventoried c.1430 among the jewels of Philippe the Good of Burgundy was of two flowers, one of plain gold, the other enamelled white, garnished with three pearls and a long ruby in the middle, and a square pointed diamond above. In 1469

Marguerite de Bretagne, Duchess of Brittany, also had two flower brooches. One was a flower enamelled grey and set with a little ruby in the centre, the other, alluding to her name, was a gold marguerite set with a large pointed diamond, and hung with two dangling pearls. This custom of matching a flower to a name was also followed by René of Anjou in 1477, when he commissioned as a New Year's gift for his granddaughter Marguerite of Lorraine a marguerite of rubies and emeralds. To Madame de Beauveau, a lady of the court, he gave a pansy of rubies and diamonds with an emerald stem – a pansy was one of the devices of René, and so his choice was not dictated purely by admiration for the beauty of the flower. Both jewels, significantly, were commissioned by René himself, who himself fixed their price with the goldsmith.[15]

It so happens we can form some idea of the appearance of this sort of jewel from a miniature of a famous Burgundian jewel, the White Rose jewel (pl.72), in which a balas-ruby is set in a double rose enamelled white, and from the one surviving rose jewel of the Middle Ages, at All Souls College, Oxford (pl.73). It has been suggested that the Oxford White Rose jewel is English – the white rose was the Yorkist badge – and that it was given to Edward IV of England by Charles the Bold when he married Edward's sister Margaret in 1469. And indeed one of the two brooches pledged by Richard, Duke of York to Sir John Fastolf was a White Rose jewel in the sense of a device; in another document it is described c.1466 as 'an exceedingly rich brooch called in English "a White Rose", with a great precious stone called "a poynted dyamant"'. But the rose motif is found in France in the 1380s, as we have seen, and in England by 1422. In 1468 Charles the Bold had a number of similar jewels, such as a gold rose enamelled white set with a flower composed of five pieces of diamond, and with a large pearl at the top and another similar rose set with a large table diamond and with two large, pear-shaped pearls dangling from it 'by a little chain' as pendants.[16]

There is in fact some evidence that a flower form was now a widely used conventional motif for setting off a prized stone. For instance, the jewels of Mary of Burgundy, inventoried at her death in 1482, included 'six table diamonds, large and small, set on pansies enamelled white and red'. Again, in 1489 the Turin goldsmith Louis de Solier enamelled a flower white 'to mount the great balas-ruby of Madame [Yolande, Duchess of Savoy – *mettre en œuvre le grand ballet de Madame*]'. If so, this is some explanation why rose brooches and pendants were so popular a form. For instance, Louis of Savoy bought in 1445 from a merchant in Geneva a little gold rose enamelled white set with a shield-shaped diamond, for the great sum of 100 gold écus. Again, in 1450 his father Duke Amadeo bought as New Year's gifts from another goldsmith of Geneva a gold rose set with a lozenge-cut diamond and a large ruby for his Duchess, and three gold roses each set with a diamond for his daughter-in-law – the distinction shows that they must have been specially commissioned. There may, of course, have been other reasons

for the popularity of this particular motif. The rose was, after all, the favourite flower of the mediaeval garden, and generations of poets and writers had charged it with amorous and mystical symbolism, so it is not surprising if we find it used as an ornament as well as a device. Even so late as 1498 Anne, Lady Scrope of Bolton left her stepson Henry Scrope 'a white roose wth a baleys', but here there may really have been a Yorkist association, for she seems to have been in high favour with Edward IV. However, in 1493 the goldsmith Louis de Solier made for Violante of Savoy a flower enamelled in white and *rouge cler* and set with a diamond flower in the centre and another, this time a six-petalled flower, apparently a double rose, enamelled in *rouge cler*, white and black, and again set with a diamond flower. Accordingly, the probability is that roses and other flowers had become, as we have just suggested, favoured conventional settings for the decorative display of a prized precious stone.[17]

The liking for naturalistic motifs, already an International Gothic taste, became even more pronounced in the fifteenth century. Thus by c.1430 Philippe the Good of Burgundy possessed 'a gold brooch made of foliage set with a ruby and seven large pearls'. Several descriptions of jewels illustrate the importance in fifteenth-century ornamental design of the dry-branch or stump, with lopped stems, an importance that lasted at least until the early years of the sixteenth century. In the form of a tree or branch – another obvious design by which to show off stones or integrate them gracefully as realistic points of colour in an elegantly naturalistic design – it seems to have become a popular motif from the early fifteenth century. In 1446 François I of Brittany gave as a New Year's gift 'a stock [*escot*] of gold, set with a ruby, diamond and a large pearl and other precious stones'. It was also found without precious stones. In 1438, for instance, Perrin Rollin, ducal goldsmith at Geneva, supplied Philippe of Savoy, Count of Geneva, with two gold branches laden with violets as New Year gifts for his little nephews Amé and Louis.[18]

But more typical of princely jewellery was a brooch shaped as a rosebush and set with a ruby, a large diamond, three little diamonds, a balas-ruby and twelve pearls which was supplied in 1434 to Amadeo, Prince of Piedmont, by Crispin Boulard, a goldsmith of Chambéry who was court goldsmith to Philippe, Count of Geneva, the youngest son of Duke Amadeo VIII. The general fashion, at any rate throughout the French world, for brooches of this kind is proved by the appearance among the New Year's gifts made in 1446 by François I of Brittany of 'two gold roses, one enamelled blue, the other white, on two gold branches [*escots*], each garnished with a ruby, a diamond and a pearl'. The roses, it should be said, were probably as often as not what we should call rosettes, rather than naturalistically rendered flowers. The design remained popular throughout the century: in 1482, for instance, Mary of Burgundy left 'a great brooch made of a rose branch', set with two pointed diamonds and two hog-back (*dos d'asnes*) diamonds flanking a shield-shaped

diamond. Between these two groups of diamonds were four rosettes, each made of five pieces of ruby, set on rosettes enamelled white. Below dangled three pendants, each with a pear-shaped pearl. Again intended as a display for precious stones was a gold tree bearing two rose-buds, one made of diamonds, the other of rubies, and with six diamonds and three large pearls on its roots which was bought by Duchess Yolande of Savoy in 1474 for presentation to an ambassador from Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Sometimes naturalism was modified by the introduction of a device. Thus falcons were the device of Amadeo VIII of Savoy and a brooch intended as a gift to his daughter Marie of Savoy, wife of Filippo-Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, is described in 1445 as a tree of enamelled gold, with a man standing beside it holding a monkey and three falcons.[19]

We find the same motifs still popular at the end of the century. In 1488 François II of Brittany had a brooch shaped as a gold branch, enamelled green and set with a table diamond, eight rubies, five large pearls of price, and six small pearls dangling from five hanging buds (*boutonets*). Another brooch used the motif of a rose enamelled white, but figured it on a branch; it was set with a ruby and two pearls, and had a roundel suspended from it and three tufts hanging from the roundel. The rose motif was repeated even more elaborately and naturalistically in his brooch of a double gold rose, enamelled clear red and set with an oblong diamond, with a calyx that was enamelled green. It grew from a branch of gold, from which hung little dangling gold leaves and three spangles enamelled white and green terminating in two pearls and a bead (*grain*) of enamelled gold. This taste for dangling elements, either enriching a jewel with additional stones and pearls or lightening its form with their own delicate shimmer and fantasy, originated as we saw in the fourteenth century, but gained ever-increasing popularity during the fifteenth.[20]

Others of François' brooches used only the branch motif, but even the smallest of them had a single dangling pearl, while from another hung eleven small pearls and nine roundels of gold enamelled black and grey, and from a third three little chains, holding a pearl shell, a small roundel enamelled black and six little pearls. Other motifs continued the traditions of the fourteenth century. A gold butterfly brooch had a body of mother of pearl, a head of a pearl of price and wings set with two small rubies and two small emeralds. Six little pearls dangled from the end of its body and from the wings together with a small gold enamelled bead (*grain*) spotted with white. Another brooch took the form of a gold monkey holding a stick and carrying a hod which was set with a balas-ruby and three pearls of price. Three pearls hung from it, and a fourth dangled from the monkey's head. The monkey motif was very popular in fifteenth-century art — some remarkable spoons and beakers decorated with motifs of monkeys still survive in various museums. It had already appeared as a single motif by 1435, when Guillaume Rollin, goldsmith of Geneva, delivered along with other jewels a gold monkey set with a little ruby and having a pendant pearl

which was to be a New Year's gift from Amadeo VIII of Savoy to his son Philippe, Count of Geneva. The motif was still in favour in 1483 when Charles I of Savoy pledged a gold monkey which held a pearl, two rubies and an emerald.[21]

The mystical motif of the pelican also continued in favour: in 1447 as New Year's gifts to his family Duke Amadeo VIII of Savoy commissioned from his goldsmith Jacques Mennequin thirteen gold pelicans in their piety of gold, each set with a ruby to figure the blood. A more earth-bound fancy probably inspired François II of Brittany's brooch of a hat — already a favourite motif *c.*1400. This brooch was a hat of the Montauban fashion, of gold enamelled blue, set with a shield-shaped diamond, a ruby and a large pearl of price. Round the hat went two little chains, with six gold leaves and six pearls hanging from them, while a larger one dangled from the lace. Some device of love was no doubt concealed in François' brooch of a saw, set with three large diamonds, a large ruby, and seven small table diamonds and with a large dangling pearl. Other brooches seem to have continued the tradition of fanciful realism initiated in the later fourteenth century. This was presumably the case, for instance, with another of François II's gold jewels which showed a woman weaver at work on a bank, surrounded by a hedge; it was set with a large pointed diamond, eight rubies, one large and seven smaller, six large pearls of price and nine dangling pearls. The antithesis of this realism was the taste for fantastic symbolism, one of the hallmarks of the late medieval chivalric mood. Not many jewels, as opposed to badges, represent this taste, but in 1453 Juan II of Castile received from the estate of his fallen favourite Don Alvaro de Luna a jewel 'called of the *toque* [touch, in the sense of assay], a purse of gold enamelled white with a great balas-ruby set in its mouth and on the purse is written a verse and from its clasps once hung twenty-four stones of assay'.[22]

Small cluster brooches were still worn, but rather lost their fashionableness as the century advanced, perhaps because taste was either for the fantastic or for the naturalistic. The fashion for brooches of devices continued unabated. We have several records of the falcon device of Amadeo VIII of Savoy being used in brooches, besides the tree brooch already mentioned. In 1445 Jacques Mennequin the ducal goldsmith made for Amadeo's son Louis a gold brooch decorated with a falcon and the duke's arms, and in the same year Louis's wife Anne de Lusignan bought as a New Year's gift for Marguerite of Savoy, Queen of Sicily and wife first of Louis III of Anjou, and then in 1434 of Duke Ludwig IV of Bavaria, a falcon of gold enamelled white, perched on a trunk enamelled green and set with a diamond, five rubies and a pearl with three pendants. The first brooch was clearly in a formal, heraldic taste; in the second the device was treated naturalistically. Philippe the Good owned *c.*1430 a gold brooch 'on which is a branch and a white ostrich with a blue leg'. Under the ostrich was set an oblong ruby, in its breast was a square pointed diamond, and from the branch dangled eleven pendant pearls. The ostrich was a punning

allusion to Austria (Österreich) and was much used by the Hapsburgs as a device in the later fourteenth and fifteenth century; accordingly the brooch must have been a present from Philippe's aunt Cathérine, who married Duke Leopold of Austria in 1393, or from her husband. In 1452 Richard, Duke of York, pledged to Sir John Fastolf 'a nowche of gold in facion of a ragged staf, with ij. ymages of man and woman garnysshed with a ruby, a diamande and a greet peerle', which again was probably a device.[23]

The taste for jewels of device was equally popular in Spain. In 1453 Juan II of Castile had a gold jewel in the fashion of his device of a lance-rest, set with a great balas-ruby and four pearls. The Burgundian court still remained a pattern of such things, no doubt because it distributed them so widely – in 1453 Juan II also had from the estate of Don Alvaro de Luna a jewel of the Burgundian device of a plane ornamented with two large diamonds, one pointed, one table-cut, set to either side of a ruby, and with five large pearls, three set in a row on the lower rim, with three pendants enamelled blue and green dangling below. In 1468 Charles the Bold had several brooches of flints, the Burgundian device best known now from the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. One was set with twenty-four table diamonds and three pearls, with six sparks of ruby dangling from it, one was enamelled black and set with nineteen pointed diamonds, both large and small, while a third was a cross ornamented with flints and set with a large table diamond. Another of his gold brooches combined the device of a ragged staff with that of flints – it is described as 'in the fashion of a lopped tree-stump, with two flints above, garnished with a large pointed and faceted diamond and a great balas-ruby called "the balas of Flanders" and with pendants of a large pearl hanging below in the centre and two pear-shaped pearls hanging at the sides'. A brooch shaped as a flail – an Orléans device – and set with a large table diamond was among the jewels of Duke Charles of Orléans and his Duchess Marie in 1456. Purely fantastic by contrast, at least as far as we can tell was a gold woodwose (wild man) holding two shields set with two pearls, a ruby and a table-cut sapphire which Charles of Savoy pledged in 1483.[24]

Enamelled brooches also remained popular: in 1426 Countess Elipde des Baux left a gold brooch set with seven pearls, two balas-rubies and two sapphires 'with a lady in the middle enamelled'. In 1493 the large brooches of the Este Dukes of Ferrara, were almost all enamelled, certainly those which are specifically described in the inventory as being *alla todescha*, that is, of the German fashion, in other words in the Gothic style as practised in Germany or rather by German goldsmiths working in Venice. The motifs listed were typical of Gothic art – a half-figure of a man shooting a bow, an eagle, a figure holding a scimitar, a figure resting its hands on its thighs, another holding a mace, a buffoon, a siren (mermaid) sounding a horn. Most elaborate of all was a griffin, part of whose body was enamelled, part of mother-of-pearl, standing on a tree-stump with leafy branches, holding a monkey in its claws. The stones and pearls with which these brooches were set seem to have been uniformly poor, but some were plainly large cut stones.[25]

The romantic tradition of the International Gothic brooch continued, as can be seen from the famous lover's brooch of *c*.1430–40 now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (pl.47). This is usually called Burgundian, but may well be German, not least because it has something of the same spatial complexity and asymmetrical naturalism of style as certain of the Essen brooches. Executed in enamelled gold, it transports us once more to the garden of love, with its promise of amorous hope, joy or despair to the mediaeval lover. Once again naturalistic forms are used throughout the design with a certain search for realism through asymmetry. The figures of the two lovers and the oak tree before which they stand break the carefully irregular circle of the naturalistic garden fence that encloses them, its gold delicately chased to suggest the texture of bark. The lovers, poetic in conception, with their ideal Gothic slenderness, are nevertheless treated in the rendering with a certain romantic realism. Both are dressed in blue: the lady in a blue robe lined with white, with a gold girdle and a white head-dress; the man in blue tunic, trimmed with fur, with a gold girdle and a badge-studded hat from beneath which his golden locks escape and curl. It is the stones and pearls that return this scene from the bright world of the illuminated miniature to the glittering formality of the jewel: pearls are set on the lower semi-circle of the fence, and between the lovers are two collets, the upper one set with a triangular diamond in a formal rosette, the lower one with a ruby. The jewels seem to symbolise ardour and constancy and purity of love – the ruby figuring love's fire, the diamond constancy's infrangibility and the pearl the chastity of a pure affection. Hence the probability that it was a marriage-token, like the gold brooch of 'a man and woman in white' set with four balas-rubies, a sapphire and eight pearls that Cathérine of Burgundy gave her bridegroom Leopold of Austria at her wedding in 1388.[26]

Two German brooches of *c*.1420–50 in the British Museum (pls.48, 49) found in the river Meuse, also show that poetical invention could still animate a rich complexity of design, in a continuing inspiration from the gaiety of International Gothic. Both are conceived as filling a deep gadrooned case with curling foliated edges. In the larger (pl.48) is the half-length figure of a maiden, wearing a huge flower-shaped brooch at her neck set with a table-cut diamond. Her robe has long dangling scalloped sleeves, and over a veil dressed with long scalloped ribbons she wears a garland of leaves. She holds a high hexagonal collet set with a rose-cut sapphire. Around her are beads of gold set on high stems and three rubies set in high collets. A tiny stamped gold flower hangs below. The whole has a three-dimensional effect of mysterious richness and depth; originally this was enhanced by pearls held by the settings pierced round the lower sides of the case. The smaller brooch (pl.49) also had

high settings for pearls pierced round the sides. White enamel beads appear on the high stems, this time joined by bars to make a rough hexagon from which rise two high collets, one set with a small pointed diamond the other a ruby. A third German brooch in the collection consists of a rosette of foliage, punctuated by beads on high stems and with a central collet set with a garnet.[27] They have generally been identified as Burgundian, but the type, based on a vertical oval form, is found in gold brooches in Osnabrück (pl.38) and Berlin (Kunstgewerbe-museum). The Osnabrück brooch has a half-figure of a lady in a white-enamelled dress with liripipe sleeves above prongs bearing flowers, pearls and stones set on an incurving oval plate formed of foliage. A similar plate forms the calyx of the Berlin brooch, in which a gold maiden or angel is set above flowers, buds and stones.

Certain motifs remained perennially popular for brooches throughout much of the Middle Ages. Eagle brooches were already known in the barbarian world of the sixth and seventh centuries, but in the Middle Ages they were to acquire a new significance as symbols of rule. Eagles are figured as we have seen (pl.7) on two of the gold brooches from the late eleventh-century Mainz treasure, which were almost certainly made in an imperial Ottonian workshop. More than two centuries later, among the imperial treasures of Frederick II that fell in 1260 with Naples into the possession of the Angevins was 'a gold imperial *monile* [brooch or pendant] with two eagles of gold hanging therefrom and set with eight large sapphires, eleven balas-rubies and thirty-two large pearls'. A number of eagle cameos (pl.50) survive from the early thirteenth century which were probably mounted in brooches. They may have some association with Frederick II, for it was he who intensified the imperial symbolism of the eagle by adopting it as his arms. Two small eagle brooches of the first decade of the thirteenth century still survive in Germany. One is pinned to the dress of the Golden Virgin of Essen (fig.84), the other of gold originally set with stones, but now with coloured pastes, is in the Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (pl.51). In the Darmstadt brooch the eagle, which combines typical mediaeval stylisation with vigour and pride of aspect is shown frontally with head in profile to the right, clasping two decorative scrolls of transitional type.[1]

The eagle was also appropriated as a symbol of primacy by the Popes in an ecclesiastical version of their own, no doubt in rivalry with the Emperors, for that pugnacious advocate of Papal supremacy, Pope Boniface VIII, had in his treasury in 1295 a *nusca* (pectoral) which seems to have been both a pendant – for it had a lace – and a brooch, for it had a clasp – 'with an eagle, in whose wings and body and tail are four balas-rubies . . . [*lacuna*] sapphires, and it holds before its breast a little cross of the wood of the True Cross, and on the inner circle [of the frame] are four beautiful and large sapphires and four large pearls; and on the outer [circle] are twelve balas-rubies with two clasps [*fibulae*] in each of which are three small emeralds and three pearls'. This description suggests a majestic openwork or double-ring brooch.[2]

The eagle was not exclusively an imperial symbol; it was also used as a symbol of rank by kings and princes and their consorts, and by great feudal noblemen and noblewomen. Thirteenth-century romances of chivalry speak of pavilions, palaces, towers and helmets surmounted by golden eagles. We have already seen the sixteen eagles that decorate the mount of the great



Fig. 84 Brooch (brooch on the Golden Madonna). Silver-gilt, stone. Height *c*.4.5 cm. German, thirteenth century. Münsterschatzkammer, Essen

Schaffhausen Onyx (*c*.1230–40) (pl.22). We have records of a number of royal and princely eagle brooches from the thirteenth century. In 1244 Henry III of England paid £100 6s for a state eagle brooch of gold set with precious stones which he had commissioned as a gift to his mother-in-law Countess Beatriz of Provence on the occasion of the Feast of the Circumcision, when he customarily gave his annual gifts. And he himself had a gold *nouche* 'in the fashion of an eagle with rubies and emeralds'. Blanche of Castile (1254–1307) daughter of St Louis and wife of the Infante Ferdinand of Castile, had a gold brooch 'in the fashion of an eagle' set with rubies and emeralds which was inventoried among the royal jewels of Edward I in 1299–1300. Edward himself wore at his coronation in 1274 a gold eagle brooch set with little rubies and other precious stones. And it seems to have been Edward's custom to present a gold eagle brooch to each of

his daughters on marriage; certainly he gave one to his daughter Margaret to wear at her wedding to Duke Jean of Brabant on 8 July 1290, and among the jewels Margaret took with her on her departure for Brabant in 1297 was a second gold eagle brooch that her father had given her as a New Year's gift.[3]

An even more magnificent Spanish version of this theme was a great gold ring brooch set with sapphires and large balas-rubies which Jaime II of Aragon deposited in 1312 as security for the dowry of his daughter Maria. To either end of the pin was an eagle, set with sapphires and balas-rubies, while the band of the brooch was studded with large sapphires, mixed with emeralds, balas-rubies, and pearls. This rich blazonry of eagles was probably also inspired by Jaime's use of the eagle as a badge – it appeared on a number of objects belonging to him in association with his shield of arms. He employed it not only as a symbol of rule, but as a blazon of his imperial descent through his mother Constance of Sicily from Frederick II. Thus when in 1313 his daughter the Infanta Isabel was married to Frederick of Austria, son of the Emperor Rudolf, she was equipped with a great gold eagle-shaped brooch weighing 11 ounces, set in the centre of its breast with a huge emerald, and on its wings and elsewhere on its body with twelve emeralds of rather smaller size and with thirty-seven emeralds which were smaller again, intermingled with thirty great balas-rubies, forty-eight others that were 'between large and small', and with five large, ten middle-sized and six small pearls.[4]

In 1305 Princess Eleanora of Naples had 'a gold eagle on which large pearls, emeralds, rubies and balases are sewn in collets'. Among the jewels of Edward II of England listed in 1313 was a gold eagle brooch set with rubies, emeralds, sapphires and pearls and containing relics of St Richard of Chichester (d.1253). These were royal eagles, but by the later thirteenth century, perhaps indeed well before, eagles also begin to be worn by semi-royal personages and by great lords and ladies, and their eagle brooches in turn were no doubt emulated at humbler levels in modest copies. In December 1302 Beatrix de Montfort, who became Countess of Dreux in 1259, ordered in her will that her eagle was to be sold after her death along with the rest of her plate and jewels by her executors. Again Eleanor de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford and Essex owned in 1322 a shield-shaped brooch of gold, bearing an eagle set with sapphires, rubies and pearls and with a ruby hanging from its beak. In 1335–6 the treasurer of Flanders paid for '1 gold eagle' bought for Louis I, Count of Flanders, in 1354 Duke Albrecht of Austria pedged 'a great gold eagle with a cameo on the head', and in 1376 John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster lent from his wardrobe a gold eagle enamelled white. Sometimes the eagle motif was combined with the other princely motif of a lion. In 1352 on the marriage of Marguerite, daughter of Charles de Blois, claimant to the Duchy of Brittany, with Charles d'Espagne de la Cerda, Constable of France, King Jean le Bon gave her 'a gold brooch of an eagle on a lion set with fifteen emeralds, sixteen rubies and twenty-one pearls. It had belonged to his mother



Fig. 85 Brooch (Strängnäs brooch). Silver-gilt, stones. Diameter 11.7cm. Hanseatic, early fourteenth century. Found Badeboda treasure, Aseda parish, Småland. Cathedral Treasury, Strängnäs, Sweden

Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (queen 1313–48) and was his present to Marguerite on her wedding day.[5]

The eagle also came to be worn as a sign of dignity by bishops, during the Middle Ages often great lords with vast feudal possessions. In 1335–6 Louis of Flanders bought a second gold eagle from a merchant of Venice named Marco Benedetto and presented it to the Bishop of Tournai. What appears to be an early fourteenth-century eagle brooch was given by Bishop Thomas (d.1443) to his cathedral of Strängnäs in Sweden (fig.85). An eagle in a circular frame proudly occupies its centre surrounded by four lions, each passant in the lobe of the quatre-foil upon which the circle is imposed. The spandrels and outer rim are set with cabochon gems. Its design is a perfect piece of rigidly geometrical Gothic formality, enclosing beasts whose vitality is heraldic, not naturalistic.[6]

So much were eagle brooches now regarded as symbols of princely power that in 1360 Edward III gave his captive and guest King Jean of France an eagle brooch and a girdle after entertaining him to dinner at Westminster on Sunday, 28 June. Such eagle brooches, true to the trend of the age, became richer and more elaborate as the century advanced. In 1363 Charles, Duke of Normandy, later King Charles V, had an eagle brooch described as 'my lord's great eagle of gold, in which are the two great rubies and six others and two large sapphires and several diamonds and large pearls'. Later this was replaced by two more eagle brooches, for at his death in 1379 Charles had a great gold brooch of a crowned eagle, set with five sapphires, seven emeralds, eighteen rubies and twenty-six large pearls, besides the four little emeralds, the four little rubies and eight little pearls that studded the bird's crown, together with a

second, obviously less important eagle brooch set with fewer stones. In 1376 Jean de Berry, to meet the expenses of the wedding of his daughter Bonne to Amadeo of Savoy, was obliged to pledge among other jewels 'a brooch of a gold eagle set with five balas-rubies, four sapphires, four emeralds, sixteen diamonds and nineteen pearls'. In 1405 the sovereign brooch of Marguerite, Duchess of Burgundy was also a crowned eagle of gold, with a great pearl in the centre, and garnished with other small pearls and stones. In April 1373 John of Gaunt lent from his wardrobe a gold eagle, enamelled white and Thomas, Earl of Worcester (d.1403) had a gold brooch of two eagles set with a balas-ruby, three sapphires and three clusters of four pearls. Again Elipde des Baux, heiress of the senior branch of one of the greatest families of Provence and Naples, and widow of Conrad, Count of Fribourg and Neuchâtel, left in 1426 a gold brooch 'in the form of an eagle, garnished with twelve pearls, three sapphires, three balas-rubies and three emeralds'.[7]

By the end of the fourteenth century the motif was sometimes treated naturalistically. Richard II of England had brooches of a black eagle perched on a green bank, of a white eagle with a falcon, of an eagle seizing a doe, and of an eagle perched on top of a round ring. Eagle brooches continued to be worn in the fifteenth century, but perhaps they were less ostentatious in size, in keeping with the decreasing importance of the brooch as a jewel during this period. Thus in 1440 Philippe, Count of Geneva, bought from Guillaume Parent, merchant of Geneva, a little gold brooch (*fermaillet*) which bore an eagle formed of pearls with some details executed in rubies. Divertingly the motif slipped down the social hierarchy: in 1446 William Revetour, a chaplain of York, left his sister Alice a 'gold ouche with an eagle in the same, and certain stones set round'. William was, it must be said, addicted to the stage, for he not only left a collection of miracle plays, but bequeathed to the girdle-makers of York for use in their play on Corpus Christi day 'a copper-gilt crown and a belt with gilt and enamelled bosses'.[8]

Probably the brooches shaped as a crown we find mentioned in late fourteenth and fifteenth-century royal and princely inventories had a similar significance. Charles V of France already owned one in 1379–80. Henry V of England, left another at his death in 1422, set with four balas-rubies, six sapphires and thirteen pearls. Although French kings wore the eagle, the haughty monarchy of France had its own symbolism of the fleur-de-lis, much used in royal jewellery and costume. Fleur-de-lis brooches were worn by the French king and queen as emblems of their kingdom. The custom of wearing them is first mentioned in surviving documents in 1307, when we read of royal purchases of a fleur-de-lis set with sapphires and of another set with balas-rubies and emeralds, but it undoubtedly went back to the early thirteenth or late twelfth century, after the fleur-de-lis had become the heraldic symbol of France. French kings seem to have had fleur-de-lis brooches immediately on their accession, probably for their coronation. In 1316 the new King Philippe le Long at once acquired two fleur-de-lis brooches, one of gold set

with seventeen emeralds, eleven rubies and fifteen Scotch pearls, which he offered to the shrine of St Louis in Saint-Denis, probably at the obsequies of his brother King Louis, and one of silver, which he had made, then took a dislike to and commanded to be broken up. A great silver-gilt brooch of this type (pl.52), traditionally said to have been worn by St Louis (r.1226–70), but in fact dating from the early fourteenth century, was once part of the royal regalia of France. Such brooches could be very costly: in 1364 Charles V bought a great gold fleur-de-lis set with precious stones for 1600 gold francs.[9]

French queens and princesses had fleur-de-lis brooches made for their marriage or for other great ceremonial occasions. In 1349 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux made a bequest of 'our gold fleur-de-lis, which we wore for our wedding and for our coronation, in which are sixteen balas-rubies, fourteen emeralds and twenty-five pearls'. It must have dated then from about the time of her marriage to King Charles le Bel in 1325. We may note too that, even for mediaeval ladies, she and her mother Marguerite d'Evreux, Queen of Navarre (d.1311), seem to have decked themselves more than amply with jewellery containing relics. At her death in 1370 Jeanne left no less than four reliquary jewels which had been her mother's and that she herself wore regularly at festivals, or daily. Fleur-de-lis were also worn by the members of junior branches of the French royal family; indeed the known documents mention these earlier than royal fleur-de-lis, but this can only be by an accident of survival. Thus Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, the brother of St Louis, had in his treasury in 1281 fleur-de-lis of gilt and ungilt silver. Among the jewels which Philippine, Countess of Hainault gave her daughter Marguerite in 1298 was a fleur-de-lis of rubies, emeralds and pearls which was enamelled on the back. And one of the jewels left to her two little daughters in 1346 by Queen Maria of Aragon, who was a granddaughter of King Louis X Hutin through her mother Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, and was descended from a younger son of King Philippe III through her father Philippe d'Evreux, King of Navarre, was a magnificent fleur-de-lis of gold, probably made for her marriage in 1338 to Pere IV of Aragon, set with three large sapphires, eighteen rubies, six of them large and the remainder small, four large emeralds and eleven ordinary-sized ones, and twenty-four large pearls.[10]

Sometimes the design was even modified armorially to show the wearer's exact descent from the blood royal of France: thus in 1417 Charles d'Orléans had a gold fleur-de-lis 'with the bend of Bourbon'. Other fleur-de-lis brooches owned by feudal princes, like that given in 1298 to Marguerite de Hainault and another which Louis, Count of Flanders bought in 1335–6 were clearly also heraldic in intention, using the royal flower of France to blazon French royal descent or else kinship and loyalty to the King of France. Such jewels were often dazzling in their pride. A gold fleur-de-lis brooch listed between 1341 and 1344 among the jewels of Count Amadeo VI of Savoy was set with nineteen pearls, ten rubies both large and small and twelve emeralds both large and small. Even more magnificent was the gold
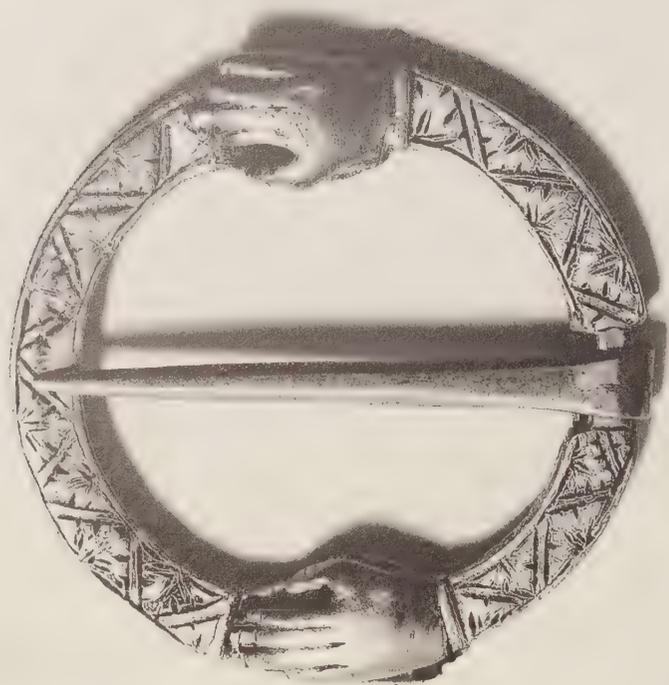
Fig. 86 Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 4cm. German, early fourteenth century. Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle



Fig. 86a Reverse

fleur-de-lis brooch that Louis of Flanders pledged in 1361 – we do not know if it was the one he had bought so many years before. It was set with four large, two middle-sized and five small rubies, five large and ten small emeralds, and one hundred and twenty pearls. But small fleur-de-lis brooches were also made: Charles VI of France had one in 1418, 'enamelled with figures'.[11]

Naturally the English kings, so closely allied by blood and marriage with the kings of France, also had fleur-de-lis brooches. In 1324 Edward II had a gold fleur-de-lis set with rubies, sapphires, emeralds and pearls, and a second-best one, also of gold, set with large emeralds and Scotch pearls. Henry V, too, left at his death a gold brooch, set with a sapphire 'in the fashion of a fleur-de-lis' and a gold brooch garnished with fleur-de-lis of sapphires, and a diamond, and with eight pearls round the rim. These figured in visible form the vigorous and successful renewal of the English claim to the throne of France. It was surely in order to blazon a claim to the throne of France that Edward IV of England wore at his interview of 1475 with Louis XI at Picquigny 'a great fleur-de-lis of precious stones' fixed as a badge in his black velvet hat.[12]

To signify their loyalty to the Auld Alliance the Scotch kings seem also to have worn the fleur-de-lis, at any rate in the fifteenth century, that great age of royal badges. Certainly James III left, in 1488, 'ane uche [owche] of gold like a flour the lis of diamantis' and another that was wholly of gold. And some ladies came ready equipped with fleur-de-lis brooches on their marriage into the French royal family, or so it would seem from the trousseau brought from Milan by Valentina Visconti in 1389,

which included 'two gold brooches made in the guise of two fleur-de-lis, in which are eight balas-rubies, four sapphires and forty-eight pearls'. The custom of wearing them continued until the end of the Middle Ages. In 1451 René of Anjou bought a large fleur-de-lis made in the favourite fifteenth-century technique of five pieces of diamond, cut in the very latest style, for they are described as having small facets. And in 1483 Queen Charlotte de Savoie left 'a fleur-de-lis made of diamonds, mounted in gold'.[13]

As their own insignia the English kings often wore badges of St George: in 1434 Henry IV had a great brooch of St George's arms and St George's cross, set with eight balas-rubies, six sapphires, fourteen diamonds, two counterfeit diamonds and ninety-one pearls, as well as seven clusters each of twenty-eight, and one of three pearls, and on the cross with thirteen small balas-rubies. Lion brooches may also have been worn as badges of rule in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Certainly the Counts and Countesses of Flanders of this date seem each to have possessed one. In January 1291 Countess Isabelle had a gold brooch bearing a lion, worth the large sum of 300 livres parisis. Her husband Guy, Count of Flanders, also left after his death an *affique*, which was 'in the fashion of a lion, sewn with precious stones and pearls'. This may have been the gold brooch in the fashion of a lion, set with a large sapphire, six great rubies and six large emeralds and with seventeen stones and pearls around its edge, which was pledged in 1306 by Guy's successor Count Robert de Béthune. The type is not documented during the following decades of the fourteenth century, but is mentioned again, enriched with *émail en ronde*

Fig. 87 Ring brooch. Silver, enamel. Diameter 3 cm. German, fourteenth century. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster
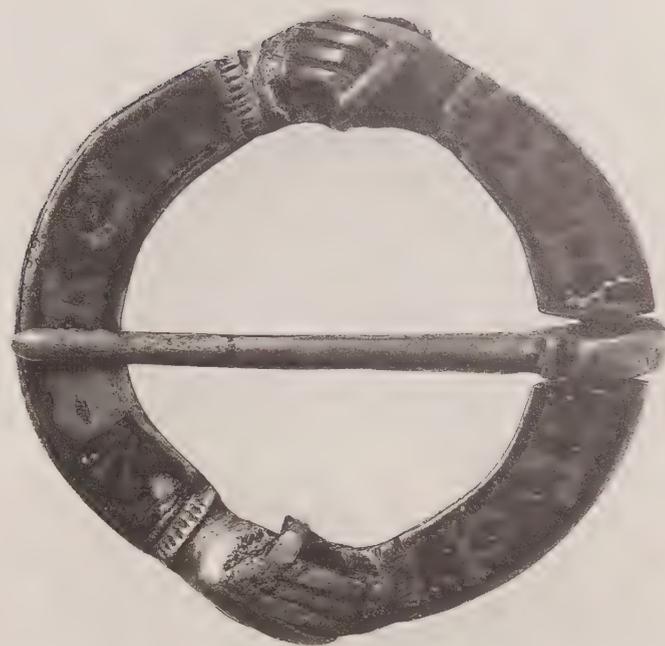


Fig. 88 Ring brooch. Silver, enamel. Diameter 3.5 cm. German, mid-fourteenth century. Westfällisches Landesmuseum, Münster

*bosse*, at its end, for before his death in 1391 Amadeo VII of Savoy pledged a gold lion enamelled white.[14]

We have seen that brooches with figures – applied miniature sculptures or else engraved or enamelled – appear in the thirteenth century, or at least are first known to us from that time. Sometimes the figures were chosen to betoken relationship or allegiance. We find this intimate link with personal affection or loyalty, so characteristic of jewellery until very recent times, documented at least as early as the thirteenth century. Thus Mahaut d'Artois gave her son-in-law, King Philip V of France, in 1319 'a jewel of silver enamelled on one side with a King and on the other with a Queen, and a ruby in the middle'. The king and queen of Mahaut's jewel were surely intended for portraits of Philip and of his wife, Mahaut's daughter Jeanne de Bourgogne. They were probably far from being likenesses, given what we know of the evolution of mediaeval portraiture, which did not become naturalistic until the middle of the fourteenth century. Blanche of Castile (1252–1307) had a gold brooch 'with the images of a King and Queen and of the arms of France set with divers stones', perhaps figuring her father King Louis IX (St Louis) and her mother. Again, in 1333 Simon de Lille of Paris, a royal goldsmith, acknowledged full payment received from Jeanne de Bretagne, Dame de Cassel, for an emerald and sapphire brooch with figures of the king and queen (evidently of France). As that century advanced portraiture in jewellery probably became a little more realistic in style: certainly this is what surviving portrait cameos from *c*.1400 suggest. In 1353 Edward III of England had a great brooch 'garnished with stones and with two images of gold in the fashion of the King and Queen', while

another brooch, which belonged to Louis of Orléans, brother of Charles VI of France and was lost and found in 1397, bore 'the semblance of the two Kings of France and Bohemia'. In all such jewels the brooch form in itself symbolised amity, conjugal, chivalric or political, all the more because it was one of the jewels worn on the breast.[15]

The brooch has in fact a long history, like the ring, as a lovetoken, not only figuring sentiment between lovers but also a pledge of conjugal affection on betrothal and marriage and also no doubt after marriage. The motif of clasped hands, found in the ring brooch as early as the thirteenth or early fourteenth century (figs.86, 86a), was universal in Western Christendom, so far as we can tell. It figured pledged troth between lovers – hence the name of *fede* brooches sometimes given to the type – and in Northern Europe at any rate was probably most usually a gift made on betrothal and marriage. There is documentary evidence for such brooches as ensigns of troth; at some date between 1347 and 1349 Edward the Black Prince bought a gold jewel – unfortunately the precise word is missing, so we cannot be certain if it was a ring or a brooch – which is described as 'enamelled, with two diamonds and two hands pledging faith'. In Germany brooches with this motif were known in early inventories as *hanntruwebrazen* (betrothal brooches), no doubt because it was the custom for the groom or bride to give them as presents at the ceremony of betrothal. The mid-fourteenth-century Pritzwalk treasure contains several examples of brooches with the clasped-hand motif (figs.73, 73a), where the rings are formed as pairs of stylised sleeves from which hands emerge to clasp each other either at top and bottom, or else in the centre

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Fig. 89 Ring brooch. Silver. Diameter 4.5 cm. German, first half of the fourteenth century. Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster

of the sides. These date from the fourteenth century; like others of related design in the collections of Münster and Berlin (figs.87–90). A late fourteenth-century English gold example found at Lanercost (figs.91, 91a) is now in the Newcastle Museum; it has an inscription that expresses the nature of such brooches as a pledge of troth: TO YE IHC [O]N MY TROUGHT I PLIGHT – AND TO YE MARY HIS MODE BRIGHT.

The motif of clasped hands was also much used in rings: in 1364 King Jean le Bon had a ring set with a square diamond held by two hands. The motif was popular with high and low. In 1368 Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had a gold brooch with two clasped hands while in 1381 Philippa, Countess of March had 'a blue brooch with two hands holding a diamond'. This last motif may of course have been merely a device for drawing the eye to the stone, but late mediaeval love of symbolism suggests that essentially it signified eternal troth, typified by the infrangibility of the diamond. The Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh has a brooch of this kind (pl.53); and so does the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (pl.57), while the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection includes two more (cat.13, 14). Again this suggests a fairly wide popularity for this variety of the design. The Baltimore example dates from c.1290–1300 and is an early example of the type.[17]

In the symbolic language of love which played so significant a part in later mediaeval jewellery, the heart became during the fourteenth century an important motif, found universally in European jewellery. In brooches and in other jewels it was often figured by a red stone, usually a ruby, cut to a heart shape in order to simulate a real heart. In 1370 Queen Jeanne

d'Evreux of France left a pendant of 'a balas-ruby in the fashion of a heart, held by two hands, with an emerald in the shape of a shield and two pearls hanging from a gold chain'. Again in 1365 Louis of Anjou had a gold brooch, set in the centre with a balas-ruby shaped like a heart, with a crown above and a white wing to either side, each wing outlined by four sapphires and four clusters of pearls, with each cluster composed of five large pearls around a diamond. His brother Charles V also had a brooch of a winged heart; the heart itself was formed of a large pearl, three oriental rubies and a diamond, while from the brooch proper hung a tiny shield, set with a little sapphire, three pointed diamonds and four table diamonds. He also had a pendant of a crowned heart of gold, the first documented appearance of a motif long popular in European jewellery as a badge of successful love, and still found in peasant jewellery in the nineteenth century. The heart which hung from four little chains, was set with ten diamonds, six rubies and eight large pearls, while the crown was rimmed with twenty-seven small pearls.[18]

There can be no doubt that in such brooches and pendants the heart symbolised affection, for in 1414 Queen Ysabeau de Bavière of France bought a heart-shaped ruby and had it set as a little brooch surrounded by four large pearls as a gift to her son Louis, Duc de Guyenne. Marguerite, Duchess of Brittany, left in 1469 four heart jewels, one the traditional red – here a large balas 'in the fashion of a heart' – set in a gold brooch, one 'a little heart of gold and crystal', one 'a gold half-heart on which is a small child' and, most magnificent of all, a gold heart set with a great lozenge-shaped diamond, a table-diamond 'in the

Fig. 90 Brooch. Silver. Diameter 4 cm. German, first half of the fourteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin
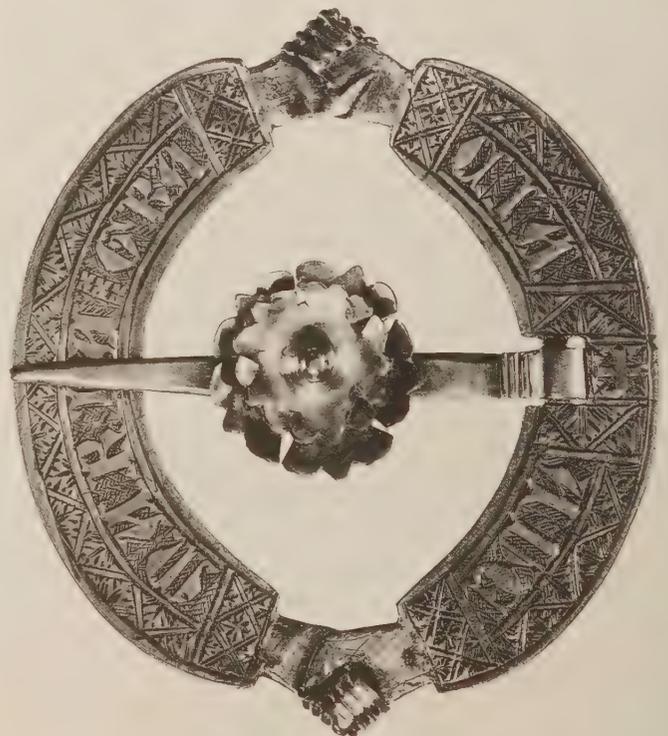
fashion of a tripod', in other words, making an M for her initial, and a large ruby and three pearls.[19]

The heart motif was not exclusively French, but was universally popular throughout Western Europe. Thus in 1410 King Martín of Aragon had 'a heart of red jasper' which hung from a tufted cord of red silk and gold thread. Heart brooches were equally popular in England. In 1368 Lionel, Duke of Clarence, left a gold brooch in the fashion of a heart, while in 1385 Hugh, Lord Stafford, bequeathed a gold brooch with a heart, perhaps an inset motif rather than the general shape of the piece. They were also worn by ladies of the knightly class: in 1415 Isabel de Willoughby of Nottinghamshire, daughter of a knight and wife of a squire, left a heart of gold enamelled white to Lady Mary Neville and a second one, enamelled red, with pendants of pearl hanging from it, to Lady Margaret Scrope. This latter, however, may have been for wear as a pendant, rather than as a brooch for, as we have seen and shall see again, the heart form also became popular for pendants. Men, too, continued to wear them: in 1431 Robert Conyers of Sockburne, member of a great Northern English family, left his best brooch 'in the fashion of a heart' to his daughter Johanna.[20]

Some heart-shaped brooches were really ring brooches shaped as hearts; others by contrast were solid brooches, often set with gems and pearls. The Museum has a particularly fine early fifteenth-century open example in gold, which is either French or English. Certainly English is another example of the open type in enamelled gold, found at Fishpool, and now in the British Museum, which dates from c.1425–40 (pls.54, 54a). It

has a 'writhen' design on the obverse of bands bordered by corded wire; the bands are alternately gold, white and blue, with lozenges in gold on the enamelled bands; this decoration no doubt represents heraldic or symbolic blazonry. The reverse is inscribed in elegant Gothic minuscule letters enamelled blue with the words *Je/suy/Vostre/sans/partier* (I am yours inseparably) indicating the feelings of the giver, who has given his heart for ever to the lady who wears it. This was a very popular motto or posy in the later Middle Ages, and it appears on a number of brooches in the Museum's collection. The Fishpool brooch has a typically Late Gothic formal elegance, with its restrained blue and white on the cunningly winding lines of the bands. At the bottom are three small hoops, from which stones once dangled, or more probably pearls. Such heart brooches with mottoes were worn even by English royalty, for among the jewels confiscated from Brother John Randolf, chaplain to Henry's stepmother Joan of Navarre, when Joan and he were arrested in 1419, were two gold heart brooches, one inscribed *A vous me lie* (It binds me to you), the other inscribed *A ma vie de coer entier* (For my life with my whole heart).[21]

With their figuration of the gift of love in tangible symbolic form, heart brooches made an obvious appeal to the late mediaeval taste for a rather literal kind of allegory, and they remained popular into the sixteenth century. In 1485 the stock of Haquinet Mierche, jeweller of Tournai, included a gold heart and two silver hearts. Two English fifteenth-century pewter brooches found in Billingsgate, London and now in a private collection, represent the heart in quite a realistic form, as opposed to the

Fig. 91  Ring brooch. Gold. Diameter 3.9cm. English, late fourteenth century. Museum of Antiquities, University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England

Fig. 91a  Reverse

stylised motif of the open brooches. Both have scrolls running across them inscribed MYN FORM. One of them was surmounted by three flowers, and a similar motif also occurs on an open pewter heart brooch of the same period, also found in Billingsgate. There is a strong possibility that these pewter brooches are merely versions of types current in precious metal. Documents show how common these were. In 1451 John, Lord Scrope of Upsall, left John, son of Lord Scrope of Bolton, a 'nete broch' of gold of two angels in 'the gise of a man's herte'. In 1458 William Banks, a gentleman of Yorkshire, left to one of his brothers-in-law his larger heart of enamelled gold and to another his smaller heart of enamelled gold. And in 1471 Henry Holme of Beverley left a gold heart among his jewels. In 1468 Charles the Bold of Burgundy owned a number of heart brooches, one described as 'a gold heart, on which is a flower of diamond of six pieces' and one as 'a little gold brooch in the shape of a heart, on which are a table diamond, a ruby and a pearl'. And in 1488 James III of Scotland and his queen Margaret of Denmark left several heart brooches: the king one of gold and another of gold enamelled, the queen a heart of gold with a large pearl for purity of affection. So fond was James of the motif that he even had a stomacher on which was set ' a hert all of precious stanis & Perle'.[22]

The association with love, light-hearted or pledged to fidelity, was constantly maintained. In 1488 François II of Brittany had a number of heart-shaped brooches. One was small, hung with five little pendant pearls, and set with a little diamond and in the middle with an emerald; on the back was the inscription IL N'EST TRESOR QUE DE LIESSE (Joy is the only treasure). Another was formed of two gold hearts conjoined, enamelled black and white, and set with a little pointed diamond. An open brooch showed the ultimate Late Gothic development of the frame into a naturalistic stem, for it was 'fashioned of a twisted hawthorn branch'. It was set at the top with a heart-shaped ruby, enamelled in places white and green and inscribed on the back in white and black enamel. Finally a small heart of enamelled gold was set with a diamond heart. But the heart shape could express religious devotion, as well as profane love, and in Roman Catholic art it was to retain this meaning for many centuries. Thus in 1380 King Charles V of France had 'a gold heart enamelled in clear red, inside which is a Crucifixion and Our Lady'.[23]

Brooches in the shape of a single letter were also much favoured in the fourteenth century, the letter presumably being usually either one's own initial or that of a beloved individual or revered holy personage, such as the Virgin, figured by an M for Mary. The most beautiful of all letter brooches, the M brooch (pl.55) given to New College, Oxford in 1455 by Peter Hylle of Winchester, his wife Christina, and their son Master Thomas, a fellow of the College, is a Marian brooch of this kind. It consists of a Gothic M surmounted by a crown, of silver-gilt, with to left and right of the central bar figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin, in gold, standing on hexagonal pedestals, representing that favourite theme of mediaeval devotion, the Annunciation, with between them, on the central bar, the customary symbol of Annunciation scenes, a vase containing a stem of lilies, figuring the Virgin's purity, a symbolism continued in the three pearls set above. As so often in mediaeval jewellery, the base of the design is a backplate, a deep M-shaped container into which are fixed the Gothic collets with ribbed mouldings that contain the stones, while the pearls are held by pin-head prongs. The use of pierced tracery in the backplate, as well as in the front of the jewel gives a double dimension to its design. The vase on the central bar is cut from a ruby or a crystal. Shaped stones of this kind, as we saw, occur only from about c.1390–1400 in the inventories of Jean, Duc de Berry, that patron of the gem-cutter's art, and for this reason alone the brooch must date at the earliest from the first decades of the fifteenth century rather than from the mid-fourteenth century, as has been claimed. The central bar has an enamelled dark blue ground; the flowers of the lily stem are enamelled white, bordered with green, its leaves are figured by small cabochon emeralds. The gold wing of the angel is also enamelled all over with a translucent green and yellow enamel; the top left spandrel of the M is also enamelled green. The fleurons of the crown are the double collets also found in the Verona brooches of c.1350: they are set with green and red stones. Below the central fleuron is a crudely pointed diamond, perhaps what the Middle Ages called a 'naif' stone, perhaps a little shaped. The colour pattern is essentially of red and green, relieved by white – quite possibly it is symbolic as well as decorative. Certainly the pearls are emblems of purity, and the other stones too may have some symbolic meaning. Curiously, there is no visible means of fastening the jewel.[24]

An M jewel of this kind is a devotional jewel. But, like heart brooches, secular letter brooches seem to have been often given as love-tokens. We do not know when they originated, but this is likely to have been in the later thirteenth century. Letter brooches are already recorded in France by 1328, when Queen Clémence de Hongrie left a brooch 'in the fashion of an M, set with a ruby in the middle and other small stones', another 'in the fashion of a B, with a St John', and a third, 'an A enamelled with the arms of France and Hungary'. They were still in fashion in France in the 1360s. Jean I, Count of Armagnac pledged about that time 'an M and A interlaced, adorned with pearls' and in 1366 an inventory of his jewels lists two letters M richly set with pearls. These may have belonged to his sister Mathilde or Mathe, who married in 1321 Bernard, Sire d'Albret. Letter brooches were not worn exclusively by the princely and noble. Among the jewels confiscated from Robert de Guienne, a great Bristol merchant, by Edward III in 1352 were two brooches, one of B and one of B and R, both of gold, and both set with stones and pearls. Again in 1381 Gautier Piquette, of a wealthy bourgeois family of Douai in Flanders, owned 'an S of pearls with a sapphire in the middle'. Letters were also displayed on brooches as their principal motif, as was perhaps the case with one of the brooches of Robert of Guienne. Thus Charles V

of France left in 1380 a small gold brooch with a Y for his wife Jeanne in the centre, encircled by ten pearls. Some of these brooches no doubt had the letter in openwork, and so were really a variety of the ring brooch; but others seem to have their letter set on a solid ground. The mode is also found in Italy: c.1356 a lady of the Acciauoli family, great feudal lords in South Italy, had 'a letter of silver-gilt with six stones and twelve pearls'.[25]

Letter brooches were also worn in Germany. Indeed one of the few known surviving examples of the type is North German, an early fourteenth-century brooch shaped as a letter E, formerly in the Hirsch Collection (pl.56 *left*). Of silver-gilt, it was originally set on the front with five river pearls held by pins, of which only one survives. The brooch is really a case formed of an upper part, with walls running round the edge of the outlines on the underside, so making this section into a container, and a flat base, hinged to the upper part. Over the apertures of the front is Cupid, figured as a youth wearing a long robe and standing on a pedestal shaped as a Gothic capital or bracket. With his right hand he points an arrow, with his left he holds another. The inscription on the inner side of the base, visible only when the upper part of the brooch is lifted, explains why he levels his dart. It reads REWELININ. VRME. DEI. HERZE. LEVENSTE. MOISICHIH. SIN (Fair Lady, may I ever be close to thy heart). Presumably the brooch was intended to be worn on the breast, and the arrow points to the lady's heart, which the lover hopes to pierce. It was evidently fastened to the dress by the pin attached to the baseplate, the letter perhaps being in addition stitched to the fabric. In order to use the pin, it was necessary to open the brooch, whose upper part was then brought down and held by a catch which is set on the underside of the upper part and slips through a small keyhole-shaped aperture in the baseplate. The inscription therefore remained a secret hidden while the brooch was worn, and was seen only by the wearer as she prepared to fasten the brooch to her dress, when it made to her eyes alone its delicate plea of love. Such discretion was of course a typical piece of mediaeval chivalric courtesy.[26]

Letter brooches, or rather brooches set with a letter, are also documented in the Scandinavian North. In 1372 King Haakon of Norway redeemed among other jewels a gold brooch set with precious stones 'called in the vulgar tongue a *vorspan*, and containing within itself a letter, viz B, also of gold and precious stones'. The description suggests an openwork brooch, perhaps a roundel frame, enclosing a B. It may be, however, that this brooch had originally belonged to Haakon's mother Blanche of Namur (d.1363) who married his father, King Magnus of Sweden in 1336. If so, it was possibly of French or Flemish origin. Letter brooches were evidently popular in England too. A tiny English early fourteenth-century gold brooch, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore was found near Devizes (pl.57 *left*). It is shaped as a Lombardic A of a form current in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century and set with stones. On the front

is engraved the magical formula AGLA and on the back is the French inscription *Io fas amer e doz de amer* (I cause men to love and I give the gift of love). In 1362 Edward III had a gold brooch of the letter B, set with emeralds, rubies and pearls, and another of the letter R, set with pearls. And in 1400 the English royal jewels included two brooches of the letter C, each set with three clusters of four pearls encircling a little sapphire, and five of the letter M, set with pearls and with stones of small value. Sometimes in England too the letter was a motif set on a brooch rather than a brooch in itself: thus in his will of 1378 John de Foxle left 'a gold brooch [*monile*] with the letter S engraved and enamelled on the same'.[27]

The vogue of letter brooches continued into the fifteenth century. Philippe of Burgundy owned one c.1430 which had either belonged to his father Jean Sans Peur (d.1419) or figured his own affection for Jean, for it was shaped as a letter J, and set with a huge ruby, two triangular table-cut diamonds and ten large pearls. The inventory of Philippe's son Charles the Bold, taken c.1468, lists 'two CCs of gold, laced together, garnished with thirteen table diamonds, two shields and a ruby', another pair of CCs set with a large octagonal diamond and mounted in an eye of gold enamelled white and yet a third, 'a little brooch' with two CCs made of diamonds set with a little ruby and pendant pearls. The eye brooch presumably signified affection, and is a curious anticipation of a much later fashion. Again in 1487 Marie, Duchess of Orléans, had 'four letters of diamonds, viz SLRM', though these of course may have originated from a girdle or collar, for the fashion of decorating jewels with letters spread to belts, girdles and collars.[28]

Finally brooches were favourite sentimental gifts – not surprisingly, since ordinarily they were worn on the breast. In 1397 John of Gaunt leaves in his will to his son Henry, later to be king, 'a gold brooch of old fashion of the names of God written on each part of it, the which my most honoured lady mother the Queen (whom God absolve) gave me with a command to me to keep it with her blessing and I will that he keep it with God's blessing and mine'.[29]

The badge (*enseigne*) was really a special category of the brooch. More than any other type of mediaeval jewel, it was a blazonry of the spiritual, political or social allegiances or affiliations of the wearer, just as badges are now. The earliest seem to have been worn from religious or political motives, like the device of Our Lady enthroned with the inscription *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem* which was struck on pewter in 1185 and worn by the citizens of Le Puy in the Auvergne, sewn on a white chaperon or fixed on their breasts, as a sign of their dedication to the cause of peace in their factious and quarrelsome times. This badge was an octagonal plaque; according to Vincent of Beauvais the design and the inscription were delivered on a piece of paper by a miraculous apparition of the Virgin to a poor carpenter of Le Puy named Durand, though another chronicler says the apparition was ingeniously contrived by a canon of Le Puy to deceive Durand and so induce faith in the divine origin of the campaign for peace, to which a badge designed by the Virgin would of course lend further heavenly warrant.

It was usual to wear badges either on the headgear – a hood, or later a hat – or on the breast, and this remained the general custom into the sixteenth century. They could, however, be worn elsewhere, and indeed it would be a mistake to suppose that sculptures and paintings give us a full image of how brooches or badges were worn in the Middle Ages when they show them being worn only at the neck or on the upper chest or on the hat. The effigies of Sir Roger de Bois and his wife Dame Margaret (*c.*1365) in Ingham church, Norfolk, wear circular badges of a tau cross below the inscription ANTHON for St Anthony the Hermit whose symbol is a tau cross, on the shoulders of their mantles (fig.92). More probably these badges blazon their membership, not of an Order of St Anthony, as often said, but of a Confraternity of St Anthony or else their trust in his tau cross, to protect their souls after death. Sometimes too badges were worn on a chain or lace slung round the neck.[1]

Religious badges (*enseignes, signa*) were naturally very popular in the Middle Ages. The manufacture of these little badges in lead and pewter, usually square, oblong, or of medallion shape, was well-established in Paris by the 1260s, when Etienne Boileau issued regulations for the craft of the *Ouvriers de toutes menues œuvres que on fait d'estaim de plom a Paris*. We learn that these small-workers in pewter and lead – the only time this last metal is mentioned in Boileau's *Livre des Mestiers* – made *mereaux* (badges of guild membership), pewter brooches, and 'all other kinds of little work appertaining to pewter and lead'. A number of

badges of this type, figuring subjects like the Virgin or saints or Christ's Passion, still survive. Of all such badges the best-known are the pilgrims' ensigns known in England as pilgrim badges. These little badges were sold at shrines as devotional mementoes and were eagerly purchased by pilgrims to carry back with them as a visible proof of their pilgrimage and as a souvenir that preserved something of the sanctity of the shrine. The mentality of their purchasers is expressed by the makers and vendors of pilgrims' ensigns of Mont Saint-Michel, when petitioning Charles VI of France in 1393 to be relieved from taxes on the sale of their wares. 'Pilgrims', they said, 'for the honour and reverence of the said lord St Michael, take very great pleasure in having the said ensigns and the other things above mentioned to take back with them to their own country in honour and remembrance of the said Mont Saint-Michel.' They also served as a proof that the pilgrim had actually made the pilgrimage to a particular shrine.[2]

The origins and early history of pilgrim badges are unknown, but they certainly first appear on the Continent. The custom of selling actual cockle-shells as a souvenir of St James is documented at Compostella as early as 1106 and badges of metal from certain shrines were already in common currency by the third quarter of the twelfth century, for in *La vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, a poem on the life of St Thomas Becket completed in 1177, Garnier de Pont Sainte-Maxence writes: 'From Jerusalem has the palm been bought, and Mary cast in lead from Rocamadour and the shell of St James which has been changed into lead'. Pilgrim badges of metal were in fact already being made at the shrine of Rocamadour, in Périgord, soon after it attained its first popularity in 1166, for the *Liber miraculorum* of the shrine, composed *c.*1172, records that a priest of Chartres was cured of a grave sickness when his mother laid a pilgrim's ensign on his body and invoked the Virgin. Garnier's verses show too that versions in lead of the cockle-shells originally sold in Compostella as ensigns of pilgrimage were already in circulation by 1177. The immense popularity of the shrine of St Thomas Becket, martyred in 1170 at Canterbury, soon led to the making of large numbers of pilgrims' ensigns figuring the murdered Archbishop. These took the form of small pewter *ampullae*, containing a little of the water in which the martyr's blood, collected from his wounds, was continuously diluted. Giraldus Cambrensis, returning in 1179 to England from his studies in Paris, passed through Canterbury and bought ensigns there, for a few days later he and his companions came before the Bishop of Winchester

Fig. 92  Effigies of Sir Roger and Lady Margaret de Bois from Ingham
Church, Norfolk. English, c.1365. Illustration from Stothard I, 1817, pl.58

wearing 'little ensigns of the Blessed Thomas hung round their necks'. From about 1200 these *ampullae* assumed the form of the *ampullae* that had long been brought from the Holy Land, and were decorated with scenes of the saint's life, passion and miracles. It seems that these were long the only type of ensign produced at Canterbury, for Brian Spencer believes that pilgrim badges proper were only introduced into England in the early fourteenth century. This is a surprisingly long delay, for they were in common currency at some of the greatest shrines of Europe by the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In 1199 for instance Pope Innocent III granted the Arciprete and canons of St Peter's the exclusive right to make and sell 'lead and pewter ensigns with the images of Apostles Peter and Paul with which visitors adorn themselves for the increase of their own devotion and in proof that they have accomplished their journey'.[3]

Only minute numbers of the pilgrim badges that were made from the twelfth to the sixteenth century have survived. It was not only the great shrines of mediaeval Europe – Rome,

Compostella, Canterbury, Cologne, Einsiedeln, Rocamadour – that sold them, or even long-established lesser shrines – from England we may cite those of St Kenelm, venerated at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, and of St Audrey at Ely. Quite small churches, where a sudden cult flared up for some new saint or holy man or for some miracle-working statue or relic or host, produced their own pilgrim badges. From fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, for instance, pilgrim badges survive for the cult of St John Schorne, rector of North Marston in Buckinghamshire from 1290 till 1314, whose shrine was visited to cure the ague and gout, for that of Richard Caister, from 1402 the greatly revered Vicar of St Stephen's, Norwich, whose tomb became an object of pilgrimage after his death in 1420, and for that of Henry VI, much venerated at Windsor after his death in 1471.

The pilgrim badges that do survive, however, offer quite a varied repertory of motifs. Of the earliest known pilgrim badges some simply reproduce the seal of the church, like those of Rocamadour and Sainte-Marie de Vauvert in France and of San Domingo de la Calzada, in Northern Spain, on the pilgrim road
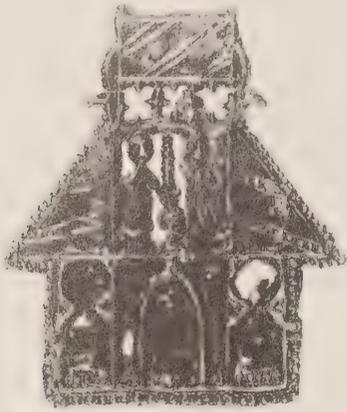
Fig. 93 Pilgrim badge from Walsingham. Tin and lead alloy. Height 3.8 cm. English, late fourteenth century. Private collection, on loan to the Museum of London, London

to Compostella. But by the third quarter of the twelfth century symbols or motifs special to the shrine must already have begun to appear on the badges of certain great pilgrimage centres, if the shell of Compostella was already being worn in lead as a pilgrim badge and the heads of the Apostles Peter and Paul were likewise being worn as badges by pilgrims to Rome. Probably the popular Roman badge of the crossed keys of St Peter was another early device. Mostly pilgrim badges were of the size we should expect a badge to be, but some could be very large indeed – an example is a badge of St Thomas Becket in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology, which is 13.3 cm ($5\frac{1}{4}$ in) high, and 6.7 cm ($2\frac{5}{8}$ in) wide.

Pilgrim badges naturally fall into two main classes: badges connected with the cult of the Virgin – a cult that became ever more widespread and intense from the twelfth century – and badges connected with the cult of the saints. The cult of the Virgin, in the Middle Ages, as now, was divided between a general cult and a cult that addressed itself to particular images and statues and relics. It was of course only these last that were of interest to pilgrims. Where a miraculous statue of the Virgin was the object of the cult, pilgrim badges naturally tended to reproduce it, as for example at Walsingham in Norfolk, where it was the miracles worked by a seated Virgin and Child (*Sedes Sapientiae*) of early thirteenth-century date that transformed a small chapel into the greatest of English Marian shrines, assisted by a replica of the Holy House at Nazareth (fig.93) where the Annunciation to Mary took place, a scene also figured on another Walsingham badge (fig.94).

Such statues of the Virgin and Child as *Sedes Sapientiae* were common on altars throughout Christian Europe, and so it is not surprising to find another version of the motif on one of the earlier pilgrim badges to survive, a small oblong of pewter alloyed with lead recently discovered in Brunswick in a rubbish-

mound of the early thirteenth century (fig.95 *right*). Its format, with rounded top and four hoops for stitching, was evidently usual for pilgrim badges of this date and region. Another of the fifteenth century, from the Forgeais Collection, formerly in Paris, now in Prague (fig.96), seems to be a pilgrim badge from the Norman shrine of Notre-Dame de Tombelaine, near Mont Saint-Michel, to whose pilgrimage it became a sort of complement. Others represented some legend associated with a miraculous statue of this kind. This, for instance, was the case at Notre-Dame de Boulogne, the great Marian shrine of North-Western France, much venerated by Parisians and the French royal house. Here the pilgrim badges figured the miraculous statue of the Virgin arriving at Boulogne in an open boat without sailors or oars to guide it – an event supposed to have taken place in 633. They generally show the statue standing or seated in the open boat, sometimes with a crew of angels and sometimes alone.[4]

Naturally pilgrim badges sold at the shrine of a saint often represented the saint or legends associated with him. The badges of Mont Saint-Michel, for example, show St Michael slaying the Dragon. Another early thirteenth-century pilgrim badge also recently found in Brunswick (fig.95 *left*) has a figure of a bishop saint – perhaps St Servatius of Maastricht. Sometimes,

Fig. 94 Pilgrim badge from Walsingham. Tin and lead alloy. Height 8.6 cm, width 5.9 cm. English, first half of the fourteenth century. Museum of London, London

Fig. 95  Pilgrim badges. Pewter and lead alloy. Heights 1.4 cm,
widths 4.5 cm. Netherlandish or North German, early thirteenth century.
Národní Muzeum, Prague



Fig. 96  Pilgrim badge from Notre Dame de
Tombelaine. Lead. Height 5.9 cm. Normandy,
c.1400. Národní Muzeum, Prague



Fig. 97  Pilgrim badge from St Leu d'Esserent. Lead. Height 4.8 cm. French,
fifteenth century. Národní Muzeum, Prague



Fig. 98  Pilgrim badge from Vadstena. Tin and lead alloy. Height 6.1 cm.
Swedish, fifteenth century. Found Uppland.
Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

Fig. 99  Pilgrim badge from Canterbury. Tin and lead alloy. Height 9cm, width 5.8cm. English, mid-fourteenth century. Museum of London, London



Fig. 100  Pilgrim badge from Canterbury. Tin and lead alloy. Height 8.4cm, width 8.2cm. English, second half of the fourteenth century. Museum of London, London

as on a fifteenth-century pilgrim badge from Saint Leu d'Esserent, near Senlis, in France, a pilgrim is shown praying to the saint (fig.97). After her canonisation in 1396, pilgrim badges for St Bridget of Sweden became popular: an example, crudely cast, is in the Historiska Museum, Stockholm (fig.98) showing her writing her *Revelations*. Alternatively such badges might figure an attribute or object associated with a particular saint or his martyrdom – the scallop of St James, the horn of St Hubert, the comb of St Blaise, the axe of St Olaf, the wheel of St Catherine of Alexandria, whose shrine in the monastery of Sinai was often visited by mediaeval pilgrims, the Canterbury bell of St Thomas Becket, or the sword that slew him, which was in fact exhibited to pilgrims at the actual spot of his martyrdom in the cathedral. St Thomas had a variety of motifs, not surprisingly in view of the exceptional popularity of his shrine. Very many badges showed the jewelled head reliquary which held the part of his skull that had been severed by his murderers (fig.99); others figured scenes from his last fatal journey from France to England – the saint on board ship, or riding and imparting a blessing (figs.100, 101) – some his martyrdom.

It seems that certain of these badges, like the sword and head reliquary badge or like the badge of the shrine itself were sold to pilgrims to commemorate the various holy spots and relics associated with the saint in Canterbury cathedral that were shown to them for their veneration during their visit. And indeed if it was a holy relic that was venerated at a shrine, this was usually figured on its pilgrim badges. Thus the badges

of the cathedral of Amiens show the face of St John Baptist, representing a relic of the saint's head which was taken by a Picard canon from a Byzantine church during the capture of Constantinople in 1204, and given by him on his return to the cathedral, where it became a great draw to pilgrims. On these Amiens badges a variety of motifs surrounds the central motif of a circular face. Sometimes an angel holds it, attended by other angels or by pilgrims holding candles in adoration (fig.102), sometimes two executioners hold the instruments of the Saint's passion. Similarly, after a miracle of 1216, the Vernicle, as the Veil of Veronica, kept in St Peter's, was known, became one of the most popular of Roman relics with pilgrims, and the badges representing it must once have been legion. Chaucer's Pardoner, to show that he had come straight from the Roman Curia with his pardons, wore 'a Vernicle . . . sewed upon his cappe'. Badges with the Vernicle were also made elsewhere, in France, for example, where there was a popular cult of St Veronica, and where the nunnery of Montreuil-les-Dames possessed a Veil of Veronica given to it by Pope Urban IV. Many other badges figured relics housed in shrines of smaller or more local celebrity – the Holy Tunic of Christ, venerated at Argenteuil, near Paris, which figured on badges as a tunic with outspread arms bearing a figure of Christ Crucified, or the Holy Shroud of Besançon, far better known in the Middle Ages than that of Turin, which came into prominence only in the sixteenth century.[5]

Most surviving pilgrim badges were cast in lead or pewter from stone moulds. Those struck in thin pieces of bronze are in

Fig. 101 Pilgrim badge from Canterbury. Tin and lead alloy. Height 8.4cm, width 7.9cm. English, second half of the fourteenth century. Museum of London, London



Fig. 102 Pilgrim badge from Amiens. Lead. Height 4.2cm. French, thirteenth to fourteenth century. Národní Muzeum, Prague

a technique that only became common in the late fifteenth century, so far as we know. In general they have decoration on one side only, and on occasion were painted and gilded – something of a price-range being no doubt always in operation even for badges made in base metals. Other materials were also used: in their petition to Charles VI of France in 1393 the badge-makers of Mont Saint-Michel speak of the work in shell and horn as well as of 'work in lead and pewter, cast in moulds' which they sold to pilgrims. As we shall see below badges were also made in gold and silver for the great and the wealthy and the well-to-do: these were not always expensive, for in a French criminal case of c.1397 a certain Toustain was said to have pulled out of his purse 'a silver enseigne which might be worth two sols or thereabouts', and was asked where it came from, Mont Saint-Michel or Montfort. At great pilgrimage centres the shrine might even have a special chamber for making badges of gold and silver. One of these seems to have been found at Walsingham in 1536 by Richard Southwell, one of Cromwell's commissioners for the visitation of monasteries – 'a secrete prevye place within the house, where no channon nor onnye other of the howse dyd ever enter, as they saye, in wiche there were instrewmentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of such strange colers as the lick non of us had seene, with poysies [*weights*] and other thinges to sorte, and . . . gould and sylver'. Southwell appears to have suspected this of being an alchemist's lair, but more probably it was the chamber where pilgrim badges were cast.[6]

The pilgrim badges known to us date mostly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are of two types, one solid, the other in openwork. Sometimes the form plainly resembles that of contemporary brooches, recalling solid circular brooches or open ring or oblong brooches. Some examples even imitate the elaborately shaped decorative rings of thirteenth and early fourteenth-century ring brooches, or the fretted borders of pearls mounted on prongs of later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century brooches. Others, also from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, borrow the form of the heart brooch. In others again openwork tabernacle forms may reproduce the forms favoured in the pictorial pendants known in the later Middle Ages as tablets. Pilgrim badges are however too light to have been used as brooches for fastening. Some were worn suspended round the neck, some were fixed to the cloak, the dress, the chaperon and the hat by a pin, and some were worn stitched to the headgear or clothing. A late fourteenth-century poet who wrote a supplement to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* describes how the pilgrims, after paying their devotions to the relics by kissing them as a monk told their names,

as manere and custom is, signes there they bought,
For men of contré should know whome they had sought,
Eche man set his silver in such thing as they likèd,
And in the meen while the miller had y-pikèd,
His bosom ful of signys of Caunterbury brochis
Though the pardoner and he pryvely in their pouchis
They put them afterwards that noon of them it wist.

On leaving the cathedral, the pilgrims 'sett their signys upon their hedes, and sum upon their capp'. In *Piers Plowman*, written c.1377, Langland describes a pilgrim stuck all over with badges:

An hundredt of ampulles on his hatt seten,

Signes of Synay and shelles of Galice.

And many a crouch on his cloke and keyes of Rome

And the vernicle bifore; for men sholde knowe

And se bi hise signes whom he sought hadde[7]

Brian Spencer, the leading authority on pilgrim badges, is of opinion that most of the pilgrim badges made in England were fastened by a pin or clasp at the back cast in one piece with the badge. By contrast almost all German badges were provided with annulets at the edges or corners so that they could be worn stitched to the dress or hood, and this seems often to have been the case in the Netherlands, to judge from miniatures reproducing pilgrim badges in Flemish Books of Hours of c.1500. English pilgrim badges of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tend to be composed either of figures or symbols by themselves, or else set within an openwork frame, and this is also true of the badges of Scandinavia and Germany. In France, the Netherlands, Spain and Italy pilgrim badges of solid form were equally to the taste of pilgrims and eventually as holy medals were to oust openwork badges or at any rate greatly outstrip them in popularity. But even openwork badges were often provided with a ground in the form of a thin sheet of burnished or decorated metal; occasionally vellum and paper were used instead, as on a badge found near Hanover. Some badges even combined sanctity with a small mirror, no doubt in a useful anticipation of the travelling mirror.

A number of stone-moulds used for casting pilgrim badges or base-metal badges of other kinds still survive. The design was cut into the smooth surface of the stone, usually of a close-grained sort, together with a channel running to the edge along which the metal could be poured, and with tiny vents to allow the escape of air and gas. The countermould, to which the mould was fitted by dowels, was left blank or else reproduced in relief the main outlines of the design in the mould, so allowing badges of an economical thinness to be cast. A pin or clasp was allowed for by incising their forms in the countermould, which had to be made in two halves so as to permit the cast badge to be removed without breaking the pin. The right of making badges seems in most cases to have been originally the privilege of the shrine itself and the earliest moulds or stamps were no doubt commissioned by the sacristan and kept in his custody. He would then give them out for use by authorised persons. Such at least was the custom at Saint-Maximin in Provence, one of the great shrines of St Mary Magdalene, from about 1311 onwards, for a document of 1354 records that for forty-three years it had been the practice of the prior and convent to grant licences to make lead badges of the Magdalen, but only from 'irons' issued to them by the sacrist. Contrary to usage at many shrines, the term 'irons' [*ferra*] used in this document implies that these badges were stamped rather than cast.[8]

But other arrangements were also made. At Le Puy, in Auvergne, where the cathedral of Notre-Dame was a great draw to pilgrims from the time of the Crusades until the end of the Middle Ages, the bishop and chapter granted the exclusive right of making and selling pilgrims' badges of pewter and lead to the Hospital of Notre-Dame, which was administered by the chapter. At Aachen the making of badges was a monopoly of the mirror-makers and goldsmiths, except during the exhibition of the four greatest relics of the treasury, which took place only at seven-year intervals, when all the townsfolk were allowed to make them in order to meet the demand from the great concourse of pilgrims. At Regensburg the badges were sold exclusively by the church, but were made for it by the goldsmiths and pewterers of the town. The bishop of the diocese seems often to have exercised some controlling rights, as for example at Rocamadour. Elsewhere the secular authorities exercised rights. They could for instance, grant a licence to make badges, as for example at Thann in Alsace, where in 1442 the Emperor Frederick III granted Johann Liechtkammerer a monopoly of the right to make badges of St Theobald and sell them in the church. Or again they might reserve a right to tax the profits, as at Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, where in 1393 Charles VI granted the makers and vendors of badges in answer to their petition exemption from the tax of twelve deniers a livre on the sale of their badges.

But the numbers who crowded to the great shrines stirred private enterprise among the townspeople. Often this competition was unofficial, and was hotly if generally uselessly opposed by the authorities of the shrine. At Compostella for example the church was already resisting invaders of its monopoly in the twelfth century. At Le Puy, where the bishop and chapter had granted the exclusive right to make lead and pewter badges to the Hospital of Notre-Dame in 1210, certain vendors of pilgrim badges were solemnly excommunicated in 1225 'to the putting out of candles and ringing of bells', no doubt for making un-licensed badges. But the rights of the Hospital of Notre-Dame to its monopoly of badges had to be solemnly reaffirmed in 1293, in 1338, in 1367 and in 1423. At Saint-Maximin, shortly after the Black Death in 1348, certain merchants had their own stamps made and began selling lead badges to the pilgrims, but were countered by the convent authorities. Their complaint to King Louis of Taranto and his wife Queen Giovanna of Naples, the rulers of Provence, brought an order dated 29 April 1354 to the royal officials of Saint-Maximin to maintain the shrine in its rights and, if its claims were proved to be just, to forbid all merchants to sell pilgrim badges without licence from the prior of the convent.[9]

Such enforcements of legal claims may be one reason why coats-of-arms of secular of ecclesiastical authority appear on some badges – for instance those of Taranto on a pilgrim badge from Saint-Maximin, or those of Guillaume de Vergy, Archbishop of Besançon from 1371 to 1391 on a badge of the Holy Shroud from Besançon. Sometimes contests arose because the shrine had granted the right of making pilgrim badges to local townsfolk.

This happened, for instance, at Rocamadour, where the original exclusive monopoly of the abbot and convent was broken in 1237 by the Abbot Elie de Ventadour, who allowed the townspeople to sell them to pilgrims. One of the bishops of Tulle, in whose diocese Rocamadour lies, tried during the 1420s to recover the exclusive monopoly and in 1425 reached an agreement with the townspeople by which they were allowed to sell every kind of pilgrim badge for two years, after which the right of vending those with an image of St Amadour was to become exclusively the bishop's. There were in fact two kinds of badges sold at Rocamadour, one with the Virgin on the front and St Amadour on the back, the other of the Virgin and the Vernicle – the legendary St Amadour was supposed to have been the husband of St Veronica – and, as this second kind was the less popular, it was left to the townspeople. A family named Valon enjoyed special rights of sale and, after a dispute with the bishop, was granted in 1423 the privilege of selling a hundred badges annually, together with an annual rent of eight livres tournois, in return for renouncing these rights and ceasing to hold moulds for making badges. The privileges of the Valon family caused fresh disputes in 1462 and again in 1488, when it was agreed that Antoine de Valon was entitled to half the badges of lead and pewter on which the figure of the Virgin appeared, and could either sell them himself or receive instead the gold or silver obtained by the bishop from their sale.

The great profits drawn from the sale of pilgrim badges were certainly the main reason for these attempts to maintain the monopoly of the shrine and its authorities or to ensure that only those they licensed became vendors. The revenue drawn from their sale was certainly the principal reason why the Hospital of Notre-Dame at Le Puy defended its monopoly of badges so vigorously through three centuries. In 1483 the parish priest of Bollezeal in Flanders could declare that his 'beautiful church' had been paid for by the pilgrims who bought badges at its door. During the earlier Middle Ages badges were often sold in a square adjoining the shrine; thus at Rocamadour they were sold in the square known as Platea des Senhals. At Compostella they were sold in the courtyard. At Le Puy the administrators of the hospital set up a table or booth known as the *table des Seignals* (*tabula signaculorum*) in one of the vaults under the great staircase of the cathedral. In early fifteenth-century Canterbury badges were offered for sale by the shopkeepers just outside the cathedral gate; at Regensburg and the great Swiss monastery of Einsiedeln they were sold in special shops maintained by the church authorities.[10]

Great personages as well as poor persons bought these simple images of lead and pewter. In 1333 the Dauphin Humbert of Vienne, in the course of a pilgrimage round the churches of Rome, bought a lead badge (*cona*), probably from a mercer, and elsewhere three large badges and three small ones of the Veil of Veronica and another lead badge. In the fifteenth century Louis XI of France struck the imagination of his contemporaries by his ostentatious simplicity in wearing a simple lead religious badge

on his hat and a silk collar round his neck sewn with other images of the same kind. Commynes reports that in 1468 at the meeting in Bayonne of Louis and Enrique IV of Castile, the Spaniards mocked the French king's shabby dress and strange poor hat stitched with a leaden image, and poured scorn on him for meanness. But, as we already know, such badges were also made in silver or gold for pilgrims or devotees of rank and wealth, and for those who wished to express their devotion by purchasing a more costly badge. Antoine Leroy, a seventeenth-century historian of Notre-Dame de Boulogne, declares:

> What shows how greatly the church of Boulogne was frequented in former times are all those ancient images of Our Lady figured in a boat which pilgrims used to carry away with them, both to preserve their own devotion to the Holy Virgin and to inspire it in others. They were made in all kinds of metal, but more especially in gold and silver, and such great quantities of them were sold in the town that the greater part of the goldsmiths and other workmen were wholly occupied in making them. A number of medals of this kind have been saved from the wreck of time, and they can still be seen in many places of Flanders and Artois, above all in the town of Saint-Omer, which had a more particular commerce of religion with Boulogne as being closer to it.

Documents confirm Leroy's assertion. In 1420 Pierre Fortin, a goldsmith of Boulogne, fashioned twenty badges of Notre-Dame de Boulogne in silver-gilt and silver for the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and the knights, squires and officers of their household. At a much humbler level, in 1460 the Confrérie de Notre-Dame Panetière, a Marian confraternity of bakers belonging to the church of Saint-Pierre at Aire in Flanders, owned

> a robe [*cotte*] to dress Our Lady of red damask figured with leaves of gold and one similar for her son, to which there are attached three images of Notre-Dame de Boulogne of silver-gilt, of which one is attached by a little silver chain, and the others are gilt, of which one is as large as a noble, and all round, and the other is of the same fashion as that which hangs by the said little chains: *item* a piece of cloth on which are three large round images of Our Lady of Boulogne, an image of St Lambert and two silver roses.[11]

Many other shrines made gold and silver badges. There is a reference of 1448 from an Amiens source of 'a little gold brooch [*afficquete*] in the fashion of the head of St John', which was plainly a version in precious metal of the pilgrim badges of the Baptist's head sold by the cathedral. On 20 July 1451 René of Anjou bought a number of badges in gold and silver from Jehan Juliot, a goldsmith who had evidently set up shop at the then popular pilgrimage chapel of Sainte-Cathérine de Fierbois, near Tours. He bought three large gold badges for himself, his wife and their daughter Yolande, six small ones for his chamberlains, a silver *bullette* – a small trinket-sized pendant – 'on which is the life of St Catherine', two dozen large silver badges to give to the gentlemen and ladies of the household, and four dozen

small ones to give to the officers of the household. Four years later in 1455 the Duchess of Orléans also bought a gold badge at the same shrine. Again on visiting the shrine of Saint-Jean d'Angély René bought a badge of 'Monseigneur Sainct Jehan' to wear in his hat. In 1462 the cathedral of Troyes was regularly selling badges of silver-gilt and silver as well as pewter bearing the image of St Peter and his keys. One of the few survivals of these richer ensigns is a fifteenth-century circular silver badge of the shrine of Notre-Dame de Hal, near Brussels, now in the British Museum.[12]

The custom of wearing religious badges lasted until the end of the Middle Ages. Indeed in French princely circles it became something of a fashion in the later fifteenth century to wear scarves mounted with them. On 25 March 1478 René of Anjou bought silver *enseignes* for mounting on a scarf together with a silk riband on which to mount them. Again in 1490 King Charles VIII bought forty-two silver-gilt (or gold and silver) badges of Notre-Dame d'Embrun from a goldsmith of Embrun; these were then mounted on a scarf of cloth of gold lined with scarlet for wear by the King.[13]

Secular badges were first and foremost tokens of feudal rank and feudal allegiance. As regards badges of rank, it seems that feudal lords and princes in the fourteenth century continued to wear shield-shaped badges or brooches bearing their arms, but that these were often smaller than those of the thirteenth century. In 1322, for instance, Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, left 'a little shield of the arms of Flanders' and 'a shield of silver-gilt with the arms of Flanders and Nevers' – the arms of Nevers belonged to his second wife Yolande de Bourgogne, Countess of Nevers, who died in 1280. At her death in 1370 Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen Dowager of France, left a silver case containing a number of enamelled shield-shaped badges. They were still worn by princes in the fifteenth century: in 1427, for instance, Alard de Bomel of Chambéry, official goldsmith to the Duke of Savoy, delivered two badges (*émaux*), one intended for the little prince Louis of Savoy and one for the Sire de Beaujeu.[14]

Badges of feudal allegiance, sometimes known in England as retainers' badges, were worn by members of a princely or seigneurial household. They were no doubt humbler versions of the badge worn by him in larger and richer form. Retainers' badges were cetainly in existence by the thirteenth century and perhaps even in the later twelfth – most probably it was the increasingly ubiquitous use of heraldry that led to their institution. A heraldic origin would explain why they were usually given a shield shape until the later fourteenth or fifteenth century when livery badges which took the form of princely and seigneurial devices also became common. Ordinarily they must have been enamelled with the armorial bearings of their owners, especially in France, where one of the usual terms for such a badge was an *esmail*. All sorts and conditions of retainers and servitors wore them, as well as knights and esquires of the household. Messengers in particular bore the arms of their lords either on their dress or on the purse or box in which they

carried letters. An ordinance of Pedro II of Aragon of 1283 ordered the messengers of his vicars (*viguers*) to carry a purse with the arms of the vicar or of the chief town of the vicariate or subvicariate. Again, in 1291, four little shield-shaped badges worn by messengers in the service of Mahaut of Artois were refurbished and regilded; badges of this kind long served as tokens of the genuineness of a messenger and of his errand or news. Three dating from the early fifteenth century, belonging to official messengers of the Comune of Florence or one of its organs and dating from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, still survive (in the Bargello, the Louvre, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts).[15]

Heralds also wore badges, either of the arms of their prince or, later in the fifteenth century, perhaps of the device of his order. In the nature of things heralds' badges cannot have antedated the rise of the heralds themselves in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the rank first of privileged attendants and then of representatives of princes and great noblemen. In one of the earliest treatises on heralds and their privileges, written *c.*1400 by a King of Arms, probably the Angevin herald Nicolas Villart, called Calabre, Roi d'Anjou, we learn that it is a lord's duty to give a shield of his arms in gold or silver to a pursuivant or apprentice herald for him to wear on his breast. There were differences in usage between France and England in the side of the breast on which the herald wore his badge. According to René of Anjou's herald Sicile, writing *c.*1435, it was to be fastened by the lord to the right side, as the more noble, but several decades later the Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche notes that in England it was worn on the left side. Frequently the heralds of one prince or lord received gifts of badges of their arms from other princes or lords to whom they had been sent on a mission. When Jean IV of Brittany married Jeanne de Navarre in 1386, Froissart, who attended the wedding, saw Conimbres (Coimbra), the herald of King João I of Portugal, wearing the arms of certain other lords as well as those of Portugal on his breast. This became a general custom in the fifteenth century.

There are a number of references to mediaeval heralds' badges which give us some impression of their form and appearance. In September 1415 Charles, Duke of Orléans had his court goldsmith Aubertin Daillefèves make a silver *esmail* or badge 'of our arms, encircled in a *camail* of our order, of silver, and round the edge of this badge is a gilt stem of metal, and the ground of the badge is likewise gilt' which he gave to Camail, his new pursuivant. In 1427 Désirée, widow of Drocan Guérin, alias Richemont, herald of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (d.1419), redeemed two of her husband's badges which she had pledged to the Abbot of Montier-la-Colle, near Troyes. One is described as a silver targe (possibly therefore a roundel) weighing about half a mark, with the arms of the Duke. The other was a small silver eagle with a small gold shield with the arms of the Duke and his wife set in the middle. This last reference is interesting, as it shows that other motifs beside the pointed or circular shield

Fig. 103  Wedding feast of Philip the Good of Burgundy, anon. Copy of an original of *c*.1431.
Oil on panel. French, late sixteenth century. Musée de Versailles, France

were now being used for such badges – here the eagle, that standard mediaeval emblem of princely rule. Heralds' badges were sometimes quite elaborate. In 1432 Savoie, the herald of Duke Amadeo of Savoy, was issued with an ensign (*émail*) made by Perrin Rollin, ducal goldsmith at Geneva, 'in which are twelve shields where the arms of the knights of Monseigneur's Order are to be put'. In general however heralds continued to wear their lord's arms: in the winter of 1445 Saint-Aubin, the new pursuivant of Duke François I of Brittany, was given money 'to aid him in having an *émail* of the Duke's arms made'. In 1475 when Louis XI, who was not fond of ceremony, and so had no suite of heralds and trumpeters like some princes, wanted to send an emissary disguised as a herald into the English host, his grand écuyer had to get a herald's badge (*émail*) for him from a herald belonging to the Admiral of France. Those lesser emissaries, *trompettes* (trumpeters), much used to take messages to the enemy in war, were also equipped with an ensign (*esmail*) of their master's arms, appropriately, since they united in themselves some of the duties of the messenger, the herald and the musician. We find the Duke of Savoy paying in 1412 and again in 1425 for silver or silver-gilt *émaux* for *trompettes*.[16]

Minstrels and musicians in the service of a great household also wore badges. In 1360 Duke Philippe de Rouvre, the last Capetian Duke of Burgundy, paid a goldsmith twenty-one florins 'for the fashion of three silver ensigns [*émaux*], each weighing a mark and each enamelled and blazoned with Monseigneur's arms and with a flageolet, and given by Monseigneur to Galot, Pincepate and Quenin, his minstrels, to be worn by them'. His successor Duke Philippe the Bold in turn gave his three minstrels in 1375 ensigns (*esmaux*) of silver-gilt weighing 13 marks, which he had bought from Pierre Le Clerc, goldsmith of Paris. The Burgundian court musicians can be seen wearing *esmaux* on their white liveries in a copy of a Flemish fifteenth-century painting of the wedding of Philip the Good with Isabella of Portugal in 1429 (fig.103) now in the Musée du Palais de Versailles. The custom prevailed in other courts besides those of the French princes. Between 1390 and 1397, for instance, the goldsmith Colin de Lyz of Pampeluna is recorded as gilding or making ensigns for the minstrels of King Charles the Noble of Navarre. Again in 1394 André d'Escaupont, goldsmith of Mons, is found making an ensign (*esmail*) for the minstrel of Albert of Bavaria, Count of Hainault. The practice continued into the fifteenth century: in 1428, for instance, Amadeo, Duke of Savoy had the ensign (*émail*) of his minstrel or jester (*mime*) Gauthier refashioned by a goldsmith of Geneva. And in October in 1478 Margery, a goldsmith of Avignon was given fifteen and a half marks of fine silver to make five badges (*esmaux*) for the minstrels and sackbut of King René d'Anjou; he was paid that same month for the fashion and gilding.[17]

Olivier de la Marche, setting forth the regulations of the Burgundian ducal household in 1474, remarks that all those in the service of the stable 'who wear the prince's ensign [*esmail*] or badge of arms are to obey the *écuyer* [equerry], except for the

herald'. This usage was not exclusive to Burgundy: the *chevaucheurs d'Escurie* [stable grooms] of the Duke of Brittany also wore an *esmail* of the Duke's arms. Sometimes an *esmail* was given to a member of another princely household. In 1452, for example, Guillaume Rollin of Geneva sold the Duke and Duchess of Savoy two *émaux* of gold, one set with a turquoise and the other with a ruby, which were given on behalf of all the ducal family to Gouras, a squire of Marguerite of Savoy, Duchess of Bavaria, who had brought the good news that his mistress had been safely delivered of a fine son. Here of course the armorial badge made a highly suitable testimony of family gratitude because it could appropriately be worn by a squire in the service of a princess of the family.[18]

It was usual for a prince or great lord to distribute badges to the upper ranks of his own household. In France the general custom was to give them out at the New Year. In 1384, for instance, the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier was paid for one hundred and six small badges of silver-gilt for distribution of New Year's Day to the knights and squires of Charles VI's household. Again at New Year in 1448 King René of Anjou distributed one hundred and eight badges of fine silver among the lesser members of his household and twelve of gold among his knights. In England the custom of wearing silver badges persisted among the serving-men of great households into Jacobean times, when it began to die out. The metal of such badges was usually carefully graded according to the standing of the recipient: the higher officers of the household and the more important retainers received badges of gold, those of middling rank badges of silver-gilt and lesser followers badges of silver. Thus in 1409 when Jean Sans Peur made a fresh distribution of his device of a plane, he gave it in gold set with precious stones to his eighty chamberlains, in gold to two hundred gentlemen of his household, and in silver to three hundred domestics. It was not, however, the custom to give badges in precious metal below the rank of esquire, except to those court officers, such as heralds and musicians, who advertised their master's state. For lesser servants badges were cast in pewter and lead in stone moulds: a mould of a talbot (hound) for making the badges of the Talbot family still survives. Specific references to the silver badges worn by retainers of knightly or gentle rank to great feudal barons are few. But in 1430 William Stowe of Ripon, a retainer of the great Percy family, earls of Northumberland, left to the shrine of St Wilfrid of Ripon 'my livery badge of silver, a crescent, and my livery, a collar'. Examples are even fewer. However the Duke of Northumberland still owns a fifteenth-century Percy badge in the form of a crescent (fig.104). It is elegantly engraved with a chain whose central link is a majuscule Gothic P for Percy, framed to either side by lines shaped as a crescent enclosing a minuscule Gothic p. Presumably the Percy livery collars also incorporated this motif in some form.[19]

Probably most badges before the fourteenth century bore a coat of arms or some heraldic charge, and many continued to be purely heraldic in their blazonry. But the cult of the device,

Fig. 104 Percy badge. Silver. Diameter 11.5cm. English, early fifteenth century. Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, England

so characteristic of European aristocratic culture from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, naturally affected the badge. A number of the new devices probably took their origin from bearings, among them the most famous of all, the badge of ostrich feathers used by the Prince of Wales. This may derive from the shield of ostrich feathers borne by Queen Philippa of Hainault, perhaps for the County of Ostrevant, which was the appanage of the eldest sons of the House of Hainault. Three ostrich feathers on a shield appear on the tomb of the Black Prince (d.1378) in Canterbury, probably in allusion to his mother Queen Philippa, for he himself used a badge of a single ostrich feather, while his brother John of Gaunt used an ostrich feather powdered with ermine tails, and Thomas of Woodstock, their younger brother, a badge of the feathers with a strap. The feathers became an English royal device, and were borne in various forms by Yorkists and Lancastrians alike.

We illustrate the vogue of devices from England, where they were often used as livery badges, but their vogue was universal, stretching from Hungary to Scotland. The princes who bore them deliberately distributed them internationally to make them known. Richard II, as we already know, had a badge of a white hart. According to his fifteenth-century biographer he first distributed the badge of a white hart with a gold crown round its neck and a gold chain at the tournament held in October 1390 at Smithfield to entertain two visiting Netherlandish great lords, the Count of Saint-Pol and the Count of Ostrevant. And an entry in the accounts of his rival and successor Henry, Earl of Derby, shows him paying 40s to have two sleeves of red velvet

and a pair of plates of the same suit embroidered with the 'harts of the King's livery'. Richard certainly came to distribute the device liberally in the form of livery badges to be worn as brooches high and conspicuously on the breast, but at first it was worn only by Richard himself and by 'the knights who attend our person', as he wrote to the Doge of Venice in 1392, explaining that he had created a Venetian a knight and given him the badge of a hart. His kinsman Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, had a white hind, and Edmund, Duke of York, Richard's uncle, a white falcon. In the fifteenth century a white rose was the badge of the House of York, a red rose that of the House of Lancaster, and later of the House of Tudor which also used the white rose of York and the portcullis of the Beauforts. As his device, Richard III had a white boar. The badge of the earls of Warwick was a ragged staff, that of the Talbot earls of Shrewsbury a talbot, that of the Lords Scrope a crab. Apart from badges taken from family arms, there were badges derived from the family crest, from rebuses, that is, punning allusions to surnames, like the luce which was the badge of the Lucys, or the mulberry of the Mowbray family or the stock of wood which was another badge of Thomas of Woodstock. Certain badges had their origin in a legendary family descent, like the swan of the Bohuns, the crescent of the Percies, and the bear and ragged staff of the Beauchamps.[20]

Badges of devices were so frequently worn by the kinsmen and by the descendants, by the allies and by the adherents of the original owner and his house, either in their original form or in one deliberately varied, that it is a complex study to unravel their associations. Many devices, originally personal, became family badges and were handed down from father to son as hereditary symbols of descent and kinship. Moreover the repertory of symbols used in devices was limited; if new devices were invented by the more imaginative, the less imaginative were often content to make use of an established symbol. The swan, for instance, is found as a device in fifteenth century Brandenburg and in the Netherlands as well as in England; the ragged staff used as a badge by the earls of Warwick was also taken as a device by Louis of Orléans in 1405; the flying stag taken as a device by Charles VI of France in 1389 was also adopted as a device in 1446 by François I of Brittany. Feathers were a device of Charles VI of France as well as of the Black Prince. In general those kinsmen and allies of equal rank with a prince or great lord who chose to wear his device wore it in the form of a gold badge, either in the form of a brooch or pendant. Among the jewels of the rebellious Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, when they were handed over to Henry IV in November 1403 after his execution, was a gold and jewelled brooch with a stag in the middle, presumably the hart badge of the murdered Richard II whom Thomas and his brother Hotspur were pretending to restore to his throne. In 1488 King James III of Scotland left a badge of 'a raggit staff' and a brooch of a wild man, described as 'a wodward' of gold with a diamant' which may likewise have been a badge.[21]

The devices of badges, as must already have become plain, were frequently incorporated into jewels of various kinds. In 1411 Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, in order to pay his men-at-arms pledged among other jewels his brooch 'with the device of King Richard (a white hart) set with twenty-two large round pearls, two large square halas-rubies, two eight-sided sapphires, a ruby, a large square pointed diamond in a collet the size of a large nut' and his gold brooch with a bear, the device of Jean, Duc de Berry, set with two diamonds, a ruby and large pearls round its neck and a ruby on its forehead. In 1400, as we have seen, the royal jewels of England included two gold brooches in the fashion of the royal device of fetterlocks; they bore two white leverets, and were set with precious stones. Again in 1457 Lady Ela Shardelowe of Bury St Edmunds left the shrine of St Edmund a gold jewel 'stamped with the figure of a stag'. The hart, as we know, had been the device of Richard II, who visited the abbey of Bury in 1383, and it has been suggested that the hart appears on these Bury brooches because of this association and because of the authority that Richard's favourite, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (d.1414) had exercised in the town. Again, however, we are faced with the problem of deciding whether this is really the case, or whether the hart was used purely as an ornamental motif.[22]

From the second half of the fourteenth century kings and princes often made the assumption of a device an affair of great ceremony, not least by their manner of publishing it and by the eagerness with which they urged their family, their allies, and their courtiers to wear it. We shall return to this in greater detail when we come to discuss the collar and pendant, which during the first decades of the fifteenth century replaced the badge as the prime symbol of livery and allegiance and the prime fashion of blazoning a device. Yet they by no means wholly ousted their predecessor the badge, though as a result of their popularity many devices were worn as pendants that previously would have been worn as badges. Accordingly we must begin our first notices of the solemn distribution of devices with the badge. During the feasts of Christmas 1365 and New Year's day 1366, Louis II, Duc de Bourbon announced to the assembled nobles of the Bourbonnais first that he intended to take as his device a girdle inscribed with the motto ESPERANCE and then that he would give each of them a gold badge of a shield set with a band of pearls and inscribed with the word ALLEN. The girdle inscribed ESPERANCE became one of his favourite devices and is found carved on his buildings; and his Duchess Anne (d.1410) whom he married in 1371 wears on her tomb in their mortuary chapel of Souvigny a crown inscribed ESPERANCE. Again when King Joan I of Aragon took first the device of an eagle and then that of a double crown in the late 1380s and 1390s he was at great pains to announce that he had assumed them to his cousin King Charles VI of France and to ensure that Charles and his own entourage wore them too – and discarded the eagle device in favour of the crown. As it was the custom for the prince to distribute badges of his own device for wear either

brooch fashion or later as pendants from collars, to assume a new device might entail a great expense. Thus in 1410 when Jean Sans Peur of Burgundy distributed his device of a *niveau* – a builder's set-square and lead (level) – in gold set with sapphires, diamonds and pearls to all the knights and squires in his service, it cost him the huge sum of 50,000 livres. By contrast, when François I, Duke of Brittany, assumed a flying stag as his device on New Year's Day 1446, only twelve marks of silver were shaped into flying stags, both gilt and plain 'that my said Lord had made for his device for New Year's gifts, and distributed among the members and officers of his household'.[23]

In that age of fierce rivalries between kings and between different branches of the same royal family, of dynastic and factional conflicts, of violent contentions between great feudal houses, the device and badge were naturally used from time to time to blazon partisanship, especially during the contests for supreme power that rent both France and England during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The badge already had a tradition as a symbol of political allegiance. For instance, when in 1358 the citizens of Paris, led by their provost Etienne Marcel, revolted against the royal government, and took Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, as their captain, they undertook to wear as a pledge of their obedience silver badges enamelled *mi-parti* red and blue with the motto A BONNE FIN (To a good purpose) beneath. During the late fourteenth century the political use of the badge became commoner in France. The madness of King Charles VI of France sharpened rivalries among the royal French princes for supremacy in the state. In 1394 Louis d'Orléans, the King's younger brother, founded an Order of the Porcupine: the device was a warning that he would be prickly to handle and would fire off barbs at his enemies, and especially at his great rival Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, who was also his cousin. When armed conflict broke out between the two in 1405, Louis of Orléans put the device of a ragged stave on his banners, with the motto *Je l'envie* (I defy him). To this Jean riposted with his device of a plane and the motto *In houd* (i.e. *Je le tiens*, I hold it) the implication being that he would shave smooth with his plane the roughness of Louis's brawling.[24]

By January 1406 Jean was deeply in debt because of excessive expense in 'forming, making known, and giving away' this device of a plane. He had so many made that on one day alone in May 1406 he gave away three hundred and fifteen, all of gold set with diamonds – his own was of gold set with diamonds and pearls, as was that of his son Philip. To Jean, Duc de Berry, his uncle, he gave a particularly large one of gold, mounted on a plank also of gold, and set with a fine emerald cut to lozenge form, with a shield-shaped diamond on a corner of the plane, and having another large diamond hanging below by a ring. A temporary reconciliation between Louis and Jean that May was signalised by Jean's gift to Louis after dining with him of a similar device, and by Jean's wearing a dress bearing the ragged stave and motto of Louis in place of a rich dress and jewels which he had especially made in order to flaunt his new device

at several royal marriage festivities that year. The reconciliation, all too temporary, left traces in the inventory of Louis, taken in 1408 after his assassination at Jean's instigation: it lists 'a gold brooch in the fashion of a plane, in which is a large pearl', and another, smaller one, also set with a large pearl. Again the device of a builder's set-square and lead that Jean Sans Peur assumed in 1409 was intended to have a political significance: it declared that it was he who would now establish the state on a solid and stable footing.[25]

This use of the badge for political purposes is also found in England, equally wracked by princely and baronial rivalries from the days of Richard II. After Richard's dethronement by Henry IV, his cousin Philippe, Countess of Oxford, was accused in 1404 of having had gold and silver badges of his device of a hart made for distribution to his partisans. And Thomas Percy and Hotspur are said to have given similar badges to supporters of Richard during the abortive rebellion they raised in his name. The custom continued throughout the Wars of the Roses: in the late 1450s Margaret of Anjou, the spirited Queen of Henry VI, was accused by a hostile chronicler of winning supporters in the earldom of Chester, one of the appanages of her son, Edward, Prince of Wales, by causing him to give 'a livery of Swans to all the gentlemen of the country, and to many others throughout the land'. In 1470, after Sir John Wenlock, Governor of Calais had declared for Henry VI, who had just been delivered from the Tower by the Earl of Warwick and proclaimed King once more, Commynes found him wearing a gold badge of Warwick's device of a ragged staff on his hat, while as for Wenlock's retainers, 'all those who could not have the same device in gold, had it in cloth'.[26]

The British Museum owns the most beautiful surviving badge of feudal kinship or allegiance, the gold Swan Badge found at Dunstable (pl.58), dating from the early fifteenth century. To the back, which is plain and is unmodelled, is attached a gold pin. The light chain to which the badge is also fastened has a ring for suspension; since the badge is notably heavy, the pin may have been designed to fasten it firmly while the chain linked it to a lace or thin chain worn around the neck. But normally neither pendants nor pendant badges were fixed in this fashion, so far as we know, and the ring may well have been used to pin up the badge somewhere on the chest for further security. The swan itself has a crown of plain gold with fleur-de-lis-shaped fleurons round its neck – a feature which perhaps suggests some royal connection; its feet and beak are also left in plain gold. The stylised yet naturalistic feathers of the neck and the rest of the body at the front are enamelled a beautiful pure white in the technique of *émail en ronde bosse*. The exact person or allegiance indicated by the device of the crowned swan has unfortunately not been identified, though some historians have associated it with the swan badges known to have been distributed by Margaret of Anjou. Certainly the crown suggests a royal association – Richard II's hart and Charles VI's flying stag both had crowns round their necks.[27]

Pendants were worn in the earlier Middle Ages suspended from laces and chains, generally under the high-necked robes and tunics which were universal until the fourteenth century. Only with the introduction of rich collars and chains and of livery collars did the pendant come to rival or supersede the brooch in prominence. In consequence most early pendants were simple or small. As they were private jewels rather than jewels for display, they were often prophylactic in design or materials, warding off harm from the wearer either by their symbolic significance, as in the case of the cross, or by the mysterious properties attached to them, as in the case of precious stones, or by their holy power, as in the case of relics. Protective pendants of this kind continued to be worn under the neckline till the end of the Middle Ages, often along with more ostentatiously displayed jewels. Accordingly small pendants continued to be made for wear in this fashion, which indeed is still frequently the reason why small pendants are made now. The lace or chain from which this kind of pendant hung seems as often as not to have been itself light, thin and simple.[1]

In Northern Europe the wearing of pendants was common to all the Nordic cultures – they are found in Anglo–Saxon England, Scandinavia and Germany. In the West, as in Byzantium, among the earliest and most popular types of pendant were small cross pendants often containing a relic. A little gold cross, traditionally worn round his neck by St Vedast, first bishop of Arras (d.540), was still preserved in the twelfth century in the cathedral of St Vaast at Arras. The pectoral cross of St Cuthbert (Durham Cathedral) is well known. One or two early mediaeval examples survive, including an Italo–Byzantine one of c.1000 AD traditionally said to have been buried in 1231 with Queen Margareta Dagmar, wife of Valdemar II of Denmark (pls.59, 59a). Still untraced is the small gold cross hanging from a chain which was found on the body of King Edward the Confessor (d.1066) when his tomb was opened in 1685. The treasures of King Charles V of France included in 1380 a pendant cross which was believed to be that of Godefroy de Bouillon (1061–1100), the revered leader of the First Crusade. On it was 'an old crucifix in the fashion of enamel and on the other side, an image of God, and it hangs from a little gold chain'. This sounds an authentically early object, not least because it suggests a Byzantine or Italo–Byzantine pendant cross, or a Western imitation of one, decorated in cloisonné enamel. Among the jewels called in by King John of England in 1215 were 'two gold crosses with gold chains', evidently small pendant crosses. The small pectoral cross in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (pl.60) of nielloed

silver-gilt, though no doubt an ecclesiastical pectoral cross, probably gives a faithful image of one kind of twelfth-century pendant cross. The reverse is decorated with the Agnus Dei and the symbols of the Evangelists. It dates from c.1170, and still shows Byzantine influence, especially in the figure of Christ. Niello remained a favourite thirteenth-century technique for decorating such crosses: St Louis had a pendant cross decorated with the fleur-de-lis of the French monarchy, that is, if the inventory of his descendant, Charles V, is correct in declaring that 'a cross nielloed with gold fleur-de-lis' which hung in 1379 from a set of gold paternoster beads was 'that which my lord St Louis used to wear on his person'.[2]

Such crosses were generally worn suspended from a slender lace or chain, and from the second half of the thirteenth century are often mentioned in inventories. Thus in 1262 Cardinal Ottaviano Ubaldini had 'a tiny little cross which has a sapphire in the middle, two garnets and emerald plasms' – plainly a more pretentious object than the very small silver cross for 'wearing round the neck' which Cardinal Goffredo d'Alatri left at his death in 1287. Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, owned in 1302 a little cross of gold set with five stones. In 1313 Edward II of England had 'a cross and a chain of silver', 'a stone set in gold, with a white cross, [decorated] with crosses of its own design' and a gold cross set with two balas-rubies, three sapphires, and four pearls. An early fourteenth-century gold cross in the Historiska Museet, Stockholm, set with a ruby – here a symbol of the Holy Blood – illustrates that crosses for wear in this way were often very small, as the inventory descriptions imply. Naturally such crosses frequently enshrined a relic and so are often designed as cross-shaped cases. In 1323 Maria of Hungary, Dowager Queen of Naples, left a 'little gold cross set with stones and pearls . . . within which there was once a Thorn of Our Lord's Crown', and 'a little gold cross with wood from Our Lord's cross and other relics'. A relic of the True Cross was a favourite relic for enshrining in a pendant cross. Again, for instance, in 1327 St Isabel of Portugal left a pendant cross of a relic of the True Cross mounted 'in three pierced stones of sapphires'. And in 1394 Duke Louis of Orléans bought 'a little purse in which to put the True Cross he wears about his neck' – the wearing of relics or jewels containing relics in a little ornamental bag or purse was a common mediaeval custom; with jewels worn next to the skin it must have made for comfort.[3]

The Victoria and Albert Museum has a fine mid-fourteenth-century Italian silver reliquary cross of this kind (cat.36,

pls.128, 128a), elegantly decorated in translucent enamel, true to Italian fourteenth-century taste, with its liking for translucent enamel as a decorative technique in jewellery. Pendant reliquary crosses were often quite large, especially as it would seem in the fifteenth century – an instance is the German silver cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.51). Perhaps this was because it was now much more the fashion to wear chains, collars and pendants outside the dress, so that the cross was worn large not merely from devotion, but from an ostentation of piety. This seems to have happened in Spain, where the powerful Castilian nobleman and poet Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, is shown on an altarpiece painted by Jorge Inglés wearing a large gold cross with a pendant pearl.

Edward II's richly jewelled gold cross was one of many. In 1354 St Isabel's daughter-in-law Queen Beatriz of Portugal left another which she describes as 'the ruby that belonged to Nuno Fernandes, set in a cross with four emeralds around'. Beatriz also had in 1358 a gold cross which had been given to her by her father-in-law King Diniz, most probably between 1309 and 1325. It had belonged to his mother-in-law, Constance of Sicily, Queen of Aragon and must therefore have dated from before her death in 1300: it had a ruby in the centre, and a sapphire at each of is four ends. Even more magnificent was Beatriz's third gold cross, set with a cameo of a white head on a dark ground, in a circle of emeralds and little rubies, and also with two rubies and two sapphires, one stone at each of the ends. Similarly in 1462 Louis, Duke of Savoy, ordered payment for a little gold cross, set with pearls, rubies and a diamond, and a gold chain, which were to be a gift to his son Janus, Comte de Genevois. Probably the gold cross set with four large pearls and a ruby in the middle that Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, bequeathed in 1446 to Alicia, Countess of Salisbury, followed one of these designs.[4]

Charles the Bold's pendant crosses, as listed c.1468, had all the Burgundian ostentation of precious stones: we read of crosses set with a great table diamond, with five table rubies, with ten table rubies, with fourteen table rubies, with sixteen small faceted diamonds and a drop pearl, with six table diamonds, with five flowers, each composed of four pieces of diamond, and four small pearls. Then as now such crosses were often plain, with no crucifix figure, but in Naples we hear in 1326 of a pendant 'of gold with the crucifix', set with pearls and a garnet, and with a cameo 'with a figure of an angel'. Simple as pendant crosses often were, they were sometimes greatly cherished by their wearers, as witness Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, who in 1399 left her son Henry a cross of gold with a crucifix figure and four pearls set round it hanging from a chain 'with my blessing, as the thing of mine I have loved the best'.[5]

Some idea of such a cross is probably given by the Clare Cross, found at Clare in Suffolk in 1866 and now part of the Royal Collection in the British Museum (pl.61). It is of gold, with a panel in the centre with a figure of Christ, originally

enamelled, which lifts to reveal a cavity in which a relic, almost certainly of the True Cross, was once enshrined. A pearl is mounted on a prong in each corner. It has square ends, each end being pounced with one each of the Gothic letters *i/n/r/i* for *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*. The back of the cross is lightly pounced with a delicate foliated stem; the technique of pouncing and the Gothic lettering indicate a date in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The cross is still suspended by a double ring from its original gold chain whose twisted links are formed of thick corded wire. Its square ends are typical of English fifteenth-century crosses; they appear again on the little gold cross, once set with four pearls, found with the Fishpool hoard, and so dating from before 1464, which is now in the British Museum (pl.62). Pendant crosses were of course among the most intimate of personal jewels, and they were often handed down in families as fond mementoes of the dead. In 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal willed back to her grandson Dom Fernando a gold cross which had once belonged to his mother, Doña Constança, and which he had given on Constança's death in 1345 to his grandmother. And in 1446 Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, left her niece Beatrice Waterton a gold cross 'which was my mother's'. Probably they were among the pendants most ordinarily worn every day: certainly John, Lord Scrope (d.1455), bequeathed to his wife 'my crosse and my cheyne, yat I bere abowte my neck'.[6]

Like so many mediaeval jewels, pendant crosses often came as best and second best: in 1483 Robert Marler of York left his best gold cross 'for her neke' to his eldest daughter and his second best to a friend. The custom of wearing pendant crosses lasted throughout the Middle Ages and is one, of course, that we still keep. Thus in 1422 Henry V of England had several gold pendant crosses with or without gold chains, including one 'garnished with pearls'. In design such crosses follow in miniature the evolution of larger crosses. A twelfth-century cross in the treasury of Aachen is a reduced version of a Romanesque cross, and similarly later crosses reproduce the type of larger Gothic cross current in their region at given times. During the later Middle Ages a favourite design for jewelling such crosses was to set gems and pearls at the ends and in the corners made by the arms; a beautiful small gold pendant cross in the treasury of Xanten in the Lower Rhineland (pl.63), probably Cologne or Paris work of c.1400, has four pearls on prongs in the inner corners, and on the ends a red stone (an almandine), a sapphire, and dark-blue glass stones imitating sapphires. As red stones figured the Holy Blood, so pearls and sapphires figured heavenly purity. Christ is enamelled white in the technique of *émail en ronde bosse*, with a red wound in his side. The whole has the typical late fourteenth-century combination of other-worldly refinement with a use of colour that is at once symbolic and dramatic. The crescent, silver-gilt, may be a later alteration. In France during the first half of the fifteenth century the fashion for assembling shaped pieces of diamond into a motif also extended itself to crosses: in 1451 René of Anjou bought 'two

Fig. 105 Pendant reliquary cross. Reverse of colour plate 64. Gold, niello. Height 3.6cm, width 2.7cm. English, c.1475–1500. Castle Museum, Norwich, England



Fig. 106 Pendant cross. Silver-gilt. Height 6.8cm, width 4.9cm. German, 1470. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne

crosses of diamond, one of four pieces, the other in the fashion of a Jerusalem cross'. In a portrait of c.1440 Philip the Good of Burgundy is shown wearing a small gold pendant cross set with pearls and a central ruby, and the Victoria and Albert Museum's collections include a German fifteenth-century one of silver-gilt (cat.53, pl.134) set with stones and pearls.[7]

A special fifteenth-century variety of the pendant cross was that shaped as the tau-cross of St Anthony. These were frequently worn in England – English examples in pewter are known and the only surviving examples of such crosses in gold were found at Matlaske, near Norwich (pl.64, fig.105), and at Bridlington (now in the British Museum). The type however was not exclusively English, for in 1459 Doña Elvira Laso de Mendoza, Señora de Feria, a great Castilian lady, left her daughter Doña Maria, Condesa de Paredes, among other jewels 'a Tao with four pearls and a ruby' and in 1468 the inventory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy included a 'potence de St-Anthoine'. Again among the jewels of James III of Scotland inventoried in 1488 was a 'sanct Antonis cors [sic] and in it a diamant, a ruby & a grete perle'. Both the Bridlington and Matlaske crosses were enamelled, but only the Matlaske cross retains its enamelling. The Matlaske cross is designed as a case, with a high rim running round the back of the front plate. Originally it was no doubt closed by a back plate, now missing, held by a pin passing through the two holes pierced in the lower curve of the rim. Its appearance can be

surmised from the Bridlington cross, which has a tau outline on the reverse. At the top of the Matlaske case, at the back (fig.105) is a square open-ended socket which held or maintained the relic. The front is decorated with Christ on the Cross between St John the Baptist, holding a lamb, and a bishop saint holding a casket (St Nicholas?), the whole being perhaps the badge of a confraternity. These figures are framed by a foliated ornament at top and bottom, and to either side by motifs of plants, two with quatrefoil, five with cinquefoil flowers, forming a sort of bowery garland round the cross. All these motifs are surrounded by black enamel. This wonderfully elegant pendant, with its dark pathos, seems to date from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The Bridlington cross must be contemporary; on the front it has a scene of the Annunciation against a ground of floral sprays. This is also the date implied by the only known English documents to refer to such tau-cross jewels, the will of 1501 of Nicholas Talbot of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, which leaves a 'Seynt Antony crosse' to the priest of Berkhamsted, and that of Thomas Clerk of Bury St Edmunds, made in 1506, which bequeaths 'a tau crosse of gold weying iij li' to his wife. The East Anglian origin of both the Matlaske cross and these documents is very interesting, and suggests a local fashion for wearing such crosses. One of their purposes was presumably to protect against the plague, for which St Anthony was invoked.[8]

Fig. 107 Unknown portrait by the Master WB. Oil on panel. German, late
fifteenth century. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main

Occasionally pendant crosses were of hardstone, like Charles the Bold's little cross of serpentine, which hung from a slender chain of gold, or of amber like one in a gold filigree case that belonged in 1413–14 to Alfonso of Aragon. Sometimes pendant crosses were exotic in origin. In 1422 the Emperor Manuel Palaeologus gave the Burgundian ambassador Ghillebert de Lannoy on his departure from Constantinople

> a gold cross with a large pearl in each of whose members, numbering five places in all, he caused to be enshrined one of the relics which follow: first of the robe *Irrisoria* in which Our Lord was mocked, of a holy shroud of Our Lord, of the chemise of Our Lady, of a bone of St Stephen and of one of St Theodore, with the name of each relic inscribed in Greek on each member.

Lannoy so venerated this little cross that on return home he had a silver angel made to hold it and later presented it to his family chapel in Lille.[9]

It seems that even quite poor women often had a small silver or gold pendant cross: for this reason they were known in France as *jeannettes* – among Philippe the Bold of Burgundy's New Year's gifts of 1380 were 'two gold janetes' with three large pearls. In Germany large pendant crosses (fig.106) seem to have been specially affected by married women, since their size could be taken as a proclamation of standing without incurring the charge of vainglory and wanton luxury. They assumed in the fifteenth century all the elaborate frettedness of Late Gothic art. In a late fifteenth-century portrait from the middle Rheinland by the master WB (now in Frankfurt) an elderly matron holds up her jewelled cross on its chain as a token of her piety (fig.107), though its richness and her other chains and head ornaments carefully bespeak her wealth. Yet in true mediaeval fashion even so obvious an ensign of piety could be made to carry a sentiment of love: in 1419 the English Queen Joan of Navarre had a gold chain from which hung a cross fleury enamelled with the motto *Amer & servier* (To love and serve).[10]

Chief among the types of secular pendants that survived into the later Middle Ages were simple stones, generally unmounted and pierced for wearing or else at most in a plain setting. These as we have seen were credited with magical or prophylactic properties, and this was the principal reason for wearing them. It would be interesting to know if Marbodus's poem increased the vogue for wearing them, but our earliest record concerning them dates from the late twelfth century. Shortly after his accession in 1199 King John was conversing with St Hugh of Lincoln when he pulled out of his dress a stone set in gold which he wore round his neck, and told the saint that it had been given to one of his ancestors with a promise from heaven that none of his descendants who came into possession of it would ever lose any of their ancestral lands. Perhaps this was one of the stones 'which we are wont to wear round our neck' that he later lost, being so overjoyed when they were found that he rewarded the finder with 20s rent in his birthplace.



Fig. 108 Pendants. Left: silver, boar's tusk. Height 6.7cm, width 2.1cm. Centre: silver, haematite. Height 5.7cm, width 1.3cm. Right: silver-gilt, bone. Height 9.3cm, width 2.6cm. German, sixteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne

Four blue stones that he ordered to be set in gold mounts (*covsol*) in 1207 may well have been intended for wear as pendants. And among the various jewels that in 1215 he called in from various monasteries where he had deposited them were nine sapphires which were 'pendants for the neck' and 'a citrine stone [which is] a pendant for the neck'. In 1231 his son Henry III accused the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, of stealing from his treasury a precious stone 'whose virtue was such that whoever bore it in war could never be defeated' and sending it to his enemy Llewellyn, Prince of Wales.[11]

That such pendants were far from exclusively royal appears from the thirteenth-century English chronicler Matthew Paris, who tells us that when an aged knight named Robert Fitzwalter was on his deathbed in 1235, he told his wife to take the precious stone he wore round his neck and give it to his eldest son and heir 'for while I wear it, I cannot die, neither will he die nor anyone else who chances to wear it'. And among the few jewels confiscated from the Knights Templar of Aragon after their downfall in 1307 were pendants of this kind. One was a large dark sapphire set in a ring suspended from a cord; a second sapphire ring was suspended from 'a cord of royal silk'. A white stone was mounted in silver 'with a cord of green silk'. Presumably rings set with stones were quite often worn in this fashion, oftener, it may be suspected, than our scanty references suggest. Indeed, rings, as we have seen and shall see again, not infrequently were used as decorative adjuncts to a variety of types of jewel.[12]

These stories illustrate something of the superstitious awe the mediaeval mind attached to precious stones, and why they were so often worn as pendants. But by no means all stones worn as pendants were precious or semi-precious: it was sufficient that some protective power was associated with them. The 'white stone mounted in silver' confiscated from the Templars is an instance in point, as is the 'little stone enclosed in silver' owned at her death in 1323 by Maria of Hungary, Dowager Queen of Naples. Coral, a substance still prized in Italy for prophylactic pendants, was already being worn there at an early date. In 1287 Cardinal Goffredo d'Alatri left at his death in Rome 'a certain instrument of coral which is worn round the neck', and no doubt if we had more early Italian inventories we should find more references to such pendants of coral. Certainly they must have remained in fashion, for in 1456 Piero di Cosimo de' Medici had 'a little chain of silver-gilt with a branch of coral'. They were also worn in Spain: among the jewels stolen from the royal nuns Blanche and Maria of Aragon in 1342 was a coral which must have been a coral pendant of this kind. A number of early sixteenth-century German amulets of various sorts in silver and silver-gilt mounts still survive (figs.108, 109); they were also worn in the Low Countries, for two are shown suspended for sale in Petrus Christus's painting of St Eligius (pl.2).[13]

In the thirteenth century few people, however great, had more than a few pendants of single stones or prophylactic charms, perhaps because, like King John's, they were especially personal and often worn inside rather than outside the dress. In 1266 Eudes, Count of Nevers, left a pendant of a simple sapphire 'which he used to wear at his neck'. In 1299 the jewels of King Edward I included 'a pendant of gold with a great sapphire for hanging round a man's neck', a pendant of gold set with a cameo, another set with an amethyst, a stone suspended

from a silver chain and one held by a silver mount at the top. Again in 1302 the Connétable Raoul de Nesle left 'a sapphire hanging from a great chain of gold' with a special container to hold it. Edward I of England also had in 1299 a simple mounted pendant of gold set with an amethyst.[14]

Such pendants were often cherished personal jewels or were handed down as family heirlooms. In 1305 Queen Marguerite de Tonnerre, the widow of Charles I of Anjou (1226–85), King of the Two Sicilies, left 'my fair sapphire' to Queen Marie de Hongrie, the wife of her stepson Charles II, and to Jehanne de Coucy, her niece, 'my little ruby, which belonged to my lord my father' – Eudes, Count of Nevers (1230–67), son of Hugues IV, Duke of Burgundy. This can also be seen in the history of 'the great emerald for the neck' which Queen Beatriz of Portugal bequeathed to her daughter Maria, Queen of Castile in 1354. It had belonged to King Diniz of Portugal (r.1279–1325); from him it had passed to his son, Beatriz's husband King Affonso IV (r.1325–57). He had given it to his daughter, Eleanora, Queen of Aragon (d.1348); from her it had come back to her mother, who now left it to another daughter, Maria, wife of Alfonso XI of Castile.[15]

In 1324 Edward II still had a pendant of a single sapphire – in this case a citrine sapphire – and in 1328 all the six pendants belonging to Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France were simple sapphires of various colours, shapes and sizes, from very large downwards – one is described as 'flat'. It long remained the custom to wear pendants of stones; the only examples to retain mounts that still survive are fifteenth-century and German. The Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne has an example (fig.110) in the form of an agate mounted in a rich writhen frame of silver-gilt. So general was their use that pendants of sapphires and other stones were among the few secular jewels worn by the Popes. In 1295 the treasury of Boniface VIII

Fig. 109 Pendant. Silver-gilt, rock crystal. Height 6.3 cm, width 1 cm. German, sixteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne

Fig. 110 Pendant. Silver-gilt, agate. Height 6 cm, width 3.4 cm. German, c.1500. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne

contained 'a sapphire in the fashion of a shield set in gold with a little silver chain and two pearls' and 'another pierced sapphire with a mount to hang it by and a lace and leather case'. In 1342 Clement VI had a stone hanging by a cord, three other stones suspended from silver chains, a large and beautiful pierced sapphire, again with a cord, and a red cornelian with a silver chain. Innocent VI owned in 1353 a large pierced sapphire suspended from a cord, a variegated flat stone in a silver mount and suspended from a silver chain, a great sapphire set in silver-gilt and a sapphire on an old cord of silver-gilt. Certain stones acquired a special reputation, like the great emerald pendant of King Diniz of Portugal. Emeralds were of course a specially Iberian taste; sapphires were more generally popular with kings and princes and the great as pendants, as was the ruby, the lordliest of precious stones. In 1338 Edward III of England had 'a sapphire that is hung at the neck', and in 1364 King Jean le Bon of France still had only one pendant of a single small sapphire. In 1418 the inventory of King Charles VI of France still contained four sapphire pendants, including one of a large sapphire hanging from a gold chain. Rather more elaborate were his pendant of an imperfect sapphire, cut to resemble a heart, mounted in silver-gilt and hanging from a silk lace, and a pendant of an 'Orient sapphire' mounted in a fillet of gold, hanging from a silk lace of blue and gold, the French royal colours. Such pendants were found among the lesser nobility as well: in 1416 the Norman lord Yves de Vieux-Pont left a large sapphire 'hanging by a silk lace threaded through its middle'. The tradition persisted in England too, for in 1422 Henry V left a long orient sapphire – presumably drop-shaped – hanging from a chain.[16]

Rubies too were worn as pendants; the Black Prince's ruby (pl.65), now part of the English regalia, is a large uncut stone, polished and rather crudely pierced for wear as a pendant. A balas-ruby of this type that belonged in 1323 to Maria of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples, is described as a great balas-ruby 'naked of mounts, pierced' and was valued at the huge sum of twenty Neapolitan ounces. As virtuosity in cutting the diamond increased it figured more and more in the fifteenth century as a pendant, hanging in various forms from the elaborate chains and collars favoured by the age. Already in 1408 Valentina Visconti had 'a large diamond in a gold mount, for hanging'. At her death in 1469 Marguerite of Brittany had a pendant of a large heart-shaped diamond, with a figure of St Margaret, hanging from a slender chain decorated with friars' knots. It had been given to her by her husband François II in former days, perhaps as long ago as 1450 when they were betrothed. The infrangibility of troth that its heart shape and diamond substance and the true-love knots of its chain had pledged was, alas, not maintained, for François came to neglect Marguerite for his mistress Antoinette de Maignelais. When she left it to her mother Ysabeau of Scotland, Duchess Dowager of Brittany, it had become a tragic reminder of slighted faith – and indeed Marguerite was said to have died of a broken heart. Another of her pendants was a diamond 'in the fashion of an ermine' – the badge of the Breton dukes, of whom she was an heiress – 'on which is a St Margaret'. And her husband, Duke François II, had chains and collars whose pendants were pointed diamonds, table diamonds, and heart-shaped diamonds.[17]

Again, in 1474 Gabrielle de la Tour, Comtesse de Montpensier, had a columbine-shaped pendant of diamonds which hung from a gold chain, while a large heart-shaped diamond pendant adorned the gold collar of Marguerite of Angoulême, mother of King François I, in 1496. And special virtue was still attributed to certain non-precious stones: in 1475 the Connétable de St-Pol took from his neck, just before his execution in Paris, 'a stone that I have long worn at my neck and that I have greatly loved, inasmuch as it hath a great virtue, for it resists all poison and also preserves from all pestilence'. He gave it to one of the friars who attended him on the scaffold, and asked him to take it for him and give it to his grandson, 'with a prayer to take good care of it for the love of me'. Sometimes Christian imagery superseded or reinforced a belief in the virtues of stones: c.1405, for example, Valentina Visconti had 'a red stone cut with a cross and set in gold hanging by a silk lace'.[18]

Cameos were also worn as pendants, perhaps especially when their motifs were believed to have value as sigils. In 1299 Edward I of England had a pendant of a cameo mounted in gold; perhaps his 'jasper mounted in gold and a knight cut therein' was also a pendant. Again in 1323 Jaime II of Aragon had 'a small cameo mounted in silver-gilt with a cord of red silk'. By the 1320s we also find records of pendants in the form of clusters of stones, which together with the use of cameos illustrate the marked tendency of mediaeval pendants to copy the forms of brooches. When Maria of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples, died in March 1323 she left two pendants (*appenditoria*) of gold. One is described as 'a pendant of gold with pearls and a garnet in which is a cameo with the figure of an angel', the other as 'a second pendant of gold with the Crucified'. Her granddaughter, Queen Clemence de Hongrie, wife of Louis le Hutin of France, left in 1328 a pendant of an emerald encircled by six balas-rubies and rubies and three large pearls. Two similar pendants which belonged to Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (d.1348), wife of Philippe VI of France, one of three emeralds and twelve pearls, the other of a cameo set in pearls and precious stones, must have been very like two gold pendants owned by Edward III of England in 1338, one set with a pearl and the other set with a cameo in the centre and both encircled by four small emeralds and four small rubies. Another of his pendants recorded in 1338 consisted of 'a fair and large ruby with two pearls at the end'.[19]

Sometimes the mount was decorated with a religious motif for additional protective virtue. A pendant which belonged to Edward II in 1324 consisted of a large Scotch pearl set on a flat-backed mount, enamelled behind with an image of Our Lady. On at least one occasion we can follow the process by which a pendant of a single stone was converted into a cluster pendant,

for in 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal left her daughter Queen Maria of Castile 'the sapphire that I left her by my previous will, and that afterwards I had set in gold, and it has two rubies and two grains of pearls and it is for wear at the neck'. The great emerald she left to Maria at the same time was also a cluster pendant; it was set round with four very large pearls. And in her second will of 1358 she mentions a cameo pendant that was certainly an adaptation of the cameo cluster brooch to pendant form: 'a great cameo for wear at the neck, cut with a basilisk and the figure of a man and a lion, and with little emeralds all round it, and its field and figures are dark'.[20]

Pendants which must have been small versions of cameo brooches continued to be made in France during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Charles VI's inventory of 1418 lists a *pend-à-col* of a green cameo 'on which is a figure beside a tree', mounted in gold set with garnets, sapphires and pearls, and hanging from a silver chain, and another cameo set in gold 'of Damascus work' – perhaps meaning filigree – which had been mounted in a gold frame set with four pearls, four garnets and four sapphires of Le Puy, and hung from a silk lace. This late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century taste for exotic Near Eastern metalwork, which we shall encounter again, also appears in a third pendant described as 'a striped stone of several colours', mounted in gold, garnished with *ouvrages d'aultremer* and with small stones, and in a fourth of a 'red stone set on gold, on which is an image in relief of Our Lady, and the work is of the fashion of Damascus', the whole in a border of six sapphires, set in *chatons*.[21]

The earliest surviving mediaeval secular pendant of fanciful design is also the earliest that can be called Gothic in style. This is the beautiful late thirteenth-century gold, silver-gilt and enamel pendant, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Cividale, in Friuli (pls.66, 66a). It once hung round the neck of a reliquary bust of Sant' Anastasia made in 1522 for the convent of Santa Maria in Valle, in Cividale. In form it is a stylised ivy leaf, of elegantly curvilinear outline. It is in fact a small case, suspended by two hoops, the rear side being formed as a lid, which is hinged to the upper side and closes over a small oblong compartment, measuring 2.8 by 1.3cm and 1cm high ($1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{8}$in.). Only the lid is of gold, while the case and sides are of silver-gilt. We do not know what the compartment was originally intended to contain; perhaps it held a relic. The entire enamelled decoration conjoins motifs that breathe the spirit of the secular Gothic world of the late thirteenth century. On the front is a bold lozenge pattern of two coats of arms, one a field azure semé with fleur-de-lis with a label gules for Anjou in chief and a bend ardent for the princes of Taranto, a younger branch of the Angevin kings of Naples, alternating with a double-headed eagle or on a field gules. It has been convincingly shown that these must be the arms of Philippe (Filippo) II of Taranto (d.1331), fourth son of King Charles II of Naples, and Tamar, daughter of Nicephoras I Angelus Commenus Ducas, Despot of Epirus, a princess with a tragic history.

Tamar was married to Philippe in Naples in late 1294 or early 1295, and the pendant was probably given to her by her husband about this time. She must in any case have received it from him before their estrangement and her death in comparative poverty in 1309. The lozengy motif which shapes the heraldic blazons into a formal pattern has close parallels in the lid of a nautilus cup, enamelled with the arms of Raoul de Nesle and the French royal arms and datable *c.*1297 (now at All Souls College, Oxford) and the late thirteenth-century Valence Casket, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, both Northern Gothic objects dating from the late thirteenth century. For this reason alone it is likely to have been made by a French goldsmith working at the court of Naples where the thirteenth-century Angevins, and in particular Philippe of Taranto's father Charles II, are known to have employed French court goldsmiths, evidently preferring the art of their native France to the traditions of their new capital. The enamels are translucent, and this, together with the technical detail that the birds on the lid are executed in cloisonné enamel, also supports the conclusion that we have here an object whose style is Parisian, even if it was actually made in Naples. Presumably then it is a work either by Etienne, Charles II's chief goldsmith in the years 1297 to 1309, or by one of the French goldsmiths in Charles's service, Pierre and Gilbert de Trivelle, Milet and Bon d'Auxerre, Martin and Guillaume de Verdelay, Godefroy, Etienne de Bembar, and Jean Flamand.

The edges of the case and the lid are enamelled with ornamental designs which are in lively contrast to the heraldic dignity of the front. On the edges scroll green stems set with large red rosettes, possibly the earliest known enamels in *rouge cler*, a translucent red which was certainly a French speciality; these are reserved in the metal. On the lid a stylised vine stem, reserved in gold on a blue ground, sends out leafy branches which scroll over the surface with studied naturalistic elegance. On these green and turquoise birds walk or perch, allowing us a glimpse into a gay poetical world of ornament that otherwise is now lost to us in goldsmiths' work. The treatment illustrates that ever-increasing animation of a formal vocabulary of motifs inherited from the past that was to culminate in the naturalism of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[22]

In the Cividale pendant we have late thirteenth-century Gothic design at its most elegant, but the motifs of its form and ornament belong, in spite of their originality of treatment, to a well-established repertoire. The inventory of King Charles V of France suggests that by 1380 pendants had acquired a greater variety of designs. He had a pendant in the form of a 'rod for beating clothes' set with three balases, two sapphires and eight pearls, and one which was shield-shaped, of gold, enamelled with figures of Our Lady and St Denis, first bishop of Paris and patron of France. A third, described as a brooch but really a pendant, was shaped like a tree and set with four large sapphires, three large balas-rubies, and ten pearls. Charles's little daughter, Marie de France (d.1377), had gold pendants of

Fig. 111 Pendant. Silver, enamel. Diameter 7.4cm. Upper Rhenish,
1340–50. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin



Fig. 111a Reverse

a little gold book set with two sapphires and pearls and of a crescent, set with a balas-ruby, four sapphires, two diamonds, two large and twenty smaller pearls, of a gold prawn set with stones and of a gold stag set with pearls, diamonds, sapphires and rubies. Pendants of this type, following in their design the same naturalism in fancy as contemporary brooches, continued in fashion under Charles's son, Charles VI. His inventory of 1418 lists 'a gold violet, enamelled blue, hanging from a lace of white silk on which is a large button of pearls' which had belonged to his father and 'a gold acorn with oak-leaves above hanging by a little lace of gold and silk'.[23]

Other pendants were heraldic: Queen Isabella of France (1292–1358), wife of Edward II and mother of Edward III of England, left at her death in 1358 'a silver arm with a hanging shield' which was probably the pendant still recorded in 1400 among the jewels of the English kings as a silver arm holding a shield with the arms of England. Such armorial pendants seem to have come into vogue in the fourteenth century: in 1379 Charles V of France had a rosette pendant of white silver nielloed with the arms of Burgundy. The shield form, also found in brooches, was used for these: in 1422 Henry V of England left a religious version of such an armorial brooch, described as 'a gold shield with the arms of our Lord's Passion'.[24]

We have seen that medallion pendants were worn in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century suspended from ribands, at any rate in Scandinavia and Germany. It seems that they were worn in Venice too, for in the mosaic of the

*Discovery of the Relic of St Mark* in San Marco, datable *c.*1280, a little girl wears a gold medallion, set with a ruby, emeralds and pearls, from a cord hung round her neck. It is possible that such ornaments were known by the name of *nusca* or *musca* (Fr. *nouche*) which they either shared with the large ornamental brooches worn on the breast, or else gave to them. In Latin they may also have gone by the name of *monile*, in classical Latin a necklace, but in the Middle Ages applied to any type of jewel, but more particularly to brooches and other ornaments worn on the breast. Although the tradition of wearing them seems to have lasted so long in Venice, medallion pendants appear to have disappeared in Northern Europe in the later thirteenth century. There they only emerge with certainty in the early fourteenth century. In 1322 Count Robert de Béthune of Flanders died possessed of two medallion pendants, described in his inventory as 'two round things of silver, which are hung round the neck in a white purse of thread', words which suggest that they were something unfamiliar. This is confirmed by an entry in the inventory of Queen Clémence de Hongrie in 1328, which describes a circular pendant of an emerald set among six rubies and three large pearls as *un fermail ront à pent-à-col* (a round brooch for a pendant). The earliest known circular pendants to survive are of enamelled silver or copper mounted in a raised frame and date from the fourteenth century. The finest is a silver medallion decorated in translucent enamel, which was once in the Figdor Collection and is now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin (figs.111, 111a).

It was made in the Upper Rhineland, and dates from the middle of the fourteenth century. On the front face, standing on a green bank, is the Virgin, enamelled in green and dull mauve holding the Child, against a background of Gothic blue enamel over an overall pattern of delicate engraved sprays. On either side of her are two angels, holding scrolls inscribed in Lombardic letters: FROV . SANTT . MARIA . ICH . BIT/DICH . DURCH . DER . ENGEL . GE/SANG . HILF . DES . DICH . DER/RITTER . BIT . VND . ER . MANT (Lady St Mary, I beg thee through the angels' song help this knight as he asks). On the back, enamelled in the same colours, is Christ seated on a low throne, his right hand raised in blessing, his left holding the orb of the world. Around him are the symbols of the Evangelists – on his right hand the winged bull of St Luke, above the eagle of St John, on his left the lion of St Mark. Kneeling below is the tiny figure of a haloed man, whose hands are lifted in prayer, and who is also at one and the same time the angel of St Matthew and the knight – perhaps called Matheus – who is mentioned in the inscription of the front face and in the inscription on the scrolls which are held by the three other symbols. This reads: HER . GOT . DVRCH . DIN/TOT . HILF . DISSEM ./RITTER . VS . ANGST/VND . VS . ALLER . NOT (Lord God, through thy death help this knight in anguish and in all distress). The urgency of its plea for protection is part of the intimacy of the pendant, so often concealed beneath the garb of the wearer.[25]

Pendants in this style were also oval in form. A rather later pendant now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, is generally regarded as a Bohemian work, produced about 1380, after Prague had become a flourishing centre of the goldsmiths' art under the patronage of the Emperor Charles IV (figs.112, 112a). In the front is set one of the rare amber carvings to survive from the fourteenth century, a Vernicle or head of Christ, with a cruciform halo, whose form is used to create a spatial effect behind the head. The reverse is silver enamelled in translucent enamel with the Trinity and the Four Evangelists. Round the rim of the silver-gilt frame runs an inscription *Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* (Have mercy on me Lord according to thy great mercy), similar in its pathos of petition to the inscription on the Berlin medallion. The pendant has been identified as an ecclesiastical pectoral. This might be so, but the inscription suggests that it may have been secular – religious imagery in the Middle Ages is far from being evidence for ecclesiastical, rather than secular use. In fact Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen Dowager of France, left at her death in 1370 'a reliquary

Fig. 112  Pendant. Silver-gilt, amber. Height 7cm. width 5cm, depth 1.4cm. Bohemian, *c.*1380. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich
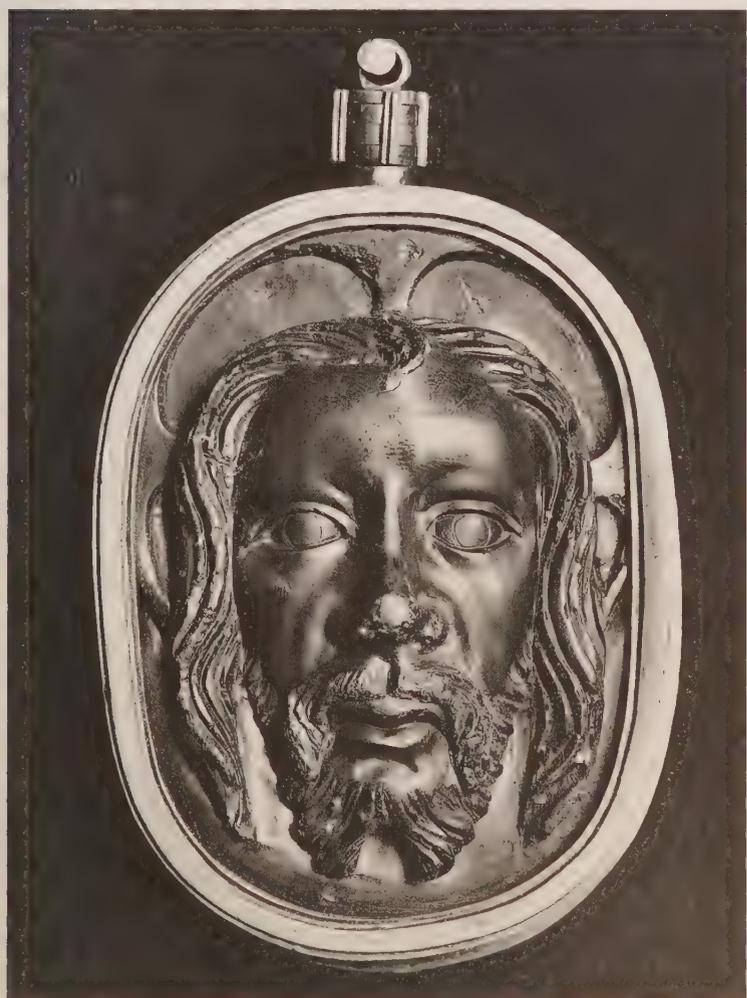
Fig. 112a  Reverse. Silver, enamel
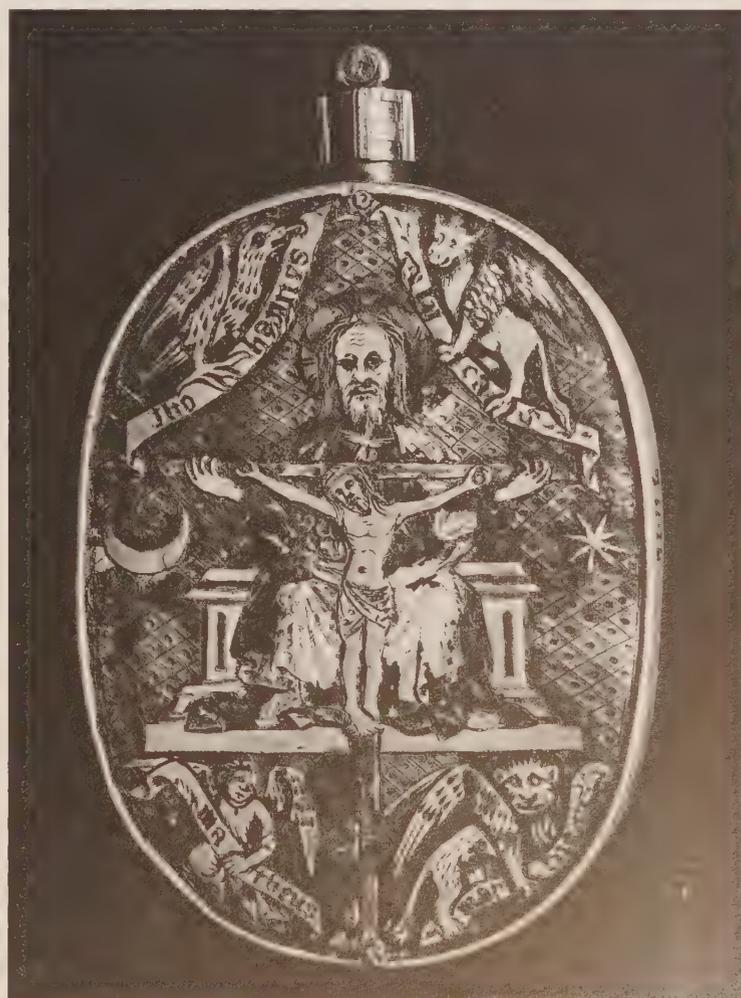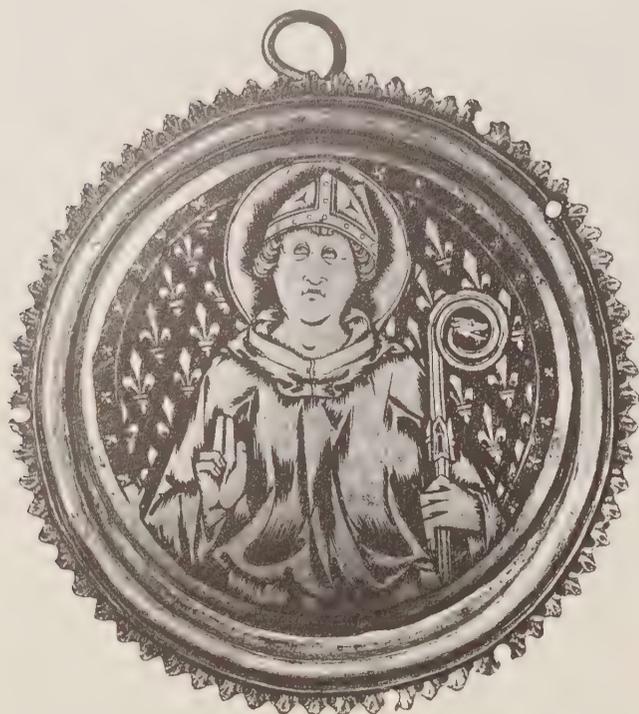
Fig. 113 Pendant. Copper-gilt, enamel. Diameter 7.2cm. Italian, fourteenth century, after 1317. Museo Sacro, Vatican



Fig. 114 Reliquary pendant. Silver-gilt, turquoises, garnets. Diameter 7cm. Upper Rhenish, c.1480. Formerly Historisches Museum, Basle (stolen 1984)

which is of gold on the one side, and on the other of silver, and in it is a great head of amber'.[26]

A few fourteenth-century Italian medallion pendants survive, of copper decorated in champlevé enamel. Often such pendants must have figured saints, like the circular pendant, in the Museo Sacro Vaticano, of St Louis of Toulouse (1274–97) represented as a canonised bishop (fig.113). The figure is pictorially modelled so as to obtain plastic relief by the use of enamel to shade areas naturalistically or to give linear emphasis. The background of blue with fleur-de-lis blazons the royal birth of the saint, who was the great-nephew of St Louis of France, and son of Charles II of Anjou, King of the Two Sicilies. The pendant must date from after 1317 when Louis was canonised, and most probably was made either for a member of the royal household of Naples, where the saint's family nursed a special devotion to him, or else for someone with an especial devotion to the Franciscan Order, of which Louis rapidly became one of the leading saints. The technique, however, suggests that it was made by a Tuscan goldsmith, either Sienese or Florentine. During the later part of the fourteenth century there was in Italy a vogue for wearing a pendant of a device or of some animal shape. In a miniature from a Book of Hours of c.1380 an Italian prince or nobleman wears a gold device of a radiant sun suspended round his neck by a cord, and the *novelliere* Sacchetti complains c.1390 of the young women of Florence 'who used to go about dressed so modestly', that now among other things

they 'wear a lace round their necks with divers sorts of beasts hanging on their breasts'.[27]

The popularity of circular enamelled pendants continued into the fifteenth century. In 1379 Charles V of France had a rosette-shaped one of gold, enamelled with his own figure kneeling before St Denis and a verse from the Gospel of St John on the reverse. Technically the most remarkable pendant of all is the Ara Coeli pendant, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which is one of the earliest known examples of painted enamel (pls.67, 67a). The ground is of a deep blue, on which the motifs are executed in grisaille and gold. On the front face the Virgin gives suck to the Child, figuring the Vision of Ara Coeli received by the Emperor Augustus, who appears on the reverse as a white-bearded old man wearing an antique radial crown.[28] The pendant dates from c.1420 and, if the thesis that this type of painted enamel was invented and practised in the Netherlands is correct, is Flemish. Throughout the fifteenth century circular pendants continued to be much worn, and they were evidently a widely popular form of jewellery. A German silver-gilt pendant from the Upper Rhineland of c.1480, stolen in 1984 from the Historisches Museum, Basle, has as its front face a plaque embossed with a lady holding a coat of arms, in a style recalling Schöngauer (fig.114). In 1505 this was converted from its original purpose into a pendant case, probably for relics, when a plaque was mounted behind, engraved by the famous painter and engraver Urs Graf with

the Coronation of the Virgin. The whole was then encircled in a typically exuberant German Late Gothic frame of winding naturalistic stems and splaying foliage, and set with turquoise and garnets. Some pendants are so small that they really count as trinkets or as what in France, as we shall see, were called *bullettes*. At times, and for princely wear, they were given a special elaboration of form and jewelling. Charles the Bold of Burgundy inherited or owned *c*.1468 three gold 'roses' – as circular pendants with lobed rims were called – all three enamelled white, one being in addition set with a flower made of five pieces of diamond and one having two large pear-shaped pearls hanging from it as well as being set with a large table diamond. The circular form achieved an even greater popularity for reliquary pendants, as we shall see.[29]

The dangling pearls of one of Charles's circular pendants are typical of later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century taste, which liked to add such light and delicate appendages to the strong form of the principal motif in jewels such as pendants, collars and brooches in order to avoid too heavy a solemnity of effect. For this reason too pearls were often chosen for suspension in this fashion. Dangling chains which probably terminated in pearls are found on an English fifteenth-century gold heart-shaped pendant, found in 1977 near Poole in Dorset, and now in the British Museum (fig.115). As we have seen, the heart was a common form in brooches, and clearly the relationship between the brooch and the pendant, in which the pendant borrows motifs invented for the brooch, continued until the end of the Middle Ages. The heart proper in the Poole jewel is convex on one side and flat on the other. The convex side is engraved with a pattern of tears, probably originally enamelled in black or nielloed. The flat side is engraved with an ivy leaf which John Cherry plausibly identifies as an emblem of fidelity, and bears a Gothic-letter inscription *Tristes en plesire* (Sadness in pleasure) which expresses in words the motif of love-melancholy which is figured in visual form by the tears. As love tokens heart pendants of this kind were very popular in the fifteenth century. In one of his English poems written during his captivity in England from 1415 to 1440 Charles of Orléans (1391–1465) writes of lovers' gifts:

Some thing devise, and take [it] for thyn ese
And send it to her, that may her herte apese,
Some hert, or ring, or lettre, or device
Or precious stone: but spare not for no price.[30]

Heart pendants were not only worn in England. During the 1380s his court goldsmith Juan Garvain the elder made for King Charles of Navarre two hearts of silver-gilt with chains which Charles gave to the two images of Santa Maria de Roncesvalles. A number of the collars Charles pledged *c*.1402 also had heart-shaped pendants: one was set in the centre with a ruby – regarded, as we already know, as the most appropriate stone to figure a heart – above three large pearls and at the bottom a diamond, perhaps to symbolise purity and constancy of love – while the other was 'a great pearl in fashion of a heart'

that adorned 'at its end' a collar of love-knots. Again in 1410, as we have already seen, King Martin of Aragon had a heart of red jasper – a suitably figurative colour – hung from a tufted cord of red silk and gold thread. In his *Arrêts d'Amour*, written *c*.1460, the French poet Martial d'Auvergne makes a lover, complaining of his lady's desertion, show her gift of 'a little gold heart decorated with tears, which he had always worn and still wore, for her love, between his flesh and his shirt'. As jewels which were often a gift from a mistress it was in fact customary to wear heart-pendants beneath the shirt, as privy tokens of a secret love. A number of French fifteenth-century poems testify to this usage: *L'amant rendu cordelier à l'observance d'amours* asks the lover: 'Did you have no heart close to your shirt on which her name was written?' The *Confession et testament de l'amant trespassé de deuil* speaks of those 'who wear within their shirt as a device for their lady a heart'. And in listing the possessions of a lover who has died of love the *Inventaire des biens de l'amant trespassé de deuil* speaks of a gold chain with a pendant of a heart enamelled inside and of a gold heart 'shaped in the fashion of a cup, bound with promises and vows, with a fair hope that his mistress made him of her hair'.[31]

The pendant which opened had a long history, originally

Fig. 115  Pendant. Gold. Length 4.2cm, width 1.3cm. English, fifteenth century. British Museum, London

perhaps as a reliquary pendant. Already in 1278 Countess Marguerite of Flanders and Hainault had 'a vessel with two leaves', containing a relic of the True Cross and teeth of St Peter and St Paul. This may of course have been a large standing diptych reliquary, but in 1304 Jean, Count of Hainault, died possessed of a pendant described as 'a little vessel that opens on hinges, and inside is a crucifix'. A derivation from the reliquary diptych would certainly explain why most pendants of this kind were devotional and decorated with religious figures or scenes. In 1330 Marguerite, Countess of Flanders, bought from the estate of her mother Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne 'a little book and a little tablet of gold'. Presumably the 'little book' was a diptych pendant, with two leaves like a book. Fifty years later, in 1377, little Marie de France, daughter of Charles V, had a pendant of 'a little gold book on which are two sapphires and two pearls'. Her little sister Ysabel also had a little gold book that her father bought from the goldsmith Conrat l'Alemant for 50 francs as her New Year's gift of 1375. Sometimes such pendants were of triptych form, with two shutters, occasionally of some transparent substance, closing over a central, tabernacle-shaped case, often enshrining a relic. Such tabernacle pendants were certainly in fashion by the third quarter of the fourteenth century, for in 1380 Louis of Anjou had a gold reliquary diptych pendant of this kind. It was enclosed in an openwork frame of a foliated branch, wound round with a band of flat gold. From this projected eleven little prongs to each of which was fixed a pearl of varying shape or size. Its two 'windows' were kept shut by a long gold pin, terminating in another pearl. They enclosed a little figure in relief of the Virgin wearing a gold mantle and holding the Child dressed in a white cloth. Above was a white lily, whose base was concealed by a gold cloth of estate hanging over the Virgin's head. To either side was set a ruby in a *chaton*, with two pearls above and below. The back was enamelled in *rouge cler* with a circular mandorla of cherubs surrounding the naked body of a Christ of Pity, wearing a crown of thorns of fine azure; below this was a hinged lid of gold, concealing a cavity for relics. The shutters were enamelled green on the outside and decorated with figures of the Annunciation, the Virgin being dressed in a cloak of fine azure over a dress of *rouge cler* and the angel in *rouge cler*. Above were set two fine rubies, one square and table-cut, the other roundish and table-cut. Inside the shutters were enamelled blue, with figures of St Peter and St Paul in robes of *rouge cler* and dark ash colour. The whole was topped by a little ring 'for a lace by which to wear it'.[32]

Diptych pendants often had both sides shaped as deep cases in which were figured little scenes in relief, sometimes plain, but often enamelled wholly or in part (cat.38, pls.130, 130a). Such jewels could occasionally blend pious imagery with worldly uses in a thoroughly mediaeval fashion. As a New Year's gift for 1389 Charles VI of France sent his newly married wife Ysabeau de Bavière a diptych pendant which when repaired by the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier is described as

a little gold jewel closing on hinges, within which on one side is the Sepulchre of Our Lord and on the other the figure of Our Lady holding her Child, the whole of gold in relief and enamelled white, and set with balas-rubies, emeralds and pearls of price, and round the outside garnished with pearls of price. And on one of the sides is a mirror, and on the other the figure of Our Lady, enamelled in *rouge cler*.[33]

From the later fourteenth century such pendants decorated with figures or scenes were generally described in France and England as tablets. Unfortunately the term is ambiguous, for small devotional panels, diptychs or triptychs, were also known as *tabulae*, *tableaux* or tablets. Indeed the pendants known as tablets were originally nothing more than little panels or folding diptychs and triptychs of this kind, fitted with a means of suspension. The word in its forms of *tabula*, *tableau* and *table* meant essentially a picture, and the tablet was always decorated with some image, and at first was probably a vertical oblong and in form almost always a diptych or a case with a lid. Later the word came to be extended to circular pendants with imagery as well. It is hard to distinguish in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century inventories between tablets that were worn and those that were free-standing aids to devotion; an additional difficulty in identifying them springs from the practice of suspending small devotional *tableaux* of gold or silver at the bed-head by a chain. Accordingly we cannot be certain whether the little gold tablet that Marguerite of Flanders bought in 1330 from her mother's estate was indeed a pendant tablet for wear around the neck. Again the four little gold tablets 'hanging from chains, on which are the four Evangelists, enamelled with the arms of France', i.e. gold fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, that are recorded in the inventory of Charles V of France in 1380 may or may not have been pendant tablets.

It is equally difficult to be sure if a number of *tableaux* that had belonged to two small daughters of Charles V, Marie de France, who died in 1377 aged seven, and Ysabel de France, who also died in 1377, aged four, were pendants or simply tablets intended for suspension at the bed-head, for they are described in the rubric of Charles's inventory of 1379–80 as 'other little jewels, pendants or for suspension'. Marie had six gold tablets. One, set with pearls, rubies of Alexandria and emeralds, opened to reveal scenes of the Crucifixion and of the Coronation of the Virgin. Another contained the Annunciation, and two contained figures of saints, one having St Catherine and St John the Baptist, the other the same two saints, evidently objects of a family devotion, together with the Virgin and St Paul. The last is called 'a tablet of gold with imagery, and the clasps shaped as dolphins', the dolphins being of course an allusion to the Dauphin. Ysabel had a gold tablet with a figure of the Virgin and St John Baptist, and another, much more elaborate one, with a Crucifix in relief on one side and the Harrowing of Hell on the other, with Christ drawing Adam, Eve and the Baptist out of Hell.[34]

By the 1390s we find the term used in France for pendants

in circumstances that have no ambiguity, perhaps because they had now become highly fashionable jewels. In 1396 Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, gave her sister-in-law Queen Ysabeau 'a gold tablet with a figure of St John, set with nine balas-rubies, a sapphire and twenty-one pearls' while to Mademoiselle de Luxembourg she gave 'another little gold tablet with a Lord of Pity [a Pietà], garnished all round with pearls'. In the same year Philippe of Burgundy gave as one of his presents to the English ladies who had come to welcome Richard II's child-bride, Ysabelle de France, 'a gold tablet inside which was a God of Pity in relief and enamelled'. The fortunate recipient was Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and wife of Edward III's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock. We can form a clear impression of what this object must have looked like, for there still survives in the Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich a pendant tablet of enamelled gold (pl.68) in which transparent crystal shutters open to reveal a Christ of Pity enamelled white. Above, two angels, wearing white robes with collars of *rouge cler* and holding blue mantles painted with motifs in white, hold a green crown of thorns. Underneath, the front of the base conceals a cavity for a relic; and from the base hangs a little pearl. This is almost certainly a Parisian work of *c.*1400; indeed who is to say that it may not be Philippe's selfsame pendant of 1396? Certainly it could have been brought to Germany by Princess Blanche, daughter of Henry IV of England, on her marriage to the Elector Palatine Ludwig III, and later, like her crown, have passed into the treasury of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs.

To a French lady on this same journey to bid farewell to his little niece, Philippe gave a similar gold tablet with the Coronation of the Virgin figured within, again in relief and enamelled. For his brother Jean, Duc de Berry, Philippe bought in 1392 a tablet whose exceptional richness was certainly designed to appeal to that connoisseur of virtuosity in materials and techniques. It figured the Visitation: the pregnant Virgin was wrought of pearl-shell, St Elizabeth in enamelled gold; its shutters were of crystal; above and below was Gothic architectural work, set with pearls, diamonds, sapphires and balas-rubies. There can be no doubt that goldsmiths lavished on the richest pendant tablets all the resources of their new technique of *émail en ronde bosse* to create figures and tableaux conjoining the immediacy of miniature sculpture in high relief with the etherealising white and blue and gold and red of a bright International Gothic miniature. The effect is at once softly plastic and delicately visionary. But the use of miniature sculpture was not invariable: thus in 1396, Philippe offered Jean a tablet of gold 'of an engraved image of gold of Monseigneur St Louis', in which he was portrayed with his duchess, presumably kneeling to either side of their canonised ancestor, so greatly revered by all his descendants.[35]

The genre of the miniature *tableau* seems only to have had a limited popularity in France, at any rate among the Valois princes. Of all the jewels in the inventory of Jean de Berry, only one is certainly identifiable as a pendant tablet. Naturally it was extremely rich. Suspended by a lace, it was 'a small gold jewel, in which is Our Lord issuing from the tomb, closed by two little doors, enamelled on the outside with two figures of St Peter and St Paul and on the rear side is an Annunciation and around are five large pearls and nine small'. At her death in 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy left only some four tablets, all of gold, that can be certainly identified as pendants. One of pearl-rimmed gold had figures of her patroness St Margaret and of the ever-popular St Catherine; another was less purely personal, for together with St Margaret it had a figure of the Virgin and one of St George, probably represented as the chivalric patron of her husband Philippe. It had a mother-of-pearl carving inside, and was set with pearls and stones. A round pearl-rimmed tablet had figures of Our Lady and St Anthony, each under a cover of the transparent stone called by the Middle Ages beryl, while a fourth hung by a little gold chain and had inside a representation of the Vernicle under three leaves 'on which are three figures'. Another tablet is listed in the inventory of Charles VI, taken in 1418; it is described as a very small tablet with *pignons* (pointed tower tops) to its hinges, enamelled on the outside with the arms of France and Navarre, and opening to reveal a relief of the Crucifixion.[36]

Against this rather modest or perhaps merely uncertain evidence from princely inventories we must set that of the inventory of the Norman lord Yves de Vieux-Pont, taken in 1416 after his death as a prisoner in England. It lists two tablets, a small one of gold enamelled on the outside with the Assumption of the Virgin and St Simeon, and on the inside with the Annunciation and the Nativity – the scene shown was Our Lady in childbirth. The inside was set all round with eight clusters of four small pearls each and with little balas-rubies and beads of emerald. The other was of crystal mounted in gold, with a figure of the Virgin enamelled white. Some idea can be formed of the appearance of this last tablet from an early fifteenth-century pendant that recently passed through the saleroom, which has a provenance from the de Beauveau family of Lorraine and is said to have belonged to Louis de Beauveau (1409–62) who was Sénéchal to René of Anjou. It is oval in form, with two hinged crystal covers to either side. Behind one is a figure of the Virgin enamelled in *émail en ronde bosse*. She is shown dressed in a white mantle, lined with translucent green, over a dark red dress, and is floating on a stylised blue cloud, holding the Child, who wears a dark red robe with white buttons. The crystal on the reverse covers a gold cross, no doubt enshrining a relic of the True Cross. The edge of the broad frame is shaped as an oval bough, from which applied vine leaves extend inwards to rest on a hatched surface, a design typically French in its rather formal naturalism. On top of the frame kneels a little angel, enamelled white, his robe decorated with blue flowers. He formerly held an attribute, probably an inscribed scroll, and was set with a jewel now

missing. To the angel's head is attached a loop for suspension, but the frame has five small projecting sockets, perhaps for stitching the pendant for greater security. Later records of French tablets are few. Among the jewels owned in 1446 by Françoise de Dinan, the child wife of Gilles de Bretagne, brother of François I, Duke of Brittany, were 'a tablet of silver-gilt, with the Annunciation of Our Lady' and another tablet of gold with a figure of St John. It is uncertain how long tablets continued to be made in France; a small gold tablet with two doors 'in which is a cameo of Our Lady and it is set with several personages', listed in 1490 among the jewels of François II of Brittany, was Spanish.[37]

If the French evidence is sparse or difficult to interpret, all the evidence suggests that by the 1390s the tablet was already a favourite type of devotional pendant in England. As New Year's gifts for 1397 Richard II's child wife, Isabelle de France, bought from John Palyng, goldsmith of London, a gold tablet set with four sapphires and four rubies, which she gave to John of Gaunt, a gold tablet set with two sapphires, two rubies and pearls which she gave to the Earl Marshal and a gold tablet adorned with a figure of St Catherine and set with rubies, sapphires and pearls, which she gave to the Earl of Rutland. A modest English example is the Victoria and Albert Museum's late fourteenth-century silver triptych of St George, engraved on the outside and inside of the shutters, and with the saint shown as a figure in relief in the main case (cat.89, pls.149, 149a, b). Such triptychs are often mentioned in English documents. In 1394, for instance, the Yorkshire knight Sir Brian de Stapilton left his daughter Elizabeth, but only 'if she bear herself like a daughter towards me until my decease', a tablet of silver-gilt, enamelled with the Coronation of the Virgin. In 1414 Jean, Duke of Brittany, had a small gold tablet, hanging from a gold chain, which was a present from the Queen of England. This is not described, but of the two tablets bequeathed by Isabelle de Willoughby of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, in 1415 one of gold had 'an image of St John Baptist on one side and the image of St George on the other', and the second, hung from paternoster beads, an 'image of Mary'. In 1422 Henry V of England left a gold tablet that again was at once an ornament and a useful accessory, for the front was set with the Salutation of the Virgin and the back with a glass mirror. His other tablets included 'a gold tablet of Our Lady enamelled blue', a second with an image of St Catherine, and a third set in the centre with 'a great sapphire graven with an image of the Trinity'. All were richly jewelled round the frame. Of less value were a gold tablet without jewels of 'Our Lady and the Three Kings of Cologne', two little tablets of gold on a single chain, and four little tablets of silver-gilt. In England too, tablets by this date were not necessarily regarded as oblong or square: Henry also had what his inventory describes as 'a square tablet in the form of a book' and a round tablet of gold with the Pietà on one side and the Apostles on the other.[38]

Tablets continue to be mentioned in England in the inventories,

accounts and wills of the royal family, the nobility, the well-to-do and the gentry throughout the fifteenth century. Among the royal jewels confiscated in 1419 from Brother John Randolf, chaplain to Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV, were a gold tablet enamelled 'inside and out' with figures of St John Baptist, St Catherine and 'other two images of Virgins' and a small tablet of silver-gilt, enamelled blue, and containing relics. In 1439 Isabel, Countess of Warwick, makes bequests of three gold tablets in her will, one with a figure of St Catherine, one with a figure of St George, and 'the tabelet with the Image of oure lady with a glass to-fore hit'. Hawise Aske, a rich widow of York, bequeathed to her sister-in-law Johanna Lascelles in 1450–1 her silver-gilt tablet, adorned with pearls, of the Salutation of the Virgin (Annunciation). In 1452–3 Queen Margaret of Anjou bought for £29 from the goldsmith Humphrey Hayford a tablet of gold rimmed with ten clusters of pearls, five sapphires and five balas-rubies, on which was figured an angel whose head 'is of a cameo', in other words, cut in hardstone, and whose chest was set with a fine sapphire. In his hands the angel held a cross set with a ruby and nine orient pearls. It was purchased by the Queen, not for herself, but to offer to the shrine of Walsingham and was perhaps not really a jewel. In 1459, Nicholas Holme, a canon of Ripon, left Alicia, Countess of Salisbury 'a little gold tablet with images inside'. Again in 1487 Dame Elizabeth Browne left her daughter Mary 'a tablet with the Salutacion of Our Lady and the iij. Kingis of Collayn'. In 1504 William Goodyear mentions in his will 'My tablet of golde that I was wonte to weare about my neck'. Tablets did not invariably have religious subjects, usual though these were: thus Henry VI had 'a litil tablet of gold' with the arms of England and France which hung from a gold chain 'made of letters and crowns'. Probably the Victoria and Albert Museum's small silver-gilt plaque of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat.88, pl.148), found in Berkhamsted and dating from *c*.1400, is from a tablet of this kind. The type was not unique to England: a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century gold tablet with a relief of the Crucifixion and the Instruments of the Passion has also been found in Sweden.[39]

The lozenge form, long popular in brooches, was also used for tablet pendants. Lozenge pendants were already current in England and probably elsewhere in the early fourteenth century. The British Museum has a tiny gold pendant of this date once enamelled, with the Virgin and Child on one side, and the Crucifixion on the other. A simple fifteenth-century example, engraved with Veronica displaying the Vernicle (her veil) has been found in Sweden. In England in the fifteenth century the type appears in the recently discovered Middleham Pendant (pls.69, 69a), an English jewel probably dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Of heavy gold, it is engraved on either side with a scene within a heavy raised frame. At the top is set a large oblong sapphire, which is curved on the face, cut at the four sides, and pierced through the centre. It is held by a raised claw-shaped collet, set in a corded frame. The front

side is engraved with the Trinity: Christ is set between the knees of God the Father, whose hand is raised in blessing. To either side are formal sprigs. The raised frame is inscribed in Gothic letters, originally enamelled blue, *Ecce agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis tetragrammaton ananizapta*. This inscription is typically mediaeval in its mingling of a prophylactic formula of orthodox piety, drawn from the Mass, with a formula that is purely a charm – *tetragrammaton ananizapta*, used to protect from the falling sickness. The Agnus Dei of the inscription is engraved on the reverse, below the Virgin adoring the Child. This was a Nativity scene which owed its inspiration, not to the Gospels, but to the *Revelations* of St Brigit of Sweden (d.1397), which had a great influence on fifteenth-century iconography, and especially on that of the Nativity. *The Virgin adoring the Child* appears to have been much used in fifteenth-century jewellery throughout Europe – the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection includes a fine example (see cat.67, pls.137, 137a). On some of these St Joseph holds a candle, another detail directly inspired by St Brigit's *Revelations*. Its popularity is yet another indication that in late mediaeval jewellery as in other forms of mediaeval art, religious imagery was inspired by semi-popular devotional sentiment, rather than by the austerer summits of doctrine and speculative theology.

The frame of this scene is decorated with fifteen standing figures of saints originally reserved on an enamelled ground, which has now disappeared. They are Peter, Paul, Augustine of Canterbury (or Richard of Chichester), Jerome, Anne, the Virgin, John the Baptist, Barbara, Margaret, Catherine, John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, George and Bartholomew. These saints fall into groups. Peter, Paul, Augustine and Jerome are saints of the whole Church and of the English Church. Anne, the Virgin, and the Baptist are saints of the Holy Trinity, towards which great devotion was felt in the fifteenth century, while in addition the Baptist was a protector of the soul after death. Barbara, Margaret and Catherine were all favourite saints invoked against fire and other dangers; George is a chivalric saint, while the Magdalen and the Evangelist were favourite saints of affective, penitential piety. The fifteen figures then are a mirror of the favourite devotions and invocations for protection of the late Middle Ages. The tablet is a reliquary tablet still containing in a cavity about a centimetre ($\frac{3}{8}$in) deep its relic, which fragments of gold thread identify as a piece of textile. As such it really falls within the purview of the next chapter, but it is discussed here as the most important known example of the lozenge design. The frame of the reverse slides out to give access to the cavity. In both the scenes, some of the figures are highly burnished, producing a contrast of colour in the gold by a technique that is not otherwise known to us from surviving mediaeval jewels. The sides are pierced with keyholes and other holes whose purpose is now hard to determine.[40]

The vogue of the tablet also continued outside England throughout the fifteenth century. In 1438 Philippe of Savoy, Count of Geneva, bought a little gold book from Pierre Rollin,

ducal goldsmith of Geneva. In 1468 Charles the Bold had a number of tablets. One had evidently belonged to his grandparents for it was enamelled with a figure of St Anthony, whose saint's day was Philippe le Hardi's birthday, with the initials P and M to either side, for Philippe and Marguerite. A diptych tablet hanging by an enamelled chain opened to show the Resurrection on one side and the Magdalen on the other. Another was enamelled with St John the Evangelist, and a third with St John Baptist and St John the Evangelist. A round tablet had the Pietà pounced on one side and Our Lady on the other. Of a design we have already encountered was 'a little gold tablet, on which is Our Lord of Pity [the Pietà] and two little angels, garnished with four pearls and with two little crystal covers' – in jewellery, as in other forms of fifteenth-century art, the Pietà was a motif universally popular throughout fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe. Among Charles's silver jewels was a 'small tablet of devotion' suspended by a chain, evidently a diptych, for inside was the Passion.[41]

As might be expected the heart motif also came to be used for devotional tablets. One given to the keeper of the jewels of the Burgundian Netherlands in April 1501 and perhaps purchased in that year is described as 'a gold heart that opens, enamelled, with several figures around it'. Jean de Bregilles, presumably a descendant of Jacot, *garde des joyaux* of Philippe the Good, who delivered up this jewel, also delivered up 'a tablet of enamelled gold, with on one side the figure of Our Lady and on the other the Three Kings' and what may have been a goldsmith's version of a book of devotion, for it is described as 'a little book containing eight leaves of gold, enamelled, containing several histories such as those of the Annunciation, Nativity, Circumcision and others from the life of Our Lord'. These seem to have become common in the fifteenth century, as a number are mentioned in earlier Burgundian inventories.[42]

The apple shape, which we associate with the pomander and musk-ball, was also used for devotional tablets and for reliquary pendants and formed a recognised category of its own. Apples of this kind opened into two halves, and had the figure of a saint or a religious scene represented on either side. They were already in vogue by 1400 when the royal goldsmith Jehan Compère repaired Valentina Visconti's silver apple 'in the which is on the one side the head of St Catherine enamelled white, and on the other side a rock of pearls and little balas-rubies, with a little sword in the midst of it'. A motto, presumably above the rock, declared *Videbo faciem ejus in jubilo* (I shall see his face in joy). In addition to enamelling the saint's fingers and her wheel – she was evidently shown half-length – Compère enamelled the whole of the outside with *rouge cler* enamel. In 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy left among her jewels a gold apple set with four squares of pearls, with a figure of the Virgin inside, one of St Michael on the top, and a sapphire set in the base. Apple-shaped tablets were still in fashion under Charles the Bold of Burgundy, for his inventory of c.1468 lists 'a tablet of gold in the fashion of an apple which parts into two pieces,

Fig. 116 Pendant. Silver-gilt, mother of pearl. Diameter 6.1 cm. German, second half of the fifteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne



Fig. 116a Reverse

on one of which is Our Lady, and on the other St John'. Other fruit forms were also used. In 1392 Valentina Visconti bought to give away as presents two pears of enamelled gold, each containing a figure of the Virgin set with a diamond. And Charles the Bold had in 1468 a gold tablet 'in the fashion of a pine-cone', which opened to reveal engraved Nativity scenes of the Virgin in childbirth and of the Magi.[43]

During the fifteenth century there was also a considerable vogue throughout Europe for pendants enclosing devotional carvings in mother-of-pearl, which found a wide market among the less well-to-do. These began coming into fashion during the second half of the fourteenth century. An early example is listed in King Charles V's inventory of 1380 as a 'small gold tablet, in which is represented a Christ of Pity [the Pietà], which is of pearl-shell, and on the capital [top] are seven small pearls'. In 1398 the stock of Walter Pynchon, jeweller of London,

included a tablet of gold with a figure of 'cockylle', i.e. mother-of-pearl (*coquille* being the French for shell). More usually, like the pendant in the Museum's collection, they were of medallion form. Charles V also had in 1380 'a little stone of mother-of-pearl, carved with little figures mounted in gold'. Henry V's inventory, taken in 1422, mentions a *Tabulet de Cokill* which was unmounted, but valued nevertheless at 20s, a sum double or more the valuation of quite a number of his plainer gold brooches and rings, and indicating the esteem in which such a thing could be held in the early fifteenth century. Again Philip of Savoy had in 1497 'a little round tablet with Our Lady in mother-of-pearl, Our Lord in her arms, and round it are 16 small pearls, four small rubies, and four small sapphires', and 'a little round tablet with the Veil of Veronica in mother-of-pearl'. An early sixteenth-century example from the Kunstgewerbe-museum, Cologne (pl.70), with a carving of the Virgin and Child which derives from a drawing by Dürer of 1485, has a handsome mounting with elaborate decoration on the silver-gilt mount of late Gothic dry branch and leaf foliage with typical German corded rims. By contrast another pendant from the second half of the fifteenth century shows how such carvings were also more simply mounted in a plain rim of silver-gilt. It is two-sided (figs.116, 116a), with the Pietà on one side and the Crucifixion on the other.[44] Another example is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat.49).

Pendants with royal or personal devices and initial letters also came into fashion during the later fourteenth century. Both types, of course, were essentially versions of brooches and remained popular throughout the fifteenth century. In 1408 Valentina Visconti had a pendant or brooch pendant which is described as 'a gold ring, from which hangs a chain and at its end a C', probably for her son Charles. In 1487 Dame Elizabeth Browne, born a Paston, left her daughter Mary 'a bee [*sic*, B] with a grete pearle, a dyamond, an emerawde, iij grete perlys hanging apon the same' and another B 'with a great perle with an emerawde and a sapphire'. Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, had in 1488 a 'small chenye with ane hingar set with diamantis in maner of M and a grete perle'. As for devices, Henry V of England left in 1422 what may have been a gold pendant of a stag – one set with a sapphire and balas-ruby and three pearls, the stag being almost certainly a device. And in 1452–3 Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, had the goldsmith John Otte make for her a gold 'hanger of a device' set with a large diamond and a large oriental ruby in a single collet, which cost her twenty shillings. In 1463 John Baret of Bury St Edmunds had a little gold pendant in the form of the English royal device of a fetterlock, suspended from a lace of pearl and black beads.[45]

We find René of Anjou in 1477 having made for his grand-daughter Marguerite de Lorraine for the huge sum of 50 gold écus a pendant of his device of a gold brazier assumed together with the motto ARDENT DESIR (Burning desire) in sign of his love for his first wife Isabelle de Lorraine. The brazier was set

with a great ruby and hung from a little chain of gold. Evidently such pendants were worn by other ladies of René's family, for in 1478 his queen Jeanne de Laval recovered 'our balas-ruby, set in the fashion of a brazier' which her husband had pledged as security for a large loan from the chapter of Aix. And the pendants of chivalric orders were naturally worn by those who belonged to them. In 1471, for example, Louis XI of France paid for repairs to the little gold chain with an image of St Michael hanging from it 'that he ordinarily wears round his neck'. The inventory of Charles the Bold, taken c.1468, lists 'a gold pot with lilies enamelled white, garnished with three rubies and a pearl, of the order of the King of Aragon'. And in 1504 Prince Henry of England had a little gold chain with a pendant of a Garter George, and other rich Georges as well, one on a white horse, and one of gold. We shall hear more of these when we come to consider the livery collar and the chivalric collar.[46]

During the fifteenth century decorative pendants again follow the pattern of evolution of brooches. Some become compositions of heavy stones, often cut or faceted, set in close juxtaposition, probably because they were now often worn as complements to a rich necklace or collar, either hanging directly from it, as in a portrait of Philippe the Bold (pl.40), or from a ring linking the ends of a collar. Others have motifs that recall the repertory and style of International Gothic brooches. We have few records of these last, but among the jewels that were pledged by Queen Elizabeth, wife of King Albrecht II of the Romans, in Vienna in 1440 were pendants of a peacock in a border of white enamel, set on the body with three fine rubies and a little ruby on the tail, two large pearls, two small pearls and a diamond, and of a white enamelled maiden on a green mount, with a little hut and a little red man holding a bird in his hand, set with a fine sapphire and a pearl on the hut, and five diamonds.[47] Of the pendants that were simply compositions of heavy stones, there were broadly speaking two varieties, one in which the massive form was lightened by the addition of pendant pearls, and the second in which the design was not relieved by dangling pearls, though pearls were used in such jewels in their traditional role of pointing up a motif and providing a contrast. Pendants with dangling pearls were universally popular. Charles the Bold's great diamond cut in the form of a heart and very elaborately faceted in brilliant fashion, probably in Charles's own Netherlands, and celebrated in its own day as one of the largest in Christendom, being valued after its capture by the Swiss at Grandson in 1476 at 20,000 gulden, was mounted in gold as a pendant, with two great pearls hanging from it. In 1452–3 Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI of England, bought for £4 from the goldsmith John Wyne a gold 'hanger' – hanger was the name given in fifteenth-century Britain to pendants – set with a large diamond, a large oriental ruby, and two large dangling pearls. On her portrait in Queens' College, Cambridge (pl.71), Elizabeth Wydeville (1437?–92), Queen of Edward IV, Henry's successor, wears from a lace a square pendant set with a large red stone from which dangle three pearls.[48]

The Burgundian White Rose jewel (pl.72), also part of the Grandson booty, simply uses a motif that was already highly popular in brooches for setting off fine large stones. There are many references in documents to pendants that were essentially juxtapositions of stones, in this they were imitating brooches like the Three Brothers brooch. In 1488 Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, had twenty gold pendants set with rubies, a 'grete hingar of gold with a ruby', a 'hingar with a diamant and a grete pearl' and one of gold set with two pearls. From the chains and collars of François II of Brittany in 1488 hung pendants of a ruby encircled by three large pearls and three pointed diamonds, and of a gold cross set with a fleur-de-lis made of five pieces of diamond and four pearls of price. A small German gold pendant of c.1500 (pl.74), probably made in Nuremberg and now in Dresden, shows how the lopped-branch motif, so popular in German Late Gothic art, was applied to such pendants. In form it is composed of a large central circular collet, set with a great faceted diamond. This is encircled by six other smaller collets, one at the top heart-shaped, set with a balas-ruby, the two beside it, circular, set with emeralds, the two below larger and flattened ovals, set with balas-rubies, and the sixth and last a big flattened oval at the base, set with a large oblong emerald. The design is subtly weighted to give a vertical downward pull proper to a pendant. The collets are all encircled by lopped-bough frames with the lopped ends seen in profile on the smaller collets of the framework and in sharp eye-catching frontal view round the large central collet. The sophisticated artifice with which this deliberately rough motif is used to open a formal geometrical composition and the deliberate differencing of the sizes of the smaller collets strike a masterly balance between formality and naturalism.[49]

Single stones, as we saw, were still fashionable as pendants at the end of the Middle Ages. François II of Brittany also had pendants which were either unmounted or were shaped stones plainly mounted – a large pointed diamond of table diamonds. This fashion was also seen in one of Queen Charlotte de Savoie's collar pendants, recorded in 1483: it was composed of a ruby and a table diamond, no doubt hung one above the other. A pendant, or what was probably a pendant, that belonged to the House of Savoy and was pledged by Duke Charles in 1483, was composed of two table diamonds, two shields surmounted by a heart-shaped diamond, and a motif of fourteen pearls between. Similarly we saw that Marguerite d'Angoulême had in 1496 a pendant of a large diamond 'shaped as a heart', hanging from her carcan. As heraldic pendants hung from chains diamond pendants are recorded in 1472, when little Duke Philibert of Savoy and his brother Charles were given a rose made of diamonds and a fleur-de-lis made of diamonds to hang from their chains as New Year's gifts by their mother Yolande de France. Philibert at his death in 1482 also left a rare sort of pendant, 'a Jesus' – perhaps an IHS, rather than a figure – set with diamonds.[50]

The wearing of pendants with portraits of persons for whom

one felt loyalty or love seems to have been a mode introduced in the late fourteenth century, unless the portrait cameos of the thirteenth had overtones of affection now lost to us. An early reference to a portrait pendant is perhaps a 'gold jewel, round, not garnished with stones' listed in the 1416 inventory of Jean, Duc de Berry. On one side was a figure of the Virgin and Child seated under a pavilion of estate held by four angels, but on the other was a half-length figure of the Duke himself, holding a gold tablet or picture in his hand. Jean had bought this remarkable work from his court painter, Michelet Saulmon. Unfortunately we do not know if a ruby head set in a jewelled gold brooch which Jean, Duc de Berry gave to his nephew Charles VI in or before 1389, when it was repaired and refurbished by the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier, was a portrait head. Another portrait pendant associable with Jean is listed in 1524 in the inventory of Margaret of Austria, who had presumably inherited it from her ancestors the Valois dukes of Burgundy. It is described as 'a small square tablet of silver-gilt, with a ground of red enamel, with a person whose face is made of a cameo, and behind the said tablet is written *Le duc de Berry*'.[51]

These references, when taken with those in Jean de Berry's inventory which list rings set with cameo portraits of Jean, suggest that it was he who was responsible for reviving the art of cameo portraiture at the end of the fourteenth century. No pendant portrait of him is known to survive, but what is perhaps the most magnificent of all mediaeval portrait cameos shows the influence of Marguerite's portrait tablet set with a cameo head of Jean on a ground of red enamel and gold. This is the great cameo of *c*.1440–50 in the Munich Schatzkammer der Residenz, now believed to represent Philip the Good of Burgundy (pl.75); the identification as Robert de Mamisnes, a Flemish nobleman in Burgundian court service, is implausible, since he died in or before 1433. The portrait head itself, in white chalcedony, is set in gold enamelled red. Portrait pendants, unlike portrait cameos mounted in rings, are mentioned in inventories surprisingly rarely, which suggests they were confined to small circles at the princely courts of France and the Netherlands. The other great patron of the art of cameo-cutting in later times was another Valois prince, René of Anjou. He paid in December 1477 for a gold shield, brooch or pendant – it is called a *targette* – weighing about a mark, ornamented with various of his devices and with precious stones, on one of which was cut his head. This was intended as a New Year's gift for his granddaughter Jeanne de Lorraine, Duchess of Calabria, and cost the great sum of 256 écus. We have some knowledge from documents of other patrons of the portrait cameo. In 1492 Anne of Brittany bought from Jean Barbedor (i.e. Giovanni Barbadori), a merchant jeweller of Paris, a jewel set with three cameos, one with a 'face of Our Lady', the second a figure of St Michael and the third the 'portraiture of the face of the late King Louis late deceased with above a pelican'. This was certainly an object associated with Louis XI's Order of St Michael which he had founded in 1469, for it was not only

'garnished with several rubies' but around it was 'a crown of the King's order'.[52]

Again the inventory of Duke Philippe of Savoy lists in 1497 'a fair face [*vng beau visaige*] of cornelian, mounted all round in gold'. The Emperor Charles V owned in 1536 a portrait pendant of Philippe of Savoy (1438–97), whose son Philibert had married his sister Marguerite. It too was a small gold tablet with two clasps. On one side was 'the portrait of Duke Philippe of Savoy, cut in cameo, covered with a trellis-lid, and on the other side is a similar portrait on a ground of red'. This was clearly another work in the same style of a cameo profile on a red ground whose archetype was presumably the portrait of Jean de Berry that descended to Marguerite of Austria. Finally not all portrait pendants were necessarily cameos: in 1479 René of Anjou gave the goldsmith Jehan Coste six ducats to make a gold *bullette* (here a small roundel) with a head of Jean, Duke of Bourbon, on the obverse and his arms and the Bourbon device of a girdle on the back.[53]

Another foretaste of things to come appears among the pendants of Jean, Duc de Berry, who anticipated so surprisingly some of the later tastes of Renaissance humanism. He was perhaps the first great personage north of the Alps to wear antique medals mounted as pendants. One is described as 'a large gold coin, very weighty, on which is counterfeited from the life the face of Julius Caesar'. It was ornamented with four sapphires and eight pearls, probably mounted on stalks to form a radiating rim of gems round the coin, and suspended from a flexible chain set with two pearls and having a clasp set with sapphires and pearls. This treasure may however have been a recent forgery like the four famous gold medals of Augustus, Tiberius, Constantine and Heraclius, which Jean bought from Florentine merchants. To the duke of course the four were prized antiques, and he had them set with gems and attached to chains so that they too could be worn as pendants. So fond was the duke of the Constantine and Heraclius that he had gold copies made of them, perhaps to show to the curious.[54]

By the late fifteenth century the pendant was beginning to oust the brooch from its old primacy, perhaps because women's dresses were less and less usually divided at the neck or down the chest. A smooth expanse of rich cloth across the chest made a perfect foil for a chain, collar or pendant. Certainly the old Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche, writing his *Triumphe des Dames*, *c*.1490, makes no mention of a great brooch when attiring his ideal lady in her full panoply of jewels. Instead, she will wear

> a very notable pendant which shall hang round her neck and at her throat, worth ten thousand of the ducats men forge, for it shall be of the best diamonds that are polished, pure and of good aspect, so well cut into facets that you shall not know which is the first.

As a reason for wearing a diamond he says

> its property is that to whoever wears it it is like a safeguard, for one will neither suffer broken bones nor perish. You cannot pay too much for one.[55]

Phylacteries, really portable reliquaries, were among the most characteristic jewels of the Middle Ages. They had a very long history, for the habit of wearing round the neck the relics of the saints is mentioned with approval by Prudentius and with disapproval by St Jerome in the fourth century. But it is not certain if larger phylacteries were worn habitually, rather than occasionally or in emergencies when the spiritual aid of the relics they contained was required. The earliest example to survive which can be called mediaeval is the so-called Talisman of Charlemagne (figs.117, 117a), now in the treasury of Rheims cathedral. This gold reliquary pendant may well date from Charlemagne's own lifetime or at any rate from the ninth century. In shape it resembles a small circular ampulla with a square neck, to which ears for suspension are attached. Originally a great cabochon gem was set in either side, held in a decorative framework of a band of gold whose edge is cut into linked acanthus palmettes, of a kind found in Carolingian and Ottonian goldsmiths' work. On the front is now set a large cabochon paste in blue glass, a late replacement of the original stone, which may have been a big roughly shaped oval sapphire or crystal. Through the paste is visible a fragment of the True Cross. The back is still set with a large clear cabochon sapphire, squarish in form and roughly shaped. The gold mount enclosing these stones is set on both sides with four hog-back emeralds alternating with four cabochon garnets, with pearls set between, all in collets rimmed at the base with a pearled wire. The ground is decorated partly with motifs in filigree, executed in pearled wire, and partly with embossed palmette motifs. The

Fig. 117 Reliquary pendant (Talisman of Charlemagne). Gold, blue glass, emeralds, garnets, amethysts, pearls. Height 7.5 cm, width 6 cm. Aachen, ninth century. Trésor, Cathédrale, Rheims

Fig. 117a Reverse. Central sapphire
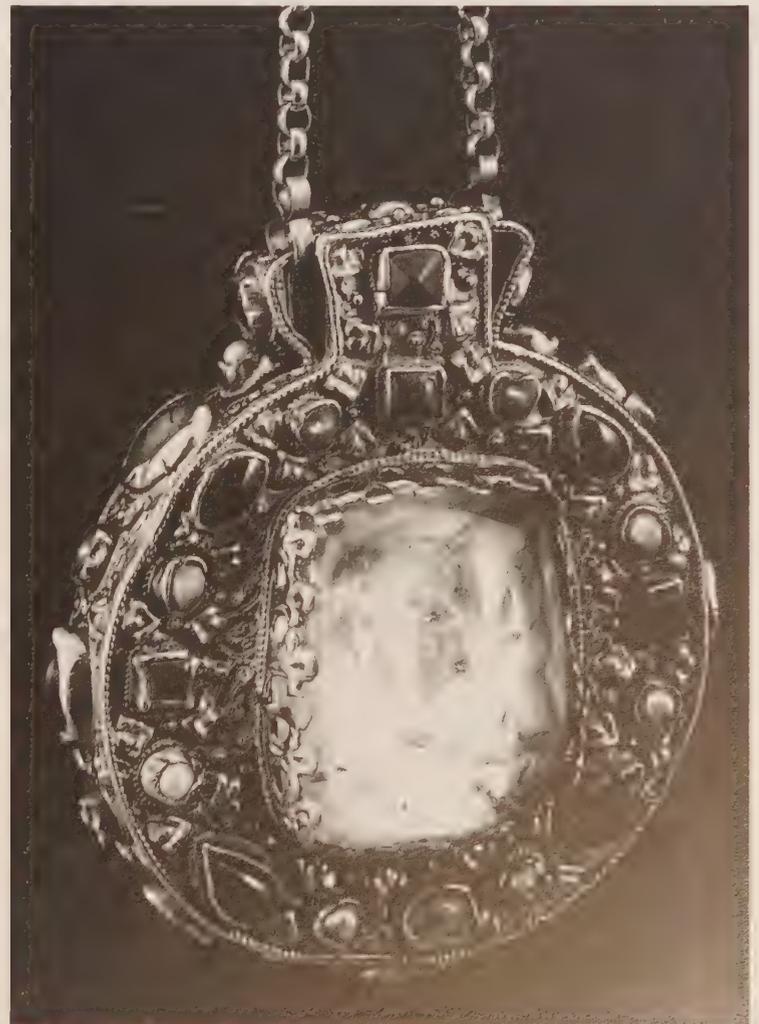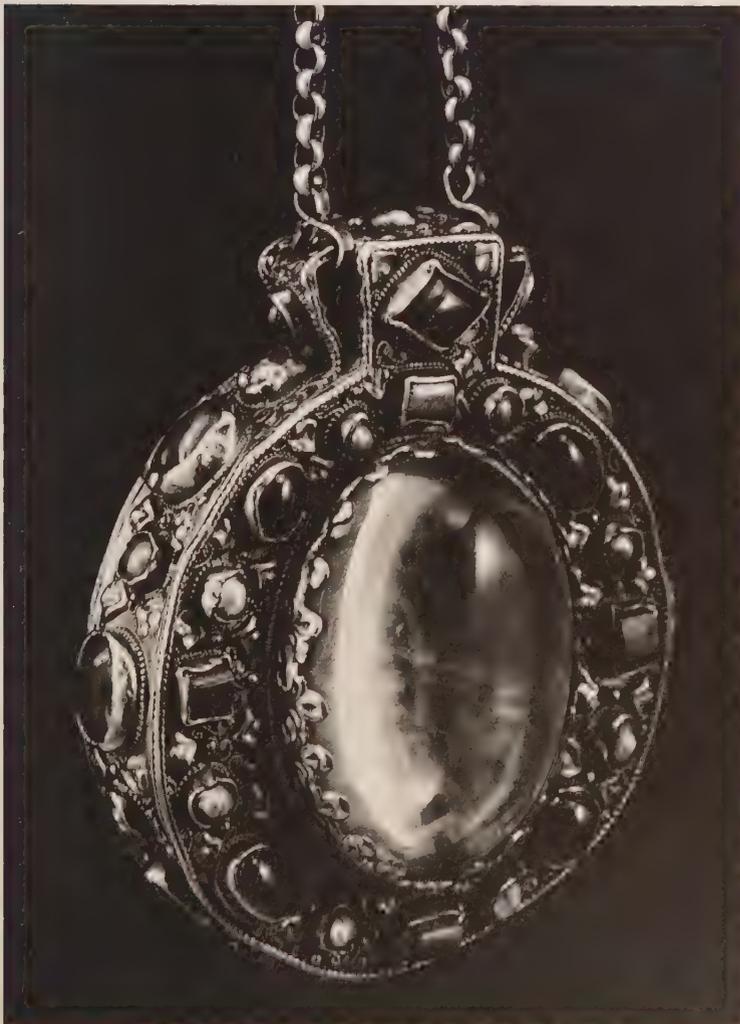
neck is also set with a garnet on both sides, that on the front being large and lozenge-shaped; the sides of the ears for suspension are also set with garnets. The side of the body is set alternately with garnets, amethysts and pearls.

According to a late tradition the pendant was found hanging round the neck of Charlemagne when his tomb in the cathedral of Aachen was opened in 1165 by Frederick Barbarossa. But all that the chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg (975–1018) says is that when the Emperor Otto III opened the tomb about AD 1000, Charlemagne was found to be wearing a gold cross round his neck, which Otto took. When first certainly recorded, moreover, in the early sixteenth century, the pendant enclosed, not a relic

Fig. 118  Pendant. Steatite carving (Byzantine, tenth century), silver-gilt, pearls. Height 6.7cm, width 5.2cm. Mount German, fifteenth century. Purchase from the J.H. Wade fund, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio



of the True Cross, as now, but relics of the hair and milk of the Virgin. An early seventeenth-century historian of Aachen, Petrus à Beeck, claimed that it was one of three reliquary pendants which had been found hanging round Charlemagne's neck when his tomb was opened. The others were Thietmar's cross, which contained a relic of the True Cross, and an image of the Virgin on a green stone executed by St Luke. This is a Byzantine carving in green steatite, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art; its silver-gilt frame of ogee outline, rimmed with pearls and foliage, is Late Gothic German goldsmiths' work (fig.118). The relic of the True Cross had been inserted into the Talisman by 1804, perhaps as being more authentic than the previous relics. Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac has pointed out that the form of the pendant is that of the little ampullae containing relics of the Holy Land which pilgrims brought back to the West from the later fifth century onwards. These too were worn round the neck by chains. But perhaps there is also a Byzantine influence in the design and ornamentation of the Talisman. Between 802 and 811 the Emperor Nicephorus of Constantinople sent Pope Leo III 'a golden *encolpion*, one of whose faces is enclosed in crystal, the other is figured in niello, and inside is a second *encolpion* in which are portions of the ever-honoured wood of the Cross'.[1]

Phylacteries of this kind, essentially containers in form, were valued gifts in the West. Thus among the various presents offered in 1023 by King Robert of France to the Emperor Henry II were a gospel-book in a binding of gold and gems and 'a phylactery of similar materials containing a tooth of St Vincent, deacon and martyr'. This may of course have been simply a reliquary rather than a reliquary pendant, but the custom of wearing phylacteries as pendants seems to have been well-established by the late twelfth century, for about 1193 a friend of the Prior of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, lost a phylactery of gold and silver set with precious stones containing relics of St Thomas Becket (d.1170) that he always wore hanging round his neck. Again King John of England owned in 1215 'two gold phylacteries with a gold chain'. What may be an object of this type is a small late twelfth-century container, some 5.7cm long, which is of rock-crystal mounted in gold filigree. It was found on the Wawel, in Cracow, Poland, in 1964 (pl.76), and still retains its gold chain. In the thirteenth century St Thomas Aquinas discusses whether it is lawful to wear relics round one's neck, giving much the same answer as to the question of whether it is lawful to wear parchments inscribed with words of scripture. If they are worn from sincere faith in God and the Saints, it is not unlawful, but if from any vain and superstitious reason, for instance because their container is triangular, then this would be superstitious and unlawful. His words give us a glimpse of a type of thirteenth-century pendant that is not mentioned at all in formal documents.[2]

Early reliquary pendants were often far from splendid: on the contrary, during the thirteenth century many, like pendants of stones, seem to have been very simple. In 1266 Eudes, Count

of Nevers left one which is described as 'the little vessel of silver in which are relics that the Patriarch gave the Count'. So too at his death in 1302 the Connétable Raoul de Nesle owned 'a little phylactery vessel for relics'. Again at his death in 1304 Jean d'Avênes, Count of Hainault owned a number of reliquary pendants which were simple containers. Among them was one of silver 'with letters in Hebrew', and having its own little silver chain, which was undoubtedly cherished for its talismanic virtues. Of the others one was a little phylactery-shaped vessel gilt on one side and worked on the other with 'a compas' (a lobed design), another was shield-shaped with a stone set in front and silver-gilt behind, a fourth was of silver 'made in the fashion of a little bottle and set with a red stone'. Richest of all was 'a little vessel' of enamelled gold 'in which is some of the True Cross'.[3]

In 1313 Edward II of England had 'a box of silver-gilt, for wearing by means of a ring round a man's neck', while his son Edward III had in 1344 'a little vessel of silver that can be suspended in which are included relics of St George'. Other reliquary containers are described as small barrels, but probably we should not be too literal in interpreting this description, but see them as small vessels, some probably cylindrical. For an early reference to 'a little silver *barralet* made in the fashion of an acorn in which they believe are relics' that was confiscated by Jaime II of Aragon from the Templars after their downfall in 1307 suggests that such 'barrels' were not necessarily of barrel shape, but simply small containers. They were certainly current by the first half of the fourteenth century. In 1313 Edward II had also a 'little gold barrel' (orig. *barel*) with relics, in 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, left 'a little barrel of silver for relics', and two royal Aragonese nuns, Blanche of Aragon, Prioress of Sigena, near Huesca, and her sister Maria owned in 1342.

a little barrel of silver bruised [*brescado*] and gilt hanging by its cord of red silk and within are relics of the robe of Jesus Christ and of the cloth in which he was wrapped when they laid him in the tomb and of the True Cross, and of St Bartholomew's skin and other relics of many other saints.

Barrel reliquaries were still being regularly worn in 1372 when John of Gaunt's wardrobe contained 'a round barrel garnished with gold and precious stones made for relics 'which he had given as a present to his wife Constance of Castile. By this date too some had acquired decoration of a certain personal ostentation. After her death in 1370 Jeanne d'Evreux, the Queen Dowager of France left a number of reliquary pendants. One was a crystal 'box' mounted in silver, one a tiny little silver 'box', but of the other three one was a silver quatrefoil enamelled and decorated with her arms, while the second was a gold 'baril' enamelled with the arms of France that hung from a gold chain and the third was 'a little gold box for holding relics and having the arms of France'. What all these references suggest is that the earliest reliquary pendants were small containers, often vessel or bar-shaped. An example from the first half of the

thirteenth century is still preserved in the cathedral treasury of Osnabrück, in Westphalia (pl.78). It consists of a small silver-mounted globular vessel of red-stained ivory, with a lid which is hinged by one of the mounts to the body. A silver chain for suspension is fastened round the neck of the knob which rises on the centre of the lid. A silver band decorated with a stylised foliated spray of late Romanesque type spans the body. The Victoria and Albert Museum's collection includes an early fourteenth-century silver-gilt reliquary pendant (cat.35), which is of simple bar shape, and probably gives some idea of another type of such reliquary containers.[4]

This early simplicity is also illustrated by one of the most remarkable of the Victoria and Albert Museum's mediaeval jewels (cat.33, pl.127), a reliquary pendant in the shape of a Fatimid crystal fish which c.1300 was converted from its original use as an Islamic perfume holder, mounted in silver and parcel-gilt and given a screw stopper with a ring for suspension. The mount, by a Northern goldsmith, probably French, is inscribed in niello with the words AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA. Reliquary pendants of crystal were held in high esteem in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries because they combined precious-ness with a transparency that allowed the relic to be viewed and venerated. When relics were sent unmounted as a gift, their container might be just such a crystal vessel, often no doubt Islamic in origin. Thus in 1358 Queen Beatriz of Portugal made a bequest of 'my relics, which are contained in the crystal which the Pope sent me'. This container she had left unmounted, but not so 'my little crystal box, that has capitals and feet and pinnacles [*simitas*] of silver, and four hoops of enamelled silver'. Other documents show how widespread was the use of crystal reliquary pendants. St Elizabeth of Hungary (d.1231) widow of the Margrave of Thuringia, gave to the abbey of Saint-Denis in Broqueroie 'a crystal mounted in silver-gilt, worked in masterly fashion into the form of an egg, and inscribed on the rim *Jasper fert mirram, thus Melchior, Balthazar aurum*'. These are the three Magi, and the presence of this magical inscription, here recorded at a very early date, indicates that the crystal was believed to have a prophylactic power. As indeed was the case, for the monks of Saint-Denis 'magnify it on account of the virtue that is present and occult in it: for it has been discovered that it has given help to pregnant women labouring in childbirth, and that they have successfully given birth on being touched by it'. In 1305 Queen Marguerite of Jerusalem and Sicily left a little crystal vessel 'in which to put saints' relics', plainly a reliquary pendant of the same kind. Again in 1322 Robert de Béthune left quite a number of little silver-mounted vessels of crystal for relics and in 1344 Edward III had a wooden box containing several small crystal vessels for relics, including one mounted in silver containing 'a bone of St Stephen the protomartyr' and another mounted in silver-gilt with a bone of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. So late as 1405 Marguerite of Flanders, Duchess of Burgundy still owned a silver-mounted crystal reliquary pendant shaped as a fish, like the Museum's pendant.

Fig. 119 Pendant. Silver, Islamic (Fatimid) rock crystal. Height 10cm.
The mount German, *c*.1300. Quedlinburg, Germany

square crystal in the middle and enamelled around with the arms of France'. Reliquary pendants were not invariably reserved for relics: in 1379 Charles V had a small one of silver 'in which is a piece of salamander'. It was taken by the new King Charles VI on his accession in 1380. The final culmination of the vessel type of reliquary pendant was the apple or pear-shaped reliquary, usually it would seem dividing into compartments to hold different relics. Already in the early fourteenth century Marguerite d'Artois, Countess of Evreux (d.1311), had a silver apple containing relics that she bequeathed to her daughter Queen Jeanne d'Evreux of France. Again, in 1379 Charles V of France had 'a silver apple, nielloed on the outside with beasts, the which opens into quarters to hold relics' and 'an apple of gold, which opens by means of a screw into four quarters, and on the screw is St Michael: mounted with little pearls and four sapphires and four balas-rubies'. In 1413 Jean de Berry had a pear-shaped version of this design, again opening into four quarters, 'and in the middle is a chapel with four pillars, with Our Lady inside'. The outside was enamelled with four figures and trees, and little pearls were pendant from it. In 1456 a gold reliquary apple belonging to the Duke and Duchess of Orléans opened, like tablet pendants in the form of an apple, into two halves, with a representation of the Trinity on one side and of Our Lady on the other. This type continued popular for at least another hundred years, probably so long indeed as the girdle and chain and collar from which they were hung continued to be principal articles of costume.[6]

Yet even in the thirteenth century more elaborate reliquary pendants were also worn, besides such simple vessel containers. We have seen that in the thirteenth century there were reliquary pendants that opened so as to allow veneration of the relics they contained. In 1278 as we know Countess Marguerite of Flanders and Hainault had 'a vessel of two leaves' containing relics of the True Cross and of the teeth of St Peter and St Paul. The enamelled reliquary pendant of the Holy Thorn (pls.79, 79a) in the British Museum, which dates from *c*.1320-40, is the earliest known example of the type. It has not hitherto been realised that this famous French royal jewel must have been designed to resemble when closed the single sapphire pendants which were so generally worn in the early fourteenth century. In actuality the pendant consists of two large bean-shaped crystals skilfully foiled to seem like two halves of a huge sapphire and set in the lids of two flat cases of silver-gilt. These are hinged to a central case, which contains the relic of the Crown of Thorns set in a sword-shaped compartment surmounted by a crown with three fleur-de-lis-shaped fleurons. In the centre, to the left and right of the thorn, are two more compartments. The left one holds an inscription executed in Lombardic letters enamelled alternately blue and red: this reads DE : SP / INA : S / ANTE : C / ORONE. When the first is opened, it reveals four scenes, two on each side, executed in blue, green and red translucent enamel on the underside of the lid and the upper side of the central case, which of course face each other. On the left the upper

The treasury of the North German abbey of Quedlinburg contained until the 1940s three small reliquary pendants of carved crystal mounted in silver in the fourteenth century which also help to give an idea of the type (figs.119, 120); on two of these the band of silver that clasps the body is inscribed with the names of the saints whose relics it encloses. We know little of how such containers were worn, but St Isabel of Portugal in 1327 wore her crystal reliquary pendant suspended from a gold chain.[5]

Container reliquary pendants of silver, or silver-mounted crystal, continued in use into the fifteenth century: in 1418, for instance, Charles VI of France had a silver-gilt reliquary pendant shaped as a little hexagon 'in the fashion of a little box, with a

panel shows the Virgin and Child, seated on a throne, attended by a censing angel and an angel with a candlestick. The Child raises his hand in blessing and the Virgin looks graciously downwards to the lower panel where a barefoot young king, dressed in blue, kneels to the left in prayer. He is in right profile, whereas his queen on the right kneels in prayer full-face towards us. Opposite are two scenes from the Childhood of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple (above) and the Flight into Egypt. The other lid of the central case has a miniature painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds, set under crystal foil in a gold case; facing this, on the lid of the lower case, are enamelled two scenes from the Passion, the Descent from the Cross (above) and the Crucifixion. The pendant can be dated stylistically c.1320–40, and the king most probably represented is Philip VI (b.1293, r.1328–50). If so, then the queen represents his wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne (d.1348).[7]

Reliquary pendants also imitated the designs and motifs of secular pendants, not surprisingly in an age that did not separate the sacred and the profane, but mingled the divine with the worldly to ensure the protection of the divine over the living. In her will of 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal left her grand-daughter the Infanta Maria a reliquary which had been given her by King Diniz (r.1279–1325), probably on her marriage in 1309 to his son Affonso. This was evidently in two parts. One was triangular in shape, for 'it has three sapphires, one in each corner'; a large ruby was set in the middle, together with four pearls. This perhaps served as a brooch-fastener, for the queen continues: 'as a case it has a Majesty of the Virgin [i.e. a Virgin enthroned] on the neck, and this case is full of very good relics'. Perhaps a similar brooch-fastener was her 'serpent of enamelled silver which has relics in a crystal container', mentioned in her second will of 1358. Probably much more like a large cluster brooch was her reliquary pendant, also mentioned in 1358, set with a ruby encircled by small emeralds, with an outer frame set with four large emeralds and four pearls. This type of reliquary was of some age in the 1350s, for Beatriz also left a reliquary pendant set with a cameo of two white figures on a dark ground which she calls Samson and the Lion, but which were probably Hercules and the Nemean Lion, 'set round with emeralds and little rubies', that had belonged to Doña Maria Affonso.[8]

By the 1360s circular and tablet-shaped reliquary pendants

Fig. 120  Pendants. Silver, Islamic (Fatimid) rock crystal, silver. Left: height 13 cm. Right: height 11.5 cm. Mounts German, c.1300. Quedlinburg, Germany

had appeared as a result of the secular fashion for these two forms of pendant. The circular reliquary pendants we must imagine in all probability as the round cases, with a hollow in the middle for holding the relic, of which there are quite a number in the Museum's collection. In 1363 Charles, Duke of Normandy, later Charles V, had 'a flat reliquary of silver, nielloed and round, with a shield in the middle, hanging by a little chain'. The shape was sometimes varied into a lobed form; we have already encountered Queen Jeanne d'Evreux's quatrefoil-shaped silver reliquary pendant and she also owned one 'in the fashion of a rose' — again a quatrefoil or sexfoil — which was of silver-gilt set with pearls and precious stones. The same range is found in Spain. At his death in 1410 King Martín of Aragon left two round reliquary pendants, one of silver-gilt hung from a cord of gold and dark red silk, another, small and also of silver-gilt, with an eagle on either side, in a case of green and gold stuff. He also left a 'flat four-pointed reliquary of silver enamelled with blue and letters all round the edge and on one side the figure of Jesus Christ and on the other the Virgin Mary, with its cord of dark red silk with four buttons of gold thread'.

In 1379–80 Louis of Anjou had only one pendant 'to wear on the person', but this was the very small gold tablet reliquary 'of very beautiful work . . . and very finely enamelled' that contained a figure of the Virgin which we have already discussed when considering the tablet in general. The Museum's enamelled silver reliquary pendant of St Catherine of Alexandria, made probably in Paris in the late fourteenth century (cat.39, pl.131), is what contemporaries would have called a tablet and still contains its relic of the saint under a piece of crystal, in the shape of a small piece of stuff. Charles V's inventory of 1380 includes 'a round gold reliquary, on which is an image of our Lady in relief, and her Child is of white silver, with two sapphires beside the image and four tiny little pearls, and encircled by eleven large pearls'. The most striking feature of his reliquary pendants was the number set either with precious stones or with cameos or engraved gems, usually in the centre, with other gems and pearls set around. One had a cameo of a satyr, described as 'a man with hairy legs', another a sapphire cut with the figure of God the Father; others were set with cameos whose subjects are not specified. Two were matching, being set with a cameo head surrounded by four pearls and four balas-rubies, the only difference being that one was enamelled with St Catherine, the other with the Baptist, two favourite saints of the royal family. Only on one was this pattern varied: it was decorated with a large cross set with a big sapphire, a balas-ruby and fifteen big pearls.[9]

Reliquary pendants became increasingly popular in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. In 1390 the royal gold-smith Jehan du Vivier made for Charles VI of France 'a small gold reliquary hanging by a gold chain, in which is some of the True Cross of Rhodes and several other relics, and it is to be put and worn round the said lord's neck'. The tablet pendant of the Pietà in Munich contains, as we saw, a cavity for a relic.



Fig. 121 Reliquary pendant. Gold, enamel. Height 4.6cm, width 3.3cm. English, late fifteenth century. British Museum, London

Jean de Berry's reliquary pendants were devised with his customary exquisite taste and care. One, described as 'a small gold reliquary to wear at the neck' was set on one side with a cross which Jean had had cut from a balas-ruby he purchased in 1406 from the merchant Baude de Guy. On the other side was a cross of diamond bought in November 1404 from Michele Pazzi, a Florentine merchant 'dwelling in Paris'. Another, also of gold, given him as a present in 1414, was set on one side with a sapphire in the shape of a cross, encircled by four rubies and four diamonds, while the other was set with a cameo of a maiden encircled by four emeralds and four diamonds. It opened in the middle to show two enamelled scenes, on the one side the Passion, on the other the Cross. The 1418 inventory of Charles VI of France lists numbers of reliquary pendants, far more in fact that of any other kind of jewel. Some were square, like a small one engraved on one side with St George and on the other with St Christopher — an iconography that suggests it was made for wear by a knight, since these two were the favourite chivalric saints, and also protected from death — or another with a crown on one side and an oak leaf on the other and set with fourteen pearls. Others were round, like one set with a cameo of a black eagle on a white field, its frame set with pearls, emeralds and rubies.

Some had undoubtedly been preserved from the treasures of

Charles V, like the reliquary pendant of a great heart-shaped balas-ruby, supported by two hands, with a circular scroll 'on which is written *De capillis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi* [of the hairs of Our Lord Jesus Christ] and on the heart is an emerald and two pearls'. Here the heart was symbolic; the symbolism was even more intense in another heart-shaped ruby which had a king and queen as supporters: on its top was set a little cross containing a fragment of the True Cross, and above this was a large pearl and two emeralds. Such heart-shaped religious pendants were probably much commoner than might appear, rather as secular heart pendants were clearly far more frequent than the few surviving examples might suggest. In 1413–14 Alfonso of Aragon had 'a gold heart of little fashion, which they say contains holy relics' while, again, Charles VI had a small gold reliquary pendant of a heart, set between four fleur-de-lis, and with a balas-ruby on the back enclosed in a frame of four trefoils of pearls and 'it hangs from a little real silk'. The Gay Collection included a fifteenth-century reliquary heart pendant of silver-gilt, now untraced, which on its front face had inscriptions in translucent enamel around a circular cavity set with a cabochon stone or crystal for the relic while on its reverse was set a plaque of mother-of-pearl cut with figures of St John the Baptist and St Catherine. A typical fifteenth-century corded frame ran round the edge of the case.[10]

Sometimes the decoration of reliquary pendants was purely secular: Jean de Berry had 'a cameo with a Saracen's head bound in a towel [i.e. turbaned] garnished all round with gold and precious stones of small value, and behind is a little case for putting relics . . . with a lace to hang it by'. Again, about 1405 Valentina Visconti also had a gold reliquary garnished with ten pearls and eleven balas-rubies and set with a cameo of a Moor's (i.e. negro) head on one side and with a second cameo on the other. It is plain that all kinds of motifs, profane and sacred, were used in the decoration of reliquary pendants; at the risk of repetition, we should emphasise again that this is entirely to be be expected of the Age of Faith, when profane and sacred were indiscriminately mingled. What constituted a reliquary pendant was essentially the presence of relics. Their variety of shape and motif is perhaps most clearly illustrated from those left in 1405 by Marguerite of Burgundy. One was heart-shaped like that of Charles V and enclosed a figure of Our Lady, set among pearls, rubies and sapphires. On its outside were a cross and a little heart of gold held by a hand set with three pearls. Others were of plain silver, like one of architectural design in the fashion of a tabernacle – in other words with a pointed canopy – or else of silver-gilt, like the one 'in the fashion of a fish'. Two gold ones were heraldic in decoration: one bore the arms of Marguerite's husband, Duke Philippe, the other was 'in the fashion of a fleur-de-lis, enamelled green, and at the end which has thirty pearls is a little image of Madame'.[11]

Reliquary pendants continued to be worn until the end of the Middle Ages, and into modern times in Roman Catholic countries. Silver-gilt reliquary pendants were commonly worn even by the greatest personages in fifteenth-century Spain. In 1413–14 Alfonso of Aragon had a silver-gilt reliquary pendant enamelled blue, with the Crucifixion with Mary and John on one side, and the Flagellation on the other and an inscription running round the sides. It was suspended from a cord of green silk with two tufts. They continued equally in vogue in France. In 1476, for instance, Marie, Duchess of Orléans, pledged a gold pendant 'of a little gold tablet, garnished with several relics of the men and women saints of Paradise'. An English late fifteenth-century gold reliquary pendant (fig.121), now in the British Museum, is a case, closed by a hinged back, with a trilobed top and a lobe projecting to either side. On one side is engraved the figure of a sainted archbishop holding a cross and blessing, on the other St John the Baptist and the Lamb of God. Both figures are shown standing between two white flowers growing from a bank, and were originally outlined in black enamel, now largely lost, on a ground once also enamelled. Tears, again probably originally enamelled black, decorate the sides; enamelled too was the inscription A MON DERREYNE in a very curious style of early Tudor lettering. These words seem to mean 'At my latter end' and to be an invocation to the two saints for their assistance on the wearer's deathbed – certainly St John the Baptist was often signalled in wills and in the imagery of tombs as a chief patron of the soul after death because of his primacy among saints as the Precursor of our Redeemer Christ.[12]

Reliquary pendants with royal or personal devices also came into fashion. Some of Charles VI's pendants followed designs already traditional in brooches. This was already true, among

Fig. 122 Reliquary pendant. Silver, silver-gilt, enamel, stones, glass, pearls. Diameter 18.5cm. Bohemian, or Northern Italian, mid-fourteenth century. Musée de Cluny, Paris

others, of his small reliquary pendant of a gold two-headed eagle set with a cameo. A silver-gilt eagle reliquary pendant (Paris, Musée de Cluny) of the middle to third quarter of the fourteenth century (fig.122), which has been called German, Bohemian or North Italian, may give some impression of this type of object. A crowned eagle with outspread wings, its body and feathers set with rubies and crystals, and pearls dangling from its feet, is applied to a lozenge-shaped plaque engraved with flames – a motif that has associations with St Wenceslas of Bohemia. The raised borders of the plaque are set with raised collets in which balases and emeralds and sapphires alternate; between the collets are pearls. A quatrefoil frame, enamelled with a three-dimensional pattern of ribbons forming lozenges, has four semi-lobes protruding from its corners, decorated with Gothic canopy work. Set in the centre of each of the four small and four large lobes are collets set with glass beneath which are relics, the nature of each being indicated by a small label.[13]

Another variety of devotional pendant was the Agnus Dei. These were such common articles of jewellery, and their mediaeval history is still so confused with post-Tridentine Roman Catholic usage, that it may be helpful to explain in a little detail what they were and why they were so highly and so universally prized. In the Middle Ages the Agnus Dei was a circular medallion of wax, stamped with the Paschal Lamb, always shown standing and carrying the banner of the Resurrection, but naturally with some variations of detail in the design. The border usually carried an inscription referring to the Lamb of God: a wax Agnus Dei of Pope John XXII (1316–34) in the Museo Sacro Vaticano has the inscription *Agne Dei, miserere mei, qui crimina tollis* (O Lamb of God, have mercy on me, thou that takest away sins). Originally the making of Agnuses was a local usage of the Roman diocese. They are first documented in an appendix to a Roman *ordo* of the eleventh century, which describes how the Archdeacon of the Lateran comes into the church on Holy Saturday, pours wax into a large clean bowl, mixes oil with it, blesses the wax and makes Agnuses, apparently by pouring the mixture into moulds. They are then kept in a clean place until the octave of Easter, when he distributes them to the people after mass and communion. At this early date they were burnt as a sort of incense whenever some pressing need or danger threatened, and they were also made in the small cities around Rome. It was only later that it became the custom for the Pope himself to distribute them on the Saturday of Quasimodo while the choir was singing the *Agnus Dei*. Distribution by the Pope had become the established ritual by the time of Innocent II (1130–43) when Benedict, a canon of St Peter's, after giving two lofty spiritual reasons why Agnuses are distributed by the Pope, adds the real explanation for their popularity: 'whoever has somewhat of the wax of the aforesaid Agnus Dei, and has a cross made of it at home, or carries it on his person, will not be injured by any phantasm or by thunder'. By the time of Pope Celestine III (1191–8) it was usual for Agnuses to be made by the Pope's own acolytes beside the altar

of St Peter's, and they were given ten pounds of wax, an expensive substance in the Middle Ages, for the purpose. They presented them to the Pope as he celebrated mass on Easter Saturday and, while the choir was singing the *Agnus Dei*, the Pope distributed them to the cardinals, bishops, and other clerics and laymen who were present. Later that day, as he was eating, the acolytes appeared before him with two silver bowls filled with more Agnuses, and gave one to the Pope and the other to his chamberlain for distribution among the Papal household.

The thirteenth-century French liturgist, Durandus of Mende, tells us that in his day the acolytes used either new wax that had been blessed or any wax left over from the Paschal candlestick of the previous year, which was blessed on Good Friday. The Agnuses were then distributed during the octave of the Resurrection, and on Easter Sunday the Pope himself gave them out to his chaplains and household as he went in to dinner. 'These Agnuses', Durandus adds, 'defend the faithful and believers from lightning and thunder by the virtue of their consecration and blessing.' By the fourteenth century the ceremonial of their distribution on Easter Saturday had become more elaborate. The Pope gave them first to bishops, secondly to priests, and finally to deacons, putting two medallions into the mitres of curial prelates and one into the mitres of all the rest as prelates and clerics came up in turn to kneel before him, followed by the remainder of the congregation. Before he sat down to eat after mass, he received with more ceremony a basin-full of Agnuses, and distributed them to his household.

The number of Agnuses distributed on each festival seems to have augmented slightly in the fourteenth century. Clement VI was said to have made an innovation in 1350 by giving three Agnuses to each cardinal, whereas John XXII and Benedict XII had given them only two, and at his first celebration of the ceremony, in 1378, Urban VI gave three to each Cardinal, two to each prelate and to the members of his household, and one to everyone else. On the other hand their rarity and importance were enhanced because it became the custom in the later fourteenth century for the Popes to distribute Agnuses only on the Easter Saturday of the first and seventh years of their reign, and after that solely in every subsequent seventh year, a usage dating, or so it seems, from the pontificate of Urban V (1362–70).[14]

At least up to 1353 moulds were used for making Agnuses: a Papal inventory of that year lists 'moulds or forms for making Agnuses'; later these were handed over to a Magister Marais, who was presumably a goldsmith charged to make new ones. Presumably such moulds were renewed with every pontificate, for from the time of the earliest surviving wax medallions they bear the name of the Pope who had distributed them. In 1378, when the Agnuses were made by the Bishop of Sinigaglia and not by acolytes, he used pure white wax which was laid on the altar of St Peter, mingling with it wax left over from the Paschal candlestick and blending this mixture with the chrism left over from the celebrations of 1377 and with new chrism.

He then impressed the wax on the stamps given to him for the purpose – the first reference we have to the existence of such stamps, unless they were what is meant by the document of 1353 – blessed the medallions and put them into holy water.[15]

The Popes appear to have made a practice of reserving some Agnuses for sending to kings and great personages as a token of special favour. In 1366 Urban V sent three as a gift to the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus, then visiting him in Avignon, together with a short Latin poem explaining their virtues.

Balsam and pure wax with liquid chrism make this Agnus: which I give thee as a mighty gift. Being sprung from a fount sanctified by mysteries, it repels lightning from above, and all that is malign; it destroys sin, like Christ's own blood, and augments [virtue]. It at once preserves the pregnant woman, and delivers her of her child: to the worthy it brings gifts: it destroys the power of fire: worn in purity, it rescues from watery floods.

Again the inventory of King Martín of Aragon, taken in 1410, lists 'a box in which are 22 impressions of the Agnus Dei in wax that the Pope sent to the late Lord King Juan'. These must have been a gift from the Aragonese Pedro de Luna, elected Pope in 1394 during the Great Schism as Benedict XIII, and were probably sent in 1395, the first year of his Papacy.[16]

So eagerly sought after were Agnuses that there grew up a flourishing trade in false ones: already in 1452 Pope Nicholas V was obliged to fine two forgers of Agnuses, Johann Urioch and Dionisis de Mulins (Denis de Moulins) heavily, and the abuse grew so flagrant that in 1470 Paul II issued a bull reserving the right of making, blessing and consecrating them to the Pope alone. The bull lists the reasons why the faithful believed in them so devoutly: they were now thought to efface sins, to encourage fervour in God's praise, to preserve from fire, shipwreck, lightning, hail, tempest and the attacks of the Devil. In addition they were also thought to procure an easy delivery for pregnant women. Priests and laymen alike were henceforward forbidden to make or sell or exchange Agnuses, in public or in private, consecrated or unconsecrated. The inhibition was extended even to Agnuses already mounted in cases of gold or silver or kept in a precious box. The bull was plainly disregarded for the new Pope Sixtus IV found it necessary to renew it in the following year.

Nothing could show more clearly how highly all classes prized Agnuses in the fifteenth century. We have no evidence about their popularity in the early Middle Ages, but almost as soon as inventories begin to survive in some numbers we find mentions of them as treasured objects. Already in 1299 the relics of Edward I included a 'small container with an Agnus Dei'. In 1304 Jean, Count of Hainault had a silver-mounted Agnus Dei and Guy, Count of Flanders three, one decorated with another favourite mediaeval motif, found on so many devotional pendants, the Vernicle or Veil of Veronica. It seems to have been usual in the early fourteenth century to mount them fairly simply in silver or silver-gilt. Those of the Counts

of Hainault and Flanders were all plainly mounted in silver, as were those of King Jaime II of Aragon, mentioned in 1323. Yet even though so plainly mounted they were considered suitable presents for great occasions. In 1304, for instance, at the conference held in Tarazona between the Kings of Portugal, Castile and Aragon, Jaime gave his sister Queen Isabel of Portugal 'an Agnus Dei mounted in silver and nielloed'. One owned by Robert, Count of Flanders in 1322, was slightly more elaborate, for its mounts were of silver-gilt, adorned with shields. Agnuses might be worn round the neck, suspended by a chain. At her death c.1369, for instance, Alix de Frolois, Abbess of Jouarre, near Meaux, left an Agnus Dei of silver-gilt suspended from a chain. In 1469 a goldsmith was paid for making a gold hook for the chain on which Yolande, Duchess of Savoy, wore her Agnus round her neck, and in 1472 another goldsmith made one round of chain and an Agnus Dei for Prince Louis of Savoy. Again we find René of Anjou in 1477 having a gold chain intended as a present made by his goldsmith Jacquet Scalle, who also made an Agnus Dei to hang from it. Frequently however they were hung from the girdle, rather than round the neck; in 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders had another which hung from a rich girdle of white silk harnessed with silver-gilt. At her death in March 1323 Queen Maria of Hungary, wife of Charles II of Naples, owned an Agnus Dei of silver-gilt, 'enamelled with a figure of the Crucified on one side and of the Blessed Virgin on the other', which she kept in a purse of silk and gold thread with a pearl button. Such purses containing Agnuses might also be worn pinned by a brooch to the person.[17]

Naturally the Popes themselves also wore Agnuses. The earliest listed in their registers and inventories is one of silver-gilt enamelled with the arms of Benedict XII (1334–42). Clement VI (1342–52) also had two enamelled with his arms, and another of plain silver. Innocent VI in 1353 had one of silver-gilt and three of silver, including one kept in its own silk purse, again no doubt worn attached to the girdle. In 1360 the Papal treasury included 'an Agnus Dei with its case and silk cord' and in 1371 we hear of four which were mounted in enamelled silver, including one containing relics and suspended by a silver chain, and five mounted in plain white silver. The two with a lace or chain for suspension were plainly for wear either from the girdle or as pendants round the neck, unlike the one kept in a purse, which would have only been worn at the girdle. They were also worn in the fourteenth century simply pinned by a brooch without a purse: in 1354 Isabella, widow of Thomas Corp, a wealthy London pepperer, left a small brooch (*nouche*) with an Agnus Dei pendant.[18]

The simplicity with which they were ordinarily mounted during the earlier decades of the fourteenth century still appears in an Agnus that had belonged to the Papal Auditor Bernard de Novodompno (d.1350), who left an Agnus Dei mounted in silvered latten. And the earlier of the Victoria and Albert Museum's two Agnuses (cat.34) is mounted only in brass. There was a recognition that Agnuses could not be made of

pure silver. In Siena the goldsmiths resolved in 1361 that since Agnuses could not be mounted without putting some other metal or substance under the silver, this should be allowed, but that in consequence Agnuses could not therefore be sold by weight. In later fourteenth- and in fifteenth-century inventories they are frequently encountered mounted in gold and studded with gems. About 1360, for instance, Innocent VI had an Agnus mounted in gold and set with many pearls and precious stones, and enclosed in a cover of cloth of gold sewn with pearls and precious stones. In 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy had a gold Agnus set with ten buttons of pearls and small precious stones which was kept in an embroidered case. And in 1483 Queen Charlotte de Savoie, wife of Louis XI of France, left an Agnus Dei mounted with table diamonds cut to form letters that hung from a gold chain.[19]

We read too of Agnuses decorated with figures of saints and religious scenes. We saw that in 1305 one of Guy of Flanders' Agnuses was decorated with a Vernicle. In 1392 Richard, Earl of Arundel left his mother, the Duchess of Norfolk 'in remembrance of me and of my soul' an Agnus of enamelled gold, with on one side the Coronation of the Virgin and on the other St Francis, and set with seventeen pearls. Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, had in 1430 an Agnus Dei of gold, rimmed with small pearls and with a pearl at the top, and set in addition with five little sapphires and five little balas-rubies, which was decorated with the Annunciation – perhaps in enamel, since the piece is described as 'enamelled on the outside'. Richly decorated and jewelled Agnuses were common in the later fifteenth century. In 1487 Dame Elizabeth Browne, born a Paston of Norfolk, left 'an Agnus with a baleys, iij saphires, iij perlys with an image of Saint Antony upon it'. Eight years later, 1495 Cecily, Duchess of York, the mother of Edward IV, left quite a collection of Agnuses, all decorated with devotional motifs. The most magnificent was 'a greate Agnus of gold with the Trinite, Saint Erasmus and the Salutacion of our lady'. Another Agnus of gold was decorated with the Virgin and St Barbara, while ten others whose mounts are not specified were decorated with the Trinity, evidently a favourite motif in English fifteenth-century jewellery. It was Cecily's practice to hang rings from some of these Agnuses, as appears later in her will. Sometimes relics were added: so an Agnus belonging to Queen Charlotte de Savoie of France in 1483 contained parcels of the bones of St Theodore. It was mounted in gold, set with diamonds and rubies, had a piece of mother-of-pearl in the centre, and large and small pearls hanging from it, and was suspended from a gold chain. Another, also mounted in gold, contained a piece of Christ's robe, and again had a little chain.

In the fifteenth century there was also a great manufacture of Agnuses for sale in the international trade in goldsmiths' work. The stock of Haquinet Hierche, a jeweller of Tournai, contained two hundred and eighteen Agnuses, two lots of five dozen and two dozen being described as Agnuses of Paris, and another lot as ten Agnuses of Auvergne, in other words, made

at Le Puy. Yet, in spite of the great numbers of them that were in circulation, mediaeval examples of Agnus Dei medallions are now very rare. One still survives in the Focke-Museum, Bremen, which originates from the Guelph treasure; it appears to have been made in Brunswick and must date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, in any case from before 1435 (pl.80). It is of silver, engraved on the front with the Lamb of God and the inscription, which must have been general on Agnuses: *Angnus dei qui tollis peccata mu[ndi]*, and on the back with Veronica holding her veil and the inscription, again no doubt usual with such representations of the Vernicle: *Salve Sancta Facies nostri redemptoris* (Hail Holy Face of Our Redeemer). It still has a little chain for suspension, most probably from a girdle. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two dating from the fourteenth century, one mounted in brass and one in silver-gilt (cat.35, 45).[20]

We have already encountered many devotional pendants decorated with religious subjects. It also became customary in the later Middle Ages to wear pendants of figures of the Virgin or of saints towards whom one felt a special devotion or for whose special protection one hoped. One of the earliest references to this custom is English, in the will made in 1366 by Alan Everard, a mercer of London, which includes a bequest of a silver chain with an image of St Catherine. In 1430 Paolo Guinigi had 'a little gold figure with Our Lady enamelled, set therein a sapphire and a little balas-ruby crescent-shaped, with several tiny pearls' – the crescent figured of course the crescent moon which is a symbol of the Virgin. Among the jewels made as New Year's gifts for 1435 for the house of Savoy by Pierre Rollin, goldsmith of Geneva, was a gold St George, the patron saint of chivalry. In 1468 Charles the Bold had 'a little St Catherine of gold, garnished with a shield-shaped faceted diamond and with a little pointed diamond on the top of her sword'. From her inventory of 1483 we learn that Queen Charlotte de Savoie of France kept in a little coffer mounted in black leather a little St Nicholas of gold and a little St Michael of silver. The Victoria and Albert Museum has a number of such silver devotional pendants of saints (cat.42, pl.132 *left*; cat.43, pl.132 *right*; cat.62, 65), all German in origin. They could attain very elaborate form, especially in Germany, where the complex three-dimensional exuberance of German late Gothic ornament might also be applied to their design. A St George slaying the dragon, in the museum of Kempen, in the Lower Rhineland (fig.123), is set against a sunburst with angled rays, the complication of lines being enhanced by a second ground of wires with looped ends. Three tall plumes give the saint an almost Baroque aspect, while stamped and punched motifs dangle from the base and presumably once dangled from the loops of the wires above.[21]

In inventories drawn up in French we find certain little jewels termed *bullettes* (*bulletae*) which essentially were small trinkets and were evidently widely worn among all classes. Whatever its place of origin, the early fourteenth-century

Monreale jewel (pls.36, 36a) is what would have been called a *bullette* in fourteenth-century France. Eventually the name largely came to mean a small pendant: in 1451, for example, René of Anjou paid his court goldsmith Jehan Nicolas 'for the gold, fashion and enamelling of two *bullettes* of gold, the weight of two écus, which the said lord has had made to wear at his neck'. Originally however the name derived from *bulla*, meaning a seal; the small cases stamped with armorial bearings and perhaps containing an impression of a seal that were given to messengers as credentials were generally known as *bulles*. The term *bullette* as used in 1322 by the officials who drew up the inventory after decease of Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, still seems to mean a small seal: they list 'a silver *bullette* with a red stone carved with a hood in intaglio' which was plainly a small seal. Later the name was extended to small cases in precious metal worn suspended from chains, perhaps because seal impressions in lead or wax were attached to documents by cords or ribbons. At first these were perhaps only small roundels, like the seals their name recalls. They seem to have been a common article of manufacture with the goldsmiths of Le Puy in Auvergne, who drove a flourishing trade in such trinkets as part of their traditional enterprise in the production of cheaper jewellery. In 1389–90 the wardens of the Paris guild had cause to complain of the dishonesty of their wares: they found that the scrap-metal dealers (*billonneurs*), mercers and goldsmiths of Paris were selling *bullettes* of silver-gilt, plain silver, and silver enamelled 'in which is set between two bottoms a layer of lead and paste'. Accordingly these and any rings made in Le Puy that were of poor quality were ordered to be broken up and confiscated.[22]

Fancy gave *bullettes* other forms besides the roundel and the name attached itself to a whole variety of small containers. This was certainly true by the late fourteenth century. In 1405 Margaret of Burgundy left *bullettes* in the form of a tiny barrel, of a heart, of a little box, of a square shape, of a pear shape. Some of her *bullettes* could be opened to reveal an image: her pear-shaped *bullette* opened to show a figure of Our Lady. Others were decorated simply on the front and on the back, yet others were plain or merely set with precious stones, like three 'of the same guise' which were each 'garnished with a sapphire and four pearls'. Quite a number were set with panels of the transparent stone the Middle Ages called beryl and sometimes used for spectacles: this two *bullettes* had the Crucifixion set under beryl. Some had figures of saints – Our Lady and St Margaret, the duchess's patron saint, enamelled black, the Annunciation, enamelled in clear red (*rouge cler*), St John and St James. Others were cheerfully secular, like the *bullette* which had a rim of pearls and was enamelled with a green parrot. Many *bullettes* were simply what we should call trinkets, and reproduced larger pendants in miniature form. Some were evidently used to enhance a pendant – in the fourteenth and fifteenth century pendants were often composed of two elements, a roundel depending from a chain, and the pendant proper,



Fig. 123  Pendant. Silver-gilt. Height 13 cm. German, *c.*1480. Museum für Niederrheinische Sakralkunst, Kempen, Germany

hanging from the roundel. The Duchess's *bullettes* which had small pendant crosses hanging from them seem to have been of this kind.[23]

Special sanctity attached to *bullettes* 'from Rhodes. In 1360 Queen Jeanne de Boulogne had three *bullettes* 'from Outremer', which were probably from Rhodes. At his death in 1364 her husband King Jean had a little silver *vaisselet* – evidently a reliquary pendant in which he kept a *bullette de Rhodes*. In 1417 Charles of Orléans had a *bullette* of gold from Rhodes enamelled with figures which were encircled by an inscription in letters of white and black. It contained relics of the veil and hair shirt of Ste Aldegonde, Queen of France. Again in 1420 his uncle King Charles VI left a little *bullette* of Rhodes, of white silver, hanging from a fillet. A late fourteenth-century French pilgrim from Picardy, Ogier d'Anglure, explains in 1395 that such *bullettes* were made from a relic belonging to the church of St John the Baptist where the Knights of Rhodes heard service

daily. This was 'one of the *deniers* [pennies] of St Helena, enclosed in lead, on which are made the *bullettes* of Rhodes which are of such great virtue'. Plainly these small *bullettes* reproduced the design on the *denier*; their exact virtue appears however not to be recorded.[24]

*Bullettes* were quite often used as containers for relics. In 1411 the goldsmith Andrier de Fribourg was paid for making a gold *bullette* to hold relics for Amadeo VIII of Savoy. In 1468 Charles the Bold had one 'with relics inside and enamelled on one side with two images and on the other with two crowns'. Others of his *bullettes* were miniature devotional pendants. One had a crystal cover over an enamelled figure of St Barbara; others were simply enamelled, like a round gold *bullette* which had the Annunciation with the Trinity above, a motif that must have been common, for it appears on two of the Victoria and Albert Museum's fifteenth-century German pendants (cat.61, pl.132 *top*; cat.50, pl.133). One or two opened, like a gold *bullette* which opened to reveal an image of the naked Saviour – presumably a Pietà – under crystal, and another which had the Trinity and Our Lady enamelled inside. *Bullettes* remained popular, at any rate in the Netherlands, for in 1496 the Netherlandish court poet Jean Lemaire de Belges exclaims that women have 'so many *bullettes* hanging from gold chains, so many collars, so many brooches, so many bracelets, so many rings on the fingers that it is something infinite'. They seem in fact to have been in part small trinket, in part miniature pendant. We can perhaps form some impression of them from the small jewel formerly in the Hirsch Collection (pl.56 *right*) and the British Museum's tiny fifteenth-century gold pendant, set with a single collet containing a stone rimmed round with seed-pearls, with three tiny hoops at the bottom from which once no doubt there dangled little pearls. These are not necessarily French; the type of little trinket called *bullette* in France was certainly also found elsewhere, though under other names.

Two special types of pendant were worn during mass by the higher clergy and the Popes in the later Middle Ages. The first was the pectoral cross, which was worn as part of their pontifical insignia, in other words as part of their ornaments when officiating. Pectoral crosses are first mentioned in mediaeval literature as a pontifical ornament worn by the Popes. In his *De Mysteriis Missae*, written in the later twelfth century, Pope Innocent III says

> the Roman pontiff wears [at mass] a cross on his chest in place of the plate the Jewish pontiff wore on his forehead because the golden plate has yielded to the Cross. Wherefore the Roman Pontiff wears a cross hung from slender chains round his neck, so that the sacrament that the Jewish Pontiff bore on his forehead he may hold on his breast.

In the late thirteenth century the liturgist Durandus of Mende also assumes that it is an ornament worn only by the Popes, in imitation of the *rationale* or breastplate (the Urim and Thummim) of the High Priest of the Jews, the golden breastplate having given way to the Christian symbol of the Cross. He affirms

that it also signifies obedience to St Paul's command, 'glorify God and bear him on your body', and adds that the Pope kisses it on putting it on and taking it off to signify his belief in and confession of the Passion of Christ. Durandus says that in his day it was still left to the discretion of bishops whether to wear a pectoral cross or not. As a pious ornament it was already worn by the higher clergy from early times: thus the mosaic tomb of Abbot Gilbert of Maria Laach (d.1141) shows him wearing a large cross on his breast over his vestments (pl.81), and a number of early pectoral crosses, like that of *c*.1170 in Cologne (pl.60) already cited, still survive.[26]

In 1295 Pope Boniface VIII had a pectoral ornament of a little cross set with a balas-ruby in the centre, and on the arms with two emeralds and two rubies, and Clement V left a little filigree pectoral cross 'set with a sapphire or glass stone' in the middle. But the fourteenth-century inventories of the Popes of Avignon describe a number of rich pectoral crosses. One of gold belonging to Pope Clement V (d.1314) is recorded among his jewels at his death. Three, all of gold splendidly jewelled, figure in 1342 in the treasury of Clement VI, one set with balas-rubies and pearls, one described as *solenne*, or especially rich and magnificent, set with two large pearls, other middle-sized ones, and with balas-rubies, sapphires and emeralds, while the third was set with a balas-ruby in its centre and with turquoises and hung from a silver chain. Clement also had a pectoral cross set with a sapphire in the centre and with other stones, and this design, already found in Boniface's cross of 1295, in which a large stone was prominent, was long popular. Indeed it appeared again in his pectoral cross of silver-gilt set with a cameo in the centre and other stones. Probably his ruby-set gold pectoral cross is that inventoried some years later in 1353 under Innocent XI as being 'middle-sized', and set with a ruby in the centre, two turquoises on the sides, and a sapphire above and a topaz below. Innocent also had a smallish pectoral cross of gold set with a great flat sapphire in the centre and with other stones, and hanging from its own gold chain, and another set with a flat pearl in the centre, four sapphires, two emeralds and two balas-rubies. By 1369 we find a mention of pectoral crosses with crucifix-figures: two are listed in that year, hanging by silken cords; another was simply enamelled and hung from a silver cord. The inventory of 1353 also mentions the pectoral cross of Friedrich von Perstein, Archbishop of Riga (d.1340), a Curial prelate; this hung from a silver chain and was of silver-gilt and enamelled, set with fifteen pearls, five emeralds and four garnets and fifteen small blue stones and some small pearls.[27]

The Popes also wore another kind of pectoral ornament, called *nuscae* in the inventory of 1295 of Pope Boniface VIII, *nuscae sive pectoralia* in that of Pope Clement V, taken in 1314, and *pectoralia* in later fourteenth-century inventories. They are of great interest, partly because some seem to have been highly elaborate pendant ornaments, partly because some reflect a papal iconography. The elaboration of the jewelled *pectoralia*

may have been due to a wish to recall the jewelled Urim and Thummim of the Jewish High Priest; but certainly their designs were inspired by the rich brooches worn by contemporary kings and great noblemen, and the custom of wearing them perhaps derived from the early mediaeval custom of wearing a pendant or breast ornament slung round the neck by chain or riband, and was maintained by ecclesiastical conservatism after it had disappeared from secular life, at any rate in the North.

The eleven jewels which are described in Pope Boniface's inventory of 1295 as *nuscae* (French and Anglo–French *nouche* or *ouche*) can only have been pendants of this kind, for each of them had a lace or chain by which it was suspended. One of them, set with a dark-coloured cameo cut with a head could also be worn as a ring; plainly its jewelled *circulus* was an open ring and, as we have seen, rings seem often to have been worn for ornament round the neck. The other Papal pendants demonstrably followed various designs popular in thirteenth-century brooches. Thus several were composed of a large cameo, surrounded by stones. On one the cameo rested on a nielloed foot. It was cut with an image of Our Saviour and was accompanied by rather modest stones, a garnet cut with a head, two balas-rubies, one of them small, six tinted crystals, three emeralds and two gems of glass and five large and eight smaller pearls. Five little sapphires were set on the 'appendages' that dangled from its side. Another was a cameo of a white head mounted in filigree, and therefore possibly Venetian work. The mount may have been cross-shaped or star-shaped, for 'on its arms' were set eight small sapphires, two turquoises, two topazes and three garnets. This does not suggest any great opulence, any more than 'the stone which is almost of a green colour with the figure of a man holding a sword, with its little chain and mount of silver'.

Other *nuscae* were clusters of stones oblong or round. One of these had a large round sapphire in the middle, encircled first by a row of small emeralds, then by a row of four balas-rubies, four green stones and eight pearls, and lastly by an outer row of four large and four small sapphires and eight large pearls, with a balas-ruby in each of the corners. In another, a sapphire was set in the middle of four cameo heads, four pearls, four small emeralds, three little garnets and eight large pearls in rosettes. Others again belonged to other types: there was a reliquary pendant set in the centre with a little cross of the wood of the True Cross on a mount studded with two emeralds, three pearls, six sapphires and four balases, and a gold pendant 'with the image of the Virgin and the angel', that is of the Annunciation, in a ring of pearls.[28]

One form of Papal pectoral, the eagle, was, as we know, already being worn by Pope Boniface VIII in 1295. The eagle as a symbol of supreme authority continued to be worn as a pectoral by the Popes throughout the fourteenth century. In 1342 Clement VI had a gold pectoral 'in the form of an eagle, set with divers pearls, balas-rubies, emeralds and sapphires', which had its own special case of leather, and another of great

state 'in the form of a gold eagle'. Again in 1353 Innocent VIII had two rich matching pectorals of gold shaped as eagles; in one the eagle was set with pearls and precious stones and held a pearl in its beak, while the other had in addition a crown. The papal inventories of 1369 list four eagle pectorals, one set with pearls and stones, one in the fashion of an eaglet. The motif was also incorporated into brooch-shaped pectorals as their most prominent feature. In 1353 Innocent VIII had a pectoral 'with an eagle in the middle and with pearls and precious stones and some figures'. In 1369 the inventory lists a round pectoral enamelled with two eaglets, while that of 1371 lists a gold pectoral 'in the shape of a little shield, on which is the figure of an eagle with many and diverse precious stones and large pearls'.[29]

A curiosity of the Avignon papal inventories is the repeated mention of pectorals shaped as fleur-de-lis – the emblem of France. In 1342 Clement VI had a gold pectoral 'in the form of a fleur-de-lis, set with pearls and stones' and another, also of gold, set 'with divers pearls and stones'. Again in 1353 the inventory of Innocent VIII lists 'a pectoral in the fashion of a fleur-de-lis with a sapphire at the top and several balas-rubies, emeralds and pearls, and enamelled all over on the back' and another set with two large sapphires and other precious stones and pearls. In 1371 the papal inventory again lists two pectorals 'in the fashion of fleur-de-lis' and one, evidently less good, set only with Scotch pearls. The Avignon Popes were of course all French and creatures of the French kings, but it is difficult to interpret the significance of these fleur-de-lis pectorals. Were they gifts from the kings of France, as seems most probable?[30]

A number of other pectorals were fanciful or secular in design in so far as their imagery concerned itself with reminding the wearer of their donors and not at all with devotional motifs. In 1342 Clement VI had a gold pectoral in the form of a vine-leaf – rather like the Cividale pendant – set with balases, pearls, and other stones and a silver pectoral shaped as a tabernacle and set with a green stone 'having the form of a man' and with little gems. This was the only one of its kind, but by 1353 Innocent VI had a gold pectoral in the form of a castle, set with pearls and precious stones, evidently a gift from an English king, 'for at the gateway of the castle is a man holding a shield with the arms of England', and another shaped as an oak-leaf set with forty-three large and small pearls and several red and green stones, hanging by a silken cord. Even more impressive must have been his gold pectoral set with large pearls and precious stones with figures of a crowned emperor and empress 'having lions under their feet'. In 1369 the treasury possessed a long pectoral in the fashion of a tabernacle with two figures of queens. By 1369 too the fashion for pendant tablets had endowed the Popes with a pectoral 'in the form of a little tablet with five stones and two pearls', while another gold pectoral was again shaped as a vine-leaf set with a green leaf-shaped stone and with rubies, balas-rubies, emeralds and pearls. One inventoried in 1371 offered another

version of the castle motif with two figures of a king and queen. This, like the earlier pectoral of an emperor and empress, was presumably a gift from a ruling couple. A pectoral of silver listed in 1369 had a decoration of figures, while two others were circular and set 'with divers enamels intermixed with designs in pearls'.[31]

For much of the fourteenth century, however, the state pectorals of the Popes were simply versions of the great secular cluster brooches of the age – a large stone or cameo encircled by smaller stones. In 1314 the grandest pectoral of Clement V, described as *sollempnissimum* was a great jewel of gold set with precious stones, while his five other gold *nuscae sive pectoralia* were set with chalcedonies and precious stones. The state pectoral of Clement VI in 1342, also had a cameo in the centre, surrounded by many large pearls, balas-rubies, emeralds, sapphires and other stones, and hung from a red cord. As with secular brooches and pendants, small versions of this design were also made; Clement also had 'a little pectoral of gold with pearls and a cameo in the centre'. In 1353 Innocent VI had a gold pectoral set with a green cameo surrounded by other stones and pearls, while in 1371 the papal inventory lists a square gold pectoral, set with emeralds, rubies and pearls, an oval one set with a balas-ruby in the centre, with large and valuable pearls and with emeralds and sapphires, and another square one set with red crystals in the centre, sapphires and other precious stones.[32]

Naturally religious subjects, most frequently the Crucifixion, as we might expect from Durandus, were frequently figured, usually cut on a cameo. The earliest mentioned in the Avignon inventories is one that belonged in 1342 to Clement VI, and it was a variety of the state pectoral of cluster design, for it is described as 'a great [*solenne*] pectoral of gold with a cameo in the centre of the Crucifixion, and round the edge set with balas-rubies, pearls, cameos, and emeralds'. It is probably the same pectoral as one listed in 1353, when the central cameo is described as having images of Christ Crucified, Mary and John, with two angels above and two figures below them, and the other cameos on the rim as cut with the four Evangelists. The number of balas-rubies and emeralds is given as forty, and of the pearls, which were large, as twenty-eight. Several of the silver pectorals mentioned in Innocent VI's inventory of 1353 bore the Crucifixion. One of silver-gilt was set with a cameo of a man on horseback thrusting a lance at a lion, with a tabernacle above containing figures of the Passion. Another, also of silver-gilt, was designed as a cluster brooch in front and had a Crucifix in plain silver on the back. The crucifix also appeared on the back of another cluster pectoral, set with a crescent-shaped stone in the centre. The motif appears again in 1371 in a square gold pectoral set with a cameo of the Passion and with various stones and pearls. The cross itself was also used as a central motif. In 1314 Clement V left a gold pectoral decorated with the cross, and in 1353 Innocent VI had a richer gold pectoral of this type, set with a balas-ruby, no doubt signifying the Holy

Blood, on a cross in the centre, and with many other precious stones and pearls. Other subjects were sometimes represented. Innocent also had a great gold pectoral of cluster design with a cameo of St Christopher as its central feature, and in 1369 the treasury included one with a figure of St Peter in the centre.[33]

The early history of the chain, of the collar and of the neck ornaments which the Middle Ages knew as collars but which we call necklaces is still very obscure. Light chains of silver or gold and cords and laces, sometimes of silk, were as we have seen used for wearing pendants, and especially pendant reliquaries and crosses, often in the earlier Middle Ages under rather than over the dress. We know that the making of chains in precious metal was a Venetian speciality from the early twelfth century, and Giraldus Cambrensis mentions flexible chains of gold intermixed with silver, bought in that luxurious city, London, among the jewels sent by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1202 to bribe the chapter of St David's in Wales. When the tomb in Palermo of the Empress Constance (d.1222) was opened in 1491, she was found to be wearing 'a collar of gold and precious stones', which was removed and then replaced in the sarcophagus. But it is reasonably certain that this fashion did not survive in Sicily much longer than anywhere else. Among the jewels deposited by Cardinal Ubaldini with eight Florentine merchants in 1262 was 'a tiny little chain on which are stones and pearls' which we perhaps would have called a necklace rather than a chain. And silver chains were among the jewels which the townswomen of Montauban in Gascony were forbidden to wear by their menfolk in 1274. Again, in 1331 the Countess of Savoy paid the goldsmith Guillot Vacher of Chambéry for regilding a silver chain.[1]

We also know that in 1251, when a great flood overwhelmed Friesland, the survivors took the jewellery, including the gold collars (torques) which the drowning had hastily tied about themselves in order to pay for their exequies and burial, and brought it over to sell at St Botolph's fair at Boston in Lincoln-shire. Some of these may have been riband collars as opposed to metal collars and chains, for riband collars were worn in the northern Netherlands, and are represented on the effigies of

Count Gerard of Guelders (d.1229) and his wife Marguerite of Brabant (d.1231) in the church of Roermond in Dutch Limburg (figs.20, 21). Or it may be that the custom of wearing such collars was a survival in remote Friesland from the fashions of the twelfth century, when collars and necklaces were still court ornaments; certainly except in Spain we find no mention of them in court inventories or other records as independent ornaments until the later fourteenth century. Yet it is possible that they still continued to be worn elsewhere as a provincial ornament. The church of Grand in the Vosges, which contains the shrine of St Libaria, owns what appears to be a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century silver collar (fig.124) In the centre is a narrow oblong case containing a relic of St Libaria beneath a glass. At each of the corners of the case is a setting containing a cabochon stone. To either side are four discs, joined together by double hooks: to the last of these discs at both ends is attached a band of yellow textile. This is an object now unique of its kind, but which must once have been commonly worn in Alsace – Lorraine at a time when such ornaments had disappeared from Paris. Chains of precious metal by contrast continued to be worn for display in the fourteenth century. The accounts of the Bonis brothers of Montauban record purchases of them by the bourgeois of this Gascon town, and Edward III's sumptuary laws of 1363 expressly forbid the wearing of chains by grooms and servants. They were already being used at this time for the wearing of badges, for in 1363 Charles, Duke of Normandy, later Charles V of France wore hanging from a silver chain the badge of his membership of the great Parisian confraternity of Notre-Dame de Paris. A legend claimed the confraternity had been founded by the city's first bishop Saint Denis, and so the badge was enamelled with figures of the Virgin and St Denis. During the fifteenth century chains were a mark of gentility: in 1438 the Gloucestershire squire Richard Dixton bequeathed to

Fig. 124  Reliquary collar. Silver, stones, glass, fabric. Length 36cm. French (?), thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Grand Church, Vosges, France

Fig. 125  Unknown portrait by Alessandro Oliviero. Oil on panel. Venetian, late fifteenth century. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Doge Francesco Dandolo (d.1339) of Venice. In the 1380s the goldsmith Juan Garvain made six toothpicks of silver-gilt with steel points for the King of Navarre. But gold toothpicks were often worn by princes and kings. They are recorded at least as early as 1322, when Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders left a gold toothpick The inventory taken on 17 January 1366 of Jean I, Count of Armagnac (r.1319–73) lists a gold toothpick which hung from a chain of silver-gilt. As so often a lace was sometimes substituted for a chain: in 1380 Charles V of France left a toothpick (*coutelet*) which hung in its case enamelled with the arms of France from a small red lace.[3]

Toothpicks were, however, not invariably worn from a chain nor always of precious metal, for in 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, carried a toothpick in the form of a bittern's claw suspended from a gold brooch set with cameos, rubies and emeralds which he wore in his *cotte* (tunic). The wearing of a toothpick on a chain was a habit that was to persist into the late sixteenth century; the manner of wearing it is perhaps best seen on a late fifteenth-century portrait by Alessandro Oliviero, in the National Gallery, Dublin (fig.125). The use of a mounted bittern's claw as a toothpick lasted certainly to the end of the fifteenth century. Thus in 1391 King Charles the Noble of Navarre had Jean Boneau, his court goldsmith, make him four toothpicks of bittern's claws, one for himself mounted in gold, the other three for the Infantas his daughters, mounted in silver. In 1450 Henry VI of England had a 'bitores clee hayneysed'; in 1474 Gabrielle, Comtesse de Montpensier also had one and so in 1488 had François II of Brittany. But other birds' claws were also used: in 1413 Charles the Noble also commissioned one of his court goldsmiths to mount a heron's claw in silver 'and gild it for us'. Another substance used was coral: in 1478 René of Anjou gave his granddaughter Marguerite de Lorraine a coral toothpick to have it set as a present for her brother-in-law Charles, Duke of Calabria.[4]

Princely toothpicks could sometimes be quite rich and elaborate. In 1402 Louis of Orléans paid to have a bittern's claw mounted in gold 'to pick our teeth', while in 1418 Charles VI of France had two claw toothpicks, one white, one black, mounted in silver enamelled with the arms of France, each hanging from a silk lace with a knot of pearls suspended from it. In 1488 the 'twa tuthpickis' of James III of Scotland were of gold, 'with a chenye', while that of Jeanne de France, Duchess of Orléans in 1487 was considered important enough to be set with a diamond called the Lozenge, a large pointed diamond, and a large pearl. This richness in toothpicks was certainly due in part to the habit of wearing them as pendants. Earpicks, though much less frequently mentioned, certainly had a long history. In 1322 Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders left 'two gold forks [*furchoirs*], one for the teeth, the other for the ears' in a leather case. It seems to have been a general custom to keep them with toothpicks, which they closely resembled. In 1380 Charles V had another gold *coutelet* 'in the fashion of a pick [*furgette*] to clean the teeth or clear the ears, with a handle enamelled

a fellow squire 'my cheyne of goold'. Some squires indeed had more than one: in 1418 John Chalmyswych, a Shropshire squire, left his wife Janet 'my best Cheyne of Gold'. And by 1467 they were the principal article of jewellery worn by men in France and the Netherlands; the Burgundian chronicler Jacques Leclercq records under that year: 'the nobles and the rich wore great chains of gold round their necks'.[2]

The wearing of chains for the practical purpose of suspending some object of daily use from them is well-attested in the fourteenth century, and was probably already the custom well before. Among the nobility and princes such chains and the objects that hung from them were at the very least of silver. The custom of hanging a toothpick from a chain is attested by 1365, when Doge Lorenzo Celsi of Venice left 'a little silver chain with a toothpick'. The toothpick itself was often of silver: one such is recorded among the estate of Cardinal Goffredo d'Alatri in 1287, two in 1322 belonged to Robert de Béthune, Court of Flanders, and another was among the possessions of

green', and in 1488 James III's 'tuthpickis' were accompanied by 'a perle & erepike'.[5]

Other objects habitually worn from a lace or a chain, either round the neck or from a girdle, were signet and other rings, and the private seal of the wearer. In 1380 Charles V of France had a gold chain ' on which hangs a ring with a diamond' and a little chain 'with a very small signet on which is cut the letter A'. Again the goldsmith Janin de Villarey made in 1403 a gold chain for the signet ring of Count Amadeo of Savoy. Frequently as we have noted, purely decorative rings were worn in this fashion; at his death in 1422 Henry V of England left a diamond ring and a bracelet that hung from a chain. As for seals, we read as early as 1292 that Count Amadeo V of Savoy had his private seal of gold engraved in London and acquired at the same time a gold chain to hang it from. Clearly then the custom of wearing a personal seal on a chain was already established in the thirteenth century – the seal itself was certainly sometimes, perhaps often, kept in a pouch or bag, but about this custom it is difficult to be positive. In 1352 we read of a payment from the Dauphin 'for making and forging a silver chain for the purse in which he puts his secret seal'. Such chains were universal. Maria of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Naples, left in 1323 'a little silver chain for hanging a seal' – whether from her girdle or round her neck is unclear, but more probably the former. This is also true of 'the little gold seal with a stone in it with a little chain of silver' that belonged to her granddaughter Queen Clémence de Hongrie of France in 1328. Chains were also the custom for seals in England. Edward III's inventory of 1338 lists *divers cheynes et sealx* of silver. Seal chains were not solely the prerogative of the nobility. In 1350–1, for instance, a wealthy pepperer of London, William of Thorney, left the nuns of the convent of St Helena a silver cup and his silver seal chain with which to hang it up behind their high altar for reserving the Host. The gold seal of Charles the Bold of Burgundy is the most important example surviving of a seal with chain (pl.77). The seal was made with a hoop at the back to which the chain is fastened. The chain is short, suggesting that the seal was worn fastened through a ring at the end from another chain.[6]

No doubt other things were sometimes or often worn from chains; thus in 1422 Henry V of England had two little gold flasks, each garnished with six pearls, which had each its gold chain. Already by the third quarter of the fourteenth century the chains from which such objects were suspended could be very elaborate. In 1370 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux of France left a little gold *baril* (a barrel-chaped container, probably for relics) which hung from a gold chain that was enamelled and blazoned with the arms of France. It also seems to have been a common practice for princes and great noblemen to wear those curious objects of assay which in mediaeval belief detected poison if plunged into food. In 1364 King Jean le Bon of France had with him at his death in London a serpent's tongue mounted in silver. Again King Martín of Aragon had in 1410 'a piece of unicorn mounted in a collet of gold with its own red lace'. And James III

of Scotland in 1488 had 'a serpent toung sett', 'a grete serpent toung set with gold, perle & precious stanis and twa small serpent toungis set in gold', while his wife Margaret of Denmark had 'a serpent toung & one unicorne horne set in gold'. For his use in 1504 Prince Henry of England had 'a unicornes bone and a serpente tonge hang be a cheyne'. Both unicorn bones and serpent tongues, the latter in reality fossilised shark's teeth, enjoyed a universal reputation as detectors of poison and were commonly worn by great personages for this purpose. In 1483, for example, Queen Charlotte de Savoie also had a piece of unicorn's horn mounted in gold, and a portrait of Caterina Cornaro (1454–1510), Queen of Cyprus, attributed to Gentile Bellini (pl.82), shows her wearing a piece of unicorn's horn on a cord.[7]

The large and handsome gold and silver collars of the later Middle Ages first appear in the later decades of the fourteenth century. Typical of their age in that they served no functional purpose, they are unlike most earlier types of jewels. Far from being glorifications of objects of use, they were worn purely as ornaments and to display either magnificence or, through their device, livery or allegiance. As with other kinds of mediaeval jewellery – notably the chaplet and the girdle – they seem to have been preceded by prototypes of rich stuff. Ecclesiastical collars of this kind were an ordinary part of clerical vestments, and were often richly embroidered and decorated with pearls. There are occasional references to collars from the late thirteenth century. At his death in 1304 Count Guy of Flanders had two collars of silk with silver buckles and also 'a wide riband [*tissut*] of silk for a collar'. Such collars were harnessed with gold and silver from an early date. In 1299 the treasures of Edward I of England included 'a small collar [*colerettus*], mounted with gold, stones and pearls'. It was not alone in being mounted with gold and gems, for in 1319 Philippe V of France owned a 'fair gorget of gold sewn with diamonds and white pearls on green velvet'. We can obtain some idea of the appearance of such collars from a fourteenth-century miniature of the arrival of the Polos at the court of Kublai Khan in a manuscript in the British Library. The figures have all been costumed in Western dress by the miniaturist, and Kublai is shown wearing a broad riband collar of cloth of gold bordered and panelled with lines of pearls, the panels being each set with a single stone, a sapphire, a ruby or an emerald. From the buckle hangs a quatrefoil ring from which is suspended a lozenge pendant. This must be intended to represent the collar Polo describes Kublai as wearing, but it probably gives us an impression of the type of collar worn by kings and princes in the West.[8]

As a common feature of the costume of the great, however, such riband collars seem to have been confined to Spain, where the tradition of wearing collars, inherited from the twelfth century, was no doubt maintained by contagion from the Moorish fashion for wearing necklaces, as we shall see when we come to discuss necklaces of precious stones. It will be remembered that Murcian collars of gold were among the jewels left

by Doña Mayor Alvárez *c*.1215. Our evidence for riband collars as a peculiarly Spanish article of costume comes from a Roman chronicler, the anonymous author of a chronicle of Rome, best known from its second book, the famous *Vita di Cola di Rienzo*. He says that about 1337–42 there took place a great change in Roman fashions of dress. Men began to wear tight clothes 'in the Catalan fashion, and collars [from the context it is clear that textile collars are meant], purses at their belts, chaperons with long dangling ends, and little hats over their chaperons'. He implies then that the wearing of collars was also a Spanish fashion, imported into Rome. It is difficult to be sure how much this applies only to Rome. Fra Giunta da Bevagna, her confessor, says in his *Legenda* of Santa Margherita da Cortona (1247–97) that during her life from 1275 as a Franciscan tertiary in Cortona, apparently *c*.1278, she went to her birthplace Alviano and at mass, as a sign of penitence, wore 'a girdle as a collar [*cingulum pro torque*] round her neck'. It is difficult to be sure whether this means that riband collars were known in late thirteenth-century Tuscany – since the occasion was so extraordinary, and the symbolism was that of submission, so that perhaps a halter rather than a collar should be understood. Yet the little girl in the late thirteenth-century mosaic of the *Discovery of a relic of St Mark* in San Marco, Venice (pl.1) wears a combination of lace and pendant that might well have been called a collar or *torques* in the thirteenth-century.[9]

Certainly the only published documents of the early fourteenth century to associate the wearing of riband collars (*torques*) with jewels are Spanish. Aragonese documents generally mention a pendant of a precious stone as worn with such collars. In 1324–5 King Jaime II of Aragon had 'a great ring of gold with a great sapphire of a dark colour hanging on a collar [*torques*]', 'a half of a great stone called of the asses' head [*caput asini*] hanging by a silver hook from a collar' and 'a jasper stone mounted in silver hanging from a collar *profecta*[?], and on its *profectura*[?] are two buttons of crystal and two of coral', 'a gold ring set with a sapphire with a collar of royal silk' and 'a white stone mounted in silver with a collar of green silk'. James also had a collar of yellow silk from which hung a pen-cutter (*scindipennium*) in a black sheath.[10]

These collars of rich stuff continued to be worn in Spain: in 1366 an acknowledgment of Pere (Peter) III of Aragon mentions 'a collar of cloth of gold and velvet'. No early references are as yet discovered to the wearing of such collars by Spanish women. But in 1389 the inventory of Doña Mencia Suarez de Figueroa, daughter of the Master of the Order of Santiago and a great lady of Castile, mentions 'a dark riband [*cinta*] for the throat to be embroidered', 'another dark riband [*cinta*] for the throat, for a woman, with no ornament or mount' which seem to have been the equivalent of the Edwardian choker. Mencia also had 'a ribbon for a woman's throat, with six settings of pearl and worked with gold thread'. Such mounted throat ribands were perhaps akin to or even the inspiration of the *carcans* which became fashionable in Paris in the early 1380s. The wearing of



Fig. 126 Collar (collar of the Order of the Collar). Silver-gilt. Savoy, fifteenth century. Illustration from *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, 1909, fig. 65

riband collars must have become commoner in England during the middle decades of the fourteenth century if they are the ribands which esquires, gentlemen, handicraftsmen, yeomen and grooms were forbidden to wear by Edward III's sumptuary laws of 1363 – though it is also possible that these were simply trimmings. In 1364 the collar of silver-gilt devised for the Order of the Collar newly founded by Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy (fig.126) had a form which suggests that it was a riband fastened by buckles of perhaps silver-gilt, presumably still the ordinary form taken by collars at this date. It might seem that a silver-mounted riband collar of this type was the *collet d'argent* that Gautier Piquette, who belonged to a very wealthy bourgeois family of Douai in Flanders, left in 1385 to Jean Paimouilliet, a monk of Anchin, saying that he, Gautier, had worn it in days gone by. The bequest to a monk suggests that it cannot have been a collar for wear with armour, the normal meaning of the term *collet*, but *collet* was also used to mean a wheel, and it could be that this was a silver wheel of St Catherine. Again it might be thought that riband collars were what the statutes ordained in 1361 by the goldsmiths of Siena had in mind when they expressly forbid goldsmiths to put copper, latten, iron, thread or silk on ribands woven of thread, unless it is quite visible – in other words, not gilded or silvered in the case of the metals. But it is more likely that the statutes have ribands

for girdles in mind, since they go on to extend this prohibition to buckles and pendants.[11]

Nevertheless it is clear that plain riband collars had an existence of their own until the end of the Middle Ages; the Emperor Maximilian is shown wearing one in Dürer's drawing of 1518 in the Albertina (fig.127) and in a portrait by Bartolomé Bermejo Queen Isabella of Spain wears an elaborate pendant of a cross, her device of a yoke and a scallop shell suspended from just such another riband collar. They might be quite expensive: the jewels of Margaret Tudor, the widowed Queen of Scotland, included in 1516 a 'coller of gold braid' equal in weight – 6 ounces – and value – 54 crowns – to her collar of gold enamelled with white roses. Even so riband collars seem to have been rare or unknown in mid-fourteenth-century France. Some French references of 1379–80 to *colliers* are to the straps that held the cloak at the neck, an indication that the name had still not come to be generally applied to neck ornaments, at any rate in France. These *colliers* were sometimes of links of gold or silver set with precious stones, like the 'collar or *attache* [cloak clasp] of gold', of five links set with gold and precious stones and pearls which is listed in 1379 in the inventory of Charles V of France. Only in documents of the later 1380s do we find true collars beginning to be mentioned in French documents, and then as ornaments, worn by royal princes.[12]

An intermediate form between the collar of stuff and the collar of precious metal was the collar of stuff with mounts of precious metal, or of stuff mounted with jewels. Philippe the Bold wears a jewelled collar of stuff, in this case very broad, and studded with stones mounted in *chatons* and stitched to the stuff, in a portrait that probably dates from the 1390s (pl.40). From it hangs a pendant of a great stone in a frame of jewels. Many, if not all, early collars were of these two kinds. The broad collar seems to have disappeared *c*.1400, but the metal-mounted riband collar continued to be worn in France, England and Spain well into the fifteenth century, co-existing with collars entirely of silver or gold. Of the six collars of the Ordine del Collare given as votive offerings to the image of Notre-Dame de Lausanne in the later fourteenth century, which are described as of gold or silver, two were certainly of stuff mounted with silver or silver-gilt, in one case with the letters and knots which were symbols of the order. A document of 1398 records that Amadeo VIII of Savoy took the opportunity of a visit to Paris in June and July of that year to have his collar and girdle re-made by a Parisian goldsmith, Gannein de Loys. His squire delivered his old gold collar together with 19 *estelins* of gold more, and the collar and girdle as received back were mounted on bands of silk. At the court of Charles the Noble of Navarre the goldsmith Saul Acoya was paid in 1406 for some little silver studs he had made for a riband collar with a pendant of Charles's device that belonged to Charles's bastard son Jodofre, and the great royal Paris goldsmith Hans Carast (Crest, Croist), who worked for Charles from the end of the fourteenth century made him a collar of velvet with mounts of enamelled gold.[13]

Collars of mounted stuff also seem to have been very common in England: many of the livery collars of SS, for example, which we shall shortly be discussing, consisted of the letters S stitched on to a riband collar of silk or velvet or other materials. Such collars often end in buckled lockets, linked by a trefoil-shaped tiret from which hangs a small ring. A document of 1406 mentions a collar of black silk, thickly sewn with silver letters of SS, which had been stolen, and the inventory of Henry V's jewels, taken after his death in 1422 mentions a collar of black silk mounted in gold, another of green tissue, garnished with gold, with the motto *Saunz departier*, five collars of Meaux stuff, mounted in gold, and two silver-mounted collars. Probably the form of fifteenth-century silver collars of SS simply copies the form of these textile collars in retaining the buckled lockets and tiret. But, unlike the belt and girdle, where the use of stuffs or leather with mounts of silver or gold was far commoner than the use of the precious metals alone, collars of mounted stuff gradually became much rarer than collars of precious metal, at any rate among the knightly and noble classes.[14]

In general then the collars of the later Middle Ages that count as jewels were of metal or metal-mounted textile riband. There are references to collars which appear to have consisted of precious stones, gold ornaments and pearls strung together, but these seem to have been comparatively uncommon outside Spain and Italy. They were essentially what we should class as

Fig. 127 Maximilian I by Albrecht Dürer. Charcoal. Augsburg, 1518. Albertina, Vienna

ropes of pearls and precious stones. The earliest recorded are Spanish, and Spain was long the only country in which they were a usual ornament. They were Moorish or Moorish-inspired in style, and so exotic in terms of European jewellery, like the earrings that continued to be worn in Spain after they had been abandoned elsewhere. In both cases we can be certain that the origin of the fashion was Moorish, for just as *arracada*, the Castilian name for an earring, was derived from the Arabic, so *alhayte*, the mediaeval Castilian term for a necklace, was also of Moorish origin, deriving from *hayli* or *hayte*, meaning the necklaces of pearls, corals and stones worn by Moorish women. They were also known by the Castilian name of *sartales* from *sartar*, to thread on a string.

In her will of 1341 Condesa Doña Leonor de Guzmán, Señora del Puerto, wife of Don Luis de la Cerda, bequeaths to her daughter necklaces of stones and pearls under both names. All seem to have been composed of stones, pearls, and jewelled ornaments – which the Condesa calls brooches – strung together. One *sartal* was composed wholly of jewelled gold ornaments strung on a cord of twisted silk. On it were

> four sapphire stones, encircled around with seed-pearls [*aljófar*], and a small brooch [*honcha*] in which are set a ruby and two emeralds and two sapphires and four seed-pearls, and another brooch [*honcha*] set in the middle with a cameo encircled with little emeralds, and also set in it another four emeralds of larger size, four rubies and eight large pearls and a gold star with an orient sapphire set in the centre encircled by seed-pearls. And a ruby and two primes and four large seed-pearls, and a cross of gold [evidently a pendant] in the centre of which is a cameo encircled by little stones, and with four stones at the corners. And another cameo of a man's head, encircled by little stones. And two amethysts set in gold and encircled by seed-pearls and a cameo with a Moor's head encircled by seed-pearls and set with round pearls.

The other *sartal* was also composed of jewelled gold ornaments shaped as crescents and small almonds, with eight large barrel motifs, also of gold, strung on a silk cord – the whole sounding distinctly Moorish in style. These *sartales* appear to have been relatively short strings or necklaces, and this was perhaps one way in which they differed from the *alhayte*. Of these last the Condesa had three. One was strung with six gold ornaments (*alcorcíes*), an amethyst, and sixty-eight large pearls, together with 'its little pieces of seed-pearls'. The second was strung with six gold ornaments and ninety pearls, again with 'its little pieces of seed-pearls'. These two and the *sartales* were plainly single strings, but the third *alhayte* was of three strings, and consisted of a small sapphire, six gold ornaments, and a hundred and twenty-eight middle-sized pearls. Another necklace was composed of thirty little gold hands – an amuletic motif? – strung together with seed-pearls on a cord of dark silk; probably six gold ornaments strung with six pearls as large as chick-peas on a white thread were part of another.[15]

Four *alhaytes* are mentioned in the will of King Pedro I 'the Cruel' of Castile, made in 1362. One 'which is very great, and which I had made in Seville' was strung with a huge balas-ruby which had belonged to Mohammed VI Abu-Said, known as the Rey Bermejo (Red King) of Granada, together with two lesser, but still large balas-rubies, three 'wondrously huge' pearls, twenty-four large pearls and four plaques of enamelled gold, with two green stones of emerald prime at the end. The Moorish style and origin of such necklaces is confirmed by Pedro's description of the second *alhayte* 'which is that Martin Yañez bought here in Seville by my command, and that Jaime Imperial brought from Granada'. It had five balas-rubies, graded in size from one very large stone, to two lesser ones, and two smaller ones still, and eighteen large pearls, the four largest 'very round and white', and four plaques of enamelled gold, two little beads of gold, and another two at the end, set with amber, and four green stones of emerald prime, and two buttons of pearl at the ends of the cord on which the whole was strung. The two other *alhaytes* had both been made in Seville to Pedro's own order. One was a variation on the previous *alhayte*. It had five graded balas-rubies, of which the largest had again belonged to the Rey Bermejo, five very large pearls, and twenty-three slightly smaller ones, and two emeralds at the ends with two little rings of gold. The other also had five graded balas-rubies, and forty-one large white pearls, and had ends of enamelled silver. These necklaces must all have been made in the same year as the will, for it was in 1362 that the Rey Bermejo took refuge with Pedro and was despoiled by him of the balas-rubies which were put into these necklaces as well as of other precious stones. The rubies are described as 'three balases, each as large as a pigeon's egg', and beside these he had seven hundred and thirty other balas-rubies, and two hundred pearls as large as peeled almonds. It is not certain whether these *alhaytes* were made for the royal ladies, or were also worn by male princes, but it seems quite possible that they were worn by men, for in 1390 King Juan I of Castile left to his queen 'all the crowns and garlands and pearls and stones' and to the Infante Don Enrique the '*alhayte* of the balas-rubies'.[16]

That the fashion for wearing strings of stones continued to be general in Castile appears from the effigy of Doña Juana Manuel (d.1381), wife of Enrique II, in the cathedral of Toledo, where a long string of this kind is wound round her neck and falls down her breast (fig.128). They are also mentioned in late fourteenth-century documents: in 1389 the inventory of Doña Mencia Suarez de Figueroa lists 'a small *alhayte* of seed-pearls and five settings of five stones'. Similar long strung necklaces continued to be worn in Spain into the fifteenth century; one of worked beads is worn by Sancha Ximenes de Calvera on her effigy in the cathedral of Barcelona (c.1446). The wealthy Doña Aldonca de Mendoza, Duquesa de Arjona, left in her will of 1455 'my balas-rubies and sapphires and pearls that are on a string [*sartal*] of large pearls, and another string of smaller pearls'. The Moorish inspiration of those Spanish necklaces that alternated strung stones and pearls with a punctuation of gold ornaments

Fig. 128  Effigy of Doña Juana Manuel of Castile (detail). Spanish, c. 1381. Capilla de los Reyes, Catedral, Toledo

is obvious. We cannot, however, be certain that the same influence lay behind the few strung necklaces recorded outside Spain before the 1380s.[17]

They were evidently rare in France. It is possible that 'twenty-eight large pearls of gold' listed in the 1360s in the inventory of the great Southern nobleman Jean I, Count of Armagnac, were gold beads from a necklace, rather than from a paternoster, given that they all seem to have been of the same size. A necklace belonging to Louis of Anjou was inventoried in 1379–80 when it was described as a *colerette*. Significantly it is described for wear with dress of the Spanish fashion, and must therefore have been of Spanish inspiration. It was composed of large pearls arranged in pairs between a blue and a red false stone, the whole strung on silk threads fastened at either end by two gold openwork buttons 'in the fashion of Genoa' – probably meaning filigree. Its purpose as costume jewellery probably accounts for its cheapness of materials, which stands out in so sumptuous a collection as that of Louis. What seems to have been a sober version of such a necklace suitable for a pious old lady figures among the jewels left by Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen Dowager of France, in 1370. It is described as 'a *parure* of jet with ten Scotch pearls and eleven little gold buttons and a little gold cross at the end'. She also had another *parure* of beads of white amber.[18]

There is evidence that necklaces of pearls and coral beads were a new fashion in the Lombardy of the 1380s, for a chronicler of Piacenza complains in 1388 that both sexes are now wearing 'collars . . . of pearls or red coral'. And at the end of the sixteenth century Vecellio, speaking of the 'ancient costume of Milan', says that the ladies used to wear round their neck 'strings of pearls, or silver roundels [balls], or coral beads according to their quality'. Unfortunately Vecellio cannot be usefully relied

on for precise dating of a past fashion. In 1389 Valentina Visconti brought from Milan 'a collar of balases and pearls, in which there is a very large balas-ruby and eight others, and a hundred and thirty-five pearls'. This seems to have been a pearl necklace set off with rubies. In 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy left two collars that we should call pearl and sapphire necklaces, held by mounts of silver in one case and mounts of silver-gilt enamelled green in the other. One was a single string of pearls alternating with small sapphires, the other a double string of pearls interspersed with sapphires. Sometimes these strings were intermingled with motifs in precious metal; another of Marguerite's collars alternated pearls with roundels and beads (*boutons*) of red and green enamel: from it hung a pendant in the favourite form of a balas-ruby encircled by pearls. In 1442 the *enfiladure* (string or threaded necklace) of Eléanore de Navarre, Countess of Foix, also consisted of one hundred and twenty pearls of four sorts, together with nineteen balas-rubies and twenty sapphires. The connections between Foix, Navarre and Aragon were very close, and possibly Eléanore wore such a necklace because it was a Spanish fashion, as we have just seen.[19]

We must turn now once more to chains, to consider their development from the late fourteenth century. At its simplest and most delicate the chain might consist of very fine and slender links and be intended for wearing wound round the neck. Fifteenth-century French inventories sometimes specify the number of times such a chain could be wound round the neck as *tours*. At her death in 1469 Marguerite, Duchess of Brittany left a very slender gold chain 'containing fifty *tours*', with a little gold ring. In 1482 Mary of Burgundy's jewels included a slender chain which would make sixteen *tours* 'all in one continuous linking'. René of Anjou is shown in a portrait in a manuscript of 1456 (pl.83) wearing a chain in this fashion, while Alfonso V of Portugal in a miniature from the same manuscript wears a chain of four *tours* fastened at the front by a disc (pl.84). In his portrait of c.1459–61 (pl.85), the right panel of a diptych attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, Philippe de Croy, a great nobleman of the Burgundian Netherlands, wears a fine chain of very many *tours*.[20]

Chains were perhaps less frequently worn by the men of the merchant classes, at any rate in northern Europe. Certainly the Silesian knight Nicholas von Popilievo, visiting Portugal and Spain in 1484, haughtily told one of the inhabitants of Seville who had asked if he were a knight:

Can you not see the ensigns of a knight hung round my neck? Why then do you ask? Know that in my country it is not the custom for pagans, Jews and rustics to adorn themselves with gold, as they do in yours: only knights may do this.

Nevertheless in fifteenth-century Germany we sometimes find portraits of burghers wearing chains to emphasise their standing or dignity. In a portrait of c.1472 (now in Copenhagen) by a German painter of a town secretary (*Stadtschreiber*), the sitter wears both a chain and a hat of the type known as a *schürlin*. A cylindrical section to the hat is wound round with a jewelled

Fig. 129  Hieronymus Haller by Bernhard Strigel. Oil on paper. German,
1503. Alte Pinakothek, Munich

band (pl.86). Again in Bernhard Strigel's portrait of the Nuremberg merchant Hieronymus Haller (fig.129), painted in 1503, the sitter wears a large chain and a smaller chain fastened close round the neck with a pendant loop – and, for good measure, wears a rich hat badge and holds a paternoster, and has the initials of his wife (née Wolffstal) embroidered in pearls on the collar of his robe. The whole emulates the jewellery of knightly and noble estate. Merchants' wives certainly wore chains; these tended to be of the simple, slender kind, or at most of medium size. Rich townswomen, especially in Germany, liked to display wealth by the number of such chains they wore, rather than by imitating the nobility and wearing large jewelled chains and collars. Yet, when merchants and tradesmen wore chains, they were not always of great value. In 1490 the York goldsmith John of Cologne ordered his son Herman in his will to try and get the forty shillings John had paid George Popeley for a chain of gilt copper refunded, so that it could be disposed of for the good of his soul. By contrast quite modest gentlemen could sport chains of value. William Chauntrell, of a legal family of Lancashire and holder of a patent office under the Archbishop of York, left in 1488 a number of gold chains or collars as well

as 'the brooch of gold and pearl which I used to wear on my cloak'.[21]

Gifts of gold chains were made by kings as rewards for victory in the joust, or for real or expected services, or as New Year's presents to their households, and kings, princes and great noblemen and their wives often had chains with motifs of their personal devices. But simple laces or chains continued to be worn until the end of the Middle Ages. Sometimes the links of these chains were cylindrical, sometimes they were flat. Thus in 1482 Claude du Bruillart had a gold chain of forty-four round links, and another whose links were flat. The chains of the great were often fancifully devised; in reality the distinction between chain and collar was a blurred one like so many mediaeval distinctions. There are indeed signs in the Burgundian accounts from the 1380s onwards that chains were becoming richer. Philippe of Burgundy paid Herman Roussel in 1399 for one set with thirty-six diamonds and eighty-three pearls, approaching then the elaboration that was soon to distinguish the collar, if indeed at this early date chain is not sometimes used as a term for what only a few years later would have been called a collar. Thus in June 1393 Philippe of Burgundy sent to Paris for his 'gold chain garnished with large stones, making a collar and a girdle [collier et cainture]', presumably meaning that it could be worn as either. Indeed in some ways perhaps the only general distinction between the two was that the collar tended to be short and broad and worn round the neck or over the shoulders, whereas the chain was generally long and always composed of links.[22]

There are a number of references from the last years of the century to chains hung with little bells, a taste of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that seems childish now, but there is no doubt that little bells tinkled delightfully in mediaeval ears. In 1389 Louis of Orléans had a chain hung with little bells made to give to Louis de Bourbon and later, in 1397, he was to give the Dauphin Charles a gold chain enamelled with flowers and the French royal device of broom-cods with several little hanging bells, from which hung a pendant of a tiger, another royal French device. The few chains left by Marguerite of Burgundy in 1405 almost all had little bells hanging from them – they included one of gold 'of the fashion of Milan' and a chain 'of twisted silver with acorns that ring'. And about the same date her niece-in-law Valentina Visconti had 'a long gold chain hung with bells'. Their vogue continued into the fifteenth century: in 1413–14 Alfonso of Aragon had 'a gold chain of 55 interlacing links with 109 little bells of the same size and 1 large one'.[23]

Of Marguerite of Burgundy's other chains one had square gold links rimmed with pearls and a little clasp or pendant set with five pearls encircling a ruby, another had square links rimmed with pearls, while a third, the plainest, was of flat rings of pierced silver. Some light chains had a simple stone suspended from them and must have been very delicate in effect, like two gold chains 'each with a pearl and a balas-ruby' that Duke

Philippe of Burgundy gave away as New Year's gifts in 1382, or like the small gold chain 'from which hangs at one end a long ruby and at the end are two hands which touch' that belonged c.1405 to Valentina Visconti, figuring with its red stone and linked hands conjugal affection. The motif of acorns re-appeared in two gold chains left by Henry V of England in 1422: it probably had some French association, for the acorns were enamelled white and green, French royal colours. In 1442 Eléanore of Navarre, Countess of Foix, had a gold chain made of foliage, while in 1456 the Duchess of Orléans had 'a light gold chain for hanging round the neck, with large openwork links enamelled clear red and white'. She also had in 1481 two heavy gold chains, one of twenty-eight large links shaped as dry branches and another of forty links in the fashion of a Franciscan cord – that

is, with friars' knots – and with a pendant of a *chante pleure*, her melancholy device assumed in mourning for her husband, suspended from it. Such devices could also be armorial rather than personal: in 1474 Gabrielle de la Tour, Comtesse de Montpensier, had two gold chains of towers and boars, the blazons of her family arms. The motif of friars' knots, symbolising true love, was universally popular in all countries for women's chains and collars. In 1453 Marguerite of Brittany left a gold chain, enamelled black, with friars' knots, and in 1488 Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, left 'a chenye of gold maid in fassone of frere knottis contenand fourti four knottis'. Sometimes a plain chain was relieved by a jewelled clasp, as in a chain Sir John Howard, later the first Howard Duke of Norfolk, gave his wife in 1465, which had 'a lock of gold garnished with a ruby', or by a ring



Fig. 130 Edward Grimston by Petrus Christus. Oil on panel. Flemish, 1446. Private collection, on loan to the National Gallery, London

hung from it, or by an ornament, as in one pledged by Richard, Duke of York, to Sir John Fastolff before 1452, which was 'a littell cheyne of gold wyth a perle hangyng therby and ij spangell of gold'.[24]

The chains of Queen Charlotte de Savoie, wife of Louis XI of France, inventoried after her death in 1483, give us some idea of the various sorts of chains owned by a royal lady in the third quarter of the century. Some were very simple – one had tiny links, one small plain links – the sort used for chains on bridges. Another had flat links enamelled black, and a fourth was a double chain of flat links. Of her other chains one had links shaped like friars' knots (*cordelière*), while another had links shaped like the scallop shells of the royal order of St Michael. More elaborate were a chain with bars 'enamelled black in two places', and a chain whose links were shaped as scales, enamelled red and white, though this may have been the device of the Aragonese Orden de la Escama (Order of the Scale). Richest of all was a chain enamelled with white and red genets (civet-cats) and ermines, two beasts whose fur was much prized for trimming garments. That some distinction was made even between such chains and collars proper is, however, plain from another entry in the inventory, which speaks of 'a chain made in the guise of a collar, enamelled black'. And another of her chains, of the twisted form popular for fifteenth-century collars and, indeed, as a decorative border round pendants, was 'in the fashion of a girdle', that is with buckle and pendant. It was enamelled black and had a ruby and a table diamond hanging from it.[25]

The more richly ornamented chains of François II of Brittany, as described in 1490, seem to have had fancifully shaped or fancifully ornamented links, with pendant pearls or motifs. Again, we should describe them as necklaces or collars, rather than as chains. The simplest was formed once more of true-love knots in the shape of friars' knots, with a light chain threaded through them and a pendant of a pointed diamond. A small gold chain was composed of dangling leaves and twenty-six pendant pearl drops, and was clasped by a ring enamelled white, green and clear red, and set with a four-petalled diamond flower. Marguerite of Brittany's gold chain with friars' knots seems to have undergone some transformation after her death, for in 1490 only half of its knots were enamelled black and along the bottom ran pansies enamelled black and grey. From it hung a gold cross, set with a fleur-de-lis of five pieces of diamond and four pearls of price. Some of the chains of the princesses of the ducal family of Savoy in the middle and third quarters of the century suggest the great refinement of workmanship that could be lavished on the gold work of such chains. A great gold chain 'to wear round the neck' made by the ducal goldsmith Jacques Mennequin in 1447 as a New Year's gift for Duchess Anne de Lusignan was enamelled, granulated 'and made of very subtle work'. Again, in 1470 the goldsmith Copin of Chambéry made a chain for Yolande de France of little gold chains interlaced with a button enamelled white and red.[26]

There is evidence of the growing importance of chains as the fifteenth century progressed. Queens and princesses in the middle of the century often seem to have had a gold chain of special importance: we have just seen that the Duchess of Savoy had one in 1447, and in 1452 Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI of England, paid for the making of 'great links of gold' and a hook for her 'great chain'. Sir Edward Grimston wears a great chain in addition to the livery collar of SS he holds in his portrait by Petrus Christus of 1446 (fig.130). At the wedding of Prince Arthur of England and Katherine of Aragon in 1502, Sir Thomas Brandon, the Royal Master of the Horse, wore a gold chain worth £1400. So valuable were many late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century chains of massy gold that the Venetian Senate, pressed for money, ordered its ambassadors to deliver up to the Signory any they received as parting gifts from the sovereigns to whom they had been despatched. In 1519 Sebastiano Giustinian, reporting on his return from a four years' embassy to Henry VIII, besought the Signory, 'almost on his knees' to be allowed to keep the chain, valued at about £100, that Henry had given him, but was refused: 'he spoke well' is the grim comment 'but did not persuade well'.[27]

Chains indeed had become popular as jewels for presentation. In the 1470s for instance René of Anjou seems often to have given chains as a reward for services. At New Year's Day in 1479 he gave *la petite Beauveau*, evidently the daughter of one of the court ladies, a gold chain, and in February of the same year, another little girl, described as the granddaughter of Maître Pierre Hordoyn, also received a gold chain, for having presented the King with a set of gold paternosters as a New Year's gift from her mother. In March René, needing to find quickly a jewel to send to Madame de Blanchefort, wife of the mayor of Bordeaux, who had arrested one of René's debtors and brought him to Tarascon, resorted to a not uncommon device among the Valois princes and got one of the court ladies to let him have her great gold chain. He then had it reburnished, despatched it and reimbursed the lady. To the same Madame de Blanchefort that October he gave the great sum of 400 écus to buy herself a gold chain, again in return for a service done him by her husband. Against New Year's Day 1480 René bought a small chain from the goldsmith Jacques Scalle to give away as a present, and almost his last gift before his death was a gold chain bought for his daughter Yolande of Lorraine.[28]

Having traced the development of the chain and found it sometimes blurred with that of the collar, we must turn now to a fuller consideration of the collar proper, and of its evolution from the simple metal-mounted riband collar into the massy and imposing article of jewellery so popular in the later Middle Ages. The history of the emergence of the collar as a jewel – that is, as an ornament with prominent mounts of gold or silver or else wholly of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls – is complex and obscure. So far as dates can be established from known monuments and records, the metal-mounted riband collar first appears as a significant ornament in England in the 1360s. At this moment it is not a decorative jewel, but a badge of re-tainership in the form of a livery collar – that is, a collar bearing the device of a prince or great lord and, when worn by others, blazoning either family relationship or household retainership or else a looser form of feudal loyalty. Livery collars in the strict sense, that is, collars used as an ensign of retainership and as a regular feature of livery, appear to have been confined to England, where they were bestowed on their followers by great lords as well as by the king and the royal princes. Collars signi-fying membership of a princely companionship, at any rate in the form of ribands mounted in silver, are documented by 1364, but only in the rather special form of the Ordine del Collare of Amadeo V of Savoy. The general use of collars to signify membership of a house order perhaps only really begins in 1381 in Brittany, whose Duke Jean IV was intimately acquainted with the English court and its usages. The problem of the origin of the collar as a badge is also confused by the practice, certainly current in England by the 1370s, in Navarre by 1381, and in France by 1383, of wearing a royal or seigneurial device suspended round the neck, perhaps at first in some cases from a lace or riband rather than from a collar. The earliest known mention of ornamental collars of metal, as opposed to necklaces of precious stones or pearls, that were merely rich neck ornaments, and not badges of membership of some household or chivalric order, may date from the 1340s; this date is uncertain, however, and it is plain that they only really became generally fashionable from the 1380s.

Accordingly, we shall begin our history of the collar with the livery collar and the chivalric collar, two of the most important and characteristic inventions of the Middle Ages. The eager desire of early historians and antiquaries to trace romantic customs of chivalry back to a distant and heroic past has confused the history of these two types of collar. In reality, they are not represented in painting and sculpture before the 1370s and in

documents and inventories no references have yet been found to them before the same date. During the fourteenth century the foundation of an order of chivalry was far from entailing the creation of a special collar, as was usually the case in the fifteenth century. The members of quite a number of orders, including the Garter, seem to have worn at first only a badge: the Garter brooch owned by Louis of Anjou in 1365 was evidently one variety of such a badge.

The livery collar probably developed from the livery badge, originally as a riband collar mounted with devices in metal, and fastened by buckles of metal. Study of the earliest representations of collars of SS, the Lancastrian collar which is the first of known livery collars, makes it plain that they were created simply by affixing the letter S along the length of an ordinary riband collar fastened by buckles. Such ordinary riband collars were generally worn by knights and nobles in mid-fourteenth-century England; otherwise, as we have already noted, Edward III's sumptuary laws of 1363 would hardly have forbidden those below the rank of knight to wear them. The badge, as we have seen, was worn by all ranks in a mediaeval household, whereas the livery collar was worn only by men or women of a certain standing. In an age of princely or great baronial households, it proclaimed that the wearer belonged to a certain household or had given his allegiance to its master. The best definition of the social position of a re-tainer according to mediaeval notions is probably that given by the Jacobean John Cowell in *The Interpreter* (1607). He says that a retainer was a 'servant not meniall nor familiar, that is, not continually dwelling in the house of his lord or master, but only using or bearing his name or livery'. Late fourteenth-century England, where the livery collar almost certainly originated, was a theatre of fierce princely and baronial rivalries and contentions and accordingly the giving of livery inevitably came to take on factional significance – indeed has acquired the name of 'bastard feudalism'. By the early 1390s the English Parliament was petitioning King Richard II against the abuse of livery; and in a proclamation of 24 April 1400 Henry IV forbade all lords 'to give any livery, in token of association, to any knight, gentleman or servant within our Kingdom'. Only the king might give his livery to any temporal lord, and to knights and squires who belonged to his household or were his retainers or receiving an annual feu. But such knights and squires might wear his livery only in the king's presence, not in their own birthplaces or counties, though as an exception the Constable and Marshal of England and their retainers were allowed to wear liveries of this sort on the borders and in the Marches of

England; moreover all who sought honour overseas might wear them without impediment. Such regulations however soon lapsed.

A significant incident from the 1390s illustrates the symbolism of friendship which was now attached in England to the wearing of livery and livery collars. At the opening of the Parliament held at Westminster in 1393–4 Richard, Earl of Arundel, complained bitterly to Richard II of the King's uncle John of Gaunt and of his favour at court. He began his complaint by finding fault with two unseemly signs of undue familiarity which he felt were contrary to the King's honour. Firstly John was often seen in company with the King holding his hand or arm, and secondly the King himself wore John of Gaunt's livery collar, and his retinue likewise wore John of Gaunt's collar. Richard answered that he always walked arm in arm with all his uncles, and that in regard to the livery collar, when

> his uncle of Guyenne came lately from Spain [November 1389], the King took the collar from his uncle's neck and put it round his own neck, saying that he would wear it and use it as a sign of the true and wholehearted love between them, and he does the same with the livery of his other uncles.[1]

In fact all the royal dukes who were sons of Edward III seem to have had their livery collars: for instance, as we have seen, in 1400 the jewels of the newly crowned Henry IV included a gold livery collar of Edmund, Duke of York, of six falcons enamelled white and seven plain links. And of the Welsh soldier of fortune, Owen of Wales (d.1379) and his kinsman the Pursuivant d'Amours, who obtained French help in 1372 to assert Owen's claim to be Prince of Wales, Christine de Pisan says 'and this was not withstanding they had been companions of the Prince of Wales, son of the King of England, and had his collar'. However, in this particular instance this may mean no more than that as members of his companionship they wore his device suspended from a collar or lace, a custom documented in Navarre by 1381. The collar of SS was originally the livery collar of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and came to be worn by members of the house of Lancaster or its adherents. Unusually, it is often found without a pendant of any kind, surely because its early form of a riband collar fastened by a buckle was itself regarded as the full badge, and became consecrated by tradition. But its wearers sometimes attached to it a pendant representing their own family badge, for example the swan for the Bohuns, the bear and ragged staff for the Beauchamps, the mermaid for the Berkeleys.[2]

It is virtually certain that the livery collar, as opposed to the chivalric collar, was an English invention of the fourteenth century and, as we shall see, all the evidence suggests that in its use as a retainer's badge it remained a peculiarly English form of the collar, with no real parallels in the rest of feudal Europe. It may be that John of Gaunt's collar of SS was the earliest livery collar of all: certainly it is found earlier than any other livery collar by at least one decade and possibly two. That it first appears as the livery collar of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340–99) and is composed of the letter S repeated seems to be

quite clear, although the claim has been made that originally it was the livery collar of John's son Henry, Earl of Derby (1367–1413), later King Henry IV. Against this is the fact the collar of SS was certainly engraved on pieces of plate belonging to John of Gaunt: moreover it was depicted encircling his arms in a window formerly in Old St Paul's.[3]

It was already being worn by his retainers in 1377, for, in describing the London riots of that year against John of Gaunt, a monk of St Alban's, probably Thomas of Walsingham, says in his chronicle:

> One of the Duke's knights, Sir Thomas Swinton, by birth a Scot, desiring his lord's favour was bold enough that same day to ride armed through the city's most crowded streets, wearing the Duke's ensign round his neck so as to excite the fury of the populace even more. He was soon thrown down from his horse by the commonalty, and lost his lord's ensign [*signum*, badge] which was torn from his neck by the violence of the vulgar.

Swinton had to be rescued by the Mayor from the rage of the Londoners.

> It was a sight to see after this [adds the chronicler] the spectacle of fortune's changes, for those to whom the Duke had given such ensigns, and whom the earth had scarce been able to sustain in their pride, were now humbled to the ground and began pulling off the collars [*colaria*] they had received from the Duke and hiding them in their breasts or sleeves. These forsooth were the ensigns by means of which they had thought before to enrich themselves with heaven and earth; whereas before these ensigns had rendered them well-known and formidable, so now they rendered them by a reversal of fortune contemptible and suspect.

This forgotten passage perhaps illustrates better than any other the spirit in which livery collars were delivered and worn, and also makes plain that the collar itself was the Duke's ensign or badge. The earliest surviving representations of the collar of SS are on three figures of knights on tombs and brasses dating from the 1370s and the 1380s. One of these knights is known to have been in the service of John of Gaunt as a retainer, while in the case of the two others there is either virtual certainty or a high probability that they also were among his retainers. However, there is a difficulty in the case of the earliest representation of a collar of SS, that of the effigy of Sir John Swynford (d. 26 December 1370), finely carved in alabaster and once richly coloured, in the church of Spratton, Northamptonshire (fig.131). On this it is shown worn round the neck over the aventail and is figured as a thick riband collar, possibly of leather covered with a dark stuff, blue or perhaps black, which may have been patterned in gold. The metal semi-Gothic letters of S are either stitched by a thick running stitch or else stapled – it is difficult to tell which – to the riband between ruched piped borders that seem to have been coloured red. Probably these letters were gilded; if so the original effect would have been of raised gold on a blue or black ground patterned in gold and framed by red borders.

Fig. 131  Effigy of Sir John Swynford (detail). English, c.1370. Spratton
Church, Northamptonshire, England



Fig. 131a  Detail of girdle

The ends of the collar scroll upwards and the collar is tied by a cord of gold thread – a primitive feature replaced in later representations by a trefoil link – which is wound into a decorative hank terminating in a knot. As this hank and knot are carefully portrayed twisted out to the left of Swynford's praying hands, they are a motif that may have some significance, perhaps of loyalty to his lord, if the collar is indeed one of SS.

The difficulty is that Sir John's initials IS are figured in relief in semi-Lombardic letters on the richly decorated plaques of the heavy sword-belt he wears round his hips (fig.131a) and it could be argued that the letter S on the collar simply stands for Swynford. On the other hand, the letters IS are used as his initials on the belt and it is hard to see why S alone should be used for them on the collar. Moreover, there is no known other instance of a collar with letters signifying a surname by itself – all other collars with single initials have letters that signify a Christian name. And a collar is so exceptional a feature on a sculptured effigy of the 1370s that it must be a special badge of some kind. The genealogy of the Swynford family is poorly traced, but John's father, Thomas, was a royal official, being Escheator for the counties of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. Possibly the family were kinsmen of the Swynfords of Lincolnshire, who were retainers of John of Gaunt because their principal manors were held of him as Earl of Richmond. Presumably it was through this connection that Katherine, widow of Sir Hugh Swynford of Lincolnshire, originally became as a widow, first governess to John of Gaunt's children, then his mistress and finally his third wife.[4]

Two other early representations of the collar of SS both date from the 1380s. One is on the brass of Sir Thomas Burton (d. 16 July 1381) in the church of Little Casterton, Rutland;

the brass was commissioned by his widow, probably shortly after his death (pl.87). Thomas's original connection with John of Gaunt was through his father William (d.1375), who held the manor of Woodhall in Essex of John of Gaunt by knight's service. William was a trusted royal servant, and Thomas's son, another Thomas, was also a royal servant and, as a loyal Lancastrian official, became Keeper of Fotheringay Castle, where in 1419 he was given custody of Arthur of Burgundy. It is highly probable then that Thomas himself was the Thomas Burton who was appointed by John of Gaunt governour of his son Henry in 1374 and who was also warden of John's manor of Everley. The collar of SS as figured on his brass is a riband with piped edges, to which are applied Lombardic Ss, three to either side. The riband has a buckle and metal mordant at either end. The buckles are linked by an oval chain-link passing through eyes on either side, and through a third eye at the top of a short band or strap to which is fixed the tiret or ring. This arrangement was long typical of the SS collar; as noted, no badge was required to be hung from the collar as a pendant, for it was in itself a livery badge.[5]

The connection between the SS collar on the tomb of Sir John Marmion (d.1387) in the church of West Tanfield, in Richmond, Yorkshire (pl.88), and John of Gaunt is absolutely certain. Marmion was a retainer of John, no doubt because John as Earl of Richmond was his feudal lord. By 27 August 1372, when his retainership was renewed in a fresh indenture which records 'the good and acceptable service the said Sir John has long rendered our said lord' and raises his annual payment to 40 marks a year, he had been some time in the service of John of Gaunt. He was not obliged to be in perpetual attendance, but when he came to court was entitled to a bouche, that is provisions

for himself, and also for a squire and chamberlain, 'like other bachelors who are retainers of our lord'. In war he was to serve him with a knight and two squires. And in fact he accompanied John in 1386 on his expedition to Spain to claim the throne of Castile, and died there in the spring of 1387. His tomb was put up by his widow, Lady Elizabeth Marmion, who died in 1400. Like the Burton collar the Marmion collar is figured as a riband with buckle fastenings, the letters SS being one again figured as metal mounts attached to the tissue. On the Marmion collar, which is rendered by the sculptor as a thick stuff, the Lombardic Ss are closely juxtaposed. Curiously enough they run the same way all round the collar, instead of running in two directions to the front. Each end of the riband terminates in a flat tag, held by rivets, and is passed through a buckle, the buckles being joined by a rectangular link from which depends a singular *tiret*, apparently shaped as a dragon biting its tail. This may be a family device, or alternately it may be the device of a Castilian order, for on his portrait the Austrian poet–knight Oswald von Wolkenstein (pl.89) wears a similar ensign. The Marmion collar is thus the first surviving representation of the SS collar with any kind of pendant; but, since the collar itself was the badge, plainly this was a voluntary addition. An SS collar with a trefoil-shaped ring as the link between the ends first appears on the effigy of William de Manwaring (d.1399) at Acton, Cheshire. Riband collars of SS continued to be made throughout the fifteenth century, although the type of collar in which the Ss are links in a metal chain was probably already in existence in the 1390s.[6]

The exact significance of the S has been much debated. A favourite theory is that it signifies or came to signify *Souverayne*, one of the mottoes of John's son Henry of Lancaster. The only mediaeval writer to give an explanation of the device is the Valencian knight Joan Martorell, author of the chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanc*. He was in England from 1437 to 1439, at the court of the Lancastrian king Henry VI, and in chapters 96 and 97 of his stately romance he declares that S was chosen as a device because no other single letter of the alphabet excels it in authority and perfection or in power to signify the highest things. And he cites four qualities that it signifies which in his original Catalan are *sanctedat, saviesa, sapiencia, seynoria*. In French, still the court language of England, these could be rendered as *sainteté, sagesse, sapience, seigneurie* (sanctity, wisdom, learning, lordship). Martorell adds that many other things too begin with S. It is impossible to say whether his interpretation is pure fantasy, or represents what he was told at the Lancastrian court and so reproduces what the collar was thought to signify in the 1430s. But, as Claude Blair has pointed out, the device of a letter S was possibly not of John of Gaunt's own invention, but may well have been inherited by him from his mother Philippa of Hainault, to whom the Black Prince's badge of three feathers also originally belonged, as we have already seen. For on the occasion of her churching in 1348 after the birth of William of Windsor, Philippa's chamber was arrayed in red sindon patterned

all over with the letter S in gold. If so, *Souverayne* was surely the original signification of the letter, whatever other meanings it may later have acquired or been given as it became a device of kings and princes, rather than of a queen. An alternative is that it signified *soveignez*, a motto of Henry IV, for a gold collar of Henry IV, made by the goldsmith Christopher Tyldesley in 1406, was worked with this motto and the letter S. But it is difficult to see why S should be used in combination with the full form of the motto to signify the same word and thing, and the probability is that for Henry IV the S bore some other meaning. As we have seen in discussing badges, it was usual for sons and later descendants to continue to use badges which were originally personal badges, giving their meaning a new twist or else simply displaying them as family badges.[7]

From a personal feudal livery collar the collar of SS became an official badge of the royal household and of allegiance to the king. It owed this metamorphosis to the accident that in 1399 the throne was seized by the House of Lancaster in the person of Henry IV, John of Gaunt's son. Before this the collar of SS had already become a family rather than a personal badge. Indeed the first known payment for a collar of SS occurs in Henry's accounts of 1391–2: 'for a gold collar of SS made for the Lord Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, with seventeen letters of S of gold in the fashion of feathers, with scrolls and words in the same and a swan on the tiret of the same'. This is only the first of many such payments. Presumably Henry of Lancaster had a special fondness for the SS device – in February 1398 he even bought a collar with thirteen letters of SS of gold for his six-year old daughter Blanche to wear. And in a verse *Chronicle* of the year 1387 by the poet John Gower (d.1408), who himself received a collar of SS from Henry in 1393–4 and wears it on his tomb in Southwark Cathedral, Henry is designated by the letter of S as being his badge.[8]

Indeed livery collars of SS for himself and his household were clearly a preoccupation of Henry even on his expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land, undertaken from motifs of chivalry and devotion in 1390–1 and 1392–3. In Prussia he gave money to two of his esquire retainers to have collars made; in Prague, he ordered fourteen collars from Hans, a goldsmith of the city, of which nine were silver-gilt. In Venice he commissioned a goldsmith named Giacopofrancesco to make a gold collar for himself 'and a gold chain to be mounted on the said collar', presumably a chain for fastening it like that on the Burton brass, collars of silver-gilt for his seneschal and chamberlain, together with girdles for these two most important officers of his household, and twelve other collars, six of silver-gilt and six of silver. And at Chivasso in Piedmont he again had two collars made of silver. Evidently it was possible to make such collars very expeditiously: Hans of Prague's fourteen collars were made between 13 October when Henry arrived in the city and 23 October, when Hans was paid for them. Henry gave his order in Venice between 22 and 26 March and the collars and girdles were delivered to him in Treviso on 17 April, while the two

bought at Chivasso can only have been two days in the making. The sum disbursed for the Venetian goldsmith's work was very considerable, 137 ducats.[9]

The change of the collar of SS to its new status as an official royal collar can be dated to 1401–2, when the new statutes of apparel enacted by Henry declared that 'All the sons of the king, dukes, earls, barons and bannerets may wear the livery of our Lord the King of his collar as well in his absence as his presence: all other knights and esquires may wear it only in his presence, and not in his absence'. The regulation seems to imply that the wearing of the collar was now a necessary badge of allegiance, blazoning adherence to the new Lancastrian line. It appears as a royal livery collar on a number of fifteenth-century effigies and portraits, for example Sir Edward Grimston holds his collar in his portrait of 1446 by Petrus Christus (fig.130). As always, the metal used to make collars of SS seems to have been graded according to the degree of the wearer: gold for great lords and barons, silver-gilt for knights, silver for esquires, and for humbler personages base metal. The ends of a collar of SS with plates of iron pierced with trefoils and attached to a tiret or trefoil-shaped ring were found in the Thames in 1843 together with a letter S of latten.

We must emphasise once more that the collar of SS was a badge in itself, and so did not require the addition of a pendant badge to give it full meaning. It was however, as we have already seen, worn with pendants of other devices, royal or personal. In 1458 for instance Henry VI's Chancellor delivered to the royal treasury 'a lyveree of the crowne of sylvyr and gilt with ii estryche fethers enamelyd blow'. Already in the 1390s the collars made for Henry of Lancaster mingled the S with other devices. In his gold collar of 1391–2 the seventeen letters of S were as we just seen shaped as feathers – another royal badge – and had scrolls with mottoes and on the tiret a swan in allusion to Henry's first wife Mary Bohun, whose family badge was a swan. Indeed the swan became a favourite badge of Henry himself; on his tomb John Gower wears his collar of SS with a badge of the swan. The collar could also be varied to suit the taste of a royal wearer. Another collar made for Henry in 1396–7 had letters of SS with motifs of flowers called *soveigne vous de moi* (forget-me-not). One of his royal livery collars of gold ordered at some date during his reign from the London goldsmith Christopher Tyldesley had twenty-four letters of S pounced with *souverain*, mounted on a black tissue, and with a pendant of cluster form, a balas-ruby and six pearls. The gold collar made by the same goldsmith for Henry in 1406 was decorated with another of his mottoes, *soveignez* (remember), and with letters of S and X. It was set with nine large pearls, twelve large diamonds, eight balas-rubies and eight sapphires, and had a triangular pendant set with a great ruby and four large pearls.[10]

The collar appears as an ornamental device on the tomb of Henry and his wife Joan of Navarre in Canterbury Cathedral (*c.*1414), though it is worn only on the effigy of the Queen. Henry V continued to use it as an official royal badge, and it

was under him that it seems first to have been employed as a means of raising men of low degree to the rank of esquire. According to the French chronicler Jean Juvenal des Ursins, in the days immediately preceding the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 Henry V called the captains of his army together and among other promised rewards declared that he would ennoble all who were not already noble and as a badge of identification gave them leave to wear what des Ursins terms a collar of his order, sewn with the letter S. By 1442–4, when the English cleric Nicholas Upton wrote his treatise on heraldry, this was an established usage.

> In England [he writes] whenever the Lord King ennobles anyone, it is his custom to give with the fief . . . a badge, that is, his livery to the newly ennobled man, the which livery is a collar with the letters S made of gold or silver.

The Jacobean herald Augustine Vincent (*c.*1584–1626) has left a drawing, now in the College of Arms, of the collar of SS of his own day inscribed: 'the collar of SS in England, wherewith esquires be made'. As we shall see, the collar also came to be used by the Lancastrian kings as a collar of their order in the looser sense in which this word was used in the later Middle Ages, and was the collar they bestowed on guests and strangers they wished to honour.[11]

During the reigns of the Yorkist Edward IV (1461–83) and Richard III (1483–5) the collar of SS was supplanted as the royal livery collar by the collar of suns and roses of the house of York. In 1465, for instance, Sir John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, as a stout Yorkist, had 'a collar of gold with 34 roses and suns set on a corse of black silk with a hanger [pendant] of gold garnished with a sapphire'. Just such a riband collar, set with suns and roses, is worn by Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, on his brass of 1483 in Little Easton Church, Essex, together with a pendant of a white lion, the badge of Edward IV. But these Yorkist collars were also made as metal collars or chains: on her effigy of *c.*1463 in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, Sussex, Joan Nevill, Countess of Arundel (d.1462) wears one in which the suns and roses of York are conjoined by oak-leaves, the badge of the Fitzalan earls of Arundel. This collar (pls.90, 90a) gives a very clear notion of what such collars looked like when made entirely of precious metal.[12]

The SS collar was revived by Henry VII (r.1485–1509) and his successors, often with the addition of the Tudor badges of portcullis and rose, as on the effigy of Henry VII's standard-bearer Sir John Cheney (d.1509) in Salisbury Cathedral. It probably attained its maximum of ostentatiousness under the early Tudors: at the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in 1502 Sir Nicholas Vaux wore a collar of SS 'which weighed 800 pounds of nobles'. A very fine silver collar of SS in the Museum of London, recently recovered from the Thames, probably dates from the early fifteenth century (pls.91, 91a). The gold and enamel collar of SS still worn by the Lord Mayor of London was bequeathed to the City by Thomas Allen, himself a former Lord Mayor, in 1545. After the reign of Henry VIII the collar of

gradually became restricted to judges and certain other officials, but it has survived to the present day, for it is still worn in England by the Lord Chief Justice, kings of arms and heralds. Confusingly the Dukes of Brittany often introduced the letters SS into their jewellery in token of their English loyalties – so late as 1493 Anne of Brittany paid for a girdle and a chain of letters of SS made by her goldsmith Arnould de Viviers. Even more confusingly SS was also adopted as a device by Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, after her husband's death in 1407, to signify, or so it is said, *Seule soupire* (Alone she sighs). The Orléans princes continued to use this device and in 1476, for instance, Marie de Cleves, the Dowager Duchess of Orléans, bought fifteen gold SS charged with black tears, to put on a dress of black velvet.[13]

In 1400 the royal jewels of England included two collars of gold set with pearls which are described as of the livery of Queen Anne of Bohemia. One had an ostrich for device or pendant, the other had links of her other device, sprigs of rosemary. The royal livery collar of Edmund, Duke of York, described in King Henry IV's inventory of 1399–1400, had six links, each shaped as his device of gold falcons and enamelled white, alternating with seven other 'linketts'. Royal dukes continued to have their own collars of device: in 1426, the Earl of Salisbury sent Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, on behalf of John, Duke of Bedford (1389–1435), third son of Henry IV, two small gold collars of the duke's device, one for Paolo himself, the other for his son Ladislao. Great English lords also had livery collars, whose motifs were usually taken from their own badges. In 1415 Lord Scrope left to the shrine of St John of Bridlington 'a gold collar with white swans and little flowers' – it is possible that the beautiful fifteenth-century swan badge (pl.58) in the British Museum has an association with just such a collar. Behind the use of the swan as a badge lay a romantic tradition: the fabled descent of many great families of England, through the Counts of Boulogne, from the legendary Knight of the Swan, whose brothers were changed into swans wearing collars of gold. Swan collars continued to be worn to the end of the century: in 1488 Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, had a gold collar of eight white swans, apparently enamelled on the metal, sixteen rubies and diamonds, and a double row of pearls.[14]

On his effigy of 1417 in the church of Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, wears a riband collar sewn with emeralds, the badge of the Berkeleys. In a miniature in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland (c.1364–1425) and his sons by his second wife, Joan de Beaufort, the daughter of John of Gaunt, whom he married in 1396, wear the most singular of all mediaeval collars, shaped as a fence of park-palings, with a badge of a hart couchant protruding from the bottom bar of the central front section. In turn this collar provides the explanation of the mysterious hart badge and collar of palings worn on the early fifteenth-century effigy in Ripon Minster of the Richmondshire knight, Sir Thomas Markenfield, who was plainly a Nevill retainer (fig.132), presumably having become so when Nevill was granted the Manor of Richmond for life in 1399. The sculptor's representation of Markenfield's collar is in fact ambiguous, since it seems to act as a cloak strap for the cloak which Sir Thomas, most unusually, is shown wearing with his armour, but it is uncertain how far the construction of the costume is intended to represent reality, as the cloak's collar appears to fit between the bacinet and aventail, which is an impossibility. The hart is shown as lodged, i.e. couchant, on a bank within palings; although this differs from the hart on the Nevill family collar, probably the difference had little significance in mediaeval eyes.[15]



Fig. 132 Effigy of Sir Thomas Markenfield. Detail of collar. English, early fifteenth century. Cathedral, Ripon, England

The development of the chivalric collar is intimately associated with that of the chivalric badge, and to understand the nature of both it is necessary to know something of the history of mediaeval chivalric confraternities and orders.[1] At first these seem to have taken the form of free companies of knights, associating together for mutual aid and protection. Such companies were already in existence by 1326, when the Council of Avignon condemned the disorders that were being caused by certain sworn associations of noblemen which met once a year at some fixed spot to hold a chapter and were dedicated to mutual support against all others, with the sole exception of their liege lord. The members of these associations were already distinguishing themselves from other nobles by dressing in the same dress and wearing a particular badge. The earliest documented example of such an association is the Order of St Catherine, which was formed in Dauphiné, probably between 1328 and 1333, by the '*seigneurs* bannerets, knights, squires and gentlemen of the country'. It was established, so its statutes declare, to preserve 'the good love, the good faith and the good affection' subsisting between their lord the Dauphin and themselves, but really for mutual aid and support. It was governed by two captains, assisted by two *élus* (elected representatives) from each of the three marches of the Dauphiné, though subject of course to the overlordship of the Dauphin. All the members of the order were obliged to wear a badge of a shield of dark blue colour (*pers*) 'on which is the figure of St Catherine in red crowned with gold, holding a white sword in her right hand and in her left the motto *Pour mieux valoir* [For greater strength]'. There are two points to note about the Order: one that it already describes itself as an order in its statutes, the other that its ensign was a badge of embroidered cloth, not of precious metal.[2]

Such self-constituted societies, companies or confraternities of nobles, knights and gentlemen continued to be formed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1390, on the occasion of the translation of some relics of St George, brought by Philbert de Miolans from the Holy Land, to a chapel built for them on his lands of Rougemont, a number of nobles of Franche-Comté formed themselves into an association or confraternity. About 1431 this association became an order of chivalry, with a badge of the saint. Again on 1 January 1395 fourteen nobles of the Auvergne met together and swore on the Gospels 'to be good and loyal friends and true to each other and to serve one another against one and all'. As their ensign, or *ourdre* (order) as their statutes call it, they took the device of a gold apple in a circle engraved with the motto *La plus belle me*

*doit avoir* (The fairest must receive me) in allusion to the apple of the Judgment of Paris, a story familiar to the Middle Ages from the *Roman de Troie*. Occasionally some lord or knight took the lead in founding such an association, especially from the middle of the fourteenth century as the notion of an order of knights became transfigured by romantic ideals of chivalry. The earliest known company of this kind seems to be the Compagnie du Cigne Noir (the Company of the Black Swan) founded by Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy, in September 1350, during the festivities held to celebrate the marriage of his sister Blanche to Galeazzo Visconti of Milan. Edward, the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III of England, in addition to being a member of his father's Order of the Garter from its foundation in 1348, had his own companionship whose badge was an eagle; in 1352 he distributed seven of its badges, on which an eagle was displayed.[3]

The term order soon began to be used for such companies: in 1374 when Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders gave out silver badges of a peacock to seven of his knights to make a company, this company was described as being 'in the fashion of an order'. Later Enguerrand VII, Sire de Coucy and Count of Soissons, founded an Order of the Crown, while in 1399 Jean le Maingre, better known as the Maréchal Boucicault, founded the Emprise de l'Ecu Vert à la Dame Blanche (Order of the Green Shield with the White Lady) whose especial purpose was to defend ladies and maidens against all outrage. Even when chivalric orders proper came to be founded by kings and princes, this notion of an order as a small, closely knit association of knights still prevailed, and for this reason orders were often described by their founders and by contemporaries as a company, a society, a fellowship or a confraternity.[4]

The motives that urged kings and princes to found orders of chivalry were complex. The loss in the 1290s of the last outposts of Christian conquest in the Holy Land to the Saracens and the continuing presence of the Moors in Spain prompted many fourteenth-century kings and princes to dream of leading a new crusade against the foes of Christendom. As the spearhead of such a movement they saw a chosen band of knights, bound by closest loyalties of brotherhood to each other and by sworn allegiance to themselves. Then there was a general feeling that the old spirit of chivalry, with its dedication to tournaments and jousts as the only proper training in knightly prowess, had waned and ought to be revived. And the romantic cult of woman, with all it entailed of devoted service to a chosen mistress and of protection by knights of ladies and maidens seemed another

chivalric tradition worthy of renewal and maintenance by brother-hoods of knights. Behind these knightly ideals and fantasies, nurtured on romances of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table and of Charlemagne and his peers – who were of course figures of history, not of legend to the Middle Ages – there no doubt often lurked more realistic motives of security and self-defence. To a number of kings and princes the insubordinateness of their princely relations and great feudal lords and the fierce-ness of rivalry and faction which it engendered must have made a band of knights, sworn beyond all other loyalties to be true to their sovereign, appear a sure support in a perilous world where little trust could be placed even in one's own kin.

Yet it would be unwise to discount the supreme significance of chivalry itself in the eyes of royal and princely founders of orders, for there can be no doubt that fraternities of knights dedicated to the service of Christendom and to the practice of the knightly virtues embodied mystical and romantic ideals to which many fourteenth-century kings and princes were sincerely dedicated. According to his chronicler, Alfonso XI of Castile, the founder of one of the earliest of royal orders of chivalry, 'though at no time was he without war, yet was he ever on the watch for any occasion of chivalry, holding tournaments and setting up round tables and jousting'. In the century and a half from 1320 or so onwards many orders and knightly associations were established by kings and princes. They ranged from such short-lived fraternities as the Zopfgesellschaft (Company of the Tress), founded between 1365 and 1395 by Archduke Albrecht III of Austria (1365–95) and the Order of the Crescent, founded in 1448 by King René of Anjou, to great and long-lived Orders like the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III of England in 1348, the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'Or), founded by Philip the Good of Burgundy in January 1430, and the Order of Saint-Michel, founded by Louis XI of France in 1469.

So far as we know the earliest of all associations of knights to have royal backing was the Confraternity of the Knights of St George, founded on 23 April (St George's Day) 1326 at Esztergom by an association of Hungarian knights.[5] In their charter they appear as a voluntary association of knights imposing statutes on themselves, after due approbation from high clerical authority. There is no question of their receiving them from the king: the language of the statutes is unequivocal on this point. The association describes itself as a *societas fraternalis militiae titulo Sancti Georgii insignita* (a fraternal association of knighthood ensigned with the title of St George). One of its principal purposes is declared to be

> the protection of our bodies in this world (whose affairs go awry through discords and dangers) so that if there is nothing to come promptly to the aid of human weakness, the laws of the human polity are soon broken and our enemies seek to establish dominion over us.

Although membership was strictly limited to fifty, entry was by voluntary solicitation from the individual, not by royal nomination, and every candidate had to be approved by unani-mous vote of the members. Justice was to be done between members by two judges, one lay, one clerical, and none else might arbitrate in their differences, not even the king.

A strict bond of fraternal affection was supposed to bind all the members in mutual love and loyalty and concord, and the statutes concern themselves intently with the establishment and maintenance of this state of close union, not least because to danger from the pagan enemy without was added the menace from within of a powerful and factious nobility. The members were to help one another in all difficulties and against all others: if a member was wrongfully despoiled of his goods the others must contribute to make the loss good; if one of them fell off his horse or into a ditch or moat during a siege, then his fellow-member was bound to stay and help him out of the difficulty to the utmost of his power. There was plainly a deep and no doubt well-justified fear that quarrelsomeness and intrigue might disrupt the strict union in which the members were supposed to live, and there was even a provision that, if one member refused to be reconciled with another, he was to be expelled. Moreover friendship with any man who was an enemy of another member was strictly prohibited.

So far the association had very clear links with the self-constituted associations of nobles and knights which as we have just seen were already flourishing in the France of the 1320s. In this there is nothing surprising, for in 1326 Hungary had been for sixteen years under the rule of its first Angevin king, Charles Robert (Carobert), son of King Charles II of Naples, and so was wide open to influences from the French chivalric culture of which the Angevins were such significant representatives. Modern historians are however surely correct in suggesting that the foundation of the Societas Fraternalis was inspired by Carobert himself. His purpose, they argue, was to surround himself with a band of followers all the more de-voted for being bound to each other and to him by bonds of mutual affection and fraternity. These bonds were strengthened by religious sanctions: each member on admission had to swear to observe all and each of the statutes by touching a piece of the True Cross and other holy relics. Certainly Carobert was 'present and consenting' at the promulgation of the statutes before the cathedral chapter of Esztergom on St George's Day 1326. And, even though he is not singled out for special authority by the statutes, yet both their preamble and the statutes themselves make it plain that another of the principal objects of the association was to defend the king's life and his kingdom against the incursions of the pagan infidels whose hosts threatened the territories of Hungary from the north and east – the Mongol invasion of 1241–2 was still a burningly painful memory in Hungary. The statutes imply that most of the members will either be at the royal court, or often in attendance on it, and one of them imposes on the members the duty of waiting on the king 'decently and in knightly fashion' in any of his recreations.

The third principal object of the association was the noble chivalric ideal of defending Holy Church. As a formal expression of their spiritual and social fraternity a corporate spiritual and social life was imposed on the members, either in the shape of single or corporate spiritual duties to be performed by each member at set times, or in the form of meetings to eat together or to deliberate on how to make themselves useful to the king and kingdom. Thus all the members who were at court must meet together on the second or third day of each month: those members who are at court must come together at the summons of the two judges and deliberate in common, and they must also meet in more solemn conclave three times yearly to debate on the affairs of the association, to do fealty to the king and to settle disputes among themselves. Finally, as a visual expression of this corporate life and fraternal union each member was to provide himself on entry into the association with a black mantle reaching down to the knees and with a chaperon attached. On the breast of the mantle was to be inscribed the motto *In veritate iustus sum huic fraternali societati* (In very truth I am just to this fraternal association). It is not clear whether these words were to be put on a badge, or whether they were to be formed of single letters – inscriptions of letters were already familiar from girdles and we know from the complaints of chroniclers that they were being worn on the breast of tunics in Austria and Styria about 1310, sewn to patches of cloth of a different colour, in other words, as badges. But what is plain from the statutes is that they were to be of metal, for those members who failed to wear them were penalised by having to pay as a fine the equivalent in weight of 'those letters that are the largest that can be found being worn by any of the members'. Moreover this penalty was to be renewed every month until compliance. The wearing of the mantle itself was however only compulsory on Saturdays, when members were to wear it until the hour of mass, again under pain of a penalty, this time a fast on bread and water.

The Knights of St George are perhaps best regarded as a body which in type was transitional between a self-constituted association and a true royal order, founded by a king for members whom he nominated. The earliest royal order of this type was the Orden de la Banda of Alfonso XI of Castile, another kingdom, like Hungary, perpetually at war with an infidel on its frontiers and racked by internal faction and dissension among powerful nobles.[6] His anonymous chronicler highlights in Alfonso's foundation of the Orden de la Banda the purpose of instituting a revival of chivalry.

> Because he knew that in times past the men of his kingdoms of Castile and León had ever been wont to follow the exercise of chivalry, and had abandoned it, exercising it no more up to his day, he ordained that certain knights and squires of his household should wear a band on their dress, and the King himself also.

Accordingly Alfonso held a solemn ceremony at Vitoria in 1330 at which the knights and squires he had chosen as members of the Order were given white robes with a dark baldric (*banda*) to wear in sign of their loyalty to the king and of fraternity one with another.

> And when they gave the baldric to the knight [says Alfonso's chronicler], they made him swear and promise that he would keep all the matters of chivalry that were written in the statutes. And this the King did so that men, because they coveted the baldric, should have a reason for performing works of chivalry.[7]

There has been some discussion as to whether the baldric was worn over the left or the right shoulder, and as to its colour, brown or red. Some visual evidence seems to suggest it was worn over the right shoulder, but Alfonso's chronicler states unequivocally that it was a brown band of a hand's width worn over the left shoulder and diagonally down the breast. And the discussion has overlooked Alfonso's own ordinance in his sumptuary edict of 1348 that 'the knights [*caballeros*] of the Banda may wear a *banda* [baldric] of whatever fashion they like, provided it be not of orphrey, or drawn gold and that there be no pearls or precious stones upon it'.[8] In other words, while it could be of any colour or material, it must be modest, without any richness of cloth of gold or jewelling or embroidery of pearls, no doubt to prevent competitive display and emphasise the ideal of fraternity.

During its first fifty years the Orden de la Banda was strictly confined to vassals of the King of Castile. The earliest foreigners to receive it, so far as we know, were seven bannerets who had accompanied Louis II de Bourbon, one of the earliest princely founders of an order of chivalry, on his expedition into Castile. They were given it by King Enrique II of Trastámara in 1376 as an especial mark of gratitude for Louis's aid. It was only in the early fifteenth century, after the custom of bestowing devices and collars had become widespread among kings and princes, that we find it being distributed liberally to foreigners. Thus in 1415 Juan II of Castile gave it to a number of ambassadors who had been sent by various kings to discuss with him the burning question of the Great Schism.[9]

The Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III *c.*1348, was by contrast always open to foreigners. A rather larger fraternity of knights had already been projected in France by Jean, Duke of Normandy, later King Jean le Bon, and his cousin Eudes, Duke of Burgundy. This was to have been a 'communion or congregation' of 200 knights under the patronage of the Virgin and St George. Although this order was approved by Pope Clement VI in a bull of 5 June 1344 which granted it important spiritual privileges, in keeping with the intense spiritual life which was envisaged for its knights, the project came to nothing. Accordingly the foundation of the Order of the Garter marks an epoch in the history of Orders of Chivalry. Its inception is probably marked by a mention in the accounts of the Wardrobe on 23 April 1348 of the purchase of twelve blue garters embroidered in silver and gold and bearing the motto HON Y SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE. The famous story of the Countess of Salisbury's

garter as the inspiration of the Order's device is now discredited, though some chivalric devotion to a mistress may lurk beneath the foundation of the Order itself. One of the most recent historians of the garter device, Dr Juliet Vale, has advanced arguments for believing that Edward adopted it for the campaign in France that began in July 1346 and ended in the victory of Crécy. But the choice of a garter as a device was surely suggested by the same sort of fancy as Alfonso's earlier choice of a baldric – it could be worn on the person, and formed a ring of unity. There may even have been a direct imitation, for Castile and England were closely linked by dynastic intermarriages. The seat of the order was at Windsor Castle, which in mediaeval tradition had been founded by King Arthur. In itself this was a proclamation of Edward's aspiration to revive the ancient glories of Arthurian chivalry, which he had already formed early in 1344 when he began the construction of a great house to be known as the House of the Round Table on the upper bailey of Windsor Castle.[10]

The foundation of the Garter spurred Jean le Bon, Edward III's great rival, and another pattern of the chivalric monarch, to set up his own Ordre de l'Etoile (Order of the Star). Established in 1351–2, shortly after he became king, its avowed purpose was the 'exaltation of chivalry and the increase of honour'. As its seat Jean appointed the Noble Maison de Saint-Ouen, between Paris and Saint-Denis, whose chapel was dedicated to St George, the patron saint of chivalry. He placed the order itself, however, under the patronage of the Virgin, and declared that it was to be composed of 500 knights, all of whom were to abjure allegiance to any other order. In fact only 150 knights were appointed. On its foundation the insignia of the order were a ring and a brooch, both of which every knight was always to wear. The Ordre de l'Etoile was imitated almost immediately by Jean's kinsman Louis of Taranto, who on Pentecost 1352 was crowned King of Naples in right of his marriage to his kinswoman Queen Giovanna I. The statutes of his Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir, dated the same day, borrow long passages from those of the Ordre de l'Etoile.[11]

These were all royal orders of chivalry. The creation of princely orders began with the foundation in 1364 of the Order of the Collar by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy. Three years later, on 1 January 1367, the Ordre de l'Ecu d'Or (Gold Shield) was instituted by Amadeus's brother-in-law, Louis II, Duc de Bourbon. Both princes were dedicated to the loftiest ideals of chivalry, religious and secular. An order whose badge was a peacock was set on foot, apparently in 1374, by Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders; the much longer-lasting Order of the Ermine, founded by Duke Jean IV of Brittany, followed in or after 1381. Between 1365 and 1395 the Zopfgesellschaft, or Order of the Tress, was established by Archduke Albrecht III of Austria (1365–95). The Order of the Tress was instituted by Albrecht in honour of the gift of one of her tresses made to him by a beautiful lady – the gift of a lock of hair was a significant favour in the game of courtly love between a chivalric mistress and

her knight. Albrecht's Order then was a romantic expression of that devotion to his lady which every true knight was supposed to feel.

By now it will have become plain that the ensign worn by the members of early orders of knighthood was not a collar, but either a badge, a motto, or else some article of dress elected by the fancy of the founder – a baldric, a garter, a neck riband. At first such ensigns were not necessarily made even partly of gold or silver, but were of cloth, plain, as in the case of the Castilian baldric, or embroidered with a special design as in the case of the badge of the Compagnie du Cigne Noir (Company of the Black Swan) founded by Amadeo VI of Savoy in 1350. The fourteen members of this brotherhood were to bear a black swan with red beak and feet on a field of silver 'And they are bound to bear it on their shield and in other fashions on the dress they shall wear, on a little shield or in some other fashion on an ensign, so that it may be manifest they are wearing it and so be manifest that they belong to the Company'.[12]

Badges of this kind continued to be worn into the fifteenth century. In 1419, for instance, Nompar II de Caumont (1391–1446) a great lord of Périgord in Southern France, resolved while on pilgrimage in Jerusalem to assume a badge which he also seems to have thought of distributing to a company of knights he had it in mind to found. As his device he chose

a baldric [*escharpe*] of azure, which is a colour signifying loyalty, in memory and token that I wish to maintain loyalty. And on this baldric is a white targe, with a red cross, the better to have in remembrance Our Lord's Passion. And also in honour and recollection of Monseigneur Saint-George, so that it may please him ever to succour me well. And at the top of the targe is written the word FERM [part of the family motto of FERM CAUMONT, expressing a resolution to maintain unswerving loyalty, faith and resistance to the foe].

Among the 'jewels' he brought back from the Holy Land were four such 'targes of St George of my device', enclosed in a little box of cypress-wood. They were worked 'in silk and silver thread'. The device of an upturned dragon which the Emperor Sigismund, distributed so liberally in the first half of the fifteenth century seems also often to have been worn embroidered as well as in precious metal. In 1438 when the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur found his goods seized by the Venetian customs, he was rescued from his predicament by seven or eight gentlemen he found walking in Piazza San Marco, 'wearing the device of the Emperor Sigismund, which I was also wearing'.[13]

The first Order certainly to have insignia entirely of gold and silver was the Ordre de l'Etoile of King Jean le Bon of France. Later it was to become the custom for the Sovereign of an Order to bestow its insignia on those he had chosen for membership – usually with a proviso that these were to remain the property of the Order and to revert to it on death. But in the circular letter he issued on 6 November 1351 inviting members to join, Jean assumes that they will provide themselves with the insignia of his new Order. These were a gold ring and

a gold brooch, and to ensure uniformity their design was carefully prescribed. On the bezel of the ring was to be enamelled a white star with a blue centre enclosing a little gold sun, on a field of red, and the brooch too was to be enamelled with a star 'of just such kind as devised for the ring'. The only contemporary representations of the device to survive are on the silver coins known as *gros blancs a l'estoille* which Jean issued in the 1350s. The star, with typical mediaeval want of fixity of design, has six, seven or eight points, and only in some versions bears a radiant sun in its centre. Traditionally the device has been explained as signifying the star of the three Magi, and indeed the first feast day of the company was to be the Epiphany. But it has also been argued that as the principal feast day of the Order was to be the Assumption of Our Lady, who was its patroness, the star is the star of her symbolic epithet Stella Maris. The radiant sun is explained as a symbol of Christ, which indeed would be appropriate to either explanation. In fact they are not really at discord, since both are Marian, and to mediaeval notions two symbolisations would be better than one.

The brooch was to be worn on the mantle either on the shoulder or on the front of the chaperon. At a feast of the Order, shown in a manuscript written for Jean's son, King Charles V, the king and the knights of the order sit at table with large stars on their mantles. The members were to wear the brooch every day and on whatever sort of dress they pleased, though for the ceremonies of the Order a special dress was of course prescribed. These were to become usual provisoes for the badges of mediaeval chivalric orders, like the instruction which Jean also imposed, that members were to wear their insignia in a conspicuous place, and in war on their *camail* or surcoat. When they died, their ring and brooch were if possible to be sent to the Noble Maison de Saint-Ouen, the seat of the Order, that is 'the best ones that they have had made for the said company, so that they may be put to the profit of their souls and the honour of the church of the Noble Maison'.[14]

Jean's own two badges and those of his brother Philippe of Orléans and of his four sons, Charles, Duke of Normandy, Louis of Anjou, Jean de Berry and Philippe of Burgundy, were made in 1351 by the royal goldsmith Jehan le Brailler. Those for the two younger sons, Jean and Philippe, were made in readiness for their reception into the Order at its first feast, at the Epiphany of 1352, when they were also to be dubbed knights. The King's badges seem to have been rich, for nine good balas-rubies costing ten écus apiece and a large pearl costing two écus were given to Le Brailler to complete the jewelling of the King's badges, and the money delivered to a certain Guillaume Vaudetar in November 1350 to buy half a mark of gold 'to make a brooch for the king' was probably intended for one of these badges. In 1359, during Jean's captivity in London, the Black Prince helped to pledge one of his gold star badges so that Jean could find money in his great necessity: it is described as set with rubies, diamonds, sapphires and great pearls.[15]

For the badges of Jean's four sons Le Brailler took ten balas-

rubies and eleven clusters of pearls, each of six pearls encircling a larger pearl, from a small gold chaplet which was part of the royal jewels. The gold star brooch of Charles, Duke of Normandy, as heir to the throne, was set with six balas-rubies and six clusters of seven pearls each; while the stars of his younger brothers Jean de Berry and Philippe of Burgundy were each set with only four balas-rubies and clusters of large pearls. Their uncle Philippe of Orléans had by contrast a brooch set with three balas and seven oriental rubies, and four clusters of three pearls each. In 1352 we find payments for repairing the Dauphin Charles's 'good star of gold' – evidently there were second-best stars for ordinary wear – including the riveting of its collets and cluster-prongs and a reburnishing of the whole. It would seem that even richer badges were made later, for the badge of the Order that belonged to Philippe of Burgundy in 1360 is described as 'a large man's brooch in the fashion of a star with large pearls, rubies, emeralds, diamonds and a large sapphire'. The two gold star brooches of one of the greatest of the royal kinsmen, Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, pledged in 1361, were both rich, though clearly one, described as the 'great brooch with a little star' was far more thickly jewelled than the other. It was set with eight rubies, fifteen large pearls, some sixteen smaller ones and four large diamonds. The smaller one was set only with six large rubies and two sapphires. With a characteristic sense of hierarchy, the badges Jean had made for his Grand Maistre de l'Ostel and five chamberlains were of silver-gilt, and this was also the case with the badges his son Charles had made for his four chamberlains. These badges constitute one of the earlier known illustrations of the established hierarchy of precious metals in the distribution of badges – gold for princes and the very great, silver-gilt for the greater officers of the household, and silver for those of lesser degree.[16]

As the badge of his Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir, founded as we have seen on the model of his kinsman's Ordre de l'Etoile, Louis of Taranto chose a knot, symbolising the fraternal love that should unite the members. According to the contemporary Florentine chronicler Matteo Villani, at the feast of the Order held at Pentecost 1353, the members all wore a *cote-hardie* of the same fashion and colour with 'a knot of Solomon on the breast'. Those 'of vainer mind', says Villani disapprovingly, enriched the *cote-hardie* and the knot with gold, silver and precious stones 'of great appearance'; while for his brother Filippo, Principe di Taranto, Louis commissioned a knot 'of great pearls of great value'. But this description as applied to the knot can only have been true of the *fermaglio* (brooch) which presumably attached the knot to the dress, for the Statutes of the Order speak of the knot being worn tied or untied as a symbolic gesture, which suggests that the knot proper was formed of a lace or cord of silk, or of gold or silver thread. Together with the motto SI DIEUX PLAIST (if pleases God) 'in very shining letters' it too was to be worn in a conspicuous place so that it could be easily recognised in combat and on the dress worn at all other times by the member. On Fridays, in

remembrance of Christ's Passion and the Holy Sepulchre, it was to be worn as a knot of white silk on a black chaperon, which was to have no ornaments of gold, precious stones or pearls. Generally the knot was to be worn tied, but in certain cases, such as victory over an enemy in combat, it was to be worn untied, until such time as the victorious knight had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, where he was to leave off wearing the untied knot, and wear a fresh one tied, with a new motto IL A PLEU A DIEU (It has pleased God) and a ray of the Holy Spirit above the knot. Strange as these prescriptions may seem, they were stoutly observed by some knights. The epitaph of Coluccio Bozzuto (d.1370) in the Duomo of Naples proudly recorded that 'he belonged to the fellowship of the Knot of the illustrious Louis, King of Sicily, which knot he victoriously untied on the field of battle, and tied up again in Jerusalem'. It seems, however, that the knights also wore as a badge a representation of the Holy Spirit, with rays beneath; it is not clear if this was embroidered on the *cote-hardie* or was worn as a jewel.[17]

It may be that Edward III was roused by the gold badge of the Ordre de l'Etoile to have gold badges of the Garter made. The earliest published mention of these occurs on 15 July 1359, when Edward, the Black Prince is recorded as having paid 50 marks for an ouch of the Garter, set with a ruby in the middle. The document implies that such brooches were already current. The Prince's brooch was relatively simple. Louis of Anjou's inventory of *c*.1365 records that he owned a brooch

> made in the fashion of a garter and enamelled blue, and written on it is: HONNY SOIT QUE MAL Y PENSE. And in the centre is a little boar standing on a green terrace, and at the side is a balas-ruby, and over its back six little diamonds. And around the boar there is also a white rose, on whose leaves there are six little shields, in the centre of which is a diamond. And the whole of the said brooch is bordered with pearls, and on it is a small shield of St George.

In 1400 the jewels of Henry IV of England included a Garter badge which had been made in all probability either for Richard II or Edward III: it is described as 'a garter of gold garnished with the motto *Hony soit qui male y pense*' and was set with five sapphires and twenty-three pearls, these last arranged in clusters. Again at his death in 1422 Henry V left 'a gold garter made of suns [*de solaielle*] garnished with little pearls', which must have been of some massiveness, for it weighed nine ounces. The sun was of course an English royal device. The absence of uniformity and the variations of device introduced into these brooches should be noted, testifying as they do to a typically mediaeval individuality, not least in the incorporation of additional devices into a fixed symbolic motif.[18]

Some fourteenth-century princes and nobles gave out gold badges to those who formed their companionship, this being, as we have seen, an intimate chivalric association without the formality of an Order. One of the earliest recorded instances of this practice is English, and dates from 1352, when Edward the

Black Prince gave out 'seven *ouches* [brooches] worked with eagles to divers knights of the prince's companionship'. In 1355 the Prince himself bought two gold brooches in the form of eagles which may have been for his own use in connection with his companionship, if they were not simply badges of his princely rank. When Louis II de Bourbon, another of the pattern chivalric princes of his age, founded his order of the Ecu d'Or (Gold Shield), consisting of some twenty nobles and knights of his household and following, at Moulins on 1 January 1367, as his New Year's gift, he gave to each a gold badge of a shield bearing a band of pearls and on it the motto, the German word ALLEN – meaning all. The Duke himself expounded its meaning – '*Allen*, that is to say, let us all go together in the service of God, and let us all be one in the defence of our own country and there wherever we may find and conquer honour by deeds of chivalry'. The symbol of Boucicault's Ordre de l'Ecu Vert à la Dame Blanche (of the Green Shield with the White Lady) was also a shield, again of gold, enamelled with a white lady on a green field. The shield was of course an obvious form for such chivalric badges, because of its symbolic appropriateness. But some more capricious symbolic device might well be chosen if the founder of an order wished to distinguish himself by singularity. As the badge of his Order of the Tress, Duke Albrecht of Austria devised a collar shaped as a naturalistic mediaeval long plait, of the sort that hung single or in pairs down the back of a mediaeval lady, curled into a collar shape. A silver-gilt collar of this kind still survives in the Landesmuseum at Graz (fig.133). Again the ensign of the Ordre du Fer de Prisonnier, founded in 1415 by Jean, Duc de Bourbon, Louis's son, was a prisoner's fetter. It was to be worn every Sunday, hanging from the left leg by a chain which was to be of gold for knights and silver for esquires. On other occasions the badge was only of humble silver: of silver, for example, were the seven peacocks that Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, distributed in 1374 to 'those whom it pleased him in the fashion of an order'.[19]

With the foundation of the Ordre du Nef (Ordine della Nave) by the young Neapolitan King Charlo III of Durazzo (1355-86) in December 1381, shortly after he had ousted his kinswoman Queen Giovanna from the throne, we find our first record of the practice of mounting additional precious stones on chivalric badges in token of the bearer's prowess in performing certain deeds which as a member of a particular chivalric order he was bound to undertake. The ensign of the Ordre du Nef was a gold ship representing at once Noah's Ark, in which mankind was saved from the Deluge, the ships in which the heroes of antiquity and later times had conquered divers lands and acquired honour and shown prowess, the Virgin Mary, in whom the Trinity and the flowering rod of Jesse reposed, and the Ship of St Peter, that is the Church, which is buffeted by so many storms and which the Prince and the members of his Order were especially bound to defend.

At first it was worn without rigging and tackle, but by

Fig. 133 Collar (collar of the Order of the Tress). Silver-gilt. Height 34 cm, width 20.5 cm. Austrian, late fourteenth century. Private collection, on loan to the Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz

performing a specified series of progressively more difficult exploits the bearer won the right to add step by step such augmentations as masts, rigging and sails. So at least the Statutes of the Order declare; according to the Florentine patrician, Lionardo Frescobaldi, who went on pilgrimage to Palestine in 1384, Carlo's intention in founding the order was to lead a crusade to the Holy Land 'and for this reason he and those who gave him their promise to accompany him used to wear as a device on the left side of the breast a ship without masts, and knights wore it of gold and the others of silver and, when the expedition was made, they were to wear it fully rigged'. Carlo's order then was evidently an open order, of a crusading type we shall be discussing more fully later, rather than a small closed order or association of knights, and the badge, as a crusading emblem, must have been quite widely distributed. Indeed, the Order of the Ship seems to have been the first order to contemplate the large-scale admission of members in their absence by election of the Prince – naturally Carlo himself – who also had

the right to send to any king, prince, duke or great nobleman 'the order and device' of the Ship, and was entitled to admit any knight to membership, again by despatch of the device. He could also issue a licence to any king, prince, duke or great nobleman to admit into the order in the name of the Prince a fixed number of knights as specified in the licence. These features were to be imitated elsewhere in later times, both by new crusading orders and in the distribution of royal collars of device.[20]

The practice of adding honours to a badge evidently had a certain currency. The Order of the Tiercelet, an association of eighteen knights of Poitou formed between 1377 and 1385, had as its badge a male falcon (*tiercelet*) with feet and claws of azure. Any knight who went on a crusade (*reize*) to Prussia, or who fought in a battle or siege under the King of France or his lieutenant or fought in battle for one of the lords of the region could bear a male falcon with feet, claws and one or both dew-claws of gold according to the success of the enterprise. This regulation suggests that the badge was generally either painted or embroidered, though certainly it would be possible to enamel a gold badge blue. In the early fifteenth century a Count of Foix in Southern France, almost certainly Jean I de Grailly (r. 1412–36) a known enthusiast for chivalry, established an order whose device was a gold dragon. Like Albrecht of Austria's Order of the Tress, it was romantically linked by its founder to the cult of the mistress as the inspirer of chivalry in the knight who serves her.

> I, Count of Foix [runs the first statute] make it known that I have been commanded by her whom I neither can nor desire to disregard that I should bear upon myself the device of a dragon of gold as my device in arms, and she likewise desires that I give it to wear to a certain number of ladies and maidens, of knights and squires. On the which dragon a pearl is set on the highest part of its left wing, and thereupon follow nine empty places, in which several other stones may be set, and every man who shall bear the said device may in due time and place fill by his good fortune and travail the said places one after the other with the said stones, each in its chapter, as followeth hereafter, and this to accompany and do honour to the said pearl.

Then follow the deeds that were to be done, the stones that were to honour the accomplishment of each particular one and their placing in a hierarchy of honour. Knights and squires were to joust under certain conditions and, if they jousted successfully, could set a diamond 'in the place that is separate from the other places, and after them'. If they fought in single combat in a closed field, they could set a ruby in the topmost place of the left wing, next to the pearl and, if they also fought as one of a number of gentlemen, they could set another ruby in the place below. To set an emerald in the next highest place, they must have fought in a sea battle: combat in a land battle allowed them to add a second emerald beneath. Fighting against the Saracens earned them the right to set a sapphire in the next

place below and they could add a second sapphire underneath by going on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. If they took part in an assault on a fortified place, they were entitled to set a turquoise in the next place, and to fill the last of all must take part in an encounter of war against one or more men. For the women members the rules for adding the nine precious stones were less strenuous:

> The said ladies and maidens shall be bound to wear the said dragon for a year in such fashion as they have received it, and at the end of the year may fill the places of the said stones, in the same manner as the knights and squires shall do on accomplishing these exploits in arms and journeys.[21]

Even after the gift of a collar became the general form of bestowing membership of a chivalric order, a badge, as the real ensign of the order, was invariably incorporated with the collar, always as a pendant and sometimes in the form of plaques or links shaped to the form of its device. One of the greatest of mediaeval chivalric orders, the Garter, never acquired a collar at all until the end of the Middle Ages and a badge was for long its sole emblem. It must be said in this connection that at his death in 1398 John of Gaunt owned a salt decorated with a garter and a collar, but almost certainly this collar was his livery collar of SS. Accordingly there seems no ground for disturbing the accepted view that the knights of the Garter only began to wear collars about 1500 under King Henry VII (r.1485–1509). The first chivalric order to wear a collar as an ensign was the Ordine del Collare of Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy, founded in January 1364. But this we know to be a special case: here the collar was the badge of the order, just as a band or scarf worn diagonally was the badge of Alfonso XI's Orden de la Banda and a garter of Edward III's Order of the Garter. And we have seen that these collars were not collars of precious metal at all – at any rate on the foundation of the Order. Indeed just as the notion of the Banda (baldric) may have suggested the fancy of the Garter to Edward III, so the Garter probably suggested to Amadeo the idea of the Collar. Amadeo's collars were in fact as already stated riband collars with fittings in precious metal. They were given special significance by his device, three love-knots in a single ring, worn suspended by an oval ring from the collar and perhaps symbolising the Trinity, perhaps too the indissoluble unity of the fraternity of knights. The meaning of the motto FERT, which often accompanies early representations of the collar, has never been penetrated.[22]

It seems then that the first or one of the first orders to be given as its ensign a true collar of precious metal, with the device attached as a pendant, was the Ordre de l'Hermine (Order of the Ermine) founded by Jean IV, Duke of Brittany, in 1381. His chronicler, Guillaume de Saint-André, says that after Jean's recovery of Nantes in that year he summoned an assembly of the abbots and clergy of the Duchy and of all his barons, knights and squires. The secular nobles were all wearing new collars

of very fair ornament and of fair fashion too. Their device was a new one of two fair burnished rolls coupled together by two clasps, and below was an Ermine, finely figured and finely coloured. On two scrolls was written A MA VIE . . . one motto was white, the other black.

The motifs were simply an extension of the armorial bearings of the dukes of Brittany, who bore white and black ermines on their shield, together with the motto A MA VIE which Jean's father had taken on landing in Brittany in 1341 to assert his right to the duchy. Guillaume's is a strictly contemporary testimony, for he completed his verse chronicle of the duke in 1382 or shortly afterwards. Duke Jean had been brought up at the court of Edward III of England but, more important still, was in prolonged contact with John of Gaunt and his household during the years when John was in command of the English force sent in 1373 and again in 1378 to aid Jean in his campaigns to recover Brittany from the French and from the party of Charles de Blois. Accordingly he had ample opportunity to see John of Gaunt's retainers wearing their livery collar of SS, and this in turn may have given him the notion of bestowing collars of his own devising on his barons, knights and squires at the assembly of Nantes, when his opponents had finally been defeated.

Certainly English influence is the likeliest explanation of why Duke Jean should be one of the earliest continental princes to use collars with a badge as his device. For, taken literally, Guillaume de Saint-André's words do not imply that he founded an order in the strict sense but rather that his nobles and knights wore a collar as a symbol of allegiance – rather in fact, as the Lancastrian kings were later to make their nobles and knights wear the collar of SS as a symbol of allegiance after they had seized the English throne. If so Jean must have transformed the collar and badge into the ensign of an Order between 1381 and his death in 1399, for his son Jean V in an *ordonnance* of 1437, declares:

> our redoubted lord and father . . . ordained and made an Order of his collar, on the reception of which collar those from whom our said lord and father took the oath were bound by oath to come on the feast of St Michael of Monte Gargano to our Chapel of St Michael the Field [Saint Michel du Champ] near Auray.

This was founded to celebrate Jean IV's victory there in 1364, and they were to attend the celebration of masses for dead members. He also says that the heirs of deceased members had to give their two collars to the dean and chaplains of the chapel to be converted into chalices and church ornaments. On his destroyed tomb of c.1400 in the cathedral of Nantes (fig.134), the work of English alabaster carvers, Jean IV was shown wearing a riband collar decorated with ermines which closely resembled the English collar as worn by Sir John Swinford on his effigy of c.1370. This would seem to have been the collar of his Order.

The Ordre de l'Hermine was one of a number that admitted ladies, called *chevaleresses*, as well as men. In 1445, for instance,

Duke François I paid Jehan Pigeon, a goldsmith of Nantes, 'for a gold collar for a lady, of the fashion of my said lord's Order, that my said lord caused him to make, and took into his own hands to do with it according to his pleasure', in this again resembling Lancastrian usage, for the collar of SS was not exclusive to men, but was also bestowed on women. As in other Orders and in the distribution of retainers' badges and livery collars the usual practice was to distinguish among the recipients of collars of the Ermine by giving them collars of gold, silver-gilt, or silver, according to their rank. The duke's own collar was of course of gold. The design of mediaeval chivalric collars did not always invariably observe the pattern of the original device, but might occasionally be varied according to fancy or in order to introduce new devices. In a document of 1414–24 Jean V's gold collar is very different from the collar worn by the Breton nobles in 1381 which again differs from the collar as shown on Jean IV's tomb. It is described as composed of eight ermines attached to two chains which had a pendant at the front and back, also set with an ermine, with a crown above. The ermines all had little gold chains with pendant pearls hanging round their necks and the ermines on the collar proper were also set with balas-rubies, sapphires and pearls. The front pendant was set with a large fair balas-ruby in the middle and seven large pearls. The ermine surmounted the balas-ruby: it was enamelled white, and its pendant chain was decorated with letters – presumably the motto A MA VIE – as well as fourteen pearls. The ermine itself was set with a large sapphire, and the crown above it was also jewelled, notably with a large diamond. The pendant behind was of a similar design of a crowned ermine, but was set with a large sapphire instead of a ruby, while a 'large and fair' balas-ruby was suspended from the chain worn by the ermine. This design, however, seems to have remained reasonably fixed for the rest of the century, as gold collars made in 1472 and 1476 more or less repeated it.[23]

Another early collar instituted by a great French nobleman was the collar worn by Enguerrand VII de Coucy, Count of Soissons (*c*.1340–97), who was of princely birth and connections and in his time a pattern of chivalry. Here again we can point to significant links with the English court, for after being taken prisoner at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 Enguerrand was taken to London, where Edward III in 1365 married him to his daughter Isabelle. He was thus in the very closest association with the English court and its usages until his return to France in 1368. The first reference to his collar occurs in 1383 and indicates that it was then worn as a livery badge and that in form it was a crown – a crown was Enguerrand's device. The reference appears in a French royal letter of remission which speaks of 'a crown of silver-gilt of the value of about 5 francs, which was of the same fashion as those which our very dear and beloved cousin the Sieur de Coucy and his men wear about their necks'. Subsequently, much as Jean of Brittany seems to have done, Enguerrand converted this livery badge into the
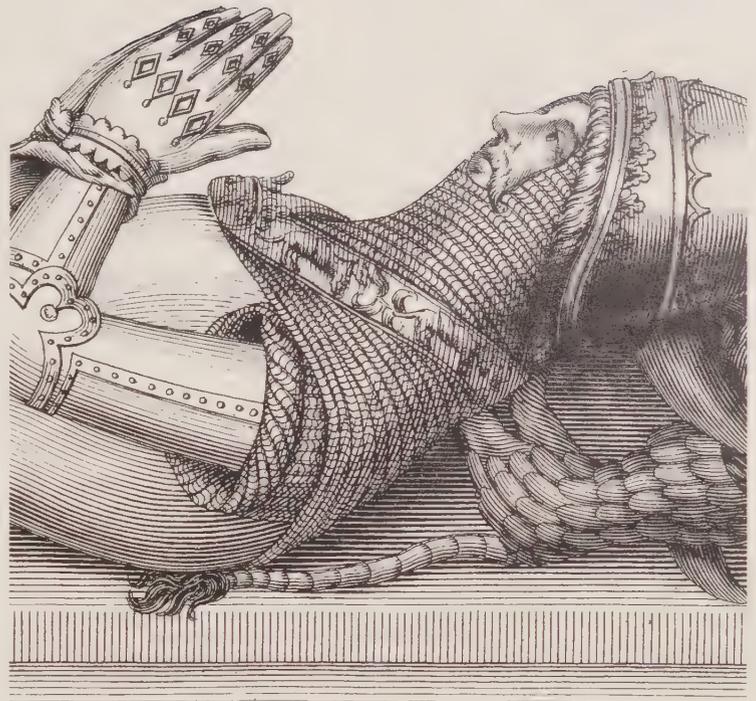


Fig. 134 Effigy of Jean IV of Brittany, formerly Nantes Cathedral. English, *c*.1400. Illustration from Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne* I, 1707

device of a chivalric order, founding at some date before 1390 an Ordre de la Couronne for knights and squires and ladies and gentlewomen.[24]

The earliest collars of orders were either a riband collar, perhaps with a pendant device, as in the case of the Ordine del Collare of Amadeo VI of Savoy, or a riband collar with devices affixed to it, as in the case of Jean IV's Ordre de L'Hermine, at any rate on the order's collar as represented on his tomb, or a badge worn from a riband collar, as in the case of Enguerrand de Coucy's order. The fancy of various founders of orders exercised itself in variations on the themes of collar and of badge. At least two orders, the Zopfgesellschaft of Albrecht of Austria and the Castilian Orden de la Escama, never acquired so far as we know a pendant badge, but used a distinctive form of collar as their ensign. We have seen the romantic chivalrousness of device with which Albrecht III of Austria gave the collar of his order the form of the lady's tress from which it took its name. It seems too that the Orden de la Escama of King Juan II of Castile (1405–54), founded at some date before 1430, had no pendant device. This is certainly so if a collar described in the 1468 inventory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy was, as seems likely, a collar of this Order: 'A broad collar, worked in the fashion of scales, garnished with six table-cut balas-rubies, and fourteen empty settings in which there used to be stones'. In these the design of the collar is itself the badge, and in collars of device and livery collars this to some extent always remained the case.[25]

Nevertheless collars fashioned of links shaped to figure a device or riband collars with a badge or device hanging from them were destined to become the usual insignia of a chivalric order. Thus on the feast day of St James – the patron saint of Spain – in 1390 King Juan I of Castile solemnly proclaimed in the cathedral of Segovia his foundation of an Order of the Holy Ghost whose device was to be a collar 'in the fashion of sun-rays with a white dove on the said collar which was a representation of the Holy Spirit'. The sun-rays were symbolic of the spiritual light and grace given by the Holy Spirit. He first displayed a book of the Order's statutes, then took up collars of the new order from the high altar, and gave them to certain of his knights. For his squires, who were still new to jousting and the other exercises of chivalry he provided another device 'which they called the Rose, and those that wanted to prove their bodily strength in jousting or in other ways, were to wear it'. As Juan died a few days later, neither order nor device had more than a very short life. Indeed many of these early orders or companies of knights were very short-lived – some were intentionally so, like the Ordre du Fer de Prisonnier of Jean, Duc de Bourbon, which was only to last for two years, or Boucicault's Ordre de l'Ecu Vert which was to last only for five. Others like the Ordre de L'Etoile of Jean le Bon, the Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir of Louis of Anjou, Albrecht III's Zopfgesellschaft and Juan I's Order of the Holy Ghost, were so intimately linked with the personal life or chivalric ideals of the founder that they expired either with him or in a few decades after his death.[26]

Yet some orders by contrast survived and became dynastic. This was the case with the Orden de la Banda, which only petered out in the mid-fifteenth century under Enrique IV of Castile, who distributed it too lavishly. Even more emphatically has it been the case with the Order of the Garter, which still flourishes in our own day. Other princely orders also survived their creators. Thus the Order of the Porcupine (*porc-épic*) founded by Louis, Duke of Orléans, brother of Charles VI of France, in 1394 was maintained by his son Charles. It was some time before Louis's relations and great rivals, the dukes of Burgundy, were able to found a stable order. Philippe instituted one on New Year's Day 1403. Its name is unknown to us, but its device was a tree of gold between two beasts, an eagle and a lion, enamelled white, with a blue crescent-shaped sapphire below, and at the base the motto EN LOYAULTE enamelled in letters of *rouge cler* on a scroll above a leaf enamelled red and blue. To ladies he distributed this device as a brooch, to men as a collar and pendant. Unlike the strict and exclusive Order of the Toison d'Or founded by his grandson Philippe le Bon this order seems to have been envisaged by the duke as a loose fellowship of relatives and intimate courtiers, according to a common late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century model to which we shall be returning in a moment. This would explain why he gave out its ensigns to his children and to their wives and husbands, to his ward, the young Duke Jean of Brittany, to

his chamberlains Guillaume de la Trémoille and Régnier Pot, to the Grand Maître d'Hotel of his nephew King Charles VI and to a number of knights and squires who had come to wish him a Happy New Year. The expenses of the order were too much for the ruinous state of his finances, for shortly afterwards he was obliged to return his own collar to its maker because he could not pay for the gold and fashioning. Any revival of it was halted by his death in 1404, and it was not until 1430 that the Toison d'Or consolidated the chivalric frame of the court of Burgundy and became the grandest and longest-lived of all continental Orders of Chivalry.[27]

We have said that the collars of princely orders generally incorporated devices. Sometimes these were simply composed of what may be called the armorial device of the prince, like the ermine of Brittany. The collar of the Golden Fleece, by contrast, was composed of a personal device which was assumed by Philippe the Good, shortly after his succession to the Duchy in 1419, some ten years before his foundation of the order. It took the form of a flint striking sparks from a stone. According to the official Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastellain, this device was the duke's own unaided invention, taken in order to signify his intention of continuing the policies of his father Jean sans Peur, but striking harder and more sharply. Philippe himself describes the collar of the Golden Fleece in the Statutes he published for the Order in 1431 as 'a gold collar of our device, that is, of pieces in the fashion of flints touching stones from which fly burning sparks, and at the end of the said collar hangs the semblance of a Golden Fleece'.

One of Jean sans Peur's knightly exploits as a young man had been his ill-fated crusading expedition of 1396 to assist Sigismund of Hungary against the Turks, and Philippe cherished throughout his life the dream of leading a successful crusade which would drive back the Turks, recover the Holy Places and realise his father's aspiration. This was certainly a principal motive in the foundation of the Toison d'Or. The choice of a Golden Fleece as the device of its badge was originally inspired by the story of Jason, who had led an expedition of chosen heroes, the Argonauts, to the kingdom of Colchis at the eastern end of the Black Sea and won the Golden Fleece. No doubt this 'poetry of Jason' as the Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche calls it, seemed to Philippe a very inspiring precedent for a modern chivalric order dedicated to a crusade, with its example of a glorious prize won in the East by a bold leader and his small band of chosen followers. But in the eyes of the Church Jason's subsequent behaviour to Medea made him a most improper choice and the chancellor of the order, Jean Germain, Bishop of Orléans, was soon adducing this as a weighty reason why the Golden Fleece should be regarded not as Jason's Fleece but as the Biblical Golden Fleece of Gideon. After the death of Philippe, this interpretation of the imagery of the Fleece was ultimately to prevail.[28]

On its foundation on 10 January 1430 the Order had only twenty-four members, increased shortly afterwards to thirty-

one, including the duke as its Sovereign. Its declared purpose was to maintain and augment the noble estate and order of chivalry in order to defend the faith of Holy Church and the tranquillity and prosperity of the state. From the beginning it was very exclusive in spirit: all its members had to give up fellowship of any other order, whether established by a prince or as a company or confraternity of knights. Only emperors, kings and dukes were allowed a limited exemption from this rule: they might each wear the insignia of their own order, and in return the Duke of Burgundy was allowed to wear the same insignia 'in demonstration of true and fraternal love one to the other and for the good that may arise therefrom'. In order to give the order an ensign by which its members could be recognised, the duke undertook in the Statutes of 1431 to bestow a gold collar of the device already described to each of its members. The first twenty-five collars, including his own, were made by Jehan Pentin, a court goldsmith of Bruges, in fact in silver, and not in gold.[29] These collars were to remain the property of the Order, and to return to it after the death of the bearer. The Sovereign and his knights were bound to wear it openly every day round their necks on pain of a mass and a small fine, except under arms, when it was enough to wear the Fleece itself without the collar, if so desired. It was also lawful not to wear the collar while it was being repaired. As with the Orden de la Banda, in order to maintain fraternal equality the knights of the Order were not to have it enriched with precious stones or any other form of ornament and upon no occasion whatsoever might they give, sell or pledge it. If a knight lost his collar in war, the Sovereign was obliged to provide him with another but, should he lose it in any other fashion, he must have a replacement made at his own expense within four months.

The prestige of the Order, secured partly by its exclusiveness, partly by the glamour of the Burgundian court as a pattern of the cult of chivalry, made its Statutes something of a model in fifteenth-century Europe. By their insistence on the daily wearing of a collar they probably did much to make collars the recognised marks of membership of an Order, though the badge in the form of a pendant long retained its primary significance – as we have seen it was the pendant device of a Golden Fleece that declared the chivalric purpose of the Order of the Toison d'Or, not the device of the collar proper, which simply associated the order with Duke Philippe, its founder, and itself was really no more than a collar of his device.

Other collars, by contrast, were specially devised to have a symbolism reflecting the purposes of the Order they figured. This was particularly the case with orders whose primary purpose was devotional. The earliest of these appears to be the Aragonese Orden del Grifo (Order of the Griffin), also known as the Orden de la Jarra (Order of the Lily-Pot), and as the Orden de la Banda (Order of the Baldric). It was formally founded on 15 August 1403 by Don Fernando of Castile, the uncle and guardian of King Juan II. At first it was a personal

order, for only after Fernando's election in 1412 as King of Aragon did it become a royal Aragonese order. The date of its foundation, the Feast of the Assumption, was deliberately chosen, for the purpose of the Order was to exalt the Virgin Mary. The proem of the statutes recites that it pertains to kings and princes, far more than the vulgar, to do great deeds in God's service, but since no one fights well enough to please God, it is necessary to pray to the most pitiful Virgin for her aid. Accordingly Fernando has elected her as his singular patroness and, in memory of her blessed Annunciation, he now receives as an ensign of it a 'collar of the Pots of her Annunciation'. By pots Fernando means the emblematic jar or vase containing a lily or lilies as symbols of the Virgin's purity so familiar from mediaeval pictures of the Annunciation. From the collar hung the Order's pendant badge of a griffin, chosen for 'its mystic signification': as the griffin is stronger than all other animals, 'so must the men who are ensigned with this sign be found strong and firm in the love of God and of the Virgin Mary and also in all works of Chivalry'. The collar was composed of links of two-handled jars containing lilies (fig.135), the griffin had two white wings and, if any knight who bore it

Fig. 135  Effigy of Gomez Manrique from the Monastery of Fresdeval (detail). Spanish, c.1425–50. Museo de Burgos, Burgos, Spain

came off victor in any fair encounter, he was allowed to gild the rear wing and, on coming off victor in a second chivalric combat, he might also gild the front one. These provisoes of the statutes were clearly inspired by a tradition dating back through a number of private chivalric orders to Louis of Anjou's Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir, and Charles of Durazzo's Ordre du Nef.[30]

Although the emphasis of its statutes is on deeds of chivalry to be performed by men, women too were admitted, as seems quite often to have been the case with early orders of chivalry that were not intended for some specific warlike enterprise, such as a crusade, or as a small close sworn brotherhood of loyal knights. All who belonged to the order were obliged to hear sung vespers on the vigil of the Feast of the Assumption and sung mass on the feast day itself: on which day they must also feed five poor persons at their table for the love of God and the Virgin. From the vigil until the end of the feast men must dress in white – the colour of spotless purity – and wear 'this ensign of jars', though their dress might have coloured embroideries or ornaments. Women might wear whatever colour they chose. All men who accepted the ensign must swear to wear it throughout their lives: women were to wear it while maidens or married women, but if widowed need do so only if they chose. Members were also to wear it every Saturday, but instead of a complete white dress could wear a baldric or sash of three fingers' breadth, with no ornament save of pearls or of white stones or of anything else that was white, though the borders beyond the three fingers' width could be of another colour.

Having received the order himself Fernando gave it to his wife, the Infanta Leonor Urraca, to his elder son Alfonso, and to his younger son Juan, 'and to many other knights and ladies who were present', and granted licence to Alfonso to continue to distribute it after his death, and to his heirs in primogeniture in perpetuity. Alfonso exercised this right throughout his lifetime: between 1413 and 1424 he ordered eight lily jars to be taken from a silver-gilt collar of nine jars and nine trefoil leaves and given 'to divers knights who were taking his device'. And in 1457, when he was King of Naples, we find him bestowing 'our device, that is a white baldric with a little jar' which 'in honour of the Virgin Mary it is our custom to wear each Saturday and on her feast days' on Lucrecia Dezsoler, the daughter of one of his councillors. Before 1417, when he gave it away, Alfonso had for his own wear a gold collar of the Lily Pot device, which seems to have taken the ascendant over the griffin, perhaps because it was more easily incorporated into collars. This splendid collar was composed of forty-two plaques, each bearing two pots decorated in the middle with rosettes enamelled white, with gold lilies issuing from them, while other lilies enamelled white and green were set above. From each plaque dangled a leaf of burnished gold as a pendant.[31]

Such an order composed of knights and ladies sworn to do the Virgin honour was in some ways a chivalric version of a religious confraternity. Another order of the same kind, again really a religious confraternity of knights and ladies was the Order of the Swan, founded on 29 September 1440 in honour of the Virgin by the Elector Frederick II of Brandenburg. The collar, as might be expected of fifteenth-century Germany, was far more intense and expressive in its pious symbolism than the chivalric homage to the Virgin figured by the collar of the Orden del Grifo. Its links were each composed of a red heart fixed in a *premtze* (press) or saw-shaped instrument of torture. A medallion of the Virgin was suspended from the clasp above the badge of a swan which formed the pendant proper. The heart in the press figured our need to constrain our saucy hearts, our self-will and our lustfulness, to humble them beneath God's hand and to chastise them into true repentance, confession and penance. For the order imposed devotional obligations on the prince and the thirty knights and seven ladies who were to compose its membership. Each day they had to recite seven Paters and seven Aves in honour of Our Lady, or else to give seven pfennigs to the poor. They were also to prepare themselves by fasting before each of the Virgin's feast days, and to meet together on the feast of Quattuor Tempora to commemorate the dead members of the Company. The collars were to be worn at court, at assemblies of gentlemen or of the *Länder*, at festivals, at all meetings of the Chapter of the Order, on all the feast days of the Virgin and every Saturday. A fifteenth-century silver collar of the Order (fig.136) still survived before the war in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin, and there is a portrait of a lady member of the Order wearing its collar in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (fig.137).[32]

The Danish Order of the Elephant was founded by King Christian I in 1474 or 1478: he gave his brother-in-law, James III of Scotland, a collar of the order which is described in 1488 as 'a collar of gold maid with eliphantis and a grete hingar [pendant] at it'. The knights of the French order of St Michael, founded by Louis XI in 1469, wore a gold collar given them by the king. In a miniature from the statutes of the order, Louis is shown surrounded by his knights with the collar represented beneath (fig.138). It was composed of scallop-shells linked to each other by a double lace and fixed on little chains or on chainwork of gold. From it hung a pendant of a rock bearing a gold figure of St Michael. In imitation of the Order of the Golden Fleece Louis bound himself and his successors and all the knights to wear the collar every day 'in open display' under pain of a mass and a small fine. Only when in armour were they allowed to wear the pendant alone, suspended from a slender gold chain or a silk lace. But, whereas the dukes of Burgundy objected to the wearing of the Golden Fleece from a lace except in armour, a dispensation was allowed by Louis for those occasions when 'the Sovereign, or any of the knights shall be riding in the country or be privately in their own houses, or hunting, or in other places where they shall be no company or assembly or persons of estate'. The rock of the pendant symbolised Mont Saint-Michel, from which the archangel, so it was believed,

Fig. 136 Collar (collar of the Brandenburg Order of the Swan). Silver. Length *c*.90cm. German, *c*.1453. Destroyed, illustration from Steingräber, 1957, fig. 100



Fig. 137 Unknown portrait by Sebald Bopp. Oil on panel. German, *c*.1460. Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, Lugano, Switzerland

had ever protected the kingdom of France. Such regulations, insisting on public display of the badge or collar of an order in order to proclaim pride in one's membership of a dedicated fraternity, became common; probably they were almost always enacted in imitation of the ordinances of the Golden Fleece.[33]

The Garter, as we already know, only acquired a collar in the 1490s under Henry VII. It was about this time that a mounted figure of St George, the order's patron from its foundation, seems to have first become its pendant, perhaps in imitation of the King of France's St Michael. The Archduke

Philip the Fair was given both a George and a Garter badge by Henry VII at Windsor in 1502. The badge, which weighed rather more than six ounces, is described as the

Garter of England, of gold, garnished with eight diamonds, shields, lozenges and tables, of which one exceeds the other in size, and around each diamond are four pearls, and on the knot of the garter are two large shield diamonds and two ruby cabochon stones [*cailloux:* lit pebbles] and below the said knot a fleur-de-lis of five small table diamonds and around the said Garter is written *onny soit qui mal y pense*.

Fig. 138 Miniature of Louis XI with the knights of the Ordre de Saint-Michel. From the Statutes of the Order (MS Français 19819, fol. 1). Parchment. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Fig. 138a Detail

The George is described as 'a gold St George on horseback, garnished with thirteen diamonds, and under his lance, with a large pearl and having beneath him a dragon'. Both were returned to Henry VII after Philip's death in 1506 by order of his father the Emperor Maximilian. But perhaps by then the George was already assuming its present importance, for there are records of payments to John Shaa, Henry VII's goldsmith in 1501 and 1503 for Georges 'of diamonds'. And on 14 January 1504 Prince Henry received from the Keeper of the Jewels a 'George on a white horse' and a George to be worn hung from a little gold chain. The envoy sent to confer the Garter on Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino in 1503 was given strict commands to hang the pendant of the George personally round his neck.

We know something of the appearance of early collars of the Garter from records. A copy of the order's statutes drawn up for the Archduke Charles, later the Emperor Charles V, gives an ordinance for wearing the collar, which it describes as 'a gold collar coupled together by several links in fashion of garters with a vermilion rose, and the image of St George hung thereat'. And in 1509 John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, left his cousin his 'coler of Garters and red roses of Gold'. Such collars were evidently devised by combining the Order's traditional badge of a garter with the Lancastrian red rose which was the device of the Tudors. Later in 1522 Henry VIII was to ordain that in future the form of the collar was to be of gold

> made by pieces in fashion of Garters, in the myddes of which Garters shall be a double Rose, the one Rose of Red, and the other within White, and the other Rose White and the other Rose within Rede. And at the ende of the said Collar shall be put and fastened the Ymage of Saynt-George.

Again the Sovereign and knights were bound to wear the collar often, but especially 'in principall and solempne Feastes of the yere'. On other days they could wear the pendant George from a little gold chain, and in war were allowed to suspend it simply from a silk lace. From all this it is plain that the stately collars we see in fifteenth-century portraits are the 'great' or 'rich' collars generally worn only on special occasions.[34]

From the first half of the fifteenth century collars of chivalric orders almost always came equipped with pendants in the form of the device of the order. Thus in 1441 Charles, Duke of Orléans, paid for a new gold collar of his own order, having given his old one to his son Gilles, and for a Golden Fleece to hang from his collar of this order, having lost the previous one. Again in 1483 Queen Charlotte de Savoie of France had a chain or collar of the French royal order of St Michael, with a pendant of St Michael. In 1505 Philip of Flanders, husband of Juana, Queen of Castile, gave Prince Henry of Windsor (later Henry VIII) a gold collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in addition a thin gold chain with two pendants of the Golden Fleece for wear on occasions of lesser splendour. And the prince had a gold collar of his own order, the Garter, with twenty-two links shaped as garters and 'twenty-two laces' and a 'George on horseback'.[35]

Intermediate between the livery collar, given out by a prince or lord to his retainers, and the collar of a chivalric order, defined as a strictly limited fraternity of knights who met for the holding of chapters and other ceremonies, we find another kind of collar which was really a form of the royal or feudal device. At times these intermediate collars seem to approach more nearly to the nature of the livery collar, at others to that of the collar of a chivalric order. Mediaeval usage often eludes strict definition, so loose and flexible was it and our distinctions between the livery collar and the chivalric collar would certainly have been too rigid for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as would have been our distinctions among various kinds of orders. Thus Jean V, Duke of Brittany, owned c.1414 an English collar of SS described as 'a collar of SS of the king of England's order, and on it are sixteen SS enamelled with the motto A MA VIE and two bars at the ends, garnished with a balas-ruby'. Nor are mediaeval authorities of much help in clarifying the distinctions among various kinds of collar and order. Nicholas Upton (1400?–57), an English cleric who wrote a treatise on heraldry in 1442–4, assumes, incorrectly, that the Kings of France and Cyprus and the Emperor Sigismund also had livery collars and gave them on the same principle as the English kings.

> In England [he writes] whenever the Lord King ennobles anyone, it is his custom to give with the fief . . . a badge, that is, his livery to the newly ennobled man, the which livery is a collar with the letters S made of gold or silver. The King of France gives as his badge or livery a collar made of broom-cods likewise of gold or silver. The King of Cyprus too used to give as his badge or livery a gold or silver sword according as seemed fitting. So too the King of the Romans used to give his lieges as his badge a dragon, from whose back rises a cross fleury likewise of gold or silver. And the King of Scotland used to give as his badge or device a collar of horse-bridles of gold or silver, and so with the other kings of the world.[1]

Upton was no doubt misled by his familiarity with English custom into supposing that other royal collars were bestowed in the same manner and for the same reasons as the English livery collar of SS. What seems in fact to have happened is that devices, once distributed as badges, from the 1380s came more and more to be distributed to important personages in the form of pendants or of collars with badges pendant from them. An Italian miniature from a Book of Hours of c.1380 shows a kneeling nobleman wearing a device of a radiant sun from a thick cord, no doubt of rich threads, which hung round his neck. Some of the earliest records of this custom are from the courts of Navarre and Aragon, which is perhaps not surprising in view of the traditional importance of the collar in mediaeval Spain. The collar with a pendant device was already in use at the court of Navarre by 1381, when the French goldsmith Jean Boneau made two collars of silver which were given to Jaquenin Loys, *varlet de cámara* to King Charles the Bad, in return for two taken from him by the King to give to others who wore his device. In 1398 Jean made collars with the royal device of Charles's son Charles the Noble for twenty-one men at arms, while in 1406 another goldsmith, Saul Acaya, was paid for little silver studs he had made for a riband from which the King's device was suspended that belonged to Charles's bastard Godofre. Here we have collars apparently approximating to the English livery collar, but in 1397, at the very same time, another court goldsmith, Juan Garvain the younger, was busy making collars with the royal device to be given away in France and elsewhere, so that we find such collars serving simultaneously as collars of device.[2]

Letters exchanged in the late 1380s and early 1390s between Joan I of Aragon and Charles VI of France illustrate this international currency of devices, their chivalric significance and their importance as symbols of friendship, kinship, alliance or allegiance. On 12 June 1388 Joan wrote to Charles:

> Concerning your device of the Flying Stag [*cerf-volant*], we are agreeable, most dear brother, that it should be sent by you, for we shall willingly wear it for love of you. Certifying you, most dear brother, that since you are pleased to wear our device, we shall have it presently made and sent to you, so that you may wear it for love of us.

Joan's own device was an eagle, and in November 1387 Joan ordered an eagle of gold to be made for one of the sons of King Juan I of Castile, who was about to attend his coronation at Zaragoza. By January 1393 he had abandoned the device of the eagle (and also one called the *senyal*, if this was not the same as the eagle device) and was assuming that of a double crown, probably representing the union of the crowns of Aragon and Sicily. On New Year's Day in that year he wrote again to Charles VI:

> Most dear brother, we have left off the device of the *senyal* and we now bear the double crown. Accordingly you and all those about you that bear the *senyal*, leave it off, and bear henceforward the said device of the double crown. All this our chamberlain will explain more fully.

The custom of distributing pendants and badges of gold and

silver figuring a royal device to family and favoured adherents, so creating a close association of supporters was, as we have seen, already well-established by 1393, when Joan wrote to his brother Martín, later King Martín I of Aragon:

> by the hand of the said nobleman we send you the form of the device of the crown, and how it should be given in silver-gilt to knights and to squires in white silver. For it is our pleasure that the said device be borne by your son and the others who belong to our device of the *senyal*.

Joan seems to have insisted on his devices being worn from a collar, for in the mid-1390s he reproved his son-in-law Mathieu, Count of Foix for wearing his new device of the double crown as a bracelet, and not round his neck as he ought to do. This particular device was also worn by Martín's son, also named Martín, who became King of Sicily in 1397, for on 23 June 1399 the royal goldsmith Magister Georgio Carraf of Catania was paid for making in gold 'a certain device of two crowns which our lord the King wears round his neck for a device'. The device of a double crown was worn as or from a collar by Mary of Sicily (d.1399), Queen of Martín I of Aragon; this collar was inventoried in 1408 as 'a gold collar of double crowns with gold links and with enamelled flowers on the part above'. It was also adopted by Yolande (or Violante) of Aragon (1381–1442), the eldest daughter of Joan I who married Louis II of Anjou in 1400, perhaps in support of her claim, advanced in 1410 on the death of her uncle Martín I, to be the rightful heiress of Aragon and Sicily, though she is also said to have used it while still an unmarried princess in the 1390s and to have given it to many ladies of her court. Martín himself left on his death in 1410 two *sinyells* or devices of silver-gilt 'in the fashion of long buttons' each hung on a cord of silk.[3]

It was the custom then for kings and princes on assuming a device to cause their close relatives and their intimate courtiers to wear it likewise, and to offer it to their allies. Hence the appearance which such badges or collars of device gave at first sight of being the insignia of a small closed order. But such badges could also be distributed more widely as a kind of largesse. In 1398, for instance, Louis of Orléans bought twenty wolves of enamelled gold – a wolf was one of his devices – to be distributed among the knights and squires of the Emperor Wenceslaus. Clearly gifts of this kind were meant as honorific tokens of largesse, and were made to procure reputation and goodwill, without establishing the same tight band of allegiance as a membership of a true chivalric order. Obligations of adherence and loyalty were nevertheless imposed by acceptance; and knights who for some reason or other felt they ought not to bind themselves to a particular prince would refuse to accept his order, or return it if they felt obliged to change allegiance. Thus in 1378 Enguerrand de Coucy returned the Garter to Richard II. And in 1413, when Erik of Pomerania, King of Denmark, offered the Burgundian nobleman Guillebert de Lannoy his order 'as courteously as I could I refused it because he was at that time an enemy of the lords of Prussia', that is the

Teutonic knights, in whose crusade of 1413 against the pagan Lithuanians Guillebert had just enlisted.[4]

In defining what the Middle Ages meant by an order it must be remembered that by no means all mediaeval orders were narrowly exclusive in spirit. Certainly some of the first royal and princely chivalric orders were strictly limited bodies, formed of a very small band of intimate courtiers and friends of the prince. Typical of the small closed order are the Garter (1348) with twenty-eight members, the Ordine del Collare (1364) with fifteen members and the Toison d'Or (1430) with twenty-four members, later raised to thirty-one. Other orders entertained a much larger, though still normally fixed membership, like the Ordre de l'Etoile, which was to be composed of 500 knights, though only 150 were in fact appointed, and the Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir, which envisaged 300 knights. But the mediaeval notion of an order also embraced a looser sort of fellowship, with no fixed number of knights. The Orden de la Banda (1333) seems to have been of this type, and so were a number of later Spanish chivalric orders. Again if some orders, like the Orden de la Banda, were at first strictly confined to the nation of the founder, others, like the Garter, admitted foreigners. Again one or two, like the Ordre de l'Etoile and later the Toison d'Or, required all who were admitted to abandon membership of any other chivalric order; but in contradiction to this exclusive spirit by the last decades of the century it was already becoming the custom for kings and princes to bestow membership of their orders in order to do the recipient signal honour or to establish bonds of friendship or adherence irrespective of nationality. Enrique II of Castile, as we have seen, broke through the rule about nationality in 1376 to bestow the Orden de la Banda on seven knights banneret who accompanied Louis de Bourbon on his expedition to Castile. This custom of distributing insignia with scant regard for the stricter statutes of an Order probably contributed to the blurring of any very clear distinction between a princely collar that was merely a personal device bestowed on a limited circle of kinsfolk and intimate courtiers and outside on persons of high rank or influence whom the prince desired to honour, and a princely collar that was the ensign of a chivalric order proper.

In 1500, as the Middle Ages were ending, the old Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche (1428–1502) protested against this confusion. What is a prince's order and how may it be held to be an order? he asked. His answer was that

> when a prince gives a device to several noblemen without any limit to their number and without holding chapters, this ought not to be called an order, but simply a device. Example: the Kings of England have their Order of the Garter which has a fixed number of knights and holds notable chapters, and to this order have belonged and belong many notable and valiant knights. But besides this order, they have a device which they give to a number of knights, ladies, gentlewomen and squires. And this device varies according to the Kings who are reigning and their inclinations,

and commonly it is adorned with roses, sometimes white, sometimes red, according to the inclination of the Kings, as has been said, and it is given out without any fixed number or quantity of people who are to receive it and some are of gold and the others of silver. And then there is a fashion of naming to a device, and not in any other wise. King René of Sicily set up a confraternity of knights and squires who wore a crescent below the shoulder-blade, the knights in gold, the squires in silver, and on it was written the motto *Croissant en loz* [growing in praise]. Now although the ensigns were fair and borne by persons of worth, yet was this not an order, for there was neither a fixed number of knights nor a chapter, and a feast was never held or celebrated. This is why I say and conclude in this part of my discourse that it was no order: instead we shall call it a confraternity or device, which certainly was fair and made a fine show. Charles, Duke of Orléans bore as a device a *camail* from which hung a porcupine, and this too was borne by many persons of worth, knights and squires, but it never had a fixed number of chapters, and this is why I say it was only a device and not an order. The Dukes of Brittany and namely Duke François have likewise worn a collar from which hung an ermine and this too many persons of worth, both knights and squires, have worn, but it was no order, but simply a device, for the reasons I have written above. The Dukes of Savoy wear an order of a love-knot, and I may call it an order, for there are both a fixed number and chapters, and this order has been and is worn by many worthy knights. But as regards Cyprus, Sicily and Aragon, they have no orders, but only devices. King Louis of France, and King Charles his son and the present King Louis have established an order or device which is called the Ordre de Saint-Michel, but up till now there has been no fixed number, merely several notable knights who wear this order, but for me and in my understanding I cannot call it an order, for there is no fixed number of knights, and the feast was never held or the knights called to an assembly. And so I say that it is a favour with which the King of France obliges a number of knights in his service.[5]

Olivier's purpose was to exalt his master's own order, the Burgundian Toison d'Or, as a pattern order of chivalry, for in contrast with these looser associations it had a fixed number of knights and held chapters.

Where there is a set order both in the number of knights and chapters according to written rule and in the holding of feasts and ceremonies at which a certain order is observed, then I declare that this order gives its name to a prince's order and may be called an order.

But during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there existed in fact, as we have already noted, a much looser conception of the nature and membership of a princely order. Especially was this so whenever the purpose of the founder was not so much to gather round himself a small and devoted band of knights, but to enlist as many knights and men at arms as he could for the greatest of chivalric enterprises, a crusade. This for instance was the avowed purpose of the Ordre de l'Epée (Order of the Sword) founded by King Pierre de Lusignan (1329–69) of Cyprus, most probably in 1359. As a youth Pierre had a vision which inspired him to undertake a crusade and to found a crusading order. So, writes his panegyrist, the French poet and musician Guillaume de Machaut

he made an order to draw together knights of good worth who had a devotion to the Promised Land and also all men at arms who were anxious to save their souls. Behold here the order and the device, as I devise them for thee. He bore among all sorts of men a sword of fine silver that had the hilt above shaped as the sign of the cross that is adored, seated on a field of blue, the purest of all colours. Around it were letters of gold which were finely shaped, and said – well might I remember – *C'est pour loiauté maintenir* [It is to maintain loyalty], for I have seen it a thousand times on knights and on him.

A document of 1363 by which Pierre granted privileges to the Genoese was sealed with his privy seal, which it describes as 'a drawn sword, to which is conjoined a line of letters making the words *Pour l'onore maintenir*'. The device of the order then was evidently Pierre's own personal device which he distributed to form an order in just the same way as later princes.[6]

No badge or collar of the order survives, but its motto is inscribed on a late fourteenth-century belt-buckle found in the streets of Liège (fig.186) and another belt-buckle inscribed with it has been found at Adalia on the coast of Turkey, captured by Pierre on his first crusade in 1361 and held by him until 1373. In a sense this shows how widely it was distributed, and there are several records of travellers, usually knightly pilgrims returning from the Holy Land, receiving it from the kings of Cyprus. In January 1396, for example, King Jacques de Lusignan sent it to Simon of Saarbrucken who had come to visit him at his capital of Nicosia on his journey home from Jerusalem. To important visitors it was sometimes given as a collar with a badge: in 1413 Niccolò d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, received from King Janus II 'his device of the sword, with the motto round that says *Pour loauit maintenir* and a very beautiful collar of worked gold with a great sapphire above the King's device'. Again, in 1437 the Castilian knight Pero Tafur, who had acted as an ambassador for King Janus III, received from him at parting 'his device, which I still have today'. In 1480 Queen Caterina Cornaro took oaths of the German pilgrims who asked to be admitted into the fellowship of the Kings of Cyprus 'that they would come to the defence of the Kingdom if attacked by Saracens, Turks or Tartars' before delivering them the device of 'little swords'.[7]

Much more obscure is the history of another crusading order, the Society of St George (Order of the Upturned Dragon), founded by the Emperor Sigismund when he was still only King of the Romans. Its badge, depicted in a drawing of 1407

Fig. 139 Badge (badge of the Order of the Upturned Dragon). Silver-gilt, niello. Height 3.7cm, width 2.2cm. German (?), c.1429. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin



Fig. 139a Reverse

and in the portrait of 1432 of Oswald von Wolkenstein (pl.89) and of which an example in gilt and nielloed silver still survives (figs.139, 139a) in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Tiergartenstrasse, Berlin, was described in the fifteenth century as a circular figure or representation of

> a dragon encircling his own neck with his tail in the fashion of a circle and divided down the middle of the back along its length from the head of the tail and nose to the end of the tail, with blood flowing in the inner white of the fissure and spotted with blood along the length of the back and bearing the triumphal sign of the life-giving cross.

Its members, both men and women, were bound to fight against the infidel, a purpose symbolised by the design, with its triumphal cross set on the vanquished and bleeding dragon of paganism. Among the infidel the Hussite heretics of Bohemia eventually came to be numbered. Like the crusading order of Pierre de Lusignan, Sigismund's order was intended to embrace the largest possible number of suitable persons, and on admission new members were even given badges of the order which they could bestow on anyone they thought worthy of membership. Perhaps because it was an all-embracing society, rather than a formal order, with an ensign which was a personal device adopted by Sigismund, the exact date of its foundation is unknown. Its statutes are dated 13 December 1408, but it was certainly in existence by 1397, when a Veronese nobleman, Vittorio del Pozzo, who was then on a mission from Giangaleazzo Visconti to Sigismund's brother the Emperor Wenceslaus, is described as a knight of the Dragon. By the 1430s it was widely diffused: we hear of Venetians, Castilians and Englishmen wearing it as well as Germans. In 1438, for example, Richard Dixton, a Gloucestershire squire, and a retainer of the Duke of York bequeathed to a fellow squire his 'Serpe of silver', which he no doubt wore from the gold chain he also left to the same friend.[8]

The broom-cod collar of King Charles VI of France seems to be the earliest known collar – as opposed to a badge suspended from a riband – which was neither a livery collar of the English sort, since it was not distributed simply to retainers, nor yet the collar of a true order of chivalry, but simply a collar of device worn by the King and by his close relations, associates and courtiers, and by him given to those on whom he chose to bestow it as a mark of favour or as part of the etiquette that enjoined presents of plate or jewellery to be given to visiting diplomats or nobles or knights. So Charles is recorded as giving a gold broom-cod collar in 1398 to Guglielmo Descal (Della Scala?) of Milan who had come to the French court in the suite of Mastino Visconti, and broom-cod collars of plain silver to three squires who also belonged to Visconti's suite. This is another instance of the practice of distinguishing in degree among the recipients of collars – gold was for the great or distinguished or highly favoured, silver-gilt was for knights, and silver for squires. Gold broom-cod collars are mentioned in a quittance given by the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier in

1390 in the Receveur Général des Aides as *colliers de cosses de l'ordre du Roy*. Here again we must allow for mediaeval looseness of terminology, which did not distinguish with precision between a strict chivalric brotherhood and a looser form of association. And indeed in another document of 1398 the broom-cod collar is described as the *collier . . . de l'ordre et divise du Roy*.[9]

The silence of the 1370–80 inventory of Charles V indicates that it was his son Charles VI who really instituted the collar of broom-cods as the collar of France. The broom-cod device was already in use by 2 March 1389 when Jehan du Vivier delivered the gold broom collars mentioned in the quittance of 1390, but perhaps this was only shortly after the moment of its institution, for when, as a New Year's gift for 1388 his uncle Philippe of Burgundy gave Charles 'nine cloths of gold of his Majesty's three devices', the three devices are specified as flying stags, feathers and annulets. In 1390 Louis of Orléans, Charles's brother, gave a chaplet of broom-cods, set with eight diamonds and eight rubies, to his wife Valentina Visconti, and two years later, in 1392, he commissioned a gold collar of broom-cods, garnished along its length with little letters of gold of his own device. Charles VI was already distributing collars of broom-cods liberally in 1393, when he sent a great gold collar of broom-cods to Richard II of England, his kinsman and future son-in-law, composed of two thick gold rolls with double broom-cods joined at the foot set between then in lower row. Above were nine bars, each surrounded by nine pearls, and in the intervals between them hung fifty gold letters from the upper pipe, making the King's motto JAMES (never) ten times over. A great square balas was set at the front of the collar, encircled by eight large pearls equal in size with those in Charles's own collar and, at the back, were two open broom-cods, one enamelled white, the other green and both opening to show three large pearls. In addition the gold rolls were lightly pounced, no doubt in the new technique of delicate *poinçonné*, with branches, flowers and cods of broom.

The royal dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester and York each received similar collars but with rather less good pearls. The descriptions suggest that their design may have been influenced by the Breton ermine collars of 1381, where the collar was formed of 'two fair burnished rolls'. On the Wilton Diptych

Fig. 140 Diptych (the Wilton Diptych), anonymous. Oil on panel. English or French, *c*.1395. National Gallery, London

(fig.140) of *c*.1395 Richard II and the attendant angels are shown wearing a broom-cod collar, which Richard may have been using as early as 1392, either in compliment to his cousin of France or, as has been claimed, in allusion to the Plantagenets, though this surname, used in the twelfth century, was not revived until the mid-fifteenth. Richard's rival and successor, Henry IV, had three gold collars of the same broom-cod device, one of which, according to Froissart, he wore as he went in procession from the Tower of London to Westminster on the day before his coronation. There were certainly political overtones in this gesture; these were even more loudly present in a gold collar made for Henry VI in 1426 by the London goldsmith John Palying. This had links of S conjoined with broom-cods, in proclamation of Henry's claim to be King of France.[10]

A magnificent version of the broom-cod collar was made for Charles VI by the court goldsmith Herman Roussel, who was paid for it in 1398. Eight of its thirty-one links, all 'of Saracen work', were pierced with the King's motto JAMES with the device of a gold broom-cod in relief to either side. From the collar hung seventy-eight little bells engraved with the same letters. At either end of the collar was a broom-cod, one enamelled green, the other white, while the round bosses above them were enamelled in the King's colours, 'that is to say, white, green, black and vermilion'. The King's relations continued to use the broom-cod as a sort of family device. In 1393, for example, the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier made for Louis of Orléans a gold collar 'in the fashion of a circle, garnished with four dangling broom-cods of fine gold, enamelled green and white'. And in 1399 Louis bought collars with broom-cods hanging pendant-wise before to give to his little nieces, the King's daughters. Philippe of Burgundy's collar, as described in 1414 when it was pledged to the town of Douai by his son Jean Sans Peur, is described as 'a gold collar, of the order of my lord the King, of broom-cods, set with eleven good rubies, with a large diamond, pointed and square, with eight good sapphires and with sixty-two large pearls of different bignesses, and on the said collar are twelve *chatons* in the fashion of roses, enamelled white, and from it hang several small broom-cods and four S's in the fashion of broom-cods'.[11]

At her death in 1405, Philippe's wife Marguerite of Flanders, Duchess of Burgundy had no less than eight French royal collars of gold, described as being of the King's 'order' or 'device', and other collars which though not described as such were plainly French royal collars. Some were simply compositions of broom-cods, enamelled white and green, others had the letters PP and MM hanging from them in allusion to herself and to her husband Philippe, and others were enriched with precious stones – one of eleven double broom-cods enamelled white was set with six balas-rubies, five sapphires, twenty-two pearls and at the end with a diamond and a large balas-ruby encircled by ten pearls with little broom-cods hanging from them. Jean sans Peur typically wore the royal collar with the

addition of his own device: it is described *c*.1430 as a 'collar of the King's device, garnished with eight large sapphires, sixty-two pearls and eleven planes, and with one diamond, set in a little pendant cross'. This collar presumably dated from or after 1406, when Jean adopted the plane as his device. The adoption of the broom-cod as the family device of the Valois princes indicates yet again how pregnant with significance in late mediaeval eyes was the language of the device.[12]

The two famous uncles of Charles VI – Jean, Duc de Berry and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy – seem not to have distributed collars of their own devices, in the case of Jean perhaps because he never founded an order, and in the case of Philippe because his projected order of 1403 was abortive. Louis of Orléans, Charles VI's brother, on the other hand founded his own personal Order of the Porcupine in 1394, with a collar composed of twisted gold chains to resemble the *camail* of armour, with a pendant of a gold porcupine standing on a terrace enamelled with greenery and flowers. A *camail* collar of this type paid for in 1400 was of gold, enamelled in the six colours – probably those of heraldry – which were one of his devices and had a jewelled pendant of cluster design, with five large pearls encircling a small ruby, from which hung a porcupine of enamelled gold. Louis also commissioned two gold girdles of the same device as the collar for his brother Charles VI and himself to wear at the wedding of the Comte de Clermont in the same year: they were made of large bosses, from which hung mail 'in the fashion of a hauberk' and a little bell 'of Venice fashion' – probably filigree. They were made to be worn on two *haincelins* (short robes) of black velvet, embroidered in gold and decorated with ornaments of goldsmith's work. The Orléans dukes came to distribute their collar in much the same way as kings distributed their devices. In October 1414, for example, Charles d'Orléans paid for a silver *camail*, with a pendant of a gold porcupine, making up the collar and badge of his father's Order, to be given to 'Eusson', squire and kinsman of the Marchese Niccolò d'Este of Ferrara, 'in consideration of the good and acceptable services he has done us in time past and that we hope he may still do us in the time to come'. In the same year he gave a silver *camail* and gold porcupine to a Hungarian squire. There are other records in the same volume of accounts of gifts of similar collars to gentlemen belonging to his own household, to the king's household, to that of his uncle Jean de Berry, and to others.[13]

We have already seen that, on admission to Sigismund's Order of the Dragon, members were given a number of badges to bestow on suitable persons. This usage was soon imitated: in 1436, for example, Henry VI issued a formal document empowering Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua to confer 'our livery of the Collar or Device' that is the collar of SS, on fifty of his subjects and friends, provided they were noble and of good blood, 'for our honour and in remembrance of us'. This was in return for Gianfrancesco's kindness to John, Lord Scrope, one of Henry's Councillors, on both the outward and return

journeys of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and after hearing that he would like to receive this privilege. More purely practical motives inspired an order of 1434 to John Merston, Keeper of the King's Jewels, to provide six gold collars, twenty-four silver-gilt collars and another sixty silver collars 'of the King's order and livery', again collars of SS, to the value of £1000. These were to be sent as a gift to the Emperor Sigismund and to be distributed by him at his own discretion and that of the English ambassadors attending the Council of Basle 'among the inhabitants of the town of Basle and other knights and squires'. In December that same year a further consignment of eighty collars was dispatched to Sigismund for distribution among the counts, barons, knights and esquires of the Empire. They were carefully graded into the usual three classes, gold, silver-gilt, and plain silver, corresponding to the rank of the future recipient. By the middle of the century it seems to have become usual to accompany the bestowal of a collar or badge of device on a great personage with the privilege of bestowing it on others. Thus in 1465–6 the great Bohemian nobleman Leo of Rozmital received from Edward IV of England, from René of Anjou, from Enrique IV of Castile and from Juan II of Aragon the right to bestow the devices which they had given him on others.[14]

From the late fourteenth century it also became customary for sovereigns to bestow their orders on one another – though in many ways this was only a development of their established practice of wearing each other's devices. Henry IV of England, understandably anxious to secure the throne he had usurped from Richard II, was one of the earlist kings to use chivalric symbols of fraternity as ensigns of alliance and friendship with other kings. In 1400, just after becoming King, he gave the Garter to his brother-in-law João I, King of Portugal and in 1407–8 he gave it to his son-in-law, Erik of Pomerania, King of Denmark. His son Henry V gave the Garter to the Emperor Sigismund in 1416 and in return was admitted to Sigismund's Order of the Dragon, whose badge was as we know a dragon reversed, surmounted by a cross. Several jewels described in Henry's inventory of 1423 as salamanders or *linteworms* were certainly badges and pendants of the Order of the Dragon. Four of them, three large and one small, were of silver-gilt, but two were of gold. One of these two, set with a sapphire and twelve pearls, was probably worn suspended from another item in the inventory, 'a small gold chain and cross for a salamander [1 *Lynteworm*]'; the other is described as a gold salamander (*lyntworm*) with a cross. Again, when riding through Savoy on his way to Avignon in 1415, Sigismund bestowed the order on Amadeo VIII of Savoy, technically his feudatory, and Amadeo, who had escorted him to Lyons, subsequently hastened to have the device executed in gold by a goldsmith of Chambéry. The custom became an established form of courtesy among kings and princes. In 1505, when the Archduke Philip, King of Spain was forced to land in England by a storm, he was received at Windsor by Henry VII with great splendour, and at parting Henry Prince of Wales was given the Toison d'Or of Burgundy,

which Philip had inherited from his mother Marie, daughter of Charles the Bold, while Philip was given the Order of the Garter.

> In the which [says the anonymous Flemish narrator complacently] there was so great and exceeding a triumph that I do not believe there has been seen so great a triumph in a king's house for more than a hundred years, and I tell you that cloth of gold and other fine displays, chains of gold and coined silver were bestowed with no sparing hand on both sides on the heralds and officers of arms.[15]

From the late fourteenth century onwards there are many mentions of royal and princely gifts of devices or collars to ambassadors and to knightly or noble visitors. Olivier de la Marche was quite correct in saying that the Order of the Garter remained a small closed order of chivalry, but the English kings found it very convenient to bestow their livery collars on guests of this kind and other persons they wished to honour in its stead. Under the Lancastrian kings the collars they bestowed were collars of SS. Henry IV seems to have been determined from the moment of his accession to distribute the collar of SS abroad as a symbol of friendship and alliance, just as he insisted on its use at home as a badge of loyalty. Already in October 1401 he was paying Theodore the goldsmith for eight collars which he had sent off to his sister Philippa, Queen of Portugal, for his infant nephew Duarte, and presumably also for wear by Duarte's attendants. We have already seen that Sigismund was given a livery collar of SS by Henry V at Windsor in 1416, and he is said to have worn it often both in public and private ever afterwards. On 27 January 1417, for instance, he entered the city of Constance 'with the lyvere of the coler about his neck', which was, so an Englishman who witnessed his entry wrote to Henry, 'a glad syghte to all your lyge men to see'. Henry V continued to give away the collar of SS abroad: in 1420 'divers goldsmiths' of London were paid for twenty-four gold collars which were sent to the king at Rouen, and in 1422 the goldsmith Galeas was paid £19 for a gold collar which had been taken by Sir Walter de la Pole to Duke Heinrich of Bavaria as a gift from Henry. By the third decade of the century great numbers of collars were often distributed on a single occasion. In 1429, for example, after the coronation of Henry VI, a gold collar was given to Nicolas Menthon, a knight of the Duke of Savoy, and in addition sixty-one collars were distributed among various knights and gentlemen.

It was also usual to bestow collars of SS on great lords and ladies and on certain members of their household – male and female. Already in 1418 Agnes Salmon wears one on her brass in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel. She had been lady-in-waiting to Beatriz of Portugal, wife of Thomas, fifth Earl of Arundel, and natural daughter of Henry IV's brother-in-law, João I of Portugal, while her husband had been chamberlain to Henry V, circumstances which presumably explain why Agnes wears the collar of SS. In 1428 Henry bestowed a 'collar of silver-gilt of his livery', on Grisell Bealknap (Grizel Bellknap), one of the

Fig. 141  Heinrich Blarer, anonymous. Oil on panel. South German, 1460.
Rosgartenmuseum, Constance

right-hand corner and, beneath it, the insignia of another un-identified order. Admission into royal or princely orders and fellowships was eagerly offered by princes and as eagerly sought by diplomatic envoys, by wandering knights and noblemen and by travellers whose knightly rank entitled them either to receive it as a mark of hospitality or ask for it as a favour. There were many more of these orders and fellowships than is realised; quite a number have escaped historians because they were no doubt personal or evanescent. Certainly it had become customary in the early fifteenth century for princes to have orders, usually of the open kind, of their own. The Burgundian nobleman Guillebert de Lannoy (1386–1462) during his successive travels and pilgrimages first as a chivalric adventurer, then as a diplomat in the service of Philippe the Good and Henry V of England, received the Order of the Banner from King Martín I of Sicily at Catania in 1403 and was offered his order by King Erik of Denmark in 1413 but, as we have seen, declined it. In 1414 he accepted from the Silesian prince Duke Ludwig II of Liegnitz and Brieg (r.1402–36) 'his order and company of the Landkönig, to which order there belong quite 700 between knights and squires and as many gentlemen, of which he [Ludwig] was the chief'.[17]

Not surprisingly the romantic and adventurous nobles of the Imperial lands were particularly anxious to receive these distinctions, which gratified an appetite equally inflamed for the trappings of chivalry and for worldly honours. Pilgrimage to Compostella, a crusading aspiration to fight against the Moors, or imperial diplomacy, especially during the Great Schism, brought many of them to Spain. In 1430, for instance, the Count von Cilli, nephew to the Emperor Sigismund, came to Castile on a pilgrimage to Compostella, and was sumptuously received and feasted by King Juan II. The Count refused the rich presents sent to him by the king, saying that on the day he left his own lands he had made a vow to accept nothing from any Prince in the world. But he would regard it as a boon if the King would give licence to him and to four of the knights of his household to wear his device of the Collar de la Escama (collar of the Scales) for in wearing it he would regard himself as much honoured, since it was the device of so high a Prince from whom he had received so many honours and courtesies. The King was sorry that the Count would not receive the gifts he sent him, and ordered five collars of the scales to be very well wrought in gold with much haste, and sent them by the hand of Gonzalo de Castillejo, his Maestresala, and a young squire of his called Juan Delgadillo bore them in, arranged on two silver platters.

Again, in 1435 a wandering German knight called Robert von Balse arrived in Segovia with a troup of followers, including twenty gentlemen. He and the gentlemen were all intent on the chivalric emprises of tourneying and on fighting against the Moors. Juan II readily agreed to allow jousts to be held between them and his own courtiers. When these were concluded Robert, like the Count von Cilli, refused the King's gifts, and for the

ladies of the Countess of Ormond, a collar of silver on Philip Coverley, a retainer of the Earl of Ormond and five collars of silver on various members of the households of Lord Roos and of Lord Warwick. They were given not only by the Lancastrian kings but by their queens as well. For her New Year's gifts in 1453 Queen Margaret of Anjou bought two gold collars of SS, one from the London goldsmith Humphrey Hayford weighing an ounce, the other weighing three ounces, and 'a collar of tissue with SS of silver'. The two gold collars she gave to Osan, her Bergundian maiden, and a third gold collar went to Elizabeth, wife of John Wode. The custom was continued by the Yorkist kings, whose collar, as Olivier de la Marche correctly records, was a collar of white roses. On his tour of Western Europe in 1465–6 the great Bohemian nobleman Leo of Rozmital received from Edward IV at a banquet a gold livery collar, while his followers received collars or badges of silver.[16]

This practice of giving a livery or chivalric collar or badge to a visitor of honourable rank was by now widespread throughout Europe. The portrait of the patrician Heinrich Blarer of 1460 (fig.141) shows him wearing the sash of the *Kannenorden* (Order of the Jar) with the pendant of the order represented in the top

same reason, that on the day of his departure he had taken a vow to receive none, and instead asked licence for himself and the twenty gentlemen to wear the Collar de la Escama. Juan willingly consented, and ordered all the goldsmiths of Segovia to come together and make twenty-two collars, two of gold and the rest of silver 'for among them were two knights, and all the others were squires'. The goldsmiths worked so hard that the collars were ready in four days, and again were presented on two covered platters.[18]

It was the custom for knights to wear such ensigns publicly whether travelling from place to place or going about their daily business, rather as badges are worn now. The Silesian knight Nicholas von Popielovo wore an ensign he had received from the Emperor at his audience with the King of Portugal in 1484, rather surprising the Portuguese courtiers who asked him if he had chosen it himself. He made equally little impression on the Spaniards, for when he entered Andalucia the customs-men demanded a toll from him 'even for my ensigns'. Such ensigns could turn up in unexpected places, and the gratitude and loyalty which the gift of them inspired might occasionally lead to a very kind reception for a wandering traveller. In 1437 while in Constantinople the Castilian knight Pero Tafur was invited to the house of a nobleman of the Emperor's court. After dinner, his host ordered everyone else to leave the room, then went into his chamber and put on a gold collar of the Order of the Escama. He explained that it had been given him by Juan II, and that he now proposed to make a return for all the honours and courtesies he had received in Castile. The Emperor Sigismund and his son-in-law Albrecht II of Austria, King of the Romans, were equally liberal in bestowing their orders, not only that of the Dragon but also the Order of the Dragon of Hungary, the Točenice (napkin) of Bohemia and the Order of the Eagle of Austria, founded by Albrecht in 1433. The ensign of the Order of the Točenice of Bohemia was a knotted napkin; originally it had been the badge of Sigismund's brother, the Emperor Wenceslas. One such ensign was listed among the jewels of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1420: 'a gold brooch made in the fashion of a knotted towel enamelled white, garnished with a large balas-ruby below and above is a very large diamond, cut into several facets'. The Austrian Order had a collar of links shaped as scourges with a pendant of a white eagle. It was bestowed in silver on a foreigner and on an Austrian knight who had performed only a single deed of chivalry, but in gold on a knight who had performed four deeds of chivalry. All three of the Hapsburg collars or badges were given in 1438 by Albrecht II to Diego de Valera, who had come to him in Prague as an envoy from Juan II of Castile. About the same time Albrecht also conferred all three on another Castilian visitor, Pero Tafur, who came to him in Breslau just before Christmas 1438. At a feast held there in Albrecht's presence in honour of a wedding Tafur wore the Collar de la Escama, and saw many other German knights wearing it, who all accompanied him home to his inn. Later he visited Albrecht's wife Elizabeth,

daughter of Sigismund, in Vienna and, on taking farewell of her, 'since her husband had given me the device of the Dragon, she gave me her very own that she wore on her breast, for it was her father's device, and so to her pertained the giving of it'. Presumably this was Sigismund's famous device of an up-turned dragon surmounted by a cross, and presumably the strong-minded Elizabeth was determined that her husband should not usurp her right of bestowing it.[19]

On his miniature portrait of 1432 (pl.89) the Austrian knight and poet Oswald von Wolkenstein wears the chivalric ensigns he had collected in the Empire and in Spain which he visited in 1415. Round his neck he wears the collar of the royal Aragonese Order of the Lily-Pot with its griffin pendant and on his chest the white baldric of the same Order, to which are fixed the badge of Sigismund's Order of the Dragon and a lily-pot badge of the Order of the Lily-Pot. The whole is a vivid portrayal of the century's passion for collecting memberships of orders. For Wolkenstein was far from unique in the number he gathered. The Swabian knight Jörg von Ehingen got just as many orders during his court service and on his travels. About 1455 Jörg received the Order of the Salamander, which had been founded in the 1390s, from Duke Albert VI of Austria, then in 1457, on his travels as a knight errant, obtained from Enrique IV of Castile the Collar de Escama [collar of Scales] 'which is a broad collar overlapping like fish-scales', and the Orden de la Banda, whose ensign, so disputed among authorities, he describes as a scarlet cloak with a broad gold band of two thumbs' width running over the left shoulder down the right front side to the bottom of the cloak and then running up at the back to the left. Enrique's licence confirming Jörg's right to wear these devices still survives. It declares that

> by these presents we give you licence and faculty for you and your wife to be allowed to wear and to bear on your clothes and harnessings our device and the Baldric [Banda] and the Collar de la Escama in such fashion as knights and gentlemen wear and are wont to bear the same.[20]

On his famous tour of Western Europe in 1465–6 Leo von Rozmital and his followers obtained admission into the order of the Duke of Cleves, were given his device by Edward IV of England, and during the rest of the journey were admitted to bear the devices of François, Duke of Brittany, King René of Anjou, Henry IV of Castile and Juan II of Aragon. Sometimes, it would seem, they received badges or collars and sometimes not, but one unnoticed document does clarify what they were given at the court of Brittany and illustrates the differences that were made in the metal of the collar according to the rank of the recipient. The sudden arrival and short stay of such important visitors found their princely host at a loss for a suitably splendid jewel or collar to give as a present, and so it comes as no surprise to find that Duke François II was obliged to take a gold collar of his Order of the Ermine from his chancellor Guillaume Chavin to give to Rozmital himself, described as 'the brother of the Queen of Bohemia, who had come

Fig. 142  Collar (city waits' collar). Silver. Length *c*.90cm. English (?),
fifteenth century. Guildhall, Exeter, England

to Nantes towards the Duke to see him on his passage through the land on the journey to Jerusalem and St James in Galicia in May 1466'. To one of Rozmital's knights François gave a collar of silver-gilt, giving another a second collar of silver-gilt which he was again obliged to take from one of his courtiers. The gold collar weighed 1 mark 2 ounces, at 68 écus the mark, and was a rich present, appropriate for the brother of a queen.[21] Acceptance of the device on occasions entailed acceptance of the statutes which governed members of the fellowship of order. In 1438 Pero Tafur, visiting Adolf II, Duke of Cleves, was offered his device. 'The conditions of it were told me, but compliance with them seemed very heavy to me . . . and I would not receive it'. Sometimes during the second half of the century we may suspect in such gifts of collars corrupt motives, beyond those of princely courtesy and cultivation of friendly supporters. The collars of the Order of the Ermine in Brittany had often been given in the fifteenth century as gifts to visitors, diplomatic or casual. In 1433 for instance a squire of John Talbot received

a silver collar, for Talbot had fallen a prisoner to a French knight, and the duke was assisting with his ransom. But we may wonder what motives lay behind the despatch of a gold collar of the duke's order in 1475 'sent through the hands of Antoine de Lanet' to Messire Guillaume Bische, Counsellor of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and of a second gold collar of the order in 1477 to Philippe de Commines, then a trusted counsellor of Louis XI of France. As gold collars were normally reserved for princes and great lords, these gifts assume something of the aspect of honourable bribes, all the more dangerous because of their overtones of friendship and loyalty imposed and accepted.[22]

The use of badges and collars as livery descended from the world of chivalry, with its princes and knights and squires, to that of the proud municipalities of the later Middle Ages. The earliest account of civic pageantry in which jewellery figures at all largely dates from the late thirteenth century and comes, not surprisingly, from Venice. In 1268 the guilds (*consorterie delle Arti*) went in solemn procession to salute Lorenzo Tiepolo,

the newly elected Doge of Venice. All were festively or sumptuously dressed, but in addition the mattress- and doublet-makers wore garlands of gilt-pearls or beads, the shoemakers, the makers of cloth of gold, the barbers, shoemakers, *pizzicagnoli* and fishmongers, garlands of pearls on gold riband, the goldsmiths all kinds of gold and silver beads and precious stones. In 1366 the goldsmith Jacques de Romans of Montpellier undertook to make for the city consuls, for use at the state entry of Pope Urban V into the city, fourteen shields of silver-gilt, enamelled with the Pope's arms on both faces, and fourteen shields of white silver enamelled with the consular arms on both faces. There is however a possiblity that these were intended as horse-pendants, rather than as badges proper. It seems to have been during the fifteenth century that badges were first given by towns and cities, in England, France and the Netherlands, to their musicians. In England civic musicians were known as waits, and in 1429–30 the city of Exeter spent 45s 4d on three silver shield badges (*skugyns* = escutcheons) for its waits. In 1476–7 the city had the collars and also the shields – which by this date hung from the collars – of its waits refashioned, and in

1495 had three of them repaired. Again in 1475 the six new waits of the City of London were given silver collars of SS and scutcheons of the arms of London to wear. The earliest English waits' collars to survive are those of Exeter. The fifteenth-century collar (fig.142) alternates X and R to make the name of the city; again the scutcheon bears the city arms. In fact it appears to have been normal on such ensigns, as on seigneurial badges, to use either the civic arms or device. Thus the two silver badges in the Bijlokemuseum in Ghent (fig.143) made in 1483 by the goldsmith Corneille de Bont for the pipers of the city of Ghent show a maiden, a common symbol of civic honour in the Netherlands, above a shield of the city arms in an oval cinquefoil Gothic frame rimmed with the favourite lopped-branch ornament of the fifteenth century.[23]

Guilds, companies and confraternities also had special badges and collars, especially in the Netherlands, where the custom of wearing them long survived as it did in England. Such collars were worn by the masters of guilds; they were also held as traditional prizes by the many societies formed to compete in shooting at the popinjay, the annual 'kings' or prizewinners

Fig. 143  Pipers' badges by Cornelis de Bont. Silver-gilt. Heights 19cm.
Flemish, 1482. Bijlokemuseum, Ghent

Fig. 144 Badge (archers' guild badge). Silver, parcel-gilt. Diameter 11cm. Netherlandish, early sixteenth century. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 145 Badge (archers' guild badge). Silver, parcel-gilt. Diameter 9cm. Netherlandish, early sixteenth century. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

having the right of wearing them. Already in 1394 the members of the crossbow society of Confrérie des Arbaletriers de Saint-Georges of Bruges were attiring themselves in damask silk and gold chains set with precious stones for a match held at Tournai, winning a prize for the handsomest dress. Two silver badges of archers' guilds of the early sixteenth century from the northern Netherlands still survive in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. One has a figure of a bishop saint (fig.144) – his companion figure is missing – with smaller figures to left and right of the ever-popular St Barbara and St Catherine, all cast and applied and gilt. Round the wide border, marked by corded rims, runs a border of the vigorous three-dimensional scrolling dry stems and foliage so dear to the goldsmiths of the imperial lands; through this move the figures of a hunt – huntsmen, one blowing a horn, dogs and stags and does. On the other (fig.145) is figured the Virgin, with the seven swords of her dolours – a very early representation of this motif, otherwise only known at this date from woodcuts by Hans Burgkmaier of the early

1520s. To left and right in the border of similar scrollwork are figures of St James and St Christopher. A silver collar of c.1499 (fig.146), once the prize collar of the guild of St Joris (George) of Gorinchem, near Dordrecht (now in the Wallace Collection, London) and a collar of silver parcel-gilt from the region of Cleves belonging to a guild of St Anthony (figs.147, 147a) now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which seems to date from c.1500, are two late fifteenth-century examples of archers' guild collars from the Low Countries and the Lower Rhineland. St George is figured on one of the links of the Wallace Collection collar, while St Anthony appears on a pendant badge on the Amsterdam collar; both saints were popular as patrons for archery guilds. In both, links are formed of the ever-popular scrolling foliage, used in openwork designs. In the St George collar the foliage is of oak leaves, and is inhabited by birds and deer; the links are separated by the links formed of the same Burgundian flint device as in the collar of the Golden Fleece, no doubt to blazon allegiance to the house of Burgundy, which still ruled over the

Fig. 146  Collar (archers' guild collar). Silver. Length *c.*90cm. Netherlandish,
*c.*1499. Wallace Collection, London

Fig. 147a Detail

Fig. 147 Collar (guild collar). Silver, parcel-gilt.
Length 90cm. Lower Rhineland, *c.*1500.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Netherlands, though now only in name. On the St Anthony collar all the links are of the conventional dry Late Gothic type, in which formal boldness and vigour substitute for the delicate intricacy of the St George collar.[24]

The finest of surviving mediaeval guild collars is probably the fifteenth-century collar of the master of the goldsmiths of Ghent (figs.148–e, dating from *c.*1465 and 1485) formed of sixteen linked plaques of enamelled silver decorated with re-markably realistic reliefs of the mining and refining of silver and the payment of tax on the metal. Hanging from the collar is a badge with a figure of St Eloi, the patron saint of goldsmiths, as of all smiths. Few badges of confraternities are known to survive; perhaps the most notable is the Quignon de la Compagnie des Demoiseaux of Tournai (fig.149). This is the badge of a

confraternity founded by the bishop of the city in 1280, during an outbreak of the plague. Its members were limited to sixty men from the great families of Tournai, and the city's magistrates were chosen from their number. The badge was carried in procession by the *valet* of the confraternity. Its exact date has been disputed but in design and style and costume it seems to date from the first decade or so of the fifteenth century. Executed in silver parcel-gilt, it again shows a maiden wearing a garland. As the symbol of the city she holds two shields, one later and bearing the arms of the Empire, presumably replacing an earlier shield, perhaps of Burgundy, the other old and figuring the city arms as borne before 1426. Around her are the walls of the city. The ground was enamelled green, and the roofs of the towers blue, but little of this decoration is left.[25]

Fig. 148  Collar (guild collar of the Master Goldsmiths of Ghent) (details).
Silver. Plaques height 4.5 cm, width at top 4 cm, at bottom 5.4 cm,
diameter 18.8–24 cm. Ghent, c.1480. Private collection, Vausselaire, Belgium

Fig. 149 Badge (confraternity badge). Silver, parcel-gilt, formerly
enamelled. Height 15.5 cm, width 14 cm. Tournai, early fifteenth century.
Trésor, Cathédrale de Notre Dame, Tournai

Although it already existed in one form or other in Spain and Italy, the collar proper only acquired general European importance as a jewel in the 1370s and 1380s. It was at about this time that livery collars began to be worn in addition to or in place of the livery badge. Indeed the livery collar, as we have seen, is merely a variety of the livery badge, and a significant proportion of collars, as opposed to chains and necklaces, continued to embody devices, personal or heraldic. Consequently the collar became yet another form of jewellery in which the fashionable fourteenth-century cult of the personal or heraldic device found important expression. Late mediaeval fancy, apparently so free and so poetical in its choice of motifs, fixed on them not to express its sensibility to the world of flowers, plants and animals, or its ingenuity in representing the world of man, but for reasons of symbolism. It was the contriver of a device or badge, usually the great personage who bore it, whose fancy was exercised in the choice of a fitting symbol, often from a rather conventional symbolic repertoire. To the goldsmith was left its rendering in gold, silver, enamel and jewels. Accordingly, many late fourteenth-century collars which appear on first sight to be spontaneous images of pleasure in the delightful, the ornamental or the exotic are in reality compositions of motifs symbolising either family pride and loyalties or else certain personal feelings or allegiances that it was desired to parade.

The inventory of King Charles V of France (d.1379) contains only one true collar, described as 'a gold collar with hinges, on which is a cross garnished with stones, hanging before, in which are nine sapphires, fourteen balas-rubies and eighty-four pearls'. Charles's other collar was an exotic 'Saracen' necklace – Islamic works of art had always been admired in the West, and in the sophisticated International Gothic age a vogue seems to have begun in France for wearing jewellery and dress of 'Saracenic' origin or in Saracenic styles. It is described in 1379–80 as 'a collar in the fashion of Saracen work, which is of seven pieces of green glass fastened to each other with laces of white silk and mounted in gold, of the workmanship of the lands beyond the seas, and they are garnished, the largest piece with a great balas-ruby, and the rest with turquoises and pearls'. A marked taste for the 'Saracenic' style in jewellery and goldsmiths' work was later to be shown by King René of Anjou.[1]

Our first frequent records of magnificent collars in France date from the 1380s and 1390s. In the earliest French references to collars after that of King Charles V, they are not termed collars, but carcans, a term taken from the choking iron collars fastened round the necks of prisoners, and so presumably indicating fairly close-fitting collars for the neck, rather than loose collars that fell over the shoulders. These must already have been in fashion in Paris by 1383, when an agent of Amadeo VI of Savoy bought there for his master two gold carcans intended by Amadeo as presents for his wife Bonne de Bourbon, who was the aunt of Charles VI of France, and therefore no doubt highly aware of the latest Parisian fashions. Carcans continued to be worn until the end of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, for in 1496 Marguerite of Angoulême, mother of the future Francois I, had a carcan of gold with a pendant of a large diamond, shaped as a heart. According to Cibrario, Amadeo (r.1343–83) also had collars of gold with motifs of eagles and pine-cones, which must have been among the earliest of their type.[2]

By the 1380s, too, collars of gold had become sufficiently fashionable in Catalonia, where riband collars, plain or mounted, were already much worn, for the Consejo of Barcelona to forbid women to wear them in a sumptuary ordinance enacted at some date between 1380 and 1390, and for Mallorca also to condemn them in 1384. Collars of devices make a very early appearance at the court of Navarre. The broom-cod collar of device of France was as we have seen a collar for the royal family and for what was loosely termed an order and was quickly emulated or imitated by the French kings of Navarre. Charles the Noble (r.1387–1425) used his father's devices of an eagle and of a greyhound – the latter without a mantle, so differencing it from his father's device – and also from c.1392 his own favourite device of chestnut leaves or chestnuts, simple or double, with the motto bonne foy or bona fe. In 1397 the royal goldsmith Juan Garvain the younger was already making collars of the royal device to give away in France and elsewhere – one, evidently the most important, being of gold and 'of a new fashion'. Among the royal Navarrese jewels pledged c.1402 to guarantee the dowry of Doña Blanca, Queen of Sicily, were a gold collar in the fashion of the device of chestnut leaves, set with three large pearls and a large balas-ruby and decorated with a great greyhound, a royal device, a second 'in the fashion of chestnuts and leaves' arranged on branches, with a jewelled clasp or pendant, set with two large pearls and a middle-sized balas-ruby, a third enamelled in white émail en ronde bosse with a pendant of an open chestnut enclosing a great balas-ruby, and a fourth which was small, and formed of leaves and dangling chestnuts, with a pendant with two large pearls, a middle-sized diamond and a ruby. By the 1380s collars were plainly coming into vogue elsewhere in Italy. In 1388 a chronicler of Piacenza, complaining

of the luxury of dress and jewellery in his native city, declares that 'ladies and young men now wear round their necks collars or circlets of silver or silver-gilt, or of pearls or red coral'. Again the sumptuary ordinances of Bologna, enacted in July 1398, forbid the ladies of the city to wear 'on the neck or breast . . . any device or collar of whatsoever price'.[3]

It may be that the fashion for rich collars of heavily jewelled gold and silver was originally Italian, and originated in the splendid and wealthy princely courts of Lombardy and the Veneto. For if the *collana* valued at the huge sum of 5000 florins that Taddea da Carrara, wife of Mastino II della Scala, Lord of Verona, gave in the 1340s to the wife of Luchino Visconti, ruler of Milan, was really a rich collar, it would be the earliest so far traced. But Cipolla, who drew attention to the passage in a Modenese chronicle which records this gift, points out that *collana* was also used in Lombardy as a synonym for a *ghirlanda* and that the marriage contract of Valentina Visconti, drawn up in 1389, speaks of a *collana siue girlanda*. We are on safer ground at a much later date, in 1387, when Antonio, the last Scaliger Lord of Verona, had two richly jewelled collars which were offered with other jewels in Venice as security for a loan. One was set with twenty-two balas-rubies, sixty-six pearls and three sapphires, the other had a great balas-ruby of 196 carats, twenty other balas-rubies, eighty-three pearls, a number of little pearls and a clasp. These must have dated at the least from earlier in the 1380s. However, some sort of chivalric origin is possible for collars of this sort, for in the inventory they are described not only as *colmi* or *collane* but also as *devixe*, a term that seems to hark back to the practice of suspending a device from a riband collar. Such rich collars were also worn at the Visconti court. In 1389 Valentina Visconti, newly married to Louis of Orléans, brought from Milan as part of her dowry a collar of stones and pearls, consisting of eight balas-rubies and a ninth huge one, and a hundred and thirty-five pearls, a gold collar enamelled with nineteen white turtle-doves, a Visconti device, the largest of them set with a ruby, two gold collars enamelled with five white lilies, a fourth enamelled with ten small white flowers, and a fifth enamelled in green, with buds of white and red, evidently a pattern of rose-sprigs.[4]

These documents indicate that in some parts of Italy rich collars were only a very recent fashion in the 1380s and 1390s. In France they certainly began as a court fashion, for one of our earliest references to a collar as opposed to a *carcan* dates from 1386, when two diamonds were set on *viretons* (here, mounts imitating a type of arrow) for a collar which belonged to Louis, Duke of Orléans, the young and fashionable brother of Charles VI of France.[5] The accounts of his uncle Philippe of Burgundy mention a collar for the very first time only on 29 July 1388, when Herman Roussel, a great Parisian goldsmith who was also the duke's court goldsmith, was paid for a collar and girdle of gold, made partly of three old jewelled brooches given to him by Philippe. These were evidently fashioned to match and were of great richness being set with sixty-six large balas-rubies,



Fig. 150  Miniature of Jean de Berry (MS Latin 18014, fol.288 v). Parchment. French, c.1390. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

sixteen large sapphires, one hundred and sixty-two large pearls and a large square diamond. The payment notes that the precious stones had been cleaned and refurbished, and that foils had been set beneath the balas-rubies and the sapphires. So rich a collar and girdle were certainly commissioned for wear at some great ceremony. From the first, collars were rich and costly ornaments: this expensiveness must have been the reason why in June 1389 Philippe gave his favourite chamberlain Guy de la Trémoille six cabochon rubies and forty large pearls weighing 160 carats so that Guy could have a jewelled collar made for himself.[6]

We must not assume, however, that they were necessarily entirely of gold: they may have been of gold brocade, set with mounts of jewelled gold and fastened by a clasp in front, like the collar the young King Richard II wears in his state portrait, probably dating from c.1395 (pl.92) in Westminster Abbey. In 1393 Louis of Orléans caused his court goldsmith, Hans Karast,

to make a large number of collars hung with little bells 'to be put on the dresses of black frieze of Monseigneur's livery'. Six were of gold, with six pendant bells, fifty were of silver-gilt, with a single pendant bell, and forty-six were of silver, of the same fashion as those of silver-gilt. These were probably either collars of tissue mounted in precious metal, since they were to be 'put on' the liveries, or proper collars stitched round the neck of the garment. This was probably true also of a gold collar made by the same goldsmith which was intended for the sable-lined scarlet robe of the Duke of Burgundy.[7]

It is only during the 1390s that collars begin to figure at all frequently among the gifts (*étrennes*) given by Philippe of Burgundy at New Year and on other occasions. They first appear in 1390 when he gave two gold collars set with precious stones and pearls of price as New Year's gifts to his daughters – interestingly enough it is also only in 1390 that Louis of Orléans is recorded as making his first gifts of collars – in this case of enamelled collars to his sister-in-law Queen Ysabeau of France. On New Year's Day in 1394 Philippe gave his wife Marguerite another collar of gold set with precious stones and pearls, but this time with a pendant, and to his daughter Marie and to his future daughter-in-law Jeanne de St-Pol a gold collar apiece, again with a pendant. His nephew King Charles VI was given a collar of his device of broom-cods, 'made in the fashion of a chain', another reference that suggests Philippe's earlier gold collars may have been gold-mounted textiles or else were composed of hinged plaques rather than of link form. In January 1396 Philippe gave a gold collar with a pendant set with three large cabochon balas-rubies and three large pearls as his New Year's gift to his nephew, Charles VI. To his wife Marguerite he gave an even richer gold collar, bought for 2500 livres. It was set with ten balas-rubies, a sapphire, and forty-four pearls and for a pendant had a great balas-ruby. Again among his New Year's gifts for 1398 were four collars set with two hundred and twenty-two pearls, four balas-rubies, two sapphires, and twenty-two large pearls, the whole valued at 1000 livres, which he gave to his niece the Dauphine and to his daughter the Countess of Savoy.[8]

Among his New Year's gifts of 1399 were collars of gold; again these seem to have been either gold-mounted textiles, or composed of thick wires interlaced and enamelled. They were given to English lords – English goodwill was now essential to Philippe because of the economic importance of English wool to his Flemish subjects. And in 1400 he gave a large gold collar, worked with marguerites, each flower being in addition set with pearls, to the Comte de Saint-Pol, the future father-in-law of his son Antoine. It was during this decade then that the collar, previously so uncommon, suddenly becomes the favourite princely and royal gift that it certainly was in the fifteenth century, superseding the girdle as the standard present of jewellery, at any rate among the great. Silver collars were also made for French court use from an early date – they were probably already in use in Spain. For the New Year of 1404 Philippe gave his nephew Charles VI a silver-gilt collar, with pendants before

and behind, the larger one in front. Two pendants of this kind were indeed a frequent feature of many early collars: they can be clearly seen on the gem-studded textile *collier* worn by Philippe of Burgundy in one of his portraits (pl.40). They were plainly often of stuff, as is made plain by the description of a gold collar belonging to Philip the Good of Burgundy, inventoried *c*.1430 – 'a gold collar, enamelled white, garnished all round with twenty-eight pearls, and with two pendant pieces of stuff set with six pearls, and all round the said collar twelve balas-rubies, and two more balases, hanging one in front, are behind'. Jean de Berry too is shown in one of his manuscripts walking out attended by his chamberlain, wearing a rich collar, apparently a riband set with quatrefoil 'brooches' of a central stone and four pearls, with a pendant of a stone and pearls suspended from it (fig.150).[9]

It is significant that in 1405 Marguerite of Burgundy's chains were vastly exceeded in number and magnificence by her collars, a term under which the Middle Ages included, it is perhaps worth emphasising once again, what we should call necklaces as well as true collars. We must look first at those few of Marguerite's collars which seem to have been merely simple ornaments, with little or none of the interweaving of family or personal device or of livery colours that was so prominent in the design of the rest – though this can never be certain in a world where even colours were chosen from considerations of livery or symbolism. One, described as a small collar, was of two round gold wires interlaced and set with pearls and small gold buds enamelled green, with a little cluster pendant of a small flat ruby encircled by five pearls. Another, also of gold, had links of small white and red round beads (*billets*) and dangling spangles; its pendant was in the shape of a green tree set with two pearls and a balas-ruby, and there was also a large balas-ruby at the end. Of this collar too Marguerite had a second version. Three other matching small collars were of interlaced gold wire set with white and red roses.

All Marguerite's many remaining collars were charged with devices, personal and sentimental, and with devices and colours belonging to the livery collar of France. Those of her collars which had devices that were purely personal or sentimental were few. There was a collar of gold 'all twisted and set with bosses, its links made of PP and MM interlaced [for Philippe and Marguerite] and of marguerites, with a large balas-ruby in front set on a white flower'. Here then the fourteenth-century vogue for using initial letters in jewellery, which we have already encountered in coronals and brooches and pendants, has extended itself to the collar. Another gold collar had twenty-two links, eleven of them shaped as marguerites and set each with four pearls, the rest shaped as small white flowers, ten set with balas-rubies, the eleventh with a sapphire. Most of her other collars mingled personal and sentimental devices with the broom-cods that were the device of the livery collar of King Charles VI of France, and with the white and green that were two of his royal livery colours. This was because Philippe of Burgundy, as

Charles's uncle, was of the French blood royal, and his family pride and political interests bound him closely to his nephew and to the French court. One of Marguerite's collars displayed her device of a sheep in the form of a series of small sheep, each lying on a bank, interspersed with ten links set with a ruby encircled by ten pearls, and with a broom-cod at the end set with two large pearls and a balas-ruby. Another collar seems to have been composed of ten letters M, of ten small sheep and of broom-cods, with twenty pendants, while on another thirteen small sheep were intermingled with small pendant broom-cods and with twelve letters Y – for her husband's motto of Y ME TARDE – which were shaped as broom-cods.[10]

Collars of these five kinds – plain collars, collars set with jewels, collars decorated with fanciful motifs, collars decorated with devices and collars decorated with a mixture of some or all of these four fashions – remained standard throughout the fifteenth century. As with girdles, there were both broad and narrow collars, and fashion fluctuated between them; in 1467, the Burgundian chronicler Jacques Leclercq records that broad collars 'of various sorts' were the fashion. Plain collars of gold are mentioned as early as 1393, when Philip the Bold gave one to his daughter Cathérine on her departure for Austria to join her husband Duke Leopold, as part of a present of five gold collars. They often seem to have depended on a rich pendant for their effect: a small lady's collar of little trefoil-shaped coupled links, evidently fitting closely round the neck, inventoried among the jewels of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1420, culminated in a small gold pendant set in the centre with a pointed emerald, with above a balas-ruby and below a sapphire and a pearl, and simultaneously enhanced and lightened in true fifteenth-century fashion by three little pendant pearl drops. Again in 1426 Countess Elipde des Baux of Provence left a large round collar with a pendant composed of a balas-ruby encircled with five pearls. Perhaps plain collars were worn largely by women, for one of Charles the Bold's jewels is described in 1468 as 'a gold collar for ladies, without precious stones'. They continued fashionable to the end of the century, as Marguerite of Angoulême's gold *carcan* (close-fitting collar) of 1496 shows, and were still much worn in the Renaissance. Some plain collars were shaped as paternoster beads, a fashion that lasted throughout the century: Elipde des Baux had two small silver collars of this kind, and in 1483 Queen Charlotte de Savoie had a gold collar of paternoster beads and *bourdons* (pilgrim's staves).[11]

Richly jewelled collars became status symbols at a very early date for both men and women and were often set with stones of great size and price. Three of the five collars that Philip the Bold gave to his daughter Cathérine in 1393 were of this kind. One was set with five balas-rubies, three sapphires and sixteen large pearls, a second with eight balas-rubies, six sapphires, fourteen clusters of pearls, of four pearls each, and three large pearl drops at the end, while from the third, which had a sapphire and two large pearls at the end, dangled fifteen clusters of pearls of three pearls each. In 1398 Charles VI paid for

a collar of fine gold, enamelled white, in the circuit of which were four balas-rubies, five sapphires and eighteen pearls, and hanging from it a gold pendant [*fermail*], set with a great balas-ruby in the centre surrounded by six large pearls which had been bought from the goldsmith Guillaume Arrode for presentation to Messer Mastino Visconti of Milan 'knight and uncle of the King'.

In 1401 Jean, Duc de Berry, had a gold collar 'in the fashion of a chain', that is composed of links, set with some of the finest and costliest stones in his unrivalled collection – a square balas-ruby that had belonged to Philip the Bold of Burgundy, a round balas-ruby and a table diamond he had bought from the Genoese merchant Jehan Sac (Giovanni Sacchi?). The table diamond was set between two bears – Jean's device – enamelled black; above it hung two broom-cods of France, in the royal colours, white and green, one being made of emerald prime, the other of mother-of-pearl, while the round balas-ruby was set at the back between two gold broom-cods enamelled the same colours. A gold collar that belonged in 1402 to Joan, Countess of Kent, did not even have a light element of devices, like this collar, but was simply set with sapphires, rubies and pearls. Again, in 1408 Valentina Visconti had a collar 'made in the manner of chain' of two rows of links. Its jewels, like those of one of Cathérine of Burgundy's collars, hung pendant-fashion from its forty-eight links: there were twenty-four clusters of three pearls each, twenty balas-rubies and twenty-four single pearl drops.[12]

Such collars could be very massy. In 1426 Countess Elipde des Baux also left a gold collar of ten plaques, which was richly jewelled according to three patterns. On the first plaque were set six clusters of pearls, each composed of two pearls, a sapphire and a balas-ruby. On the second three clusters of four pearls and three balas-rubies were set about a central sapphire; on the third were six clusters of two pearls, a sapphire and a balas-ruby. The fourth plaque again had three clusters of pearls, of four pearls each, and three balas-rubies around a sapphire. The remaining six plaques repeated these patterns of jewelling. Between the plaques were gold hinges, decorated with red spangles, and smaller enamelled hinges. The collar also had two links 'not attached', one enamelled white and one green, each set with a sapphire, together with two other links. Plainly it was already possible to lengthen or shorten such heavy collars if desired. The rich gold collar of Henry V of England, inventoried in 1423 after his death, was loaded with jewels. The principal link was set with a very large cut balas-ruby, bigger than all the others on the collar, and with six large pearls; this motif was repeated using smaller balas-rubies on nine of the remaining links, and with one less pearl on a tenth. In addition the collar was set with five balas-rubies, two diamonds and thirty-one pearls, together with a pearl drop. Of the balas-rubies, one was lozenge-shaped, and five others were also cut stones. Massy too was presumably the *gargantilhe* (collar) set with five rubies, two diamonds and five pearls that belonged to Eléanore of Navarre, Countess of Foix, in 1442.[13]

By the beginning of the fifteenth century collars, like brooches, were acquiring special names of their own. As Prince of Wales (1400–13), Henry V owned a great gold collar called the Icklington Collar, which was set with four rubies, four great sapphires, thirty-two great pearls and fifty-three smaller pearls. This collar was simply a richly jewelled ornament, and the century's liking for heavy jewellery appears even more clearly in a 'plytrewe' or collar of gold set with ten diamonds, seventy rubies and one hundred and forty large pearls, with a pendant set with a lozenge-shaped table diamond, three fine rubies and three large pearls. It was in the possession of Henry VI by 1440. Collars of this type were always peculiarly liable to destruction or to removal of their stones to enrich other jewels. Jean de Berry's richly jewelled collar of 1401 was soon broken up. Its gold went to make a gold collar given to Henri de Saignac, the round balas-ruby was given to Guillaume de Lode, perhaps as a payment; the square Burgundian balas-ruby was set in a ring and given to Louis of Orléans, together with the table diamond. By 1437 the Icklington Collar had been transformed into a gold pusan still set with the same stones and pearls, and still keeping the name Icklington Collar.[14]

In 1468 a number of the jewelled Burgundian gold collars had empty *chatons* (collets) from which the stones had been taken. The broad collar made of gold scales which may have been a collar of the Order de la Escama had only six table-cut balas-rubies still in their settings; its fourteen remaining settings were empty. So too a gold collar 'embossed in Venice fashion' had nine empty settings, which must have impaired the appearance of its forty pearl drops and eleven balas-rubies. But there were still a number of jewelled gold collars complete. One was set with three shield-shaped diamonds, three rubies and six pearls, one with four rubies, four diamonds and eight pearls, one with four pearls, four diamonds and three rubies, and a fourth, much simpler, displayed only four rubies. Such collars naturally made admirable pledges: in 1476 Marie de Cleves, Duchess of Orléans, pawned to her goldsmith Jehan de Lutz one that was of gold, 'enriched with thirty-four pearls and sixteen rubies', and with a pendant composed of a large pierced balas-ruby.[15]

Other rulers also had richly jewelled collars. In 1470 Yolande de France, Duchess of Savoy, had a collar by the Genevan goldsmith Hans Rose from which dangled 300 pendant pearls, and another large collar set with rubies, pearls and diamonds supplied by herself. Whereas cameos were so popular for brooches, they seem rarely or never to have figured in collars. The pride of Aragon was a rich collar of gold set with balas-rubies which Juan II of Aragon pawned to meet the expenses of the wedding of his son Ferdinand with Isabella of Castile in 1469 before giving it to Isabella on her marriage, after which it continued to have a lively history as a valuable pledge. It had seven table-cut balas-rubies in gold settings, alternating with eight rosettes, each set with a pear-shaped pearl on a prong, and had a pendant of a perforated balas from which hung a single large drop pearl.

Legend had it that this balas-ruby had once belonged to King Solomon. Similarly Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, left in 1488 a collar of gold with 'nynetene diamonds' and one of fifteen rubies and ten clusters of three pearls with a pendant set with a diamond and a large pearl.[16]

Not all collars were richly and heavily jewelled, and we find occasional references to collars set with semi-precious materials. In 1404 the goldsmith Jehan Cherbourt was paid for making twenty-two gold links 'for putting and setting' on Queen Ysabeau of France's collar of coral. One of Margaret of Denmark's collars displayed the changing taste in stones of the later fifteenth century, for it consisted of twenty-five small chalcedonies set in gold, with a large pendant set more traditionally with two rubies and two pearls.[17]

Collars displaying only pretty fancies, with no overtones of heraldic badge or personal device, were owned by princes and great lords and by their wives and daughters, but probably they were even more popular with noblewomen of lesser standing and knights and their ladies. Such collars had various motifs within the late mediaeval vocabulary of ornament. Two tastes seem to have been lastingly popular throughout the fifteenth century. One was for a decoration of metal beads, sometimes enamelled, while the other was for collars of leaves. Both motifs appear early in the accounts of the Dukes of Burgundy. In 1412 his court goldsmith Jean Mainfroy made for Jean Sans Peur a broad collar of gold, formed of trembling leaves, and decorated with three rows of precious stones and pearls, the bottom row being set with twelve good balas-rubies and twelve pointed diamonds, while the two upper rows were both composed of twenty-four trefoil links, each set with three pearls. Jean's collar of beads is recorded in 1416 as a collar of little rings enamelled white, green and red, with 'little balls' above and below. It had a pendant set with a balas-ruby, encircled by a table-cut diamond and five pearls. Sometimes wildly naturalistic forms were used: in 1413–14 Alfonso of Aragon had a gold collar 'in the fashion of cabbage-leaves, twisted, one burnished, the next ribbed'. Another of his collars was in the 'fashion of spinaches'. Again in 1437 at the entry of Charles VII into Paris the Bastard of Orléans wore a gold collar of great oak-leaves weighing 50 marks. Sometimes such collars were interlaced into a garland: in 1426 a gold collar in the form of a 'wrethe', probably in fact like a heraldic torse, was stolen from the house of Sir John de Boys at Harrow, near London.

Livery colours were the paramount feature in some collars. In 1422 Henry V of England had a gold collar enamelled in his colours, white and red, another enamelled white and red and 'in the fashion of round buttons', and a third 'in the fashion of a wreath', like Sir John's, enamelled in the French royal colours of green and white. His large silver-gilt collar was also enamelled white and red. Even here, then, where fancy alone appears to dictate the design, livery dictates the colours. Other motifs were delicately fanciful. Louise de Miolans, wife of the Savoyard nobleman Amédée de Challant, gave in the late fourteenth

century to Notre-Dame de Lausanne a silver collar fashioned as white and red roses which was later put on the Virgin's head. In 1426 Elipde des Baux left 'a small gold collar with little bells, enamelled with white, green and red flowers, with a pendant set with three pearls and three balas-rubies around a central sapphire', and another, small gold collar of 'dangling pears and little leaves'.[18]

Perhaps because they were delicate inventions of the gold-smith, rather than embodiments of motifs prescribed by his customer, such collars were known in England as 'devyses'. Alternatively the term may indicate a French derivation, which in turn may also lie behind the Italian *divisa*. In 1465 Sir John Howard, later the first Howard duke of Norfolk, bought from 'Arnold gooldsmythe a dyvyse of goold for mastres Margret'. Two *devices* that Sir John gave his new wife that same year are mentioned in an inventory; unusually, they were an almost matching pair, each with fourteen links, eight of them enamelled, and one set with four rubies, three diamonds and seven pearls, the other with seven rubies and seven pearls. Charles the Bold had in 1468 three slender gold collars which must have been particularly delicate. One had little links of roses, and was set with four diamond flowers, four rubies and four pearls, the other two were of roses enamelled white and blue. Others of his collars must have had their own elegant shimmer, like the collar of dangling leaves 'set with twelve pointed diamonds, uncut, twenty-four clusters of three pearls and twenty-six single pearls',

and having twelve empty collets. It is uncertain whether Charles's collar of ten panniers, each set with three pearls and a very rich diamond, with interlaced bands on which hung tassels enamelled white and black, was a collar of ornamental motifs, or a collar of devices. Queen Charlotte de Savoie left in 1483 a collar of thistles, 'garnished with small black balls', that may have been a collar of someone else's device, but perhaps was purely decorative. The rose, that favourite mediaeval flower, appears to have been a universally popular motif: in 1488 Margaret of Denmark, the Scottish queen, had 'a collar of gold fassonit like roisis anamelit'. The portrait of Maria Portinari (b.1456), wife of Tommaso, a Medici agent living in Bruges, painted by Memling probably *c.*1475–80 (fig.151), shows her wearing just such a collar of roses, linked by the twisting wires so beloved of fifteenth-century ornament, and adorned with a row of pendants below and of beads above – a decoration of such beads became even more fashionable on collars, in France and Flanders especially, during the later decades of the fifteenth century.[19]

In late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Germany collars seem to have been decorated with motifs and pendants that copied brooches in their form. It is not impossible that the Essen brooches were all originally mounted on a riband and formed a collar – in the late nineteenth century they were still shown on a riband of silk (fig.152). Probably the necklace in the Cleveland Museum, decorated with a pendant of a white lady, incorporates on a later chain ornaments from a collar of this type. In 1440 Queen Elizabeth of Austria, widow of King Albrecht II of the Romans and daughter of the Emperor Sigismund, pledged in Vienna three gold collars with pendants. The first was simple, set with pearls, rubies and diamonds, in thirty-two links. The second was of cannelated beads, set with rubies and pearls; it had eight lesser pendants, set with four rubies and five large pearls, and a principal pendant, set with a fine ruby and three large pearls. The other clearly in some ways resembled the Cleveland collar. It was made in two sections, and had thirty small jewelled pendants hanging from it. Twenty-four of these were decorated with motifs, a maiden holding a crown with a couchant stag on a green mount, an ostrich executed in mother-of-pearl and white enamel, branches in red flames, a maiden carved in mother-of-pearl and applied, encircled in a border of leaves and flames, a maiden holding a little pan and a spoon among laurels, a dragon of mother-of-pearl and white enamel on a branch, a stag in white enamel and with gold antlers on a green mount, an oak-branch with an ostrich, again of mother-of-pearl and white enamel, with a gold horseshoe, a swan on an oak-branch (repeated), a cloud with a white enamelled figure of a maiden in it (repeated), a crowned figure of a maiden, a maiden in white enamel with a falcon on a green mount, two others with a stag's head, also on a green mount, a cloud with two white birds, a *bezasson* (bag or purse?) enamelled white, a swan (repeated) of mother-of-pearl with a golden crown round its neck standing on an oak-branch, a white enamelled peacock on blue and white flowers, a white enamelled



Fig. 152 Engraving of the Essen brooches (see colour plate 37) as mounted in the nineteenth century. From *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* III, V, p.543a
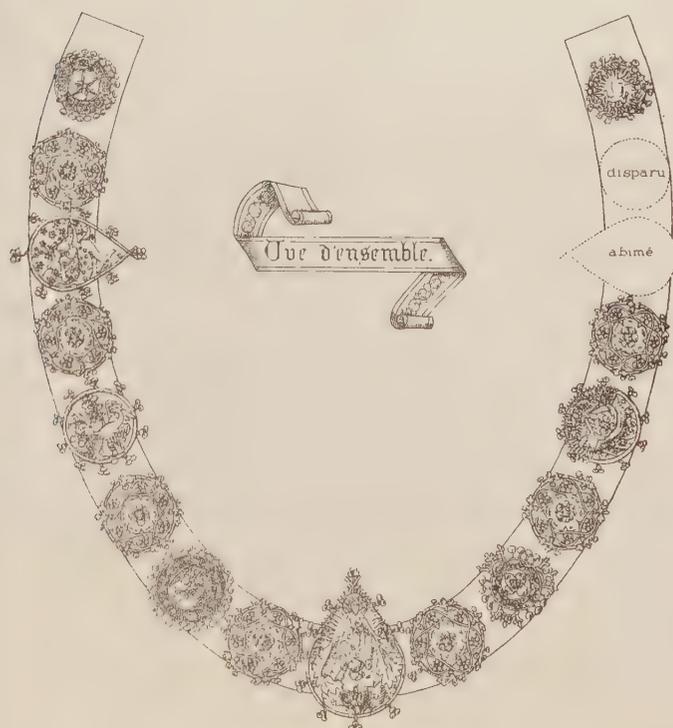
Fig. 151 Maria Portinari by Hans Memling. Tempera and oil on panel. Flemish, c.1475–80.
Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
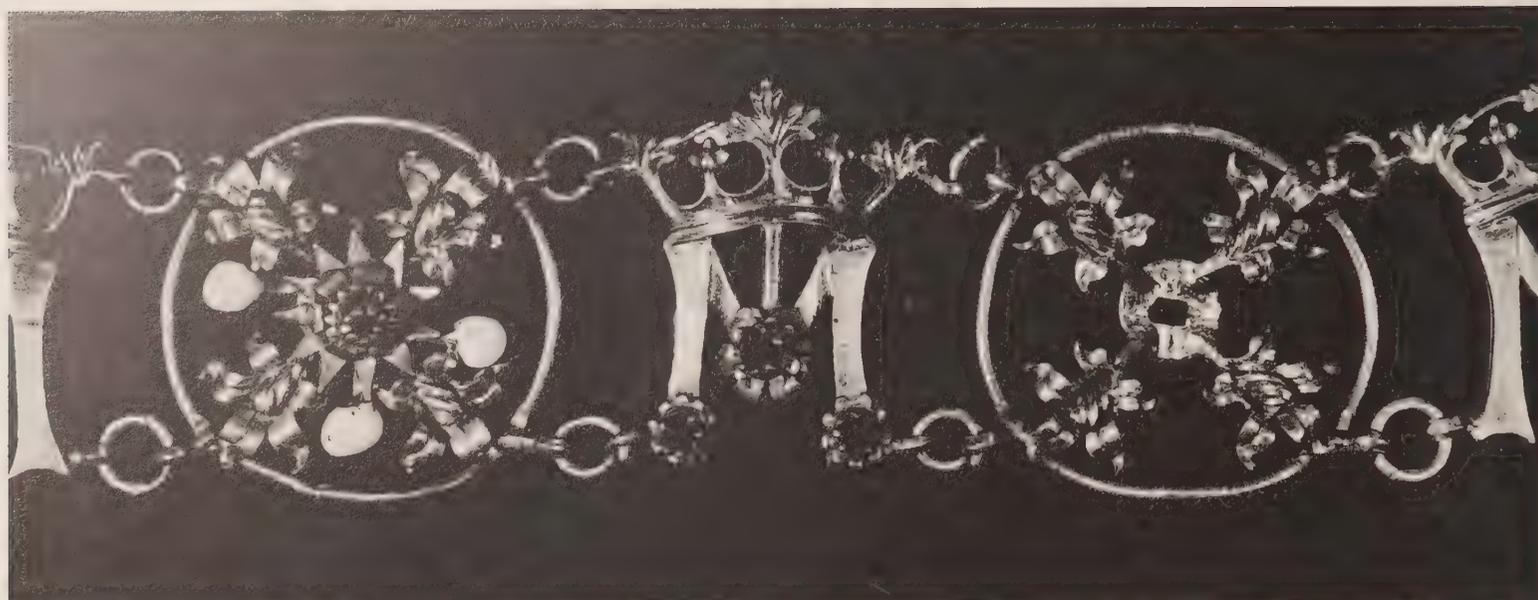
Fig. 153  Collar (collar of Michelle de France). Detail of colour plate 101.
Gold, silver-gilt, rubies, enamel beads. Length 90.9cm. French or Swiss,
early fifteenth century. Altes Zeughaus, Solothurn, Switzerland

basket, a figure of a man, again enamelled white, *rauch gestalt* (in the shape of smoke?), and a white enamelled angel. Of the other six, one was of filigree and the remaining five are described as round, and set with balas-rubies, diamonds, and pearls – indeed rubies, balas-rubies, diamonds and pearls were the only stones used on the collar, with the exception of a single emerald on one of the round pendants. The use of applied motifs of mother-of-pearl would alone suggest that this collar was of German rather than French origin. The figurated motifs are drawn from the romantic and realistic repertory of International Gothic jewellery, where they are not, as with the ostrich and the dragon, family devices of Elizabeth. The stones and pearls with which these figurated pendants were also set were evidently used in much the same manner as on the Essen brooches and the Bargello camel brooch (pls.37, 41), the pearls being set on prongs, while the use of borders of leaves and of white enamel also relates the collar to the same group of jewels. As on the camel brooch, where tufts of hair are executed in chiselled gold reserved in the metal, the white stag on the green mount had antlers of gold, whose prongs were set with pearls, and the blue and white flowers of the peacock pendant recall the same brooch.[20]

A wilder fancy gives itself play in German later fifteenth-century collars. The lopped-branch ornament was ubiquitous in the art of the period and it appears as the motif of half the links of the great Hohenlohe collar (pl.93), where it has been formed into a design of naturalistic winter-hedge intricacy, and enamelled grey-blue; the twigs bear the mysterious letters m, h, b, n, m. The intervening links are shaped as gold squares of openwork foliage surrounding collets on which are set faceted and cabochon sapphires. An enamelled pendant of another favourite fifteenth-century ornamental motif, the white double rose, holds a strange profile bust of a fool, his cap enamelled grey-blue, his ass's ear filled with a deep translucent red. Naturalistic looped foliated branches enamelled translucent green, again a common motif of the fifteenth-century repertory, form a sort of stem for the rose, and bear another cabochon sapphire in a collet. The motif of lopped boughs was also popular in Spain, in some respects an outpost of the German goldsmiths' art in the fifteenth century, where it was known as *troncos*. It was also much used in France though probably in soberer form: in 1481, for instance, Jeanne, Duchess of Orléans, had 'a large gold chain, made in the fashion of lopped boughs, in the which are twenty-eight large links'.[21]

Collars of devices or mingling devices with initial letters or purely fanciful motifs were, as we have seen, the commonest sort of collar worn by great personages. The device of Jean, Duc de Berry, a bear, usually white, figured prominently on all his collars. In 1411 his treasurer gave him as a New Year's present a collar of flattened gold wire, with gold roundels at either end, and sewn with small bears enamelled white, with small rosettes, each set with a little table diamond, and with lozenge-shaped studs. Another collar – clearly a version of the old-style riband collar, for it is described as of gold thread interwoven in the fashion of a riband – was also sewn with little bears enamelled white. It was made by Herman Rince, the Duke's goldsmith, and given by the duke in 1416 as a present to Sigismund, King of the Romans. Most magnificent of all was a collar enamelled all round with bears and set with much-prized and costly gems – a large balas-ruby called the *Balay de David*, another, large oblong ruby and a square sapphire with an intaglio head of a man – and had a pendant of a bear enamelled black and set on its shoulder with a rose-cut ruby. Two broom-cods, enamelled white and green, and with a large cabochon ruby set between, hung behind. The same goldsmith made for Valentina Visconti, in 1401–2,

a great collar of double gold, in the fashion of a long chain, containing forty-eight pieces all made after the device of the said lady, with twenty-four balas-rubies and seventy-six pearls hanging from them, together with several besants [roundels] and other works.

Two collars of devices Valentina owned in 1408 help to suggest its appearance. One, a gift of that year from her husband Louis, Duke of Orléans, was of gold set with nine large balas-rubies, of which the largest was placed at the front, above a very large diamond and four large pearls. Its links were shaped as the letters VVS, intermingled with eighteen broom-cods set with pearls. A 'twisted collar', last of the three she owned, was composed of white and green broom-cods, set with fourteen large balas-rubies and sixty-three large pearls. From it hung a circular gold pendant set with a large square ruby, five large pearls and three large diamonds, and as drops from the pendants hung a white and green broom-cod, both set with a fine oriental ruby.[22]

Of these two collars, one intermingled personal sentiment with the French royal device of the broom-cod; the other was purely of the French royal device. A light necklace-collar of silver-gilt alternating thirteen crowned initial Ms with rings containing rosettes on foliage set with enamel beads (pl.101, fig.153) still survives in the treasure of Solothurn Cathedral, Switzerland, to give us some idea of the appearance of these collars of initial letters. The central M is marked by three rubies set in collets. The crown is a closed crown, which seems more suitable to a royal queen or princess rather than to a duchess of Burgundy, such as Marguerite of Flanders, with whom the collar has been associated – that is, if the motif is not Marian or sentimental, as seems most probable, for silver-gilt was not a metal often worn by great ladies, who usually decked themselves out with gold. Collars of this type continued to be fashionable throughout the century: in 1474, for instance, Gabrielle de la Tour, Comtesse de Montpensier, had a gold collar of white roses and columbines and her initial letters GL. And in her portrait of c.1480 (fig.154) Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, wears a state version of such a collar in which the letters MY made into a cipher and alternated with C hang from a Yorkist collar enamelled with white and red roses, again alternately. Among the jewels of Philip the Bold, as listed in 1420, was a gold collar of a different sort of device 'all made of small coupled links of small planes in the fashion of links and with a little clasp of gold'. Sometimes the owner's name was figured symbolically. Thus the civet-cat or *jeannette*, an animal very popular in heraldic blazonry and devices, was adopted as a device by Jeanne de Laval, the queen of René of Anjou, who had a collar of fifteen *jeannettes* made at some date before 1478. This fancifulness also appears in the collars which René had made of his device of paternoster beads, like one of 1476 composed of 'paternoster beads of Florence and buttons of silver-gilt' which he gave away as a present to a little girl.[23]

Collars of devices or initials, or of devices and initials mingled,



Fig. 154 Margaret of York, anon. Oil on panel. Flemish, c.1480. Musée du Louvre, Paris

long continued popular. In 1419 Gosson de Bomel, a German or Dutch goldsmith in the service of the Duke of Savoy, completed a collar of gold mounted on a riband of the device of Louis of Savoy, Count of Piedmont and Prince of Achaia, who died in 1418 before its delivery. This was presumably a collar of device like the broom-cod collar of France. Henry V had a rich royal collar which mingled the royal device of antelopes with letters of SS and the collar. When pledged to the City of London in 1415, it was described as a

great collar of gold, made of workmanship in crowns and beasts called antelopes, enamelled with white esses, and the beasts surcharged with green garnets; the charge being of two pearls, and each beast having one pearl about the neck. And each of the crowns is set with one large balas and nine

large pearls, and in the principal crown, which is in front, there are set, in addition to the balas and the pearls, two large diamonds in the summit, and besides the crowns, there are other balases therein, eight in all, the collar weighing 56 ounces in the whole.

This appears to be an earlier version of the 'rich coler' that belonged to Henry VI in 1434: this was formed of sixteen 'peces', eight of them set with the device of antelopes studded with twenty large pearls. The other eight 'peces' had crowns enamelled with the motto *une sanz pluis* (one lady and no more). The ten *ouches* or clasping links of the collar bore double flowers of gold and were set with a large balas-ruby and six large pearls. A collar made in 1449 for Duke Louis of Savoy by the court goldsmith Jacques Mennequin united his father's device of falcons with three interlacing loops which had been the family device since the time of his great-grandfather the Green Count Amadeo VI. Two of the falcons were set with stones, one with two pearls and a diamond, the other with two pearls and a ruby.[24]

In 1456 Marie, Duchess of Orléans, had several collars of her devices of pansies and clouds and of letters, presumably her own initial or that of someone dear to her. The ostentatious sentimentality of the fifteenth century appears in Charles the Bold's collar, recorded *c*.1468, 'made of tears, garnished with three diamonds, three rubies and six pearls'; these were evidently a mourning fashion, for in 1453 René of Anjou bought two collars of tears for his daughter Yolande and a great lady of the household on the death of his first wife, Yolande de Bar. In 1469 Marguerite of Brittany had a gold collar enamelled black, violet and white, with the letters F and M for her husband François and herself, with friar-knots, that is true-love knots, and with pansies enamelled white and violet. Such collars advertising conjugal devotion seem to have been in high vogue during this decade, though their origin certainly dates back to the late fourteenth century, for in 1467 Yolande de France, Duchess of Savoy, wife of Amadeo IX, had three gold collars in which the letters A and Y figured, and in two of them at least were interlaced. Again in 1483 her aunt by marriage, Charlotte de Savoie, Queen of France, had a collar 'called the leveret's collar, set with ten balases, and twenty good pearls, made of letters and columbines'.[25]

Such collars could be of enormous value: thus the gold collar which Antoinette de Maignelais, mistress of Duke François II of Brittany, lent her lover in 1468 was valued at 18,000 écus d'or. It was of gold, and was composed of nineteen lover's knots (friar's knots) with sixteen letters A set amongst them. In each knot was set a diamond in a collet; in the centre was a table-cut diamond, with sloping sides, with three pearl drops beneath. The other eighteen diamonds consisted of six table diamonds, four lozenge-shaped diamonds, three shield-shaped diamonds, two 'tub-bottom' diamonds, one hog-back diamond, one flat heart diamond and one faceted pointed diamond. Their variety is a vivid illustration that uniformity was still far from being the rule in the stones used for jewellery.[26]

Sometimes jewelled collars were altered into collars of devices by the addition of new motifs. Queen Isabella of Castile figured the conjugal union which bound her and her husband Ferdinand together by adding three gold motifs shaped as yokes and enamelled white and red between the balas-ruby and the pearl drop that hung from her rich collar of balas-rubies. Isabella had another collar of her device of arrows, which she was recorded as wearing in 1473, and her husband also had a collar of this shared device. Collars with devices had long been common in Spain: the great Constable of Castile, Alvaro de Luna (d.1453), owned a collar whose links were fashioned as cuisses, while his master Juan II had one in 1453 of *troncos* – the favourite lopped-bough or trunk motif – whose fifty-eight links were enamelled white and grey and *rouge cler*, which had been made for him by his court goldsmith Hans of Ulm and which he later gave to his Queen. They were fashionable in England too: in 1504 Prince Henry of England was given by his sister Princess Margaret as a New Year's gift a gold collar with the Tudor devices of enamelled red and white roses, intermingled with pansies, and with 'wyres of pynnes'.[27]

Collars as aristocratic ornaments seem to have been less frequently worn in fifteenth-century Italian city states than chains, at any rate by men; they were almost certainly much worn at princely courts, however. Those that are recorded seem often to have been of foreign origin. Apart from the two collars the Earl of Salisbury sent on behalf of the Duke of Bedford in 1426, Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, had only one collar 'of fine gold, enamelled and punched, with twelve balas-rubies and twelve sapphires and seventy-two pearls and with a large balas-ruby, with a large pearl hanging from the said collar set in gold'. At his death in 1465 Piero di Cosimo de' Medici had only two gold collars, one simply enamelled, the other surpassingly rich and valuable, 'of interlacings and enamelled' and set with 234 pearls, twenty-seven pointed diamonds, and twenty-seven mandorla-shaped rubies, with a pendant of a sail enamelled and set with twelve pearls, three rubies and a diamond. This may have been a collar of device, for on a frescoed altarpiece by Andrea del Castagno, now in the Contini-Bonacossi collection (Palazzo Pitti, Florence), commissioned by Piero di Andrea Pazzi of Florence for his villa at Trebbio, Piero's little son Renato wears a collar of three rows of pearls with a silver pendant of a sail, a device worn by his godfather King René of Anjou on his helmet, and probably given to him by René as a baptismal gift in 1442. In 1456 Piero also had two collars of the Order of the Crescent of René of Anjou, one of silver, the other of silver-gilt, and 'a chain of the French fashion'. At his death in 1492 Lorenzo the Magnificent had several gold chains, more or less richly decorated, for wearing round his neck, but only one collar, and that was French. This had thirty links (*troze*) decorated with foliage enamelled red and green and blue and ornamented with seed-pearls; ten of the links were each set with a ruby mounted in a gold setting, and ten others were set with a pearl mounted on a prong, while over the others was

foliage in relief and enamelled. From it hung a heart-shaped pendant, on which were three *chatons* set with a ruby, a hog-back diamond, a pearl and a small poor emerald.[28]

Finally, certain other articles of costume worn round the neck or over the shoulders were, at times, treated as articles of costume jewellery, as the collar itself had been originally, at any rate in France and England, the only countries for which we have detailed information. The *gorgerette*, or *gorgerin*, a collar or scarf or *fichu* whose original purpose had been to protect the neck or the neck and shoulders, was decorated quite early with gold mounts and jewels. We already know of the rich *colerectus* of Edward I and of Louis X's 'a fair gorgeret of gold sewn with diamonds and white pearls on green velvet'. Rich *gorgerins* were still in fashion during the second half of the fifteenth century: in 1468 Charles the Bold had a *gorgerin* of gold chainwork, 'garnished with two platines enamelled with the device of two CCs' and in 1492 Anne of Brittany's court goldsmith Arnoul du Viviers was paid for two gold *gorgerins*. One was composed of thirty-two double wires, whose surface was ornamentally bruised. The wires were interlaced into a chequer-board form and set with thirty-two letters of twisted gold in the form of Roman letters, partly enamelled red and white, partly bruised, and each bordered with Anne's device of a *cordelière* (friar's knot) bruised and enamelled black. The whole was fixed to a burnished ground, and fastened in front by six little chains. The second was composed of the Roman letters SS and ZZ interlaced, and encircled by a Franciscan friar's cord on a burnished ground. It was enamelled in the same colours and also decorated with bruising.[29]

The *camail* (English, 'aventail'), originally a military tippet of mail, attached to the helmet, became an article of secular costume in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was adopted as the collar of his order by Louis d'Orléans in 1394, the pendant being a porcupine, as already mentioned. In 1399 we find him paying for two gold collars 'after the fashion of cut pieces of open links of mail as for a hauberk' which clearly illustrate the derivation of this type of collar from armour. Both collar and porcupine are worn by a member of the Villa family of Turin in a Flemish altarpiece painted after 1455 (pl.95), which is important as being our best visual record of this sort of shoulder ornament. It will be seen that the *camail* has the meshes and chain links of the military original. In 1410 Charles d'Orléans, Louis's son, in whose honour the order had been founded, was obliged to sell his father's own insignia of a *camail* 'in the fashion of a trellis or hedge of gold, with four large balas-rubies set to either side and an even larger one in the middle of them'. Above it was curved and set with bosses of gold and of white and clear red enamel; below from each of its eight points hung eleven large white pearls, making eighty-eight in all. From its small cluster pendant of four large pearls around a great central diamond, hung the order's device of a gold porcupine. Like the other collars and badges of chivalric orders, the *camail* was distributed by the Orléans dukes to other princes and to nobles and knights. It was even given, exceptionally, to a great bourgeois, for one of silver was sold in 1453 among the effects of Jacques Coeur after the fall of that mighty merchant-financier.[30]

At first an exclusive princely device, the *camail* became in time an article of ordinary ornament and we must suppose that the name came to be applied to unusually broad shoulder or tippet-shaped collars that were of mesh or open wirework. The intersections of the design, or its interstices could be ornamented with motifs. This must have been the case, for instance, with a *camail* of gold, whose design was of roses and columbines, inventoried in 1474 among the jewels of Gabrielle, Comtesse de Montpensier. It is also what is suggested by a *collier en fachon de camail* that was among the jewels of Mary of Burgundy in 1482. Its upper part was made of lozenges of drawn gold wire, set above with clusters of pearls, three by three. Between each pair of lozenges were small beads enamelled black – beads of this colour seem to have been a frequent feature of later fifteenth-century collars. From the upper row of lozenges hung openwork *lambeaux* – pendant pieces no doubt simulating the jagged borders of a *camail*. The *lambeaux* were garnished with enamelled letters and flowers, and from each of them dangled pearls, making in all a decoration of 126 pearls. In 1472 her German goldsmith Hans Rose made for Yolande of Savoy a collar set with pearls 'in the fashion of a *camail* [*a mode de camey*]' which she sent as a present to her daughter Anne, then living at the French court under the care of her great-aunt, Queen Charlotte. At his death in 1482 the young Duke Philibert of Savoy also owned a gold *camail* – this must have been an article of usual wear, for it was among the few jewels and articles of plate he had with him in Lyons, where he died. His brother Charles pledged next year among other family jewels a *camail* set with ten large pearls and four cabochon rubies. The *collier de camail* was still fashionable in 1497, when one was made for the Arch-duchess Margaret of Austria.[31]

Another ornament which had its origins in armour was the peytrell, which presumably got its name because it was simply a version in precious metal of the pectoral. Some of the peytrells mentioned in inventories of men's jewels may have been jewelled pectorals for horses, but this seems unlikely, and more probably the name was given because the peytrell covered the chest or alternatively bore some resemblance to mail, like the *camail*. In 1408 Valentina Visconti had a peytrell (*poitrail*) of gold garnished with nettle-leaves and hens, both devices of hers, and 'in the front before is a hen enamelled white with a fine ruby above'. In 1411 her son Charles d'Orléans sold one 'made of initial letters of Y, and set with twenty-four balas rubies, twenty-four clusters of three pearls each, and twenty-four other pearls'. The peytrells of Jean, Duke of Burgundy, were also composed of devices. One inventoried in 1420 after his death assembled his device of a plane and its attendant devices of planks, adzes and shavings, with his other device of hop-leaves. It is described as

a gold *poitrail* made of three rows of pairs of little planks, and between the rows are two rows of planes set in openwork, in the which are eighty planes in all, and from each of these planes hangs a gold ring, large enough to wear on the finger, each set with a diamond. From these hang hop-leaves and little shavings, and five long pendants in the fashion of adzes.

For contrast of colour some of the shavings were executed in silver.[32]

Another peytrell (*poitrail*) that had probably belonged to Duke Jean Sans Peur of Burgundy (d.1419), since it included his devices of a plane and hops, was inventoried among the jewels of his son Philippe *c*.1430. It is described as a gold peytrell, composed of sixty pendant rings, each set with a diamond, with a pendant of a plane with two dangling motifs – perhaps the French royal broom-cods. Dangling all round the pectoral were great hop-leaves. In 1422 Henry V left several peytrells (*peitreux*): one was of gold, garnished with seven balas-rubies, seven sapphires and twelve pearls, which he had bought at Mantes 'from John Say merchant of Paris'. There can be no ambiguity about the woman's collar 'to serve in the same fashion as a peytrell', listed among the jewels of Charles the Bold in 1468: it was enamelled green, white and red and had small gold pendant spangles that quivered. Similarly the *pisanes* mentioned in English inventories and documents bore a name borrowed from armour; these too were shoulder-capes of mail, and in the context of jewellery were presumably the English equivalent of the French *camail*. That they were a variety of collar is clear from records of Henry VI describing a gold 'pesane (otherwise cleped a coler)' and 'a pusane of gold called the rich coler'. This was of Henry V's device of antelopes. The *gargantille*, worn in Southern France, Spain and Portugal, was originally a light veil or fichu, often transparent, worn over the throat, but when found used as a term for jewellery it seems to mean merely a necklace or collar, and not to be a jewelled textile or simulation of a textile.[33]

Earrings, so popular during classical times, at any rate in Italy and the Eastern half of the Empire, and later in Byzantium and during the early Middle Ages, seem scarcely to have been worn at all in the later Middle Ages, at least in the North. They may however have survived in provincial regions for some decades of the thirteenth century, or even later. It was of course the custom for married woman to wear a veil or later a rich head-dress and, even in fashions where these did not cover the ears, these were often concealed by elaborate side-pieces of real or false hair. Accordingly earrings would often not have been visible even if worn and this probably accounts for their lapse from popularity. The swept-back styles of the fifteenth century probably encouraged their eventual reintroduction, though they certainly did not inspire it. So much appears to be true of Northern Europe. In the Byzantine empire earrings continued to be much worn. Father Simon FitzSimon, the Irish Franciscan pilgrim, visiting Candia in Crete in 1323 on his way to the Holy land, noted that the Jewish and Greek women of the city wore earrings of which they were inordinately vain. Those found in late fourteenth-century princely tombs from the Balkans, like the earrings from Curtea de Arges in Wallachia, were presumably worn under the influence of Byzantine fashion by the great ladies with whom they were buried. To a fifteenth-century Northern eye they created surprise. In 1432 the Burgundian traveller Bertrandon de la Brocquière, passing through Constantinople, was astonished to see the Empress Maria Commena 'wearing in her ears broad and flat rings, set with several precious stones, more of rubies "than of any other sort".' It is true that earrings are mentioned in the French royal accounts for 1352, but as a pair of gold rings bought for the Dauphin Charles, later Charles V, to be 'hung and attached' to the ears of Mitton, his fool. And it is also true that in the *Nativity*, painted by Jacques Daret for the abbey of Saint-Vaast in Flanders in 1433–5 (pl.105), Salome the midwife with the withered hand wears a gold earring with a drop, but this is perhaps a touch of exotic oriental colour. Yet it may be that they continued in existence as an ornament but, if so, this must have been at a social level below that of the great, noble or wealthy. They continued however to be worn in thirteenth-century Hungary and in South Italy, Sicily and Spain where they were in high estimation throughout the Middle Ages. In Hungary and South Italy their popularity testifies to lingering Byzantine influences; in Sicily and Spain Moorish influences were the most probable inspiration.[1]

Neapolitan documents mention earrings from the twelfth century: pendant ones in 1110, ones of silver-gilt and gold in



Fig. 155 Bust of Sigelgaita Rufolo. Southern Italian, c.1270. Duomo, Ravello

1184. A pair of gold earrings of crescent form (pl.96), but shaped as stylised birds and executed in filigree, are in the Galleria Nazionale, Palermo. The bird-head finial lends a curious vivacity to a design that is otherwise composed of rigorously formal outline and ornament. It has been suggested that they come from the tomb of Constance of Aragon (d.1222), the first wife of the Emperor Frederick II. In the thirteenth century Neapolitan records speak of a pair of earrings 'with nets of pearls' (1286); perhaps these were of the type represented on the bust of the wealthy merchant's wife Sigelgaita Rufolo (fig.155) of Ravello, executed in the 1270s, whose long dangling pendants consist of reticulated pearls. The fashion in South Italy for long pendant earrings was probably in origin Byzantine, but there seems to be no known Byzantine precedent for earrings of the type worn by Sigelgaita. In the fourteenth century there are mentions of earrings of gold 'wrapped round with pearls [*de auro involutum de*

*perlis*]' (1396), of others 'ring-shaped, of silver set with pearls' (1368), of earrings 'for daily wear [a very rare detail] of gold and pearls in the fashion of Salerno' (1372) and earrings shaped as roses of gold and pearls. The popularity of earrings may have waned in the fifteenth century, perhaps because of the elaborate head-dresses of the period, to revive towards its end, yet in Sicily they were expressly prohibited in 1425, and a Roman sumptuary ordinance of 1461 forbidding their wear suggests that they had become common ornaments there in the mid-fifteenth century, perhaps under Spanish and Neapolitan influence. By contrast they are only rarely mentioned in North Italy during the quattrocento.[2]

In Spain we have evidence that they were important ornaments. As we have seen, c.1215 Doña Mayor Alvárez owned earrings of gold set with precious stones. The crescent-shaped type which was certainly one of the commonest designs for earrings in the early Middle Ages must have remained a standard form in the thirteenth century, if as seems likely the four crescents of enamelled gold that were provided in 1273 for Jaime of Aragon to give as betrothal present were earrings. Earrings of 'nets of pearl' seem to have been worn in Spain as well as Italy: in 1303 the trousseau of Ines Alfonso included earrings of this type. They continued to be worn in Spain throughout the Middle Ages – Clonard claims as part of the rich jewellery worn by unmarried Spanish girls to enhance their attractions. In fact they were certainly worn by married women as well: in 1341 Doña Leonor de Guzmán bequeathed two sets of earrings, one large pair of gold, set with sapphires encircled by seed-pearls, the others of gold with a rim of seed-pearls. Doña Leonor was a great Castilian lady, and it is possible that the fashion for earrings persisted in Castile while disappearing in the fourteenth century from Aragon, at any rate in court circles, for Aragonese court inventories appear to list no earrings during this century. But royal Aragonese jewellery was always much under French court influence, and at a lower level earrings may have been much more commonly worn in Aragon and Catalonia than now appears. The fashion for earrings was still strong in fifteenth-century Spain, for in 1438 the Arcipreste of Talavera denounces women for wearing long dangling earrings of gold. The Moorish origin of the fashion is testified by the Castilian word for earrings, *arracadas*, which derives from the Arabic; in 1611 the great lexicographer Covarrubias names them along with rings as the jewels that Spanish bridegrooms were expected to send to their betrothed.[3]

Bracelets of gold were still worn in the imperial Germany of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, and Snorre Sturlason praises King Haakon IV of Norway (r.1217–63) as a great giver of bracelets to his followers. By contrast they seem not to have been much worn in the lands lying to the west of the Rhine. An early glossator of Adam du Petit Pont (d.1150) defines the *brachilia* of his little lexicographical work as 'girdles which go about the arm'. It would seem then that twelfth-century bracelets in France and England were often of riband form. Bracelets are

said to have been worn in the thirteenth century by the ladies of Faenza; but this statement only goes back to Gregorio Zuccolo, a disapproving chronicler of the sixteenth century, who declares that they wore chemises with long sleeves which they threw back to reveal their fair white arms adorned with bracelets. If he is correct, some of these bracelets were perhaps ribands of cloth, for a Neapolitan document of 1296 mentioned a *bracale* (bracelet) with a silver buckle. Bracelets of this kind continued to be worn in South Italy, for the inventory of c.1356 of an Acciaiuoli lady mentions 'a *bracale* mounted in silver'. The thirteenth-century chronicler Saba Malaspina mentions *dextrocheria* (a single bracelet for the right arm), *parasceloides* (bracelets) and *armillae* (armlets) as among the ornaments that were hung from arches, planks and ropes over the streets of Rome as a sign of rejoicing when Conradin of Swabia entered the city in 1268 on his way to claim the throne of the Two Sicilies. It is not clear from the context whether these were of cloth or of metal. Whereas he describes the rings, coronals and brooches that were shown as 'precious' or set with gems, he says nothing of this sort about the bracelets, which are listed along with textiles.[4]

Possible a *bracale* of silk laces covered with red samite and ornamented with mounts of silver which is mentioned in 1299 among the jewels of the wardrobe of Edward I of England was a bracelet of the same type. Again a *braceour* of silk mounted with silver, listed in an inventory of 1338 of Edward III's jewels, was probably a bracelet of riband type. It has however been suggested that it may have been for archery, though it is listed with rings, girdles and buttons, and other articles of costume. And riband bracelets were still being made at the end of the fifteenth century: in 1497 Duke Philip of Savoy had four, two with mounts of enamelled gold and two with mounts of silver-gilt. Bracelets were also sometimes known as *manicles* (from which our word manacle is derived); among the jewels of Edward III in 1357 was 'a silver-gilt manicle for the King's left arm'. In 1469 Olivier de la Marche, the Burgundian court chronicler, speaks of a *manicle* 'in the fashion of a rich bracelet, which is an ornament and pretty device worn by the ladies of Castile, and also of Portugal' as one of the prizes to be awarded at the tournament of Ghent.[5]

It seems in fact that bracelets continued to be worn in Spain throughout the Middle Ages, as in Southern Italy: we have already seen that gold bracelets were worn by Doña Mayor Alvarez c.1215. Probably this was partly owing to Moorish influence; for if *manillas*, one of the Castilian names for bracelets, is of Latin derivation, being closely related to *manicle*, two others, *ajorca* (*axorca*) and *almanaca* are of Arabic origin. It may be that these different names correspond to different types of bracelets: in 1611 Covarrubias explains that *manillas*

> are usually round and twisted, while *ajorcas* are broad and flat and generally adorned with enamelling, works and precious stones, and so Padre Guadix says that *ajorca* derives its etymology from *xarqui*, which means east, because precious stones are set in them that in large part come from the east. In the ancient Castilian tongue they are called *añazmes* . . . .

We cannot be certain whether this distinction also existed in the Middle Ages, but it does appear that many mediaeval Spanish bracelets were strings of stones, pearls and gold ornaments, which again suggests Moorish influence. In 1341 the Condesa Leonor de Guzmán bequeathed in her will an '*axuayca* in which are nine sapphires and three little rubies and fifty large pearls and twenty-six little gold ornaments' and a second of seventy-two large and seventeen smaller pearls. The bracelets denounced in 1438 by the Arciprete of Talavera in his anti-feminist *El Corbacho* were of threaded pearls or of blue or black beads and were 'of various works'. The blue beads seem to have been tiny, for the Arciprete speaks of 'ten thousand to a bracelet', no doubt an exaggeration. But other types were also worn. In 1273 'two gold bracelets, each of four pieces, set with twenty-three rubies and balas-rubies, and each piece set with thirty-two pearls, seed-pearls, pointed emeralds and balas-rubies' were among the jewels provided for the betrothal of Jaime of Aragon. These bracelets were probably composed of linked jewelled plaques. Bracelets were even provided for children to wear: about 1450 the two young Infantas of Portugal, Catharina, aged about thirteen, and Joanna, aged about ten, had between them twenty-nine *manilhas* and a bracelet of enamelled gold. They remained standard wedding presents in mediaeval Spain and Portugal – another testimony to their popularity. In 1471, for instance, the Marqués de Cádiz gave his bride Doña Beatriz Pacheco two described as *manillas brazaletes*, which perhaps were armlets, and twelve other bracelets, six of enamelled gold, and six of burnished gold.[6]

By contrast there seems little doubt that metal bracelets ceased to be generally worn elsewhere in Europe between the later thirteenth century and the late fourteenth. The only authentic fourteenth-century metal bracelets known to survive are all from the Balkans. One, for instance was found on the body of the Lady Ann, wife of the Voivode Radu I of Wallachia (r.*c*.1377–83), when her tomb in the church of Curtea de Arges was opened in 1920 (fig.156). Presumably it dates from between 1374, the date of death of Radu's father Vladislas, and *c*.1383, the date of death of Radu, who was the real builder of the church. It consists of two broad curved pieces of gold hinged together by a pin passing through sockets attached to the inner end of either piece. The areas adjoining the sockets are decorated with an oblong panel showing a lion on a hatched ground; the two lions affront each other when the two pieces are joined together. In Wallachia of course, as in the rest of the Balkans, Byzantine influence probably encouraged the wearing of bracelets of gold or silver.

When bracelets first appear again in Northern Europe, about 1390, they appear then as a novelty. The first known mention of them occurs at the festivities held to celebrate the Treaty of Amiens in February and March 1391 when Philippe of Burgundy wore as an accessory to a richly embroidered and jewelled *houppelande* a bracelet of gold chain fastened by a gold clasp, set with seven large square balas-rubies and thirty-eight large pearls



Fig. 156 Bracelet. Gold. Wallachian, 1374–*c*.1383. Found Curtea de Arges. Muzeul de istorie al R.S. România, Bucharest

on the chain, while the clasp was set with a large ruby and five large round pearls. This early date seems to dispose of the suggestion, made by some modern historians, that the mode for bracelets was brought back to Northern Europe by Jean, Comte de Nevers, Philippe's son, on his return in 1397 from his disastrous crusade against the Turks. It is not even true that all the earliest mentions of bracelets figure in the Burgundian accounts: in 1392 Louis of Orléans, the brother of Charles VI, is recorded as buying two bracelets. And they were already sufficiently common in Bologna in 1398 for an ordinance of that year to forbid specifically the wearing of them by women. The fashion for them had reached the southern lordships of Gascony by the middle of the 1390s, when King Joan I of Aragon, as we have already seen, scolded his son-in-law Mathieu de Castlebon, Count of Foix (d.1398), who had married his eldest daughter Juana in 1392, for wearing Joan's new device of the double crown, assumed in 1393, not

round his neck, as he ought to do, but on his arm – in other words as a bracelet.[7]

They were however objects that were still generally unfamiliar. In 1393 Philippe of Burgundy bought from Herman Roussel in Paris two bracelets set with rubies and pearls, with a little chain and pendant or clasp, which are called by the clerk of the accounts, evidently puzzled how to describe these novel objects, as 'garters for the arm'. His son Jean owned in 1395 'a silver garter with a chain for wearing round the leg and arm'. The use of the term garter, if not simply an ingenious solution by the scribe to the problem of identifying a novel court jewel, may imply, as David suggests, that these early bracelets were still richly mounted ribands, like the garters to which they were compared. But some, like that worn by Philippe of Burgundy in early 1391, were evidently chains. By 1401 such naïveté had disappeared, and two gold bracelets which Jean de Nevers had in that year are described in the documents as *bracelets d'or*. Their significance as personal jewels is shown by the fact that Jean kept one to wear on his arm and gave the other to his chamberlain Régnier Pot as a gage of chivalric friendship.[8]

The term bracelet was in fact already in use among other French royal princes, having been borrowed, like certain other terms used in the later Middle Ages to describe articles of jewellery and costume, from the vocabulary of armour. On 20 March 1394 Hans Croist, goldsmith to Louis, Duke of Orléans, charged for the refashioning of the Duke's 'good bracelet', presumably one of the two bought in 1392, which was decorated with bands enamelled in *rouge cler* and with Louis's six colours (probably the six colours of heraldry). For it he recut a diamond and gave it a new setting. He also charged for a new bracelet set with a large balas-ruby and eight other balas-rubies. In Northern Europe then, bracelets wholly of gold and silver make a real appearance only in the late fourteenth century. Like other jewels of ring form, they seem often to have been regarded as emblems of love. Thus 'the little bracelet of knots of silver-gilt thread' that was listed among the lesser jewels of Marguerite of Burgundy after her death in 1405 probably signified true love by its symbolism of knots.[9]

They still continued to be worn both by men and by women; in 1419 or thereabouts Jean, Duke of Brittany, gave his daughter Marguerite a gold bracelet 'to be given to Madame de Narbonne to give to her husband'. Likewise they remained essentially a jewel worn by those of noble or gentle degree and as such came to be often given as courtly presents. In 1452–3 Queen Margaret of Anjou bought for £19 3s 6d forty-three gold bracelets from the London goldsmith Humphrey Hayford which she distributed as New Year's gifts among the squires and officers of her household and certain members of the King's household. Again, in 1495 King Charles VIII of France spent 94 livres 20 sols tournois on twelve gold bracelets made by his goldsmith Jehan Gallant which were his New Year gifts to the Queen's ladies in waiting. They seem never to have become universally popular in the ranks below the nobility. Only one bracelet is recorded

in all the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century York wills published by Raine; it belonged to a squire. However Richard Dixton, another squire of Cirencester in Gloucestershire, was able to bequeath in 1438 a bracelet of gold to the wife of a fellow squire, so perhaps they were commoner among country knights and gentlemen than this paucity of records suggests. And certainly the goldsmiths' statutes enacted in Dijon in 1443 mention bracelets along with girdles, chains, little brooches, collars and rings as among the jewels ordinarily sold there.[10]

It is however most unlikely that they were widely worn among the merchant and professional classes. The great, by contrast, often owned a number of bracelets of various forms. Simplest of all were perhaps the chain bracelets of which Alfonso of Aragon owned one in gold in 1413–14, but this was most probably an archer's bracelet (pl.97). King Henry V of England had in 1422 a gold bracelet of two ladies enamelled white, each holding a flower of four diamonds in her hands with a roundel above their heads set with a ruby, a great pointed diamond and three large pearls, while beneath their feet were two sapphires. Another was set with a diamond flower, a pointed diamond, a ruby, two sapphires and three pearls. A third gold bracelet displayed his device of two antelopes and was set with a ruby, a fourth was set with forty-eight pearls, and hung from a chain set with nine pearls from which hung a ring set with a ruby. Four others were of plainer sort. Some Neapolitan bracelets are described in 1503 when the Gothic style still prevailed in that city, as being 'of enamelled gold' or of 'pierced gold' and 'enamelled red and white'.[11]

From the earliest decades of the fifteenth century the bracelets of the great were sometimes so richly set with valuable pearls and precious stones, that like brooches and collars they became jewels of great price. About 1430 Duke Philippe the Good of Burgundy owned a very rich gold bracelet, 'garnished with three balas-rubies, three sapphires, and twenty-four large pearls'. Again, Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Sigismund and widow of Albrecht II of Austria, King of the Romans, pledged in Vienna in 1440 a gold bracelet 'richly decorated with pearls and rubies, as is its pendant'. Early in 1467, towards the end of his journey through Europe, the great Bohemian nobleman Leo of Rozmital was so hard up that he had to pawn a precious bracelet, worth 10,000 crowns according to his esquire Tetzel, to a Jew of Wiener-Neustadt for only 1200 crowns.[12]

Presumably riband bracelets mounted in gold or silver were fastened by a buckle in the fashion of the girdles to which they were sometimes compared. Metal bracelets were no doubt sometimes fastened by a pin through sockets like the bracelet found at Curtea de Arges. At other times however they seem to have been fastened by a lock: a note of some royal English jewels made in 1431 mentions 'a bracelet with a little lock of gold'. The fashion of wearing dangling fanciful ornaments from bracelets set in early: we have already read of Henry V's bracelet with a ring dangling from it, and indeed this seems to have been quite usual, for another of his bracelets had two chains hanging

from it, evidently for rings or some other ornament. In 1443, when Louis, Duke of Savoy bought two gold bracelets to be sent to Nuremberg with other presents of jewels to the Duke of Saxony and his family, his agent also bought a diamond ring and a ruby ring to hang from them. Subsequently the Duke paid a goldsmith of Geneva to remake the rings and add two little chains for this purpose of suspension. One bracelet was for the Duchess Anne of Savoy to give to the son, the other to the brother of the Duke of Saxony, but it does not clearly appear why it was thought necessary to add pendant rings to the bracelets, unless it was for the sake of enriching the present by adding a precious stone. The British Museum's tiny padlock-shaped pendant of gold (pls.54, 54a), probably English, since it was found at Fishpool, and dating from c.1425–50, may well have been intended as just such a bracelet ornament. It is an ingenious toy figuration of an affection which is locked fast to the beloved: the French inscription *de tout mon cuer* signifying the whole-heartedness with which the donor has given it and himself to his beloved. A little key fits into the side and opens it.[13]

Then as now charms were worn on bracelets: we have already seen in discussing amulets and sigils that the binding of charms round the arm was one of the ligatures most favoured in the Middle Ages. The jewellery of Queen Charlotte de Savoie, wife of Louis XI of France, included in 1483 a bracelet of gold 'garnished with several strange stones against poison'. The bracelet was one of the articles of jewellery which became a chivalric favour, and so it is not surprising to find Jean, Duke of Bourbon fixing in 1415 on a gold bracelet as the forfeit for knights and a silver bracelet as the forfeit for squires who were defeated in equal combat by the knights and squires of his Order, and Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy offering a gold bracelet set with a ruby as a prize at a joust held on the second day of the wedding festivities of the Sieur de Croy in 1432. Simple bracelets of gold chain continued to be worn: two were made for the Duchess of Orléans in 1463 out of gold left over from a collar which had been re-fashioned to a lighter size. Again it should be remembered that for men not all such plain bracelets were necessarily ornamental: in 1452 Ferrante, Duke of Calabria, the son of Alfonso of Naples, had the court goldsmith Francisco Perez make him a gold bracelet to wear when taking part in archery contests.[14]

In the later fifteenth century bracelets begin to show the same preference for the heavy use of precious stones as other sorts of jewellery. This was certainly true of the gold bracelets of Duke François of Brittany, as described in 1490. One was garnished with twenty-two large pearls of price and fourteen small pearls, seven shield-shaped diamonds, seven large rubies and fourteen small garnets; another was garnished with nineteen large pearls, five shield-shaped diamonds and five large rubies. Others were more fanciful in their design, and invoked the amorous symbolism so special to the bracelet. Thus a bracelet made in two parts, covered with musk, and richly set with a large pointed diamond, a smaller pointed diamond and a table diamond and with three rubies, had little enamelled scrolls inscribed with

the motto of the Dukes of Brittany, A MA VIE (for life). A second, set with pearls and garnets, had an elegant decoration of five pearls on stalks and forty little pearls, dangling from both sides, and was enamelled with flowers and *grains* (tiny beads). In the centre it had a ring, in all probability an amorous gift, set with two shield-shaped diamonds, one large, one small, a ruby and a dangling pear-shaped pearl. More sentimental in its imagery of amorous despair was a bracelet of a chain, with a pendant gold heart hanging from it which was set with a lozenge diamond, and enamelled with black tears reserved in the metal. Entirely decorative on the other hand was a bracelet garnished with six rubies and six small dangling pearls, with little dangling beads enamelled with white-spotted green foliage. Other late fifteenth-century bracelets showed the organic naturalistic tree-branch forms so popular in other kinds of jewellery: in 1497, for example, Marguerite, Countess of Angoulême had a little gold bracelet 'in the fashion of a flat oak, in which is set a jacinth'. The jacinth seems to have become in the second half of the fifteenth century a popular stone for bracelets: in 1476 Jehan de Lutz, goldsmith to the widowed Marie de Cleves, Duchess of Orléans, made for her a gold bracelet of twenty-two carats set with two jacinths.[15]

An article of costume that came during the fourteenth century to be almost a piece of jewellery was the garter. Originally a riband of silk fastened by a buckle, such as we see in early representations of the garter worn by the Knights of the Garter, it was used to fasten the stocking below the knee. During the fourteenth century, when women wore drawers for dancing, garters were used to attach them to their hose – hence the famous story of the Countess of Salisbury's garter which fell off at a dance and the gallantry of Edward III which led, according to legend, to the foundation of the Order of the Garter. The earliest references to ornamental garters naturally concern the Order – this we may suspect is true even of two garters garnished with gold and a garter enamelled blue that the Black Prince bought between 1347 and 1349. But such garters were far from being purely English and even less were they limited to recipients of the Order. They owed their origin in fact to the same taste for enrichment which led to the wearing of girdles that were jewelled and had mounts of gold and silver – indeed in form and mounts the garter was a miniature girdle. But, as the garter was usually visible in the fourteenth century only when the wearer was riding or dancing, the mode for richly jewelled and mounted garters remained a princely and aristocratic luxury – or coquetry. At first perhaps very rich garters were really bought for wear at festivals. In 1369 for example Philippe, Duke of Burgundy paid Symon de Lille, a goldsmith of Valenciennes, for 5 ounces 6 sterlings of silver purchased from him 'and of the said silver were made four garters, two gilt and two plain, for the feast held at Mons the Sunday before Pentecost'.[16]

It has been argued that the blue of the garters of the Order of the Garter was a heraldic or symbolic colour, but in fact blue was also a favourite colour for male and female garters in later

Fig. 157 Cloak clasp. Copper-gilt, enamel, stones. Length 8.5 cm, width 10.8 cm. French, late thirteenth century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland

fourteenth-century France. In 1363, for example, Charles, Duke of Normandy, later King Charles V, had 'a garter on a tissue of dark-blue silk [*ynde*], garnished with gold, pearls, diamonds and balas-rubies.' Queen Ysabeau de Bavière in 1387 obtained for her stockings a pair of garters of blue satin on which the Paris goldsmith Simonnet le Bec employed four ounces of silver to make their buckles and mordants and studs of silver, all gilt and enamelled with the letters K and E. Garters of pearls – presumably pearl-embroidered rather than threaded pearls – are already recorded in the 1360s, when one was pledged by Jean I of Armagnac to Gaston-Phébus of Foix.[17]

There seems to have been no distinction in richness between garters for men and for women. In 1368 Philippe of Burgundy bought a sapphire to put into a garter of pearls which was made for him to wear at the *relevailles* (churching) of Queen Jeanne of France: unfortunately it fell out and was lost at the ceremony. In 1371 he bought from Winant of Cologne, one of his favourite Parisian goldsmiths, three garters of gold, enamelled in *rouge cler*, blue, and white, and gave two of them to his favourite chamberlains, the brothers Guy and Guillaume de la Trémoille. In 1375 he bought a small assortment of diamonds and pearls and a balas-ruby from Jehan de Brabant, goldsmith to the Count of Flanders, in order to have them set in his best girdle and in two of his garters. His children naturally had less magnificent and sumptuous garters: for his daughters Cathérine and Bonne he bought in 1388 two silver-mounted garters.[18]

The vogue for garters decorated with jewels and goldsmiths' work continued among men and women until the end of the Middle Ages. In 1399 King Martin of Sicily paid his court goldsmith Giorgio Carraf for a garter of enamelled gold, and again in 1422 Henry V of England left five garters of blue silk, with gold mounts, one of silk mounted with gold bars, three of the standard gold-mounted blue silk and four simply described as of gold-mounted silk. Garters were long considered to make a very graceful present, and that this notion already prevailed by the mid-fifteenth century is plain from Henry VI of England's gift in 1455 to Affonso V, King of Portugal, of a garter of silver-gilt ornamented with pearls and flowers made by the London goldsmith Matthew Philip. The vogue of the device affected the garter too, as well it might, given that the garter was a prized chivalric favour. In 1455 Marie, Duchess of Orléans paid Jehan Lessayeur, her goldsmith, for two garters with mounts of gold enamelled with her device of tears and pansies – the pansies being a pun on *pensées* for sad thoughts. The miniature of the gold-mounted garter of the English Order of the Garter captured by the Swiss from Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1475–7 (pl.98) suggests the appearance of a richly jewelled princely garter of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It was mounted with eight balas-rubies in claw settings, the largest being set by the buckle, and having two diamonds at its right corners – another diamond was set on the buckle itself. From this largest balas-ruby hung a pendant, formed like so many fifteenth-century pendants, in two tiers, the upper a small roundel set with a pointed diamond, the lower an oval set with a large ruby in a claw setting encircled by four large pearls.[19]

In the twelfth century and earlier the cloaks and mantles of great personages were generally fastened by large brooches, either in front or on the shoulder. This mode continued into later times, but from the twelfth century onwards we also find other devices for fastening the cloak. A simple form of hook clasp used a hook attached to the underside of one edge and had an ornamental buckle for manipulation stitched to the upper side. The cloak could be fastened more or less tightly by inserting this hook over one of the bars of a long narrow hasp stitched to the underside of the opposite edge. Pairs of clasps were generally known in France by the name of *tasseux*, and were presumably originally a French mode, for the name *tasseux* in one form or another was used for them in Spain, Portugal, Germany, England and Italy. The origin of the name we shall discuss in a moment. On mid-thirteenth-century French sculptures we see clasps of this type formed of two metal plaques stitched to the edges of the mantle: one had on its outer side a section of a raised ridge pierced with a hole and fitting into two similar sections on the opposite plaque. When pulled into one, the ridges were kept fast by inserting a pin. The burial mantle of Edward I was fastened by a clasp of this type. The only recorded example to survive is in copper-gilt and enamelled, and is now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (fig.157). It dates from the later thirteenth century.

Another type, already current in North Germany c.1200, was of a pair of roundels, each stitched into a side of the cloak and hooking into one another. It is known to us from a very fine pair discovered in a grave at Emden, in East Friesland. In these, gold bracteates, decorated with knights riding out, apparently hawking,

are set within raised silver frames, shaped as rosettes along the inner side, which are decorated with niello (pl.99). A curious feature of the pair is that the left-hand roundel has a rosette of ten lobes, whereas the other has only eight. A second variety consists of two small square silver-gilt plaques cast with lions in relief and pierced in the corners with holes for stitching (Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum). The right-hand plaque has a hoop which grasps a lozenge-shaped motif attached to the other. Found at Erfurt, they date from the thirteenth century. In what is probably a development of this type, the cloak clasp is formed of a central decorative motif – an eagle, a shield, a lozenge, a roundel – to which the cloak clasps proper are hooked. A number of examples have been found in Scandinavia and are in the museums of Stockholm (fig.158) and Copenhagen and there are fourteenth-century examples in the Brandenburg Pritzwalk treasure, now in Berlin (figs.73, 73a). Like the clasps with a pin fastener, they are usually very small. In these more ambitiously decorative ornaments, the clasps themselves are sometimes treated

as decorative geometrical forms – trefoils, or hinge-shaped motifs – or else are given an elegant figural form. Thus two double-headed eagles may flank a lozenge or a shield, or two lions rampant affront an eagle. Probably the design with two simple plaques persisted in Gothic form into the fourteenth century, for in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, there is a fourteenth-century silver-gilt sexfoil decorated with an eagle in relief and having a loop for its pair. Although there could be no confusion between such tiny cloak clasps and great princely cloak clasps, this feudal iconography of eagles and lions shows how a vocabulary of princely and lordly ornament was eagerly copied by the classes below, just as we saw was the case with the imitation heraldry on the Pritzwalk silver ring brooches. Cloak clasps of this kind seem to have been popular during the first half of the fourteenth century, and display its fondness for vigorous heraldic design. Although the surviving examples are all from Scandinavia, Denmark and North Germany, the type was universal, we may suspect, throughout much of Europe,

Fig. 158  Cloak clasps. Silver-gilt. Widths 2–7cm. Swedish, fifteenth century.
Found Bunge parish, Ducker, Gotland. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

Fig. 159  Cloak clasp. Silver. Length 6.4cm. Swedish, fifteenth century.
Found Längbro parish, Landshövdingebostället, Närke.
Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

for in 1327 Queen Isabel of Portugal left *teixees* (*tasseux*) of eagles
and peacocks and in 1348 Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of
Philippe VI of France, left two cloak clasps shaped as little gold
eagles. A fifteenth-century example from Sweden (fig.159),
where the type in various forms perhaps survived longest, has a
Gothic letter as its central feature, in keeping with the fourteenth-
and fifteenth-century vogue for a decoration of letters.[20]

Pairs of clasps for kings and princes were in fact often of gold.
In 1271 Henry III of England had 'two gold brooches which are
called *tasseux* with rubies and emeralds'. And in 1296 we find
Curzio and Vanno, two Florentine merchants charging the
Dukes of Tirol for eight precious stones they had supplied for
*tasselli*, and for the gold *tasselli* themselves. These did not always
hook into each other; often they were decorative clasps holding
a strap, cord, or chain. The origin of such cloak clasps was
perhaps another twelfth-century device for holding the cloak:
in this a collar strap or a cord or a chain across the upper part
of the chest was maintained by tassels attached to either end.
Although this simple device continued in use into the fifteenth
century, in their eagerness to convert what originally had been
accessories of costume into articles of jewellery the great personages
of the thirteenth century, and particularly its great ladies, sub-
stituted for tassels great clasps of precious metal, which still
retained however their old name of *tasseux*. When such clasps
were linked by chains, these too were of silver or silver-gilt.
Even when the strap was of some rich stuff it was often jewelled.
In 1310 Blanche of Anjou, Queen of Aragon had a 'cord of gold
thread, in which are several pearls and several rubies with two
*gaxeres* [?] and it is for holding a mantle'. Again in 1346,
Queen Maria of Aragon had 'blue silk cords for a cloak with gold
thread and pearls'. The French mercer who peddles his wares in
the thirteenth-century *Dit des Merciers* offers humbler customers:
'fair braids for cloak straps, with big buttons and gold and silk'.
Sometimes they were attached by rings, like the green and red
silk cords 'with their rings for the purpose for fixing a mantle
round the neck' that belonged to the Infante Jaime of Aragon in
1319. In early fourteenth-century Spain cloak cords made in

Burgos, in Castile, were very fashionable: Jaime II of Aragon
owned in 1319 'two pairs of cords of Burgos silk with a gold leaf
for cloaks'. Among very early examples of rich cloak clasps are
two pairs shown on Castilian thirteenth-century effigies from
the ancient town of Carrión de los Condes, in the province of
Palencia, once the capital of an important county. An engraving
of one, the now destroyed thirteenth-century effigy of Don
Diego Martínez de Villamayor (d.1176), founder in 1165 of the
monastery of Benevivere (fig.3), shows him wearing cloak
clasps of semi-quatrefoil form set in the centre with a square
pointed stone encircled by pearls. Another in the church of San
Zoilo of an anonymous knight has similar elaborate *tasseux*.
Again on the founder statues of *c*.1260 in Naumburg cathedral
the Margrave Ekkehard has a cloak strap with tassels, while his
wife Uta wears a great cloak clasp shaped as a metal disc with a
rosette within an apparently pearled rim (figs.50, 51). The
companion statue of Regelindis also has disc-shaped metal
clasps, embossed with star motifs.[21]

In the Carrand Collection (Bargello, Florence) there still
survive two halves of cloak clasps of jewelled silver-gilt probably
dating from *c*.1225–50 (pl.100). Both are shaped as trefoils, the
edges being broken into trilobes, alternating on one with tongue-
shaped motifs, on the other with pointed motifs. Since the two
are fragments from different cloak clasps we can assume that
this was a fairly common design. They are also similarly con-
structed: the base of one is a plate of silver-gilt, of the other a
plate of copper-gilt. These plates are decorated with filigree
scrolls which encircle shaped collets set on the plates. In the
centre of the silver-gilt clasp is a large red stone set in a collet;
the other collets contain blue, white and red cabochon stones
and a turquoise. The other clasp is set with a large blue
cabochon stone in a high collet; the sections of the plate are
rimmed and covered within with filigree, in which are set red
and green stones.

Like every other type of thirteenth-century jewellery, such
cloak clasps, whether fastening to each other, or linked by a
strap, become richer and more elaborate from the century's
later decades. Two cloak clasps which had belonged to Blanche
of Castile (1254–1307) and are listed in 1299 among the royal
English jewels, were of gold, set with rubies and emeralds. The
accounts of the Dukes of Tirol record precious stones to set in
*tassels* in 1296 and 1298. At her death in 1310 Blanche of Anjou,
Queen of Aragon left three *tasseux* of gold, apparently a set of
three roundels, all rimmed with pearls, emeralds and rubies,
encircling on one a large sapphire, on the second a large emerald
and on the third a large balas-ruby. Again in 1358 Queen Beatriz
of Portugal left two gold *tasseux* set with sapphires and small
balas-rubies encircled with pearls. Men too had equally sumptuous
*tasseux*. In 1300 Jaime of Aragon gave two pairs of *tasseux* of pearls,
one to the King of Castile and the other to a nobleman named
Sancho de Ancillon, while in 1328 Countess Mahaut d'Artois
bought from the Parisian mercer Etienne Chevalier two *tachetes*
'worked with figures in pearls' to give to the Dauphin of Vienne

Fig. 160 Effigy of Teresa de Montcada from Capilla de San Pedro, Catedral Vieja, Lérida. Spanish, second half of the fourteenth century. Museo Provincial, Lérida, Spain

and to the son of the Count of Poitiers. Although they were never favourite gifts of jewellery, we find records on occasion of gifts of cloak clasps, usually accompanying other gifts: thus in 1319 Mahaut gave two brides, daughters of important and trusted officials in her service, two gold *tasseux* for cloaks together with costly furred robes of scarlet and pearl-embroidered purses.[22]

Ceremonial royal and princely cloak clasps naturally assumed imposing proportions. In 1353, for instance, Queen Giovanna I of Naples paid for 'two great silver-gilt cloak clasps [*tassiae*]'. Often these princely clasps were heraldic in design. As well as a shield brooch the Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg (d.1291) wears shield-shaped mantle clasps on his tomb in Speyer Cathedral. In 1319 King Jaime II of Aragon owned a pair of cords of gold thread for a cloak which terminated in little shields bearing his royal arms. These seem to have remained in fashion, for the two little gold brooches with the arms of France and Burgundy that Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne left in 1348 were probably cloak clasps. On her effigy, once in the Catedral Vieja, Lérida (fig.160), Teresa de Montcada wears rich cloak clasps of a shield of Aragon in a sexfoil frame. In the 1353 manuscript of the life of St Hedwig, Duchess of Silesia, the picture of her marriage (pl.101) and several subsequent miniatures show her husband Henry the Bearded and her parents, Berthold, Count of Tirol, Duke of Merania, and Agnes von Wettin wearing great shield-shaped cloak clasps, enamelled with coats of arms.[23]

That these were not a figment of the imagination of the fourteenth-century artist is proved by the two secular silver-gilt cloak clasps sent by Louis the Great of Hungary *c*.1374 to the chapel he had founded in the Cathedral of Aachen (pl.102). One, enamelled with the arms of Hungary and surmounted by Louis's personal crest, a helm topped by an ostrich-head holding a horseshoe, is 15.5cm (6⅛in) high, the other, enamelled with the arms of Poland surmounted by an eagle crest, is 14.5cm (5¹¹⁄₁₆in). Louis also sent to Aachen an even richer pair of silver-gilt clasps, some 22cm high × 16cm wide (8⅝ × 6¼in) (pls.103, 103a). Each displays the arms of Hungary and Anjou enamelled on a shield within a frame composed of an outer sexfoil, enamelled in blue in Gothic letters with an inscription in German, and of an inner architectural frame, of fantastic towers and canopies, pierced by Gothic windows. From the round towers at the base of this architectural frame rise two lions who support the shield; below, the framework rests on two addorsed griffins supporting square towers on their heads, from which rise two more griffins as supporters at the sides. Above, in the niches of the crowning canopy are figures of three Hungarian saints: on the left, St Emeric, in the centre St Stephen, and on the right St Ladislas. Between them, on a ground of green enamel, are set the ostrich-head crest of Louis (left) and a man's head on a helm, the crest of the Duchy of Dobrzin, which belonged to Louis's wife Queen Elizabeth (d.1381), born a Polish princess.[24]

The Victoria and Albert Museum has a pair of small silver-gilt cloak clasps from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth
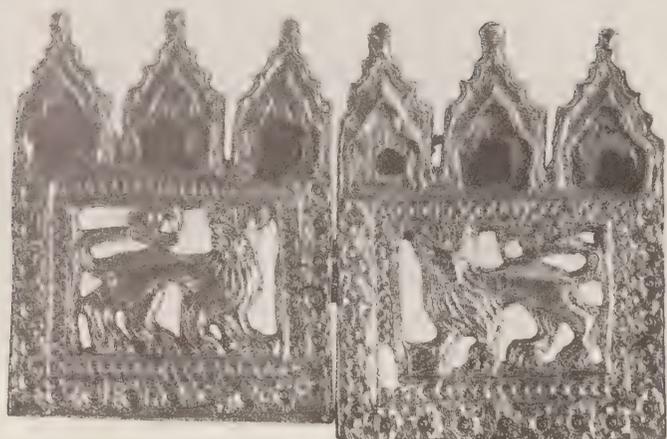
Fig. 161 Cloak clasp. Parcel-gilt, formerly enamelled. Length c.8cm, width c.3.5cm. Venetian, fifteenth century. From the Chalcis Treasure. British Museum, London

century which are delicate masterpieces, in the same style of intricate architectural design and courtly fantasy with their motif of a lady seated on a balcony beneath a high crocketed canopy (cat.77, pl.142). Quite possibly they are by the same goldsmith. This highly architectural style of design, also found on girdles, was not exclusive to the imperial lands; a rather drier architectural manner was also practised in Venice. The Chalcis treasure in the British Museum includes a pair of cloak clasps of silver-gilt which are certainly of Venetian origin (fig.161). They are formed as oblong panels, provided at the back with two eyes for stitching to the cloth and linking to each other by hook and hasp. Each panel is surmounted by three canopied niches, pinnacled and crocketed, over a rosette-bordered oblong pierced with the lion of St Mark in openwork – the two lions face each other. The ground of the niches is left ungilt and chased for a decoration in enamel of which only a few traces remain.

The development of cloak clasps proper and of cloak straps held by ornamental clasps in England can be followed from effigies. An unknown lady, probably a lady of the Neville family of Raby, figured on a fourteenth-century effigy in Staindrop church, Co. Durham, wears cloak clasps shaped as lion-heads (fig.162). Blanche de la Tour (d.1340), daughter of Edward III, though she was born and died in the same year, wears on her effigy what was obviously considered an appropriately fashionable costume for a little princess, including a rich cordon to her mantle held by broad oblong clasps decorated with a diaper containing a rosette and studs (fig.163). These cordons become a broad strap, and on the effigy of King Henry IV of England (d.1413) in Canterbury Cathedral (fig.164), they are richly decorated with rosettes in pearled borders, and held by lozenge-shaped clasps. The cordons themselves also become more elaborate: on the effigy of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d.1416) in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, Sussex, a cord runs across the chest, held by two pearled discs (fig.165). Round these its ends

are first wound, then laced over the cord on the chest and brought down to end in stately tassels. This arrangement is also found on the effigy of Fitz-Alan's countess, Beatrice (d.1432), an illegitimate daughter of the King of Portugal, and continues throughout the fifteenth century.

In the fourteenth century the plain collar straps or cords of earlier times were sometimes transformed into richly jewelled cloak straps (attaches) and for this reason they are sometimes rather confusingly termed colliers (collars) in French inventories. The attaches listed in the 1379–80 inventory of Charles V of France were identified as collars for this reason by that great scholar Jules Labarte, but five years later, when some of them were lent by Charles VI to his uncle Duke Philip of Burgundy, to be worn at the wedding of his son Jean and his daughter, they are unambiguously described as estaches a mantel. One, which had belonged to Queen Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–78) consisted of twenty-seven gold plaques, mounted on a riband of stuff decorated with the fleur-de-lis of France; seven were set with balas-rubies, seven with emeralds, and thirteen with clusters of four large pearls encircling a diamond. Another also belonging to Jeanne, was of similar design, except that the clusters were of three small emeralds around a pearl. More elaborate was a strap of five large gold hinged plaques, each having two emeralds, two rubies and twenty-four large pearls set about a sapphire, with four smaller links between, set with two emeralds and a ruby. Some attaches of this kind were entirely of metal links, but

Fig. 162 Effigy from Staindrop Church, Co. Durham. English, fourteenth century. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.78
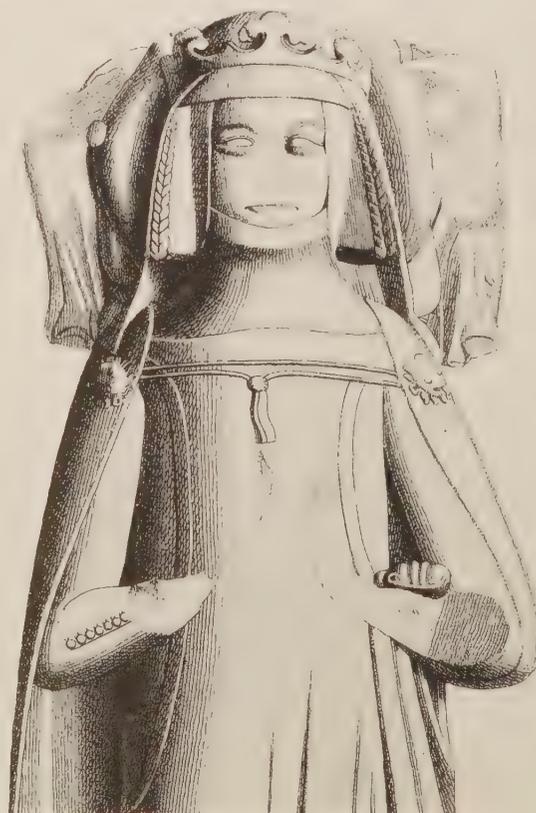
Fig. 163 Effigies of Blanche de la Tour and William of Windsor from Westminster Abbey.
English, fourteenth century. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.79

bands of stuff as linings or as bases for these rich gold mountings were probably far commoner. Besides the formal band of armorial fleur-de-lis, the royal *attaches* of France included in 1385 one of eighteen 'pieces' of gold, nine set with balas-rubies, and nine with two pearls, all mounted on a green riband. The two gold *attaches* for 'open and long' ladies' cloaks that belonged to Louis of Anjou in 1380 were both made of small hinged plaques and had a gold ring at either end for attachment to the mantle. Such *attaches* held by rings were certainly in existence before 1319 when the Infante Jaime of Aragon owned, as we have seen, two sets of cloak cordons, one of green, the other red silk, each with rings 'for fastening the cloak'. The links of one of Louis's *attaches* were partly of pierced work, partly solid, but all set with precious stones and pearls, while of those of the other, some were again set with precious stones and pearls, and some were enamelled in blue, others in green, around a gold star in relief with a button enamelled blue in the centre. These last, however, were almost certainly special cloak straps intended for wearing at the feasts of the royal Ordre de l'Etoile.[25]

We might expect many cloak straps to sport a decoration of false stones, and indeed Queen Jeanne de Bourbon had one of gold, sixteen of whose thirty-one pieces were set with red and green false stones simulating rubies and emeralds, while the other fifteen were each set with a cluster of four pearls. When the straps themselves were mounted in gold or silver so richly jewelled, it seems that there were no cloak clasps proper or else that they had no artistic importance. Mantles were also held by chains of precious metal, again running across the lower part of the neck and held by cloak clasps. None of these fashions were mutually exclusive. When Queen Maria of Aragon died in 1346, she left a gold 'brooch for a cloak set with thirteen rubies, thirteen emeralds and fifty large pearls' which was presumably her state cloak fastener; on less ceremonial occasions she no doubt wore her cord of blue silk interwoven with gold thread and embroidered with pearls.[26]
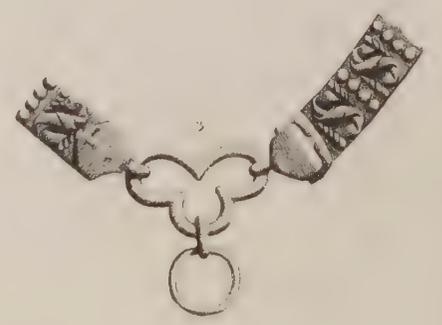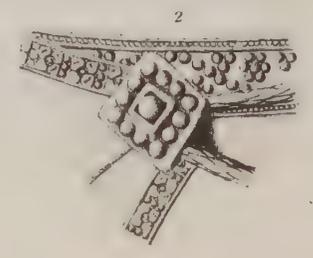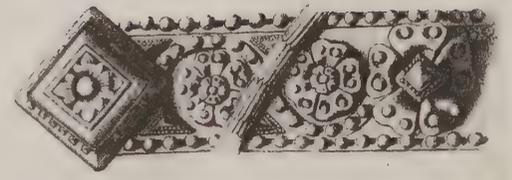
HENRY 4TH & HIS QUEEN JOAN OF NAVARRE.
In the Chapel of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral.

Fig. 164 Effigies of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre from Canterbury
Cathedral. English, c.1413. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.102

THOMAS FITZ-ALAN EARL OF ARUNDEL & HIS COUNTESS BEATRICE.
from their Monument in the Church at Arundel.

Drawn & Etched by C.A.Stothard Junr Octor 1814.

London Published as the Act directs July 1815, by C. A. Stothard Junr 28 Newman Street

Fig. 165 Effigies of Thomas and Beatrice Fitzalan from the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, Sussex.
English, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.105

Belts and girdles of leather or textile stuff (Latin *corrigia*, Fr. *courroie*, *ceinture*, Sp. *cinta*, It. *cintum*) were immensely more important than cloak clasps and straps which were relatively minor articles, confined to the wealthy and to the knightly and noble classes and, as such, seem always to have been regarded

Fig. 166 Effigy from Willoughby Church, Nottinghamshire. English, fourteenth century. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.101



as particularly ostentatious ornaments. Girdles were indispensable articles of costume for both men and women, so much so for women that fine girdles were one of the three sorts of jewel customarily given to brides. Indeed until the 1390s rich belts and girdles were probably among the most usual jewels given as presents even at royal weddings. For instance, on the day of their betrothal in 1352 Jeanne de France, daughter of King Jean le Bon, gave one to her husband Charles, King of Navarre. Like so many articles of jewellery and dress, girdles and belts were often of two kinds, those for solemn ceremonial wear and those for more ordinary occasions. This distinction was perhaps more marked in the girdle and belt even than in the chaplet, for the girdle and belt were also articles of everyday usefulness, to which both men and women attached their purses and pouches

the mediaeval equivalent of pockets – their keys and their knives. Usually these were hooked to small metal loops specially made and either attached to one or more of the vertical metal bars which were among the commonest forms of girdle-mounts (see figs.189, 176), or else fixed to the lower edge of the material for this purpose. Thus in 1304 Jean d'Avênes, Count of Hainault, left among his other girdles one which his inventory describes as that 'Monseigneur usually wore, with his knife, purse and *erigot* [cockspur, for a toothpick]'.

These purses suspended from girdles (see fig.169) were often used for the safe custody of precious jewels or to hold some prized personal or devotional jewel or object such as a seal. At his death in 1322, for instance, Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, left two purses that

> he wore at his girdle, of which one is white containing a ring and a diamond in a little yellow bag, another diamond ring in a lozengy bag, a cameo with a white head encircled with gold in a little lozengy silk bag, a diamond in a ring set in steel and a ring with a square emerald, a ring with a little emerald and one with a balas-ruby, and a silver seal and a red cut stone, two pennies, a white stone with no gold or silver mount, a large gold ring set with a cameo.

In the other purse were 'dice and things of small value'. The purses and knives so attached were often of rich materials and made very showy, like the girdle itself; knives would be given silver handles, and purses were made of silk and decorated with embroidery of gold.[1]

It should however be said that to suspend the purse from the girdle seems not to have been the custom in Italy, or at least in central Italy, until *c.*1327–45, when an anonymous Roman chronicler notes that people had begun to wear purses

at their girdles. He implies that this was a fashion introduced from Spain, and it is true that in Aragon and Catalonia at any rate the purse was worn suspended from the belt before 1323, when Jaime II of Aragon gave or lent his daughter Yolande 'a narrow girdle of silk with end and buckle of silver-gilt and with fourteen little bars of silver-gilt, on which girdle was hung a purse and an Agnus Dei mounted in silver'. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century it was even the custom in Germany to carry devotional books hung from the girdle in special bags or pouches. And late mediaeval girdles often carried paternosters, sometimes hung from a special hook on the buckle, as on the Ipswich brass of Thomas Pownder (fig.194) of 1525.[2]

Men's girdles, as might be expected, seem often to have been of leather, and were generally narrow. Among the jewels which King John of England owned in 1215–16 were a large number of leather girdles, ranging from one of plain black leather 'which the king used to wear', to girdles of black and red leather lined with red sendal or with white leather. These leather girdles were quite often richly ornamented, even when they were for daily use, like the girdle of leather which Juan II of Castile 'wears continually', according to his inventory of 1453, and for which Diego the goldsmith had made a gold buckle and pendant and five gold studs decorated with beasts. Their richer girdles however might be of cloth, and women's girdles were in fact generally of cloth, though there is some evidence that girdles of soft and delicate leather were also worn by women, particularly in Spain. Already in 1215 Doña Mayor Alvarez had girdles of kid embroidered with silk and precious stones. The Aragonese royal accounts of 1258–68 record the purchase for the queen of a girdle of deerskin for three soldi, and of its silver buckle for 19 soldi, including the making of it. Finally, though fashions varied, women's girdles were at different periods significantly broader than men's girdles, such as the one worn by Isabella of Spain in her portrait in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (pl.104). It was richness of material or mounts that converted the utilitarian belt and girdle into articles of adornment, but then the belts and girdles of the great and noble and of the wealthy were generally rich enough, even when they were for ordinary wear.[3]

Girdles of leather decorated with buckles, pendants, studs and bars of silver survive among the treasures discovered in Gotland and are frequently mentioned in texts. In the thirteenth century, and indeed until the end of the Middle Ages, the favourite textile material was silk. Jean de Garlande, listing in his *Dictionarius* of *c*.1220 the craftsmen of Paris, tells us that 'the girdle makers [*corrigiarii*] have set out in front of themselves girdles that are white, black and red, studded with iron and copper, and girdles of silk-cloth barred with silver'. And he describes elsewhere the women weaving their silk cloth, casting the threads of gold with the help of their spike and driving the wool with a wooden batten. 'Of their silk-cloth', he adds, 'girdles are made and ribands for the hair of rich women and the stoles of priests'. The inventory of Cardinal Goffredo d'Alatri,

taken in Rome after his death in 1287, lists 'one old girdle of black silk with mounts of silver' and 'one old belt of red silk with mounts of silver'. For a present to a great man the girdle might be specially woven: in 1305 Countess Mahaut of Artois paid a certain Isabeau for weaving 'a band for a girdle' that her daughter had had made to give to King Philippe le Bel of France.[4]

The usual distinction in the later Middle Ages between a man's and a woman's girdle was in the length that hung down from the clasp or buckle: short for men, for women it might hang as low as the edge of the dress. But this was not always so: for instance the fourteenth-century effigy of a Willoughby in Willoughby Church, Nottinghamshire (fig.166) shows him wear-

Fig. 167  Effigy of William Longespee from Salisbury Cathedral. English, *c*.1240. Illustration from Stothard 1, 1817, pl.17

ing a long, richly mounted girdle with a long end brought over to the side of the buckle and allowed to fall down the centre front. And earlier it was even more certainly not the case: for instance the effigy of King John (d.1216) in Worcester Cathedral, thought to have been executed c.1230, shows him with a girdle whose end hangs down to the hem of his long tunic. This is also true of the girdle (fig.167) worn by William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury (d.1227) in Salisbury Cathedral (probably c.1240). On the other hand at certain periods women often wore the girdle higher than a belt would be worn now, especially in the fifteenth century. And in men too the fashion which began in the early fourteenth century for wearing the belt or girdle round the hips or buttocks instead of round the waist, illustrates a new modish consciousness applied to what originally were merely richly decorated articles of use. Girdles of this kind were much broader than those worn round the waist: in fifteenth-century Castile they were even sometimes described as *cintas de caderas* (girdles for the buttocks). In 1468 the great Castilian nobleman Don Alvaro de Zúñiga, Duque de Béjar left a *cinta de caderas* adorned with twenty-six bosses of enamelled silver and with twenty-two pear-shaped silver bells hanging from it by little silver chains. It was fastened by a silver hook.[5]

In the case of both men and women a handsome clasp or buckle was usually the consummation of the girdle's design, supplemented on the end that was left to hang down by a handsome pendant, whose purpose was to weight the falling end. It was customary in such girdles for the buckle to be made entirely of metal; it was then hinged, socketed or otherwise joined to a *chape*. The chape was usually a long oblong case of metal into which the end of the band of the girdle was fastened. The outer side was generally richly decorated. The pendant was often a similar case enclosing the other end of the band frequently finishing in a decorative metal finial. The chape was occasionally referred to as a *passant*, and the term *mordant* sometimes also seems to have been used for both a chape and a pendant. When written source material is referred to where the meaning is ambiguous, the original terminology has been retained. Otherwise, the terms chape and pendant are used here. Pendants frequently had a tapering form, found already in one of the earliest surviving examples, a thirteenth-century silver-gilt pendant from a girdle found in Gotland and now in Stockholm. Chapes and pendants were generally elaborately decorated: the chape of the Stockholm girdle (fig.172), probably North German in origin, has the stylised acanthus stem ornament so dear to the late Romanesque and Transitional German goldsmith, on a hatched ground. The rim is raised, and pierced with eight holes for stitching to the stuff. In later centuries the pendant was sometimes fancifully shaped: thus in 1453 Hans of Ulm made for Juan II of Castile a gold pendant shaped as a gold heart and enamelled grey, green and *rouge cler* to match the enamels of the other mounts he had made at the same time for the rest of the girdle.[6] Both chape and pendant were generally riveted with decorative nails to the stuff within. From at least

as early as the twelfth century the commonest method of strengthening the leather or textile band and simultaneously of ornamenting it was by the use of studs and vertical metal bars, generally riveted to the band (figs.176, 179). In girdles worn by the knightly and noble classes, these were generally of silver, and in the case of personages of princely or royal birth, might often be of gold. They were very often given a decorative form: we find for instance fleur-de-lis-shaped studs, mounts stamped with the head of Christ, with a grotesque griffin or with a maidenhead.

Most of the girdles that were inventoried after the death in 1410 of King Martín of Aragon were simply studded – a broad girdle, four fingers in breadth, of black silk had a chape and buckle and sixteen small studs of silver-gilt; a girdle of green silk had a chape and buckle and eight large flat studs of silver-gilt. Even his most elaborate belt, of dark red leather, two fingers in breadth, with an inscription running round it beginning *salutare* and ending *mei* and having a flint suspended from it of silver-gilt nielloed in the Moorish style, and a chape decorated with the royal arms, had only twelve flat studs as its principal decoration. The richest girdle of all those inventoried made equal use of stud-shaped motifs: it was of black silk with buckle, pendant (*mosqueta*) and five 'studs or collets' of gold, one still set with an emerald, though the stones were missing from the other four settings. Simple metal-mounted girdles were already widely current in the thirteenth century: the poet of the *Dit d'un Mercier* makes his mercer who is peddling his wares through the street declare: 'I have lots of mounted girdles, red and green, white and black, that I sell very well at fairs', though he could also offer the ladies 'dainty little girdles', no doubt for best wear.[7]

By far the commonest kinds of precious belts or girdles were in fact those of some rich stuff, harnessed with mounts of silver or gold. The 'girdles for the King's body which are continually carried about with him' listed in the inventory of Charles V of France in 1380, were mostly of the richest materials – cloth of gold or silk studded with gold and precious stones and pearls. The mounts might be much prized in themselves and were often made or purchased separately from the girdle. Thus in 1352 Sir John Chandos, bachelor to Edward, the Black Prince, received thirty silver buckles, sixty mordants and sixty bars for girdles, bought on the same day 'for his robes, of the prince's livery'. Again in 1502 Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII of England, paid £4 10s to Richard Weston 'for certain harnesses of gyrdelles by him bought for the Quene beyond the see'. Indeed as we shall see when we come to discuss the term *ferrure*, in the fifteenth century it was very common for girdle mounts to be made independently of the girdle proper. On many occasions too, girdle mounts seem to have been detached and kept for remounting on a new girdle. In 1323, for instance, King Jaime II of Aragon had among his store of jewels the silver-gilt buckle and rosette-shaped mounts of a girdle, the buckle and pendant being enamelled and together with the

rosettes of the mounts set with green and tawny stones. In France the band of stuff was known as a *tissu*, and this word is often used to mean a girdle – indeed in mediaeval England the word 'tissue', and in mediaeval Italy the word *tessuto* (*tessutus*), had just the same meaning. In 1316, for example, the French royal accounts record a payment for six enamelled *tissus*, four *tissus* of enamelled gold, and twelve *tissus* with pearls, mounted (*ferrez*) with silver. These were plainly girdles, and there are literary references from the fifteenth century to ladies 'girdled with a *tissu*' that dispose of any ambiguity. Girdles made entirely in precious metal were either made as chains (fig.185), or else as hinged plaques (fig.174; cat.75, pl.140).[8]

Mediaeval girdles and belts came in three sizes, broad, middle-sized and narrow. There is some evidence that in the 1320s at any rate ladies' girdles were broad, in contradistinction to those of men, which were middle-sized or narrow. Again in 1467 the Burgundian chronicler, Jacques Leclercq, specifies broad girdles as worn by ladies, though his French contemporary Monstrelet, writing under the same year, says that the new fashion was only for much broader girdles. In fact, as some of the references cited below will show, at certain periods men also wore broad girdles.[9]

In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France the rich external girdle worn over the dress by both sexes was called a *surceinte*. Such appears to be the likeliest explanation of this ambiguous term, though Du Cange cites an early mediaeval gloss to its Latin equivalent *succinctorium*, which says it is so called 'because it goes round the chest below the armpits and girdles all round', which seems to imply that it was a girdle worn higher up the body than the waist. But that it was certainly an external girdle is confirmed by a French thirteenth-century romance which declares that one who goes out riding must have an elegant saddle, a handsome bridle, a fair *sorchaint* and a fair sword. And the fact that *surceintes* seem often to have been richly decorated tends to confirm that they were worn over the outer garments. In 1302 Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, left a pearl-embroidered *sourcainte*. And in 1310 Mahaut, Countess of Artois bought three *surceintes* and pearls to embroider them. We hear in 1328 of a gold-mounted *surceinte* worked with *bisette* and mounted with pearls and enamels, in 1364 of one with buckle and pendant and five studs of gold, with a blue purse hanging from it. In 1397 Queen Ysabeau of France had two *surceintes*, one black and one white, to wear over her *houppelandes*. Again in 1455 King René of Anjou commissioned from a court goldsmith a set of gold mounts for a *surceinte*, which he gave as a New Year's gift to Madame de Saint-Michel. In the fifteenth century they were also made entirely of metal: for Duchess Yolande of Savoy in 1474 the goldsmith Hans Rose made a *surceinte* of sixteen plaques or links, one set with a table diamond. The Angevin court of Naples seems also to have worn *surceintes*: among the jewels of Charles, Duke of Calabria (d.1328) was a silk *surceinte* 'of various colours with nine buttons and four pendants of pearls and worked with pearls all round its length'.

This had been a gift to Charles from a lady named Ugolina and was given away by him in Florence in 1327. The clearest image that mediaeval art has left us of a *surceinte* worn in combination with a girdle is on the little Nativity scene of 1433–5 by the Flemish painter Jacques Daret (pl.105). Here the midwife Salome wears over her outer dress a broad mauve *surceinte* with gold studs, while her inner robe is held by the narrow girdle whose end also lies on the ground.[10]

Until late in the fourteenth century, perhaps later, a middle-sized girdle or belt was often known in French as a *demi-ceint*. The term was derived from the latin *semicinctus*, which is glossed by Balbus in his *Catholicon* of 1280 as 'a belt of lesser width'. In France *demi-ceint* was already a current term *c.*1364, when a *demi-ceint* belonging to Louis of Anjou is recorded in his first inventory. In his second inventory of *c.*1380 his *demi-ceints*, like his ordinary *ceintures* are carefully distinguished between *demi-ceints* of gold-mounted stuff, set with precious stones and pearls and simply with gold mounts and pearl embroidery. The *demi-ceints* that Philippe of Burgundy gave away as presents to the guests on his wedding day, 19 June 1369, at Ghent, were of silver-gilt or silver, and seem to have been bestowed therefore on the lower ranks of dignitaries, knights, chamberlains, and counsellors. One was decorated with heads of leverets, enamelled white on a gilt ground, two were enamelled with roses in *rouge cler*, another with eagles, enamelled white on a gilt ground, a third, in silver-gilt set with garnets and pearl-embroidered was decorated with figures of ladies.[11]

There is no question at this date of the *demi-ceint* being a woman's girdle: of two Louis of Anjou says expressly in the princely plural that they are *demi-ceints* 'for our use'. Nor is there any question of the *demi-ceint* having a chain attached to it before the later Middle Ages. There are however problems connected with the term. Enlart argues that in the second half of the fourteenth century it came to signify a loose girdle with a chain dangling from a hoop at one end and a hook on the other end. This was certainly the meaning of the word for the illustrator of the 1510 Paris edition of Olivier de la Marche's *Le Triumphe des Dames*, since he shows as a *demi-ceint de magnanimité* a middle-sized girdle which consists partly of a short band of stuff, ending in a hook, and partly of a short chain linked by a tufted hoop to a slightly longer one terminating in a hoop. The purpose of the chain was to allow the belt to be worn even more loosely by slipping the hook into one of its links. To the end of the chain was often attached a small globe-shaped pendant as a weight. This, like the hoop, hook and chain of the *demi-ceint*, might be made of precious metal and richly wrought and jewelled.[12]

This sort of *demi-ceint* was a woman's girdle, and was already being worn by the royal ladies of France in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Charles V's queen, Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–78) owned one of gold-mounted black stuff with a chain whose links were fleur-de-lis-shaped and ended in a heart-shaped pendant set with balas-rubies, pearls and sapphires. A

Fig. 168 Girdle. Brass, leather. Length 102cm, height 5.5cm. Danish, early
fifteenth century. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

second one whose gold links were set with pearls, emeralds and Alexandrian rubies had buckles enamelled with kingfishers and a sapphire pendant hanging from its chain. A Burgundian *demi-ceint* mentioned in 1405, had a little gold chain; the ends of the girdle proper were embroidered in pearls with white March violets, and had gold mounts set with four clusters of three pearls, each encircling a sapphire at its ends. By extension the *demi-ceint* in the fifteenth century seems to have become a loose lower girdle worn over the hips. In his poem *Le Triumphe des Dames*, written *c*.1490, the old Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche, in costuming his ideal lady, assumes that she will wear both an ornamental girdle (*ceinture*) and *demi-ceint*. Their use may be connected with the fifteenth-century fashion for wearing the girdle proper high at the waist, a less convenient position for carrying the objects that dangled from the *demi-ceint*. For to the *demi-ceint*, which in some ways was a sort of housewife, were attached the usual articles – a purse, knives, keys, 'all those little utensils and tools with which ladies are furnished' says Olivier de la Marche. In this guise the *demi-ceint* sank away in France about the middle of the sixteenth century from its status as a jewel worn by ladies of rank, into a girdle worn only by the wives of well-to-do artificers and peasants, who continued to hang their keys and other articles from silver *demi-ceints* for a century more.[13]

In origin the *demi-ceint* seems to have been a French invention, for the name was imported into English during the fifteenth century without change. So far so good, but in 1610 the English lexicographer Cotgrave glosses the *demi-ceint* as 'a halfe-girdle: a woman's girdle, whose forepart is of gold or silver, and hinder of silke'. This may however have been true only of Elizabethan

girdles, for an English document of *c*.1524 mentions 'a demysent with a cheyne and a pommander and a pendant', which sounds as if it means the sort of girdle that Enlart identifies as a *demi-ceint*. In fact the term was probably used in France and England to mean both kinds of girdle – the middle-sized and the loose sort with a chain – into the sixteenth century.[14]

The custom of wearing belts and girdles of costly stuff surely went back into the distant past, and girdles that can truly be described as articles of jewellery are documented in the Carolingian age, as we have seen. The tradition of wearing such jewelled girdles was probably continuous among royal and princely personages, and a number of Viking silver mounts from girdles have been found in Scandinavia. Unfortunately we have neither literary nor visual evidence to inform us about the girdles of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries. When rich girdles that can fairly be regarded as jewellery are once again recorded for us by documents, they are being worn by a much wider social range. We now find our first evidence for girdles and belts of rich stuff or leather ornamented with elaborate buckles and pendants and with studs and other mounts of gold and silver set on occasions with gems. Our earliest evidence for such jewelled girdles comes from the imperial lands: in 1166 the Margravine Kunigunde of Styria paid for an estate with a girdle so thickly sewn with pearls that side by side they were sixty yards long and weighed six ounces troy. By 1215 gold and silver-mounted girdles had become common enough for the Lateran Council of 1215 to forbid their wear by clerics. In twelfth-century France women seem to have worn a long girdle of cloth or cord or leather wound first round the waist and then brought over the hips, tied and left to fall down the front of the

dress. On such a system there was no need for a buckle, though these must always have been needed for the girdles worn by men, which were usually of leather (fig.168). When women first began to wear belt-like girdles, probably in the later twelfth century, richly ornamented buckles and mounts also begin to make their appearance, no doubt to meet feminine taste. Already *c.*1200 the English cleric who wrote the *Ancrene Riwle* counsels his anchoresses not to wear 'gurdel i-menbred' – that is, girdles strengthened with silver bars. By the later twelfth and thirteenth century men as well as women were wearing buckles of elaborate design and costly materials.[15]

We have little detailed information about early belt or girdle mounts from Northern Europe. The effigy of Queen Berengaria (d. after 1230), wife of Richard Coeur de Lion, in the abbey of L'Espau near Le Mans shows her wearing a long girdle decorated with saltire-shaped metal studs alternating with bars (fig.169). Bars (Latin *membra*) were so common a device for strengthening belts and girdles that in inventories they are often simply described as barred. From surviving thirteenth-century mounts (fig.172) and from documents it is plain that thin plaques of silver, engraved or otherwise decorated, were also applied to girdles, often in close juxtaposition. Girdle mounts of this type have been found in Gotland and were certainly in use in early fourteenth-century Verona, so that it is probably correct to assume they were fairly general throughout thirteenth-century Europe.[16]

Berengaria's girdle is a modest one, suitable for a queen retired in widowhood into a convent. Richly ornamented and jewelled girdle pendants were already in use by the 1220s and we know something of their appearance, if Ilse Fingerlin is correct in identifying the jewel, found with other ornaments in a wooden box when the tomb of the Empress Constance of Aragon, wife of Frederick II, in Palermo was opened in 1781, as a pendant from a girdle (fig.170). Certainly its form is not what we should expect of an early thirteenth-century brooch. Unfortunately the pendant is now lost, but the rather vague description made in 1781 does tell us that it was of gold, decorated with scrollwork and set with many uncut stones in claw settings. At the broad end were two lions, princely and regal symbols, passant. The design, as we can still see from the engraving, lacked any prominent central feature in the form of a stone, cameo or motif, which seems to exclude the possibility that it was intended for a brooch. Dr Fingerlin's interpretation is by far the most plausible, therefore, and probably we have here a rare survival of a fragment from an imperial girdle. If so, the other mounts were taken or lost when the tomb was first opened in 1491. Yet a difficulty remains in that the official report of 1491 describes the Empress only as wearing a crown and a 'collar of gold with precious stones'.[17]

Certainly by the later twelfth century royal girdles were already surpassingly rich and splendidly mounted. It is in fact probable that they had long been so, but only from about this time can we be quite certain that a gold-mounted and jewelled



Fig. 169 Effigy of Berengaria from Abbey of Lemans. French, early thirteenth century. Illustration from Stothard I, 1817, pl.16
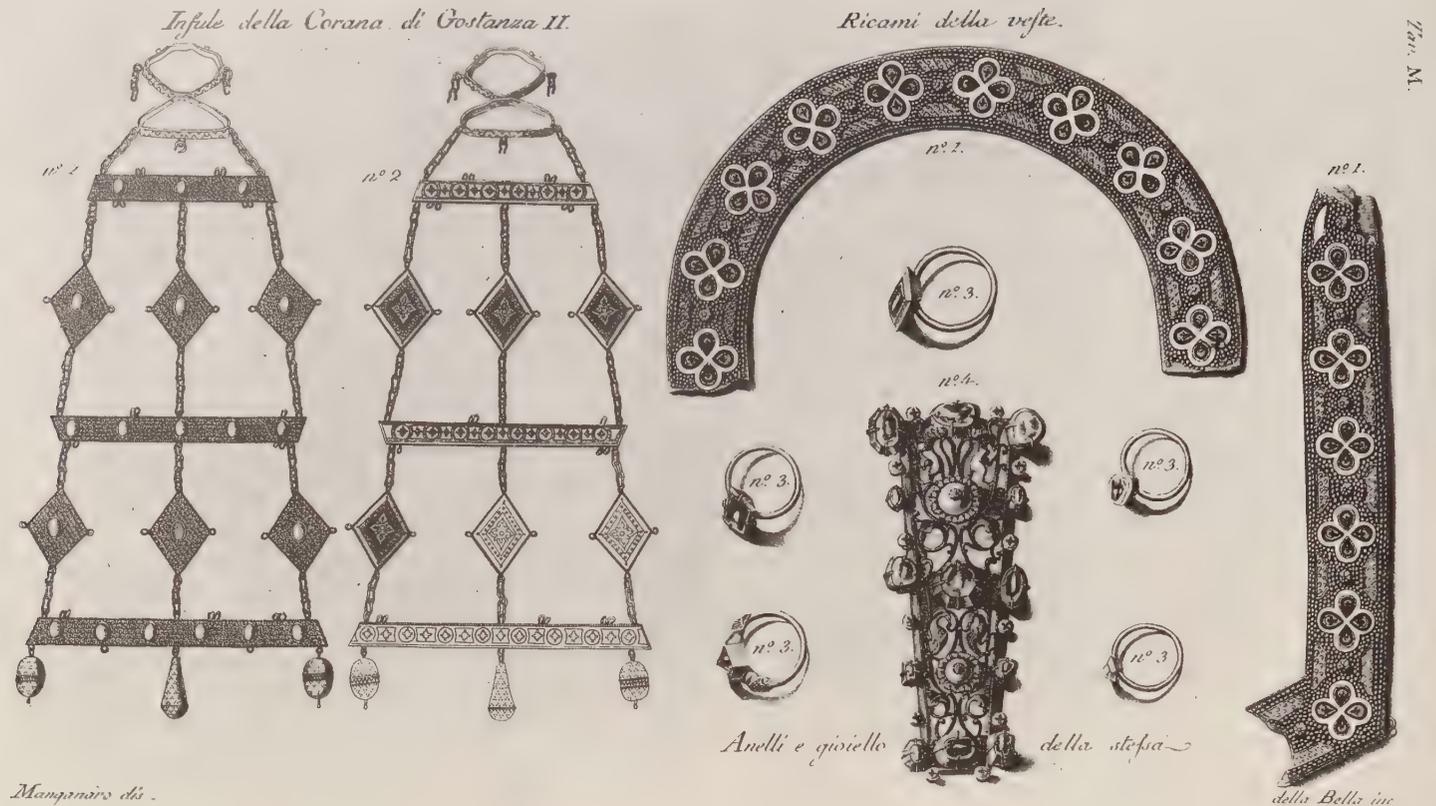
Fig. 170 Ornaments (1 orphrey, 4 girdle pendants) found in the tomb of
the Empress Constance (d.1222) in Palermo Cathedral on opening in 1781.
Illustration from Daniele, 1784, pl.M

girdle was an indispensable appurtenance of royal and princely ceremonial dress. In 1205 King John of England had four large girdles 'with gold members' and a number decorated with precious stones, a large one set with sapphires, garnets and pearls, one set with seven topazes and another stone, one set with ten turquoises, one with ten sapphires, one with fourteen good sapphires in raised settings, one with twenty-eight diamonds, one with sixty emeralds, one with fifty-seven emeralds. Besides these he had two girdles decorated with enamelled mounts and a large one set with garnets, sapphires and pearls. Moreover we have a record of his purchasing a gold girdle in a document ordering payment for it on 22 January 1208. From documents of 1215 and 1216 we learn that he had rich girdles decorated with gold bars and little lions – a general princely symbol as well as the English royal arms – with gold bars and rosettes, with eleven green jasper stones *deguttatis*, probably meaning powdered, with precious engraved gems set in *chatons*. Others had gold buckles, chapes and pendants set with small sapphires, turquoises and other little stones. Plainer were his girdles mounted with silver; one was of red silk with silver bars, three of plain silk only had silver buckles, but four, also of silk, had both silver buckles and bars. Gold-mounted girdles were also worn by great nobles, but richly jewelled girdles of this kind appear to have been a prerogative of kings, princes and the very greatest

feudal lords, though beyond any doubt they were aped at times by less exalted personages. On his posthumous effigy of c.1230–40 the Saxon Count Wiprecht of Groitzsch (d.1124) wears a girdle whose band is decorated with bars alternating with rosettes (fig.205).[18]

Such girdles were also worn by the wives of the great, and indeed the purchase of a rich ceremonial girdle of gold set with precious stones was almost obligatory for a royal father when his daughter was to marry, so that she could wear it at the ceremony. Thus in 1290, when Joanna, the third daughter of Edward I of England, was to marry Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Adam of Shoreditch, the King's goldsmith, was sent to Paris by the king and queen to buy a magnificent girdle 'all of gold, with rubies and emeralds, for the lady Joanna against her marriage'. When Edward's fourth daughter Margaret married Jean de Brabant in the same year, she too was given girdles of gold set with pearls and rubies, and with the leopards of the royal arms figured in sapphires. They also made eminently suitable presents to great ladies on other occasions: Henry III of England paid 10 marks 10s for 14s 4d weight of gold for his goldsmith Master Joseph to use in making a girdle mounted in enamelled gold which he gave in 1241 to his wife Queen Alienor of Provence.[19]

These were certainly for ceremonial wear. Very much simpler

were the two girdles of silver that King Philippe-Auguste of France returned in 1206 to his treasurer as part of his old stock of jewels. Silver-mounted belts were ordinarily worn by kings: in 1299 the treasure of King Edward I included two silk belts with silver mounts which had been given to him by his wife, Queen Eleanor. Much costlier were the gifts sent to the chancellor of the Papal Curia by the Welsh cleric Giraldus Cambrensis in the 1190s: a rich girdle with mounts of gold and silver and later one with bars of silver-gilt from one of which hung an ivory-handled knife. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, seeking to influence the Chapter of St David's in the election of its bishop, sent them in 1201 presents of girdles, made in London, which had mounts of gold and ivory. Rich belts and girdles were already well-established as favourite presents in the thirteenth century – the courtiers of Henry III of England disdained to receive any that were not 'precious and sumptuous', so Matthew Paris tells us, in return for their favour. The girdles of London seem to have been much prized in thirteenth-century Germany: rich London girdles are mentioned in the verse romances *Titurel* and *Willehalm*. But probably those of Northern France were most admired of all: in the Provençal verse romance *Flamenca*, composed *c.*1260, Flamenca's lover Guillaume has in his luggage 'a great girdle' of Irish leather 'with a buckle of French work: on it there was a full mark's weight of silver, even had you allowed good weight, for it was a fair, rich and delightful girdle'. We saw too in an earlier chapter how eagerly French girdles were bought in fourteenth-century Castile and Aragon.[20]

Unfortunately no really early secular girdle has come down to us in its entirety. A few belt buckles and clasps survive in various museum collections, dating from *c.*1200–30. One of the most famous clasps is a woman's gilt-bronze belt clasp of scrolling foliated openwork in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig.171). It consists of two trefoil-shaped plaques, pierced with holes for stitching to the stuff beneath. It is usually dated

Fig. 171  Girdle buckle. Gilt bronze. Width 7.6cm, height 5.1cm.
Mosan, *c.*1200.
The Cloisters Collection, 1948, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



*c.*1200, and has been attributed to the region of Mosan, and even to the great goldsmith Nicholas of Verdun. The stateliness of design of the plaques certainly belongs to the late Romanesque style, with its preference for a rich intricacy. On the left plaque is a lady in cloak and robe, her hand pressed to her breast; on the right plaque is a bearded man, wearing a head-dress and robe, and holding an apple in his left hand. Both of them are seated; the woman rests her feet on a griffin, the man on a lion. A maid waits on the lady, a serving-man on the man. The pair have been identified as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and more recently as Esther and Ahasuerus. But the lady does not wear a crown, and she is placed in the post of honour on the dexter side: more probably then the scene is an episode from some romance. The solemnity of its treatment of romantic themes contrasts strikingly with later Gothic lightness and grace, which appear on a silver-gilt belt buckle in the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm (fig.172). Found in Gotland, it is most probably German, though it has been attributed to Lotharingia, to Northern France, to the Rhineland and to England. The chape is constructed of a baseplate, to which a second plate is fixed so as to leave a space between them into which the leather end of the girdle – evidently a man's narrow girdle – was inserted. This second plate has a border whose sloping edge creates a depth behind the figures. The ground is formed in decorative openwork of the stylised scrolls, such a favourite ornament of late Romanesque and Transitional goldsmiths' work. On this a knight, wearing a cloak and riding a horse and followed by a page, greets a lady in a long robe whose hand rests on the horse's neck or meets the knight's (fig.172a). The buckle again shows us the knight (right) who now kneels before the lady (left), who lifts her hand as she speaks to him (fig.172b). To the left and right, in the background, are two small figures of angels. This too must represent an episode from a romance and, as scenes from a romance are also figured on the Victoria and Albert Museum's early fourteenth-century silver-gilt plaques from a girdle (cat.75, pl.140), we must ask ourselves if many girdles were not decorated with motifs from romances during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the period when verse romances in France, Germany and England attained their greatest popularity. Two of the mounts survive from the Stockholm girdle: they are of silver-gilt, elegantly engraved with a rich Transitional-early Gothic acanthus scroll pattern on a patterned ground.[21]

We have some evidence about the wearing of mounted girdles and even about their aspect from various countries of thirteenth-century Europe. Rich girdles were certainly widely worn in thirteenth-century Italy. Magister Jacopo da Bettinoro, a Bolognese physician, makes a bequest in 1199 of 'my silvered girdle', and a Veronese inventory of 1213 lists 'girdles plated with silver' which were presumably girdles mounted with the thin plaques of silver of the same or similar type to those found in Gotland. The Sienese merchant Aringhieri di Magiscolo left his wife by his will of 1232 'all her silver girdles', while in 1259

Fig. 172  Girdle buckle and mounts. Silver-gilt. Length 9.4cm, height 3cm.
German, 1230–40. Found Dalhem parish, Dune, Gotland.
Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm



Fig. 172a  Detail



Fig. 172b  Detail of buckle

another great Sienese merchant, Jacopo Angiolieri left four silver-mounted girdles. Neapolitan documents of 1248 mention silk girdles of silver. What are probably girdles of this kind are worn on a relief on the ambo of the cathedral of Bitonto, in Apulia. This was carved in 1229 and seems to represent the Emperor Frederick II with his wife Yolande of Jerusalem and his sons Henry and Conrad. Our clearest idea of the appearance of Italian girdles in the third quarter of the thirteenth century is given by a list of those confiscated after the siege of Gallipoli in 1268, during the suppression by the Angevins of an unsuccessful rising in favour of Conradin of Swabia. It is our sole picture of the baronial jewellery of Southern Italy before the Angevin ascendancy was firmly established, and may reflect something of German imperial fashions or at least influences. All the girdles were silver-mounted, and four are tersely dismissed as broken and old. Of the others one had mounts of large bars on a band of black – always a favourite colour for mediaeval girdles - and gold thread. A second had similar bars and little silver shields, charged, almost certainly in niello, with black eagles, on a band of crimson. Such heraldic decoration must have been

reasonably common, for it also appeared on the two remaining girdles. One had silver shields and little silver studs, enamelled with a red bar. The other, of silver thread, had an elaborate decoration of round silver studs along its length and at its ends silver rosettes and shields blazoned with chequey and a red bar, and these mounts or some of them were decorated with small stones.[22]

Silver-mounted girdles were also worn at the Angevin court. Among the property of knights in the service of Charles d'Anjou that escheated to him in 1279–80, were three silver-mounted girdles belonging to Girort de Donnemarie (d.1278) and three silver-mounted silk girdles belonging to André de Maideble (d.1280). In 1281 Charles's treasury contained six silver girdles and two silver-mounted silk girdles. Another, inventoried in the treasury in 1284, had a silk riband 'of various colours', a buckle, a mordant and ten bars of silver. Charles is found ordering his chaplain and his chamberlain in February 1277 to buy for his own service and that of his wife '3 dozens of silver-gilt girdles' and '3 dozens of girdles of white silver'. Gerolda, the young wife of Gualtiero Campagna of

Mileto, a Calabrian lady living in exile in Augusta in Sicily who was taken as his mistress for a night by Jaime of Aragon during the late 1280s, was brought by four of his knights to his bedchamber wearing an emerald green tunic and a girdle of silver-mounted *camuzzum* (?) which had belonged to her father. An abortive Sicilian sumptuary ordinance of 1273 forbade ladies to wear girdles with mounts in gold and silver of more than eight ounces' weight. Similarly in 1286 the ladies of Pisa were forbidden to wear mounts on their girdles of more than a pound's weight, excluding the band, 'whether of silver or silver-gilt'.[23]

Old silver-mounted girdles are mentioned in England in 1222. Among the jewels confiscated by Henry III in 1224 from his enemy William Martel were three pairs of girdles barred with silver, and they were evidently reasonably common in the 1230s, for the jewels Henry III's officials were alleged in 1234 to have extorted from the Jews included a girdle of cotton barred with silver, valued at 32d, and a more expensive silk girdle barred with silver valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks. Similar belts and girdles were certainly generally current in France well before documents begin to mention them. Already in his *Li Contes del Graal* of *c.*1180 Chrétien de Troyes describes the goldsmiths of the town below the castle of Escavallon making girdles as well as cups, hanaps, *écuelles*, enamelled jewels, rings and brooches. In 1241 Philippe de Pallau, Marshal of Burgundy, left two girdles, one of gold, one of silver to the church of Saint-Vincent at Chalons, to make into church plate. Girdles enriched with ornaments executed in pearls alternating with silver mounts were already commonplace in the Paris of 1272, when Charles I of Naples paid for two girdles decorated with pearls and mounts of silver for his queen Marguerite of Burgundy to wear. Silver-mounted girdles were in fact usual enough articles in the Paris of the mid-thirteenth century for the regulations of the mercers to forbid *c.*1260 the making or sale of any girdle mounted in silver from one end to the other and worth more than 24s if there be not more silver used in them than silk tissue: 'for sometimes there has been twice as much silk as silver, and so folk who have no knowledge in such things are deceived'. This must refer to the sort of thin decorated oblong silver mount that is found on the girdle in Stockholm (fig.172). Parisian girdles were evidently of exceptional elegance of design and workmanship: a Parisian girdle given to Princess Eleanora of Naples in 1305 was of green silk mounted with rosettes of pearls and rosettes of gold. In the fourteenth century this reputation was common to all French girdles: in 1341 a great Castilian lady Doña Leonor de Guzmán left 'three French girdles decorated with pearls', while as we saw in 1350 King Peter III of Aragon instructed an agent 'to buy for us in Avignon a handsome French girdle mounted in silver'.[24]

The wardrobe of Edward I in 1298–9 included a great girdle of silk with mounts of silver and false stones and two other silk girdles with silver mounts. In 1304 Jean of Hainault also left 'three new girdles with silver mounts' and 'two old narrow silk girdles, with silver studs'. But perhaps our vividest image of

the girdles worn by the great personages of France and England during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century comes from the inventories taken in 1302 after the death of Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, and in 1322 after the death of Robert de Béthune, Count of Flanders, when supplemented by incidental references in other documents. Raoul had two pearl-embroidered girdles, one of which also had gold mounts, and a third embroidered with pearls on cloth of gold. If these were partly or wholly embroiderer's work, his girdle decorated with gold mounts and clusters of pearls must have been essentially the creation of a goldsmith. Raoul's more modest girdles were silver-mounted: on one the mounts were interspersed with embroidered rosettes of pearls; three were silk girdles of drawn-thread, and five were of silk, and in these the rich delicate stuff must have set off the glitter of the silver. Of three other silver-mounted girdles two were broad, the other slender.

The girdles of Robert de Béthune naturally blazoned his princely rank as Count of Flanders, but the richness and variety of the stuffs he wore also suggests that here too, as in other articles of jewellery and costume, the early decades of the four-teenth century saw an ever-increasing extravagance of display. One of his girdles was of pearl-embroidered red stuff, with mounts of gold; two were of drawn gold, one of middling width, one narrow, both with gold mounts and one in addition with embroidery of pearls. His other girdle with gold mounts is described as old, and was decorated with large pearls. Three of his girdles were of orphrey – bands of stuff woven or decorated with gold or silver – embroidered with pearls and with mounts of silver-gilt or parcel-gilt. One had a white purse hanging from it and on another the mordant was enamelled with the arms of Nevers and Rethel, and so may have belonged to his son Louis, Count of Nevers and Rethel, who died three months before his father. Another girdle was embroidered with seed-pearls and had silver-gilt mounts; it sounds much plainer than the small girdle with studs of pearls on peacock feathers which was probably the most fantastic of all in appearance, or than the narrow pearl-embroidered girdle decorated with studs of silver-gilt and with enamelled buckle and mordant. Other girdles had mounts of silver-gilt on a band of white stuff and a band of green stuff: these again were plainer than a number of girdles whose stuff was patterned in chequer-work. One was chequey green and red, embroidered with lozenges of pearls, studded with silver-gilt studs, and equipped with a hook for suspending a purse, another was chequey blue and red, with studs of silver-gilt, and a third also showed the then dominant taste for heraldic decoration, for it was chequey with the arms of Flanders and Brabant, to which its mounts of silver-gilt were probably sub-ordinated. The Count's most impressive silver-mounted girdle is described as a great silver girdle mounted along the bottom (*à contreval*) with mounts and studs of silver-gilt, but the girdle we should probably find the most delightful was of white silk ornamented with red roses and mounts of silver-gilt.[25]

In Spain taste was very similar. Again certain princely girdles

were decorated with heraldic motifs blazoning rank and descent. In 1300 Jaime of Aragon gave out from his royal treasury a girdle whose lower part was of violet silk with three stripes of red silk, and whose upper part was yellow and embroidered in gold thread with Jaime's royal arms, interspersed with shields and enamels bearing the same arms and those of Jaime's brother Frederick of Sicily. On the buckle was a lion's head holding a flower. Another silk girdle was embroidered in gold, silver and silks with eagles – an imperial device inherited from Jaime's mother Constance, daughter of King Manfred of Sicily and granddaughter of the Emperor Frederick II – and had mounts of silver-gilt set with red and tawny-coloured stones. It was accompanied by a matching purse. Jaime's first Queen Blanche of Anjou (d.1310) left a girdle of equal heraldic splendour. It was of red and violet and green silk, to which at the front were applied embroidered 'pieces', one of green silk, set with a crystal [? *prat*], while on another of silk and gold thread were figured the royal arms. Along the front ran fifty-nine silver-gilt bars with little shields of the arms and eagles of the Aragonese royal house, and nine large silver shields enamelled with the same blazons. The chape and buckle, passant [*passador*] and pendant were also of silver-gilt: the chape and buckle again bore little shields of eagles and the royal arms. One of the presents Jaime of Aragon made to Dom Diniz, King of Portugal, at the conference which took place at Tarazona in 1304 between Diniz, Fernando of Castile, and himself was 'a broad girdle of green silk with a border of red silk mounted with silver, which mounts included fifty-one nielloed studs, a chape, a buckle and a passant [*passador*] and pendant'. To the Infante Juan of Castile Jaime gave a girdle of silk decorated with the arms of Aragon, and having mounts of silver – presumably studs or bars – and a chape and buckle of nielloed silver. To King Fernando's brother he gave a girdle of red and tawny silk, gaily decorated with thirty-two little crosses of silver-gilt and six rosettes of plain silver, and with a silver chape and buckle. We have only a few details of girdles made elsewhere. The statue of a maiden from Friedberg in Germany (fig.55) which dates from *c*.1250 wears a girdle with mounts of rosettes – a suitable choice of ornament for a young girl. In 1319 Jaime's second wife, Maria de Lusignan of the royal house of Cyprus, left her nephew Jacquet 'our girdle of silver-gilt with pearls', which was quite possibly of Cypriot work, like others of her bequests. And in 1300 Jaime owned a girdle which is described as of Hungarian work, made of gold and silk thread, embroidered with pearls and decorated with mounts of silver.[26]

Evidently there was something of a marked liking for nielloed silver at the court of Aragon, but the emphasis on heraldic decoration, on strong, vivid colours, and on studs and bars are what we would expect to find in late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century girdles. Princely girdles, especially for women, continued to be set or sewn with pearls and gems: in 1299 Robert, Count of Artois bought in Paris a girdle decorated with pearls and precious stones for his newly wedded wife. The same liking for heraldry, for lozengy patterns, for designs



Fig. 173 Effigy of William of Hatfield from York Minster. English, fourteenth century. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.69

worked in pearls continues to appear in early fourteenth-century Italy in two girdles of Charles, Duke of Calabria, son of King Robert the Wise of Naples, listed in 1328. One was woven of thread of drawn silver-gilt, with enamelled silver-gilt studs and bosses and small clasps, the other had a band of red silk and gold bars, and was decorated with sixty silver lozenges enamelled with rosettes and sixty lozenges executed in seed-pearls. We also have some evidence from a list of girdles in the treasury of Edward II that contemporary taste here in England was much the same in its increasing fantasy and richness. They included a girdle 'of the old fashion' decorated with letters of pearls and with a buckle and pendant enamelled with the arms of England 'and others', two girdles of Paris work with links of white pearls, in one separated by links of metal enamelled 'with images', in the other by silver knots, and a girdle 'all of divers arms in pearls' and with the Tree of Jesse on the mordant. If Edward II's lion-skin girdle 'harnessed with gold and cameos' was primarily talismanic, it had also a symbolism of regality, given that the lion was a princely ensign. A lion symbolism reappears in a French royal girdle of 1351: among its mounts of round gilt studs this had mounts of lion-heads which were partly enamelled and arranged around great bosses. Cameos are mentioned only very rarely as a decoration on girdles: in 1353, as we saw, Pope Innocent VI had a girdle of green silk, barred and decorated with thirty-three cameos, mounted in *chatons*.[27]

Fashions changed in girdles: in 1324 two girdles belonging to Edward II are described as being 'of the old fashion'. One of these, as we have seen, was decorated with letters executed in pearls: it had a buckle and mordant enamelled with the arms of England. The other had engraved mounts with pearls below. The growing importance of the girdle appears in the increasingly broad and richly mounted sword belts worn slung across the hips, often in addition to a narrow girdle around the waist. In the fourteenth century itself men often had a broad girdle of this type worn around the hips, instead of a *demi-ceint* round the waist: a fashion which continued into the fifteenth century. Thus William of Hatfield (d.*c*.1346), second son of King Edward III, wears round his hips a jewelled girdle to give additional richness to his sumptuously embroidered tunic and to his mantle fastened by what may be pearl buttons (fig.173). Its bold oblong plaques were now a fashion of these and later years. Girdles of all these types continued to be made till the end of the Middle Ages.[28]

The effigy of Thibaut III, Count of Champagne (d.1201) in Saint-Etienne at Troyes, probably executed shortly after his death, wore until the French Revolution a girdle of silver filigree, set with precious stones and enamels; in the centre was a 'band' of silver-gilt, presumably a hasp, through which the girdle passed and then fell to the knees. The 'band' was decorated with the arms of Champagne and with fourteen rosettes of silver-gilt in the corners. This appears to be the earliest record we have of a belt or girdle entirely of precious metal; it seems to have consisted of plaques decorated with filigree encrusted with precious stones and enamels in a rich late Romanesque

style. But there is always the possibility that it was a decorative enhancement rather than the representation of a functional object of wear. Accordingly, although it is more than likely that they were worn earlier, girdles and belts that were perhaps fashioned largely or entirely of precious metal make what may be a first appearance in the known documents only in 1266. In August that year the young Eudes de Bourbon, Count of Nevers and son of Hugues, Duke of Burgundy died at Acre; among his effects were 'an old girdle [*courroie*] of gold set with pearls', 'a gold girdle [*courroie*]' which we learn elsewhere was new and 'a silver girdle [*courroie*]'.

There is however a difficulty, which springs from the possibility that these were only girdles of cloth with rich mounts of gold and silver, rather than girdles composed of metal links or plaques. It was the custom in mediaeval inventories to describe girdles that had mounts of gold or silver on stuff simply as girdles of gold or silver, even when the entry goes on to describe the stuff on which the motifs of precious metal were fixed. Similarly girdles embroidered with pearls were often simply called girdles of pearls. The identical difficulty arises with regard to six girdles described as being of enamelled gold that Isabelle, Countess of Hainault, paid for in 1294. We cannot be sure that they were of solid metal, even though one of them had plainly been bought for especial smartness, for the countess intended to wear it on a visit to Queen Maria of Hungary, wife of Charles II, King of the Two Sicilies. Only from the late thirteenth century then do we find girdles which were indisputably fashioned of links of precious metal, and so were entirely of gold or silver, constituting another token of the increase in luxury so characteristic of this period. In 1296 the court accounts of the Tirol record the purchase of 'a gold girdle of gold everywhere' and of 'a girdle entirely of silver'. In 1299 Edward I of England had 'a girdle of ringed chains of silver and with shields and members [bars] of silver'. In 1301 Marguerite, Countess of Artois had a girdle 'of goldsmith's work' of twenty-five gold links set with rubies and emeralds, sapphires and pearls, and another of seventy-one links set with rubies and emeralds and an enamel in the centre. Another gold girdle, made only in two parts, though described as of 'goldsmith's work', seems to have consisted largely of pearls and false red stones. At his death in 1310 Duke Otto of Carinthia left three girdles wholly of silver, as compared with twenty-two girdles of ribands and straps with silver mounts.[29]

Girdles wholly of gold or silver remained by and large far less common than the textile girdle, perhaps because they were less flexible and heavier than mounted stuff, but they continued to be made. In 1358, for instance, Queen Beatriz of Portugal mentions in her will 'my girdle that my brother the Infante Felipe [of Castile] gave me, which is all of enamelled silver'. Some had plaques of thick metal; in 1305 Guy, Count of Flanders, owned a girdle of this kind 'wholly of silver, with clasp, buckle and links all worked'. The Victoria and Albert Museum owns three plaques from a girdle of this kind. Richly ornamented with scenes from romance they are unique as survivals and in decoration

Fig. 174  Girdle fragment. Silver-gilt, stones, glass. Length 39.6cm.
French (?), mid-fourteenth century. Grand Church, Vosges, France

(cat.75, pl.140). Girdles of solid metal were already being worn by rich bourgeois in the early to middle decades of the fourteenth century. What appears to be a fragment of a girdle of this kind from the mid fourteenth century was found in the shrine of St Libaria in the church of Grand, in the Vosges (fig.174). It consists of a series of silver-gilt hinged plaques, decorated with cabochon stones mounted in collets and an ornament of two birds painted on blue glass. Some were of the chain type, already seen in Edward I's girdle of 1299, for the inventory of Ponce Clari, a jurist of Valence in south-eastern France, who died in 1348, lists 'a silver girdle, called a chain, studded with enamels of five ounces weight'. Chain girdles were also worn in fourteenth-century Venice: a plain one was found among the Chalcis treasure. Others were perhaps of solid metal: in 1335, for instance, the ladies of Trieste, among other 'excesses and ornaments of dress', were prohibited from wearing heavy silver girdles – we cannot however be certain if this means more than weighty mounts. It is plain in fact that the amount of precious metal used in girdle mounts greatly increased from the later thirteenth century: the evidence of sumptuary laws, of goldsmiths' regulations and of other documents all confirms this far more general flaunting of rich and heavy girdles. The widespread adoption of complex and fantastic architectural design in girdle mounts, common as we shall see in Central Europe and Venice, supplemented by engraving and enamelling, also suggests a fashionableness in the girdle-wearers that was prepared to spend extravagantly on expensive cast-work and decoration. This fashion for heavy girdle mounts, though it became universal, perhaps spread late to England for in 1362 an English chronicler, complaining of the rage for absurd dress – for chaperons orna-mented with borders of gold and silver lappets and precious stones – complains 'They also have girdles of gold and silver, whose mounts are of great price'. Rich men wore them with mounts worth as much as 20 marks, and even the middling sort of men like esquires and other freemen had girdles costing 100 solidi or 5 marks or 20 solidi, 'even though they have not 20 pence in their coffers'.[30]

Girdles and belts wholly embroidered or otherwise decorated with pearls appear to have become very common by the end of the thirteenth century. In 1290 Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I of England, bought 'a girdle of pearls'; she had intended it for her daughter Eleanor, but later transferred it to her daughter Jane. In 1298 Robert, Count of Artois paid for four girdles and belts of pearls and in 1302 Raoul de Nesle died possessed of a *surceinte* of pearls. Similarly in 1313 Edward II of England had a belt of silk 'covered with pearls', and another 'small belt of pearls', and in 1324 a girdle 'all of pearls of divers coats of arms and on the mordant is the Tree of Jesse'. More ordinarily girdles and belts continued to have mounts of silver-gilt or else were entirely of silver. We have seen that in the later thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth there was a marked taste for chaplets decorated jointly with enamels and motifs executed in pearls. This taste also appears in girdles. In 1301 Mahaut d'Artois had a silver-gilt girdle decorated with pearls and enamels. The inventory taken in 1337 of the goods of the Sieur de Naste, who belonged to the ruling family of Hainault lists two girdles 'decorated with pearls and enamelled'. Enamels were also worn without pearls and stones: Edward II in 1313 had an enamelled silver belt, probably mounted stuff, for it is described as divided by silver bars and decorated with shields.[31]

The rich stuff on which mounts were set was frequently purchased separately, like the *cinta francesa* (French girdle), no doubt a stuff of especial smartness, which King Pere (Peter) IV of Aragon bought in 1378 and had mounted with a buckle and pendant and thirty-three large egg-shaped mounts, all of silver, gilt and enamelled, taken from a sword-belt. There are other documents which record purchases of girdle mounts to be given as presents, like the set bought by King René of Anjou in 1455. From the second half of the thirteenth and more still from the early fourteenth century we begin to know something in detail of the commercial manufacture of girdles. It seems that, of all mediaeval jewels or jewelled articles, girdles were probably those least exclusively made by goldsmiths. Since their base was so often of stuff or leather, other crafts and trades were necessarily involved in their making, either as specialised girdlers, or as mercers, or as embroiderers. The making of the textile bands (in French *tissus*, in mediaeval English 'tissue') for girdles was of course a speciality of weavers, and they were bought in quantity by goldsmiths for mounting. In 1453 Thomassin de Béthisy, goldsmith of Dijon, had in his stock 'a little narrow *tissu* of marguerites, two other small old *tissus*, one green the other black, a broad *tissu* of green silk, another of black, another of grey silk containing seven *quartiers*, another of blue silk, and half a pound of narrow *tissus* for wear by men, both red, green and black'. The making of women's girdles was apparently a speciality of the weavers of Arras during the same years of the fifteenth century; these were sent to Paris and mounted there, and then sold either in Paris or in such towns as Dijon, 'where they have and have had a great sale', declares an ordinance of 1443. Also in high esteem were the silk girdles made in Genoa (where the silk-weaving industry had flourished from the thirteenth century): these were specifically exempted from an English edict of 1455, forbidding the importation of foreign silks. So prosperous was this Genoese branch of the industry that in the fifteenth century the *cendacteri* or makers of girdles became a separate guild, with their own wardens and regulations.[1]

In Paris the making of mounts for belts and girdles was a speciality of the craftsmen known as *esmailleurs* (enamellers). On less rich girdles the decorative mounts were often stamped or punched, and this remained standard practice until the end of the Middle Ages. In 1309 the statutes of the *esmailleurs* forbade them to make stamped hollow ornamental mounts 'inasmuch as when one buys a girdle, one thinks there is a mark of silver in it and there is not half as much'. This in fact merely renewed a prohibition already laid on the mercers c.1260. The mercers'

statutes of 1324 forbade the commissioning, making and selling of all girdles mounted in silver that were not woven of fine silk. Their silver mounts must always be heavier than the silk, 'especially in those girdles that are sold by the weight', and must be solid, not hollow. As we have already seen, the notion in the Middle Ages that only silk should receive mounts of precious metal was quite strong, though other materials, notably fine leather, were certainly mounted in silver.[2]

Whoever commissioned girdle mounts in Paris, whether mercer or patron, they were always made by goldsmiths. The city's goldsmiths, protesting in the fourteenth century against payment of a tax on certain articles to the royal farmers of the mercers' tax, claimed that 'whereas they ask for the tax on all girdles, the goldsmiths answer that all girdles of silk or leather on which are gold, silver, pearls and precious stones are goldsmiths' work'. Documents bear out something of their contention: in 1294, for instance, Philip the goldsmith was paid by Isabelle, Countess of Flanders for making studs, star-shaped mounts and collets and for harnessing girdles with them. Both the law and the goldsmiths' guild were anxious to prevent abuses in girdle mounts. The regulations of the Paris guild as renewed in 1355 forbid the making of stamped mounts that are left hollow, instead of being filled with metal, while any mounts with soldered bases – presumably the settings of enamels and precious stones – cannot be riveted to the silk but must be stitched to it. These precautions were more than necessary. In cases that came before the wardens of the Paris guild between 1355–6 and 1370–1 we hear of a silver buckle which was really of copper covered with silver, of rosettes for a girdle made to seem heavier by the use of solder, and of a buckle and pendant made to seem heavier by the use of lead, of a woman's girdle twenty-five of whose studs had a piece of fine lead hidden underneath while the pendant contained more lead, and of a girdle whose buckle had a copper lining.[3]

In Italy and Slavonia, Venice and Ragusa, then part of the Venetian world, were noted for their girdles – in Venice in the 1340s a special part of the Merceria was called 'the place where girdles are made'. The same strict care as in Paris for the quality of girdle mounts is also found in fourteenth-century Italy: the statutes of the goldsmiths of Verona, regulating the making of silk girdles decorated with silver studs or thin silver sheets (*laminae*), rather curiously forbid the application of *laminae* to any girdle less than 2 *braccia* (about 120cm/4 feet) in length. In fourteenth-century England too only goldsmiths could make mounts of gold and silver for belts and girdles. A London girdler

Fig. 175 Girdle buckle and mounts. Gold, silver, niello. Buckle: length 10cm, height 3.2cm. Mounts: diameter 3cm. Hungarian, c.1275. Magyar Nemzeti Museum, Budapest

often resembling a Lombardic C, when the bar is on the right, or an inverted letter of this form, when the bar is on the left; to this was hinged the chape, either directly or by means of a second bar. This type of buckle undergoes various modifications, not least in the form of the addition of ornamental motifs in relief in the centre of the curve of the C on which the pin rests. Some rich belt buckles from the second half of the thirteenth century continued to have elaborate pictorial ornamentation. On the chape of a Hungarian gold belt buckle of c.1275, now in the Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest (fig.175), which probably comes from a tomb, is a scene in niello of knights in combat, depicted with all the skill and liveliness of the finest contemporary miniatures. Four circular gold mounts from the same belt have inscriptions round their central boss, each invoking the aid of a particular saint, St Stephen, probably the King of Hungary rather than the martyr, St James, St Bartholomew and St Margaret.[5]

The severely heraldic splendour which was characteristic of many ceremonial girdles of later thirteenth and early fourteenth-century princes and great lords appears on the girdle found on the body of the Infante Fernando de la Cerda (1255–75), the son and heir of King Alfonso the Wise of Castile, when his tomb in the Convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos was opened in 1943. This lengthy but narrow girdle – it measures more than 190cm long and 3.4cm wide (6ft × $1\frac{5}{16}$in) – is of cloth of gold, embroidered with seed-pearls and sapphire beads, and is probably what the thirteenth and early fourteenth century called a great or long girdle (pl.106, fig.206). We can see how such girdles were worn from the remarkable effigy (fig.203) of the Infante Don Felipe (d.1274), son of San Fernando of Castile, whose girdle is decorated with panels of the castles of Castile, a decoration which matches that of the broad orphreys of the dress. It will be seen that the long end of the girdle falls to the feet. Fernando's girdle (pl.106) is harnessed with bars of silver-gilt, and has a buckle and pendant, also of silver-gilt, all set with pearls and sapphires. From between two of the bars hangs a purse-mount again set with stones. The belt fastens by an arrangement apparently unique among surviving girdles. The buckle is rhomboid-shaped, and is largely covered by what is in effect a wedge-shaped lid pivoted at the rear. When the lid is closed, a small slot remains between its front edge and that of the buckle. In order to fasten the girdle the lid was raised, the girdle was passed through, at the desired place the lid was closed and the whole was secured by one of the cross bars engaging against the buckle. On the lid are three cornelians, the only other stones on the girdle. The chape and pendant are both set with four silver-gilt shield-frames: these eight frames each contain a coat of arms painted in miniature under glass or crystal. The bars form twenty panels on the stuff and on these a lozenge-shaped design alternates with a coat of arms.[6]

The arms of the original owner must be those in the shield on the lid, which was the central section of the belt when worn. They are the arms of Champagne, in a form which has

named William Bonjohn was brought up in 1376 before the mayor and aldermen on a charge that 'he secretly made in his chamber a certain girdle that was harnessed with silver; whereas to make or work any plate or girdles with gold or silver is in no way belonging to the trade of the Girdlers'. If Bonjohn wanted to remain a girdler and not to join the goldsmiths, he was to provide surety that he would make no girdles nor anything else pertaining to the goldsmiths' trade. This decision was made not merely to defend restrictive practices: the court argued that if girdlers, who normally worked with iron, steel and latten, were allowed to gild and silver them, they could easily palm off their wares and other articles that had been gilded or silvered as genuine gold and silver.[4]

Some of the forms and ornaments of thirteenth and fourteenth-century girdles and their buckles can be traced from the admirable corpus of surviving objects of this kind published by Ilse Fingerlin in 1971. Certain humbler thirteenth-century buckles of enamelled copper from Northern France and the Southern Netherlands have stylised fanciful ornaments of winged or half-human monsters drawn from the century's general repertory of grotesqueries. This kind of ornament persisted to the end of the fourteenth century and is found for example on Late Gothic girdles from Italy. A number of these buckles are of oval form,

been variously identified. On the one hand it has been claimed to be that used by Thibaut V, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre from 1256, when he came of age, on the other it has been identified as the arms of Champagne as borne by Edmund of Lancaster (1245–96), son of Henry III of England, during the brief period from 1275 to 1284 when he was Count of Champagne and ruler of Navarre as the second husband of the widowed Countess Blanche d'Artois. The coats of arms on the chape are those of England, France (ancient), Cornwall and Navarre; those of England and France are repeated on the mordant, followed by the arms of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and those of Ferrers, Earl of Derby. With the exception of the coat of France, all the coats of arms on the buckle and pendant are repeated in the ten coats of arms embroidered in blue and white on the riband, together with other coats of arms which were originally regarded as not certainly identifiable though the names of several English barons were advanced for them. However in 1969 T.R. Davies made out a very convincing case for identifying them as the arms of various baronies and lands owned by Edmund of Lancaster.

In earlier discussion it had been argued that the girdle was made between 1256 and 1270, most probably before 1265, when Robert Ferrers (d.1279) fell into disgrace and was dispossessed of the Derby inheritance. Even on this argument it was evident that the arms on the girdle were linked in a tight network of relationship or marriage around the English King Henry III, and accordingly it was suggested that the girdle was in all probability a gift from him to the young Thibaut V of Champagne. Major Davies's case has the great merit of associating all the arms on the girdle with a single princely figure, Edmund of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III. The Infante Fernando de la Cerda had in fact close family ties with the Counts of Champagne, for he was married to Blanche, a younger daughter of St Louis in 1269, four years after Thibaut of Champagne had married her elder sister Isabelle. Blanche of Artois's first husband, Henri III of Champagne, was Thibaut's younger brother, and so the brother-in-law of Isabelle and a close connection by marriage of Fernando. It may be then, as Davies suggests, that Edmund knighted Fernando on a visit to Navarre and gave him his own girdle at the ceremony. But we should also remember the importance of girdles as gifts in the thirteenth century, and furthermore that it was the custom for princely couples on marriage not only to receive but to distribute gifts to their households and relations. Alternatively then the girdle might have been a gift sent by Edmund to Fernando on or shortly after his marriage to Blanche d'Artois, who by her earlier marriage was some sort of sister-in-law of the Infante. It would thus be a token promising and soliciting the continuance of relations of kinship and amity, which it was especially important for Edmund, as the real ruler of Navarre, to maintain with the adjoining kingdom of Castile. Davies suggests that in fact the girdle was made rather before 1275, and that it originally bore as its main arms on the lid Edmund's personal arms of

England brisured and elsewhere the shield of Bellomonte for his earldom of Leicester. These, he suggests, very convincingly, were removed and the shields of Champagne, France and Navarre substituted. On the whole his explanation of the girdle's heraldry is the most likely, and we should therefore consider the girdle as an English princely girdle made c.1270.[7]

Many thirteenth-century girdles were richly embroidered in the same fashion, and for the highest personages. They ranged from those that were heavily mounted or studded in gold or silver to those whose only enrichment in precious metal was the buckle and mordant. A popular decoration was an embroidered inscription of the words of the Angelic Salutation, which had a prophylactic value as a talisman as well as a devotional appeal. A German mid-thirteenth-century girdle from Cologne, now untraced, but supposed by its nineteenth-century owner, the Comte de Montalembert, to have belonged to St Elizabeth of Thuringia (d.1236), was of cloth of gold embroidered in green and yellow silk. The stuff was divided into rectangular panels alternately dark and light, each embroidered with a deer, a dragon, a dove, or a fanciful design of palmettes. Along the edges ran the inscription: *Ingressus angelus ad mariam dixit Ave gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui* (the Angelic Salutation to Mary). On the back were other inscriptions taken from the hymns sung daily during mass in honour of the Virgin. Its buckle and *passant* were of plain silver-gilt.[8]

Girdles of this type decorated with the Angelic Salutation or other prophylactic inscriptions continued to be worn during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1317 King Jaime II of Aragon (r.1291–1327) gave his son Alfonso one of his own girdles which was 'of red, green and violet silk, on which is written *Ave Maria* in letters of gold thread, with a head and mordant [*mosqueta*] of silver-gilt, ornamented on one end of these with his own royal arms and on the other with the shield of King Charles II of Naples (r.1285–1309) lined with red silk and braids of gold thread and on the girdle are nine plain little bars and a hook'. Evidently this girdle was a token of reconciliation between Charles and James of Aragon after the wars of the Sicilian Vespers, and so probably dated from c.1302. Again at his death in Barcelona in 1430 the royal Aragonese councillor and jurisconsult Pere Basset left 'a girdle of silk with head and buckle of silver-gilt with letters that read *Ave Maria gracia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu* and with four mounts all of silver-gilt'. Sometimes the letters of the Salutation were executed in silver, as on a Neapolitan girdle of 1494, which had 'an inscription of silver with the letters of the Virgin Annunciate'. Another enduringly popular inscription on girdles was the opening of the Gospel of St John, *In principio erat verbum* – a powerful talisman in mediaeval eyes. Already in 1313 Edward II had 'a silver-mounted girdle woven with *In principio*'. There still survives a document of 1369 in which Pere III of Aragon paid the goldsmith Guillem Gispert of Valencia for mounting a girdle of black silk 'on which is the gospel of St John' with nineteen
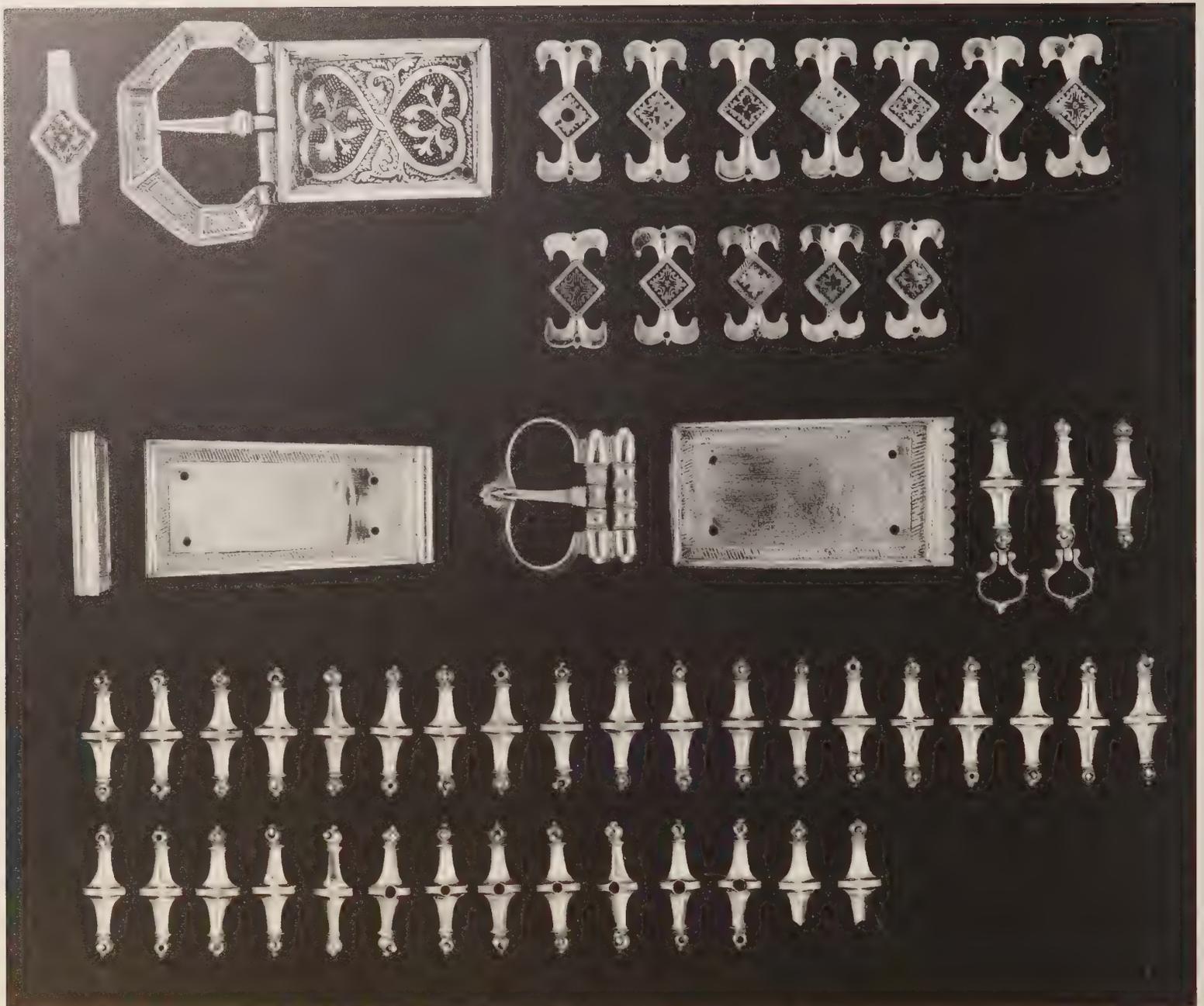
Fig. 176 Two girdles. Silver, parcel-gilt, niello. Upper: buckle length 12cm,
mounts height 4.5cm. Lower: buckle length 16cm, mounts height 4cm.
Northern European, 1270–80. Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg

mounts enamelled with the head of a crowned lady, five rosettes, a buckle and a pendant, all of silver, the pendant having the king's arms or device. Again Charles VI of France owned 'a girdle of silk on which is written the Gospel of St John': it had eleven gold bars and a gold buckle, chape and pendant. At a much humbler level of society in 1455 Cristiana, widow of John Ongham, a citizen of London, left Johanna Wossell, a tailor's wife, a silver girdle inscribed with *In principio erat verbum*. Probably the letters Jhc for Jesus Christ were also often to be found on girdles: they were inscribed for instance on one bequeathed by William of Bath, another citizen of London, in 1375. And the initial M for the Virgin Mary was probably mother frequent decoration.[9]

The Gothic style had certainly altered the design of girdle

mounts by the last decades of the thirteenth century. Our principal evidence for this are the silver buckles and mounts of two girdles which were found in a pot together with a hoard of coins in the Judengasse at Salzburg in 1978 (fig.176). The latest coin in the hoard has been dated between 1290 and 1300 and the girdle mounts probably date from this decade or from the 1270–80s. The mounts are of silver, parcel-gilt, with decoration in the characteristic thirteenth-century technique of niello. The form of the first buckle (top) is no longer a curve, as in earlier thirteenth-century designs, but has been converted into a heptagon of seven angular panels, those in the centre being broader than those at the sides. The chape is treated as a flat panel with raised rim: the panel itself, which may be earlier, is elegantly decorated in niello with two stylised foliated stems

that interlace to form two heart-shaped cartouches, in which the stems meet and entwine their spraying ends. The two spandrels between are each filled with a spray of foliage scrolling from one of the stems. The pattern is of a delicate formal subtlety and restraint which is typical of thirteenth-century Gothic ornament at its most elegant. The twelve mounts are vertical bars shaped at either end as a fleur-de-lis. Set in the centre of each is a lozenge decorated in niello with a stylised quatrefoil flower; the chape is similarly decorated. They are pierced at the centre, top and bottom for riveting to the stuff beneath; some of the rivets still survive, and show that the mounts were probably torn violently from the stuff beneath. Buckles of this angled Gothic type continued in use into the fourteenth century: a very fine fourteenth-century set of silver-gilt girdle mounts, once mounted on silk, that was found at Dune in Gotland and is now in Stockholm, has a buckle of this type.

The other Salzburg girdle (fig.176 *bottom*) has a buckle elegantly formed as a double curve, with a palmette where the pin rests which is also found in a Hungarian pendant of approximately the same period. The chape has a similar palmette-motif edge. The thirty-six mounts are again vertical bars, this time with incurved sides meeting at a short central horizontal bar; again the ends, and in some cases the horizontal bars are pierced for riveting to the mount beneath. From two of them depend hinged buckle-shaped suspenders from which to hang purses and pouches.[10]

The tradition of magnificent royal ceremonial girdles was maintained in the fourteenth century. Queen Clémence de Hongrie, second wife of King Louis le Hutin of France, whom she married in 1315, had two gold-mounted pearl-embroidered girdles; on one the mounts were shaped as crescents, a motif to which she appears to have been partial, perhaps because it was a device. For her coronation in 1326 Queen Jeanne d'Evreux of France had a girdle 'all of balas-rubies and emeralds and pearls'. Among the jewels Jaime II of Aragon deposited in the Dominican convent in Barcelona to meet his debts were two girdles of gold adorned with precious stones which in September 1323 he ordered to be sold. In January 1327, during his lordship of Florence, Carlo, Duke of Calabria, heir to the throne of Naples, gave a present of a rich girdle of gold set with precious stones and pearls to his wife Maria de Valois. It was made by a Venetian goldsmith named Marco, and its price was established after a valuation 'by certain expert masters of Florence' at the enormous sum of 500 florins. The buckle and pendant were set with four large sapphires and four large balas-rubies, and these, together with the chape, were also set with thirty-three large pearls, while the chape was set in addition with another sapphire, and the buckle and pendant with tiny emeralds. The girdle itself glowed with the combined fire of fifty-four 'ardent' rubies, of sixty-eight smaller balas-rubies, of thirty large emeralds and fifty-eight smaller ones, and three hundred and twenty-six pearls of lesser size than those on the buckle.[11]

In 1324 the girdles in the treasury of Edward II of England included one of thirty-three links of gold set with rubies, emeralds and balases, the edges of the chain links being bordered with pearls. The same taste for rich jewelling appears in the state girdle of Queen Maria of Aragon, made between 1338 and 1346: it is described as 'a gold girdle in which are thirty-two large rubies, and sixty-four emeralds and thirty-one large clusters of pearls, each with a little ruby in the middle, and three large pearls on the chape [*cap*] of the girdle. Beatriz of Portugal, by contrast, had a far less valuable state girdle: it was merely of gold, and had been a present from her father-in-law King Diniz made before 1325, probably in 1309, when she married his son Alfonso. Her brother, the Infante Felipe of Castile, had given her one that was evidently handsome, for she describes it as 'all of enamelled silver', but it too was less magnificent than the rich girdles of other kings and queens.[12]

Some girdles evidently united a gay splendour of patterning on the textile with the splendour of gold, like a girdle that belonged to the Queen Dowager of Naples, Maria of Hungary, at her death in 1323. This was of white silk sewn with popinjays, and was harnessed in gold; from it hung a matching purse ornamented with three pearl buttons. If it is true that purses were not habitually worn in Rome till the 1340s, this must be another instance of the Angevins of Naples adhering to French rather than Italian fashions. It was the custom for French queens to wear rich girdles at their coronation: in 1316 the French royal jewels included a gold girdle set with emeralds and rubies bought for the coronation of Queen Clémence de Hongrie. In 1352 King Jean bought for his daughter-in-law, the Dauphine, from the Paris goldsmith Pierre des Barres a girdle of ten sections, each section composed of little birds and fleurs-de-lis of gold mounted on embroidered tissue, bordered and sewn with rubies, emeralds and large pearls and a buckle and chape set with sapphires, balas-rubies and large pearls. The regal symbolism of this girdle, with its use of heraldic fleurs-de-lis, also appears on a girdle restored by Edward III to Jeanne, Duchess of Brittany in 1376. It is described as being 'of gold and pearls', but was evidently mounted on a rich stuff, for it had sixteen bars, nine of gold and seven of pearls, each of the gold bars being set with a white eagle, while between each pair of these was a gold leveret and a shield of grey. The seven pearl bars were each formed of twelve large pearls. Among the royal jewels of Edward III of England and his successor Richard II which were transferred in 1399 on his accession to Henry IV was a majestic ceremonial girdle of this richly jewelled type. It had gold mounts on a band of damask and was set with thirty-eight balas-rubies, thirty-three sapphires, seventy-one diamonds, twelve of them table-cut, and two hundred and sixty-four pearls. In addition the tradition of giving a princess a rich gold and jewelled girdle for her wedding continued: thus in 1359 Edward III bought for £18 a girdle set with rubies, emeralds and pearls for the marriage of Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to his son John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond.[13]

The Verona treasure contains metal mounts from a gold girdle of *c*.1350 which give perhaps the fullest authentic image of the girdles of gold set with precious stones worn by fourteenth-century Italian princely personages, in this case almost certainly one of the Scaliger family, the potent and magnificent lords of Verona. The pendant consists of two hinged plaques of gold with a pointed end terminating in a pike – a very Italian design. On the pike is set a sapphire, with two pearls on prongs to either side above. The pendant itself is set with large oblong *chatons* alternating with roughly oval stones, separated from each other by two pearls set on prongs. At the upper end are set two small rubies; under them passed the end of stuff of the girdle, evidently a narrow one, for it seems to have been only about 1.2cm ($\frac{15}{32}$ in) wide. On the stuff were mounted seventy-seven gold oblong *chatons*, with beaded edges, set alternately with a pair of rubies and a pair of emeralds, and with three pearls fixed on stalks pendant from each of them. The *chatons* were attached to the stuff by the prongs that pierced the stones, which passed through the *chaton* and the stuff and expanded into rosettes. When the *chatons* were fixed to the girdle, these pearls must have formed a fringe running along the base of the girdle, with extraordinary richness of effect. The splendour of jewelling which appears on these mounts remained typical of Scaliger jewellery until their fall in 1387. In that year, among jewels sent by Antonio della Scala, the last Scaliger to rule Verona, for pledging in Venice were a girdle set with forty-eight balas-rubies and many other stones and pearls, and a gold girdle 'of five pieces' with forty bars, set with pearls and stones, including twenty-one balas-rubies, and another gold girdle set with stones and pearls.[14]

Late fourteenth-century male princes' girdles maintained this traditional splendour and princely symbolism. In 1380 Louis, Duke of Anjou describes his 'long girdle of gold and pearls'. The stuff of this state girdle was of embroidered cloth of gold; its pendant was formed of a gold medallion and end plate with a rim of large pearls around the medallion between a grained border and an inner border enamelled *rouge cler*, patterned with spots of white. Within this two eagles in relief, perched on the root of a pierced wreath of lilies, supported a crown with their beaks. The medallion was attached to the end plate, which again was supported by two eagles in relief. The buckle reproduced this design, while the *passant* was of an eagle with extended wings. The belt itself was studded with pearls, gold roses, and gold crescent-shaped ornaments set with emeralds or balas-rubies and with enamelled rosettes. Louis of Orléans evidently had a belt of gold mesh with little bells dangling from it – little bells were one of his devices – for in December 1393 the goldsmith Hans Karast was paid for lengthening it by the addition of a small piece of gold mesh and two bells. Another of his girdles, made in 1400, showed the same taste for gold mesh: it was decorated with large, gold bosses, and from it hung down tassels of meshwork 'in the fashion of the mail of a hauberk' and a bell 'of Venice fashion'. These seem, however,

to have been made for military wear. His belt of gold, made by Karast in 1393–4, studded with one hundred and sixty-eight pearls, was in less fantastic taste, and illustrated the continuing popularity of belts decorated with pearls. In December 1402 he paid Hans Karast for a gold-mounted belt of black tissue of three fingers' width with two double buckles and two mordants, from whose length dangled twenty besants alternating with twenty aglets (*aiguillettes*) all hanging by thick black silk laces.[15]

Plainer were the costly girdles pledged by Duke Albert II of Austria to a citizen of Basle in 1354 – a long gold girdle with a hundred and thirty-three mounts, a girdle with one hundred and thirteen mounts and a girdle with nine mounts, the first of which was shaped as an E 'set on a scroll'. Such massy girdles of gold or mounted with gold were to remain an appurtenance of lordly and princely splendour to the end of the fifteenth century: thus among the plate and jewels of Jean I de Grailly, Count of Foix (d.1436), pledged in August 1438, was 'a girdle called the *cint de Bahanka* mounted with gold and on several of its parts enamelled, weighing altogether, including its gold buckle and head, 10 marks 1oz 10d of gold'.[16]

The tradition of giving girdles as presents remained strong in the fourteenth century. In 1353, for instance, Queen Giovanna I of Naples gave a Lombard named Tommaso Banbace Bussoni a great girdle 'worked with gold, pearls and precious stones with certain enamels on silver' bought for the purpose from the Neapolitan goldsmith Giannarello da Ischia. Duke Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy was particularly generous in his gifts of richly jewelled girdles to royal and princely ladies. In 1373 one of his New Year's gifts to his Duchess Marguerite was a gold *demi-ceint*, 'garnished with balas-rubies, sapphires and other precious stones' bought for 750 francs from Rainequin de Malines, a goldsmith of Paris. We know that jewelled girdles of this kind were still considered girdles of state *par excellence*, for in 1375 Philippe bought from Jehan de Brabant, court goldsmith to his father-in-law the Count of Flanders, five diamonds, five large pearls and a balas-ruby 'to be put into his good girdle and into two garters'. The description of one of his girdles in 1393 shows the opulence so characteristic of Philippe: of black stuff worked with white violets – probably a device rather than a poetic fancy – it was mounted with thirty-three balas-rubies, thirty-four sapphires, and one hundred and thirty pearls. Its buckle was set with two sapphires, a balas-ruby and eight pearls, its pendant with three sapphires, a balas-ruby and three large pearls. It was their lavish jewelling that gave such girdles their primacy; only one degree less splendid can have been the belts of gold enamelled with figures in *rouge cler* and set with precious stones that Philippe gave to his nephews King Charles VI of France and Louis of Orléans in 1385 as New Year's gifts. They had cost him the enormous sum of 1200 livres. Girdles also remained standard presents on such occasions as weddings. Thus, when Philippe was married to Marguerite of Flanders at Ghent on 19 June 1369, girdles were among the presents he gave to the councillors and chamberlains and courtiers of his

father-in-law, Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, and to his own courtiers. They included a girdle embroidered with pearls and set with silver-gilt studs, a girdle of silver-gilt, set with bosses and pearls, a *demi-ceint* for his squire in waiting, and girdles of silver-gilt. But, as we have seen, by the last decade of the fourteenth century the collar was replacing the girdle as the commonest form of gift.[17]

On girdles, as on brooches and crowns, lions and eagles were plainly a heraldic motif blazoning high seigneurial or princely rank. Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy (r.1343–83), had girdles mounted with eagles and lions of gold enamelled white and red or with gold lions and mastiffs holding his device of knots. In 1367 Philippe of Burgundy had the silver-gilt eagles of a girdle regilded and remounted on a new silk stuff, and during the same year he paid Winant of Cologne, goldsmith of Paris, for the gold and for the fashion of a belt of gold 'of eagles and of white swans enamelled' – that is, a symbol of princely rank combined with the swan device of his bride to be, Marguerite of Flanders – the Counts of Flanders claimed descent from the Knight of the Swan. Again in 1369 he gave a *demi-ceint* of silver-gilt, decorated with white eagles to his chamberlain Messire Guy Le Baveux – the choice of silver-gilt for this girdle suggests that such girdles were sometimes worn as a badge of service in a princely household by those of the rank of knight.[18]

Let us turn now to surviving belts and belt-mounts of the fourteenth century and what they have to tell us. In keeping with the new taste for luxury and fancifulness the Gothic style imposed, probably from about 1260–70 onwards, its own architectural forms and its own elegant fantasy on the design of girdle mounts. We find motifs of Gothic architectural tracery on the buckle and, on the pendant, rich Gothic ornament; open buckles can have the form of a Gothic figurine. The most elaborate example of architectural design applied to a girdle is in fact on a work of sculpture: it is the sword belt worn by King Casimir III of Poland (d.1370) on his effigy in the cathedral of Cracow (fig.177). In contrast with this fanciful taste was the taste for decorating girdles with large square plaques, set side by side in evident ostentation of the wealth required to purchase such imposingly rich ornaments. This fashion was certainly current everywhere from the second quarter and middle of the fourteenth century. The conventional buckle still continues in common use, but its form is elaborated and enriched and richly worked and fretted and, towards the end of the century, is given an increasingly wide and flourishing variety of designs. Mounts become bolder, more naturalistic, more florid, have a much greater variety of form and ornament, abandon the abstract stylisation of the thirteenth century for a stylisation that is not yet realism, but has more of vivid vigour of representation. This trend culminates in the curving elegant profiles and rich decoration of the later fourteenth century. The dominant buckle type of the thirteenth century had been the buckle with a prong, but in the fourteenth century other types come into prominence, using a hook. In these the chape holding the end of



Fig. 177 Effigy of Casimir III of Poland. Detail. Polish, *c.*1370. Cathedral, Cracow

the belt extends into a medallion, to which is attached a hook. This caught under the belt, or was slipped into a hole in the belt itself, or into a hasp or ring, on the other end of the belt. In the women's *demi-ceints* of the second half of the century, it was, as we have seen, hooked into the chain. The medallion form was often repeated in the pendant of such belts. Both medallions tend to be richly decorated, often with pictorial motifs.

A girdle of *c.*1330/40 in the Zähringen Museum, Baden-Baden (fig.178) has mounts of Lombardic As alternating with lions on a stuff of olive-green. It has a long chape of silver-gilt enamelled with a human-headed monster very typical of the ornamental repertory of the Gothic goldsmith in the first half of the fourteenth century. The buckle is of the 'open type' and

Fig. 178  Girdle. Silk, silver-gilt enamel. Length 128cm, width 1.5cm.
Parisian, 1330–40. Zähringen Museum, Baden-Baden

formed by a human-headed curve. The Victoria and Albert Museum's three early fourteenth-century plaques from a girdle (cat.75, pl.140) are unique survivals from a hinged girdle that was composed entirely of plaques of enamelled silver-gilt. They are curved to fit the outline of the body; the hinge was attached to each plaque by a tongue riveted between the upper and lower plate, and the next plaque was soldered to the hinge. They are decorated with scenes from a romance. On one two knights waylay each other on the road. On the second a knight kneels before a lady who is seated on a lion throne, and must therefore be a queen. She hands him his crested helm while on the left a lady sits on a coffer or bench holding the knight's shield and lance. On the third, a woman and a man play a viol and a zither before a king and a queen, both of whom hold sceptres. These little scenes are beautifully drawn and rendered, and their elegance and refined workmanship suggests a Parisian origin, about 1330–40. In the same taste of courtly romance and gallantry is the girdle from the treasure of Colmar (fig.179), now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris. Among its rich decoration of seventy-five square mounts, decorated with quatrefoils in relief encircling lily-flowers, are set four long horizontal plaques bearing the word AMOR on a ground of red enamel. On two of the other long plaques LIEB, the German for love, can be deciphered, so that the girdle must be from a German-speaking area, most probably either Alsace or the Upper Rhineland.[19] The arrangement of mounts in a formal pattern gives a clearer idea of how goldsmiths' work was used to embellish such girdles.

Probably many thirteenth and certainly many fourteenth-century girdles were decorated with enamels, but the only girdle richly decorated with enamels to survive is probably English, and dates from c.1330–50 (pl.107). Its early history is unknown, but it now belongs to New College, Oxford. It is narrow – which suggests that it is mostly likely to be a man's girdle – and consists of a series of hinged silver plaques. Some of these are square frames set with square plaques enamelled with translucent enamels; they alternate with square plaques set with a white paste in a raised collet encircled by eight pearls. To either side of these plaques set with stones are two small oblong plaques, set on the left with a white paste above a dark green stone, and on the right with a dark green paste above a white paste. The white and green of these groups of one large and four small plaques set with white and green stones and pearls are in brilliant contrast with the enamels, with their blue ground – the favourite *azur* of the fourteenth century – and their playful motifs of hares, deer, and monkeys in green, purple and yellow. On one end the plaque is formed as an oblong, with pearls above and below; on the other end the plaque is also an oblong, enamelled with a hare framed by pearls.[20]

We can obtain some general impression of baronial Italian girdles of the mid-fourteenth century from the inventories of the Acciaiuoli, who rose from being Florentine bankers to become a great South Italian feudal family prominent from c.1330 in the service of the kings of Naples. They had no belts or girdles mounted with gold, but only with silver-gilt or plain silver. Two bore the family arms, five were decorated with pearls and mounts of silver-gilt and enamelled, five were of

pearls – either threaded pearls or stuff thickly sewn with pearls – and one was of chains and silver. The finest girdle of this type was a girdle of silver-gilt set with precious stones and pearls. Perhaps some impression of it is given by the mid-fourteenth-century girdle mounts of silver-gilt set with pearls found in the Verona treasure and now in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona. The buckle is a lobed cinquefoil rosette of notably strong beauty of outline. It is enamelled and set with pearls, one placed at the end of each lobe, and has a rosette in the centre. The mounts are disc-shaped or rosette-shaped. The discs are enamelled and ringed with pearls, while the rosettes, none of which is completely preserved, are set with an amethyst in the centre and on their lobes with six pearls and with rubies encircling the central stone. By contrast with the buckle, the enamelled pendant is small and unambitious.

Two other Acciaiuoli girdles had ornaments of mother-of-pearl, one in combination with silver mounts, while others had mounts of enamelled silver. The Acciaiuoli also owned a 'large girdle of silver, enamelled', in what was certainly a very Italian taste for enrichment with enamelled silver. There was indeed a strong taste for such enamelled mounts in Italy – the sumptuary laws of Siena, for instance, forbid in 1343 the wearing of enamelled ornaments on trimmings or indeed elsewhere on dresses and in 1433, almost a century later, in a passion of exasperation, disallowed enamelled girdles and rings entirely. Enamelling was of course as popular in the North; it could be used on the buckle, chape and pendant rather than on the mounts – as on a 'little French girdle with mounts of silver-gilt and enamels on the brooch and pendant' owned by the Acciaiuoli – or plaques along the girdle could be enamelled. Perhaps the best representation of a mid-fourteenth-century Italian girdle is that on a *Deposition from the Cross* in the Uffizi, which is attributed to the Florentine Giottino (recorded 1324–69). In this a richly dressed female devotee wears a broad girdle set with large square plaques, enamelled in a very Tuscan style in red and dark blue. Each plaque bears a dark blue quatrefoil with a lozenge centre on a deep red ground. The clasp is a great oval buckle whose largeness of form recalls the Verona girdles and was perhaps typical of mid-fourteenth-century Italian girdle design. This too is enamelled in the centre with a deep blue

quatrefoil, on a deep red ground with motifs reserved in gold. Between each plaque is set a row of beads of gold.[21]

Venetian girdles were generally of silver or silver-gilt – gold or gold-mounted girdles appertained to high feudal or princely rank and were discouraged even in the most patrician of communes. There seem to have been differences in Venice between those worn by the two sexes: documents of 1355 and 1399 mention silver girdles for men and silver girdles for ladies; though the exact distinction between them is not clear, it probably involved either length or breadth or both. In the fourteenth century they were generally of a rich stuff with bars or mounts of silver or silver-gilt, or else embroidered with pearls. We read in 1302 of a girdle of silver mounts on a band of vermilion stuff, in 1358 of one of scarlet silk, of another two in 1389, one of black silk, one of crimson, both with mounts of silver-gilt. Sometimes the mounts were of great value: one found in the room of a courtesan named Lucia di Segna in 1399 was valued at 18 gold ducats. Sections of fourteenth-century Venetian girdles were often enamelled – two men's girdles are described in 1355 as having enamelled mounts and the leather girdle worn in 1360 by Ser Marco Bragadin, a member of a great patrician house, had a great pendant enamelled with his family arms. Niello, so popular a technique in fifteenth-century Italy, is mentioned on belt mounts in 1422, but was presumably then a fairly recent fashion for the decoration of girdles. Girdles of goldsmiths' work were naturally a temptation to thieves: in 1365 a certain German named Martel, standing one day in Rialto near the counters of the money-changers (*campsores*), was nudged by his companion, another German called Johann, who said to him: 'See the belt end that gentleman wears. Go and cut it off and then we shall sell it and split the price.' Martel did what he was told, and cut off the end and several of the mounts.[22]

The treasure of late mediaeval jewels found at Chalcis in Euboea and now in the British and Ashmolean Museums[23] includes two mid-fourteenth-century buckles and a girdle mount executed in the characteristic Venetian technique of filigree, either plain or set in enamel. This technique of filigree in enamel seems to have been a Venetian invention of the early thirteenth century or before: the motifs, executed in filigree,

Fig. 179 Girdle fragment. Silk, silver-gilt, enamel. Length 80 cm, width 0.8 cm.
Rhenish, c.1330–40. From the Colmar Treasure. Musée de Cluny, Paris

Fig. 180 Girdle mount. Silver-gilt, enamel. Diameter 4.5cm. Venetian,
fourteenth century. From the Chalcis Treasure. British Museum, London

heads, possibly for the Zen, Contarini or Minotto family, one
shaped as a vertical oblong, with a shield bearing a gilt rose
within a gilt border whose spandrels are engraved with foliage.
On a fourth, shaped as a gilt square with trefoil-shaped corners,
the shield is reserved on a green ground within a quatrefoil.
These various types of mount give a clear idea of the ornamental
forms given to heraldic girdle mounts in fourteenth- and early
fifteenth-century Venice. Another, rather later, girdle mount is
ornamented with the inscription *Clara . b* in gilt Gothic letters
on a silver ground, presumably for *Clara . bella*. These decorative
motifs, like the others in the characteristically Venetian group
of girdles and girdle mounts we shall now discuss, are chivalric
in inspiration and sentiment, with their sentimental gallantry
and their blazonry of family.

In addition we can form some impression of the appearance
of more elaborate Venetian girdles, probably produced for the
foreign market, from a number of fourteenth-century girdles
and girdle mounts that are probably Venetian or in a Venetian
style and form an identifiable group. In these the buckle is
shaped, not as a closed motif, but as a motif open at the top,
with the bar formed by a human head or figure. The chape is
hinged to the buckle and is engraved with grotesque monsters,
while the pendant is engraved or enamelled with figures in
contemporary costume and is sometimes shaped at the end into
an elegant openwork Gothic motif. A buckle and chape of this
type was found in the Chalcis treasure (fig.181); of silver
parcel-gilt, it is for a narrow girdle. The buckle is monster-
headed, and the pin is hinged to a panel decorated with foliage.
The chape is formed as a gilt openwork case soldered to a
baseplate, to which is also soldered a ribbon of hatched silver,
now broken, which would have issued from the trefoil-shaped
end of the chape. Two pendants from the same treasure are
architectural in design, and make use of what was probably a
characteristic Venetian contrast of silver-gilt with ungilt silver.
One, for a narrow girdle, has between its ribbed ends a
crocketed canopy over a three-light window supported by
hollow columns. All this is in relief and gilt; the ground it
encloses is silver, and on this is engraved and gilt an eagle. The

are soldered to the baseplate, so forming cells which are then
filled with powdered enamel up to the level of the wires. On
fusion, the enamel sinks slightly within the cells, so throwing
up the filigree outlines. On one buckle the broadly curved
Gothic end, of a design found also in the silver-gilt girdle from
the Verona treasure, has a beaded edge enclosing a sunk case
containing filigree scroll-work; on the other, motifs of rosettes
are set in enamel. The mount (fig.180) in the same style of
enamelled filigree is decorated in the centre with a gilt swan
with bending head; its rim is pierced with holes for stitching.
The Chalcis treasure also contains other girdle mounts: for
instance, a shield-shaped one, with a silver bird on a red field,
possibly for the Cicogna or Nani of Venice, one shaped as a
sexfoil with incurved sides, bearing a shield with arms of four

Fig. 181 Girdle buckle. Silver, parcel-gilt. Length 12.6cm. Venetian,
fourteenth century. From the Chalcis Treasure. British Museum, London

reverse is decorated with a lady's head, with two braided tresses. Another buckle, also for a narrow girdle, has one end divided to receive the stuff or leather; both ends are engraved with late fourteenth-century foliate motifs. It has an elaborate double canopy, again used to provide a sophisticated contrast between gilt and ungilt. The fluted pilasters of the lower canopy enclose a lady; the reverse is similarly constructed, as a gilt architectural canopy, through which the eye looks at the elegant gilt lady wearing a robe with high girdle and long dangling sleeves, figured on a plain silver ground.

The completest example of the group is a girdle with enamelled silver mounts, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (figs.182, 182a), which measures about 238cm long by 2.9cm wide. The mounts are arranged in groups of three small mounts, the groups being separated from each other by a large square mount. The small mounts are set with a quatrefoil enamelled with a head, a design of foliage, or some other motif; the large ones are also enamelled with a great variety of motifs – men and women playing musical instruments and other figures, monsters that are half-human, half-animal. The technique is the favourite Italian one of translucent enamel; the colours are the usual blue, together with red, brown, yellow and green. The chape is made in two sections, both enamelled, one with a woman, the other with a man playing a musical instrument. The buckle

Fig. 182  Girdle. Silver thread, wool, silver, enamel. Length 238cm, width 2.9cm. Georgian, fourteenth century. Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio





Fig. 182a  Detail

proper is formed of a figure playing a tambourine, on which rests the pin. The end is designed to fall downwards to the hem of the garment which, in a piece of this date, suggests it is a woman's girdle, and has an elaborate pendant, set with vertical enamels on the front figuring a woman accepting and a woman rejecting her lover. On the back are set plaques engraved with monsters of a kind also found on fragments of a girdle which was discovered in Bosnia and is now in the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (former Zeughaus), Berlin.[24] The girdle from the Pierpont Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, is also Venetian (fig.183). The stuff, patterned in

Fig. 183 Girdle. Wool (?), silver-gilt, enamel. Length 176.5 cm, width 1 cm.
Venetian *c.*1350–75. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.963),
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

various colours, has notably harmoniously arranged silver-gilt mounts. An open buckle formed as a lady is hinged to the long and ornate chape, decorated with a floral stem. Then follow the girdle mounts, florid X-shaped motifs, separated by rosettes and enamelled plaques. At the end is a long pendant, with a square end, of a type found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It probably dates from the middle to third quarter of the fourteenth century. The Cleveland girdle comes from Georgia, but two other examples from the Chalcis treasure originate from Bosnia. These are a belt buckle, pendant and mounts of enamelled and engraved silver found in a graveyard near Cetina and another set of mounts found near Travnick. The group seems to date from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. An origin in Bosnia itself has been suggested for these, but the Georgian provenance of the Cleveland example seems to indicate that they were perhaps made in Venice – or of course Ragusa – and carried by merchants to the Balkans and the Black Sea.[25]

A very different version of architectural Gothic design appears in the great gold buckle or clasp (fig.184) which fastened the rich belt embroidered with gold thread and with pearl lozenges containing gold stars which the Voivode Vladislav I of Wallachia

(1364–*c.*1377) was found wearing across his hips when his tomb at Curtea de Arges was opened in 1920. As with many broad hip belts of this type, there was no falling end and so no rich pendant, and the climax of the design was therefore the buckle, now detached from the belt. The clasp is formed as a castle with a polygonal tower at either side. The towers were attached to the ends of the belt which are fitted with metal chapes ending in a hasp and were joined by a gold rivet driven through tower and hasp. The central part of the clasp is hinged to the towers. In it two projecting buildings form a Gothic niche whose ground is of blue enamel and whose base is a balcony. In the balcony stands a Gothic monster, a swan in right profile topped by a female head, shown full face and executed in bronze. In other balconies attached to the projecting buildings, a nobleman (left) converses with a lady (right); above are turrets and a roof of fantastic Northern architecture. The same fantastic style of turreted pinnacles is found in the cloak clasps of Louis of Hungary (pls.103, 103a) now in Aachen, which date from *c.*1365–70, and in the pair of small silver-gilt cloak clasps in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.77, pl.142) and is probably the style practised in the 1370s
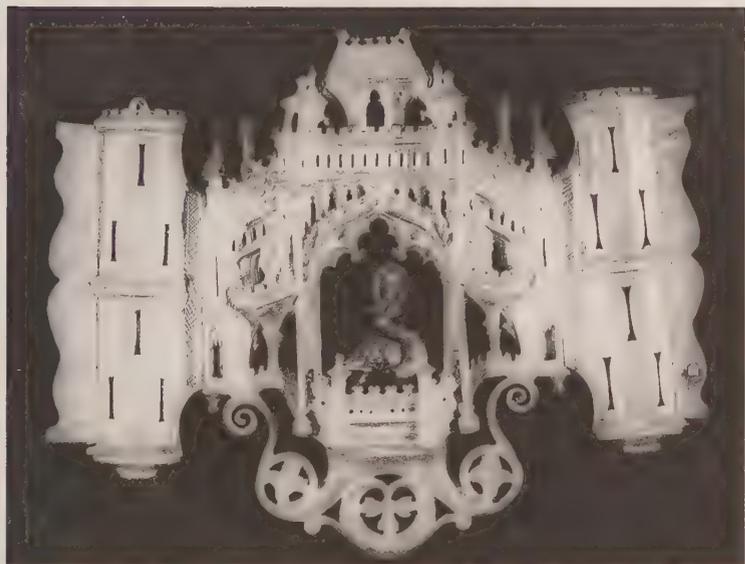
Fig. 184 Girdle buckle. Silver-gilt. Height 6.5 cm, width 12.7 cm. Eastern European, 1370–80. From Curtea de Arges. Muzeul de istorie al R.S. România, Bucharest

and 1380s by the court goldsmiths of Hungary, Germans or of German origin.[26]

Towards the end of the century we will find a taste for girdles of chain links. These were sometimes simple chains, like the girdle worn by Hansel, the fashionably dressed young musician who served as a fountain-figure in a courtyard of the Heilig-Geist-Spital in Nuremberg (fig.185). Chain girdles were also worn in France; we have already seen that one is mentioned in the will of Ponce Clari of Valence in 1341. In France we also find references to girdles of rings or of roundels and rings, like the girdle of gold 'of round buttons and little rings of gold and white silver' that the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier repaired in 1387 for Louis of Orléans, adding two double rings and running a gold pipe round it. Unlike the German chains, however, all these elements were mounted on a band. In Germany chain girdles were long to remain popular: an example of gold with oval writhen links alternating with plain oval links which dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century is in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.[27]



Fig. 185 Fountain statue (the Hansel). Nuremberg, c.1380. On loan to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

During the fourteenth century the vogue for a decoration of letters of the alphabet to indicate names or symbolise preoccupations, for personal or heraldic devices, or for fanciful motifs influenced the design of the belt and girdle as it influenced that of the collar. As with brooches, the use of initial letters preceded by many years the use of devices, for the mode for girdles decorated with letters goes back at least to the early 1320s, and probably a decade or so earlier. Our first record of it dates from 1324 when Edward II of England had a 'girdle of the old fashion, with letters of pearls whose buckle and mordant are enamelled with shields of the arms of England'. Letters, as we have seen, decorate the Swynford belt of c.1370 (fig.131a). By the 1330s initial letters were already being used in France in combination with hearts to indicate affection. In 1334 the Connétable d'Eu bought from the mercer Jehan Lefrison a silver-mounted girdle of white leather, the mounts being enamelled roundels, 'hearts and letters'. This decoration was evidently a standard motif, for the French royal accounts of c.1340 mention 'a girdle harnessed with hearts and letters'. We have already seen that one of the girdles pledged by Albert II of Austria in 1354 was decorated with an E and that the Baden-Baden girdle of c.1330–40 (fig.178) is studded with capital As. The fashion is also documented in Italy during the same decade, for the inventory of the Acciaiuoli of c.1356 lists a girdle interwoven with gold letters and a girdle of green stuff with mounts of letters of silver-gilt. The treasure of Colmar in the Musée de Cluny includes a Lombardic A and a Lombardic H, presumably dating from before 1349, which were surely girdle mounts of this kind.[1]

In 1379–80 Louis of Anjou had two *demi-ceints* decorated with his own initial and that of his wife Maria de Blois, whom he married in July 1360. One was of gold tissue with blue borders, the French royal colours, and had thirty-two gold mounts 'some in the fashion of Ls and some of Ms'. Each L was set with eight pearls and four emeralds and two small balas-rubies, all in high collets; each M was set symbolically with five clusters of pearls for purity and four small balas-rubies, to figure love. The other girdle had eighteen gold Ls and Ms on a field sewn with pearls; between each pair of letters was a gold coronal in relief with four green holly leaves, each fleuron of the coronal being set with a tiny pearl. In 1386 Philip the Bold of Burgundy paid Jean de Brabant, a court goldsmith of Bruges, for sixty letters of gold in the shape of a P and an M conjoined, for himself and his Duchess Marguerite, to be worn on a girdle. Richard II of England also had girdles decorated with his own

initials and that of his wife Anne of Bohemia. As on brooches, then, so initials on belts and girdles could signify either a feudal tie of allegiance, or ownership, or again love, usually conjugal love.[2]

The use of initial letters became increasingly common on girdles in the last decades of the fourteenth century, and spread to all classes. In 1392 Robert Usher of Stratford, a Yorkshire gentleman, left a silk girdle adorned with silver letters of S – though this may alternatively have been the well-known Lancastrian device about which we have already heard so much in connection with livery collars. In 1401 Johanna, wife of Wermbold Harlam (Wermbout of Harlem?) a goldsmith of York left a girdle, harnessed with silver letters, to her sister Agnes. We do not know what these letters were but the initials W and A which adorned a silver girdle bequeathed by Avice, wife of William of Pontefract, a draper of York, were those of Avice herself and her husband. The girdle of silver belonging to Alan Hamerton, a rich and pious citizen of York, in 1405–6, had the letters AA for Alan himself; the letters CC on a girdle of silver-gilt, which he also left, cannot be identified but were possibly those of a first wife. The vogue for girdles decorated with initial letters lasted until the end of the Middle Ages. In 1485 the French royal accounts list a payment for a girdle 'sewn with the letters MM enamelled red and white'. And a fifteenth-century girdle wholly of silver-gilt with links of letters forming an inscription was once in the Figdor Collection, Vienna.[3]

Sometimes these letters were the letters of a motto or device, like 'the letters wrought in his device' made from four marks of silver bought in 1374 to ornament a girdle for Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy. These were presumably the mysterious letters FERT that also ornamented his collar. On some of the belts and girdles of Louis of Anjou, as inventoried in 1379–80, we find a mingling of heraldic devices with personal devices and mottoes and with initial letters that seems to have been very characteristic of the taste in jewellery of this keen connoisseur and enlightened patron of the goldsmiths' art. Two state *demi-ceints* for himself and his wife Marie de Blois were both decorated with an intermix of heraldic motifs, devices and initial letters. One had fourteen studs and the chape decorated with the cross of Louis's Order of the Cross on a ground of white enamel. The studs each had two eagles facing as supporters. Between each pair of these motifs was a crescent enamelled in *rouge cler* and set with two gold rosettes and with the gold letters of Louis's personal motto *Je le doy* (It is my duty). Each crescent was surmounted by a small fleur-de-lis

above, whose points touched the two eagles. The eagles and fleur-de-lis were proper to a French royal prince; the crescent had already been used as a device by Louis's father King Jean le Bon, the cross was the device of his own order. His wife's girdle played on the letter M which was her initial. It had a buckle of two rampant lions supporting an arch over a crown-pillar; taken together, these motifs formed a letter M and they were repeated in the twenty-three gold studs that were mounted on the stuff, a gold orphrey of Damascus work. On other girdles where a motto was figured it could be purely graceful or courtly, like a girdle of green stuff handed over in 1400 to Henry IV from the jewels of Edward III and Richard II: it was 'garnished with letters of silver-gilt with the motto *Sanz male penser* [with no evil thought]'.[4]

Louis of Anjou's long girdle of blue silk with gold mounts – the French royal colours – used the mysterious device of a crowned letter X. This was engraved on the chape of the buckle, was supported on the pendant by two eagles perched on twisted branches rising from a pierced double rose, and was repeated in the studs, where the crowned Xs were arranged in pairs, were engraved with the motto *Je le doy*, and had a small fleur-de-lis between each pair. Presumably a girdle of white and green tissue, the colours of the French King Charles VI, and 'garnished with letters of X and little gold bells' that was handed over with the royal jewels of Edward III and Richard II of England to Henry IV in 1400 was a French royal girdle of the same device. Symbolism became more formally heraldic on Louis's *demi-ceint* of blue with a square buckle edged with pearls and diamonds and a chape decorated with a stud of an eagle in relief on a ground of *rouge cler* enamel. This motif was repeated in the eighteen studs of the belt; between each pair of these, two lily stems formed a lozenge set with pearls containing a fleur-de-lis. Another girdle seems to have gone to the opposite extreme; only the initial L on the flat gold buckle proclaimed Louis's ownership among a fanciful decoration on the stuff of eighty-four shells embroidered in seed-pearl. Heraldry was not wholly incompatible with gaiety: a slender gold-mounted girdle had a B-shaped buckle with a shield of the arms of Anjou, and a mordant of the same shape enamelled with an angel holding the same arms, but on the stuff were written the words of a *virelay* (song), which began *Se par fausse trayson* (If by false treason).[5]

In such girdles the symbolic language is essentially heraldic. A favourite general device that also appeared on belts and girdles was the heart. We have already encountered it on a girdle of *c*.1340, conjoined with letters, and its vogue was lasting. In 1397 Hans Karast made for Louis of Orléans a girdle decorated with two rows of studs shaped as hearts, and again in 1433 we hear in Cambray of a woman's long girdle decorated with hearts crowned with pearls. Chivalric devices also appeared on girdles. As we have seen, a late fourteenth-century silver-gilt buckle found in Liège (fig.186) and now in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, has an elegant outcurving design rather resembling a Gothic capital M stood on end – which is
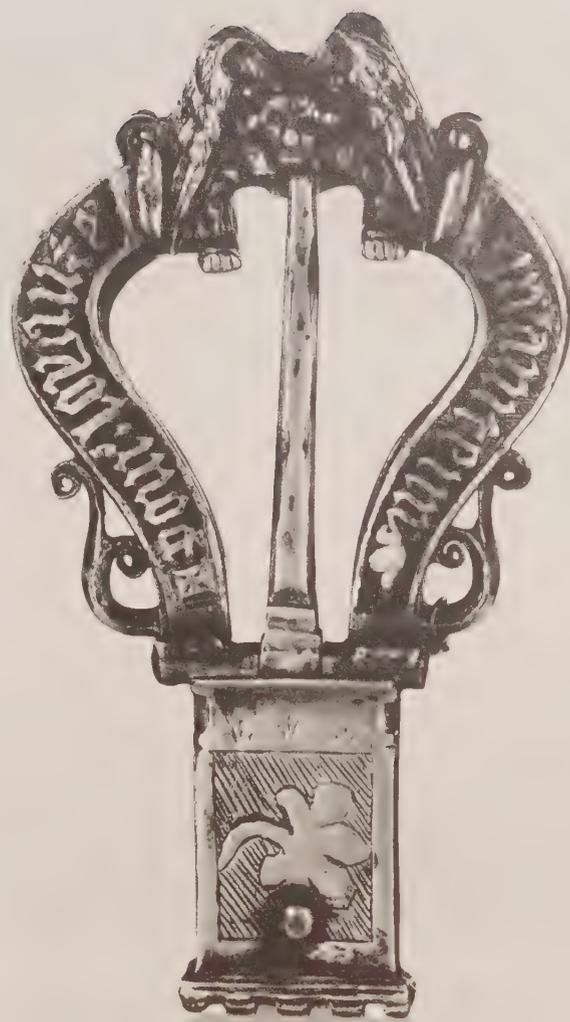


Fig. 186 Buckle. Silver-gilt, niello. Height 7.3 cm, width 1.4 cm. French, late fourteenth century. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

in fact a favourite International Gothic form for buckles. In the Liège buckle it is composed of two scrolls which join in an angel who originally held a little movable bar. The scrolls are inscribed in Gothic letters on a ground of blue enamel + *pour loyauté maintenir*, the motto of the Ordre de l'Epée (Order of the Sword), the order of the Kings of Cyprus. Here the prong serves as the sword which in the original device the scrolls inscribed with this motto encircled.[6]

Girdles decorated wholly with personal devices begin to appear during the middle of the fourteenth century. One of the earlier references to a girdle with devices is a record of one that belonged to Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy (r.1340–83) which had gold mounts of lions and mastiffs holding scrolls in their mouths with his device of knots. As Amadeo had founded the earliest chivalric order to have a collar, whose pendant was this device of knots, it is not surprising to find him one of the earliest princes to blazon his girdles with his device. Its presence is a token of the high significance of devices in chivalric eyes,

testifying as they so often did to some vow of love, of conduct, or of religion.[7]

From the latter end of the fourteenth century such girdles decorated with devices become relatively common. In 1381 a royal goldsmith, Jean Garvain the Elder, made for King Charles the Bad of Navarre two girdles of devices, one decorated with his device of eagles, the other 'with the device of beasts' heads'. In 1387 a French royal goldsmith, Jehan du Vivier, made for the young King Charles VI of France a girdle strengthened by four gold bars and twenty-two gold studs, with mounts of lozenges and of his royal device of broom-cods, the lozenges nielloed and the broom in relief. To make it he received one of the king's old belts, in the form of nielloed gold rings — a record which throws a vivid light on one of the reasons why so many mediaeval jewels have disappeared. Charles also had girdles wholly of his device of broom-cods. One, mentioned in 1390 when it was repaired by the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier, is described as 'barred and studded along its whole length with little broom-cods of gold'. Another set of gold girdle mounts made in 1398 by the famous goldsmith Herman Roussel had Charles's device enamelled four times in white, black, green and red on each of the five mounts, which were also engraved with his motto JAMÈS. The chape of the buckle was engraved with stems, flowers and cods of broom, and in the middle of the pendant was a gold tiger. Rather more gay and fantastic were the gold mounts for a girdle made by Jehan Compère in 1408. Each of its five mounts was shaped as three broom-cods, the square buckle was enamelled with may-leaves, and the mordant was enamelled with two peacocks spreading their tails. A magnificent ceremonial girdle of the broom-cod device had been made in 1397 for Charles's wife Queen Ysabeau de Bavière. Wholly of gold, it consisted of thirty-two links bearing broom-flowers, each flower being set alternately with a balas and a sapphire, while the links themselves were each decorated with eight pearls, a white flower and a green broom-cod. Charles's brother Louis of Orléans was much addicted to devices: in 1393 he paid for two girdles of white tissue set with hollyhocks enamelled in *rouge cler* and narcissi, with arrow head studs between.[8]

The same tastes prevailed in England. While in Prussia during 1390–1 on a crusade Henry of Lancaster, then Earl of Derby, had a girdle made in Danzig with flowers of his device – certainly forget-me-nots. With the jewels of Richard II of England Henry IV gained possession of a number of girdles that had his devices as their ornaments. Four had gold mounts on black cloth: one ornamented with the device of stags' heads and small pearls, the second with the device of ostrich plumes and little gold bells, the third with the device of green and white roses and little bells, the fourth with white roses and the letters RS (*Ricardus Secundus*). Other girdles as we have seen had the letter R, for Richard, or A for his Queen, Anne of Bohemia (d.1394). A girdle of red, white and blue was mounted with borage and other white flowers, again probably a device;

perhaps more purely fanciful was the girdle of green and white stuff 'garnished with Saracen letters and powdered with white and green flowers and with little sheep-bells', though here too the flowers may have been a device.[9]

From the later fourteenth century two common motifs in all rich jewellery were little bells and the love-knot. Belts or girdles with little bells became very popular in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. It has been claimed that they were an exclusively German fashion; this, however, is demonstrably incorrect. But it is certainly true that there are early references to the custom of attaching them to girdles in Germany. In 1343 the city fathers of Nuremberg ordered that 'no persons shall wear any bell, large or small, nor any bauble of silver on chains to their girdles'. Their use became very widespread in Germany: in 1417 when Duke Frederick of Saxony made his entry into Constance to attend the Council all his train wore girdles hung with little bells. It may be that the custom of wearing them spread from Germany into France. Whether this was so or not, certainly Louis d'Orléans used little bells as a device; and by 1390 he paid for 'twelve little bells, pounced' to be attached to two robes, one for himself, one for his brother the King. In 1393 he gave his brother Charles VI a narrow belt of gold-mounted stuff which was hung with little bells. In 1408 Valentina Visconti his duchess had three silver-mounted girdles with little bells hanging from them by chains. Of the fifteen or so girdles belonging to Richard II that were handed over in 1400 to Henry IV seven were decorated with little bells of gold. One indeed was composed of a number of cock-bells of silver-gilt linked together 'in the fashion of a girdle'.[10]

In 1420 Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy had 'a broad girdle for dancing'. It was formed of twenty-four coupled open-work links shaped as doves, and ornamented with shavings, in allusion to the Burgundian device of a plane. Between each pair of links hung a large bell made of twelve leaves conjoined, probably flowers like the columbine-shaped bells that hung from one of Richard II's girdles.[11] The sound of such bells made during the dance was evidently much appreciated. During the festivities held for the marriage of Louis, Count of Geneva, the eldest son of Duke Amadeo VIII of Savoy, and Anne de Lusignan, daughter of King Janus of Cyprus, which took place at Chambéry in February 1433, the knights and squires at a dance held on the evening of the second day all wore 'chains of broad girdles full of bells'. As in France, so in Germany the fashion for little bells was at its height during the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century; they declined from popularity c.1460–80. While the mode lasted, it was general: a severe middle-aged Dutch noblewoman, Lysbeth van Duvenvoorde, is shown in her portrait of c.1430 in the Rijksmuseum (fig.187) wearing a girdle of bells.[12]

The love-knot appears in one of its favourite forms, the friar-knot, in girdles which took the form of a *cordelière* or Franciscan's girdle. The earliest recorded use of this motif seems to be in a girdle of silk and gold thread decorated with thirteen knots of

Fig. 187 Lysbeth van Duvenvoorde, anon. Oil on panel. Netherlandish, c.1430. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

of delicacy of invention. The inventory of Charles the Bold, taken c.1468, describes

> a gold girdle in the fashion of a *demi-ceint*, garnished with two mordants of gold, one enamelled with a flower of white enamel, and set with three balas-rubies, and a sapphire in the centre, and three clusters of pearls, and two little enamelled birds, and the lower mordant garnished with three sapphires, a balas-ruby and three clusters of three pearls, and two little birds, and a little gold chain hanging down on which is a blue flower, and garnished with a balas and four pearls, and the said girdle is sewn along its whole length with seed-pearls and twenty-six small crosses enamelled clear red, and with letters and with four small pearls round each, and two pearls between each small cross.

Occasionally girdles were made *en suite* with other pieces of jewellery: thus the same inventory of Duke Charles lists a chaplet of pearls with two gold mordants, a *demi-ceint* of pearls, also with two gold mordants and a purse of pearls, all as a single parure.[14]

In the fifteenth century the girdle was supplemented by the *troussoire*, a sort of mediaeval chatelaine. It was attached to the dress by a clasp; from it hung a chain or chains, one with a hook for looping up the dress, whence its name. In 1481 the Duchess of Orléans had a *troussoire* decorated with a gold unicorn which had a pointed diamond set in its head. The *troussoire* is found at its most elaborate in the jewels of Mary of Burgundy, as inventoried in 1482. One of her *troussoires* of turned gold was shaped as an M, and was sewn with small Es, enamelled black. In its centre it displayed a large shield-shaped diamond and from its ends dangled two middle-sized flat pearls. Another was shaped as two shells of St James, set with a shield-shaped diamond; a third was made of small flat rings, sewn with little beads of red, white and black enamel — a favourite form of ornament in France and Flanders during these years — and had a large pointed diamond, with several facets, set in a gold mount at the end. A fourth was also formed of links, each link being decorated with the Burgundian device of two flints, on a ground of the grey enamel which is not infrequently mentioned in fifteenth-century descriptions of French and Burgundian jewellery. It was much more richly jewelled than its fellows, for it was garnished with seven good pearls, four small rubies, three diamonds and one very large diamond, and with a ruby at the end of the pendant.[15]

The personal interest taken by late fourteenth-century patrons in the design of girdles appears in several documents. One of 1392 is an acknowledgement by Jehan du Vivier, one of the great royal goldsmiths of Charles VI of France, of the receipt of 60 gold francs, given to him 'for gold to make a belt for the King our Lord according to the fashion he had devised to me'. Again in 1403 the goldsmith Jehan Cherbout was paid for two leather girdles, studded with latten, models made for Queen Ysabeau de Bavière that she kept beside her, no doubt for comparison with the finished work.[16]

pearls *comme de ceinture de cordelier* (like a Franciscan's girdle) inventoried among the girdles of Louis of Anjou in 1379–80, together with another girdle of silk and gold and silver thread also sewn with knots of pearls. The motif was to enjoy lasting popularity in girdles and also in chains and collars, because it symbolised love intertwined in an indissoluble knot, and so became a favourite symbol of conjugal love and faith. It figures again in a girdle (*cordelière*) with knots of pearls in 1422 which was said to have belonged to Madame Isabelle of France. The *cordelière* remained fashionable in France and the Low Countries for the remainder of the century. About 1490 Olivier de la Marche declares: 'we must discover a goldsmith who knows how to make a *cordelière* of the finest gold that can be found, enamelled white, black and clear red, to make a costly girdle for Madame'.[13]

Some Burgundian girdles and belts show that bias towards a heavy display of valuable stones which became such a leading feature of fifteenth-century court jewellery, rather at the expense

Fig. 188  Girdle pendant and mounts. Silver-gilt. Pendant length 8.7cm, height 2.9cm.
Transylvanian, early fifteenth century. Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest
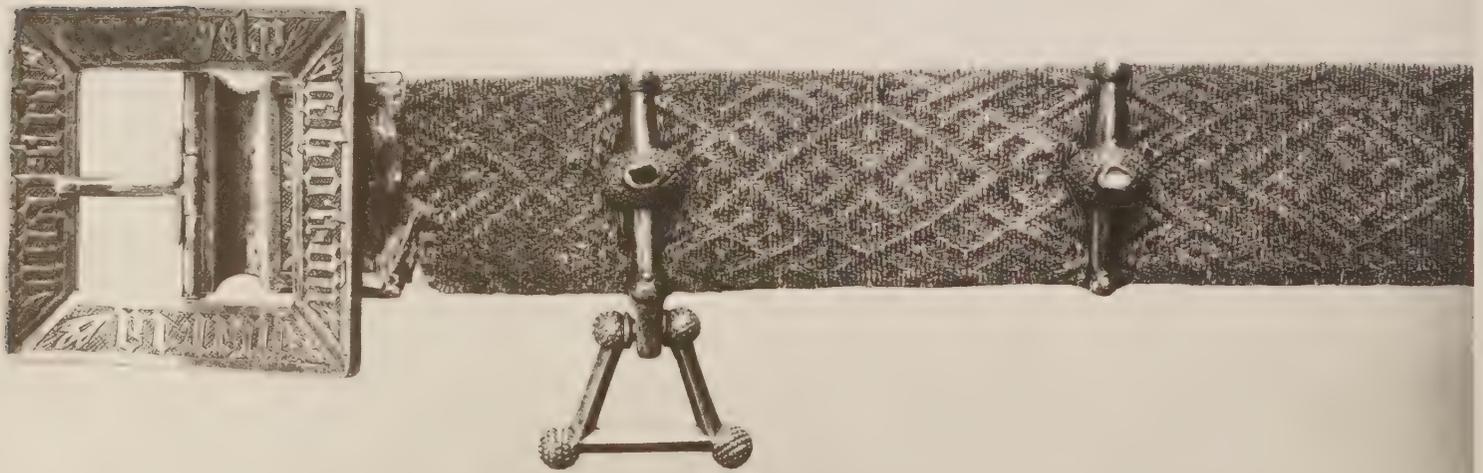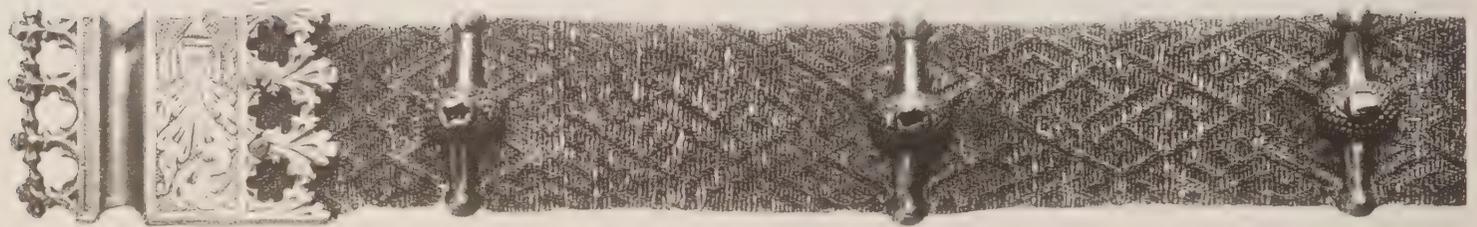


Fig. 189  Girdle. Silk, silver-gilt, stones. Length 178cm, width 3cm. Danish
or North German, early fifteenth century. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Some of the surviving buckles and girdles of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century continue earlier fashions, as in a buckle and pendant of silver-gilt from Prague (pl.108). The traditional buckle remained in use, but sometimes with greater dryness of treatment. An early fifteenth-century silver-gilt pendant from Saxon Transylvania (fig.188) illustrates this more schematic style; the accompanying plaques are cruder and were perhaps not part of the original ensemble. Other types were also introduced or became newly fashionable. In the early part of the century we find square buckles and sometimes square chapes; the fashion for these stretched from Denmark, where a fine example survives (fig.189) in silver-gilt, inscribed *help ghot un maria nu altid* (God and Mary help now and always), to Hungary (figs.190, 190a). The square form, often with a border of cast Gothic crocketing,
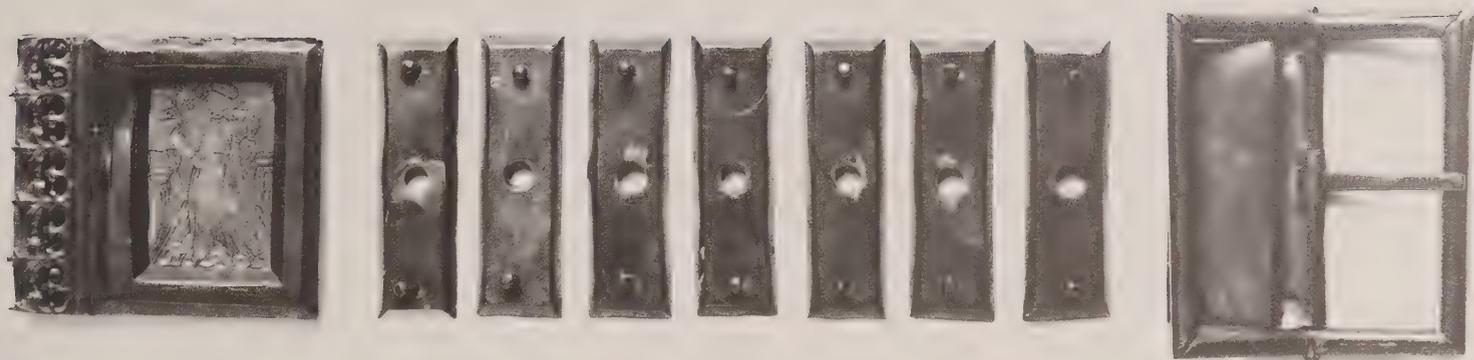
Fig. 190 Girdle buckle and mounts. Silver. Mounts: height 7.2cm, width 2.2cm.
Eastern European, early fifteenth century. Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest

was also used for the pendant. The double buckle, still familiar to us on modern belts, also becomes popular during this century, having been known since at least the thirteenth, and assumes an elegant variety of forms. The hook buckles of the fourteenth century continue to be made, and are enriched with as much or even greater intricacy of ornament and frettedness of form. As the fifteenth century advances, chapes and pendants become ever more richly and intricately ornamented, in Germany and elsewhere in Central Europe often with involved linear patterns in flowing Late Gothic tracery, elsewhere with simpler, more rigid and formal tracery. In Germany too we also find richly scrolling foliage, sometimes engraved or sometimes realised in openwork, through which the stuff of the girdle showed for additional elegance. Two examples of the last kind are in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.79, 80). The girdles of *c*.1500 in Graz (figs.191, 191a, 192, 192a) show their appearance when mounted: they are of dark brown silk, with mounts of silver-gilt. The linear style also extended itself to girdle mounts, as can be seen in late fifteenth-century examples from Prague (pl.109). Sometimes, as in another Bohemian girdle of *c*.1500 from Hradec Kralové, its intricate severity of line or swirling pattern was relieved by the use of coloured stones on mounts – each set with a garnet – and on pendant and buckle (pl.110). This was perhaps a Germanic and East European taste, since it presages much that was to follow in the goldsmiths' work of these regions, but material from more westerly lands of Europe is lacking for comparison. The Hradec Kralové girdle seems to have been a gift from a bridegroom, for a Czech inscription on the front of the pendant declares that 'There is no other [girl] in the world' and there is a love verse on the back.[17]

The girdles belonging to princes and great lords and ladies, to lesser noblemen and noblewomen, to knights and ladies and to rich merchants and their wives in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were often richly decorated with ornamental motifs. There can be no doubt that in the later Middle Ages, as its richness of decoration increased, the girdle, if no longer so



Fig. 190a Detail of pendant. Height 7.2cm, width 8cm

favoured for presents, remained nevertheless a very principal ornament in mediaeval eyes. Indeed in his *Triumphe des Dames* of *c*.1490 Olivier de la Marche says as much: 'The last point which ends the body's habiting is the girdle with which a lady must encircle herself. The girdle embellishes the person: it is the ornament that adorns most greatly: it becomes both the great lady and her of less degree'. Consequently there was a considerable trade in rich girdles. The goldsmiths' ordinances of Dijon, enacted in 1443, note girdles of gold and silver among the jewels of great price and rich workmanship that the mercers and merchants of the town are wont to buy elsewhere and sell in the city. Again the Sienese sumptuary laws of 1460, in an attempt to restrict expenditure on jewellery, forbade ladies of the city to wear girdles that were not made in Siena itself.[18]

The taste in girdles of middle-aged royalty appears in those of that good and religious lady Queen Charlotte de Savoie, wife

Fig. 191 Girdle. Silk, velvet, silver-gilt, garnets, pearls. Length 155.5 cm, width 1.35 cm. German, c.1500. Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz



Fig. 192 Girdle. Silk, velvet, silver-gilt. Girdle length 166.5 cm, width 1.8 cm. German, late fifteenth century. Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz
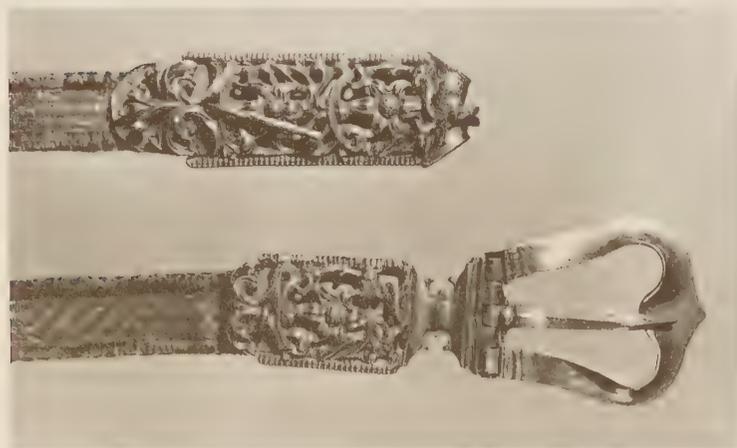


Fig. 191a Detail



Fig. 192a Detail

of Louis XI, as listed in 1483. She had a girdle with a black riband and gold mounts; some of the mounts were in the form of letters of diamonds, two studs were shaped as diamond-set rosettes, and a third, on the other side of the girdle, was a rose of diamonds. Two more had mounts of gold scales, enamelled red and white, perhaps her colours, for with the ostentatious melancholy of the age a third had mounts of gold tears enamelled red and white, and a fourth chevron-shaped mounts sewn with pansies (a rebus for *pensées*) enamelled red and white. The black enamel so much to the taste of the later fifteenth century appeared on the paling-shaped mounts of a tawny girdle. A seventh, clearly a girdle of device, had gold mounts of letters and genets (civet cats). Her younger kinswomen Mary of Burgundy left three very richly ornamented girdles at her

death in 1482. One, described as 'a gold girdle for a woman' had a crimson riband, mounted with the letters EE and YY enamelled in *rouge cler* and white and with little flowers enamelled in the same colours. The second, also described as a woman's girdle, had a riband of tawny-coloured tissue, mounts that had engraved decoration and enamelled mounts of large red and white flowers. The third, a girdle of black stuff, had lozenge and chevron mounts, decorated with flowers and letters enamelled red and white, and with other little flowers enamelled blue.[19]

In 1495 Cecily, Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV and Richard III, left a number of girdles and *demi-ceints*. Her plainest was of 'purple tissue'; it alone had no mounts of gold but only of silver-gilt. The rest ranged from 'a little guirdill of gold and silk with a bockill and a pendaunt of golde', 'a girdell or white riband with two claspes of gold with a columbyne' and 'a guirdell of blewe riband with a bokell and pendaunt of gold', to 'a guirdell of blewe tissue harnessed with gold' and, most magnificent of all, 'a guirdell of gold with a bokull and a pendant and iiij barres of gold' which may well have been accompanied by 'a hoke of gold with three roses' — evidently a *troussoire* — and 'a pomeamber of gold garnesshed with a diament, sex rubies and sex perles'. Her *demi-ceints* were richer even than her girdles. Two are described as 'dymisents of gold garnished with a columbine set with a diamond' — presumably a columbine, given its recurrence, was Cecily's device — and on the more splendid of these were also set a sapphire, an amethyst and eight pearls. The third, also of gold, was decorated with a rose set with two rubies.[20]

We have little precise information about decoration on the girdles of the less great, and so must be all the more grateful for that contained in the Yorkshire wills, published by Raine and in the wills of the Court of Hustings, published by Sharpe. Pious ladies might have some religious device or motto like Lady Margaret Vavasour (d.1415), whose silver-mounted girdle bore the inscription *Jhsus est amor meus* (Jesus is my love). A section of a fifteenth-century girdle, formerly in the collection of Victor Gay and now in the Musée de Cluny, has five plaques of silver-gilt decorated with filigree and enamelled with the inscription AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA TECUM. The silver-gilt girdle in Prague (pl.108) has *gott* (God) in Gothic letters on the chape of the buckle and *ave ma[ria]* on the pendant. They are set between filigree bosses from each of which hangs a gothic miniscule g, cut out in silver. Again Alice Upstall, widow of a rich citizen and merchant of York, with lands in Brabant, left her brother in 1430 a girdle 'mounted in silver with flying angels'. In 1459, Agnes Bedford, the widow of not one, but three rich merchants of Hull, left a girdle of black stuff mounted with silver-gilt Catherine wheels — Catherine of Alexandria was one of the most popular saints of the later Middle Ages. Many girdles in England and on the Continent had buckles or pendants decorated or engraved with figures of saints or favourite scenes. A silver-gilt pendant of *c.*1380 found at Liège has figures in its richly architectural design of the ever popular Sts Barbara



Fig. 193 Girdle pendant. Silver-gilt. Height 9.7cm, width 1.8cm. Netherlandish, *c.*1380. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

and Catherine on either side (fig.193). A German fifteenth-century buckle in the Victoria and Albert Museum is engraved with the figure of Saint Andrew (cat.78, pl.143). Again Margaret Blackburn, widow of a Lord Mayor of York, left in 1433 a girdle barred with eight bars of silver-gilt with an image of Our Lady on the pendant. Girdles of this sort were perhaps especially prized for in 1451 Hawise Aske of York left her silver-mounted silk girdle 'with the image of the Three Kings of Cologne engraved on the buckle' to be an heirloom in the family of John Mowbray of Easby for ever. Religious devices were also worn by men: in 1348, for example, John de Holegh, a London hosier, left a girdle of 'Scalopes'.[21]

Equally common perhaps were girdles with secular motifs. A young noble lady in a hat, holding a flower and a bird is engraved on the pendant of the early fifteenth-century girdle from Budapest (fig.190a). Secular or gallant posies were certainly commoner than surviving evidence now suggests. In 1908 Enlart published a fine large fifteenth-century circular bronze buckle found in Lille, which was elegantly engraved on its front with scrolls of flowering eglantine round which wound a scroll inscribed with the words of a song *Par le ioli bois san va Marion* (Marion goes through the fair wood). He suggests that a figure

of Marion herself was originally set on the pin. Much more usual were motifs from nature. Alice Upstall, widow of a rich York merchant, left in 1430 a girdle with a silver chain and with silver mounts of eagles. Bird motifs were perhaps popular, for in 1444 John Brompton, a wealthy merchant of Beverley, left a belt of black silk harnessed with mounts of silver-gilt and a repeating design of gold birds. On another girdle barred with silver and silver-gilt left by Margaret Blackburn, it was the stuff itself that was woven with white swans — perhaps a badge, rather than merely a poetical fancy, as we have so often had occasion to say. Another of her girdles, barred with silver-gilt, had a rose engraved on the pendant, no doubt matching her gold brooch 'in the fashion of a rose'. The rose was probably a very frequent motif, in the form of a rosette as well as of a stylised flower; in 1378, for instance, Margaret de la Tour, wife of a rich London citizen, left a girdle decorated with silver roses. The well-known late mediaeval taste for rebuses also appears on girdles — Robert Alcock, a rich merchant of Hull and brother of the bishop of Ely who founded Jesus College, Cambridge — bequeathed to his son Robert in 1484 all his girdles 'countersigned with cocks', a device which also appeared on his plate and can still be seen on the buildings erected by his brother.[22]

The term *ferrure*, which strictly means a set of mounts and is encountered with some frequency from c.1450 in French and Flemish documents, refers in the context of jewellery to girdle mounts which had been separately made. As we have seen, it was not unusual for prized girdle mounts to be carefully preserved when taken from a girdle whose stuff was worn or damaged and mounted again on a new girdle. During the fifteenth century it seems to have become the custom, at any rate in France and the Netherlands, for goldsmiths to make girdle mounts which could then be mounted by the customer on whatever stuff he or she preferred, or else transferred as fancy dictated. There are already traces of this custom in Breton accounts of 1446. Among this New Year's gifts of that year Duke François I of Brittany gave to each of seventeen ladies of lesser degree a crimson *texu* (*tissu*), and to seven more either a long *texu de couleurs* (coloured tissue) or else their gilt mounts (*garnitures dorées*). Others of yet a lesser degree received either short *texus*, or mounts of plain silver. The rank and number of these women, some of whom were only bourgeois or little more, as is evident from the restriction of their presents of *garnitures* to silver-gilt or white silver, makes it plain that neither the *tissus* nor their mounts were for collars, and accordingly they must have been intended for girdles. *Tissu*, as we have seen, was a standard term for the riband of a girdle, and so there can in reality be little doubt of the soundness of this interpretation. Again, in 1458 when a bastard daughter of Duke Pierre of Brittany was married, Duke François II gave her 'two *garnitures* of silver-gilt, weighing one mark four ounces', while his wife the Duchess Marguerite gave her a crimson *tissu* and a blue one, evidently for use with the *garnitures*.[23]

One of the earliest occurrences of the term *ferrure* is early in 1456, when the jewels of Charles d'Orléans and his Duchess Marie de Cleves were inventoried in their presence. They included a broad *ferrure* of gold 'made of clouds, after Madame's device'. Later this was taken to Tours to be remade 'more perfect', and returned decorated with another of Marie's devices, the *chantepleure* and its melancholy motto *Riens ne m'est plus* (nothing matters to me any more). A new *ferrure* was made for Duchess Marie in January of the same year by the court goldsmith to the Duke of Orléans, Jehan Lassaieur: it was of silver-gilt, the mounts either being or including studs, mounted on crimson stuff. Another *ferrure*, made in 1464 by another Orléans court goldsmith, Jehan de Lutz, is described as broad; its mounts were of gold, and fashioned in the shape of tears enamelled black, the device of Marie de Cleves. Again, between 1453 and 1459 Jeanne de Laval, wife of René of Anjou, paid the royal goldsmith Jacob Deprast 'for fashioning two *ferrures* for girdles made of branches of gooseberry, the *tringle* being engraved and enamelled with our device'. And in her will of 1469, Duchess Marguerite, daughter of François I of Brittany, and wife of François II, left her sister-in-law Marie de Rohan 'one of our gold *ferrures* for mounting on a girdle [*l'une de nos ferrures d'or pour garniture de tissu*]'.[24] It was her best, for her inventory describes it as 'a great *ferrure* of gold mounted on a grey riband [*tissu*] and enamelled in grey, blue and violet, on which are twelve table diamonds and eighteen pearls'. She had no doubt used it for a broad ceremonial girdle; very broad girdles were the height of French and Netherlandish fashion in the mid-1460s. To the wife of the Chancellor of Brittany she left a gold *ferrure* 'of tears and ermines' which evidently mingled the ermine device of Brittany with a personal device to which were added Ms and Fs, her own initial and that of her husband. The mounts were enamelled in white, black and violet, and the riband was black. And to her first lady of the bedchamber, Madame du Chaffault, she left a third gold *ferrure*, her largest, which is described as 'a second great gold *ferrure* enamelled in black, violet and white, in which are some Ms and Fs, on the violet riband'. These last two girdles perhaps were worn with her collar of M and F, which we already know. Probably the white and grey or black and blue and violet were livery colours, certainly the first two seem to be the white and black of the Breton ermine. At her death in 1474 Gabrielle de la Tour, Comtesse de Montpensier, left a more modest *ferrure* of silver-gilt with gold flowers.[25]

In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a fashion set in for wearing scarves richly mounted with gold and precious stones. By 1414, at any rate in France, they had come to be regarded as a regular part of the king's personal jewels, for in that year Jean de Pulligny, called Chapelain, is described as 'the squire who is ordained keeper of the coffers in which are kept the scarves, collars, ouches [*monilia*] or brooches [*fermalia*] and the other jewels for the King's body'. Scarves were worn baldric-wise in the Middle Ages; a miniature executed for a

Lombard manuscript of the chivalric romance of *Guiron le Courtois*, executed in the late fourteenth century, shows noblemen wearing ornamental baldrics of this kind. They were sometimes described as belts, intended to be worn scarf-fashion, as with the long and beautiful '*ceinture*, with mounts of gold plumes', that King Richard II gave his new wife, Isabelle, daughter of Charles VI of France in 1396. The late fourteenth century's passion for things of novel and strange device seems often to have exercised itself upon them: in 1373 Charles V of France paid for 'a gold scarf on which are about 120 paternoster beads'. Like belts and girdles, they were often decorated with personal devices: indeed, the plumes of Isabelle's scarf may have been the ostrich feathers which were an English Plantagenet device or the feathers which were also her father's device. In 1400–1 Jehan Compère, goldsmith of Paris, made a gold-mounted scarf for Charles VI of France. Along it ran his motto JAMÈS in large letters pounced with branches of his device of broom-cods; between each pair of letters was stitched a besant (roundel) pierced in openwork with may-leaves. The borders were decorated on both sides with large buttons, set on rosettes, alternating with bells. In this first version it did not please, and Charles and his councillor the Vidame de Laonnais ordered the scarf to be remade. The letters were now taken away and replaced by stems of broom and may, with three dangling roundels between each branch pierced with may-leaves in openwork. The branches were worked and filed by hand, and their leaves and cods were soldered onto them; the whole effect of branchage and quivering roundels must have been much lighter and more delicate than the stiff lettering of the motto, but perhaps the change was made because as her New Year's gift Queen Ysabeau gave Charles another scarf made by Jehan Compère which was decorated with two large may-leaves in gold, set close together, one embossed with stems of broom and broom-cods in high relief, the other pierced with the motto JAMÈS.[26]

Sometimes such scarves were entirely of precious metal. In 1404 Girodin Petit, another goldsmith of Paris, made for Charles VI and for Louis, Duke of Orléans two broad gold *écharpes*, fashioned of chevrons joined to each other by hinges and decorated with ornamental rivet-heads of jet set in gold. More usually they were of gold-mounted stuff. Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (d.1419) had a gold-mounted silk scarf garnished with fifty-two balas-rubies, fifty-two sapphires and one hundred and four pearl clusters of three pearls each. Along its edges it was bordered with his device of planes, with their attendant planks and shavings. Another gold scarf that was owned *c*.1430 by his son Philippe the Good, but which had once belonged to a Queen of France, perhaps Marie d'Anjou, wife of Charles VII, may have been entirely of gold, for it weighed ten marks. It was garnished with fifteen hundred large and fine pearls, each weighing three to four carats. In 1422 Henry V of England left gold-mounted scarves or baldrics garnished with fifty-two balas-rubies and two hundred and nineteen pearls. Such scarves did not always have mounts of gold: in 1408 Valentina Visconti

had two matching silver-mounted scarves, hung with the Orléans device of twisted bells, perhaps to go with her two silver-mounted girdles of the same device, as well as a gold scarf 'all chevroned with white and green staves', that is, the ragged staff her husband Louis had taken as a device, enamelled in the royal livery colours. It too was hung with little bells; from its lower end hung a little gold trumpet enamelled with black roundels, while on the shoulder it had a little clasp of gold set with five pearls encircling a ruby and with two white doves, a Visconti device, dangling from it.[27]

The Burgundian dukes kept up this tradition of magnificent scarves: in 1468 Charles the Bold had one of gold-mounted silk made in two pieces. Each was ornamented with his father's device of flints in gold and hung with little bells shaped like his grandfather's device of hop-flowers; each was set with a sapphire, and one had in addition six little balas-rubies. The two pieces, which also had ornament of foliage, were fastened by two small gold clasps each decorated with a hop-flower. A special German variety of such scarves was the *hornfessel*, originally a band from which to suspend a hunting-horn. In 1466 Johann van Rohrbach bought for his son Bernhard at Frankfort-on-the-Main for 145 florins a *hornfessel* which was a 'riband of a hand's breadth of samite or cloth-of-gold . . . richly ornamented with fair pearls or blooming lilacs and with little bells wholly of silver and also gilt dangling from it, so that you can be heard coming from afar'.[28]

Paternoster beads were worn hanging from the girdle or round the neck or wrist or arm, or attached by a brooch to the breast, and they developed during the late fifteenth century into the modern rosary. Their ultimate origin lay in the ancient practice of repeating prayers a given number of times, especially as a penance or as a suffrage to the deceased, and they became an especial aid to the devout laity and to the lay brethren of monasteries in keeping a count of such prayers. Thus c.1070 the Lady Godiva left to a statue of the Virgin in the monastery she had founded in 1057 at Coventry 'the circle of precious stones she had had put on to a thread in order that by touching each one as she began each of her prayers she might not lose count of their number'. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries in religious orders like the Carthusians and Cistercians, which admitted lay brethren and lay sisters, those who were illiterate or could not learn enough Latin were allowed to substitute the recitation of the Lord's Prayer (Pater Noster) a fixed number of times for the duty of reciting the psalms and lessons in choir, and the number of 150, corresponding to the number of the Psalms, came to be regarded as the proper daily equivalent to be recited. Again the Knights of St John were enjoined in a Papal bull of 1185 to recite 150 Pater Nosters a day. The laity too were encouraged during the twelfth century to recite 150 Paters as a substitution for the recitation of the Psalms, and these prayers were often divided, like the Psalms themselves, into three groups of 50.[1]

All these practices encouraged the use of paternoster beads for counting such prayers and, since they were universally known as paternoster beads throughout the Middle Ages, this must have been their original purpose, preceding their use as aids to the recitation of Ave Marias. In fact the Ave Maria only became generally current as a devotional formula from the mid-twelfth century. The feeling soon spread that by repeating it spiritual assistance and merit were acquired and the Virgin more greatly honoured. From the first the recitation of the Ave Maria was more a devotional practice for women, as it has since remained. The *Ancrene Riwle*, written c.1200 for the guidance of three anchoresses by an English cleric, speaks of 'thritti Pater nostres, and ave Maria after everich Pater noster', and advises lady anchoresses, if their maids cannot read their hours in a book, to make them say them instead with Pater Nosters and Ave Marias. Its instructions to the anchoresses themselves on the conduct of their daily devotions also suggest that they would have found paternoster beads an invaluable aid, for their recitations of the Hours of the Virgin, of the Litany, of psalms,

of prayers, were to be punctuated by Pater Nosters and Aves. It also tells them that Cistercian lay brothers say their hours in the form of Pater Nosters – twenty-eight for Nocturns on working days, forty on holidays, fifteen for Vespers, and seven for every other time – and it recommends them to follow their example. And it mentions the recitation of Pater Nosters and Aves as two among the private devotions they may be inclined to. In 1196 Eudes, Bishop of Paris, issued a decree commanding priests 'to exhort the people frequently to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Salutation of the Virgin'. At first the Office of the lay brothers of the Dominican Order consisted wholly of Pater Nosters, but in 1266 the General Chapter decided to add the Ave Maria to each Pater. The mingling of the two as a penitential devotion was certainly well-established by 1268, when a Roman instrument of absolution prescribes for the penitent the recitation each evening of 'fifty Pater Nosters and Aves'.[2]

The recitation of great numbers of Aves soon became a favourite devotion of the pious. Some thirteenth-century nuns of the convent of Unterlinden at Colmar in Alsace said 1000, others 2000 daily. Sister Anna de Winech, for instance, used regularly to offer 1000, and sometimes 2000. During the same century Aves, like Pater Nosters, came to be recited either as a group of fifty, which seems to have been the earliest devotion, already found c.1200 in Cologne, a city which was later to be the fountainhead of the cult of the Rosary, or else in three groups of fifty, one group of fifty forming a mystical chaplet to the Virgin, three forming the equivalent of a psalter, the so-called Marian Psalter. The recitation of the Marian Psalter seems to have been especially widespread in the fifteenth-century Netherlands, Rhineland and France. It was the Carthusian Dominic of Prussia (1382–1461), a mystic of the Rhenish monastery of St Alban, near Trier, who made a first systematisation of the 150 beads, linking the recitation of ten Aves with one of fifteen mysteries of the Virgin and adding a Pater Noster after each ten Aves. But it should not be assumed that only professed monks and nuns or the devout laity recited paternosters: the recitation of the paternoster was a regular part of lay life, more especially for women. In the second half of the fourteenth century, for instance, the French Chevalier de la Tour Landry, writing his book of advice to his daughters, recommends them to recite their paternosters after hearing mass at the beginning of the day.[3]

From the early thirteenth century the recitation of 50 Aves was associated with the *gaudia* or joys of Mary: hence the name

gauds often given in England in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the marker beads of the paternoster. Eventually the three groups came to be seen as corresponding to Mary's joys on earth, to her dolours and to her joys in heaven. As a result of this Marian devotion, devised for simple brethren and sisters and for the laity, paternoster beads, originally used solely for reciting the Lord's Prayer a fixed number of times, first by itself, later with the addition of an Ave, became during the fourteenth century predominantly an accessory of Marian devotion, with the recitation of a number of Aves now being merely supplemented by a Pater Noster. The list of the stock of the London goldsmith Adam Ledyard, as drawn up in 1381, distinguishes between paternoster beads, of which he had many sets in amber, coral and jet, with some in mazer wood and white bone for children, and sets of ave beads of jet and blue glass which had paternoster beads of silver-gilt. It seems that in these the ave beads were the small beads, the paternoster beads the large markers. But this probably corresponds to an English devotional fashion, rather than to a general distinction made everywhere throughout Europe. Here it lasted long, for the will of John Baret of Bury St Edmunds, made in 1463, speaks of 'A payre bedys of sylvir with x.avees and ii. paternostris of sylvir and gilt'. In England it was also customary by the fifteenth century to recite a number of Creeds on the paternoster.[4]

In thirteenth-century France paternosters were usually worn by old women, preoccupied because of their age with Heaven: the itinerant pedlar of the *Dit des Merciers* after detailing all his ornaments for the young, says 'I have paternosters for these old women'. From at least the late thirteenth century the devout carried them about in their hands as a mark of piety: this practice is mentioned in France as early as the late thirteenth century and *c.*1380 the Florentine Giovanni Morelli speaks scornfully of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351–1402), carrying paternoster beads in his hand like a pious bigot. In fifteenth-century portraits, most of all in German ones, the sitter, whether man or woman, is often shown holding a paternoster as an ensign of piety (pl.85). In the portrait of Walther von Rottkirchen, painted *c.*1479, the twenty-two year old pilgrim, just returned from Jerusalem and Sinai and Rome, holds a coral paternoster linked by two rings (pl.111). Needless to say they were the only female ornament approved of by moralists. However the Tuscan poet Francesco da Barberino, writing in 1318–20, says darkly 'Many women go along the street with paternosters in their hands, whose heart and thoughts are vanity'. By the fifteenth century the wearing of paternoster beads at the girdle by lay folk betokened membership of a confraternity or third order. English devotion to the paternoster surprised a Venetian observer of *c.*1500: 'they all attend Mass every day, and say many Pater Nosters in public, the women carrying long rosaries in their hands'.[5]

The legend which associates the preaching of the cult of the Rosary with a revelation of the Virgin to St Dominic is now considered unhistorical. But there is no doubt that the two great thirteenth-century orders of friars, and more especially the Dominicans, did much to encourage the use of the paternoster as an aid to devotion, not least through their foundation of confraternities of the Virgin, bound to repeat a certain number of Paters and Aves daily at the canonical hours. From the *Legenda* of St Margarita of Cortona (1247–97), who became a Franciscan Tertiary and adopted the life of a recluse in the Tuscan city of Cortona about 1275, we can see how indispensable paternosters were to lay men and lay women leading a life of intense devotion and prayer. Every day she recited the seven canonical hours, followed by five Paters and an Ave in memory of the Five Wounds of Christ, before eating a scanty meal, after which she again recited five Paters. Later, she came to recite forty Paters, Aves and Glorias at each of the canonical hours, and filled up the intervals of the day and night reciting ten Paters for each of the mysteries of Christ's Passion, totalling one hundred and sixty in all, so that each day she recited not less than four hundred and forty. In addition she recited over the year Paters for her sins, for the benefits Christ had bestowed on her, for her benefactors, for her confessors and for the Franciscan Order, and for the other Orders of the Church, for the elect, for sinners, for devotees of the Virgin and her own spiritual children and friends, for her enemies, for the persons of the Trinity and for the various mysteries and miracles of the faith and for private graces. She was distressed if she did not recite daily at least six hundred Pater Nosters. The eighteenth-century editor of her *Legenda* calculated that annually she recited more than fourteen thousand. Hence we can appreciate the greatness of her sacrifice when her confessor tells us that on occasions she would give away her paternosters to the poor when she had nothing else to give them.[6]

The making of paternosters became widespread throughout mediaeval Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet the date when they made their first appearance is uncertain. The *Ancrene Riwle* of *c.*1200 counsels that anchoresses should never be idle but work, or read, or be *in beoden et in uraisuns*, an expression that may imply paternoster beads, though this is perhaps unlikely, for in fact, the Early English word *beod* really only means a prayer. However, in 1257 Ulrich von Lichtenstein speaks in his *Vrouwenbuoch* of paternosters as jewels hanging from a lady's girdle, and William de Rubruquis, the Franciscan friar who went on an embassy to the Mongols, speaks in 1253 of them wearing beads like 'the paternosters we wear'. We can assume then that they were an ordinary feature of life by the mid-thirteenth century. Paternoster making was early established as a flourishing craft in London, where there were two Paternoster Lanes in the fourteenth century, one still surviving as Paternoster Row. In Paris, the paternoster makers received formal regulations about 1260, but by this date the trade there was already considerable enough for them to be divided into three guilds or corporations according the materials in which they worked – there were paternosterers in bone and horn, paternosterers in coral and shell, and paternosterers in amber and jet. In Rome

the paternosterers congregated near St Peter's and in the Borgo Leonino, often having signs advertising their wares above their shops. A *censuale* of St Peter's mentions in 1395 'a house with the sign of one selling paternoster beads', while a fourteenth-century *necrologium* of the church speaks of another 'with the sign of a woman holding paternosters in her hands' in the Contrada della Incarcerate and a second 'with the sign of paternoster beads' in the Piazza of Castel Sant'Angelo. Paternosterers also worked in smaller cities: thus Robiers de Ghueroude, *le patrenostiers* is mentioned in a Tournai document of 1315. In mediaeval inventories a set of paternosters is often described as a 'pair' of beads, meaning simply a set, according to a late mediaeval usage.[7]

It does not seem that paternosters of the richest substances – gold, pearls, precious stones – appeared until the later thirteenth century. The earliest set of costly paternoster beads the author has so far traced is one that originally had belonged to Constance of Sicily, daughter of King Manfred and wife from 1262 to 1300 of Peire III, King of Aragon. It passed to her daughter Isabel, who married Dom Diniz, King of Portugal in 1282, and from Isabel was inherited by her daughter-in-law Queen Beatriz of Portugal, who may have preserved it with especial care because of Isabel's reputation for sanctity. She describes it in her will of 1358 as having 'some beads of gold, pierced, and some of ladanum [*laudano*, an aromatic gum] and some are large and in the middle is a chalcedony'. During the fourteenth century rich paternosters plainly became something of a splendid costume accessory for princesses and something of a status symbol among the knightly class and the wealthy bourgeoisie. This seems to have happened in Italy by 1261, when the Dominicans were forbidden at a chapter held in Orvieto to wear paternosters of amber or coral, both as we shall see highly prized substances in the Middle Ages. Again in 1290 the constitutions enacted for the Augustinian friars known as the Eremitani di Sant'Agostino also forbade them to wear among other articles of luxury paternosters of amber or crystal. It was certainly the case in Catalonia from the middle of the fourteenth century, when various towns begin to forbid as we saw the wearing of paternosters of gold and precious stones.[8]

Essentially paternosters consisted of a set of beads, usually of some symbolic number, threaded on a cord, and generally divided into small groups by larger marker beads called by the French *seigneaulx* and by the English gauds. A common arrangement of paternoster beads was in decades, with ten smaller beads and one large, as in the Victoria and Albert Museum's gold paternoster (cat.81, pls.144, 144a, b) or the fifteenth-century jet paternoster in Lüneburg (fig.197), but we also find divisions into five or seven beads. Their length and number varied in fact according to the number of prayers making up the devotion favoured by the owner. Especially was this true of the religious orders, and the modern rosary by no means corresponds in its symbolisms to the various devotions embodied in the paternoster beads of the Middle Ages. Indeed the Rosary and its cult only began to assume their present form during the second half of the fifteenth



Fig. 194  Brass of Thomas Pownder and his wife from St Mary Quay Church, Ipswich. English, 1525. Ipswich Museum, Ipswich, England

century, in the Rhineland, the Netherlands and Northern France, under the influence of Dominican preachers promoting the devotion. The first confraternity in honour of the Rosary was founded in Cologne by the Dominican Jacob Sprenger so late as 1474. Records of individual paternosters throw very little light on the mediaeval devotions they represented: very rarely is there mention of the reason for a given number of beads in a set of paternosters. Only one instance has been noted by the author, from the will of 1391 of a rich bourgeoise of Douai, Isabelle Bonnebroque, who left a relation a 'paternoster of silver and coral containing a half-psalter', meaning presumably seventy-five beads to represent half of the hundred and fifty prayers of the Marian psalter. Again the paternoster worn by Emma Pownder on the brass of 1525 commemorating her husband Thomas (now in the Ipswich Museum) has fifty beads, divided into five decades, representing a third of the psalter (fig.194).[9]

Paternoster beads were strung either on a straight cord or else in a circle or loop – in the later centuries of the Middle Ages men seem to have affected the short paternoster of ten beads or so on a straight cord, as in one example in Munich (pl.114). In 1503, for instance, Robert Preston, a glazier of York left a set of ten chalcedony beads threaded on a lace of green silk with a gilt pendant of St Martin. The contrast between men's and women's paternosters is well shown on Stothard's plate (fig.195) of the mourners on the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (erected 1443–64). The simplest paternosters of all were knotted cords, and these were the paternosters of the poor and of those who made profession of humility – St Catherine of Siena (1347–80) for instance had a paternoster of a knotted cord. Otherwise modest paternoster beads were usually of wood, like the simple late fifteenth-century German set in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection, with its beads divided by large beads or small silver markers shaped as the Instruments of the Passion (cat.82). San Francesco di Paola (1416–1508), the Calabrian saint so greatly venerated by Louis XI that he summoned him to his deathbed at Plessis-les-Tours, was in the habit of blessing and distributing such paternosters of wood to his devotees – wood being of an appropriate humility of substance. In 1483 Queen Charlotte de Savoie left a set of paternosters of mistletoe wood and another of 'wood from which hangs a tear of gold'. Yet certain sorts even of wooden beads were more prized than others. In 1500 the Sienese notary Michelagnolo da Radicondoli, accompanying an embassy to France as its secretary, bought in Lyons four strings of red paternoster beads and twenty-four of yellow, 'that is two dozen strings of those made at Sainte-Claude'. Sainte-Claude is in the Jura, a region in high repute for its wooden wares in mediaeval France, while the town itself seems to have become well-known for its wooden products in the late Middle Ages. The beads bought by Michelagnolo were presumably painted red and yellow. Again, Queen Charlotte de Savoie left in 1483 a set of 'large paternosters of yew of Sainte-Claude'.[10]

Another humble material was bone. In 1360 Frate Giovanni da Catignano had a string of paternoster beads of black bone made for him in Florence, at a cost of 5 soldi, and Giovanni de Magnavia, Bishop of Orvieto and a high papal official, left at his death in 1365 'a cord of paternosters of glass and whitebone'. Glass was also a popular material: in 1333 the Dauphin Humbert of Vienne while on pilgrimage in Rome bought two strings of glass paternoster beads, as well as strings of the far more costly amber and coral and crystal. In fifteenth-century Italy we find references to beads of coloured paste: thus the paternosters inventoried in 1483 in the house of Bartolo di Tura, a wealthy Sienese physician, included 'a string of paternoster beads of paste, white' and 'a string of paternoster beads of paste, black'. It has been suggested that these were of white and black glass, but perhaps this is not so likely, for in 1476 René of Anjou also bought paternosters of paste (*patte*) to give as a present. Perhaps the richest of all the humbler materials was mother-of-pearl, so

popular in fifteenth-century Europe; again Queen Charlotte left a set of beads of mother-of-pearl with markers of coral.[11]

In many of these paternosters and certainly in all those made of richer materials, the larger marker beads were usually of a different design and substance, such as silver, silver-gilt or gold for contrast with the wood, coral, jet, amber or other material of the smaller beads, and for greater show. The end was often an elaborate finial or button, either of pearl or precious stone, or made of rich threads, often with a tuft. The coral paternoster figured in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (*c*.1435) has two such pearl buttons and tufts, one at either end (pl.112). It certainly reproduces reality, for a paternoster belonging to Olivier de Coëtivy in 1452 had a button 'of gold thread and green silk' at the end of its 260 coral beads. In his portrait in the Bibliothèque of Aix-en-Provence René of Anjou holds a paternoster with cylindrical beads, a large marker bead at the top, and with a small double cross hanging from it above just such an ornamental tuft. He holds it, however, not only to mark his piety, but because the paternoster was his device. We know that he had an interest in making paternosters, as in the making of other kinds of works of art, for he was accused by a malicious critic of wasting his time during the festivities he held at Nancy in 1445 in stringing 'dozens of paternosters' on cords.[12]

Beads of gold, or of precious stones and pearls, and gold marker beads were the work of goldsmiths, unlike beads of

Fig. 195  Statues (mourners) from the tomb of Richard Beauchamp from St Mary's Church, Warwick. English, 1443–64. Illustration from Stothard II, 1817, pl.125

Fig. 196  A paternoster-maker. From the *Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*. Nuremberg, *c*.1425. Staatsbibliothek, Nuremberg

other materials, which were worked by specialist craftsmen like the paternoster maker figured *c*.1425 in the *Hausbuch* of the Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung in Nuremberg (fig.196). A payment by King René of Anjou in 1476 for lead, emery and copper wire to be used 'to pierce paternosters for the King' also reveals something of the instruments used by makers of beads in hardstone in the later fifteenth century. We have some records of sets of paternosters bought or commissioned from goldsmiths. Thus in 1360 King Jean of France, while in captivity in England, paid Hannequin, a goldsmith of London for some gold paternosters he had made for him, giving him 123 royaux for the gold and part of 10 nobles for the fashion. And, in an undated fourteenth-century protest against certain taxes which the farmers of the mercers' tax sought to levy, the goldsmiths of Paris declared that paternosters of gold and silver ought to pay the goldsmiths' tax and not the mercers' tax 'for they are goldsmith's work, and all goldsmith's work falls under the goldsmith's tax, by whatsoever hands it is sold in the city and faubourgs of Paris'. Presumably goldsmiths acquired stocks of beads of amber, coral and the like and either sold them as strings or made them up into richer paternosters by the addition of marker beads of gold or other

precious materials. Alternatively patrons did so. In 1476 two bundles of paternoster beads of cornelian were bought for René of Anjou, possibly for making up into sets of paternosters. But it is plain that by the fifteenth century *patenôtres* could also simply mean beads, at any rate in France. Somtimes paternosters were executed to special commission: in 1489 the Duchess of Brittany was given 20 écus 'into her hand, for her little affairs and pleasures and to have some paternosters made'.[13]

As the fourteenth century advanced sets of gold beads became far from uncommon, and were certainly not confined to princes or to the great and to their wives: thus the long series of York wills published by Raine shows them during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the possession of knights, gentlewomen and merchants and merchants' wives. For knights we can cite Sir Brian de Stapilton who left one of his daughters in 1394 a pair of paternosters of gold enamelled blue, Sir John Depeden who in 1402 left a pair of gold paternosters and Sir Richard Wentworth of Everton, who also left a pair in 1447. For knights' ladies and for gentlewomen we can cite Lady Margaret Vavasour, who in 1414 left a long pair of gold beads, and Agnes Shireburn of Mitton, a squire's lady, who left a pair of gold beads along with a quantity of other gold jewellery in 1444. For rich merchants' wives and widows we may mention Avice, wife of a York draper, who left her husband her gold beads in 1404 and Agnes Bedford, the widow of three rich merchants of Hull, who also left a pair in 1459. They were equally common in France: the reforming preacher Frère Olivier Maillard (d.1502), addressing his congregation in a sermon, invites them scornfully to renounce their luxury, their mistresses, their rings and their paternosters 'which are of gold and which you wear, not from devotion, but from vanity'. Silver paternoster beads are mentioned surprisingly rarely in surviving documents, though they were certainly far commoner than this would suggest. However, in 1368 Guillaume Raponde, a great fourteenth-century Italian merchant, drew up a bill for jewels purchased from him by Yolande de Bar which lists '30 silver paternosters at 2 sols de gros'. Again in 1374 Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of Holland bought at The Hague a paternoster of silver-gilt from the goldsmith Jan de Lowe of Delft. A Venetian document of 1397 mentions a set of round paternoster beads of silver, and in 1434 Roger Elmsley, formerly servant to a London wax-chandler, left 'a payre of bedes of silver with a crucifix of silver and y-gilt'.[14]

Some of the materials used for paternoster beads, like coral, were held in just as high estimation as gold. In 1358 Queen Beatriz of Portugal mentions in her will 'my beads of coral, that my daughter the Queen of Aragon gave me, which have little apples of gold' – by apples she meant of course round marker beads, not true apple shapes. From the inventory of Marguerite of Flanders, Duchess of Burgundy, taken in 1405 after her death, it seems that coral was one the substances she favoured most for her beads: it lists no less than seventy or so sets of coral beads. A Flemish miniature of *c*.1435 from the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library), in spite of a certain

fantasy in the treatment of the tufts and possibly of one or two other details, such as the little purse on which her initials are embroidered in gold and pearls, probably gives us the best impression of a great lady's coral rosary of the earlier fifteenth century (pl.112). Paris was already an important centre for the working of coral paternoster beads by the mid-thirteenth century, when those who made them formed a separate division of the paternosterers of the city. In the later Middle Ages probably many coral beads were worked in Barcelona. The fishing of coral off the coasts of Catalonia, Corsica, Sardinia and off the coast of Barbary, whence came the finest coral of all, was in the later Middle Ages virtually a monopoly of the subjects of the Crown of Aragon, although in the thirteenth century they experienced considerable rivalry from the Genoese. Catalonia itself possessed a stone suitable for making grindstones and other tools for shaping and polishing coral, and all export of such tools was strictly forbidden in 1422 under heavy penalties, and again in 1446 and 1481. The export of worked coral from Barcelona is recorded in 1426 and the trade in it was considerable enough in the fifteenth century for the Crown of Aragon to protect the fishing-grounds rigorously from intrusion by strangers. In the mid-fourteenth century worked or polished coral 'of middling size and minute' could however also be bought at Constantinople and at Messina in Sicily and it too was perhaps already wrought into beads.[15]

Coral was also worked in late mediaeval Naples, Genoa and Marseilles – all ports with access to important Mediterranean coral fishing grounds and where the great expansion of coral fishing that took place in the second half of the fifteenth century stimulated the development of coral working. In Genoa, for instance, there were forty-two master coral workers by 1477, when they asked to be allowed to form a guild, and in 1485, when they repeated their request, there were seventy-one. In the end the foundation of a guild was approved in 1491, and it received its first statutes in 1492–8. The art was in the hands of *maestri corallieri*, but they in turn often executed works commissioned from them by merchants. They certainly made coral paternoster beads, as well as the little sword-shaped ornaments of coral and silver known as *spadetti* that Genoese ladies wore at their girdles.[16]

As for Marseilles and Provence, already in the 1470s King René of Anjou had *corailleurs* in his service: one working for him in 1476 had a salary of 6 florins a month. Coral working as an industry did not reach its apogee in Marseilles until the sixteenth century, when it is interesting to find that the polishing of paternoster beads was regarded as a long and delicate task, and that a master employed at 15 sols a day and on piece-work could earn 21 livres 12 sols for polishing 4½ pounds of paternoster beads at 2 écus a pound. Accordingly coral paternoster beads commanded a high price: 23½ pounds of coral beads worked in large, middle and small sizes, valued at 48 livres a pound, were reckoned at 1128 livres in 1575 when coral was abundant. A similar state of affairs must have prevailed in the Middle Ages: it explains why paternosters of coral beads were so costly and

so prized. Coral beads for paternosters were also worked elsewhere in fifteenth-century Europe: Freiburg im Breisgau in the upper Rhineland, for example, and in all probability Saint-Claude in the Jura.[17]

Quite a variety of other substances were also favoured. Already c.1260 as we have seen the guild regulations incorporated by Etienne Boileau into the Paris *Livre des mestiers* speak of paternoster makers who worked in bone and horn, of others who worked in coral and mother-of-pearl and of others again who worked in amber and jet. Amber beads were highly prized, partly for their sweet smell. There were several colours, white, yellow and red. A yellow amber paternoster, with oblong faceted mother-beads, was recently found in excavations in Cork, Ireland, and is now in the Cork Museum (pl.113). The context in which it was found suggests a date c.1260. A similar, more fragmentary set of the same century has also been found at Waterford, in Ireland.

The Teutonic Order, who during the thirteenth century became masters of East Prussia, and so of the eastern shores of the Baltic where most of the amber used in the West was gathered, made amber their monopoly in 1312, compelling all gatherers of it to deliver it up into their hands. Because the trade in this Baltic amber was in the hands of the Hanse, Lübeck became in the fourteenth century a centre for the making of amber paternosters, under the management of a special trust. A paternoster maker named Johannes is recorded there as early as 1294, but the first regulations of the craft date from 1360. In 1397–8 about forty paternoster makers were enrolled in the guild. Elsewhere on the Baltic only Danzig seems to have had a guild of amber carvers; this was enrolled in 1477. Various documents record the purchase by the Lübeck paternoster makers of large quantities of unworked amber from the Teutonic Order. They exported their amber beads all over Europe: in 1411, for instance, a company established by Hanseatic merchants at Bruges and Venice consigned a stock of them to Venice. In Venice amber beads were sold strung on cords: in 1358 ten or so cords of amber paternoster beads were sold to a master in the Merceria at 3½ ducats the pound, the purchase price amounting to forty gold ducats for eleven pounds or thereabouts of beads. Later, in 1398, we hear that a cord of paternoster beads was worth 3 gold ducats. From Venice amber paternoster beads were exported elsewhere: in 1338 the accounts of the Florentine merchant Donato di Giotto de' Peruzzi show a debit for amber paternosters bought in Venice. There were strong Hanseatic links with Bruges, and it too became a major centre for the making of amber paternosters and other works in amber. Indeed by the early fifteenth century it appears to have taken the lead over Lübeck, for in 1420 the Bruges guild of paternoster makers had 70 members whereas in the same year the Lübeck guild numbered only 12, and in 1440 only 10.[18]

As Bruges was in his wife's county of Flanders, it is not surprising that Philippe of Burgundy purchased large quantities of amber paternosters there as gifts. In March 1378 he ordered 'a merchant of amber paternosters' to be paid thirty francs in

settlement for several sets of them. We do not know if this merchant was from Bruges, but there can be no doubt about the origin in Bruges of certain amber objects for which Philippe made payments in January 1386 – to Guillaume le Meyere, bourgeois of Bruges, for ten paternosters and three rings of white amber, to Symon Nus for five paternosters and a little box of white amber and to Pierart le Meyere for two crosses of white amber. All these works in amber Philippe then presented to his brother Jean, Duc de Berry. In October of the same year he bought two pairs of paternosters of white amber from Willaume Le Fromaige, 'a merchant dwelling in Bruges', once more giving them away, one to Jean de Berry, the other to Louis, Duke of Bourbon. And in November following he made an enormous purchase of amber paternosters and other works in amber from another merchant of Bruges, Jacques Tobin. In all he bought from Tobin seventy paternosters of white amber – some large, some small, and some described as of finest quality – and two of yellow amber, together with a number of small figures in amber, including one of white amber, 'which was set on a piece of jet' and a little cross and a shell-badge of St James which were probably made to be attached to paternosters as pendants. Again he gave them all away to Jean de Berry, Louis de Bourbon and other great lords, including his son Jean de Nevers. In his turn Jean de Nevers promptly gave away the five he received as presents to his wife and sisters. Tobin evidently became a favourite supplier, for in 1394, when he is described as a paternosterer, he is found supplying more paternosters of white amber to Philippe, equipped either with a little amber tablet – a figured relief, perhaps closed by shutters – or with amber figures. These purchases and gifts illustrate the high value set on amber paternosters in the richest princely courts of the late fourteenth century. They continued to be greatly prized to the end of the fifteenth century: of the four sets of paternosters mentioned in the will of Cecily, Duchess of York and mother of Edward IV and Richard III, in 1495 two were of white amber, one having six large gauds of gold, partly enamelled, and the other, a small set, having seven gauds of gold.[19]

Venice specialised in paternosters of glass – the *paternostreri* were grouped under the glass-makers – and also of crystal. The city was one of the great centres of crystal working of the Middle Ages and Renaissance – and like the amber paternosters of the North, Venetian crystal paternosters became an article of commerce. The freight of a Venetian ship captured by Neapolitan pirates on its way to Sicily in 1327 included a consignment from the Pisani of Venice to their factor in Messina of twelve hundred paternosters or paternoster beads of crystal as well as of two thousand and sixty other paternosters or paternoster beads. These figures illustrate the importance of the paternoster in general in Venetian trade; in 1479 a hostile Florentine chronicler, Benedetto Dei, cites paternosters as one of the staples of Venetian commerce in order to show up its bias towards petty articles of traffic. He is borne out by a document of September 1477 which records a payment by René of Anjou for a number of paternosters or beads which Camahieu, his wardrobe-keeper's page, had brought him some days before 'from the Venetian galleasses', no doubt just arrived in Marseilles. By the late fourteenth century Venice also had quite a reputation for the making of paternoster beads in gold filigree work. In 1405 five of Marguerite of Burgundy's sets of paternosters had beads 'of Venice fashion'. It is not surprising that glass beads were a Venetian speciality, glass-making being a craft for which the city was celebrated. Glass beads for paternosters were also produced in the great glass-making region of Bohemia, mostly in the small-glass works in the region known as the King's Forest in the south-western borderlands between Bohemia and Bavaria, where the making of such beads eventually became a privilege of the peasant frontier guards.[20]

Hardstone beads were also popular. In 1361 Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of Holland, bought four paternosters of agate for his wife Countess Margaretha van Brieg from Peter, the travelling merchant of Dordrecht. Jasper paternosters, popular in the fifteenth century, were made in the Upper Rhineland. Antoine de Lalaing, passing through Freiburg im Breisgau in 1501 in the suite of the Archduke Philip of Hapsburg notes that the city was an important centre for the making of paternosters, especially in jasper, which was quarried locally. 'Near Freiburg they extract from some mountains the jasper of which pater-nosters are made. It is a very fine thing to see the mills where they are made, and in this place they also make other paternosters and other works in coral.' Chalcedony beads became particularly fashionable during the later fifteenth century. Olivier de la Marche, writing c.1490 in his poem *Le Triumphe des Dames* declares that to be in fashion his ideal lady must have paternosters hanging from her girdle 'of fine white chalcedony: the present day says chalcedony is best suited for them'. Usually, no doubt, chalcedony beads were round, but we read of beads cut to other shapes, like the set with lozenge-shaped beads 'and at the end a gold pear set with forty pearls' that belonged in 1482 to Mary of Burgundy.[21]

Jet was considered to have a special virtue in paternoster beads; the Tudor poet John Bale writes satirically in 1538 in his *King Johan* (l.1004) 'Blessynges with black bedes will help in every evyll'. In 1302 the Constable Raoul de Nesle had a large set of paternosters with jet beads and ten marker beads of crystal, and jet beads feature regularly in later inventories. So in 1354 Queen Beatriz of Portugal left a set of long paternosters whose beads were of jet with marker beads of large pearls and gold. Again Edward III of England had a paternoster of thirty beads and four gauds of jet which later passed to his daughter-in-law Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester. Even a modest cleric like the chaplain William Revetour of York could leave in 1446 a pair of beads of jet, with marker beads in the form of silver-gilt towers and a pendant cross. Sometimes jet beads were cut into decorative shapes: thus in 1483 the Sienese physician Bartolo di Tura left 'a pair of paternosters of jet shaped as acorns, with a button of silver-gilt'. The jet used in England presumably came from Whitby in Yorkshire; Whitby jet was apparently already used

thousands of ducats – in 'paternosters of crystal, amber and bone for wear round the neck or to make chaplets [rosaries]'. Finally exotic substances or provenances are sometimes found. King René of Anjou paid a merchant of Marseilles late in 1477 eight ducats for two paternosters, 'one Turkish, the other of cornelian, together with other trinkets from the Levant', and in 1479 he gave another merchant 50 ducats for a collection of sumptuosities and curiosities from the Levant, including 'paternosters and other strange things from that land'. But these paternosters he probably looked on as beads pure and simple, for the term paternoster had come to be applied by the later fifteenth century on occasions to all beads. Indeed René seems to have had a taste for exotic paternosters generally, perhaps because a string of paternosters was his device. In 1478 he gave an agent $7\frac{1}{2}$ florins to buy 'several strange [i.e. exotic] paternosters that he has found here and there in the town of Avignon'.[23]

We have a picture of the range of types of paternosters and their price in late fourteenth-century England from the inventory, already mentioned, of a London jeweller's shop – it will be recalled that jeweller then meant a dealer in precious goods – taken in 1381. Adam Ledyard had a box with four sets of paternosters of white amber, value 2s, sixteen sets of amber paternosters, valued at 20s, one jet and four coral paternosters, valued at 10s, six sets of jet ave beads with paternosters (marker beads) of silver-gilt, all of one pattern, valued at 8s and thirty-eight other sets of different pattern, valued at 38s; fourteen sets of blue-glass ave beads, with paternosters of silver-gilt, valued at 3s 4d; twenty-eight sets of jet paternosters, valued at 3s 4d; fifteen sets of paternosters of mazer-wood, and five of white bone for children, value 5s. Some verses that a French editor, Pierre Desrey added to his edition, published in 1510, of Olivier de la Marche's poem *Le Triumphe des Dames*, give us a late mediaeval French notion of the substances paternosters ought to be made of and of their design – evidently he thought his author had not sufficiently extended himself on the subject.

Moreover my honoured lady must have paternosters of jet or coral or for even better ornament of fine amber, for by this she will be well adorned. Paternosters are proper as a special food for the liberal heart, giving as they do a reminder and recollection of God, to whom each one should do good service in all places. And paternosters ought to have fair marker beads of gold, or else beads all of gold in their substance, and enamelled on gold with *rouge cler*. You must not stint your treasure on them, for there ought to be some signal difference in the marker beads.[24]

With the luxury-loving fourteenth century we find frequent mention of princely paternosters consisting wholly of precious stones and pearls. At her death in March 1323 Maria of Hungary, widow of Charles II of Naples, owned a number of paternosters – of jet, of amber, of large beads of amber, of amber with marker beads of chalcedony and coral, of amber and coral. But none of these rivalled her gold beads with markers of sapphires and large pearls, or her beads of pearls with markers of balas-rubies or



Fig. 197 Paternoster. Jet, gold, mother of pearl. Length *c*.60cm. Compostella, fifteenth century. Private collection, on loan to the Museum für das Fürstentum Lüneburg, Lüneburg, Germany

by the Vikings of York. The making of paternosters of jet as of other small articles of jet was, as we have seen, a speciality of Santiago de Compostella, at any rate in the fifteenth century. They found a great market among pilgrims and also among customers far away: in 1432 King René of Anjou owned a string of paternoster beads of black jet, which he had brought to him from Compostella. By the strangest survival, the civic silver of the city of Lüneburg in North Germany still includes a fifteenth-century paternoster of five decades of jet beads, with marker beads of silver-gilt (fig.197) which certainly was made in Compostella, for before the first bead is a scallop-shell, the emblem of St James, carved in mother-of-pearl, while four scallop-shells are cut on the first bead. Clearly the paternoster was bought in Compostella by a pilgrim and brought back to distant Lüneburg. Jet appears to have been worked elsewhere in Spain as well, for in 1426 the Comtesse Elipde des Baux left 'some paternosters of jet the fashion of Aragon'. Jet was often counterfeited in the sixteenth century by black glass: but it is not certain if this was done in the Middle Ages.[22]

Compostella was a pilgrimage centre, and it was natural that makers and vendors of paternosters should concentrate in such places. Paternosters were certainly sold and probably made at Le Puy in Auvergne, and it was surely the existence of a pilgrimage church that made Gmünd in Swabia a centre for paternoster making. In the middle of the sixteenth century it drove a very profitable trade – reputedly worth annually some

Fig. 198  Miniature of Emperor Charles IV and the seven Imperial Electors from the
Armorial de Gelre (15652.56, f.26). Parchment. Gelders, c.1380. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels

even her beads of jet with seventeen markers of large pearls. Her granddaughter Clémence de Hongrie, Queen of France, outdid Maria in the richness of her paternosters: one had beads of forty-eight large pearls and six sapphires, and had twelve gold marker beads; another was of ninety-two pearls, five balas-rubies and five sapphires; a third was of one hundred and one pearls divided by twelve gold marker beads; a fourth had paternoster beads of gold with ten marker beads of sapphires. The humblest was of a small set of five Scotch pearls with marker beads of silver. We get some idea of the great price of such princely paternosters from a protest made by the executors of Jeanne de Bretagne, Dame de Cassel, in March 1361. They complained that Jeanne's daughter, Yolande de Bar, had taken from her mother's estate without due leave a set of paternosters of fifty large orient pearls, with marker beads of four balas-rubies and a fair sapphire at the end. The pearls had been bought by Jeanne for 30 gold florins each, so that they had cost the huge sum of 450 gold florins, though the injured executors put the sum at 1000 florins. In 1362 Yolande de Bar was robbed near Laon of a set of paternosters consisting of fifty pearls as large as peas divided by six sapphires as marker beads, with a pendant of a cameo set in gold at the bottom and a gold brooch set with six pearls and three balas-rubies 'from which the paternosters hang'.[25]

It is not surprising if such magnificent paternosters were thought to make suitable presents to mature princely ladies. In 1368 Philippe of Burgundy gave as his New Year's gift to Marguerite, Dowager Countess of Flanders, his great-aunt and also grandmother of his bride-to-be Marguerite of Flanders, a set of paternosters composed of fifty orient pearls and five pierced balas-rubies with a gold pendant set with a large diamond and three great pearls, the whole bought from Robert Restoul, a goldsmith of Paris. More than two decades later, among the presents Philippe gave on his journey to take farewell of his niece Ysabelle on her marriage to Richard II of England in 1396 was a paternoster of pearls, from which hung a reliquary pendant set with a cameo, which he presented to Yolande d'Auxy, a lady-in-waiting to his wife and gouvernante of his daughters. In 1370 Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen Dowager of France, left a set of paternosters consisting of thirty-two pearls, three balas-rubies, and a cameo set in gold, this last certainly a pendant, another of a hundred small pearls with ten marker beads of gold, and a third, also of pearls, whose marker beads were balas-rubies and sapphires. Her great-niece, the little princess Marie de France, who died in 1377 at the age of seven, had a set of paternosters of forty large pearls and eight marker beads of gold fashioned like 'little cages', that is, of filigree or openwork, with a little 'brooch' hanging

from it set with two pearls, two diamonds and a balas-ruby. Another of her paternosters had a fleur-de-lis of gold set with pearls hanging at the end. Her set of beads of sixty pearls, four balas-rubies and four sapphires with a large pearl at the end was merely rich; but a lighter fancy inspired one whose beads were shaped as the letters MM, and a set of gold beads whose markers were of chequer design.[26]

Men's paternoster beads and women's were equally rich, and so general became the fashion for wearing costly beads that, as we have seen, monks, friars and nuns were repeatedly forbidden them, from at least as early as 1261. Paternoster beads of pearls, originally solely princely or lordly jewels, so we may suspect, were common enough among the rich patrician ladies of Barcelona by 1368 for the city councillors to forbid them to wear them, and the councillors of Siena felt themselves obliged to take similar steps in 1426. In the later fourteenth century paternosters also began to be worn by men and women round their necks, as seen on the far right-hand figure in a miniature from the *Armorial de Geire* (fig.198). In 1404 Walter Berghe of York left bequests to two clerics of two pairs of beads for wear round the neck, one of coral with a pendant of enamelled gold hanging from it. In 1449 the civic authorities of Genoa, limiting with strictest severity the jewels that might be worn by brides, added reflectively 'that in the same fashion as they had prohibited little chains of whatsoever metal, so in strings of paternosters worn round the neck there must be no pearls or gems or anything that is of gold – but it should be understood that plain or gilt silver be worn on such strings'. Again in 1466 Sir John Howard gave into his wife's custody 'a pair of beads for a gentlewoman's neck gawdeid with 8 gawden of gold and 8 pearls'. And for his little protégée Hélène René of Anjou bought in 1476 a collar of paternoster beads of Florence. There were other fashions in wearing them. René of Anjou, whose device they were, as we have seen, bought in 1476 six sets of black paternoster beads to wear on some of his hats. Some of the paternosters of Marguerite of Burgundy are expressly designated in 1405 as intended to be worn 'so as to make a scarf', i.e. baldric wise. Sometimes too paternosters were worn on the arm: Chaucer says of his prioress

Of small coral aboute hir arm she bare

A paire of bedes, gauded al with grene.

Small paternosters were occasionally worn attached to bracelets after these became fashionable in the late fourtenth century. In 1403 William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, made a bequest of 'a pair of beads of gold, appended from a bracelet of gold, having these words engraved on them J.H.C. EST AMOR MEUS'. Fashion even affected the position on which they were worn on the girdle: on the Pownder brass of 1525 (Ipswich Museum) Emma Pownder wears her long paternoster attached to the buckle of her girdle (fig.194).[27]

Another set of paternosters belonging to little Marie de France in 1377 was designed to send out sweet-smelling perfumes, for its gold beads are described as 'filled with amber'. This was a not uncommon usage: other paternosters listed in 1380 in the inventory of her father Charles V had certain beads 'full of musk'. And in 1386, Pedro de Esparca, a court goldsmith of King Charles of Navarre, was paid for *botones*, probably paternoster beads, of gold and silver 'that if pierced may be used for filling with musk'. Probably all such beads containing sweet-smelling substances were of pierced work or filigree in order to emit the perfume they contained. Sets of beads full of musk were also worn for medical reasons. In 1386 King Charles the Bad of Navarre also paid Pedro de Esparca for twenty-three paternoster beads of silver-gilt openwork which the royal physician Maestro Johan had ordered to be made for him and filled with musk – possibly however the two payments refer to the same set of beads. Paternosters of this sort continued popular until the end of the Middle Ages: in December 1431 John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, paid Guillaume Parent, a *merchant pierrier* of Paris, forty nobles for an enormously long paternoster – it measured four ells – containing beads of gold, of musk and of amber in almost equal number and having a gold button set with fifteen pearls at the end. In 1432 René of Anjou had a set of beads of musk, strung on a cord of silk and gold thread. Again in 1469 we have a record of payment by Louis XI for 'tufts and a button' for a set of paternoster beads 'of musk' given to him by Jeanne de Laval, René's wife. The gold marker beads of a set of paternosters of jet left by Queen Clémence de Hongrie in 1328 seem to have contained relics, but this was perhaps exceptional; more often, as we shall see, relics were hung from the beads in pendants, and indeed this may also have been the case with this set.[28]

We have already encountered marker beads of unusual or fanciful design and these, and indeed whole sets of beads wrought into the form of a motif, were probably not uncommon during the later fourteenth century. One set belonging to Charles V had 'square marker beads' with little lions of white amber. During the 1390s Philippe of Burgundy gave away a number of gold paternosters with beads of fanciful form. In 1392 he gave his son Jean two gold sets 'in the fashion of little olives and other devices', and others belonging to Philippe himself were shaped like ears of corn. In 1396 he is recorded as reserving for his own use a set of gold paternosters 'enamelled with faces and crescents'. Among the paternoster beads of Marguerite of Flanders, Duchess of Burgundy in 1405 were some with sets of five gold marker beads enamelled in *rouge cler*. One set, of gold, had twenty-four marker beads set with twelve pearls to make a design of marguerite flowers in allusion to her name. Yet another had nine beads 'in the fashion of an ear of barley' and five 'of green and white flowers', while a third had gold beads of a design of marguerites and little broom-cods. Such fanciful marker beads appeared in the paternosters even of lesser nobles. In 1416 the Norman knight Yves de Vieux-Pont left two gold paternosters, one with marker beads shaped as hearts and marguerites and one with marker beads of sabots and marguerites. And in 1415 Richard Whittington, more famous as Lord Mayor of London,

Fig. 199 Paternoster pendant. Silver-gilt. Height 6cm. South German or
Swiss, early fifteenth century. Historisches Museum, Basle



Fig. 199a Detail

(1347–80), for example, wore one from her paternoster of a
knotted cord; when asked for alms by a poor man in the church
of San Domenico, all she could find to give him was 'a certain
small cross of silver that according to custom hung by a thread
from between those little knots which vulgarly are called
paternosters'. By contrast it is not always clear if the *fermail* or

was left a set of paternosters of gold enamelled in translucent
red, whose marker beads were heads of John the Baptist enamel-
led white.[29]

Crosses were very frequently hung from paternosters (pl.85,
figs.199, 199a). Thus at his death in 1410 King Martín of Aragon
left a set of gold paternosters 'with twenty-two large beads of
two fashions and a double cross of gold enamelled black'. Because
of the reverence felt for the Cross, such little paternoster
crosses might well be of silver, even if they hung from paternosters
that were otherwise of the plainest. St Catherine of Siena

*broche* attached to the end of some of the paternosters described
in fourteenth-century inventories was a clasp for wearing them
round the neck or attaching them to the breast, or a pendant.
The miniature of St Hedwig of Silesia (pl.19), executed in 1353,
shows her wearing her paternoster fastened to her breast by a
brooch and we know that this was a real, not an imaginary
fashion. The pearl and sapphire paternosters taken from Countess
Yolande de Bar in 1362 not only had a pendant of a gold-
mounted cameo, but 'a gold brooch [*fermail*] from which the
said paternosters hang, set with six pearls and three balas-

rubies'. This was also an English custom: in 1378 Margaret, widow of John de la Tonk, a citizen of London, left a pair of silver beads of a type called 'langettis' which were attached to a gold brooch decorated with the royal arms of England. But generally we can assume such a *fermail* or *broche* was either a medallion or pendant, the predecessor of the medals so frequently attached to rosaries in later times, or a pendant in the form of a saint or a cross. For the use of the term *fermail* and *broche* in such cases is merely another illustration of the fluidity of mediaeval usage and the habit, already noticed, of applying the names used for the commonest of all mediaeval ornaments – the brooch – to other objects of roughly similar shape, but very different type.[30]

The attaching of devotional and other pendants of various kinds to paternosters was indeed a favourite practice of the later Middle Ages, already attested by the second quarter of the fourteenth century. They ranged from humble pendants of silver to rich pendants of gold. Chaucer's Prioress had a gold one hanging from her paternosters, of a rather worldly sort:

> And there-on hung a broche of gold ful shene,
> On which ther was first write a crowned A
> And after, *Amor vincit omnia.*

That such secular pendants were in reality attached to paternosters on occasions is evidenced by a set of paternosters that Marguerite of Burgundy gave as a present in 1390 to a French royal councillor. Its beads were of gold, its marker beads of pearl, and from it hung not only a gold cross set with four balas-rubies, four pearls and a diamond, but also a pendant 'of a doe enamelled white'. Sometimes indeed the pendant took the form of a charm or talisman: in 1410 King Martín I of Aragon left a set of amber paternosters which had forty-one beads and 'a dolphin's tooth set in white silver'. Even more surprising is the ring with clasped hands – as we have seen, a pledge of faith in love – that hung from the paternosters of silver-gilt with jet gauds bequeathed by Roger Elmsley, once servant to a London wax-chandler, in his will of 1434.[31]

Such pendant 'brooches' were extremely common. One is mentioned in 1356 in the will of Elizabeth, Countess of Northampton, who left her sister Lady Roos her paternoster beads of gold and jet 'with a firmaile'. Again one hung from the coral beads with gauds of gold left by Lady Constance Fauconberg in 1402. A 'rownde broch of gold' was attached to the 'bedis of corall gawditt with gold' that belonged to another Yorkshire lady, Elizabeth de la Ryver, in 1454. In such pendants, too, the heart recurs as a motif, for in the same year Lady Margaret Dawnay had a gold and enamelled heart hanging from her coral beads. This may of course have been a heart brooch which had been converted into a pious accessory, like Robert Elmsley's silver-gilt ring with two hands clasped. Paternoster pendants were far from being always rich or elaborate: a paternoster belonging to Edward III of England in 1338 had hanging from it a relic in a little silver box and a pendant of glass covering a scene of the Crucifixion. Sometimes they were made by the goldsmiths who had made the paternoster beads, but sometimes they were purchased separately. In 1373 John of Gaunt had several sets of paternoster beads bought from various goldsmiths to which were attached gold *fermails* bought from the goldsmith John atte Gate.[32]

As well as crosses and devotional pendants paternosters very frequently had little figures of saints hanging from them, at any rate from the late fourteenth century, when pendants of saints first seem to have become common (figs.199, 199a). The Museum has a large collection of such pendants, all from fifteenth or early sixteenth-century Germany. Many are certainly cast from well-used models, a testimony to their popularity among middle-class folk. But, as we have seen, personages of high rank also attached pendants and crosses and figures of saints to their beads. There are many other references besides these just cited, to the practice of suspending all three kinds of accessory from paternosters. A set of Venetian amber paternoster beads, mentioned in 1352, had little pendant crosses of silver and 'heads' (marker beads?) of pearls. In 1361 Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex bequeathed to his nephew Humphrey a pair of gold paternoster beads with square gauds and with a gold cross 'in which is a piece of the true cross of our Lord'. A paternoster belonging to Charles V of France in 1380 had a little gold cross set with a heart, stones and pearls, and a gold *fermail* set with diamonds and large pearls; another had a cameo pendant and a silver clasp, and a third a little cross of coral with a gold crucifix. Jean, Duc de Berry had two exceptionally magnificent small gold crosses 'for hanging from paternosters'. One had a cameo of St Catherine in the centre; above, on the end of the vertical arm, was a diamond shaped as a flower, while at each of the other ends was a pearl. On the other side was 'small work', probably filigree, 'of Venice fashion'. This cross was a New Year's gift given to him in 1414, as was the second, which also had a cameo, this time a woman's head, in the centre, and a shield-shaped diamond at each of the ends. About 1405 Valentina Visconti had a set of jet paternosters with nine marker beads of gold and a figure of St Christopher. And in 1483 Queen Charlotte of France had a set of crystal paternosters, with marker beads of gold, from which hung a St Sebastian in mother-of-pearl, mounted in gold. At the end of the century Cecily, Duchess of York left in 1495 'a pair of bedes of lxj. round stones of golde gaudied with sex square stones of gold enemelled, with a crosse of golde, twoo other stones, and a scallop shele of geete honging by'. This jet scallop shell was certainly an ensign of pilgrimage made in Compostella, where jet as we have seen was often worked into pilgrim's souvenirs and paternosters.[33]

As intimately personal aids to devotion, paternosters had great sentimental value in the Middle Ages and often figure as bequests, being handed down in a family or from great lady to confidential *demoiselle* (waiting-woman). In 1401 Jeanne de Navarre, Vicomtesse de Rohan, a great Breton lady, left her *demoiselle* Johanne her 'large paternosters of white amber, from which hangs a St John'

– they had been given to her by her son Charles. This sentimental value was as great for men as for women: in 1428 a certain Hugh Faukes received a gift for having presented the little King Henry VI of England with a great set of coral paternoster beads, with gauds and with a gold pendant (*broche*), which had been given by Sir Thomas Erpingham (1337–1428) to Henry's great-grandfather Edward III (d.1377). Again in 1400, Richard, first Lord Scrope of Bolton left his son Roger the set of coral paternoster beads with a *fermail* (clasp or pendant jewel) of gold and a pendant gold cross 'which belonged to my Lord my father', and that he had 'used and worn', adding his own blessing on them. And in 1404 Avice, wife of William of Pontefract, a draper of York, left her husband 'a pair of gold paternosters with a gold crucifix hanging therefrom as a memorial'.[34]

The later Dukes of Burgundy naturally had a rich collection of paternosters. Charles the Bold's inventory of *c.*1468 lists paternosters of gold and silver, of pink coral, of deep red coral, of crystal, of rare wood, of white and of red amber, of jet and of chalcedony. Five gold paternosters are described as of 'Venice fashion', four of these were certainly of filigree, since they were 'filled with musk and amber'. Only a few of his paternosters were specially elaborate in design. The vogue for letters found in other kinds of jewellery had extended itself by 1377 even to so devotional an object as the paternoster. At her death in that year little Marie de France left, as we have seen, a set whose beads were shaped as the letters MM. In addition to letters the fifteenth century also used devices, secular though these often were in their pride and meaning. Charles the Bold had twelve marker beads of gold for a paternoster, 'made with CCs and flints', the former being a personal, the latter a Burgundian device, as we know, and two gold openwork 'buttons for paternosters', again decorated with flints and with crosses of St Andrew. And among the jewels of his daughter Mary of Burgundy, we find in 1482 these buttons attached to a set of paternosters with round chalcedony beads, from which in addition dangled from little chains, pendants of flints and St Andrew's crosses, while 'at the other end' was a pendent tablet garnished with relics.[35]

The vogue for the heart motif, already so popular and so widespread in brooches, not unnaturally spread to paternosters, where it expressed sincerity of devotion – prayer as it were from the heart. We can get some impression of the appearance of such beads from the ten heart-shaped gold beads of a man's paternoster of *c.*1480 that still survives in Munich (pl.114). Already in 1416 one of Yves de Vieux-Pont's gold paternosters had marker beads of little hearts, while in 1422 Henry V of England left two pairs of paternosters of gold, 'made in the fashion of hearts, the gauds enamelled green'. Charles the Bold had white heart-shaped beads, probably of white amber like a similar set owned by Duchess Marguerite in 1405, joined by five small enamelled chains. Another, small set had beads enamelled with fleur-de-lis. A third set of 'beads of a strange wood' also had gold beads enamelled with designs in black, and a gold crucifix and a black

scallop-shell of St James mounted in gold hanging from it. By this date girdles of paternoster beads were also worn though perhaps only as bead-work: in 1483, for instance, Queen Charlotte of Savoie had just such a girdle.[36]

We have seen that gold beads were occasionally decorated with designs and motifs. We do not know much from documents about their subject matter. In 1379–80 Louis of Anjou had a set of twenty-one gold paternoster beads of very capricious design. They were small and square, with concave sides; on one side they were enamelled with chequer-work like a board for chess, on the other with chequer-work like a board for tables. To each of their corners was riveted a tiny pearl. Threaded among them as gauds were seven little flasks of gold, decorated with traceried medallions in openwork, and all twenty-eight pieces were separated from each other by long gold pipes, enamelled in *rouge cler* and white. In 1387 Duke Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy paid for a set of gold paternosters with five lily flowers and ten marguerites enamelled white on sixty gold beads. The marguerites indicate they had been bought for the use of his Duchess. As a New Year's gift in 1390 he himself gave a set of gold paternosters enamelled with heads that were set with twenty-three large pearls. And as we have seen a few years later, in 1396, he is recorded as keeping either for himself or to give away elsewhere a set of gold paternosters enamelled with motifs of 'faces and crescents'.[37]

A magnificent set of gold paternosters threaded on a lace of drawn silver thread belonging to Jean de Berry had beads in two halves fastened by gold hooks; when opened they were found to be worked inside 'with the Annunciation and several other images'. They were a gift from Richard, Duke of York, made to Jean on 14 September 1413. On New Year's Day 1479 King René of Anjou received a gift of gold paternosters on whose beads were figured the Seven Virtues. The Museum of London has a late fourteenth-century gold paternoster bead shaped into three ribs, each decorated with a letter reserved in the metal on a black ground between two roses, also reserved in the ground. The three letters read RIA; presumably the letters GLO completed this to read *Gloria* on another bead. But the clearest testimony to figural decoration on paternosters are the two sets of late fifteenth-century gold paternoster beads which still survive, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat.81, pls.144, 144a, b), the other in the Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich (pl.114). The Victoria and Albert Museum's beads are English, *c.*1500 and decorated with figures of saints, the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi and the Passion. The Nationalmuseum's set, probably French of *c.*1450–60, has ten heart-shaped beads and is decorated with scenes of the history of Joachim and Anna and of the life of the Virgin in glowing translucent enamel, in a highly pictorial style. It was described in a Munich court inventory of 1598 as 'a man's paternoster' and is the richest surviving example of the short paternosters – here only a decade of beads – which were in general use among men.[38]

Various appendages hung from the girdle, or from round the neck or even from the paternosters that, if not strictly jewels, are nevertheless frequently found as jewelled accessories. The purse, for example, could be richly embroidered with precious stones. Three types of accessory of this kind deserve special mention, the pomander, the musk-ball and, to a less extent, the mirror. The Middle Ages delighted in the perfumes of musk and amber and great personages of both sexes usually wore them shaped into little round balls in cases of precious metal. What we know as the pomander gets its name in fact from the French *pomme d'ambre* (apple of amber). But pomanders might also have a serious medical purpose, for it was universally believed that certain strong-scented substances had the power to disinfect the air and ward off plague and other diseases. Recipes for compounding such aromatic preventatives, rather confusingly also known as pomanders, are found in fourteenth-century books of recipes and appear constantly in such works into the eighteenth. Many of the substances and drugs employed were exotic and, in the Middle Ages, of very great price, and so it is not surprising to find them mounted in rich cases.[1]

As the name suggests, the pomander was round like an apple, and its standard design came to be one of four segments or quarters fitting into a central openwork cylindrical core which often contained a devotional figure, frequently of the Virgin. Each segment was hollow and into it could be inserted the substance desired by means of a sliding panel. Pomanders of this kind were lifted to the nose for the sense of the wearer to be gratefully refreshed by a favourite perfume or preserved from a dangerous infection. This is the design of the Museum's fourteenth-century Italian pomander (cat.84, pls.145, 145a), the earliest known to survive but, as we shall see, it was not necessarily the design of earlier pomanders, nor indeed of all later ones.

Apples of amber are mentioned by the historian Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, in 1240 as among the luxuries of Egypt. The earliest recorded European pomander, or rather *pomum de ambra* (apple of amber) appears in 1287, in the inventory of Cardinal Goffredo d'Alatri. Clearly they were already a well-established adjunct of costume for five are also mentioned in the inventory of Boniface VIII in 1295, and their use probably goes back to the late twelfth century. They may have owed their introduction into European society to oriental example – Byzantine or more probably Islamic – for among the gifts King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem sent in 1174 to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa were 'golden apples filled with musk'.[2]

Cardinal Goffredo's pomander was 'an apple of amber mounted in silver', and was of such value that it was not appraised. Boniface's on the other hand were mounted in gold and set with pearls and precious stones. It is a question however whether they were pomanders in our sense, that is apple-shaped containers of precious metal, in which the perfume is wholly enclosed, rather than balls of amber mounted in openwork so that they could diffuse their perfume. In this they would have resembled the apple-shaped hand-warmers which are the earliest recorded *pommes* of mediaeval art. This seems to be what is implied by the inventory descriptions of the two; Cardinal Goffredo's says that the apple of amber is *ligatum* – literally, bound – in silver, while Boniface's says that the apple is *ornata*, that is, adorned with gold. Such other early references as we have seen to suggest the same interpretation. In 1319 the inventory of Louis X of France mentions 'an apple of amber garnished with silver with a lace of red silk that we gave to our dear and beloved companion, the queen'. And in 1328 Clémence de Hongrie, Queen of France, left 'a pomander harnessed with gold and stones' and a second, harnessed with silver – taken together these references suggest that pomanders, like so many other mediaeval jewels, came as best and second-best. The three pomanders which Maria of Hungary, the widow of Charles II of Naples possessed at her death in March 1323 were all 'apples of amber' harnessed (*munitum*), in the case of two with gold set with pearls and stones, and in the case of the humble third again with plain silver only. The rich pomander that belonged to Queen Jeanne de Boulogne of France in 1360 was also in openwork – 'a *pomme d'ambre* encased in goldsmiths' work and pearls, with two sapphires at either end, hanging by a gilt chain'.[3]

By 1300 pomanders were clearly in common use in France, for the Connétable Raoul de Nesle had at his death in 1302 'a vessel [i.e. container] of silver with an apple of amber, an 'apple of amber garnished with silver-gilt' and another mounted in silver. Again in 1326 King Jaime II of Aragon gave his chancellor Gaston de Moncada, Bishop of Huesca, a *pomme d'ambre* enclosed in four bands of silver decorated with silver bosses. The pomanders recorded in the possession of the Popes in the mid-fourteenth century were almost all richly mounted, often in gold and precious stones. They hung from chains, like Clement VI's 'apple of amber with pearls and chains' or his gold-mounted pomander set with four balas-rubies, two sapphires and pearls that hung from a gold chain, both recorded in 1342–3. The great price of such pomanders appears from the high valuation

of 250 florins set on this second pomander in 1365. Alternatively they were suspended from a silk cord. A pomander in a case of worked gold that belonged to Innocent VI in 1353 had a little silk cord with a tassel of silver-gilt threads set with pearls, and another gold-mounted pomander set with pearls and precious stones and decorated with the arms of France and Navarre had a cord of red silk. This was contained in an outer case of worked silver, and in 1371 Gregory XI had a pomander set with pearls and precious stones which was contained 'in another silver apple'. A common motif in the fourteenth century seems to have set a pearl or precious stone at the top and bottom of the casing, whenever the bands of the casing were of silver or gold; another was to set bands of pearls or stones along the bands of metal, as in a large pomander which belonged to the Popes in 1369. This had six rows of very large pearls running along its silver bands.[4]

What was certainly an 'apple' of segmented form appears in the inventory taken on 17 January 1366 of the jewels of Jean I, Count of Armagnac (r.1319–73). This described as 'a gold apple inside which is a figure of Our Lady, on top is a sapphire and a cord with a pearl button at the end'. It is unlikely though not impossible that it was a pomander; certainly when an 'apple' of segmented form is mentioned in 1379–80, in the inventory of King Charles V of France, it is as a case for relics – 'a silver apple, nielloed on the outside with beasts, the which opens into quarters to hold relics'. Charles V's pomanders begin with six which had no mounts at all, but were simply literal *pommes d'ambre*. It seems a fair surmise that his others were mostly in openwork mounts. Some were of silver or silver-gilt. One of these had a pearl at the bottom, another was enamelled all over with little letters, one was only a mount of four bands of silver-gilt, one was large, and had silver mounts of birds which were made 'in the fashion of Damascus'. One bore the prophylactic formula *Jhesus autem transiens*. Others of his pomanders had mounts of gold: one was a casing of fleur-de-lis and traceried medallions; one had a decoration of pierced medallions close set with three little balas-rubies, three sapphires and six pearls; one had a casing of lozenges set with tiny balas-rubies and other stones; another had a casing decorated with lozenges of seed-pearls enclosing large pearls; one, described as having a covering of gold, had the arms of Pope Clement VII (1386–94); another had six vine-sprays of gold 'which are in the fashion of little serpents' and were also decorated with little pearls, garnets and emeralds. Two small gold pomanders are said to be 'of Damascus fashion'. Plainly some of these were mounted balls of amber, but others are said to be 'full of amber', leaving some doubt as to whether they were not in fact pierced, but made in two horizontal halves like certain pomanders of the fifteenth century.[5]

The four listed in the inventory of Louis of Anjou in 1379–80 were certainly of one standard design: round balls of openwork, with a quatrefoil enamelled plaque at top and bottom from which the bars of the cagework ran to end in a central enamelled band, the spaces between them being filled with small gold rings. Three of the four are described as 'being in the manner of Genoa'; we cannot now be certain whether this means they were made in Genoa, a port through which much musk must have been imported in the Middle Ages, or were in a certain kind of filigree work, special to Genoa. The most elaborate pair had circles of pearls round their enamels, four bands of pearls running to the central band on the upper half and a girdle of pearls running round the upper border of the encircling middle band of enamel. Three of these bands were inscribed in letters reserved on the metal, but only for the less valuable of the two, in silver-gilt, do we have a record of the inscription: AVE MARIA, GRACIA PLENA, DOMINUS TECUM and MARIA GRACIA, which suggests that this particular pomander may have been intended for a set of paternosters.[6]

In 1353 Innocent VI had a pomander of a musk-nut, probably a nutmeg, mounted in silver. Musk had long been used as a perfume – we saw Queen Eleanor of England buying balls of it from Roger of Acre in 1294, and in Italy at any rate it was a common enough article of luxury, for the constitutions enacted in 1290 for the Augustinian friars known as the Eremitani di Sant' Agostino forbid its wear on their persons. A musk-ball that had belonged to Count Roger de Beaufort, brother and father of two of the Avignon Popes, is recorded in the inventory of the château of Cornillon in Gascony in 1380, hanging from a lace with two knots of pearls: 'an apple of musk grain, enclosed in gold circles, and below is a sapphire, and the gold circles are set with large pearls and other stones'. In 1400 Charles VI bought a gold musk-ball 'full of musk', set with a large pearl beneath, and with a diamond, and with a large button for suspension. Marguerite of Burgundy left in 1405 four musk-balls, two mounted in gold, one in silver-gilt, and one enamelled green 'of Venice fashion' and so presumably in filigree. Three of them were equipped with one or two pearl buttons, attached to a lace. Jean de Berry had a large number of gold musk-balls: one in a casing of four gold crested bands, the others in casings of gold or silver, but all having one or more pearls or precious stones beneath. A very large and elaborate one, given to the Duke by his secretaries as a New Year's present in 1406 is described as composed of triangles, mounted in 'Venetian work', by which again is probably meant filigree, and decorated with small round translucent enamels. Another, which opened in the middle and was closed by little gold hinges, had paintings set within made by the painter Jean Grancher, otherwise known as Jehannin d'Orléans, who gave it as a New Year's present to the Duke in 1409. Not to be outdone, the painter Robinet d'Etampes gave a similar one to Jean in 1412: inside it was a painting of the Virgin and Child. It was Jean who had the first recorded 'apple' that was certainly a pomander opening into segments: 'Item a gold apple in which there is musk; it opens into four quarters and in the centre is a figure of Our Lady closing by a screw and held by St Michael, and on each quarter is a figure rimmed with pearls'. The Duke received this as a present from

Fig. 200  Pomander. Silver-gilt. Height *c*.6cm. Rhenish, *c*.1470.
Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

his maître d'hôtel in 1415; indeed he was so fond of the smell of musk that he had a circular piece 'in the fashion of a reliquary pendant' to wear round his neck. The design seems to have become fashionable during the first decade of the century, for about 1406 Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, had 'a gold apple which opened into four quarters with Our Lady in the middle and at the bottom a balas-ruby'. Its popularity lasted throughout the fifteenth century and into the Renaissance. There still survives in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, a fifteenth-century German example in silver-gilt and enamel (fig.200) with a figure of the Virgin in the central cylinder and engravings of figures of saints on the sides of the quarters.[8]

The various types of pomander and musk-ball used in the later fifteenth century are well-documented from portraits and surviving examples, which are mostly German. A number designed as small openwork cases of silver or silver-gilt or of gold still survive, including one in the Victoria and Albert Museum; they are mostly German, though there is an English example of *c*.1500 of gold set with pearls in the British Museum. By now they were surely common among the knightly and noble classes – in 1495, for example, Sir Brian Roucliffe, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, left a legacy of a silver musk-ball.

The German ones may take the form of an openwork case of flowing vigorous Gothic tracery (figs.201, 202), often opening horizontally into two halves and so encircled by a hinged band, broad or narrow, or by a moulding. Alternatively they may adopt the form of a segmented apple, like the beautiful silver-gilt and enamelled pomander in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (fig.200). By the fifteenth century they had become common enough to be made in gilt copper; one example is in a collection in Prague (pl.115). Small musk-balls in openwork cases seem often to have been worn as paternosters, and paternoster beads appear to have had the same design, so there is occasionally a question whether what we have is in fact a musk-ball or a paternoster bead. The identity of the design presumably springs from the fact that musk was also put on occasions into paternoster beads, so that both might be made as pierced cases that could be opened.[9]

Finally it seems that mirrors were occasionally worn as jewellery, and had cases suitably ornamented. Among the jewellery belonging to little Marie de France which is classed in the inventory of Charles V in 1379–80 as little jewels either 'hanging or for suspension' are a gold mirror, set with four sapphires and thirty-four pearls and a gold mirror set with pearls. It is

Fig. 201  Pomander. Silver. Height 4.7cm, diameter 3cm. German, late fifteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne



Fig. 202  Pomander. Silver. Height 4.7cm, diameter 3cm. German, late fifteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne

less certain if a third gold mirror decorated with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and with figures of the Virgin and St Catherine and other saints on the back was for wear as jewellery. A fourth enamelled with 'Narcissus and his lady friend at the fountain' (the lady-friend presumably being Echo) may have been worn as a jewel. The subject was a favourite for mirrors, no doubt as a warning against vanity, for in the inventory of Charles the Bold's daughter, Mary of Burgundy, taken in 1482, a similar mirror is described as 'a round tablet in the fashion of a mirror; on one side the history of Narcissus on a flat enamel, and garnished on both sides with ten diamonds, ten rubies and ten pearls, with little enamelled flowers between each pair, hanging by a little chain of square links from a gold rose which in the centre is set with a Scotch pearl'. These are two of the few mediaeval references to a jewel decorated with a classical subject; as such they were precursors of the modes of the

century to come. It is hard to interpret the reference to a 'flat enamel' in Mary's jewel, but possibly we have here an early reference to a painted enamel. This fashion for a portable 'tablet' with mirror seems to have been current in France too during the 1470s, if indeed it did not originate there, as seems most probable. In 1477 Jacquet Scalle, goldsmith to René of Anjou is found busying himself to complete a 'tablet and mirror' ornamented with René's devices in which it seems the mirror concealed a portrait of René. This was a pretty conceit, for as the Queen looked into the mirror, her husband in turn was looking at her.[10]

The Middle Ages, both during its earlier stateliness of fashion, and from the luxurious fourteenth century, knew its own variety of costume jewellery. This took either the form of orphreys (gold braiding, often mounted or embroidered with precious stones and pearls) or the form of gems, pearls and motifs in precious metal sewn on to the material beneath, to make designs that occasionally seem to have been supremely delicate and poetical in their fancy. In 1190 Ugo Falcandus describes the textile workshops of the royal palace of Palermo

> where you may see many other ornaments of various colours and of differing kinds, in which gold is interwoven with silk, and the multiple variety of depiction is given lustre by the insertion of shining gems. Pearls too are either enclosed entire in golden collets or are pierced and joined on a slender thread [and] by an elegant skill of disposition are made to assume the form of pictured work.

The royal robes of the Norman kings of Sicily, still preserved in Vienna, and decorated with pearls and enamels bear out his words. The ornaments of gold and silver which became the spangles of the later Middle Ages were already characteristic of imperial dress in twelfth-century Germany: in 1167 the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England, left the abbey of Bec her empress's robe 'covered with drops of gold [*deguttatum auro*]', of which the abbey made orphreys for albs. What may be ornaments of this kind still survive sewn onto a *paliotto* of c.1430 in the Duomo of Palermo: they date from the first half of the thirteenth century and consist of six-lobed medallions decorated in translucent enamel and stylised eagles of markedly Byzantine-Islamic inspiration, with granulated bodies and wings and tails enamelled blue. The orphreys of the crimson robes in which the Empress Constance of Aragon (d.1222), wife of Frederick II, was buried in her tomb in Palermo, were richly embroidered with a stripe of seed-pearls enclosing quatrefoils of enamelled gold. The borders were also a double row of seed-pearls, and thin sheets of gold, or so it seems, filled the spaces between the stripes and the borders (fig.170). During the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the general means of enriching costume was by the addition of such broad and heavy orphreys, either of gold thread or foil.[1]

The enamel tomb-plaque of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and father of King Henry II of England, executed between c.1151 and 1160, shows him in his ceremonial robes and mantle which are trimmed with borders, braidings and lozenge-shaped orphreys of gold. He also wears a girdle of gold stuff. It was during the immediately preceding decades that heraldic devices began to be introduced into princely and seigneurial costume, and Geoffrey is shown wearing a tall pointed bonnet blazoned with a lion passant, like those he bears on his shield. It was the custom to decorate these braidings and borders of gold with pearls, precious stones and small enamels, and this usage spread downwards from the royal, the princely and the great into the dress of rich merchants' wives, as the protests of later thirteenth-century satirists, preachers and sumptuary laws reveal.[2]

Ceremonial princely costume of the thirteenth century seems to have developed this taste for heraldic decoration: as we have already seen, it was the period of great heraldic brooches. The imperial robes of the Emperor Frederick II, which fell into the hands of Charles of Anjou in 1266, were covered with a blazonry of his imperial ensign of eagles. Again among the jewels ordered by Jaime of Aragon in 1273 were an orphrey worked with gold roundels containing alternatively heads of kings and eagles – a device of Jaime – and another similar orphrey worked solely with eagles. We can gain an impression of such orphreys from the effigies of the Infante Felipe of Castile (d.1274), son of San Fernando and his wife Doña Leonor (figs.203, 204). The costume worn by a number of thirteenth-century silver Virgins suggests that heavy borders and braiding of gold continued to be favourite enrichments of women's dress, and this is confirmed by documents and other sources. Sometimes in the case of great men jewels might be arranged as a pattern on the front of the dress. We do not know how widespread this fashion was: it is attested now only by the remarkable effigy of Count Wiprecht von Groitzsch (d.1124), posthumously erected to him as founder of the Benedictine monastery of St Jacobi, at Pegau, in Saxony, probably c.1230–40 (fig.205), and so may have been confined to Imperial Germany. Wiprecht is shown wearing a robe with a jewelled collar, under which is fixed a metal breast ornament, an open octofoil set in the frame with large circular and oval stones. In the central aperture is an octagonal motif. Below the octofoil a line of oval and oblong stones runs downwards, and to right and left there is a band of jewels across the breast. Rich mantle clasps and a girdle mounted with bars and rosettes complete his ornaments.[3]

It was Viollet-le-Duc who first reached the conclusion that the thirteenth century was a period of austere restraint in costume between the heavy magnificence of the twelfth century and the glittering and fantastic luxury of the fourteenth. He did so because of the testimony of contemporaries about the very special case of St Louis and his court, where an austere religious tone introduced a severe simplicity of costume. The

Fig. 203 Effigy of the Infante Don Felipe of Castile. Spanish, late thirteenth century. Villalcazar de Sirga, Palencia, Spain

Fig. 204 Effigy of Doña Leonor Rodriguez de Castro. Spanish, late thirteenth century. Villalcazar de Sirga, Palencia, Spain

Fig. 205 Effigy of Wiprecht von Groitzsch. German, c.1230–40.
St Lorenzkirche, Pegau, Germany



Fig. 206 Tunic, girdle and sword from the tomb of the Infante Don
Fernando de la Cerda, see colour plate 106. c.1270. Monasterio de Las
Huelgas, Burgos, Spain

dress of Louis's son-in-law, the Infante Fernando de la Cerda
(d.1275), son of the King of Castile, discovered when his tomb
in Las Huelgas, Burgos, was opened in 1943, reveals that a very
different state of affairs in fact prevailed. The Infante wore a
mantle, supertunic and a tunic all cut from a gold brocade of
pure silk closely decorated with rows of shields quartering the
castles of Castile and the lions of León, the castles being also in
gold, while the lions are blue (fig.206). On his head was a round
toque or bonnet, again bearing a heraldic decoration of castles
and lions alternating on a chequered field. The castles are
outlined in silver-gilt thread and have doors and windows of
blue beads, while the embroidered lions have eyes of coral
beads and silver thread. The ground is thickly sewn with lines
of seed-pearls and above and below, along the top and bottom
of the bonnet, runs a band of gold set with collets holding tiny
sapphires and garnets, alternating with medallions containing
shields of the same arms enamelled or in relief. Again some idea
of the appearance of this ceremonial costume when worn is
given by the effigy of the Infante Felipe (d.1274), the son of San
Fernando of Castile (fig.203).[4]

As we have said, this magnificence did not remain a magnificence
of princes. The preachers of the thirteenth century have tongues

of fire for the richness of Parisian women's attire and jewellery. The preacher Etienne de Bourbon (d.1261) denounces the rich girdles of his day – composed of gold, silver, iron and silk, decorated with figures of lions, dragons and birds, and with precious stones set on the stuff so that their fashion costs even more than their materials. 'She clasps her stomach with a girdle of silk, gold, silver, such as Jesus Christ and his blessed mother never wore, though they were of blood royal', exclaims the Dominican Gilles d'Orléans in 1272–3. And another sermon preached in the same year denounces the coifs of silk and chaplets of silver and gold, the crowns, the orphreys, the ribbons, dyed and crimped, that are worn in the hair. The *Roman de la Rose*, written *c*.1280, reproaches a woman satirically for wearing a robe embroidered with pearls. In Italy Santa Margarita da Cortona, after her conversion in 1274, sought to do penance for her pride in having ridden or walked through the streets of Montepulciano 'adorned with different dresses, with gold interwoven in her hair, her face painted' in order to display her husband's wealth. Her penance, in the end forbidden by her confessor, was to take the form of being led with a rope from door to door of Montepulciano by a woman like one blind, with shaven head and shabby clothes.[5]

The sumptuary laws of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggest that this richness continued, increased and spread to smaller cities and humbler levels of society. Thus in 1274 the consuls of Montauban in Gascony forbade among other things braiding of gold, silver or embroidered pearls, the wearing of silver chains, and the wearing in the street of gold, silver or pearls, even in the form of pins or brooches. The sole exception was in favour of buttons, then worn on the sleeves, which were not to exceed ten in number. Significantly, the ordinance had to be reenacted in 1291, but some forty years later it had fallen into desuetude, and the accounts of the Bonis brothers, merchants of Montauban, show that the wife of Arnaud Seguy ordered eight and a half palms of costly gold braiding from Toulouse in 1347.[6]

Clearly then dresses trimmed with braiding of gold and pearls and ornamented on the sleeves with rich buttons of gold, amber, silver, silver-gilt and pearl became widespread towards the later decades of the thirteenth century, when luxury and display began to augment conspicuously among nobles and princes and also among patricians and bourgeois. A list drawn up in 1281 of the things that Jeanne, Countess of Flanders, would require for her lying-in includes a complete attire, including a hood, all embroidered with pearls, to wear on the day of her *relevailles*. This day of a great lady's formal uprising from childbed was one of the occasions for which especially rich clothes, embroidered with gold and pearls, were made. Great men as well as women had rich clothes made for them for the other sorts of occasion when it was customary to appear in especial finery: weddings, dances, the great feasts of the year, tournaments, or festivals held for such special events as the conclusion of a treaty. Rich dress was often worn too for riding

on a journey, in proclamation of status. We have a few other early mentions of trimmings of jewels and pearls. In her will of 1308, Yolande of Anjou, queen of Jaime II of Aragon, bequeathed all her dresses to the poor churches and monasteries of Aragon, but only after they had been stripped of all their pearls and precious stones, which she bequeathed to her daughters. Again on 12 June 1316, when the tailor Toutain was making a ceremonial dress for Philippe le Long of France to wear at the coronation of Pope John XXII at Lyons, he was given four pearl-embroidered orphreys with which 'to orphrey [that is to trim] the said robe'.[7]

We have seen (chapter 18) that already in the late twelfth century richly trimmed and jewelled hats were ensigns of princely or high feudal rank, and this tradition continued throughout the Middle Ages. An imperial hat of cloth of gold covered all over with eagles worked in large pearls, originally part of the treasure of the Emperor Frederick II (d.1250), was returned in 1298 by Pope Boniface VIII to Charles II of Naples. Princely headgear, already sufficiently splendid, began to be decorated with increasing richness from the later thirteenth century. Hats of lesser splendour had most of their decoration of gold or silver or jewelling on the hat-band; others of even greater pretension were embroidered or jewelled all over. In 1298 Mahaut, Countess of Artois, and her husband Othon de Bourgogne bought from their tailor Oudart four hats of felt, two lined with silk and decorated with gold braiding, and two, intended for the Count alone, decorated with gold and pearl-braiding, with pearl buttons for the laces of gold and silk which tied them and a lining of sendal. But this was a pale anticipation of later magnificences, for sumptuously mounted and jewelled hats were among the costliest articles of costume of fourteenth-century princes and their families. In November 1319 King Jaime II of Aragon acknowledged receipt of a rich hat (*cappellses del sol*) belonging to his eldest son the Infante Jaime, which was covered with gold leaf and ornamented with royal coats of arms and with doublets and pearls. In December of the same year he lent another son, the Infante Alfonso, a similar hat covered with gold leaf and bearing royal coats of arms. He also lent Alfonso and two others of his sons, Pere and Raymond Berenguer, three hats embroidered with various figures in gold thread and silk, and three similar hats also belonged to his son Jaime. Some twenty-five years later, in 1346, Queen Marie de Navarre, wife of his grandson Pere IV of Aragon, left at her death a hat of red velvet, ornamented with pearls and with the arms of Aragon and Navarre and fastened by a cord of red silk and buttons of pearls.[8]

A splendid sun-hat (Italian *capello da sole*) seems to have been a prerogative or at least a badge of Aragonese and Neapolitan princely rank – in Aragon they were reserved for the royal house. For her wedding in 1305 to King Federigo of Sicily, of the house of Aragon, Princess Eleanora of Naples received one which was 'covered with cloth of gold with divers works, and enamels, pearls and precious stones, lined with violet sendal

with gold flowers and having a lace of red silk on which were buttons formed of five pearls'. In 1312 as security for his payment of the dowry of his daughter Maria, wife of the Infante Pedro of Castile, Jaime II of Aragon deposited

> a certain cap or sun-hat worked with tiny pearls and large glass stones [*verae*] and others which are red and tawny, encircled by laces and on the hat itself are set large pearls and balas-rubies and [*lacuna*] and turquoises and in the circuit of the same hat are two rows of pearls of the middling size and on its crown is a golden eagle [an eagle was one of Jaime's devices] set on two gold lions and to the breast of the said eagle are affixed three balas-rubies and on its back is a certain great pearl, and the cord of the hat is of red silk and gold thread mounted with tiny pearls.[9]

The Angevin court of Naples had many rich hats. King Robert the Wise had in 1316 two hats lined with sendal and ornamented with pearls, while in 1327 the Neapolitan court armourer Maestro Giovanni Forte, who like fourteenth-century armourers elsewhere was responsible for embroidered garments, adorned a hat 'of German fashion' with figures of lions, baboons and birds in gold, silver and silk for Robert's son Carlo, Duke of Calabria. Carlo indeed already owned in 1327 several such hats. One, of black wool cloth, was encircled with a garland of silver-gilt set with glass stones and middle-sized pearls; another was worked in seed-pearls with the Angelic Salutation *Ave Maria Gratia Plena*; a third, of red woollen cloth, was embroidered with a pattern of vines in seed-pearls, and was enriched with peacock feathers and designs embroidered in gold and was surmounted with a poppy 'pieced of pearls'; a fourth was diapered with sixteen little birds executed in seed-pearls, embroidered with flowers and vines in gold thread, and had little pipes (*cannoncelli*) of silver-gilt probably stitched to its surface. Most remarkable of all was a hat of exotic sort, a very early example of the fourteenth-century vogue for wearing hats and dress of strange device or fashion. This was a hat 'of the Tartar fashion, with a button and a little hook [*croculus*] of medium-sized pearls, overworked in drawn gold with various trees and birds, and with two buttons of pearls on its lace'. In 1340 Robert assigned a truly royal hat to his nieces Giovanna and Maria. It was covered with blue samite sewn with the gold fleur-de-lis of the French royal arms, to which as Angevins they were entitled, the whole being garnished with gold mounts and seed-pearls and with interlacings of large pearls, together with thirteen balas-rubies and thirteen sapphires set in gold. The silk lace fastening was set with four buttons of pearls.[10]

The cost of such hats was immense. In 1338 Louis I de Nevers, Count of Flanders, bought from Simon de Lille, a great Parisian goldsmith with many royal and princely customers, a hat ornamented with gold, pearls and precious stones whose price was 8000 gold écus. So huge was the sum that the count and his sureties, after the stipulated terms had elapsed, agreed to pledge landed estates and other property as security for the payment, which was to have been made in three parts. By 1385

only about half the price of the hat had been paid, and Simon's grandchildren brought a lawsuit for the rest of the money against the heiress of one of the sureties. Such huge sums need not surprise. In 1352 a hat was made for the Dauphin Charles of France which was embroidered with lions of pearls holding lozenges of his arms, and with trees resembling hawthorns whose stems were made of pearls. Nearly five ounces of pearls were used in the confection of this hat. Such hats seem to have become obligatory wear for great French nobles of semi-princely rank: the inventory of the jewels of Jean I, Count of Armagnac (r.1319-73), taken on 17 January 1366 lists 'a felt hat [*chapel*] with a large ruby encircled by six large pearls'.[11]

The French royal accounts of 1351 and 1352 record two beaver hats of exceptional richness. One, lined with ermine, was covered on the crown with a rose-bush whose stem was formed of twisted wire of *or de chipre* (a type of gold wire made in Genoa). Its leaves were either of gold overworked with gold thread, or with large pearls and garnets, and its flowers of large pearls of price. At the sides were two large cinquefoils of gold, sewn with large pearls, garnets, and enamels, while from the top rose a dolphin of couched gold, which turned by means of a screw on a silver pipe. The hat was also garnished with buttons of small round pearls and with gold orphreys decorated with translucent enamels, and with large pearls, and the whole was made to be worn by the king's fool – fools were often dressed in very rich and fantastic costume in the later Middle Ages. By contrast the second hat, made for the marriage of Blanche, daughter of Pierre, Duc de Bourbon, with King Pedro the Cruel of Castile in 1352, was a lady's state beaver, worked on a fine velvet of a rich red colour. It was covered with a design embroidered in gold thread (*or nué*) of children knocking down acorns of great pearls of price from oak-trees whose trunks and branches were of large pearls and their leaves of gold thread. Under the oaks, pigs and boars executed in gold thread ate the acorns, while birds, again executed in gold thread, 'of several and strange fashions sat in the trees'. Children, boars and birds were all depicted 'from the life'. A terrace beneath was made of little gold flowers each set with a pearl, and of 'several small little beastlets' scattered along it. The crown was decorated with large cinquefoils of gold set in a trellis-work of gold thread and sewn with large pearls of price, translucent enamels and garnets, and the whole was garnished with large buttons of pearls above and below and with a silk ribbon.[12]

Princes emulated this royal magnificence. In 1368 Amadeo VI, the Green Count of Savoy, bought a hat garnished with large pearls and rubies from Raffaele Di Negro, a Genoese, for 1000 gold ducats in order to make a present of it to King Charles V of France. That same year Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, at a banquet given to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III of England, on the occasion of his marriage to Galeazzo's daughter, gave him among other presents a richly jewelled hat. Head-dress, together with sleeves, was long to remain a favourite part of costume for enrichment with jewels

and pearls. Thus in 1378 Amadeo VII, the Red Count of Savoy, pledged a chaperon of cloth of gold embroidered with pearls. The vogue for decoration with letters also affected hats. In May 1398 Giorgio Carraf, court goldsmith to King Martin of Sicily, was paid for five and three-quarter ounces of silver 'with which he worked and made 1200 letters, each with its little chain', which were gilt and set on the King's hat of white and red woollen cloth. This luxury in hats persisted throughout the fifteenth century. In March 1408 Louis, Duke of Orléans, gave his wife Valentina Visconti a gold or gold-mounted horned head-dress of newly fashionable kind. It was made of bramble-leaves, and set with eighteen rows of large pearls, with a row of five pearls of price framing nine large sapphires, with nine balas-rubies, and with ninety other large pearls. A hat that had belonged to Louis, Duc de Guyenne (d.1415), the eldest son of Charles VI of France, was described in an inventory taken c.1430 of the jewels of Philippe of Burgundy as 'the very rich hat of crimson-red velvet, made of rich gold embroidery, enriched with several figures and sewn with angels, all in embroidered pearls'. After Louis's death, it passed to his wife Marguerite, Philippe's sister, and was later pledged by order of King Charles VI to the chapter of Notre-Dame, Paris, for 4600 francs, a sum whose size again gives some idea of the great price set on these state hats. They continued to be made throughout the century. Often the hat-band was the element of principal richness in this later period. In 1459 the gold hat-band of a French royal hat covered with green velvet employed the motifs of roses and rose-branches so popular in contemporary brooches. It was fashioned by the goldsmith as a cord, but hinged, and was edged with gold thread in guipure work. It was decorated with branches of rose enamelled their proper colour and with white roses in relief, pierced with openwork and set on a burnished ground. A little chain of the same design hung from the band and ended in two tufts of Florentine gold wire. In 1459 Charles VII of France had a velvet hat encircled by a riband formed of gold links and bordered with twisted gold wire; it was decorated with branches of roses enamelled green bearing white roses in relief pierced in openwork on a ground of burnished gold. So too in 1468 Charles the Bold had a little gold chain of his own device set with four diamonds, four rubies and eight pearls to put round his hat. A miniature of 1555 still survives in Munich of his state hat (fig.207), together with a description by Johann Jakob Fugger. These record that the hat was made of yellow samite, and was topped in the middle of the crown with a pointed balas-ruby in a tall gold mount. Below ran four circles of costly pearls. The broad braid of the hat-band, with its crocketed Gothic edging, was set alternately with large oblong sapphires and balas-rubies, in gold rosettes, with a vertical row of three pearls between each pair of stones. Two other rows of pearls ran round the brim. The agraffe which held the pair of plumes, one red, one white, was of gold set with diamonds, balas-rubies and pearls; and the plumes themselves were ornamented with gold and pearls.[13]



Fig. 207  State hat of Charles the Bold, Burgundian, c.1476. Illustration from J.J. Fugger, *Fuggerscher Ehrenspiegel*, Munich, 1555 (Cod.germ.895, 7v). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

Such hats, sometimes with hat-bands that were wreaths of gold and silver, remained symbols of rank into the late fifteenth century. The lively humanist cleric Paolo Santonino, travelling with the Bishop of Caorle through Carinthia, Styria and Carniola in 1485, describes the 'magnificent and well-born knight' Virgil von Groben of Lengberg as wearing at a feast he gave in honour of the bishop 'a dress of cloth of gold, and a green hat, encircled by a wreath of vine-leaves set with pearls, and clasped behind the head by three white roses gleaming or sparkling with pearls'. A few days later he saw a much greater imperial nobleman, Count Leonhard of Görz, wearing a hat of tawny wool, with 'a wreath [*Kränzlein*] or a garland set upon it wrought of interwoven pine-branches or rather twigs, from which hung very many golden scales which, whenever he moved his head, fluttered like flies and shook continually'.[14]

The coif, apparently of Byzantine origin, was already known to the age of Charlemagne as a means of holding the hair in shape, but as an article of jewellery is documented only from the thirteenth century, though this may be due as so often to the disappearance of all records. As early as 1260 Neapolitan documents mention 'a net of pearls with worked gold on which are silver shields as used in arms'. Again in 1310 they speak of 'a net of pearls and little gold balls' and in 1372 and 1376 of 'nets' of gold and pearls with sixteen pieces of gold sewn with pearls, and 'nets of pearls and of gold and pearls with sixteen roses'. Such nets of wirework appear to have been universal in fourteenth-century Europe: thus in 1372 John of Gaunt's treasures included 'a net of gold and precious stones of goldsmith's work set with four balas-rubies and twenty-one large pearls'. There

were however various local fashions in coifs. A royal French account of the mid-fourteenth century speaks of 'coifs in the fashion of Navarre' and another account of 1457 mentions the coifs called *rosels* in the County of Comminges, in the Pyrenees. For such articles of costume jewellery false stones were much used, often intermixed with real stones and pearls: all three coifs listed in 1380 in the inventory of Charles V of France had doublets or such false stones set in them. The heaviest, of gold, was set with pearls, sapphires and red and blue doublets and culminated in a rich frontlet, set with twelve clusters of pearls, each cluster being composed of four pearls with a table diamond in the centre. The frontlet was also set with seven sapphires and six balas-rubies, each being set between two diamonds on either side. A less costly coif was composed of a network of 409 gold wires, set with 100 red stones and 141 clusters of pearls, each cluster set on a pair of poppies. The humblest of all was of cloth, studded with thirty-four false stones in gold settings, other false stones and clusters of pearls.[15]

Some of the nine coifs left in 1405 by Marguerite of Burgundy show a similar use of false stones mixed with pearls: three of them were wholly set with false stones, probably red and blue, and with pearls. Only the principal *coiffe* had important stones: composed of slender gold ribands set with balas-rubies, sapphires and clusters of six large pearls each, it had the largest stones and pearls carefully arranged in 'the front row'. A coif that belonged in 1408 to Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans, was decorated along its frontlet with thirteen clusters of four large pearls, each set with a diamond in the centre, alternating with twelve balas-rubies in collets, and on its crown with two hundred and forty pearls, arranged to make eighty clusters, together with forty sapphires and thirty-nine balas-rubies. The taste of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for an exotic variety of costumes has already been noticed in discussing the various forms of head ornament that Louis of Anjou had in 1379-80. This liking was just as strong a hundred years later in his grandson René of Anjou. We find him buying in 1477 three *coiffes* of Valencia 'all laden with goldsmith's work and little gold flowers' to give to his granddaughters Marguerite de Lorraine and Jeanne de Lorraine, Duchess of Calabria. Later we find the coifs of gold wire so familiar from late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century portraits: in 1474 Gabrielle, Comtesse de Montpensier had one of plain gold wire and another of gold wire shaped 'to make roses'. At the end of the century Anne of Brittany had a head-dress of gold scales enamelled red and white. These were almost certainly special creations, but *coiffes* or nets ornamented with gold and silver were also sold on the open market by mercers. In 1464 a regulation enacted that at all the free markets and fairs of Flanders only the deans or elders of the mercers' guild might sell *webben* (nets) of this kind.[16]

During the later thirteenth and fourteenth century it was still the fashion to spangle rich dresses with ornaments of silver, silver-gilt or even of gold. Called bezants, *gaufres* (wafers),

or spangles, these were motifs cast or more generally pressed into thin sheets of metal. Two fourteenth-century copper moulds for making them survive, one in Hungary (fig.12) and another in the Tønsberg Museum, Norway (figs.10, 11). Probably such moulds were also used for making mounts for girdles. The Hungarian one shows a variety of motifs on both sides — several types of rosette, stylised animals, fleurs-de-lis — and one or two figurated motifs. The Norwegian one, dating from *c.*1350–75, has a series of roundels of scenes from the Passion, decorative motifs in roundels and quatrefoils, Gothic letters in roundels, stars and flower-heads of various kinds. Spangles of this kind when pressed were cut out and stitched to the dress; others by contrast were cast. Small decorative enamels were also made to adorn clothes. Parisian enamels were much favoured for this purpose: an account of 1354 records the purchase by Queen Giovanna of Naples of one hundred and twenty Parisian enamels, eighteen enamelled *rubini* (rubies?) and of sixty other enamels and *rubini*. Another entry records payment for the making of *émaux d'or* (enamels on gold) and the gilding of other enamels that were put on the corset (*cursettus*) belonging to the Queen.

Fig. 208  The Sarnen Christ Child. Dress ornaments: silver-gilt and copper-gilt, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Height of Child 45cm. Swiss, fourteenth century. Kloster St Andreas, Sarnen, Switzerland

And precious stones mounted on precious metal were used as spangles. They could be sewn at random on the cloth. The mantle of an image of the Christ Child (pl.116, fig.208) in the convent of St Andreas at Sarnen in Switzerland is powdered with stamped or punched motifs, either shaped to their own form or in roundels, squares and triangles. Their variety is great: horses, bunches of grapes, sexfoil flower-heads, double roses, stars, acorns and the Agnus Dei, all dating from the mid-thirteenth to early fifteenth century.[17]

Ornaments of this kind were already being worn in 1274, when the courtiers of Philippe III le Hardi of France wore 'samite portrayed with birds all of beaten gold' at his wedding. Again, what may be similar ornaments are recorded in 1294 when Ysabelle, Countess of Flanders, paid Mahieu d'Arras, a great goldsmith of Paris, for 1000 large gilt *doubles* – perhaps circular mounts of the same size as the coin which was known as a *double* – 1000 silver *doubles*, 1000 silver lozenges, and 300 gold lozenges grained with little bosses. It is always possible that these were girdle mounts, but the account below specifies a payment for 150 large gold *doubles* 'to put on to girdles', and this sounds in quantity a much more suitable purchase for the purpose. From early fourteenth-century Aragon we have unequivocal evidence of the use of such gold ornaments on dresses. Their Catalan name appears to have been *magranas*, and a letter from Jaime II to the bailiff of Tortosa, dated 6 July 1304, suggests that they were articles of a luxury commerce, not always easy to obtain.

> It has come to our ears [writes Jaime] that a certain merchant dwelling in Tortosa, of whose name we are ignorant, but he is said to stammer, has one or two dozens of large gold *magranas*. As we have need of these *magranas* for the clothes we are causing to be prepared for the meeting we are shortly to hold with the illustrious kings of Portugal and Castile, they are necessary to us, and we desire to have them, and accordingly . . . command you to seek out or summon the said merchant, and delay not to purchase the said *magranas* and forward them as speedily as may be to us.

Again in 1313 Jaime handed fifteen *magranas* of silver-gilt that had belonged to his dead wife Blanche of Anjou (d.1310) to Jaime the tailor for mounting on a dress which was to be part of the trousseau of his daughter the Infanta Isabel.[18]

If royal personages like Jaime bought gold bezants for special occasions, they also bought them for such usual mediaeval occasions for celebration and magnificence as the *relevailles* of a great lady after a successful childbirth. In 1343 the Argentier of the King of France bought seven and a half ounces of gold of the touch 'to make *gaufres* of goldsmith's work' for the dresses the Queen of France gave to the children of Philippe, King of Navarre on the occasion of their mother's *relevailles*. Such spangles were in common use by the middle of the fourteenth century: the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, contains a large collection captured by the Danes at the battle of Visby in 1361. They remained favourite ornaments for many decades. A payment in

the French royal accounts of 1387 records a payment to the goldsmith Simon Soulas of Paris for '943 spangles of silver-gilt, shaped as lozenges, each with a little ring at the end, for putting and setting on two short loose *houppelandes* of red velvet' which were being made for Charles VI and his brother Louis. As we have seen these ornaments were often made on bronze or copper moulds, or else cut from sheet metal. The latter process seems to have been often the province of goldbeaters rather than of goldsmiths, though court goldsmiths certainly made and continued to make spangles for their lords. An early mention of goldbeaters in this connection appears in late fourteenth-century French royal accounts. In 1388–9 Charles VI had gold spangles of his device of broom-cods made for two doublets (*pourpoints*), one for himself and one for his brother, Louis. The gold was bought from a *changeur*, Gabriel Closier, and handed over to the *orbateur* (goldbeater) Estienne Despernon 'to be flattened and put into sheets to be shaped and cut into the form of broom-cods'.[19]

Spangles were just as popular in England as in France. In 1390–1 Henry of Lancaster, later King Henry IV, but then Earl of Derby and on a crusade to Prussia, was keeping a goldsmith of Königsberg busy making spangles with his device of forget-me-nots. And in 1391–2 he paid Henry Goldbeter for making 320 leaves of forget-me-not, obviously by the same process of beating out gold into sheets and then cutting it into shape which was used by Despernon. Spangles continued to be made in the fifteenth century and in England at any rate the making of them became something of a craft on its own. In mid-fifteenth-century London we find records of a number of specialist makers of spangles who had all been apprentices to goldbeaters or to goldsmiths who were also goldbeaters. The occasion for recording their names was an ordinance of the Goldsmiths' Company, who supervised this branch of the craft as well as all others, confirming on 28 May 1441 regulations about the making of spangles, and fixing the price of the several sorts of spangle, white, gilt and double-gilt. The four makers who are named in the ordinance assented to it 'in the name of all their fellowship', so the craft was evidently larger than might appear. Evidently London was the centre of the craft in England, for the ordinance regulated the price at which spangles could be sold to provincial goldsmiths. They were still a common feature of princely dress in 1480, when Edward IV paid a goldsmith named Selys for 155 ounces' weight of large and small silver-gilt spangles, handing over in part exchange 279 ounces of spangles and water-flowers – these last evidently a royal device.[20]

There can be no doubt that the trend to extravagant richness of display in costume was encouraged by the vogue among men for tight-fitting, short dress, previously only worn for riding on horseback. During the second quarter of the fourteenth century this ousted the long robes of the past among young men especially. Not only was such a style in itself a vainer fashion in its encouragement of sexual display, but it imposed the need

for buttons to fasten the dress tightly and so introduced another means of exhibiting wealth modishly in buttons of silver, amber and pearl. At the same time rich decoration of buttons and jewellery figured much more prominently on women's dress. The fashion for short tight dress is generally said to have reached France and Italy from Catalonia in the late 1330s, and it is usually assumed that it was Spanish in origin. We know that it had reached Naples for certain by January 1335, when King Robert published a decree complaining of the new men's fashion for wearing short tight tunics that reached no lower than the buttocks. But in the Imperial lands of Germany, Bohemia, Austria and Switzerland there was already a vogue in the late 1320s for just such scanty, close-fitting costume. As later it was the combination of peacock fantasy with sexual provocativeness that shocked the austere clerics who made up the majority of fourteenth-century chroniclers. Thus the contemporary Bohemian chronicler, Petrus von Zittau (d.1339) noted sardonically under the year 1329:

> the diversity and deformity of clothes are as great as the diversity of deformed minds inwardly dictates. He who can think up a new fashion thinks himself the happiest of men. Dress is exceedingly short and tight, with a rag that hangs down from the tunic, which flutters like an ass's ear.

And another chronicler adds: 'Two servants have to dress their lord on account of the tightness of his dress and do it with difficulty'. To this unbecoming and ridiculous costume, he remarks, were superadded ornaments of gold and silver. An anonymous chronicler of Leoben, writing of Austria and Styria, also complains of the new and fanciful inventions in costume that appeared there after the death of Albrecht I, King of the Romans (1308). Some wore sleeves of different colours, while others extended the left sleeve until it was longer than the tunic it belonged to, and others again ornamented it with silk embroidery or silver ornaments, or hung little silver tubes from it by silken threads. Some sewed patches of a different colour decorated with letters of silver or of silk on the breast of their tunics — another reference that dates the introduction of the mode for wearing letters of silver on costume or in jewellery to the early fourteenth century.[21]

Dresses richly decorated with silver letters of this kind still were being worn in the imperial lands during the third quarter of the fourteenth century. In 1365 a Pole living in Venice who is called Giovanni in Venetian documents was accused of stealing 'many silver letters' from a tunic and hood belonging to a certain Artelino da Vildech who from his name must have been a German. Giovanni had gone with three German accomplices to an inn where Artelino was staying. One of his companions named Heinrich then went upstairs alone and came down with a tunic and hood 'furnished with silver and letters of silver'. The four promptly proceeded to strip both garments of the 'silver and silver letters' stitched to them.[22] Two examples of such silver letters from Bohemia (pl.117), Gothic in form and so presumably dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, still survive in the National Museum at Prague to give us some impression of their appearance. It is also possible that silver-gilt letters, B,G and H stitched to various parts of the mantle of the Christ Child of Sarnen (pl.116, fig.208) are letters of this kind. They seem to date from the early fifteenth century. A B is decorated with a motif of chained hearts and clasped hands below a crown, and the motto *nie . liebers . wilt* (nevermore shall I love), and there are mottoes on other letters too. These are secular in spirit. An O and a T formed as a device of a tau cross and an omega has the appropriate inscription VERBVM . DOMINI . MANDINET [*sic*]. FIRMVM (The word of the Lord shall remain firm). It is of later date than the other three.

An anonymous Parisian chronicler, probably Jean de Venette, records an upsurge in luxury of jewelled costume among French noblemen and knights in 1356, during the second of two decades when there was a revolution in fashion in France.

> In the year 1356 there was a very great increase in pomp and licentiousness of costume among many persons of noble and knightly rank. Whereas they had already assumed curtailed dresses that were far too short, they now in this year began to deform themselves even more sumptuously, wearing pearls on their chaperons and belts of silver-gilt or silver, and adorning themselves curiously all over with divers gems and precious stones. So richly did everyone, from great to small, heap on himself such wantonnesses, that pearls and stones were sold for a great price, and could scarcely be bought in Paris. Indeed I remember seeing two pearls that a man had lately bought for eight deniers which he sold at this time for ten livres. They began too to wear bird's plumes, stuck in hats.

The same chronicler tells us that the fashion for short tunics began about 1340 among French nobles and squires and their retainers, and was taken up by some bourgeois and almost all serving men. The fashion for pearl-embroidered chaperons still prevailed in 1369 in Gascony at any rate, for in that year Bertrand de Cardaillac, Seigneur of Bioule, owned a chaperon of dark-blue cloth embroidered with fine pearls intermingled with eagles embroidered with pearls.[23]

The disapproval the French chronicler expresses for such wanton display of luxury, all the more because it was made against a background of grim war and taxation, continued to be felt by the puritanical everywhere. In England William Staunton of County Durham, who wrote a description of a vision of hell he claimed to have been vouchsafed in 1409 in St Patrick's Purgatory in Donegal, declared that he saw burning in hell

> diverse men and women, and summe that I knew when thei levid in the world. As it appered there to my sight I saw summe there with colers of gold abowte here neckis, and sum of silver, and summe men y saw with gay girdels of silver and gold, and harneist hornes abowte here neckes, summe with mo jagges on here clothes than hole cloth, sum hire clothis full of gyngeles and belles of silver al over sette, and summe with long pokes on hire sleves; and women with

gownes trayling bihinde them a moche space, and summe other with gay chapelets on hir hedes of gold and perles and other precious stones.

All this show of vanity was being suitably and properly punished by foul fiends. These two passages show how widespread costume richly decorated with jewellery became in the second half of the fourteenth century, and probably the vogue for all-over spangling of dress did not pass until the second quarter of the fifteenth century, if then.[24]

Under the Valois kings of the middle and late fourteenth century French royal and princely costume could be surpassingly rich. Such splendour was of course part of the display of magnificence which contemporary opinion expected of princes. Writing of Queen Jeanne of France (d.1378), wife of Charles V, Christine de Pisan commends not only her dignified and honourable style of living, but the magnificent state she kept and the stateliness of her dress at the solemnities held on each of the great festivals of the year or at the visit of some great prince.

In what great dignity was this queen crowned or arrayed with great richness of jewels, dressed in royal habits, ample, long and floating, in the precious mantles that are called royal copes or mantles, made of the most precious cloths of gold or silk, ornamented and glittering with rich stones and precious pearls on girdles, sets of buttons and cloak clasps. These dresses she changed several times at different hours of the day, according to the customs of royalty and ceremonial occasions, so that it was a wonder to behold this noble queen at such solemnities.

She commends Jeanne's husband Charles, too, for having new coronation robes made, 'the richest that were ever seen, so far as is known: all the robes worked with fine and large pearls, and even shoes'. These were shown to visiting princes at Saint Denis, together with the great cupboards containing wonderfully rich jewels, including the rich coronation crown, which Charles also had had made 'in which at the top is a large balas-ruby, of the value of 30,000 francs, and in it there are two other fine precious stones: and this crown is worth much money'.[25]

Contemporary documents bear out Christine's eulogies of Valois magnificence. A great *houppelande* of dark azure, inventoried after the death of King Jean le Bon of France in London in 1364, was trimmed with 'borders of goldsmith's work around the sleeves of pearls with little diamonds and little balas-rubies; and with borders of gold thread round the collar and on the chest'. In 1368 his son Louis, Duke of Anjou, pawned a *cote* or sleeved tunic of pinkish scarlet, which was embroidered in large pearls with six principal circles, two on the sleeves, two on the chest and two on the back, each enclosing six smaller circles of pearls, containing alternately a balas-ruby or sapphire. In the centre of each large circle was a large heart, wholly executed in big pearls, and set with a balas-ruby, the whole on a design of trees executed in pearls. Even lesser noblemen wore fantastically ornamented dress: in 1407 for instance, the Sieur de Graville, a Norman lord, rode out from Rouen in a dress whose sleeves

were decorated with two hundred gold coins, arranged to form a pattern of trefoils, while the chaperon was stitched with fifty English gold nobles.[26]

Valois splendour was emulated in England. In 1377 among the plate and goods which Richard II pawned to the City of London in return for a loan of £5000, were two hoods, one scarlet, embroidered with rubies, balas-rubies, diamonds, sapphires and large pearls, the other of murrey embroidered with pearls, a hat of blue satin embroidered with stones and pearls, two beaver hats embroidered with pearls, a coat of cloth of gold, with a green ground, with buttons of gold bells, and embroidered with large pearls round the collar and sleeves, and a doublet of tawny satin, its sleeves embroidered with stones and pearls. His Lancastrian rivals were hardly less splendid. At his death in 1422 Henry V not only left gold spangles with his device of an antelope to the weight of 42 ounces and the value of £41 10s – then a great sum – and spangles of silver-gilt weighing ten pounds ten ounces worth £16 16d, but an *hanselin* (military tunic) 'embroidered with trees and having divers *nouches* [brooches] everywhere, of 370 pearls of one sort, ten ounces of other pearls, twenty balas-rubies and twenty sapphires'. He also had two gold *cornets* or horn-shaped cases, to wear on the end of his chaperons, one set with six balas-rubies and sixteen pearls, the other with eight diamonds, twenty-four pearls of one sort, and 115 pearls of other sorts.[27]

The fashion for letters and devices we have so often encountered also affected costume. As we have already seen, tunics decorated with letters had appeared in Austria c.1310. They are mentioned in England in 1342–3 and can be seen on the dress of a Lombard nobleman in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) of *Lancelot du Lac*, which is embroidered with a Gothic letter b. By the early 1340s they were common enough in Siena for the Comune to include dresses, chaperons and headgear adorned with letters specifically among the types of richly ornamented clothing whose wearing was prohibited. Dresses adorned with devices also became increasingly popular in the later fourteenth century. They continued popular into the fifteenth century: in 1464 Bernhard von Rohrbach of Frankfurt was wearing hose embroidered on the left leg with a silver scorpion and four Ms and a cloak embroidered with four Us, signifying *Mich Mühet Manch Mal Untreu Unglück und Unfall* (Sometimes do disloyalty, unhappiness and misfortune pursue me).[28]

Given the later fourteenth century's taste for lavish splendour, it is not surprising to find the art of the court goldsmith frequently invoked to enhance these fashions. We can follow them at their most sumptuous among the four great Valois princes. In 1379–80 Louis of Anjou and his duchess had a number of dresses embroidered with designs in pearls and enriched with goldsmiths' work. A 'very rich and noble' short corset or tabard of scarlet velvet was thickly embroidered with eagles in profile in large fine white pearls, each with beaks and claws of stamped gold and an eye of black glass. The intervals

between the eagles were filled with a design of trefoils and knots of pearls and foliated hawthorn stems. Each of the pearl knots enclosed a crown, also of stamped gold, while from the ends of some of the hawthorn branches hung columbines or pine-cones, also in stamped gold. In all there were 278 eagles, 140 knots of pearls, 140 gold crowns, 132 gold columbines and 184 gold pine-cones. And the garment was equipped with separate matching sleeves, similarly decorated.[29]

Probably the most lavish of all four princes in his expenditure on jewelled dress was Louis's brother, Duke Philippe of Burgundy. The wedding clothes made from 1367 onwards in preparation for his marriage to Marguerite of Flanders displayed prominently her family badge of a swan in pearls and jewels. On 15 May 1367 the duke bought from Jehan and Louis Tartarin, Genoese merchants established in Paris, '55 large fine orient pearls to make a swan to wear on his mantle'. In September of the following year he paid Lorencin Malaquin, goldsmith of Paris, for setting twenty-eight balas-rubies in gold *chatons* 'to put into the chaperon [hood] of pearls which Monseigneur's embroiderer, Robin de Varennes, is making for him', and in the October following he bought an ounce and twelve sterlings of pearls for the same chaperon. Later the swan figured in pearls on his livery and ceremonial dress: in February 1372 the same Robin de Varennes was paid for a hose of the livery of Flanders 'on which are swans of pearls, which have balas-rubies on the breast'. Another hose of the livery of Flanders, for which Robin was paid at the same time, had personal, not family devices — it was sewn with the letters P and M and marguerites of pearls. Swans reappeared in 1375 on the 'robe of pearls' embroidered for the Duke by Henriet de Compiègne, a court embroiderer of Dijon, with chaplets and swans and leverets of pearls. For this Philippe's court goldsmith Josset de Halle supplied forty-eight gold letters M, twenty-four small gold leveret collars and seventy-three gold rosettes. Philippe habitually used his wife's emblem of a marguerite: in 1386, for example, he is found paying Jean de Brabant, a goldsmith of Bruges, for sixty-nine gold marguerites that were to be worn sewn upon a *jaque* (a short, close-fitting tunic).[30]

Swans mingled with other devices remained one of the Duke's favourite ceremonial badges. In 1389, for example, for the state entry of Ysabeau de Bavière, the new Queen of France, into Paris, he had a number of rich *pourpoints* made by his embroiderer Robin de Varennes. One of red velvet was richly decorated with squares and lozenges of gold and with forty sheep and forty swans embroidered in pearls on the upper part. Each of the sheep had a little gold bell hanging from its neck, and each of the swans held one in its beak. Set elsewhere on the *pourpoint* were seventy-eight flowers of gold enamelled in *rouge cler*. A second red *pourpoint* was embroidered with pearls and powdered with forty gold suns and forty-six gold flowers enamelled blue from each of which hung a little gold bell shaped as a marguerite. A blue *pourpoint* had an upper part embroidered in a waving pattern (*ondoyé*) with pearls; it was also decorated with ten

large pieces of gold shaped as clouds, each bearing a gold sun and having a number of little gold pendent stars. These ten cloud-shaped pieces were intended as settings for ten large balas-rubies that could be removed for use elsewhere if so desired. A *pourpoint* of green velvet was embroidered with trees, whose trunks and branches were favourite decorative motifs in rich costume during this and the following decades, since they could be made to wind and form patterns over the surface of a garment while being easily adapted to its shape. This *pourpoint* was embroidered with hawthorn and oak, and below with sheep of pearls, each with a gold bell hanging round its neck. To match it Philippe had a gold chain made which was also hung with gold bells and a pair of gold spurs enamelled with sheep.

For the jousts and the ceremonies of the wedding of Louis, the king's brother, held at the same time as the entry of Ysabeau, Philippe also had other rich dresses made for himself, his son Jean, Comte de Nevers, and his nephew Philippe de Bar. Another *pourpoint* of green velvet repeated the themes of the first: it was embroidered with two oak-trees before and behind, with two hawthorn-bushes in pearls and gold on the sleeves, and flocks of sheep in pearls below the trees. The others also bore devices; on one were suns and flowers of gold; another had a pretty pattern of lozenges of gold studs on the breast and sleeves, each lozenge containing alternately a swan and a sheep; a third large clouds and suns of gold, set with ten large balas-rubies and a number of large pearls. A red velvet surcoat for wearing over armour on the first day of the joust was decorated with another pattern of gold lozenges, alternately containing the letter P and a bunch of marguerites.[31]

To celebrate the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens with England, King Charles VI gave a festival there in February and March 1391, and for this Philippe had two superb *houppelandes* made. One was of black velvet and was embroidered on the left sleeve with a great rose-tree branch of gold, having 440 leaves and twenty-two gold roses. Eleven of these roses were set with a central sapphire encircled by six large pearls, while the other eleven had a central balas-ruby in a cluster of six large pearls. In addition the branch had seventeen buds of gold, each inset with a pearl. The sixty-six gold buttonholes of the *houppelande* were shaped as stems of the royal device of broom, and from the stems hung forty broom-cods of gold, forty double Ps, for Philippe, and forty Ys probably for Philippe's device Y ME TARDE, all also of gold, and eleven balas-rubies, eleven sapphires and forty-four large pearls. The rest of the *houppelande* was also decorated with gold rose-bushes, while round its neck twined a gold branch of roses, set with four large balas-rubies, four large sapphires and eight large pearls.

The second *houppelande* was of crimson velvet, embroidered on either side with two large white bears, each with a collar and muzzle of gold set with twenty-four large balas-rubies, twenty large sapphires, eighty-eight big round pearls and one hundred and forty-six pieces of twisted gold arranged to form

two leads for the bears around the sleeves. At the end of each lead was a large balas-ruby, and the body of the *houppelande* was embroidered in gold thread and sewn with three hundred and seventy-seven gold letters, shaped as double Ps and double Ys, and set with sixty-two balas-rubies, sixty sapphires, and three hundred and sixty-six large pearls. Large and small gold buttons were sewn among these letters. A gold collar of the king's device of broom-cods either hung from or was fastened to the neck: it was set with thirteen square balas-rubies, a large square diamond with ten other diamonds surrounding it, with ten large pearls, and with one hundred and thirty-nine pearls scattered over the collar. The device of broom-cods was encircled by white flowers in enamelled gold and was set with forty-two rubies, two large sapphires, a large diamond, five large pearls and fifty-six smaller ones. The fashion of these two *houppelandes* cost 2977 livres, and the gold with which they were ornamented came to 31 marks 5 ounces.[32]

Occasionally these splendid dresses could produce their problems. In 1396, at the wedding of his niece Ysabelle to Richard II of England, Philippe wore a dress richly sewn with precious stones. One of them, a large balas-ruby, fell off, and the Duke was greatly relieved when one of Charles VI's household officers found and returned it to him. The anecdote shows that the ornaments of such rich dresses were stones and pearls of great value, and that they were worn to astound and dazzle with their magnificence. Philippe's sons Jean, Count of Nevers, and Antoine also wore clothes richly decorated with devices. As youths Jean chose the hop plant for his device, and Antoine (1384–1415) the strawberry plant, in both its varieties, wild and cultivated. On Jean's simpler dresses the device of hop stems encircled the neck, the sleeves, the hips, the wrists; on more elaborate ones it wound over the whole surface. Sometimes, to form a border, it was shown as a hedge or fixed to a palisade. At the jousts celebrating Antoine's wedding in 1402, the knights who took part wore surcoats richly sewn with acorns, half of which were of silver-gilt and half of white silver. For this great occasion his father had made for himself and for his Duchess two robes each of which was richly embroidered in pearls; one pair bore the letters P and M and foliage of several sorts of large round pearls and others; the other pair was sewn with pearls and decorated with balas-rubies, sapphires and gold suns. To his daughter-in-law Marguerite of Bavaria, Comtesse de Nevers, Philippe gave a robe of red satin sewn with foliage embroidered with pearls and the letter Y of his device, and to his daughter the Countess of Savoy two robes embroidered with foliage and the letter A for Amadeo of Savoy, her husband.[33]

In his bitter rivalry with Louis of Orléans, Jean Sans Peur's rich costumes became covered with devices that were no longer a blazonry of conjugal affection or of *amour courtois* or of personal or family pride. Instead they proclaimed the fierceness of his resolve to crush the political pretensions of his cousin. We already know that when Louis took a ragged staff for his device, Jean took a plane and its shavings with the motto *Hic*

*houd* (I hold) to signify that he would plane the staff's rough offensiveness into smooth compliance. In May 1406 he ordered what can only be described as a complete parure of jewels incorporating this device which he subsequently wore at three great royal festivals held during that year. It comprised a gold collar, a scarf, a *poitrail* and a girdle. The collar was composed of twelve trees alternating with twelve planes attached to planks of gold that were two fingers' wide. Each of the trees was set at the top with twelve large pearls, and at the foot with a large balas-ruby; from each plane hung a ring set with a diamond. The scarf was mounted with one hundred and forty gold planes, again set on planks; these were arranged so as to form borders to either edge of the scarf. The field between was sewn with gold hop-flowers, the Duke's device, and set with forty balas-rubies, forty-seven sapphires and three hundred and nine pearls. Between the hop-flowers dangled little gold besants enamelled white, green and black, while from the end of the scarf hung thirty-six gold planes and thirty-six gold planks. Over his shoulders he wore the *poitrail* or mantlet made of three rows of interlacing gold planks. Between the rows hung eighty-five planes, each with a diamond ring suspended from it; and between each pair of planes hung a small flat hop-flower. From the sides of the *poitrail* hung six chains, two at the back, two on the right and two on the left shoulder, and from these hung gold planks and little gold shavings.

The great girdle, made entirely in gold, was formed of interlaced planks on which were set small planes, while from it hung little gold bells alternating with gold planes and gold shavings. For his son Philippe, Comte de Charolais, later Duke Philippe the Good, Jean had a similar *parure* made, but of silver, so marking by the accustomed distinction among the precious metals his own senior rank. It was a sign of reconciliation when at a joust held during one of these ceremonies of 1406, the marriage in July of Ysabelle de France, the former bride of Richard II of England and of Charles d'Orléans, son of the hated Louis, Jean appeared wearing a black dress ornamented with his enemy's device of a ragged staff and its accompanying motto JE L'ENVIE and with other ornaments of gold and silver. But the reconciliation did not last long. In 1413 Jean paid his court goldsmith for a large quantity of 'round white silver shavings' for sewing among the embroideries of a black *jaque*, and in 1416 he paid a great sum for 480 planes, 4450 shavings and 19,000 besants, all of white silver, for sewing on to their sleeves, often the richest part of late mediaeval costume.[34]

For riding out Philippe of Burgundy had made in 1387 a *houppelande* (long robe) and a *jaque* (short close-fitting tunic), both of scarlet velvet, covered with gold letters made by a goldsmith. For his journey with Charles VI in 1392 to the borders of Brittany, where an army was to be assembled, he again commissioned a *haincelin* (military tunic) which was covered together with its chaperon with no less than 800 little letters of silver. Here these letters may have been simply initials signifying the names of the duke and duchess or else Y

for the first word of his device Y ME TARDE, but such letters were also arranged to form words. Certainly this was true of a chaperon worn by Philippe's son, Jean, Comte de Nevers, in 1392, decorated with '800 little silver letters' of his device. Again in all probability the 540 gold letters 'forming forty-five words' that Jean wore on one of his robes in 1395 were simply his motto repeated. There is nothing surprising in the enormous number of letters and other ornaments that could decorate a single piece of costume: two hoods worn by Marguerite of Burgundy at Saint-Omer in 1393 were covered in all with 1900 silver letters and circular motifs of foliage. At times a motif of letters was adopted to blend with that of another device: thus another dress of Jean de Nevers in the 1390s was embroidered with his device of a hop-plant, but its stems were formed alternately of hop-foliage and of letters. On another the hops were arranged in a pattern of chevrons with letters of goldsmiths' work among the stems, presumably signifying the motto (as yet undiscovered) that accompanied the device of hops. Again in 1399 Antoine de Bourgogne, now betrothed to his cousin, Jeanne de Saint-Pol, commissioned a decoration of gold black-berries (*mures*), half enamelled their proper colours, half enamel-led white, and forty-two words 'in each five letters which make the word GENTE' that is gentle, meaning his affianced lady.[35]

This splendour of the Burgundian dukes was equalled by that of Louis of Orléans. In 1387 the royal goldsmith Jehan du Vivier made for him fifteen sets of silver letters all figuring his motto ESPERANCE. Half of the letters of each word were of white or parcel-gilt silver, while the other half were enamelled blue. They were intended to be stitched to the girdle of a short *houppelande* being made by the embroiderer Estienne Bièvre, called Le Hangre. Charles and Louis often appeared in matching dress as befitted affectionate brothers. In 1390 the royal gold-smith Jehan du Vivier was paid for 406 small silver-gilt double broom-cods, shaped as the letter Y, which he had delivered to the royal tailor for stitching onto two short *houppelandes* of black velvet being made for Charles and Louis, and also for a weight of small circular spangles made for stitching on to the wrists of two small satin *pourpoints*, also for wear by the king and his brother. Another pair of *houppelandes* of black velvet for the two was embroidered with eighteen broom-flowers of silver-gilt, while a fourth pair was decorated with 183 flowers of silver-gilt and 183 double broom-cods of fine silver-gilt, again shaped as the letter Y. In designs for the decoration of other robes the goldsmith was even more the partner of the embroiderer, executing details to enhance motifs and their glamour with the glitter and glow of silver or silver-gilt.[36]

Louis also kept his own court goldsmith Hans Croist (Karast) busy making such rich accessories. In February 1394 Croist had completed the ornaments for two *jaques* fastened by twelve buckles and clasps of silver enamelled black and embroidered with the duke's device of wolves and of little swallows in a nest. The wolves wore little collars of gold, from each of which hung a little 'twisted bell', another device of the duke. Louis

also had a long *houppelande* of black satin *rachée*, on which the wolves of his device were left plain: it must have been richly sewn with them, for 271 little gold collars with bells were made in 1393 to put on their necks. Two *houppelandes* of black velvet, made in 1394, one long, one short, were also sewn with wolves, for which fifty-six gold collars, hung each with a Turkish bell, were forged. A less rich *houppelande* of scarlet, bought in 1394, had six dozen silver eaglets as a fastening and seventeen wolf-collars of silver. These dresses were all of a rich minuteness of magnificence; bolder in design must have been a great *houppelande* of black velvet lined with the precious fur of the beaver and embroidered with 'two beasts called tigers' – a royal device – for which Hans Croist executed two gold collars, each with two gold broom-cods dangling from it. Such specially enriched accessories were frequently made for him by Croist. Thus Louis caused Hans to make a large number of collars hung with little bells 'to be put on the dresses of black frieze of Monseigneur's livery'. Six were of gold, with six pendent bells, fifty were of silver-gilt, with a single pendent bell, and forty-six were of silver, of the same fashion as those of silver-gilt. These were probably collars of tissue mounted in precious metal, since they were to be 'put on' the liveries; probably this was true also of a gold collar made by the same goldsmith which was intended for the scarlet robe, lined with sable of the Duke of Burgundy.[37]

By the early fifteenth century there was a sophisticated wish to surprise with novelty as well as with richness. In 1414 Charles d'Orléans paid for 960 pearls which had been used to embroider the sleeves of a tunic wih the words of the song *Madame, je suis plus joyeulx*, together with its musical notes. Four pearls 'in a square' were used to make each of the 142 notes, making 568 pearls in all. The same Charles paid a court goldsmith, also in 1414, for some forty-seven marks' worth of silver 'worked in the manner of scales' which were stitched on to mounts of green-brown cloth and applied to the sleeves of nine *houppelandes*. Sometimes the decoration must have had an almost three-dimensional richness. In 1420 the Dauphin Charles, later Charles VII, in spite of the desperate financial straits of the monarchy, had a *huque* (short tunic) of red velvet brocaded with gold 'gilt and worked with bezants and moving leaves'. These leaves were evidently his device, for in March 1422 he paid Pierre Pictement, goldsmith of Bourges, for sixteen marks' worth of silver-gilt 'great pieces' – evidently leaves – each hanging by two chains that decorated a robe made for him in December 1421 to wear at a wedding. They also appeared on a *huque* of black cloth, together with bezants in the form of lozenges and little white basins, evidently another of Charles' devices. Yet a third, a gold sun, appeared in 1420 on a black ceremonial *huque* 'of the Italian fashion'.[38]

There is some evidence of greater simplicity of court dress in later fifteenth-century France. L. Piponnier, who has studied the costumes of the house of Anjou in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notes that in the fifteenth there is much less

use of embroidery, and little use of pearls or precious stones. By contrast the tradition of these dresses stiff with gold and jewelled ornaments continued long with the Dukes of Burgundy. In 1468 Charles the Bold had

> a short dress of velvet on crimson velvet, garnished at the bottom, under the fold of the girdle, on one side with twelve great balas-rubies and eight large pointed diamonds, and on the other side with eighteen balas-rubies, each smaller than the other and of various sorts, and in the middle is a little brooch garnished with a blue pointed diamond with four good pearls around it – Item with two long pearls, pear-shaped, dangling from two gold collets, and on the waist of the said robe, below the girdle are 73 good pearls of various sorts, and below are several pearls, both large and small both before and behind, at the sides and round the said robe and none are missing.[39]

These examples are largely from France and England. But rich garments adorned with gold, silver and pearls were worn else-where. We already know of rich hats from Italy and Aragon. With the general spread of luxury in the early fourteenth century an Italian chronicler is found complaining in 1313 of reckless display. 'Dresses are seen of exquisite material and art and excessively ornamented. On them are gold, silver, pearls, wondrously wrought, wide-spreading embroideries, linings of silk or of various stuffs or of exotic furs'. Here too opulence culminated in the later fourteenth century. The dresses that Valentina Visconti brought with her from Milan to Paris in 1389 were probably the high point of North Italian princely magnificence of the late fourteenth century. She had a hooded *cote-hardie* (sleeved robe) of scarlet worked in *sighette* (rows?) with borage flowers and sewn with pearls of price. Another *cote-hardie* was of murrey and its hood was worked with scrolls among flowers and foliage, a third of green with ears of corn in pearls and diamonds held by gold thread on a field sewn with large pearls. Her *houppelandes* (long robes) were of scarlet worked with diamonds and seed-pearls, of reddish-purple embroidered with hats and rose-leaves and buttons (or buds), of a stuff of *racelli d'oro* (branches?) with rosettes of pearls, and hood and sleeves decorated with clusters of pearls. Her cousin Elisabetta Visconti in 1396 had as part of her dowry a *cote-hardie* of purple velvet whose sleeves were embroidered with branchage, appar-ently executed in pearls, for the sleeves bore 413 large pearls, valued at three florins each, and 1658 smaller pearls. Such richness was unrivalled among Italian male princes, but in 1390 we find Amadeo VII of Savoy buying four marks' weight of fine silver worked as acorns to put on a *hannequine*.[40]

In opulent Venice ornaments of gold and silver and pearls were so frequently paraded on dresses that the city authorities had to forbid their wear. Buttons (*peroli*) or button-like orna-ments of various sorts were sported, of gold, amber, silver engraved and enamelled, silver-gilt, crystal, mother-of-pearl and copper. They were worn up the sleeves and later on the front of garments. Their manufacture became a specialised

trade of the city with a far-flung market – in 1323 Queen Maria of Naples had a stock of ten small silver buttons 'of Venetian work' – and they were often sold by the gross. Braids of gold and silver or of pearl embroidery were sold in the Merceria. Bezants (*stampe*), *duploni* and other gold ornaments for stitching on the dress and girdle were in high favour. We have some information about their motifs: a lot of forty *stampe* of silver-gilt mentioned in 1361 bore the arms of the great Corner family. Others were leaf-shaped or star-shaped – at his death in 1365 Doge Lorenzo Celsi had 'six *stampe* worked in the fashion of stars'. So popular did they become with all classes in Friuli that in 1340 San Bertrando, Patriarch of Aquileia, solemnly forbade all women subject to his authority, whether ladies or not, to wear bezants (*duplones*) of gold, silver or silk above a certain limited value, and then they must not wear them scattered profusely, but only on braids 'round the neck, sleeves, breast and below according to the degree the dress is open and around the openings in the sides'. Some fourteenth-century documents show how commonly they were worn in this part of Italy. A girl of the Accarisio family of Trieste, who married the Venetian patrician Antonio Erizzo in 1371, brought among her jewels a *guarnaccia* (robe) decorated with fifty bezants (*stampe*) of silver, while in 1397 Serena Guberiti, a lady of Friuli, on marriage to the noble Vicardi dei Colloredo brought in her dowry 'many lions and figures of silver-gilt belonging to one of her *guarnaccie* (gowns)'.[41]

One or two references suggest the sumptuousness of fourteenth-century Venetian costume. We hear in 1339 of a supertunic belonging to the wife of Giannino, son of the Doge Francesco Dandolo, which was garnished with large silver buttons or hooks for fastening and decorated with stamped or embossed ornaments (*pressure*) of silver-gilt, and of the same lady's scarlet tunic trimmed with borders of pearls. In 1353 we read of a lady's scarlet tunic whose sleeves each had eighteen silver buttons, and in 1398 of a robe 'half mulberry and half green with 88 silver buttons'. No wonder that in 1334 the Senate forbade the wearing of any ornament by men on their dress 'of pearl braiding or gold or silver braiding or of *stampe* of gold or silver' except for buttons of pearl or silver on the sleeves and a brooch on the cloak. Such luxury was also found in some of the subject-cities of the Republic. In 1323 the Irish Franciscan pilgrim Simon Symeonis (FitzSimon) says of the head-dresses of the women of Zara in Dalmatia: 'they are wonderfully adorned. Some of them wear on the head a horned ornament like owls, others one that is oblong and square, others one that is huge and round, and adorned on the front part with precious stones.'[42]

Display was not confined to the rich and respectable of Venice. In 1365 Anna of Sclavonia, a courtesan, wore two stamped links of silver and a silver button on her dress, a silver head ornament set with pearls, a scarlet hood with a border of gold, and a fine and heavy silver girdle. In spite of the enactments, ornaments became ever richer and more splendid and in 1390 the Senate found itself obliged to forbid the wearing on the

head of balas-rubies, sapphires, emeralds, diamonds, rubies, topazes and pearls. Elsewhere in other great cities of Italy there was equal display. Passing on to Candia in Crete, which then belonged to the Venetians, Simon FitzSimon remarks in 1323: 'the women of the Latins, like those of the Genoese, are commonly adorned with gold, gleaming pearls and other sparkling gems'. The Milanese chronicler Galvano Fiamma, writing of the years 1328 to 1342, tells us that it was the custom of the ladies and maidens of Milan to sit at their doorways on feast days 'shining with so many ornaments of gold, silver, enamels and pearls that they seem to be queens or princesses; their ornaments stretch from their heads to their feet'. And he complains in 1340 that the young men of Milan and the women too were changing their traditional dress for immodest new costume. Florence also, where dress had been of a primitive simplicity, began to become luxuriously fashion-conscious from the last decade of the thirteenth century.

Matters grew even worse towards the end of the fourteenth century, as we have already seen in Venice. In Genoa, according to Benvenuto da Imola, writing c.1389, even the bakers' wives wore shoes of silk garnished with pearls. Giovanni de' Mussis, the chronicler of Piacenza, complains in 1388 not only of the expensive jewels worn by the ladies of his city, but of their trailing, deep-sleeved dresses of rich stuffs sometimes worth sixty ducats of gold – silk velvet, cloth of scarlet, silk cloth of gold, cloth of gold, or simply silk cloth. 'And sometimes', he adds, 'they put from three to five ounces of pearls on some of these dresses, worth up to ten florins an ounce. Others of them have broad trimmings of gold all round the collar at the throat that are as wide as a dog's collar, and again round the ends of the sleeves, and of the under-sleeves. Small hoods too are worn trimmed all round with large braids of gold and pearls. And they walk out girdled round the middle with fair girdles handsomely wrought of silver-gilt and pearls worth up to twenty-five florins per girdle, more or less. And this is not the worst; the open-necked dresses called *ciprianae* are even more immodest: they show the breasts and not only are they decorated with much the same ornaments, but they are decorated from the throat to the ground with little balls of silver-gilt, or of pearls. Besides mantles trimmed at the throat with little balls of silver or pearls to a span's width, some ladies wear paternosters of red coral, or amber'. The short, tight-fitting garments of the young men are just as indecent, and indecently trimmed with borders of silver or pearls. 'And many ladies and young men now wear round their necks collars or circles of silver or silver-gilt or of pearls or red coral.'[43]

Things were no better in late fourteenth-century Catalonia. The Dominican Francesco Eiximenis (before 1327–1409) also inveighs against the dissoluteness and pride modern girls and women display in their dress in his *Llibre de les Dones*, composed shortly after 1382 as a guide to virtuous women.

Now maidens wear on their heads ornaments exceeding all rule and measure. They wear hats like men with badges and plumes, and they wear too crowns and diadems. The married women wear yellow head-dresses and exquisite fashions of hair ribands . . . and secondly they wear their head-dresses, coif, and veils fastened by needles and pins of silver with gilt heads, and by brooches of enamelled gold set with precious stones and pearls of great price, which often add great weight to their clothes and finery. Thirdly, in order to augment their beauty they wear dresses of the most precious stuffs they can afford, so much so that many of them are better attired beyond compare than the altars on which mass is celebrated and Christ consecrated. They are clad in cloth of gold and silks, of scarlet, of crimson, of olive, of brocade, and other vestures that are precious, splendid and sumptuous, variously cut and shaped. . . . And with all this they always endeavour to ensure that the fashion of their garments is the maddest they can find, for they wear them not for solid usefulness – wide at the breast so that the greater part of their body can be seen, so narrow at the waist that you marvel why the tightness does not stifle them and make them burst. Then along the borders and edges they set trimmings of ermine and marten whose only use is to impede their walk. And of such dresses they desire to have many in quantity even though this angers their husbands and puts them to great cost. Under them, in order to display their delicacy and sumptuousness, they wear delicate chemises with broad sleeves full of stripes and laces which make a great show and are very curiously wrought and precious. And they wear long skirts, trailing along the ground cloth and silk that might clothe a pauper in distress. . . . Then they wear false hair on their heads, peradventure that belonged to dead women, a thing that ought to cause them fright and fear of wearing such a thing on their persons. But all this they undergo and suffer for the sake of appearing beautiful: they arrange these false hairs artificially on themselves, high on one side, low on the other in such fashion that they may appear more beautiful than they are. Without any necessity moreover they attach purses that contain no money to themselves to make an appearance: they swell their fingers with many rings that are very precious and curiously wrought. They paint their faces, and darken their eyes, labouring to appear better in beauty than God has made them, lengthening with paint and colour their eyebrows and making them seem thinner than they are. Then even though gloves were invented to protect the hands against the winter's cold, they wear them during the greatest heats of summer, so as to keep their hands more delicate by means of such filthy cases and ornaments. They cut their nails after divers fashions, endeavouring to ensure that they are differently coloured in different parts, the whole being directed to offend God by such a carnal use. They employ braidings to adorn their clothes, and wear shoes and hose that are slashed and ribbons of many colours in their slippers to seem refined and show themselves off. . . . They speak in

special fashions of their own, with very refined words and low voices, with gestures and motions of the head and mouth which they also study before the mirror in order to make themselves even more effeminate, exchanging compliments with themselves as with a man. So far as they can, they try to see themselves in the mirror from head to toe, opening their mouths to see how to display their teeth to the most advantage and what shape is the best.[44]

Matters were no better in the Castile of the 1430s. In his lively anti-feminist satire, *El Corbacho* (1438), the Arcipreste of Talavera, chaplain to King Juan II of Castile, makes a jealous woman complain:

Ay, and how richly dressed did So-and-So walk out on Easter Sunday. Good scarlet cloth with linings of marten, a petticoat of Florentine stuff trimmed with vair, the worked border a palm's width, skirts with a train of ten palms' length dragging behind her, lined with brocade, a sable-lined mantle with its collar falling half-way over the shoulders and with brocade sleeves, paternosters of gold and twelve to the ounce, a bracelet of pearls — how costly was each pearl! Earrings of gold that dangled the whole length of the neck and a coif with an edging of fleur-de-lis with much silver work — they blinded my eyes: a bodkin that was so well-worked and so rich it was the flower of all, of thread of fine gold with much pearl-work; the false side-pieces of hair with dangling ornaments of gold and particoloured cambric, all patterned with fig-leaf, much silverwork hung about her in round besants and birds' tongues and *retronchetes* [spangles?] and with very rich lace. In addition a silk veil that covered her face, making her look like the queen of Sheba, so that she might seem more beautiful; bracelets of amber set in gold; ten or twelve rings, in which are two diamonds, a sapphire, two emeralds; gloves lined with sable to give with their scent a shine to her face and to exude her perfumes — she was as bright as a sword with that distilled water of hers. A girdle of silk with mounts of gold, her head adorned with a crescent-shaped brooch, very prettily worked, high clogs [*chapines*], six inches or a little less high, painted, of brocade.

In another passage he complains that in a woman's coffers you will not find the Hours of the Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, nor histories of saints nor a Psalter in the vulgar tongue, but songs, ballads, love-letters and many other such follies; aids to the toilet, and 'beads, corals, threaded pearls, collars of gold and particoloured stuff, enriched with fine stones'. They seem like women mercers or sellers of second-hand clothes, hiding all they can get in their chests and coffers.

When they begin to open them, you find they have here seed-pearls, there rings, here earrings, there purses, wimples worked with silk, and a silk veil, head ornaments, three or four linen cloths, richly ornamented cambrics, Catalan head-dress, *tressoirs* adorned with silver, embroidered purses, coifs, bodkins, bodices, hair-nets, cords, trains, bracelets of seed-pearl and black beads, others of blue beads, ten thousand to

each bracelet, of various workmanship, gorgets of silk, of wimple — stuff and thin linen, embroidered and trimmed with lace, sleeves for chemises of wimple — stuff belonging to their bridal apparel, embroidered chemises — these have no equal — sleeves with wrists that are crimped or to be crimped, others that are embroidered or to be embroidered, dozens of handkerchiefs by the dozen, and more still, purses and girdles very richly worked with gold and silver, pins, a mirror, a vessel for eye-blackener, a comb, a sponge with gum to smooth the hair, an ivory bodkin, silver tweezers to pull out any little hair that may appear, a concave mirror to examine the face.[45]

Rich fantasy and luxury of dress were found everywhere in feudal Europe during the late fourteenth century. When the tomb of Radu I, Voivode of Wallachia from 1374 till his death in 1385, was opened in 1920, he was found to be wearing a tight crimson tunic of late fourteenth-century type, decorated at the neck, on the chest and under the girdle with braids embroidered with undulating designs in pearls. The tunic was fastened down the centre by gold buttons, and another row of gold buttons ran along the bottom of the sleeves. Under the tunic was a vest, also embroidered with pearls. On his head he wore a circlet composed of a cord wound round with rows of pearls to form a pattern of lozenges. At the back it was fastened by a gold chain, and had a tress that fell on to the nape of the neck. Round his hips was slung the broad girdle embroidered in gold thread and pearls and with a gold buckle that we have already discussed. This costume, so different from the costumes of the court of Constantinople, of whose Orthodox Church Radu was a devout member, is probably a faithful image of the costumes worn at the court of his nominal suzerain, Louis the Great of Hungary. Presumably many of its elements had been brought to the princely residence of Curtea de Arges either from Buda or by wandering Italian merchants.[46]

As in France and England, so elsewhere: if the apogee of luxury was reached between 1380 and 1420, splendid dress and jewels continued to be worn throughout the decades that followed. Even in impoverished fifteenth-century Siena a victualler could leave rich robes with silver clasps, a silver-mounted girdle of black silk with a brocade fringe, gold rings, coral paternosters, buttons of silver-gilt and of pearls, and 'a small jewel with a large Scotch pearl and a little ruby'. In 1465 the great Bohemian nobleman Leo of Rozmital and his suite set out on their travels wearing 'red embroidered with gold and velvet and pearls on the sleeves'. Juan II of Aragon (1397–1479) never wore anything but silk or brocade with a chain of gold or pearls about his neck. But some fifteenth-century kings seem to have dressed for contrast with deliberate sobriety and sombreness. Louis XI of France was notorious in this respect, but Henry IV of Castile and Henry VI of England were also sober or sombre in dress. And Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples 'generally dressed in black with a badge in his hat or a chain of gold round his neck'.[47]

In theory, jewellery of gold and gems was restricted to the higher estates of society, and we have already seen that it was not the policy of any mediaeval government, feudal or communal, to encourage the wearing of rich jewels below these estates. Aspiration in men, and extravagance and display in women were checked with equal firmness but also, it is plain, with equal ineffectiveness. The impression of the jewellery worn by the well-to-do of the lower estates that we obtain from documents is of a far greater simplicity in general. Much was of silver-gilt, rather than of gold: Chaucer is conscious of the distinction when he speaks of the 'silver schene' of the St Christopher worn by his Yeoman Forester. Much of this work in silver or silver-gilt must often have been coarser or even cruder in execution than gold jewellery – this at least is what is suggested by the Swedish treasures – though it must be emphasised that fine workmanship is quite often found in silver jewellery. And, in spite of an ethic of simplicity and plainness, clearly certain wealthy bourgeois and the patrician ladies of great Italian, Flemish, French and English cities often had jewellery that aped in richness that of the high seigneurial estates. This picture of general simplicity with patrician opulence is certainly what is suggested for wealthy cloth-working Flanders by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century wills and documents. At her entry into Bruges in 1301 Jeanne de Navarre, the new Countess of Flanders, is said to have exclaimed on seeing the ladies of the town: 'I thought there had been only one queen in France, but here there are more than six hundred'.

A first great test of aspiration in mediaeval bourgeois jewellery, especially among women, is when we find a full range being worn of the various types of jewellery in use in the Middle Ages, not just a girdle and rings, which were near-universal ornaments of both sexes. The second great test is the wearing of rich jewellery of gold, which was normally worn only by those of high degree. Again we must except gold rings, which were worn by all who had standing or prosperity of some kind. Quite a number of Flemish fourteenth-century wills from the patrician or bourgeois classes of Douai and Tournai reveal jewellery with one or both these characteristics. In 1331 Thomas le Mournier of Douai left his two daughters all the jewels 'appertaining to women' that he might have at his death; 'that is to say, girdles, chaplets, head ribands [doroirs], brooches, rings, silk purses and silk chaperons'. He must have been a man of great substance, for among his plate were gold or gold-mounted vessels. Other references suggest what these jewels may have been. In 1318 Marie de Phalempin of Tournai made bequests of a gold brooch and a small gold

ring. The jewellery of Catherine Hangouwart of Lille was much richer: in her will of 1327 she leaves her niece Catherine 'my good chaplet of gold, my best brooch, all my pearls'. Jehane Couwette of Tournai made a bequest in 1325 of a sapphire for a brooch or clasp, while Jehenne Brunielle, also of Tournai, made bequests in 1327 of 'my best amber paternosters that belonged to my mother,' of an Agnus Dei and of a girdle. In the same year the échevins of Tournai delivered plate and jewels to a Demoiselle Marie – demoiselle was a title borne by ladies who were not of noble birth – that were her part of an inheritance, possibly that of a certain Katerine de Bourghielle, for other jewels were also surrendered to her by the Demoiselle de Bourghielle 'by the accord of their friends'. She received two sapphires, two emeralds, buttons of precious stone and buttons of enamelled silver, two chaplets of bisette mounted with gold and embroidered with pearls, a head-band (doroir) and a great gold brooch.[1]

There was equal richness in the middle of the century. In 1350 Demoiselle Maigne Cauwette of Tournai had a girdle of green silk with silver mounts, a chaplet, two pairs of amber paternosters and three rings, one gold, the others silver. In 1353 Demoiselle Katherine d'Auby, a widow of Tournai, left a green girdle with mounts of gold, a girdle of engraved gold, and four gold rings, three set with sapphires, the fourth and smallest set with a garnet. These jewels are more typically bourgeois in their restriction to girdles and rings which appear, as already indicated, to have been the sole jewels worn by many well-to-do bourgeois men. In 1350 Jehan d'Anchin, a bourgeois of Tournai seems to have owed money for a silk girdle with silver bars and a leather girdle, also with silver bars, and two old silk girdles with silver bars – no doubt a second-hand purchase. He may have owned other jewels – there is reference to a coffer 'in which are several jewels' – but in 1360 Jean de Maus, baker and bourgeois of Tournai, left only a girdle and purse, perhaps simply of stuff, for his other girdle is described as silver-mounted, two rings and a set of paternosters. Again, in 1375 Baudoin de Douwioel, bourgeois of Douai, left his daughter Emmelot his best silver-mounted girdle, his best purse and knife and best set of amber paternosters – clearly his best girdle and what hung from it were his principal ornament. And in 1373 Jean Vinelot of Tournai left only girdles, one silver-mounted, one with a purse of beaten gold attached to it, a gold ring and a silver ring, and a set of paternosters. But aspiration was not entirely suppressed in men. Another bourgeois of Tournai, Michel d'Avesnes, left in 1361 a silver-studded girdle, a set of forty amber pater-

noster beads, two enamels on silver and two on gold and a row of silver buttons, all of which must have made something of a show when worn together.[2]

But even Michel's ornaments were poor when compared with the jewels of a rich wax-chandler of Douai, Ailleame d'Auberchicourt and his wife Margherite Le Renière, as inventoried shortly after their deaths in 1367. They had a little pendant cross of silver-gilt, set with five small stones and four small pearls, another pendant cross of silver, a small brooch of silver-gilt, set with five small stones and four small pearls, two cloak clasps, a brooch of boars' heads, a number of gold rings, two girdles of gold tissue, one with studs of silver-gilt, one with studs of silver, a third of silver-mounted green silk, patterned with gold vines, and another of silk, again with silver studs. Among the head ornaments were a silver chaplet set with stones and enamels and a frontlet embroidered with lozenges of seed-pearls. They also had a woman's silver-mounted leather girdle, and sets of amber paternosters with pearl buttons. A similar richness is also suggested by other Douai wills: in 1376 Simonne Painmouillié left her niece a chaplet of pearls, a smaller chaplet of pearls and all her jewels, and to other friends and relations a set of coral paternosters and a set of amber paternosters, both with a pearl button. From this same bourgeois milieu of Douai comes as we have seen the only known mediaeval reference to sentimental hair jewellery: the girdle made of his mother's hair and mounted with silver-gilt left in 1377 by Lauwin le Coulletier. He also left a girdle of silk, ornamented with silver-gilt and with small rosettes of embroidered little lozenges of pearl, together with a small coronal of enamelled silver, which he bequeathed to a little niece or cousin.[3]

A similar richness of jewellery was to be found in the Tournai of the 1370s. When Sire Jacques Mouton died there in 1378, his jewels comprised a pearl-embroidered girdle with silver-gilt bars, a leather girdle with silver bars, two gold rings, a little brooch, a small girdle, and two little purses with pearl buttons. In addition he had a store of a mark of large pearls, three ounces of little pearls, and five other pearls. The 1380s see, if anything, this sumptuousness increase. In 1381 the widow Nicaise de Mons of Douai made bequests of her best pearl-embroidered girdle and purse, of a girdle mounted in silver-gilt, of a gold ring set with a large sapphire, of two sets of coral paternosters with marker beads of silver, of a third of amber with a button of pearls, of a fourth simply of amber. Gautier Piquette, belonging to a wealthy patrician family of Douai, also left his serving-maid in 1385 a truly aristocractic panoply of jewels that had belonged to his mother – a gold coronal with twelve fleurons, a gold chaplet, a gold head-band (*doroir*), a great gold brooch with a sapphire in the middle, and a pearl-embroidered girdle. He also left a letter jewel of an S of pearls set with a sapphire in the middle, and a silver *collet* that he was used to wear.[4]

These splendours were not unique to the Piquettes, but reappear in the same bourgeois society in the best girdle of beaten gold left by Isabelle Cauchie of Douai in 1385, in the pearl-embroidered girdles, the girdle of cloth of gold in four colours,

studded with a double row of studs of silver-gilt, the amber paternosters with a large pearl button left by Marie Chantemerle, also in 1387, and in the humbler metal of silver in a bequest of 1390 by Fressende de Bourech, widow of Douai, of a silver coronal and silver brooch and a gold ring set with a diamond, and again in gold in the will of 1391 of Ysabelle Bonnebroque, also of Douai. Among her relations and god-children Ysabelle left her best gold coronal, her best gold brooch, her best girdle and head-bands (*doroirs*) and other head-bands, a narrow girdle embroidered with pearls, a second girdle of cloth of gold with silver mounts and a set of paternoster beads of coral and silver. Pearl-embroidered girdles seem to have been cherished symbols of position in Douai: in 1400 Sainte Painmouillié left 'her long girdle of pearls' and her '*touret* [bandeau] of pearls' to Clémence Wallequim, and Liégarde Bonnebroque her girdle of pearls on a red riband, with two pearl-embroidered purses. In the Tournai of the 1390s there was evidently a comparable richness: in 1393 Jehanne Grippe made bequests of a girdle 'harnessed with silver along all its length', of her best gold ring, of a set of jet paternosters with silver marker beads and a pearl button.[5]

As regards France, our fullest picture of the jewellery of a great Parisian bourgeoise in the first half of the fourteenth century is found in the inventory, taken after her death in 1347, of the possessions of Jeanne de Presles, the wealthy widow of Raoul, an influential royal clerk, who was ennobled for his services and founded the Collège de Presles in the University of Paris. Significantly except for some rings and a small cross, which were of gold, all Jeanne's jewellery was of silver. Her principal jewels were her girdles and rings. The girdle she wore every day was of tawny silk decorated with bosses of silver. She also had a narrow leather girdle, with buckle, mordant and *passant* of silver, another girdle of tawny silk, with mounts along its length of cross-shaped and saltire-shaped studs, again with buckle and mordant of silver, a girdle of stuff laid on *bisette* with studs of enamelled silver, a second girdle of gold stuff laid on *bisette* decorated with enamels, bosses and saltire-shaped studs, with buckle and mordant of silver, and a girdle decorated with pearls and enamels either on a lozengy ground, or arranged as lozenges. She had four Agnuses, that she wore in a purse fastened by a small brooch to her person, another mounted in silver, and yet another in a silver-gilt mount which was apparently of square form, that hung by a lace of green silk, and was almost certainly for wear round her neck or from her girdle. For wear round the neck must have been the case with a little silver barrel to hold *triacle*, and a silver Annunciation, which was enclosed in an ivory case within a leather bag, and hung from a broad riband of blue silk. Also for wear round her neck were her two little crosses, one of gold, one of silver. Her only brooch was an old one, of silver, but her rings made up for its plainness: she had six of gold, three set with sapphires, one with a diamond, one with an emerald, and one with a pearl, and three of silver-gilt, one set with a toadstone. Apart from her girdles, which we may suspect were the principal form of display in jewellery

among many matrons of the Northern bourgeoisie, the rest is of a certain simplicity, implying a comfortable sense of standing, rather than ostentation.[6]

We know that in the later and more sumptuous decades of the fourteenth century some of the great bourgeois of Paris had a wealth of plate and jewels. In 1383 Phillipotte, widow of the richest butcher of Paris, Guillaume de Saint-Yon, owned 'many fair jewels of great price, and especially a gold circlet, girdles, purses and pins to the value of 1000 livres and above'. By the late fourteenth century wealthy merchants' wives were already copying great ladies by decorating their chambers for their *relevailles* (uprising) after childbirth with sumptuous richness. Christine de Pisan describes a visit to the wife of a Parisian merchant 'and not one of the city's greatest either, but one of those who buy in bulk and sell in retail' and complains that she found her in a room gorgeously hung with tapestries of her own device and carpeted with cloth of gold, reclining in a stately bed on pillows tufted with pearls 'and attired like a gentlewoman'. In the censorious *Spécule des Prêcheurs*, printed in 1468, the author complains of bourgeois women receiving in bed after childbirth more richly dressed than brides, and wearing 'a necklace round the neck, bracelets of gold, and more adorned than any idol or queen of cards'.[7]

The jewellery of one great bourgeois family certainly gives substance to such complaints. At his death in 1435 the jewels of Pierre Surreau, receiver-general of Normandy for the English government, and of his family, were inventoried along with the other sumptuosities of their house in Rouen. In various coffers were found a small gold chaplet with thirteen links set with small pearls, a little gold 'coffer', probably some sort of tablet, judging by its thumbsquare size, a silver cross, many rings set with precious stones, a pearl-embroidered purse and forty-one buttons of seed-pearls, a little girdle of enamelled silver set with small pearls and glass stones, three other silver-mounted girdles and one mounted in silver-gilt. Presumably the property of Pierre's wife were two women's girdles, one of blue stuff mounted with gold, the other of grey mounted in silver-gilt, a slender girdle of silver-gilt for use as a *sourceinte*, a girdle of silk with silver mounts running its whole length, a little gold brooch set with five small pearls, and two gold chains and a gold cross and gold *bullette* or trinket, evidently for wearing on the chains. Pierre's son Jehan owned a narrow red girdle, silver-mounted, a black girdle with silver mounts running all round it, and another grey one similarly mounted but with no buckle, and a fourth decorated only with six small silver studs, a man's girdle of green stuff, silver-mounted, and a pearl-embroidered purse. To his wife Jeanette belonged a woman's *demi-ceint*, a girdle of silver thread of the type known as a *cordelière* – that is, with friar's knots along its length – a black woman's girdle with silver mounts, a blue woman's girdle with mounts, buckle and mordant of pure gold, a tablet of silver-gilt containing an enamelled figure of St John, the couple's patron saint, a set of coral paternosters, with two buttons of pearls and a small gold ring hanging from

them, a small gold brooch decorated with a gold leveret seated on a mat and set with a pearl and a balas-ruby, another small gold brooch set with six pearls and a balas-ruby, a number of rings set with precious stones and a small diamond shaped as a Y which was perhaps a pendant.[8]

Yet in France, side by side with this aping of seigneurial magnificence there was plainly too a tradition of dignified bourgeois austerity or frugality. When the goods of the great financier and merchant Jacques Coeur of Bourges were seized in 1453, the royal receivers who examined his plate and goods at Tours asked his agent about his wife's jewellery: 'He answers that the late woman had chaplets, girdles and purses embroidered with pearls and other array for brides, that were by no means rich'. A similar modest standard probably prevailed among many of the ordinary bourgeoisie. The jewellery of Michel Percheron and his wife, inmates of the great Parisian charitable foundation of the Quinze-Vingts, when inventoried after their death in April 1464, comprised two silver-mounted men's belts, one of silk, one of leather, three women's girdles, the best of black stuff mounted in silver-gilt, the next best of green stuff, also mounted in silver-gilt, and a poor belt of black stuff badly mounted in silver-gilt. A *demi-ceint* was of silver-mounted linen, a *sous-ceinte* of dark red stuff mounted in silver-gilt. Apart from three silver and four gold rings, their only other jewel was a set of coral paternoster beads with a gold cross hanging from them.[9]

These records are from Paris and Rouen and Touraine, the heart of French civilisation and wealth. The accounts of the Bonis brothers, general merchants of Montauban in the mid-fourteenth century, show the bourgeois of this Gascon town providing their daughters with jewellery of gold and silver for their weddings. The most frequent gifts were of rings, offered by the husband-to-be and by friends as well as by the bride's parents. P. de Malbert, a butcher, together with his future son-in-law bought for his daughter as wedding presents in 1347 a *frachis*, interpreted by the editor of the accounts as a silver chain or collar, and an amber girdle. Again Brunest, a merchant, bought for his future wife a silver chain 'of the new fashion', a ring of smooth gold, and an amber girdle – these were evidently fashionable in the Montauban of the late 1340s – and a silver brooch set with pearls. This is one of the only two mentions of a brooch in the Bonis' account book; seemingly they were not much worn among the fourteenth-century Gascon bourgeoisie, whose standard status symbols were a silver chain – if a *frâchis* was indeed a chain and not more probably a garland – and a girdle of precious metal or of some other rich material. Even paternosters are only mentioned twice in the Bonis account books, and of these two mentions one refers to a pledge by a nun.

Every newly married bourgeoise in fourteenth-century Provence seems to have expected a garland as part of her dowry, but there appears to be no reference to other jewels with which we might expect such girls to have been provided if they were regularly worn. Yet great opulence could also be found among

the great bourgeoisie of the French provinces, as we know from a fourteenth-century instance in the Velay. On his marriage in 1386 to Saurete de Villaret, who was of noble birth, as the daughter of the lord of Cussac, near Polignac, and the widow of a *damoiseau* (esquire) named Raymond Archard, Jean de Mercoeur, a merchant of Le Puy, offered his bride-to-be jewels to the value of 200 gold florins. They comprised a garland (*rondellus*) of fine large pearls, a cloak clasp (*passetus = tassetus*) of fine pearls and emeralds, five gold rings set with sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones, a girdle of silk, with mounts of silver-gilt and enamelled, of more than 2 marks' weight, and three other handsome silver-mounted silk girdles.[10]

We have a fairly full picture of the bourgeois jewellery of Lyons and the adjoining region of Forez from analyses carried out of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century wills. It is as well to remember, however, that the jewels mentioned in men's wills may have been jewels worn by their wives but, according to law, the property of the husband – hence the need to bequeath them on death. Thus at his death in 1463 Jean Paterin of Lyons, knight and doctor of laws, left his wife Françoise her dowry and half the dresses, girdles and brooches 'made for women's wear'. Some of the patricians of Lyons were noble, and these and the knights who lived in or near the city clearly had the jewels proper to their rank, according to the period at which they lived. In 1393 P. de Montferrand, a nobleman, left his wife Marie all his jewels 'of rings, brooches, chaplets and pearls'. In 1476, when fashions had changed, and the collar and chain were now all-important ornaments, André de Bossezelle, of knightly degree, left his wife all his jewels 'viz a gold collar, three girdles garnished with silver-gilt, a gold chain of five *tours*, and two *surceintes* mounted with gold'. The rich citizens of Lyons emulated these ornaments of rank. It was the custom in this civic world, just as much as in the noble hierarchy above it for husbands to buy jewels for their wives on marriage. In 1311, Perronette, wife of Perronet Pelusi, a blacksmith, left her husband 'all the jewels he bought me when I was betrothed to him'. Her silver-studded silk girdles on the other hand, and her garland of pearls were to be sold and the proceeds given to the poor. In 1336 Giraude, wife of J. de Saint-Vincent, left her daughter a chaplet with fine pearls which had been given her by her mother Petronille, and so presumably dated from the earlier years of the century. Later in the century we read of a silver chaplet (1361) and of a gold chaplet (1372), the latter mentioned in the will of an M. Renfredi de Vinicies of Saint-Symphorien d'Auzons, who also left a silk girdle barred with silver and 'certain laces of gold' for the hair. Garlands were also common ornaments: in 1343 Mathe, the wife of a potter, left her rings and garlands to her daughters, in 1348 Sybille Gauthier left her daughters a garland of fine pearls. They were so usual a jewel in rich bourgeois families that they come as best and second-best; another citeness of Lyons leaves in 1348 her garland for Sunday wear. Frontlets too were worn: Isabella de Bullieu, the widow of Jacquot Videl, left her maid, also in 1348, a gold ring and her gold frontlet, while in

the same year, which was of course that of the Black Death, the butcher Hugonin le Buffes left a frontlet of fine pearls – apparently his own – together with his girdle.

By contrast only one gold coronal is mentioned, in 1361; but, though it appears in the will of the wealthy Jean de Mure, and is described as a woman's coronal, it appears that it had formerly been the property of Arnaud Ferrand, a nobleman. It would seem in fact that coronals in general were far less commonly worn by bourgeois women than chaplets, and this is even truer of men – so clearly were they an ensign of noble degree. The collar, on the other hand, though not common, was certainly worn in bourgeois circles – in 1439 Humbert de Voreye left his wife his 'girdle, collars and other jewels'. Girdles, as everywhere in mediaeval society, were highly prized, and come as best and second-best. In 1418 the widow of an épicier left a silver-mounted girdle worn on ordinary days, and a girdle of black silk with twelve gilt studs that was probably her holiday girdle. But brooches and other trinkets are hardly mentioned in any class: one brooch only, belonging in 1420, to a woman of noble degree, and one gold *bullette* or trinket, bequeathed in 1403 by a notary's wife.[11]

To sum up, the preponderant jewels were evidently the garland or chaplet, and the girdle, and this seems also to have been true of the Forez where, as in Lyons, there is little or no mention of the silver chains so popular in Gascony – if chains they were, and not garlands. In Forez, as in Provence, the garland was the standard jewel of the fourteenth century, perhaps because here, as in so many parts of Europe, head ornaments were an ensign of matronly estate and dignity. Indeed such head ornaments might be more than a garland in the Forez. In 1317 a bourgeoise of Pouilly les Fleurs makes a bequest 'of the ornaments of her head, excepting a garland, and of a small garland'; in 1342 a bourgeoise of Cervière leaves her daughter 'the jewels of my head', while in the same year a clerk of Fleurs leaves 'the half of all a woman's head ornaments' – presumably they were his wife's – 'except for a garland'. Some women, like a bourgeoise of Montbrison in 1341, had several garlands, including one for best; so prized were they that even peasant women wore them. We have little information about their form and ornaments save for a mention of pearls in 1354 and 1361. The only chaplet mentioned in these Forez wills, by contrast, belonged in 1370 to a bourgeoise of Saint-Galmier and was of 'enamels with pearls'.[12]

This picture of the jewellery of the well-to-do bourgeois of South-Eastern France is confirmed by our fullest single record of it, the inventory of Ponce Clari, a jurisconsult of Vienne, on the Rhône south of Lyons. This inventory too was taken in 1348, the fatal year of the Black Death, and includes jewellery that certainly had belonged to the dead man's wife. For the head there was a 'good chaplet mounted with gold, with pearls and with enamels', weighing six ounces and another chaplet decorated with fine pearls, arranged in ten motifs, each containing seventeen pearls. For the waist there were eight silver girdles. One weighing five ounces is described as a silver chain studded with enamels,

and so is likely to have consisted of small hinged silver links, set in some fashion with enamels. Six were of silver mounted on silk. Most of these were presumably for wear by Clari's wife, for one last girdle is described as a broad silk girdle for wear by a man, with a great *fanella* (buckle?) and pendant of silver. There were seven large and five small gold broken rings and a mounted jasper-stone, which may have been either a ring or a pendant. In Lorraine, part of the Empire, but in the orbit of French culture, we hear in 1372 of a raid by the men of the Duke of Bar on the imperial city of Metz. They caught the ladies of the city dancing outside the walls and robbed them of their jewellery. The angry citizens, according to their chronicler, set off in hot pursuit and brought back the 'coronals and jewels of price that had been taken from their ladies'. The episode gives a glimpse of the wealth of Metz during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when it was an important banking city.[13]

In Italy we owe our best knowledge of patrician and bourgois jewellery to the sumptuary laws regulating the precious ornaments that might be worn and limiting their value (see Chapter 8). But there are occasional allusions to it in other documents. Some of the earliest references are to jewels as worn in Siena, during the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth century one of the greatest banking and mercantile centres of Italy, with important business relations with France, Naples and the Papal Curia. The city's merchants and their wives dressed with corresponding magnificence. In his will of 1232 Aringhieri di Magiscolo left his wife 'all the clothes and silver girdles and rings she has, and all the bindings [*ligaduras*] for her hair', as well as the scarlet gown 'for which I sent to France'. In 1259 Jacopo Angiolieri, also a merchant and banker, describes his personal jewels as 'four silver-mounted girdles . . . and twelve gold rings'.[14] Our fullest early record of Italian mercantile–patrician jewellery is Venetian. It is the inventory of Marco Polo's household goods, taken in 1366 on the division of his possessions among his daughters, some forty years after his death in 1324. The jewels included a brooch (*brochetta*) of gold set with stones and pearls, a coronal, also of gold set with stones and pearls, two silver girdles, a third 'which belonged to Agnesina', a girdle of silver thread, one of green silk with silver mounts, and two silver girdles that had been pledged to him. Girdles of silver or silver-gilt were evidently common in Venice, so much so that in 1338 it was ordained they had to be marked. Sometimes they had ribands of rich stuff, like one which belonged to Bonafante Dona in 1302, which was of silver on a riband of red, sometimes the links were enamelled, as on two belts recorded in 1355, and sometimes they were composed entirely of pearls, like one recorded in 1403. Sometimes the belt was enamelled with the family arms, as on a belt mentioned in 1360 which had a big buckle enamelled with the arms of Bragadin. Circlets and coronals of pearls were highly popular in fourteenth-century Venice, as elsewhere in Italy: one 'of large pearls' is recorded as early as 1245.[15]

In the fifteenth century, when chains and collars had become the commonest form of rich jewellery, the Venetian Senate found itself constrained in December 1438 by its pressing need for money to forbid absolutely the wearing of small gold chains (*cadenelle*) and every other sort of neck ornament, whether of gold, of gilt or nielloed silver, or 'whatsoever other fashion worked', except for simple necklaces of plain silver beads, and the jewelled collars that were worn sewn to the dress – in other words jewelled braidings at the neck. The object was to induce those who owned the chains and collars that were forbidden to hand them over to the Mint for coining, receiving compensation at a fixed rate. That it was worth the while of the Senate to make such an enactment shows how commonly such chains and collars were now worn. By the mid-fifteenth century luxury in jewellery had reached such a degree in Genoa that the Senate included in a draconian sumptuary law of 1449 severe restrictions on gifts to brides, and on the jewellery they might wear. Forbidden were girdles adorned with pearls, trimmings adorned with pearls and precious stones, bracelets, armlets or shoulder ornaments – called in the original *tornes* – or collars or chains of pearls, precious stones, gold or silver or any other metal. All the stones or pearls the bride might wear were to be in a single brooch, in a neck-clasp and in rings. The chronicler Galvano Fiamma records with disapproval a change to luxury of dress in Milan in 1340, a moment when there seems to have been generally a new augmentation in display of rich dress and jewellery throughout Europe. The men took to wearing dress 'of the Spanish fashion' – the same complaint of Spanish influence had already been made only a few years earlier in Rome, it will be remembered. The women too 'changed their customary dress', wearing low-cut gowns of silk or sometimes even cloth of gold, they paraded through the streets with gold brooches and gold-mounted girdles.[16]

We have a little information about bourgeois and patrician jewellery in Spain. In 1293 the trousseau of Elizenda Godor of Barcelona included cloak clasps linked by a chain and two rings, one set with a ruby, one with a sapphire. After the death of one of the same city's patricians, his jewels were listed in 1396 as two large gold rings, one set with a balas-ruby, the other with an emerald, and two smaller rings set with a balas-ruby and a turquoise, and a silver girdle on a green riband. At his death in 1430 Pere Basset of Barcelona (1365–1430), a royal Aragonese councillor and jurisconsult, and a member of a long dynasty of civic counsellors of Barcelona, left a little silver cross, six gold rings, two set with small balas-rubies, one with a pearl, one with a turquoise, one with a cameo and one set with a diamond worth 80 florins, two sets of paternoster beads, one short, one long, of red coral, a plain girdle of black silk with plain silver chape, buckle and five silver mounts, another narrow one with no chape and a buckle formed simply of eighty-eight little silver studs, the silver-mounted silk girdle with an embroidered inscription which has already been described, and a best girdle, which had a narrow riband of black silk with a gold head and buckle, five rosette-shaped mounts and twenty pairs of small crescents, each pair being above and below a central stud. In a

purse of gold brocaded velvet he wore on his person, he also carried other jewels, a little gold reliquary set with seven pearls round the edge, with one side *brescat* (honeycombed?) and sewn with seed-pearls, and on the other, which opened, the Crucifixion, a gold ring set with a large ruby 'of weak colour', another set with a little ruby 'of very burning colour', a third set with a green stone cut with the Salutation of the Virgin, a gold thumb-ring cut with the arms of Basset, and a silver ring with a gold-framed green stone, cut with three naked figures.[17]

In England we have again only a few records of bourgeois jewellery of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Mostly they concern girdles and the like, and none suggest any great quantity or variety. Master Reginald, a builder of Abingdon, left *c.*1270–5 a girdle barred with silver. Juliana Wyth of Oxfordshire by her will of 1282 left Master Peter of Abingdon 'a gold ring which is approved of such virtue, that whoever is struck by a felon and then is blessed with it, recovers health of that sickness', and to the lady Alice Curby one of her best gold brooches. Henry of Collecote, a West Country man, made bequests in 1294 of gold rings, a silver brooch, and a leather girdle barred with silver. A silver brooch was also bequeathed in 1296 by John Taillor, of St Frideswide's, Oxford. An account of a thief seized and tried at Leicester in 1300 describes various robberies he had carried out, especially at Luton, in Bedfordshire; significantly the spoils included few jewels – a silk girdle with a silver harness, a silver brooch valued at 6d and another valued at 1s, a toadstone, a pair of paternoster beads, value 1d.[18]

As might be expected, the citizens of London were much wealthier. In 1260 Emma le Smerewyf of London left the Lady Alice of Hadstock her leather girdle harnessed with silver. About 1304–5 Edith Pauner, a rich brewer's widow – it is curious how certain occupations have constantly attracted great wealth over the centuries – could make bequests of best and second-best girdle, of a best small gold brooch and two other gold brooches and two gold rings. Again *c.*1307 William of Hounsditch, a tanner, left a brooch and a gold ring that had belonged to his father and so presumably had been made and worn in the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1338 Margery Randolf of the City of London, bought from Walter Adrian, a pepperer, also of London, stuffs, plate and jewels to the value of ten marks sterling. The jewels were a circlet, two chaplets of pearls and stamped besants, a gold brooch and a silver girdle. Circlets and coronals and garlands, always jewels associated with high degree, were evidently worn by the wives and daughters of a number of fourteenth-century London citizens. In 1328 Roger Sterie left his daughter Matilda a coronal and a garland of pearls which had flame-shaped streamers of silk. Again in 1345 John of Sudbury left 'a circlet for the use of women [*circulus pro usu mulierum*]. Alice of Hackney could leave ten gold brooches, twelve gold rings and two girdles among her daughters. Some of the brooches owned by wealthy citizens of London were plainly quite rich and elaborate: in 1353 John de Hastyng, a baker, left Agnes de Manhale a brooch (*nouche*) of

gold set with stones and pearls, and in 1361 Alice Northall, the widow of an alderman, left Sarah, the wife of Bartolommeo Guidi, a Florentine money-changer, her brooch (*nouche*) of gold 'worked with pearls'.[19]

In 1363 Agnes Chalke, a spicer of London, sold Master John Caumbrugge, possibly a Chamberlain of the city, 'a gold coronal set with rubies, sapphires, emeralds and pearls, a gold eagle brooch set with the same stones and with a great ruby in its breast, and two gold rings, one set with a diamond, one enamelled'. These jewels, however, were surely pledges from some great personage which had gone unredeemed. The account of a burglary in the shop of John French, a London goldsmith of 1382, probably gives a fairer picture of what was generally worn. French lost four silver girdles, mounted on red, blue and green stuff; a girdle of red silk with a buckle and studs of silver-gilt, a chain of silver-gilt and another small silver chain, six gold brooches, three gold rings, two set with a diamond, one with a balas-ruby, brooches and rings of silver-gilt, other girdles of silver, buckles and mordants of silver for girdles, paternosters of silver and pearls, and three strings of pearls.[20]

The late fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century wills of the great city of York and the prosperous port of Hull suggest an equal opulence. Indeed the pride of dress of well-to-do citizens' wives in general is gently mocked by Chaucer in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, when he speaks of his Haberdasher, Carpenter, Webber, Dyer and Tapicer as 'wel semed each of hem a fair burgess, To sitten in a yeldhall on a deys . . . and shapely for to been an alderman'. Their wives he says like to be called Madame, and go up first to Vigils 'and have a mantel royalliche y-bore'. And he is borne out by the words in which the mystic Margery Kempe (*c.*1373–1414) condemns her own worldly pride as a young married woman in the King's Lynn of the late 1390s: 'she wore gold pipes on her head and her hoods, with her tippets, were slashed. Her cloaks also were slashed and laid with divers colours between the slashes, so that they should be the more staring to men's sight, and herself the more worshipped.' To this 'pompous array' she felt herself entitled because her father had been Mayor and Alderman of Lynn.[21]

Wills and inventories bear out this picture. Even in the remotest North, William of Easington, a burgess of Newcastle, could leave his son Nicholas in 1415 'all the jewels and ornaments, both those for the head and those for the body pertaining to the ornamenting of women, and the cases in which they are enclosed that Alice my wife left in her last will to my daughters Elizabeth and Helen' – evidently now deceased. In 1392 Matilda, wife of William Benetson, a farrier of York, left a gold brooch, a silver-mounted leather girdle, another silver-mounted girdle of green silk, a larger set of jet beads with silver gauds and a silver pendant or clasp, and a smaller set with a crucifix and silver pendant and two gold rings. Silver-mounted girdles, usually one for best and one for second-best, and beads of amber, coral and jet, often with silver gauds or at any rate accessories seems to have been usual among this class of well-to-do, rather than wealthy, lady.

The wives and widows of rich merchants could make a greater display. In 1430 Alice Upstall of York could leave four girdles of silver or mounted in silver, two of them richly adorned, a pair of coral beads with accessories of gold, and two other pairs of beads, one of jet and one of amber. Margaret Blackburn, widow of a merchant who had been Lord Mayor of York, left in 1433 three large girdles barred with silver-gilt, and a small one barred with silver-gilt and enamelled, a gold brooch in the fashion of a rose and an Agnus Dei – that she must have had more jewellery not mentioned in her will is indicated by its silence about her paternosters. But her jewels were modest compared with those of Agnes Bedford, who had married in turn three rich merchants of Hull. In 1459 Agnes had at least two gold brooches, one with a 'pawtener' or bag of cloth of gold, and two ouches of gold – she mentions both her best and second-best. She also had two pairs of templys decorated with pearls, a pair of gold beads with a gold 'broche' hanging from them, a pair of coral beads with gold gauds, a pair of coral beads described as her longest with a gold 'broche' pendant and a button of pearls and a second, short pair with a gold pendant, a pair of silver beads that had belonged to her mother, a girdle of black mounted with Catherine wheels in silver-gilt, a girdle of green barred with fourteen silver-gilt bars and another, broad girdle, also mounted in silver-gilt, and several gold rings.[22]

Men too had a certain amount of jewellery. In 1441 William Conisby, a carpenter of York, left two silver-mounted girdles, one of them his best. Thomas Vicars, a rich farmer of Strenshall, near York, could leave in 1451 one girdle with mounts of silver-gilt, four others with mounts of silver, a gold brooch, a set of fifty coral beads, with two pendants and an Agnus Dei suspended from them, and six gold rings. John Brompton, a wealthy merchant of Beverley, made legacies in 1444 of a girdle of black silk mounted with silver and gold, of another mounted with six roundels of silver-gilt, from which perhaps hung his purse of red velvet with a gold heart on one side and a gold M (for the Virgin) on the other, of a set of paternosters whose one hundred and seventy coral beads were divided by twenty gauds of silver-gilt, and of another set with one hundred and twenty beads of coral and silver and five of gold, and of a precious gold ring set with a cross bearing a crucifix with a figure of Mary and with a knot of pearls. Here, as in many other wills of the merchant and tradesman class, chains, as a mark of gentility, are noticeably absent.[23]

The plate and jewels confiscated from the Bristol merchant Robert de Guienne in 1352 suggest an opulence that was probably exceptional. He had rings of silver-gilt and gold, two silk belts, two brooches in the form of the letters B and one in the form of a letter R, two of them large, and all three set with precious stones, and some with pearls as well. Certainly the wills of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Bristol suggest a much greater simplicity. Silver girdles are mentioned in wills of 1389 and 1395, and a girdle of silk garnished with silver in 1396. A number of people seem to have had more than one such girdle,

for wills of 1401 and 1404 speak of best and second-best girdles. Only Richard Ferour of Wells mentions in 1402 a silver chain. In 1411 Isobel Barstaple left what seems to have been an exceptionally large amount of jewellery, for she mentions a best girdle of silver-gilt, a paternoster, a cross of silver-gilt and a gold brooch, all of which she left to her daughter Alice, while a friend or relation called Alice Castell was bequeathed a black girdle with mounts of silver-gilt. Probably Margaret Gloucestre, who made her will in 1420, also had more and finer jewellery than is mentioned in her will, for she makes specific bequests of a coral paternoster and a chaplet and fillet of pearls. The ornaments of a wealthy Bristol citizen of the early fifteenth century are perhaps reflected in the will of John Bathe, made in 1420. They amounted to no more than some gold rings and silver-mounted girdles. He left his godson 'a gurdill of blake sylke-y-linyde with rede lether, with a gode bokyll and a pendaunt, and in the same pendaunt an ymage of seynt Christofre: in the gurdill bey xlvj stodys of selver'. To his servant Katerine he bequeathed 'a gurdyll of the olde work of selver', which had a buckle, pendant and thirty-three studs of silver-gilt, and a woman's girdle of red, green and black silk studded with twenty-three silver studs with a silver buckle and a pendant which hung by a chain – presumably it was a demi-ceint.[24]

The jewels bequeathed by John Baret of Bury St Edmunds in 1463 were also numerous and rich. Besides the fetterlock pendant and the heart brooches already mentioned, he had a gold brooch set with an amethyst and a sapphire and with pendant pearls, two silver collars of SS, the king's livery, a chain and 'toret' (ring) of silver, a girdle of leather 'barred with silver' with a buckle and pendant, and another girdle with silver buckle and pendant with his motto GRACE ME GOUVERNE, and a great collection of paternosters of all kinds of materials, silver, white amber, ordinary amber, chalcedony, jet, sometimes mixed together, as in one set which had gold paternoster beads with a coral bead to either side, marble Ave Maria beads, a tuft of black silk and a pendant or brooch of gold set with pearls and precious stones. Other wills proved at Bury in the late fifteenth century reveal that such ample stores of ornaments were exceptional. Many men and women seem to have had not much more than rings, silver-mounted girdles and handsome paternosters. The wealthier had some devotional jewels: thus Nicholas Talbot of Berkhamsted left in 1501 a relic contained in a pendant decorated with figures of Our Lord and Our Lady, a jewel enamelled with the Mass of St Gregory, a very popular subject in the late Middle Ages, a gold pendant figure of St Vryess, and a St Anthony cross, a tau pendant of the type already discussed in the chapter on pendants (pl.64).[25]

In Germany the first rise in bourgeois and patrician luxury and display in dress and jewellery seems to date, as we saw in chapter 8 from the mid-fourteenth century. It was during this century that hats, originally worn only by knights and nobles, began to be worn by burghers. Hats trimmed with ostrich feathers are first mentioned in the early fourteenth century and

later pheasant feathers appear. By 1356 it had become necessary for Speyer to forbid its citizens to wear hats decorated with enamels, gold and feathers. They are frequently the subject of legislation after 1450, and at Leipzig in 1463 are mentioned as decorated with costly gold trimmings and at Nuremberg before 1480 as trimmed with sable, marten and feathers. The hat, as we saw, a well-established symbol of rank in the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, seems only to have been usurped as a badge of rank in the imperial lands – elsewhere it was the coronal, garland and chaplet to which men aspired.[26]

It is plain from the number of silver ornaments surviving from fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Germany – mostly pendants, rosary pendants, pendant crosses – as well as from paintings and sumptuary ordinances that the burghers of the newly prosperous cities, and their wives, had begun to wear far richer clothes and far more jewellery than in the past. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, writing in 1457 of the Germany he had known in the 1440s, exclaims

> What woman, I do not say well-born, but of plebeian degree does not glitter with gold? To what purpose should we record the collars of the knights, and the trappings of purest gold of their horses? Or so many spurs and sword-sheaths covered with gems or the rings and belts and breastplates and helmets gleaming with gold?

The portraits by an anonymous painter of Ulm of Ursula Grekin, wife of Bartel Greek, and of Barbara Wespach-Ungelter, wife of the judge Dr Johann Wespach, show the richness of wealthy bourgeois and patrician costume of South Germany *c*.1500, with their rich pearl-embroidered dresses and head-dresses, girdle, rings and chains. Geiler von Kaisersberg, author of a treatise on merchants and merchandise, complains that successful merchants, who have perhaps climbed upwards from simple huckstering to become partners in a trading company, 'want to wear silken clothes and gold and silver and to have plate', things that are proper only to princes and great men. We have already encountered visual evidence of their pretensions in Strigel's portrait of 1503 of the Nuremberg merchant Hieronymus Haller, with his chains and hat badge and pearl-embroidered collar (see fig.129). Such aspiration was not confined to merchants. In 1497 a Reichstag (Imperial Diet) held at Lindau forbade peasants to wear gold, pearls, velvet and embroidery, while the wives of tradesmen, though allowed to wear silk and velvet, were not to trim their dresses with braidings of gold and silver. This ordinance was re-enacted more comprehensively in 1498, but was probably wholly ineffectual.[27]

German brooches continued the tradition of the International Gothic Age in their use of figural motifs within a naturalistic frame, now often in the florid late Gothic style, making much use of stylised broad-leaved foliage. The motifs themselves were either devotional or amorous, continuing the tradition of the lady or the lovers seated in a garden. The pendants worn – at least those that have survived – were usually devotional. The more ambitious medallion pendants were decorated with some favourite devotional scene, engraved, embossed, represented by small figures cast and applied. The Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Pietà, God the Father, St Anne, the Mass of St Gregory, were popular motifs, and are figured in various forms on German fifteenth-century medallion pendants in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (see Catalogue). The borders of such pendants are often ornamented, the ornament varying from a simple corded or twisted ring to quite elaborate compositions of foliage, sometimes set with stones and pearls. Openwork pendants, decorative but inexpensive, were also popular and were obviously produced on a large scale to judge from the modest quality of some of the surviving examples, possibly for use on paternosters as well as for wear.

We also find diptych pendants – one North German example in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (cat.67, pls.137, 137a,) is exquisitely finished and enamelled – usually containing figures of saints, or Marian subjects. *Agnus Dei* medallion pendants were as universally worn in fifteenth-century Germany as elsewhere in Europe; one in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection has an inscription imploring the aid of the Virgin, the Baptist and Jesus (cat.45). Popular too were reliquary medallions: in Germany these seem often to have taken the form of a case with an embossed back – a favourite motif was the Vernicle or Veil of Veronica – with a relief of mother-of-pearl set in the front (cat.49). These comparatively inexpensive substitutes for cameos were carved from oyster shells in fifteenth-century Flanders and Germany and found their way all over Europe.

Pendants of small silver-gilt miniature figures of saints, often produced in very large numbers for stock because they found such a ready sale, again perhaps on paternosters as well as round the neck, are only recorded in documents for other countries, but survive in Germany in some numbers. Again, the Victoria and Albert Museum has a good collection of them. Because they were produced repetitively *en série*, they vary from figures of high quality and finish (e.g. cat.42) to poorly modelled and poorly finished pieces produced from old models (e.g. cat.62). Some appear to have been produced exclusively as pendants for paternosters (e.g. cat.83); others could be used on paternosters or else worn round the neck. Favourite women saints were St Barbara, who protected against fire, and St Catherine of Alexandria; favourite men saints were St George, St Sebastian, much venerated as a protector against the dreaded plague, St Michael and St Christopher.

Chains and girdles of silver-gilt were also much worn (pls.118, 119) – two or even more chains sometimes being worn together in an ostentatious display of wealth. Girdles still continued popular as betrothal and wedding presents – a girdle of *c*.1450 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, is enamelled on its buckle and mordant with the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the figure of a man, perhaps its giver, with the motto *mon coeur avez* (you have my heart). Belt ends and buckles, of which the

Victoria and Albert Museum has three (cat.78, 79, 80), were often richly decorated, the decoration ranging from the spirited engraving of devotional and ornamental motifs, to elaborate ornamental openwork. Both fashions continued into the early sixteenth century. Silver musk-balls, also known as musk-apples and pomanders (see figs.201, 202) were worn hanging from the belt or round the neck. An elaborate example in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, probably Rhenish, c.1470 (fig.200), has a ring and a little chain for suspension; it opens, like the Victoria and Albert Museum's earlier pomander of c.1320, into four hinged sections, each engraved with the figure of a saint. In the openwork central cylinder, into which the sections fit when the musk-ball is closed, is a small figure of the Virgin. In each section is a small slide for inserting the musk, whose perfume escaped through the pierced openwork of the outer side. Finally, we may note again that if the wearing of crowns seems not to have been general any more, it survived as a bridal custom. The silver-gilt openwork bridal crown of c.1450 in the German-isches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig.32) had in its circlet the motto *trewelich* (truly) repeated four times in Gothic letters, between handsome rosettes. We saw that churches and towns often owned bridal crowns which were lent to couples on the occasion of their marriage, and that Fynes Moryson, the Eliza-bethan traveller, mentions in the 1590s a German custom that 'the Bridegrome on the first day of the Feast did weare the Bride's Coronet of Gold and Pearles on his bare head'.[28]

The general demand for jewellery appears to have increased greatly in all the towns and cities of Europe in the fifteenth century and large numbers of goldsmiths are found working whose chief custom must always have been for jewellery rather than for plate. We are fortunate in having several inventories of goldsmiths' shops from the second half of the fifteenth century. Two are from the great Netherlandish city of Tournai, and two are French, one from Dijon and one from the small town of Draguignan, in Provence. They give some idea of the stock of bourgeois jewellery found in goldsmiths' shops outside the metropolitan centres of the trade – Paris, London, Cologne, Nuremberg, Venice. At his death in 1477 the shop of the Tournai goldsmith Simon Savary contained a number of pater-nosters – one of amber with silver bars, one of jet with pearl buttons, two of coral with gold *enseignes* or marker beads, another of coral with tufts set with beads or pearls, and three with beaded silver-gilt buttons, two bundles of nielloed and chalcedony pater-noster beads, a number of rings, one set with a lozenge-cut diamond, a gold bracelet (*pignet*) with a gold lock or locket (*loquet*), five rubies and four pearls, seven brooches, one of silver-gilt, set with an emerald and four red stones, and the rest of gold, but small. The most expensive of these gold brooches was set with a cameo, four emeralds and four pearls; of the others, one was set with a single sapphire and pearls, one with a cut ruby and six pearls, two each with a ruby and pearls, and one with two rubies and a pearl.[29]

Savary was a goldsmith who made plate, but his fellow-citizen

Haquinet Hierche is described in 1485 as a jeweller and obviously specialised in selling small ornaments. Plainly much of his custom was for devotional jewellery, incuding many small pendants of saints of the kind of which the Museum has such an important series from Germany. He had about a hundred pendants of the ever popular St Barbara, inventoried in several lists by the dozen, five St Michaels, six St Christophers of gold, and a figure of Our Lady. He had a large stock of Agnus Dei medallions. One lot of six dozen, large and small, was valued at the trifling sum of 16 sols the dozen; another two lots of five and a half dozen and two dozen had been imported from Paris, and another ten from the Auvergne, presumably Le Puy. Besides these there were some forty-five other Agnuses and one of mother-of-pearl. He had a number of crosses, including six from Paris, and a few sets of paternosters, including two of coral. The stock of jewellery of secular appeal consisted largely of brooches and girdle ribands and mounts. There were ten brooches from Brussels, eighteen from Paris, three heart brooches or pendants, one of gold, four girdles with silver mounts, twenty ounces of girdle mounts of white silver, two sets of gold mounts, and eighteen girdle mounts with gold bars (*tingles d'or*). As working stock he had a number of girdle mounts, thirty pieces of diamond, an ounce and a half of pearls and several pieces of mother-of-pearl and some stones for burnishing. He also had like his peers in the city a sideline in ribbons and expensive stuffs.

Pendants of saints are not mentioned among the stock of Thomassin de Béthisy of Dijon in 1453 or of Elzéar d'Ecclesia, goldsmith of Draguignan, in 1498. Thomassin's stock consisted in great part of rings. The gold ones numbered some thirty, eighteen of them small and most either set with insignificant stones or enamelled. He also had fifty-nine rings of silver or silver-gilt, and five of black horn 'in each of which is a little enamelled silver'. He also had a number of cloth girdles, pre-sumably for mounting, two or three sets of mounts for women's girdles, including one of silver for a *demi-ceint* and one of silver-gilt for a woman's broad girdle, and two silver-mounted girdles described as 'of the old fashion'. Otherwise he had only three little gold brooches, two set with a small red stone, the other with a small ruby of Alexandria, and a little brooch of silver-gilt, set with 'four little pieces of glass and six very small pearls', and six of the trinkets known as *bullettes*. Only one of these last was of gold: it is described as small and set with six poor pearls, with two other poor pearls dangling from it as a pendant. The others were of silver, four being small and 'garnished inside with wax and other things', while the fifth was bigger and more ambitious, being square and containing relics, and set on one face with crystal and on the other with five shields. He also had nineteen silver *esmaux* (badges) 'of several and divers fashions, both large and small, both round and square', three little branches of coral in silver mounts, two frontlets decorated with seed-pearls for brides, a pendant cross of silver-gilt with a crucifix, thirty-six small coral paternosters, with pendants, and the silver mount of an Agnus Dei. His stock of working materials

was scanty – a little scrap gold and silver, a few seed-pearls, a few large rough pearls, some pieces of jasper. He also dealt in little bibelots – silver scissors and shoe buckles, purses and handsome knives for wear at the girdle, ivory combs.

We have already seen that the 'patterns and models serving for goldsmiths' found in a coffer of his workshop were probably mostly for jewellery. The inventory of Elzéar d'Ecclesia of Draguignan begins with the tools of his trade – anvils, hammers – small and middle-sized for planishing, large for forging – bars for enlarging and rounding rings, punches 'as apt for crosses' as for stamping belt mounts, thread scissors, pincers for making chains, pincers which were punches, pincers for drawing thread and for forging, compasses, a trepan for piercing and hollowing, stones for burnishing, twenty-four brass and copper mandrels for twisting chains, four touchstones, twenty-two scalpels and burins, ten large files, sixty-nine small punches, twenty-three other punches 'equally apt for making both belts and paternosters', twenty others for making settings, two crucibles, one large, one small for casting silver, three saws, a mark weight for weighing silver, five grinders, three bellows, thread, three braziers, nine balances, a *passe-limaille* (sieve for filings), four brushes of latten wire for use in gilding and two coils of iron wire. All these were used by Master Elzéar and any journeymen he employed, sometimes by the light of three small candlesticks, in a room furnished only with a stool and a bench for drawing thread.

Of unworked gold and silver he had a bar of gold and silver alloyed together of near five marks' weight, together with a good many parcels of loose pieces of gold and silver-gilt, to the weight of some two marks and a half, and eight marks and a half of white silver – some being almost certainly pieces of old plate and jewellery kept for refashioning. Surprisingly for a small-town goldsmith he had quite a stock of unmounted stones, mostly semi-precious, three diamonds, a ruby, a small turquoise, a large and a small jacinth, a sapphire, an imperfect emerald, a white sapphire which was pierced, three jasper stones, five cornelians, five onyxes, two agates, two amethysts, a topaz, two toad-stones – valued for their prophylactic qualities and much set in rings – a false diamond, a counterfeit ruby, nineteen doublets, a citrine sapphire, a Spanish turquoise – probably a variety of false stone – two counterfeit emeralds, five garnets, fifty-five pearls, both large and small, a stone 'called *loupe de saphir* [a counterfeit or imperfect sapphire]', a pound and a half of coral branches, both large and small, and half a pound of coral branches mounted in silver.

An important part of his trade consisted of chains, belts, and girdles – indeed there was quite an assortment of mounts for chains with heart-shaped clasps (*chana cuers*), and silver studs and other mounts for belts, gilt and plain. One handsome silver-gilt belt is fully described: it was of green stuff, with sixteen studs, and a buckle and mordant. In stock were also a set of fifty-five paternoster beads of gold, rings of silver and gold, pendant crosses of silver and gold, Agnuses mounted in silver and gold, rings, crosses and hearts and Agnuses of enamelled gold, eighteen gold rings, set in all with two sapphires (one white), three rubies, a diamond, a diamond point, three *citrins* (citrines), three counterfeit emeralds, a counterfeit sapphire, and two doublets. Two pendant crosses were also set with stones, one with five spinel rubies and four pearls, the other with four garnets, a counterfeit sapphire, four pearls, a good small sapphire and a cameo. Like his fellow-goldsmiths of Tournai he too sold girdle-bands, pieces of fine stuff and purses, and he also carried on an active business as pawnbroker – he held a number of girdles, frontlets and a paternoster on pledge.[30]

The boundary in time of this book is the demise of the Gothic style in goldsmith's work and jewellery, and its replacement by the new Renaissance style. This was of course a process, not an event. Even in Italy the substitution of Renaissance for Gothic forms remained incomplete after the 1460s, the first decade when the new style can be said to have become widely dominant, and only in the 1490s was it perhaps finally accomplished. During the early decades of the sixteenth century the Renaissance style ousted Gothic from its last great power-house of inventiveness of form and ornament, the Imperial lands, more especially Southern Germany. Under King Matthias Corvinus (r.1458–90) it had already captured the court patronage of Hungary, and during the decades from 1500 to 1530 it triumphed in Spain, France and the more sophisticated centres of the Netherlands. Its ascendancy in England can be dated to c.1520–30, and in Scandinavia too it had achieved dominance by the middle of the century.

It would be possible to point to survivals of the Gothic style throughout much of the sixteenth century and even later in such regions as Scandinavia and the Southern Netherlands. It would be equally possible to point to the survival of such strictly mediaeval types of jewellery as the ring-brooch in parts of Scotland or Norway. But these survivals were merely that, maintained by conservatism of taste or tradition, in regions or at social levels peripheral to all the major evolutions of style, taste and fashion. It is of far more consequence for the history of jewellery that the new Renaissance style did not invent fresh types of jewel, but rather fresh designs and ornaments for the types that had been evolved during the Middle Ages. The ring, the collar, the chain, the pendant, the girdle and the badge retain all their old mediaeval importance. If the coronal, chaplet and garland on the other hand largely disappear, we saw that they were already beginning to be displaced from the late fourteenth century by the hats and elaborate headdresses of the late Middle Ages. It is true that the brooch dwindled in significance and prominence during the sixteenth century, surrendering its primacy to the pendant and to the hat-badge. Yet the influence of mediaeval tradition over the genres, the composition and even the motifs of jewellery can be felt within all the puissant stylistic changes of the Renaissance until the second quarter of the seventeenth century, when the stately formality and coloured richness of the previous age gives way to jewellery that is much simpler, much more restrained, and much more purely decorative, in that it is far less charged with potency of virtue or symbolism. The break was so complete that, of all types of mediaeval jewellery, only the chivalric collar has survived into our time with some integrity of conception and design. But it has been preserved only by the survival of the very mediaeval institution of chivalric orders.

Yet when so much is said, there does remain a significant difference of spirit as well as of form between Renaissance and mediaeval jewellery. Renaissance jewellery reflects the more sensuous and sensual aspects of the life of man. By contrast no mediaeval jewel known to us can be called physically erotic in its motifs or ornament. The dominance of the body is not felt as it is felt in Renaissance jewellery, where the treatment of the nude swiftly evolves from a first celebration of ideal beauty into the languid sensuality of Mannerism. The love jewellery of the Middle Ages speaks a language of delicate amorous sentiment, sometimes secret, and at all times romantic. In this it expresses a social ethos that imposed at any rate a surface of courtesy and refinement on the crudities of reality. Again neither the bold magnificence of Romanesque jewellery, figuring socially the divisions of a rigid feudal hierarchy, and recalling artistically the traditions of Byzantium and the barbarian past, nor the elegance of Gothic jewellery, at once more ethereal and more personal, were to find real echoes in the luxurious society of the sixteenth-century, so much in love with ostentation and dazzle. Equally the sentiment of death which made its way so powerfully into later sixteenth-century jewellery is absent from mediaeval jewellery. Its appearance in the form of *memento-mori* jewels must reflect a poignancy of individual sentiment that was much rarer in the Middle Ages, whose reminders of death were confined to churches, tombs and cemeteries, and to places of general resort.

Perhaps the distinction between the two epochs is most suggestively conveyed by the uncut or simply faceted stones of the Middle Ages, whose mutable waters seem to the accustomed eye still to suggest the mysterious heavenly virtues that mediaeval man thought God had implanted in them for his protection or cure. Although belief in those virtues survived unimpaired into the seventeenth century, it is man who seems in Renaissance jewels to dominate the stones he has cut and set so skilfully.

CHAPTER 1    Gem-cutting, False Stones and Foils

1. Bartholomeus Anglicus, Book XVI, c.26, 87 (ed.cit., pp.758–9, 729, s.v. *carbunculus*); letter of Guillaume de Machaut to Agnès de Navarre, 1349, cit. Laborde, *Notice*, p.299. For mediaeval gem-stones in general, see U.T. Holmes, 'Mediaeval gem stones', in *Speculum*, IX, 1934, pp.195–204, who attempts to identify the modern nomenclature of mediaeval stones. Not all the information he gives about mines and their dates of opening is correct.

2. Laborde, *Notice*, p.492; C. de Pisan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, Bk.I, c.2; Neckham, *De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, 129–34 in *De naturis rerum*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series), 1863, p.466.

3. Palgrave, II, p.143.

4. Theophilus, ed. Dodwell, pp.168–71; Zingerle, *Reiserechnungen Wolfger's von Ellenbrechtskirchen, Bischofe von Passau, Patriarchen von Aquileia*, 1877, p.27; Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.398; Guiffrey, *Inventaire des joyaux*, pp.1–3, 6, 9.

5. On the early history of stone-cutting the only published serious studies are those of F. Falk, *Edelsteinschliff und Fassungformen im späten Mittelalter und in 16 Jahrhundert*, 1975; see also Falk, 'The Cutting and Setting of Gems in the 15th and 16th Centuries', in A. Somers Cocks, *Princely Magnificence*, exh.cat., V&A, London, 1980–1; Daniele & Gregorio, p.80; Monticolo, I, pp.128–9, c.XXXV; Dehaisnes, I, pp.69–70 (R. de Mortagne); Richard, pp.130–1. The Wells brooch is best studied on the nineteenth-century plaster cast in the Wells Museum.

6. For the question of early stone-cutting in Islam see M. Keene, 'The lapidary arts in Islam: an underappreciated tradition', in *Expedition* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, *University Museum Magazine*), XXIV, 1981, pp.24–39; Balducci Pegolotti, pp.304–5; Bongi, *Ricchezze*, p.17.

Dr A.S. Melikian-Chirvani has very kindly investigated at my request the problem of mediaeval Islamic stone-cutting: his preliminary findings are to be published in an article as 'Table-cut gems in early Islamic Iran'. On the terminology of precious stones in mediaeval Iran, see Ž. Vesel, 'Sur la terminologie des gemmes: *yākut* et *la'l* chez les auteurs persans', in *Studia Iranica*, XIV, 1985, pp.147–55.

7. For the Goslar reliquary and crown see the lit.cit. in P.E. Schramm & F. Mütherich, *Denkmäle der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 1962, p.193, no.206. Molinier, I, pp.60–7, 65, no.595; Dehaisnes, *Inventaire*, p.136; Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, pp.39–41; Carderera, I, no.VI.

8. Molmenti, *Storia*, p.445; Bapst, pp.29–30; Aumâle, p.133, *Franchequin le graveur, pour la taille faite par li entour 1 rubi pour le Roy, 11 nobles*; Laborde, *Notice*, p.492, *à viij quarrés à plate et très necte face*; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.97, no.662.

9. Caetano de Sousa, p.226, *a huma he talho de bellota, e a outra a talho de almenda*. Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.30; Molmenti, *Storia*, p.445; Aumâle, loc.cit., n.8; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.264; Bapst, pp.28, 33; Moranvillé, p.564, no.3532; Finot, p.161.

10. Dehaisnes, p.186; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.203, *une teste de balais*; Guiffrey, I, p.66, no.185; II, p.123, no.401; p.119, no.388; I, p.101, no.345; p.102, no.348; p.104, no.354 (sapphires), pp.118–19, no.385; pp.117–18, no.381. For the New College Founder's Jewel see Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat., 1987, p.483, no.640; Leroy, p.6; Guiffrey, I, p.156, no.578.

11. Molinier, p.66, no.617; Dehaisnes, p.242, *taillié a maniere de dyamant*; Mandeville, *Travels*, ed. Letts, I, pp.115–16.

12. Lespinasse, p.10, no.10; Mandeville, loc.cit.; Bapst, p.29; Leber, p.129 (posthumous inventory of 1372); Prost, II, p.439; David, pp.65–6.

13. Fagniez, *Études*, 1877, pp.305–6; Le Roux de Lincy, I, p.233; Guiffrey, I, p.128, no.421, p.127, n.419, p.130, no.431; Douët d'Arcq, 1851, p.369; Guiffrey, I, pp.126–7, 130, nos.431, 433.

14. For the Vienna cup see M. Leithe-Jasper, 'Der Bergkristallpokal · Herzog Philipps des Guten von Burgund', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXI, 1970, pp.227–42; Roman, 1894, p.248; Pannier, 1873, p.166; Laborde, *Ducs*, I, p.131, no.406.

15. Dufour & Rabut, pp.410, 441; Guiffrey, I, p.133, no.447; Bistort, p.195, citing a *Mariegola* (MS.205) in the Museo Civico Correr; Guiffrey, I, p.136, no.459; Roman, 1894, pp.254–5.

16. Laborde, 1853, pp.251–2; Deuchler, pp.125–30, for elaborately cut Burgundian diamonds; Laborde, *Notice*, p.253 (cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Anne*, IV, p.109, for date).

17. Pagnini, IV, p.282; Palgrave, III, p.369; Reddaway, p.207; Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.120.

18. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.126, no.130; Delayant, 'Inventaire des joyaux de Charles VII', in *Archives historiques du Poitou*, II, 1873, pp.298–300.

19. Boileau, *Livre*, p.158, no.VI; Lespinasse, p.10, no.7; Bistort, p.197.

20. Marbodus, *Liber Lapidum*, in *PL*, CLXXI, col.1770; Theophilus, ed. Dodwell, pp.60, 168–71; the altarpiece is Uffizi 9153: R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, I, 1786, Introduction, pp.LV–LVI.

21. Molinier, *Inventaire*, p.62, nos.557, 561, p.69, nos.655, 664; Dehaisnes, p.253; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1844, p.81; Leber, p.124; S.M. Newton, *Fashion*, pp.25, 36 for besants; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, pp.240–1; Massó Torrents, p.459, no.339.

22. Monticolo, I, pp.117–19, nos.V–VII, VIII, pp.128–9, no.XXV; Cellini, *Trattato*, cap.6 (ed.cit. in Bibliography, p.442); Texier, p.47; Monticolo, III, p.124, no.III, p.127, no.XIII; p.133, no.XXXX; p.150; Cecchetti, *Vita*, II, p.104.

23. Bistort, pp.194–6; Cecchetti, III, p.104; Bistort, p.196.

24. Dehaisnes, pp.106, 153; Minieri-Riccio, *Codice: Supplemento, pt.2*, p.113; Dehaisnes, p.253; Leroy, pp.6–7, 215–17.

25. Fagniez, *Études*, p.268, *Documents*, II, pp.71–4; Cellini, c.6 (ed.cit., p.441).

26. Espinas, I, p.221; Milanesi, *Documenti*, I, p.97, c.94.

27. Gay, I, p.610; Lespinasse, I, pp.9–10, nos.4–11; Fagniez, *Études*, p.267, *Documents*, II, p.246.

28. Fagniez, *Études*, p.267, n.1, p.304, n.30; Palgrave, III, p.341, no.184; *Rot. Parl.* IV (Henry V), p.220.

29. *Parzival*, cit. by F. Deuchler, 'Reflets de bijoux littéraires imaginaires', in *Studien zum europäischen Kunsthandwerk: Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch*, ed. J. Rasmüssen, 1983, pp.36–8, cf. n.8; Mandeville, ed. Letts, pp.115–16; London, Goldsmiths Company, Minute Book A, pp.109, 123 (inf. kindly communicated by Miss Susan Hare); Reddaway, p.150; Merrifield, II, pp.506–27.

30. Merrifield, II, pp.507–26.

31. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande . . .*, exh.cat., 1983, pp.277–8, 282, no.XXXVI; Pagnini, IV, p.282; Cellini, *Trattato*, cit., c.5, 6 (ed.cit., pp.438–42); Bapst, p.28; Aumâle, pp.99–100.

32. Cellini, *Trattato*, cit., c.7 (ed.cit., p.443); Garnier, p.28.

33. Dehaisnes, pp.430–1.


CHAPTER 2    Cameos, Gems, Nomenclature, Sources and Value

1. Minieri-Riccio, p.111; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175; Lehman-Brockhaus, II, 3835. For the St Alban's sapphire, see John of Amundesham, *Annales*, III, ed. Riley (Rolls Series), 1871, pp.331–3.

2. London, PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls*, XV, 1233–7, pp.257–9; *Liberate Rolls*, V, 1260–7, p.6; Rock, III, pp.324–8; Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.191, 227.

3. Caetano de Sousa, p.226; Lightbown, 1978, pp.4–5; Boileau, p.61; Volbach, p.127; H. Wentzel, 'Mittelalterliche Gemmen: Versuch einer Grundlegung', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII, 1941, pp.45–98; id., '*Portraits à l'antique* on French mediaeval gems and seals', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, pp.342–50; Fagniez, p.305.

4. Rock, III, loc.cit.; Guiffrey, I, p.116, no.377, p.287, no.1303, p.34, no.66.

5. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.293–4, no.870, pp.300–1 (pt. of no.879); Piponnier, pp.317–18; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, nos.919, 921, 923, 962, 964–5, 973, 986, 889–90, 928.

6. Le Roux de Lincy, *Anne*, IV, pp.105, 106 (Barbedor's name wrongly given as Symmonet), 109, 110.

7. Suger, ed. Panofsky, pp.54–5; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, IV, sec.371 ed. Stubbs, II, p.354; Swanton, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, rev.ed., London, 1975, p.112; Guiffrey, 'Inventaire des joyaux de Philippe-Auguste', in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, ser.3, XV, 1899, pp.1–11.

8. Yver, *passim*.

9. Mandeville, *Lapidaire*; Belgrano, p.97, citing *Flores historiarum*, London, 1570, p.340. For Giuseppe da Brindisi and his purchase see Belgrano, pp.100–1, and E.H. Byrne, 'Some mediaeval gems . . .', in *Speculum*, X, 1935, pp.177–87. L. Zdekauer, 'La bottega d'un orefice del dugento', in *Bull. senese di storia patria*, IX, 1902, pp.266–7. Yver, pp.36, 314, 348; M. Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, II, Naples, 1860, pp.261–2 (incorrectly cited by Yver).

10. Tafur, pp.94–105, 117.

11. Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare (1346–50)*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, 1945, p.103; Frescobaldi, p.74.

12. Suriano, pp.231–2.

13. Texier, col.1345. For a study of mediaeval gem-stones and an attempt at a more modern classification see V.T. Holmes, 'Mediaeval gem-stones', in *Speculum*, IX, 1934, pp.195–204.

14. Mandeville, op.cit.

15. Pagnini, IV, pp.283–4.

16. For the places of origin of mediaeval precious stones, W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1885, is still unequalled. Cf. especially vol.II, pp.651–8 (stones), 648–51 (pearls).

17. Albertus Magnus, p.98; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.44; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.95–6, 102–3; Molinier, p.68; Texier, 1345; Palgrave, III, p.185, no.175; for the term ruby Ducange, s.v. *rubinus*; Marco Polo, II, p.586.

18. Marco Polo, I, pp.118–19; *Hudūd al-'Ālam: the regions of the World*, ed. & trans. V. Minorsky, 1970, p.349.

19. Dehaisnes, p.442; Pagnini, IV, p.283; Bapst, p.27 *Il Libro di Sydrach*, ed. A. Bartoli, 1863, 472.

20. Marbodus, col.1747; Marco Polo, II, pp.628–31; J. Sinkankas, *Emeralds and other beryls*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981, p.450; Mandeville, ed. Letts, p.114.

21. Desrey (in his edition of O. de la Marche, *Triumphe des Dames*, Paris, 1510 cf. ed. cit. in Bibliography); Pegolotti, pp.304–5; Caetano da Sousa, pp.117–21.

22. M. Tóth-Ubbens, p.121, no.356; Devon, pp.209–10.

23. Prior Nicolas of Worcester in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 1691, pp.234–6; Andrew Halyburton, *Ledger . . . 1492–1503*, Edinburgh, 1867, p.189; Albertus Magnus, p.105.

24. Theophilus, ed. Dodwell, p.171; Albertus Magnus, ed.cit. in Bibliography, p.105; Heyd, pp.650–1; Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamerlán*, ed. F. López Estrada, 1943, p.113.

25. Pegolotti, pp.304, 24, 26, 36, 59, 64; Stanza 472 of *Frauendienst*, trans. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, III, 1929, p.73; Cecchetti, *Vita*, III, pp.99, 100; Pegolotti, pp.302–4; Dehaisnes, p.442.

26. Sharpe, I, p.506; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, pp.132–3, cf. also p.139. Marbodus, col.1749–50.

27. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, ed.cit. in note 18, pp.112, 349; Mayr-Adlwang, pp.137, 155, 160. London, *Patent Rolls*, 1216–25, 1901, p.449.

28. For coral in general see G. Tescione, *Il corallo nella storia e nell'arte*, Naples, 1965; Minieri-Riccio, *Codice: Supplemento*, pt.2, p.106; for Santiago jet, J. Filguera Valverde, *Azabaches compostelanos*, Museo de Pontevedra, 1943 (with bibliography).

29. See J. Warncke, 'Bernsteinkunst und Paternostermacher in Lübeck', in *Nordelbingen*, X, 1934, pp.428–64; Pegolotti, pp.24, 26, 36, 375–6 (see also note pp.412–13).

30. Roman, *Pièces*, p.32; Dufour & Rabut, p.393.

CHAPTER 3    Stores of Precious Stones

1. See Guiffrey art.cit., c.2, n.7.

2. Dehaisnes, pp.289, 242; Finot, pp.171–2; Guiffrey, II, p.252, no.743, p.253, no.759.

3. London, PRO, *Liberate Rolls*, II, 1240–5, pp.83, 213; and *Close Rolls*, Henry III, 1242–7, p.370. Lehmann-Brockhaus, III, p.300, no.6259; Dehaisnes, pp.242ff.

4. Leber, p.166; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.41; Dehaisnes, p.629.

5. Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.39–41; Mendoza, pp.36–7.

6. Finot, p.171; Dehaisnes, pp.85, 105, 166, 253, 250–1; Armitage-Smith, II, p.107.

7. Dehaisnes, pp.250, 274; Minieri-Riccio, *Codice: Supplemento*, pt.2, pp.101–28, pp.110, 114 for the references to enamels.

8. Dehaisnes, pp.385–6.

9. Sharpe, I, p.371; documents printed in Palgrave, I, pp.251–99. For this celebrated theft see also T.F. Tout, 'A mediaeval burglary', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, II, 1915, pp.348–69 and H.F. Westlake, *Westminster Abbey*, London, II, 1923, pp.430–46.

10. Delisle, p.762; Prost, I, p.71, no.497, p.122, no.706.

11. Dehaisnes, p.471; Prost, I, p.446, no.2355, p.448, no.2361, II, p.578, no.3479.

12. Prost, I, pp.168–9, no.951; Dehaisnes, p.461; David, p.65.

13. Leber, pp.39, 93; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.238; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.79, 86, 97, 99.

14. Henry V, pp.215–16, p.218, cf. also p.220.

15. Prost, II, p.424, no.2693; p.469, nos.3078–9; Prost, I, p.165, no.938, p.390; David, p.65; Prost, I, p.390, no.390 (for balance); II, p.69, no.416, p.125, no.754, p.211, no.1351.

16. For Jean de Berry as a collector of precious stones see Guiffrey, I, pp.LXXXVIII–XCV.

17. For Pannier see Guiffrey, I, nos.295, 382, 403, 610, 774.

18. Arnaud d'Agnel, pp.306–7, no.886; Grünbeck, p.73.

19. Bongi, *Ricchezze*, pp.42–3, 66–7; Clément, pp.353–4.

20. Dufour & Rabut, pp.351–2; Plancher, III, p.26; Leber, pp.90–1; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.15–16, no.5, pp.20–1, no.25.

21. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.48, no.189; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, p.310; Guiffrey, I, pp.66–7, no.186, II, pp.342–3.

22. Guiffrey, art.cit., c.2, n.7, pp.10–11; for *Gualterus comes camerarius* see p.2; Richard, p.242, n.3; Leber, pp.92–3; Dufour & Rabut, p.351.

23. Devon, p.22; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.11.

24. A. de la Salle, *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, c.18, 19; Arnaud d'Agnel, p.291, no.868.

25. Myers, p.119; Guiffrey, I, p.61, no.162, p.67, no.187.

CHAPTER 4    Style, Design, Technique and Fashion

1. Suger, ed. Panofsky, p.64.

2. Dufour & Rabut, p.343; Gerevich, *The art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, 1971, pp.80, 98; Mendoza, *passim*.

3. Valbonnais, II, p.278; Toulmin-Smith, p.287.

4. F. Giunta da Bevagna, *Legenda*, p.107 (c.v. sec.14); A. Chassaing, *Notes sur l'orfèvrerie . . .*, 1874, p.7; N. Thiollier, 'Les oeuvres des orfèvres du Puy,' (art.cit. in chapter 5, note 7), p.508.

5. For Nadal see Molmenti, I, p.324. Barone, 1886, pp.416–17; Mayr-Adlwang, p.93; Gerevich, op.cit., n.2, p.98; Schultz, *Minnesinger*, 1889, I, p.275; *Hervis von Metz*, ed. E. Stengel, 1903, p.13, ll.300–6; Fagniez, *Études*, p.17.

6. Monticolo, I, p.118, n.4; Byerly, p.70, no.717, p.86, no.886, p.202; Dehaisnes, p.301; Tóth-Ubbens, p.123, no.372.

7. For Scandinavia see for instance Kielland, pp.143–61.

8. Kielland, p.97; Martínez Ferrando, II, p.43; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175; Zdekauer, 1900, p.33; Eiximenis, op.cit. Puigarrí.

9. Mendoza, pp.63, 24, 52, 7; Coroleu, p.49; Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.311–12.

10. San Bernardino, *Prediche volgari*, III, p.204.

11. Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.125.

12. Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.201–2; Puiggarí, pp.251–2; Barone, 1886, p.188.

13. K. von Megenberg, *Yconomica*, I, p.12; F. Sacchetti, *Le trecentonovelle*, ed. E. Faccioli, Turin, 1970, pp.521–3.

14. Chrétien de Troyes, *Li Contes del Graal*, ed. A. Hilka, ll.5773–6, ed. Lecoy, ll.5707–10, Gavain sees craftsmen working

> Copes, henas et escüeles
> Et joiaux ovrez a esmaus
> Aniaus, ceintures et fermaus.

15. Mendoza, p.59; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1871, p.46, n.65; Lipinsky, pp.353–4.

16. Rymer, II–1, p.203, *de viel ouveraign*. This is from a list of jewels that had belonged to Piers Gaveston, drawn up in the form of an acquittance given by Edward II to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Guy, Earl of Warwick, Henry Percy and Robert Clifford *de quamplurimis jocalibus quae fuerant Petri de Gavaston*. These must in fact have been the king's own royal and personal jewels; a contemporary chronicler notes that Edward gave Gaveston free access to the royal treasures.

17. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6261–2; Lobineau, II, pp.453–5; Mayr-Adlwang, pp.188–9 (as 1335; the document has the date 1345).

18. Caetano de Sousa, I, pp.115, 117–21.

19. Leber, pp.42–3; Dehaisnes, pp.441–2, 443–4.

20. Bapst, *passim*.

21. La Plagne-Barris in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, pp.499–505; Paz y Melia, pp.46–8.

22. Jacques du Clercq, *Mémoires* (1448–67), ed. de Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1823, Bk.V, c.LXIII.

CHAPTER 5    'Jewellers', Jewellery Design and the Retail Trade

1. Miguel del Molino, *Repertorium fororum Aragonensium*, p.188, cit. in Du Cange, s.v. *jocalia*.

2. For this poem see E. Levi, *Lirica italiana antica*, 1905, p.17.

3. Garnier, p.46.

4. Mendoza, p.94; Fagniez, *Documents*, II, p.227, *Études*, pp.308–9.

5. Fagniez, *Documents*, II, p.227.

6. A. de la Salle, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, no.7; Prost, I, p.110, n.5; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.344–5, no.1028; Prost, II, pp.16, 17, no.102.

7. For Le Puy and its goldsmiths see A. Chassaing, *Notes sur l'orfèvrerie du Puy au moyen-âge et à la Renaissance*, 1874; N. Thiollier, 'Les oeuvres des orfèvres du Puy', in *Congrés Archéologique de France*, LXXI, 1905, pp.506–41; Chassaing, in *Le Livre de Podio, ou Chroniques d'Etienne Médicis*, 1869–74, II, pp.260–3; Pannier, p.248, ll.329–300; Sella, *Glossario Stato*, s.v. *Zaffirus*; Guiffrey, I, p.154, no.567, for 'a bag of little stones from the river of Le Puy', belonging in 1413 to Jean de Berry; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.95–6, note.

8. Chazaud, p.190; Prost, I, pp.628, 520–1, and 2745.

9. For these documents see Chassaing, *Notes*, cit., pp.6–10.

10. Garnier, pp.32, 41, 43; A. de la Salle, *Quinze joyes . . .*, ed. of 1857, p.81; Mendoza, p.77.

11. S. Mosher-Stuard, 'The Adriatic trade in silver', in *Studi veneziani*, XVI–XXVII, 1975–6, pp.95–143. The terminology used for jewellery in this otherwise excellent article needs to be interpreted with care.

12. Fagniez, *Documents*, II, p.177 (Lendit); A. de la Salle, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, VII° nouvelle; Prost, I, pp.528–9; Reddaway, pp.36, 245.

13. For mercers in general see 'La Mercerie', in A. Franklin, *Les Magasins*

*de Nouveautés*, II, 1895, pp.123–237 (all three volumes of this book contain relevant information) in his series, *La vie privée d'autrefois; arts et métiers, modes, moeurs, usages des Parisiens du XIIᵉ au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris, 1887–1902. The *Dit des Marchands* is printed in Crapelet, pp.159–64. The *Dit du Mercier* is also printed by Crapelet, op.cit., pp.149–56. Leber, pp.473–96 (important for fifteenth-century *roi des merciers*); Depping, pp.lxxiv–lxxvi, pp.192–4; Boileau, *Livre*, pp.156–9; Lespinasse, pp.232–48; Fagniez, *Études*, pp.282–3, 382–4, *Documents*, II, p.180. For the special references in the text, Dehaisnes, p.165; Lehoux, *Jean de France*, I, p.361; Arnaud d'Agnel, II, p.353, no.2631.

14. Reddaway, pp.222–3; *Rot. Parl.*, III, p.9.

15. For the position the French mercers established for themselves see *Ordonnances royales*, XIV, p.27 in Laurière, E. de, (ed). *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, recueillies par ordre chronologique*. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 21 vols, 1723–1849. For the thirteenth-century *roi des merciers*, Crapelet, op.cit., p.59; for Blois see Fagniez, *Documents*, II, pp.207–8.

16. Jean de Jandun, in Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand, I, 1867, pp.50, 158, II, p.532.

17. Cecchetti, III, pp.94, 106–8; Monticolo, II, pt.1, pp.307–27.

18. Cecchetti, III, p.94; Milanesi, I, p.80, c.49, p.81, c.53; Fagniez, *Documents*, II, pp.202–3; Capmany, I, pt.3, pp.90–1.

19. Leber, p.355; Fagniez, *Études*, pp.382–4.

20. Reddaway, pp.222–3; Fagniez, *Études*, pp.385–6, 299–314.

CHAPTER 6    Purchasing Jewellery

1. Beccaria, *Spigolature*, p.163; Mayr-Adlwang, pp.139–40, 142, 161.

2. PRO, *Close Rolls, Henry III, 1234–7*, 1908, p.72; *1237–42*, p.403; *1242–7*, p.133, doc. of 5 November 1243.

3. Dehaisnes, pp.250–3 (for the purchase of jewels in general); for the bargaining see p.251; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.332, no.979; Dehaisnes, p.294.

4. Del Giudice, *Codice*, II, 1878, pp.275–7n.; Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio*, I, pp.132–3.

5. Gennari, pp.xiv–xv, xxiv–xxvi; Dufour & Rabut, *passim*; Ghinzani, 'Federico III imperatore a Venezia (17 al 19 febbraio 1469)', in *Archivio Veneto*, XXXVII, 1889, p.141; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.281, no.844, p.282, no.846, p.327, no.961.

6. Dehaisnes, pp.84–5; Dufour & Rabut, pp.420–2.

7. Paz y Meliá, pp.49–50; P. Dollinger, *La Hanse*, pp.220–1. For the market in jewels in Cologne during the fifteenth century see K. Kuske, 'Der Kölner Juwelenhandel und antike Gemmen im Besitze von Kölner Bürgern im 15 Jahrhundert', in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XXVII, 1908, pp.432–8.

8. Parsons, pp.84–5, 102, 130.

9. Yver, pp.222, 300, 69–70; Levi, in *Arch. st. romano*, XIV, 1891, p.299. E.H. Byrne, 'Some mediaeval gems and relative values', *Speculum*, X, 1935, esp. pp.178–9, n.2. Byrne attempts to assess the relative value of gems in the thirteenth century, but this is an impractical task, given the variation in quality of stones.

10. Mayr-Adlwang, p.138; Yver, pp.225–6.

11. Mayr-Adlwang, p.145; Dehaisnes, p.303; Leber, p.105.

12. Dawes, IV, *passim*, esp. pp.403, 301, 147, 151.

13. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, pp.66, 120, 127; PRO *Calendar of the Close Rolls*: Richard II, IV, 1922, pp.26, 240–1; V, 1925, pp.23, 36–7, 86; Rymer, VIII, p.569.

14. Davillier, *Recherches sur l'orfèvrerie en Espagne*, 1879, p.41n.; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.208; Mendoza, pp.25–6, 77; Dufour & Rabut, pp.408–9; Palgrave, II, pp.255–6; Bentley, *Excerpta*, pp.93, 103.

15. Letter from Violante in Sanpere y Miquel, *Costumbres*, p.225.

16. Minieri-Riccio, *Codice*, II, p.15; Martínez Ferrando, pp.287–8, 295, 298.

17. Dehaisnes, pp.288–9; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.18, nos.12, 15, p.19, no.22.

18. Dehaisnes, pp.267–8, 273–4; Tóth-Ubbens, *passim*.

19. Valbonnais, II, p.322, doc.71; Dehaisnes, pp.80, 190–1, 301.

20. Dehaisnes, p.80; Finke, p.247.

21. Plancher, pp.lxxxiv–lxxxv, 86; Prost, II, pp.173–8, 184, no.1206; Palgrave, III, p.379.

22. Bistort, pp.173–4.

23. For this interpretation of Giuseppe da Brindisi and his transaction see Byrne, art.cit., n.9. Puiggarí, p.63; Hoberg, p.281.

24. Mayr-Adlwang, pp.163, 177–8.

25. Dufour & Rabut, pp.354–6.

26. Published by Chassaing, in *Le Livre de Podio ou Chroniques d'Etienne Médicis*, II, 1869–74, pp.261–2n. Mayr-Adlwang, p.176.

27. Valbonnais, II, pp.567–8.

28. Bertrandon de la Broquière, pp.243–4; Rozmital, pp.28, 52–3; for the royal Castilian treasure see Ferrandis, pp.iv–xvii.

29. Grünbeck, *Historia Frederici et Maximiliani*, in J. Chmel, *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher*, I, 1838, p.73.

CHAPTER 7    Jewellery for Men and Women, Gifts and Religious Offerings

1. Ugo da Persico, cit. Levi Pisetsky, I, p.280.

2. Konrad von Megenburg, *Yconomica*, Bk.I, c.12 (ed. S. Krüger, *MGH*), 1973: it is Konrad who cites Bartholomew of Bruges.

3. *Registrum Farfense*, V, p.310; Douët d'Arcq, *Inventaire*, p.160; Abzac de la Douze, pp.384–6.

4. Martínez Ferrando, I, p.64; Tafur, ed.cit., p.210; Ogier d'Anglure, *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem*, in *Jeux et sapience du moyen âge*, ed. A. Pauphilet, 1951, pp.434–5; Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, ed. J.N. de Wailly, Paris, 1874, p.54.

5. *Roman de la Rose*, ll.9787ff., 10001ff.

6. Parsons, p.134; Leber, pp.167–89.

7. Gonon, p.193, no.486; Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, VIII, 2.

8. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Cejador y Frauca, II, reprint of 1963, p.16, sec.918; Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (*The Miller's Tale*), ll.3235, 3243, 3265–6; Raine, IV, p.33; I, pp.198–200; III, p.152; Du Cange, s.v. *jocalia*; E. Meade OFM, *Western Pilgrims*, Jerusalem, 1952, p.51.

9. Puiggarí, p.239.

10. Matthew Paris, sa.1235 (Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6169); Del Giudice, *Legge suntuaria*, pp.262ff.

11. Dehaisnes, pp.337–8; Plancher, p.285.

12. Richard, pp.231–2, 382; Cibrario, II, p.386.

13. For Isabelle's presents and others given on the occasion of this marriage see Mirot, 'Un trousseau'; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, pp.273–9; Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp.553–5.

14. Lehoux, II, pp.103–4; Saez, pp.524–8.

15. *Les livres de comptes des frères Bonis . . . publiés par E. Forestié*, Paris, 1890, pp.lviii–lix; Thuile, II, pp.329–31 (for texts), actual ref. p.331; Plancher, pp.85–6, 560–3, 569.

16. Guiffrey, 'Inventaire des joyaux . . .', pp.9–11; Matthew Paris, s.a.1254 (Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6202); Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6224, 6229; Leber, p.40; Byerly, pp.201–2; Armitage-Smith, II, pp.191–3.

17. Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.96–7, 247–50.

18. England, R. Commission on Historical MSS, *Third Report*, 1872, p.262; Armitage-Smith, II, p.299; Dufour & Rabut, pp.372–3.

19. See Prost at the beginning of each year for lists of other gifts, II, p.205, no.1315, p.223, no.1400, p.237, no.1463. For the gift to the Duchess of Brittany see Petit, pp.565–6.

20. Eyb, cit. Mrs H. Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, London, 1909, pp.171–2; Robert de Blois, *Le Chastiement des dames*, in Barbazan, II, pp.190–2.

21. Vallet de Viriville, III, pp.67–8; G. Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Letterhove, Brussels, 1863–6, VIII; Vallet de Viriville, III, pp.67–8.

22. Martial d'Auvergne, pp.64–6, 129; *Flamenca*, ll.5987–8.

23. A. de la Salle, op.cit., c.x; Mrs H. Cust, op.cit., pp.168–72.

24. See F. Michel, I, pp.103–6 for these passages; Dehaisnes, pp.552–3 (for a mother's hair).

25. See Petit, *Entrée*, pp.58–9; Plancher, p.287.

26. Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.92–3; Boehn, p.291.

27. Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires*, in *Choix de Chroniques*, ed. J.A. Buchon, Paris, 1838, pp.496–7.

28. Gutierre Díez de Gámez, *El Victorial: crónica de Pero Niño*, ed. R. Iglesia, Mexico City, 1940, p.112; Bentley, *Excerpta*, pp.177–8, 185.

29. *Flamenca*, l.7591; Joinville, cit. in note 4, p.70, sec.123, pp.240–2, sec.442.

30. Sharpe, II, pp.xv, 108; Suger, ed.cit., pp.54–5; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 870, 3935, 3940, 3943 (for Henry), 6190 (for R. of Cornwall); Rozmital, ed. Letts, pp.43–4, with note by Letts.

31. Devon, p.14; *Liber Quotidianus . . . regis Edward rimi . . . A.D.1299–1300*, ed. with introd. by John Topham, London, 1787, pp.333–4; Byerly, pp.200–1.

32. *Dives et Pauper*, Early English Text Society, ed. P.H. Barnum, no.275 (1976), pt.I, pp.100–1 (spelling slightly modernised); no.280 (1980): Dehaisnes, p.261; Tymms, p.35; Raine, II, pp.258–60, 271, 276; IV, pp.149–55, 200–2.

33. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. of 1846, VI, pt.III, pp.1206–10 (inventory of 1509).

34. Chavannes, pp.23–36.

35. Ibid., pp.36–46.

36. Caumont, 1858, pp.136–9.

CHAPTER 8    Sumptuary Laws

1. Christine de Pisan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes moeurs . . .*, Bk.II, c.3; S. Bernardino, *Prediche volgari*, III, 1888, pp.192–3. Dominici, op.cit., p.137.

2. Du Cange, s.v. *corona*.

3. For Pistoia see Manzi, pp.157–68; Francesco da Barberino, p.31.

4. For Spanish sumptuary laws see J. Sempere y Guarinos, *Historia del Luxo, y de las leyes suntuarias de España*, 1788, especially, I, pp.72, 87–96, 111–25, 165, 174–5, 180–2. For the Castilian law of 1352 see Ballesteros.

5. G. Biagi, *Fiorenza fior che sempre rinovella: quadri e figure . . .*, 1925, p.26.

6. Thuile, I, pp.49–51 for the later sumptuary laws of Montpellier.

7. Thuile, II, pp.329–31, for the sumptuary laws of 1279 and 1291.

8. Clonard, p.132; Puiggarí, p.74; Balaguer y Merino, pp.410–12; Puiggarí, pp.239–60; Sanpere y Miguel, pp.77–81; Villanueva, *Viaje*, XVII, p.18 (for Lérida).

9. F. Giunta da Bevagna, *Legenda*, ed.cit., p.261, cap.IX, sec.40; Del Giudice, *Legge*, pp.162–5.

10. For this earliest of Sienese sumptuary laws see C. Mazzi, 'Alcune leggi suntuarie senesi del secolo XIII', in *Archivio storico italiano*, ser.4, V, 1880, pp.133–44.

11. F. Giunta da Bevagna, *Legenda*, ed.cit., p.211 (cap.8); C. Mazzi, op.cit. n.10, pp.137–8.

12. Bonaini, pp.452–4.

13. Monticolo, I, pp.189–91; Romanin, III, p.347; Bistort, pp.329–52; Cecchetti, III, pp.76, 95–6; Molmenti, pp.392–4.

14. Fabretti, pp.164–6.

15. Frati, pp.235–41, 26–32.

16. C. Cantú, *Storia universale*, Turin, 1862–7, IV, p.273; D'Arco, 1842, p.402.

17. Del Giudice, *Legge*, pp.165–76.

18. Sella, *Glossario Latino–Emiliano*, s.v. *corona*, citing 'Statuta comunis Parmae' in *Monumenta historica ad provinciam parmensem . . .*, *Statuta*, I, 1855. Muratori, *Dissertatio* XXIII, in *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, ed. of Arezzo, IV, 1774, 575–6; Cibrario, II, p.79; Del Giudice, *Legge*, pp.131–2. I have not

been able to consult L. Volpicella, *Breve discorso su di uno Statuto Aquilano*, 1861.

19. *Croniche di Giovanni Villani*, ed. A. Rachel; Trieste, 1857, Bk.X, ch.CLIII.

20. Manzi, pp.157–68; Simoneschi, *passim*, and appendix, pp.3–35.

21. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande* . . ., exh.cat. 1983, p.283; Bongi, *Bandi*, pp.47–53, 308–12.

22. For the Sienese sumptuary law of 1343 see Casanova in *Bull. sen.*, VIII, 1901, pp.58–64.

23. For the Florentine law of 1355 see Rodocanachi, pp.348–52.

24. Fabretti, p.168; Frati, pp.28, 29–30.

25. E. Verga, 'Le leggi suntuarie milanesi: gli Statuti del 1396 e del 1498', in *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser.3, IX, pp.5–79, especially pp.9, 10; Frati, pp.241–5.

26. Faraglia, 'Alcune notizie intorno a Giovanni e Filippo Villani' in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XI, 1886, pp.555–6, 558–60; Casanova in *Bull. sen.*, VIII, pp.83–90; Rodoconachi, p.347, doc.12, & pp.344–7, 353, 355; Frati, p.30, n.1, pp.30–1.

27. Schultz, pp.302–5. For early sumptuary laws in Germany see L.O. Eisenbart, *Die Kleiderordnungen*, 1962, p.104.

28. For the law of 1363 see *The Statutes at Large*, ed. Danby Pickering, II, London, 1762, pp.160–6. For English sumptuary laws in general see F.E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary legislation and personal regulation in England*, 1926 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in historical and political science*, XLIV, i). For a Commons petition of 1379 against rich array see *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, p.66.

CHAPTER 9    Jewellery worn by Children and Clerics

1. T.H. Turner, p.65; Richard, p.242; Dehaisnes, p.578; Puiggarí, p.241; Garnier, p.43.

2. Cecchetti, Pt.3, pp.76, 95–6; Bistort, pp.333–52; Casanova in *Bull. sen.*, VIII, 1901, p.71; San Bernardino, *Prediche volgari*, III, 1888, p.204; W.P. Dodge, *From Squire to Prince, being a history of . . . the house of Cirksena*, London, 1901, p.96.

3. Delisle, p.618, no.1193, p.678, no.1305, p.789, no.1591, p.832, no.1688, pp.796–7, no.1605.

4. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.19, nos.18, 19, pp.29, 30–1, nos.56, 65–70, pp.110–12, nos.804–8, 810, 816–20, pp.49–51, nos.200–23, p.27, no.45, p.33, no.85; Green, III, p.311.

5. Prost, I, p.363, no.1968, p.426, no.2257; David, p.34; Advielle, p.290.

6. Schultz, *Minnesinger*, I, p.319; Evans, *History of Jewellery*, p.113 (for Troyes); *Liber Quotidianus*, p.348; Green, II, pp.422, 439.

7. Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.68–71; Leber, pp.168–9, 167.

8. Courajod, 'Inventaire des bien meubles d'Alix de Frolois . . . en 1369', in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 1874–5, pp.157–8; Bonis, I, pp.9, 52; II, pp.18, 210.

9. Eixemenis, cit. Puiggarí, pp.191–2.

10. Giulini, IV, p.190 (the identity of the archbishop is not certainly established); A. Du Saussay, *Panoplia clericalis*, Paris, 1649, p.16; C.J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. Leclercq, VI, pt.I, Paris, 1914, p.81, no.47.

11. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6164, 6512, 6130.

12. Dehaisnes, pp.90, 116, 568.

13. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 3493; Puiggarí, p.96; Hale & Ellacombe (eds.), *Account of the executors of Richard Bishop of London 1303 and of the executors of Thomas Bishop of Exeter 1310* (Camden Soc.), 1874, pp.1–2, 55; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp.344–6; Sharpe, II, pp.xli–xlii.

14. A. Chassaing, 'Inventaire du mobilier d'un évêque du Puy (1327)', in *Annales de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences, Arts et Commerce du Puy*, XXVIII, 1866–7, pp.570–1; Hoberg, pp.120, 180, 146–8; David, p.180.

15. Prou, pp.390, 401–2; L. Fumi, 'L'inventario dei beni di Giovanni di Magnavia . . .' in *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, XV, 1894, pp.55–90, especially p.82.

16. Verona doc.cit. in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande* . . ., exh.cat. 1983, p.282; Villanueva, *Viaje*, VII, p.249; Puiggarí, p.124; Villanueva, *Viaje*, VII, pp.252–8, XVII, pp.248–51; Clonard, pp.74, 90.

17. These documents are admirably published by Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, pp.289, 291, 209.

18. Chaucer, *Prologue*, ll.195–7; *Dives et Pauper*, ed. Barnum, no.275 (1976), pt.2, pp.161–2 (text slightly modernised).

19. Sharpe, II, p.190; Raine, III, pp.1–8; Raine, *Wills and Inventories*, pp.54–6; Raine, III, pp.61–4 (Greenwood), II, pp.32–5 (Wyndhill), II, pp.116–18 (Revetour), II, pp.125–52 (Duffield), especially p.132.

CHAPTER 10    Amulets, Talismans and Prophylactic Inscriptions

1. On magical gems in general see J. Evans, *Magical jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly in England*, 1922; L. Pannier, *Les lapidaires français du moyen âge des XII*, *XIII* et XIV* siècles*, 1882; G.F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, 1913.

It is obviously not possible to do more than give an outline of this vast subject.

2. Villena, *Arte Cisoria*, ed. F. C. Sainz de Robles, Madrid, 1967, p.28 (the *girganza* of the original, which has baffled lexicographers, is jacinth in the mediaeval use of the word); Dehaisnes, p.170; Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.43, 47; Dehaisnes, p.242.

3. Marbodus, *Liber Lapidum* in *PL*, CLXXI, 1854, 1738–70. For the diamond, Marbodus, I (cols.1739–40); for the sapphire, V (cols.1743–4); for the emerald, VII (cols.1744–5); for the ruby (carbuncle), XXIII (col.1754); for the pearl, L (col.1766). Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, ed. cit.

4. T. Wright, 'On antiquarian excavations and researches in the Middle Ages', in *Archaeologia*, XXX, 1844, p.454; Thiers, *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacrements*, 4th ed., Avignon, 1777, I, pp.19–26.

5. Thiers, vol.cit., p.340; Texier, 1343.

6. Dehaisnes, pp.243–6; Minieri-Riccio, pp.101–28; David, p.66; Sharpe, I, p.482; Francesco da Barberino, p.83; Mendoza, pp.37–8.

7. For the St Alban's cameo see also John of Amundesham, *Annales Monasterii S. Albani* ed. H.T. Riley (*Rolls Series* vol.28), 1871, pp.332–3; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.308, no.2937, p.93, nos.617–18.

8. Cibrario, II, p.88; Mendoza, p.28.

9. Guiffrey, I, p.159, no.594; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.315, no.896, p.343, no.1024; Boislille, pp.277, 279. Guiffrey, I, p.147, no.511, p.148, no.521, p.145, nos.496, 497.

10. Rymer, *Foedera*, II–i, 'Gaveston', p.204; Albertus Magnus, op.cit., lib.3, p.162; Laborde, p.241; Thiers, ed.cit., I, p.25, art.20; Hoberg, p.179.

11. Aquinas, *Summa*, 2 Secundae, 96, art.4; Nicholas of Cusa, cit. Thiers, vol.cit., pp.27–32.

12. Martín de Arles, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, in N. Jacquière, *Flagellum haereticorum fascinaniorum*, 1581, pp.402–3 (Martín's treatise was written before 1517). 'Archaeological Intelligence', *Archaeological Journal*, III, 1846, p.359.

13. John Selden, *Table Talk* (Temple Classics), London, ed. of 1898, p.53.

14. Bapst, p.44; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.94, no.629; Tuetey, *passim*.

15. For this see London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, p.484, no.644.

CHAPTER 11    Early Mediaeval Jewels and Parures

1. *Lex Thuringorum*, in MGH, *Legvm*, V, 1889, pp.127–8; Dehaisnes, pp.10–11, 14–15.

2. Ermoldus Nigellus, *De rebus gestis Ludovici Pii*, in Migne, *PL*, CV, 627–8; Abbo, *Le Siège de Paris*, ed. H. Waquet, 1942, p.112; Dehaisnes, pp.14–15; P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, Paris, 1688, 973.

3. For the jewellery found in Gotland see C.R. af Ugglas, *Gotländska silverskatter från Valdemarstågets tid*, Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, 1936. For the Mainz treasure see O. von Falke, *Der Mainzer Goldschmuck der Kaiserin Gisela*, 1913. Later literature in Schramm & Mütherich, 1962, pp.168–9, n.144, who date the treasure *c*.1000.

4. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6138.

5. For early German brooches see the excellent article by H. Westermann-Angerhausen, 'Ottonischer Fibelschmuck, neue Funde und Überlegungen', in *Jewellery Studies*, I, 1983–4, pp.20–36. For the Towneley and other German brooches in the British Museum see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, pp.158–9, nos.258–9.

6. Kielland, figs.27, 30.

7. Anselm, *De contemptu mundi* (Migne, *PL*, CLVIII, 1858, col.696A).

8. Dehaisnes, p.34; J. Cherry & J. Goodall, in *Antiquaries Journal*, LXV, 1985, pp.471–2 (Folkingham brooch), London, PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls*, *11–14 John*, 1932, p.34; *Richard I–2 John*, 1922, p.379, pp.11–14; *3–5 John*, p.253; *11–14 John*, p.67; *Henry III 1233–7*, pp.257–9; PRO, *Patent Rolls*, *1216–25*, 1901, p.449 (for William Martel).

9. Bevere, *Vestimenti*, p.328, no.488, *Soldu de auro da pectu* (source p.340); T. Talbot Rice, *Everyday life in Byzantium*, 1967, pp.160–1; Zanetti, *Dell' origine di alcune arti principali appresso i Viniziani*, 1758, p.96.

10. Guiffrey, 'Inventaire . . .', *passim*; PRO (Commissioners of the Public Records), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, I, pt.I, 1835, pp.145a, 173a (see p.481 for a letter of 29 March 1205 in which John acknowledges receipt of 'six brooches with divers stones'). King John's jewels are discussed in an article by Mrs A.V. Jenkinson (see Bibliography) but, as sometimes occurs in articles written by pure historians on mediaeval jewellery, she has misunderstood the terminology of the original documents (e.g. she interprets the *baculi* on which rings were strung as jewelled staffs).

11. For *murenula* see *Novum Glossarium mediae latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC*, s.v.; Ugglas, 1936, *see* STOCKHOLM: Statens Historiska, p.18, pl.18, no.20.

12. For the Falkenstein drawing see Landshut, *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge, von Otto I zu Ludwig dem Bayern*, exh.cat., n.44. The genuineness of the effigies of Count Gerard and Countess Marguerite, once queried, has recently been fully vindicated by the emergence of a seventeenth-century drawing of them. For the Moravian pendant see K. Benda, *Ornament & Jewellery*, pl.63.

13. London, PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls*, *11–14 Henry III*, p.261.

14. Cit. Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesanger*, I, 1889, p.282, n; *PL*, CXXXV, col.897, cf. Texier, 277; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 5947, 5953; Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Deutschland*, 2800.

15. For imperial armlets and those possibly associated with Barbarossa see R. Elze, 'Baugen–armillae: zur Geschichte der königlichen Armspangen', in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, II, pp.538–50, and Schramm & Mütherich, 1962, pp.180–1, nos.174, 175; for the Barbarossa armlets, see also Hirsch sale, Sotheby's, 22 June 1978, pp.24–7; William of Malmesbury, *De historia regum Anglorum*, Bk.III, sec.245 (ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, II, 1889, p.305).

16. Ugglas, cit. in note 11, pls.7, 13, 57–8. Zanetti, op. and loc.cit. in note 9.

17. Adam du Petit-Pont, ed. Scheler, p.135; for the coffer in the bedchamber cf., e.g. London, PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls, Richard I–2 John*, 1922, pp.255, 209; Bevere, *Vestimenti*, p.323, no.352, source p.337.

18. Alexander Neckham, ed. Scheler, p.92; for the early thirteenth-century ladies' jewellery, see London, PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls, 11–14 John*, 1932, pp.209, 255.

19. G. de la Rue, *Essais historiques sur la ville de Caen*, II, 1820, pp.437–8, 'atque de duabus ligaturis meis aureis in quibus cruces sunt, insuper illam quae emblematibus est insculpta'. Baluze, pp.256–7; Molmenti, I, p.286 n. For the head-bands from Bute and Iona see J.H. Pollexfen, 'Notice of coins found in the Island of Bute', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*,

v, 1865, pp.372–84, esp. p.373 (cf. also p.235) and A.O. Curle, 'A note on four silver spoons and a fillet . . .', in ibid. LVIII, 1924, pp.109–11.

20. Alexander Neckham, *De Naturis Rerum*, caps.190, 192 (ed. T. Wright, Rolls Series, 1863, pp.343–6, 349–54).

21. Cit. Muratori, *Dissertatio*, XXIII, ed.cit., 563–4.

22. *Chronicae Polonorum*, I, c.12, cit. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen . . . Deutschland . . .*, p.704, no.2971; for Count Siboto, cf. n.12 above.

CHAPTER 12    Head Ornaments

1. For the statue of Isabelle see Paris, Louvre, *L'Europe Gothique XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh.cat. 1968, p.61, no.99, pl.39. For the ambiguity of mediaeval descriptions of head ornaments cf. an English doc. of 1324 (Palgrave, III, p.140: *cercle dor od crestes des fleurs de liz od les chevilles des genets*).

2. Puiggarí, p.293; Crapelet, p.150.

3. Dehaisnes, p.125; Green, II, pp.383–4; for the Hansel see exh.cat. cit. ch.30, n.27; Puiggarí, p.66; Richard, pp.231, 382.

4. See ch.11, p.101; also Molmenti, I, p.286; Chazaud, p.187; Del Giudice, *Legge*, p.279; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6263; Dehaisnes, p.94.

5. Dehaisnes, pp.120 (cf. also Richard, p.385), 125 (Nesle), 289 (Cassel); Palgrave, III, p.183, no.150; Dehaisnes, p.125; Richard, p.385; Dehaisnes, p.289; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1874, pp.38–9, no.2.

6. Richard, p.385; Dehaisnes, p.289.

7. Green, II, p.371.

8. Bevere, *Vestimenti*, p.326, no.438, source p.339; Rodoconachi, p.346; G. Mazzatinti, 'Di alcune legge suntuarie Eugubine', *Bollettino di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, III, 2, 1897, p.297.

9. Richard, p.385; Paz y Melia, pp.16–18; Green, II, p.365.

10. Dehaisnes, pp.63–4, 442; Palgrave, III, p.183, nos.152–3, p.140, no.39.

11. Rubió y Lluch, I, p.173; W. Paley Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908–9, pp.163–6. I interpret *liguor* as chaplet, but it is difficult to be sure that it was not also or more probably a *tressoir*.

12. Prost, I, p.167, II, p.228, no.1414, I, p.65, no.460; Franklin, III, pp.151–2, for pearl-embroidered chaplets in Paris.

13. Monticolo, I, p.126, n.1; Cecchetti, p.100, n.7, 8; Gennari, 1800, pp.xxiv–xxvi; C. Mazzi, *Argenti degli Acciaiuoli*, 1895, p.6. De Mussis, cit. in Muratori, *Dissertatio* XXIII, ed.cit., 582. Muratori first called attention to this famous passage.

14. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6311; Puiggarí, pp.61–2; Belgrano, pp.236–7; Franklin, III, 1896, pp.149–50; Gay, p.327, s.v. *chapel de paon*. For the *chapels de paon* worn by St Louis see also Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles de Saint-Louis*, ed. P.B. Fay, Paris, 1931, pp.140–2.

15. Boileau, pp.207–8; Léonard, *Compte*, p.249; Palgrave, III, p.40, no.40, p.181, no.128; Fillet, in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1896, p.59.

16. Douët d'Arcq, 'Inventaire. . . . Jeanne de Boulogne', nos.153, 154, 160, 152.

17. Dehaisnes, pp.125, 494, 385; Douët d'Arcq, 'Inventaire. . . . Jeanne de Boulogne', nos.155, 48.

18. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.19, no.22; Roman, *Inventaires & Documents*, pp.89–90, p.89, no.11; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.18, nos.13, 14, p.19, no.17.

19. Dehaisnes, p.125; Palgrave, III, p.182, no.133 – cf. Riley, p.411, 'a *nouche* of five pipes' to be set in the middle of a coronet for a bacinet, pledged by Richard II in 1377. Palgrave, III, p.182, no.145, p.183, n.151; Dehaisnes, pp.314, 194; Joursanvault, I, pp.121, 89; Palgrave, III, p.337, no.156.

20. Dehaisnes, pp.859–60; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, p.275; Gay, I, p.724, s.v. *flocart*; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.114, no.6.

21. Cipolla, op.cit., cf. also Verona, Museo, *Le stoffe*, pp.283–4; Henry V, p.216.

22. Henry V, p.214; Finot, p.161; Arnaud d'Agnel, p.322, no.940; Piponnier, p.318.

23. Raine, I, pp.149–52, 281 (Thorp), II, pp.141–6 (Aske); Richard, p.238; Fillet in *Bull. arch.*, 1896, p.62.

24. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6216 & 6223, 2759; Dehaisnes, p.98; Barone, 1886, p.188.

25. Stuttgart, Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh.cat. 1977, I, p.359, II, pl.279; Finke, III, p.240; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.173; Rodocanachi, p.346; Caetano de Sousa, p.226; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.207; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, pt.3, ed. of 1846, p.1285.

26. *Dives et Pauper*, p.123; Francesco da Barberino, p.57; Barone, 1886, p.188; Moranvillé, p.568, no.3541.

27. E.M.E. Cust, *Gentlemen Errant . . . adventures of four noblemen in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries*, London, 1909, pp.532–3; Buchner, no.203; Bertrandon de la Broquière, pp.243, 252–3.

28. Lalaing, in García Marcadal, *Viajes*, I, p.537.

### CHAPTER 13    Coronets, Coronals and Crowns

1. On royal and princely crowns there is much invaluable information and bibliography in the two books by Lord Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe*, 1960, and *European Regalia*, 1967.

2. See ch.8, n.10; Rodoconachi, p.346.

3. Martène & Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins*, I, 1717, p.88.

4. Twining, *European Regalia*, p.66; Du Cange, s.v. *corona, circulus*; Demay, *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*, 1880, figs.461, 470, 466, 468.

5. Du Cange, s.v. *corona*; Minieri-Riccio, p.114.

6. Original text of Rolandino in Muratori, *RIS*, VIII, p.180; cit. in Del Giudice, *Legge suntuaria*; trans. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, III, 1929, pp.47–9. For the jewellery of the South Italian busts see Lightbown, in *Apollo*, CXXVII, 1988, pp.108–12.

7. Saba Malaspina, Bk.5, c.4: original text cit. Del Giudice, *Legge suntuaria*, p.136; *Liber Quotidianus*, p.350; T.H. Turner, *Household expenses*, 1841, p.lxxvi, n.

8. San Bernardino, *Prediche*, III, p.359 (also cit. Casanova, *Bull. sen.*, VIII, p.25); Minieri-Riccio, p.102; Dehaisnes, pp.188, 217; Du Cange, s.v. *corona*.

9. Dehaisnes, p.217; Dufour & Rabut, p.356; Parsons, p.135; L. de la Ville-sur-Yllon, 'Stemme e corone nel sec. XIV', in *Napoli nobilissima*, V, 1896, p.95n; S.L. Peruzzi, *Storia del commercio e dei banchieri di Firenze*, 1868, pp.381–2.

10. *Dives et Pauper*, ed. Barnum, I, pt.2, p.61 (spelling slightly modernised); Bonis, I, p.35; Fillet in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1896, pp.57–8, 60–1, 68–9.

11. Caprin, G. *Il trecento a Trieste*, 1897, p.208; A. Sacchetti, *La dote di una sposa cividalese del secolo XV*, 1906 (Nozze Concina–Frossi) doc. at end; Salomone-Marino, pp.224–7.

12. Fillet, op.cit. p.59; La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, pp.499–505 (wrongly identified in text with a felt hat inventoried in 1366).

13. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.433, no.7176; T. Medland, 'Extracts from the Steyning Church Book', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, VIII, pp.137–40.

14. Levi, pp.299–300.

15. For the basic documentation of the Namur crown see P. Sosson & J. Nickers, *Le trésor de l'église de St-Aubain à Namur*, 1906, pp.2, 15–19; Courtoy & Schmitz, p.13; S. Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts de métal en Belgique*, Brussels, 1951, p.228.

16. For these Spanish crowns see Boeckler, op.cit. note 17 below and see Twining, *Crown Jewels*, pl.209a, pp.602–6; Finke, *Acta Aragonesia*, III, p.239; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les joyaux de la couronne d'Aragon en 1303*, 1889, pp.10–11. Dufour & Rabut, pp.347–8 (there are obscure points about the description: in the text I give what seems to me the most plausible interpretation).

17. For this see A. Boeckler, 'Kastilische Königskronen des hohen Mittelalters: Alfonso VIII (d.1214) und Fernando III,' in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, III, pp.817–29. Twining, *Crown Jewels*, pp.591–2.

18. Dr R. Eikelmann has very kindly allowed me to consult the section of her dissertation *Mittelalterliche Kronen in der Schatzkammer der Residenz München*, which refers to the silver-gilt Munich crown.

19. Thoma & Brunner, 1964, p.31, no.15; Dehaisnes, p.462. The Bargello coronal has not been scientifically published.

20. Dehaisnes, p.194; Palgrave, III, p.347, no.244; for the Zadar crown see I. Petricioli, *St Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 1983, pl.57, pp.11, 23; and É. Kovács, 'Magyarországi Anjou koronak', in *Ars Hungarica*, 1976, pp.7–18, a study of fourteenth-century Hungarian Angevin crowns. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.113, no.3001.

21. Gay, I, p.465; Palgrave, III, p.339, no.175. For the crown of Princess Blanche see Thoma & Brunner, p.32, no.16, as French or English , *c.*1370–80, and London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, pp.202–3, no.13, as French?

22. Moranvillé, pp.560–2.

23. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6321; W.H. St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers*, London, 1913, pp.269–92; T. Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, I, Paris, 1649, p.193.

24. Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire*, III, p.228; for the Nevill effigy see A. Brodrick & J. Darrah, 'The fifteenth-century polychromed limestone effigies of William Fitzalan, 9th Earl of Arundel, and his wife, Joan Nevill, in the Fitzalan chapel, Arundel' in *Church Monuments*, I, pt.2, 1986, pp.65–94. See also St John Hope, *Heraldry*, p.283. For the Edinburgh picture L. Campbell & C. Thompson, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh*, 1974.

25. Fabretti, p.190; Casanova in *Bull. sen.*, VIII, 1901, pp.58–9, 80–2. N. Porteclef & J. Taconneau, 'L'inventaire des biens de monseigneur Yves de Viespont', *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1883–4, p.325, no.17; De la Grange & Cloquet, *Art à Tournai*, II, 1888, p.335; Dupraz, *La Cathédrale de Lausanne*, 1906, p.115; Raine, III, p.203 (Snaith); Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Bk.VI, c.18.

### CHAPTER 14    Frontlets, *Tressoirs*, *Doroirs* and *Templettes*

1. Palgrave, III, p.188, no.204, p.181, no.128; Gay, I, p.747.

2. Caetani, *Regesta*, II, p.211; Bevere, *Vestimenti*, p.326, no.450; Lanza di Scalea, p.521, no.1.

3. Gay, I, p.747; Montalto, p.64; Moranvillé, pp.564–5.

4. Barthélemy, p.133, nos.25, 32; Plancher, p.lxxxv; Lespy, 'Eléanore de Navarre', in *Revue d'Aquitaine*, V, 1860, p.513; Garnier, p.45; Texier, 782.

5. Cecchetti, III, p.100; Boccaccio, *Il Corbaccio* (also known as the *Laberinto d'Amore*), ed. of 1723, p.47.

6. Zdekauer, 'I gioielli', in *Bull. sen.*, VII, 1899, pp.520–3; Tescione, *Il corallo*, p.214; T. Wright (ed.), *Specimens of lyric poetry, composed in England in the reign of Edward the First*, 1842, p.105.

7. Dehaisnes, p.125; Richard, p.385.

8. Graves, p.61, n.13; Bevere, *Vestimenti*, p.326, s.v. *intrectiatura*, p.326, no.456, source p.339; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p.239–49; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175; Montaiglon, in *Archives de l'art français*, ser.2, I, pp.448–53; Leber, p.125; Dehaisnes, p.494; Plancher, p.lxxxiv.

9. Bevere, p.324, no.458, source p.339; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p.240; Palgrave, III, pp.141–2, nos.43, 46; pp.182–3, nos.145, 150–3.

10. Moranvillé, p.569, nos.3542, 3543, p.570, no.3545, p.571, no.3546.

11. Gay, I, pp.559, 560, s.v. *doroir, dorure*, II, p.393, s.v. *templette*; Dehaisnes, pp.859, 253, 251, 287.

12. Beaulieu & Baylé, p.110.

13. Gay, s.v. *templettes*; W. Paley Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908–9, p.175; Raine, II, p.234.

## CHAPTER 15 Types of Brooches

1. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6190.

2. Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175; Cibrario, II, p.84; Dufour & Rabut, p.353; La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, pp.499–505.

3. Delisle, pp.796–7, 800; Finot, p.161.

4. Palgrave, III, p.341, nos.183–4, II, pp.143–4, no.15; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, p.4.

5. Robert de Blois in Barbazan, II, p.187; Johannes de Hauville, *Archithrenius*, ed. G. Schmidt, 1974, p.279 (Bk.VIII, c.17).

6. Texier, 719; Dehaisnes, p.866; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.89–90, nos.590–3, 596, 597, pp.91–2.

7. Prost, I, p.363, no.1969; Henry V, p.216; Minieri-Riccio, p.103; Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Presles', p.91; Clément, pp.353–4; Dehaisnes, p.240; Cibrario, II, pp.84, 385.

8. For the Schaffhausen Onyx see J.J. Oeri, *Der Onyx von Schaffhausen*, 1882, and the full later bibliography in Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh.cat. 1977, I, pp.481–2, no.607. For the Aosta brooch see E. Brunod, *La cattedrale di Aosta*, s.d., pp.437–8; L. Garino, *Museo del Tesoro: Cattedrale di Aosta*, s.d., p.46; Evans, 1971, p.44; Steingräber, p.28.

9. For these two brooches see Stuttgart, Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh.cat. 1977, cat.nos. 605, 606, pls.422, 423.

10. Daniele, pp.105–6; Caetano de Sousa, pp.117–21; Levi, pp.299–300; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 2811.

11. Levi, p.299; Richard, pp.384–5; Henry III, 1271; Sharpe, II, p.XL, n.3; Dehaisnes, p.241.

12. For this brooch, formerly in the Forgeais collection, see Paris, Louvre, *L'Europe Gothique XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh.cat. 1968, p.250, no.390, pl.118a, as French, first half of the thirteenth century. Another opinion places this brooch much earlier and sees it as Rhenish, *c.*1000 (Steingräber, pp.24, 26; Lipinsky, in *Das Münster*, 1957, p.158).

13. Del Giudice, *Legge suntuaria*, pp.260–1, 268; Dehaisnes, p.186; for Piers Gaveston see Rymer, *Foedera*, II–i, 1818, p.203.

14. Sharpe, II, p.214.

15. Ugglas, pl.xxiii, 91–3; Turner, 'Humphrey de Bohun', p.348; La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, pp.499–505; Prost, I, p.150, no.888, p.169, no.951, p.363, no.1968; Henry V, p.216; for the motif cf. Mitchiner, p.184.

16. For the Verona brooches and the Verona treasure in general see Jasminta De Luigi, in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande*, exh.cat. 1983, pp.269–78; Caetani, *Regesta*, II, p.172.

17. Stockholm, Statens Historiska Museet, no.423. For the Motala brooch see Paris, Louvre, *L'Europe Gothique XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh.cat. 1968, p.275, no.427, pl.119, wrongly described as a morse; Fritz, 1982, pl.328, p.232, as *c.*1320–30, as either the work of a Scandinavian court goldsmith, or imported from Paris or Lübeck. I incline to think it produced for a Scandinavian court by a French or German goldsmith.

18. Palgrave, III, p.189; Byerly, p.202, no.2007; Levi, p.299, 1 *factam ad ymagines*, 2 *factam ad ymagines leonum*, 3 *factam ad aquilas*.

19. Devon, p.22; London, PRO, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III*, II, 1240–3, 1930, p.120.

20. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p.244; Leber, p.128; Cibrario, II, p.85.

## CHAPTER 16 Brooch Designs: I

1. There is no corpus of mediaeval ring brooches and little work has been done on their classification. What follows is a modest effort to distinguish some leading types and features. Peter of Hum's brooch is no.225 in the National Museum, Belgrade. It was found near the village of Budimlye in 1881, in a hoard together with some Byzantine coins. It has been published and exhibited many times in recent years, e.g. *Nakit Kod Srba* (Jewellery in Serbia), Belgrade, 1969, no.64; *Antica arte Serba* (Rome, 1970, no.280, pl.LXIV). Information kindly communicated by Miss Desanka Milosevic through Jevta Jevtovic, Director of the National Museum, Belgrade, to whom I express my thanks.

2. For the Manchester brooch see London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, pp.485–6, no.651.

3. For the Oxwich brooch see J.M. Lewis, 'The Oxwich brooch', in *Jewellery Studies*, II, 1985, pp.23–8. Palgrave, III, p.187, nos.190, 197, p.182, no.132.

4. For the two British Museum brooches see London, RA, cat.cit. in n.2, pp.483–4, no.641. Said to have been found in Hertfordshire. For the Kames brooch see Edinburgh, National Museum of Antiquities, *Brooches in Scotland*, 1966, fig.16, and Evans, ed. of 1971, p.57, pl.13a.

5. For the Colmar brooch see E. Taburet-Delehaye & M. Dhonin, 'Colmar', pp.91–2; for the Hattatt brooch see R. Hattatt, pp.221–3; for the Gay brooch see the Victor Gay sale cat., 23 April 1909, p.30, lot 158.

6. Palgrave, III, p.140, no.41. For the Münster brooches see Fritz, pp.130–1.

7. For a classification of fourteenth-century English and Scottish ring brooches in the Royal Scottish Museums (formerly belonging to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), Edinburgh see J. Graham Callander in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, X, 1923–4, pp.160–84.

8. For the Stettin brooch, which disappeared during the war, see H. Bethe in *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde*, ns.4, V, 1933, pp.97–9. and Fritz, fig.325, pp.231–2. For the Pritzwalk treasure see Steingräber, p.52, and Fritz, figs.323, 324, 327, p.231. Much of the treasure was lost in the Second World War. Sharpe, II, p.214.

9. González Hurtebise, p.167, no.198.

10. For the silver wire brooches with collars see London, RA, cat.cit. in n.2, p.486, no.652; Edinburgh, National Museum of Antiquities, *Brooches* (cit. n.4), no.14.

11. For these see Kielland, figs.178–81. It should be noted that brooches of these designs continued to be made in Norway after the mediaeval period.

12. For these see Ugglas, pl.VI, nos.22–9. For the Doune brooch see Evans, 1970, p.57. Palgrave, III, p.351, no.269; Dehaisnes, p.866 (1405, *fermaux* of Marguerite of Burgundy, *fremaillets . . . l'autre tors*).

13. Raine, I, pp.198–9.

14. For the wheel brooch see J. Evans, 'Mediaeval wheel-shaped brooches' in *Art Bulletin*, XV, 1933, pp.197–201, who publishes the Cambridge example.

15. For this brooch, of which only a drawing is repr. by Evans, 1970, p.61, fig.1, see now Diana, Gogala & Matijević, *Riznica Splitske Katedrale*, 1972, pp.127–8, pl.60. The engrailed collets seem a Venetian characteristic and were presumably used in the Venetian dominions, and so in Dalmatia. Dehaisnes, p.863; Beccaria, *Spigolature*, p.161.

16. The Canterbury brooch is untraced. Repr. from London, Society of Antiquaries, *Proceedings*, s.2, VII, 1876–8, p.368. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6216, 6223. For the Halle brooch see Fritz, fig.326. For the Monreale brooch see J. De Luigi in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe*, exh.cat. 1983, pp.273–4.

17. Dehaisnes, p.191; Historical MSS Commission, *Third Report*, p.262; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau Recueil*, 1874, p.43, nos.30, 31, 35; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.307.

18. Dehaisnes, pp.168, 174; Barone, in *Arch.stor.prov.nap.*, XI, 1886, p.595.

19. Martínez Ferrando, II, p.191; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau Recueil*, p.46, no.61. For the interpretation of *couronnement* as the coronation of the Virgin cf. Labarte, *Charles V*, no.2759.

20. Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Boulogne', nos.50, 60, 78, 61, 98, 99, 59.

21. Dawes, *Register*, p.69.

22. Caetano de Sousa, pp.231–2 (cf. Jeanne de Boulogne's brooch of a

towered castle (no.45)); Aumâle, pp.99–100; Rymer, VI, p.106; Palgrave, III, p.340, nos.179, 180.

23. Riley, p.429.

24. Tóth-Ubbens, p.116, no.278; for Jeanne of Brittany's jewels see Rymer, *Foedera*, III–2, 1830, p.1056.

25. Moranvillé, pp.572–80, especially nos.3547–8.


CHAPTER 17    Brooch Designs: II

1. For Clémence de Hongrie see Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, *passim*; Dawes, *Register*, pp.69, 301.

2. Leber, p.126.

3. Henry V, p.214; Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Boulogne', pp.553–4, nos.25, 44; Palgrave, I, p.248.

4. Thuile, I, p.66; Raine, I, p.267; Graves, pp.62–3, nos.21, 31.

5. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.312, s.v. *fermail*; Palgrave, III, p.235, no.40; Rymer, *Foedera*, III–2, 1830, p.1056; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.310, no.2955.

6. For *émail en ronde bosse* see the first full study by T. Müller & E. Steingräber, 'Die französische Goldmailplastik um 1400' in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, ser.3, V, 1954, pp.29–79. Prost, I, pp.168–9, no.951, p.124, no.719; Armitage-Smith, II, pp.191–3; Prost, II, p.118, no.722.

7. Prost, II, p.96, no.561, p.90, no.538, p.93, no.546, p.125, no.754. Dawes, *Register*, p.69. Prost, II, p.156, nos.1049, 1052, 1050 and n.4, p.183, no.1204, pp.180–2, no.1194, p.199, no.1281, p.203, no.1308.

8. Prost, II, pp.205, 211–12, 222–3, 232, 266–70, 286.

9. Prost, II, pp.310–11, no.1749, pp.326–7, no.1808, p.387, no.2550, p.211, no.1351, p.475, no.3119.

10. Prost, II, p.523, no.3293, p.425, no.2696; W. Paley Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908–9, p.164.

11. Prost, II, p.212, no.1354, p.222, nos.1393, 1394 (cf. no.1812), p.223, no.1399, p.211, no.1350.

12. Prost, II, p.377, no.2504, p.384, no.2539, p.416, no.2664, pp.548–50, no.3374; Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp.545, 531; Prost, II, p.534, no.3322.

13. Petit, p.541; Prost, II, p.534, no.3322; Petit, pp.538–9, 541–2; Prost, II, p.548, no.3373, p.473, no.3106.

14. The white lady drawing repr. J. Evans, *Life in Mediaeval France*, 1957, pl.36; Petit, pp.541–2; David, p.56; Petit, pp.545–6; David, pp.66 (Boucicault), 58–9, 60, 61.

15. Rymer, VII, pp.187–8, 359.

16. Palgrave, III, pp.345–57, nos.224, 225, 236, 246, 255, 256, 257, 309, 327, 328, 330.

17. Raine, I, p.200; Henry V, p.220 (cf. also the stag brooches listed on the same p. and p.219); Palgrave, III, pp.364–5; Sanpere y Miquel, p.91.

18. Dufour & Rabut, p.357; Palgrave, III, p.356, no.329; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.210, no.518, p.213, nos.562–4; Dufour & Rabut, pp.372–3. For the BM pelican brooch see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.162, no.267.

19. There is quite a literature on the dowry of Valentina Visconti: cf. J. Camus, *La venue de Valentine Visconti duchesse d'Orléans et l'inventaire de ses joyaux apportés de Lombardie*, 1898 (in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, ser.3, V); G. Romano, in *A.s.lombardo*. 1891, pp.329–30. There are lists in Corio, I, pp.903–8 and Graves, *Deux Inventaires*; for the jewels see Graves, pp.59–66. For Elisabetta Visconti's brooches see Romano, op.cit., 1891, p.329.

20. Prost, II, p.603; Petit, p.542; David, p.56.

21. Prost, II, p.603, no.3585; Petit, p.542.

22. For Johannes de Badio Aureo see E.J. Jones (ed.), *Mediaeval heraldry*, 1943; for Upton see his *De Studio Militari*, ed. E. Bysshe, 1654. See especially J. de B.A., pp.21, 23 (lion), 27, 29 (stag), 33 (bear, dragon, dog), 35, 37 (eagle), 45 (griffin), 114, 115, 122; Upton, pp.146–7 (leopard), 168 (panther), 171 (unicorn), 173 (hawk), 180 (swan), 187 (falcon).

23. For the descendants of the Swan Knight see A. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', in *Archaeologia*, XCVII, 1959, pp.127–38. For Richard's badge see Index. For Charles VI's device of a flying stag see Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire du roy Charles VI*, sub. anno. 1380.

24. For Visconti's turtle-dove device see F. Novati, 'Il Petrarca e i Visconti' in *F. Petrarca e la Lombardia*, 1904, pp.55–8, who discusses the tradition that Petrarch invented the Visconti device of the white dove and the motto *à bon droit* for Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

25. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.36, nos.107–8, p.37, no.114, p.307, nos.2919, 2926. H. Stanford London in *Archaeologia*, XCVII, 1959, pp.150–1 (for John of Gaunt); Adam of Usk, *Cronicon AD 1377–1421*, 2nd ed. Maunde Thompson, London, 1904, p.25, *Propter liberatam collariorum leporariis conveniencium*.

26. Guiffrey, I, p.62, no.163; Lehoux, III, p.363, n.1; Lobineau, II, 921; Finot, pp.161, 167, 196–7; Roman, *Pièces*, p.230.

27. Palgrave, III, p.345, no.222; Dehaisnes, pp.865–6; Rymer, Richard II, anno 9; Finot, p.161; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p.157; David, pp.31–3; Henry V, pp.219, 220.

28. Douët d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces*, II, p.335 (for 1418 brooch). The Essen brooches were first published by A. Verhaegen, 'Collier en or émaillé. . . .' in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, V, 1887, pp.276–8; Müller & Steingräber, pp.63, 76, cat.28 (with subsequent bibliography). For the brooch in the Victor Gay Collection, see Gay, I, p.703 (as Flemish). For the Berlin brooch, formerly in the Figdor Collection, see Müller & Steingräber, pp.78–9, cat.34. It was found near Lublin in Poland.

29. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.175, s.v. *bresseronné*.

30. Müller & Steingräber, p.62, cat.27; for other bibliography see Y. Hackenbroch, *Smalti e gioielli dal XV al XIX secolo*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, 1986, pp.18–19.

31. For the Cleveland necklace see Detroit, Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the fifteenth century . . .*, exh.cat. 1960, pp.289–91, no.128.


CHAPTER 18    Brooch Designs: III

1. *Roman de la Rose*, ll.10031–2 (ed. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1864); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, *The Clerk's Tale*, 381–2 (ed. Robinson, p.105).

2. Robert de Blois, *Le Chastiement des dames*, in Barbazan, II, pp.190–2; Texier, 39 (s.v. *affiquet*); same ref. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.122. Martial de Paris, cit. Gay, I, p.7.

3. Schultz, *Hofisches Leben*, I, pp.294–6. For Charles VI see Texier, loc.cit., also for the Desrez reference, but should this be 1496? P. Santonino, *Itinerario*, ed. G. Vale, 1943, p.144.

4. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.286, no.852; Palgrave, III, p.397, no.32 (inventory dated 1504). The portrait of Mary of Burgundy, by an anonymous Flemish artist, is repr. in Prevenier & Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, 1986, p.256.

5. The St Christopher brooch was exhibited London, South Kensington Museum (now the V & A), *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of ancient and modern jewellery*, 1873, no.116 (repr.). Mr John Cherry informs me that at least one scholar has doubted its genuineness. For plumes in Germany see Eisenbart, p.153.

6. Chronicler, cf. Guillaume de Nangis, II, 1843, p.237; Newton, p.55; Symon Symeonis, p.38; Prost, I, p.65, no.459, p.324, no.1753.

7. Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, p.335; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.353, no.6732; Texier, 686, s.v. *escot*; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.113, no.999; Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, p.121, no.8 for the hat-plume looted after Grandson.

8. Dufour & Rabut, pp.403, 428, 440, 441; Vayra, p.169.

9. Finot, p.161.

10. Finot, p.161; Romano, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser.2, VIII, 1891, p.329.

11. Henry V, p.219; Finot, p.161; Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, p.123, no.10

for the Three Brothers whose history in the English royal collections is given by A.J. Collins, *Jewels and plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, London, 1955, pp.168–72; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.110–11, no.2971; Finot, p.161; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.111, no.2974 (for Le Bouton), III, p.433.

12. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.417–20, nos.5123, 5124; Lespy in *Revue d'Aquitaine*, V, 1860, p.514 for Eléanore of Navarre; La Nicollière, p.420, no.87; Palgrave, p.257; Furnivall (ed.), *The fifty earliest English wills*, 1882, p.118; Thomson, p.5.

13. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.419, no.5126; Finot, p.168.

14. Finot, pp.161, 219, 161; *The Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, I, 1900, p.249; Ferrandis, p.19.

15. For the Santa Severina brooch see E. & C. Catello, 1975, pp.37, 122. Finot, p.161; La Borderie, p.49, no.26, p.47, no.9; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.333, no.982.

16. For the White Rose jewel see Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, p.124, no.11; *Paston Letters*, ed. N. Davis, II, 1976, pp.574–5; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.111, nos.977–8.

17. Finot, p.168; Dufour & Rabut, pp.424, 408; Raine, IV, p.152; Dufour & Rabut, p.452.

18. Finot, p.161; Lobineau, II, 112; Dufour & Rabut, p.402.

19. Dufour & Rabut, p.403; Lobineau, II, 1112; Finot, p.168; Dufour & Rabut, pp.441, 414.

20. La Nicollière, p.417, no.65, p.418, no.70, pp.421–2, no.91.

21. La Nicollière, p.434, nos.205–7, p.437, no.239 (butterfly), p.438, no.242 (monkey); Dufour & Rabut, pp.407–8, 449.

22. Dufour & Rabut, p.417; La Nicollière, p.437, no.241 (for the form of a *chapeau de Montauban* see Gay, s.v. *chapeau*), p.418, no.66; Ferrandis, p.19.

23. Dufour & Rabut, pp.416, 423; Finot, p.168; *The Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, I, 1900, p.249.

24. Ferrandis, pp.19, 19–20; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.111–12, nos.980, 2981, 983, 2972, III, p.379, no.6950; Dufour & Rabut, p.449.

25. Barthélemy, p.133, n.26; G. Campori, *Raccolta*, 1870, pp.4–6, no.11 (Inventory of the Guardaroba Estense, 1494).

26. This brooch is much published, but it has no documented provenance from the Burgundian collections. See Müller & Steingräber, pp.64–5, 79, cat.37, as Burgundian, *c*.1430–40. This origin and date are maintained in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Weltliche und Geistliche Bildführer*, 1987, p.198, cat.202. Plancher, p.569.

27. For the brooch of a maiden see Müller & Steingräber, p.79, cat.35, as Franco–Burgundian, *c*.1420–30; for all three brooches see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.162, no.269.

CHAPTER 19    Brooch Designs: IV

1. Del Giudice, *Legge*, p.260; for Hohenstaufen imperial cameos see Schramm & Mütherich, *Denkmäle der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 1962, p.197, no.214 and Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh.cat. 1977, pp.674–701. For the Essen and Darmstadt brooches see *Die Zeit der Staufer*, cat.604.

2. Molinier, p.69, no.656.

3. For references to eagles in romances of chivalry see the collection of passages in Michel, *Étoffes*, I, pp.46–8. PRO, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls*, *Henry III*, II, *1240–5*, 1930, p.213; *Liber Quotidianus*, p.351; Green, II, pp.370–1, 383–4.

4. Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.71–2; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p.244.

5. Bevere, p.329, no.523, source, p.340; Dehaisnes, p.151; Zimerman, *Urkunden*, in *Vienna Jahrbuch*, I, 1883, p.ii, no.7. Dehaisnes, p.303. Armitage-Smith, Leber, p.106.

6. Dehaisnes, p.303; for the Strängnäs brooch see Steingräber, p.50, fig.66.

7. Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.267; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.312; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.36, no.105, p.37, no.115; Lehoux, *Jean de France*, I, 1966, p.390, n.5; Dehaisnes, pp.863–4; Palgrave, III, p.364, no.4; Barthélemy, p.132, no.19; Armitage-Smith, II, pp.191–3.

8. Palgrave, III, p.342, nos.192, 194, p.345, no.225, p.354, no.309; Dufour & Rabut, pp.41–3; Raine, II, p.117.

9. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.307, no.2926; Henry V, p.217; Leber, 42–3, 46; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.26. For the French royal fleur-de-lis see D. Gaborit-Chopin, Paris, Louvre, *Regalia*, exh.cat. 1987, pp.54–5; Delisle, no.130.

10. Montaiglon, in *Archives de l'art français*, ser.2, I, 1861, pp.448–53; Barone, 1885, p.429; Richard, p.382; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.174 (there is a discrepancy in the figures given for the rubies).

11. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.271, no.6255; Dehaisnes, p.303; Dufour & Rabut, p.347; Dehaisnes, pp.434–5; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces*, II, p.141.

12. Palgrave, III, p.141, no.43; Henry V, pp.219, 224; P. de Commynes, ed. B. de Mandrot, Paris, 1901, I, p.316.

13. Thomson, pp.5, 6; Graves, *Deux Inventaires*, p.62, no.23; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.288, no.861; Tuetey, p.47.

14. Palgrave, II, p.143, no.15, III, pp.376–7; Dehaisnes, pp.80, 169, 174; Dufour & Rabut, p.355.

15. Richard, pp.245–6; *Liber Quotidianus*, p.353; Dehaisnes, pp.293, 294, 301; Palgrave, I, p.175, no.111; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.313; id., *Ducs*, III, p.152, no.5807.

16. Dawes, *Register*, IV, p.141; Steingräber, p.51.

17. Bapst, p.33; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, pp.89, 100. For the Baltimore brooch see Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *Jewelry*, 1979, p.470, no.472. It is of gold set with a sapphire (another stone is missing) and is inscribed AVE MARIA on the reverse.

18. Leber, p.132; Laborde, *Inventaire*, in *Notice des émaux*, II, p.112, no.779; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.311, no.2977, p.315, no.3027.

19. Pannier, p.168; La Borderie, p.47, no.6, pp.48–9, no.22, p.49, no.25, p.50, no.41.

20. Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Arago', p.493, no.727; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p.89; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p.119; Raine I, p.382; Raine, *Wills and Inventories*, I, p.81.

21. For the Fishpool heart brooch see J. Cherry, 'The mediaeval jewellery from the Fishpool, Nottinghamshire, Hoard', in *Archaeologia*, CIV, 1973, pp.307–21 and London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.162, no.270. The coins found with the Fishpool hoard indicate that it was buried *c*.1464. W. Paley Baildon, in *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908–9, p.170 (also listed in the posthumous inventory of Henry V).

22. La Grange & Cloquet, II, p.323; Mitchiner, 318, 319, 553; Raine, II, p.190 (as a 'great brooch' in Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p.272), p.217, III, p.192; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.115–16, nos.26, 3028; Thomson, pp.9, 5, 6.

23. La Nicollière, pp.433–4, nos.200–4; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.267, no.2500.

24. For the New College M brooch see London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, p.483, cat.640.

25. Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, pp.42–3, nos.26, 33, 34; La Plagne-Barris in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, pp.498–505; Palgrave, III, p.210; Dehaisnes, p.617; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.38, no.119; Mazzi, *Argenti degli Acciaiuoli*, p.24.

26. For this see Hirsch sale cat., Sotheby's, 22 June 1978, p.69, lot 251 and Fritz, pl.322, p.231. The brooch recently passed through the saleroom again.

27. Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, II, p.391; K. Akademie der Wissenschaft, *Die Recesse und Andere Akten der Hansetage*, III, 1875, p.47; for the Walters Art Gallery brooch see Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *Jewelry*, 1979, p.470, no.471; Palgrave, III, p.252, nos.23, 24 (it is possible that one or both of these brooches were those confiscated from Robert de Guienne), p.345, no.226, no.223.

28. Finot, p.161; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.111, no.976, p.112, no.982, p.117, III, p.433.

29. Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p.157.


CHAPTER 20    Badges

1. Chassaing (ed.), *Le Livre de Podio ou Chroniques d'Etienne Médicis . . .*, I, 1869–74, pp.82–9; Evans, *Life in Mediaeval France*, ed. of 1957, p.39. For the correct date of the De Bois effigies see C.M. Hood and M.A. Blyth, eds., *The Chorography of Norfolk*, 1938, pp.120–1.

2. Boileau, *Livre des Mestiers*, p.37. For the badges of guilds and confraternities see the great work of Forgeais, *Collection de plombs Historiés*, 1862–66. For the petition of 1393 see Forgeais, II, p.77.

3. There is a large literature on pilgrim badges and it is impossible here to cite it all, especially as my intention is only to sketch in the general outlines of the subject and highlight the badges in gold and silver, often forgotten, since they have not survived, unlike the cheap badges of lead and pewter. Perhaps I may refer to the seminal study of Forgeais, the very good section on pilgrim badges in E.L. Cutts, *Scenes & Characters of the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. London, 1911, pp.167–75, to Borenius, *Mediaeval Pilgrims' Badges*, 1930, and to the various publications of Brian Spencer (all with ample references), as listed in my bibliography, and, most lately, his entries in London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, pp.218–24. A comprehensive collection of English badges is in M. Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges*, 1986. I should like to thank Mr Spencer and Dr H. Koenigsmarkova of Prague for their kind interest in this section.

For the refs. cited in the text see E. Rupin, *Roc-Amadour: étude historique et archéologique*, Paris, 1904, pp.233–4; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De rebus a se gestis* (trans. H.E. Butler, London, 1937, p.73).

4. For this Brunswick badge and that mentioned in the next paragraph see Brunswick, Braunschweiges Landesmuseum, *Stadt im Wändel*, exh.cat. 1985, I, pp.413–14, nos.336a, b.

5. For Amiens and the cult of St John Baptist see Amiens, *Le trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, exh.cat. 1987, pp.15–17 (with bibliography). For the Vernicle see F. Lewis, 'Image, lender and viewer', in W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the thirteenth century*, Grantham, 1985, pp.100–10. Cf. also Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (III, 7).

6. Texier, 675. Passage cit. by J. Lee Warner, 'Walsingham Priory', in *The Archaeological Journal*, XIII, 1856, p.133.

7. The passage from the supplement to the Canterbury Tales cit. by C.R. French, in London, Ironmongers' Hall, *A Catalogue of antiquities and works of art exhibited*, exh.cat. 1861, II, p.309; Langland, *Piers Plowman*, Passus V, 520–4, ed. Schmidt.

8. Faillon, cols.963–7.

9. Chassaing, in *Médicis*, op.cit., n.1, II, pp.146–7; Faillon, loc.cit.

10. For these disputes see Rupin, op.cit., p.115 ff. J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, London, 1975, p.161 for Bollezeal; for his discussion of badges see pp.174–5, 249–50 (Vernicle).

11. Valbonnais, II, p.275; Commynes, ed. Mandrot, cit. in note 12 to ch.19, I, 1901, pp.141–2; A. Leroy, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne*, Paris, 1681, p.37. For this and the other docs.cit., see Rouyer, in *Mémoires Soc. des Ant. de la Morinie*, IX, 1851, pp.231–47.

12. Godefroy, s.v. *afichete*; Gay, s.v. *affiche*; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.286, no.853; Piponnier, p.187; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.354, no.6737. For the silver badge of Notre-Dame de Hal see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, no.365c.

13. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.336, no.995; Gay, p.635, s.v. *enseigne*.

14. Dehaisnes, pp.242, 246; Leber, p.132; Dufour & Rabut, p.389.

15. Gay, s.v. *émail*, the term used for a badge in France; Puiggarí, p.96; Gay, p.612. For the Florence badges see Y. Hackenbroch, *Smalti e gioielli*, Florence, Museo del Bargello, 1986, pp.16–17.

16. A. Wagner, *Heralds and heraldry in the Middle Ages*, London, 1939, p.41, for Anjou King of Arms; Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.268–9; L. Le Clert, 'Note sur un émail conservé au musée de Troyes', *Bulletin archéologique*, 1892, pp.51–3, esp. pp.52–3; Dufour & Rabut, p.400; Lobineau, II, 1112; Commynes, ed. Mandrot, cit. in note 12 to ch.19, I, 1901, pp.298–9; Dufour & Rabut, pp.370, 388.

17. Prost, I, p.45, n.4, p.425, no.2252; Mendoza, p.63; L. Tondreau & R. Stilmont, in *L'Orfèvrerie en Hainault*, 1986, p.39; Dufour & Rabut, p.388; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.342–3, nos.1019, 1022, 1023.

18. O. de la Marche, cit. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.273; Lobineau, II, 1471; Dufour & Rabut, p.408.

19. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.471; Lecoy de la Marche, *Comptes de . . . René*, p.207, n.546; Plancher, p.342; Raine, II, p.13.

20. For these badges and devices see St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers*, 1913, pp.165–92. For Richard II's hart badge see J.G. Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', 1842, pp.37–41 and J. Harvey, 'Wilton Diptych', 1961, pp.6–8; T. Wright (ed.), *Alliterative poem on the deposition of King Richard II*, Camden Soc., London, 1838, pp.9–10.

21. Palgrave, III, p.364, no.5; Thomson, pp.5, 7.

22. Plancher, p.340; Tymms, pp.13, 233.

23. Cabaret, *Chronique*, pp.6–15. The date of these events is a problem; Cabaret says 1363, but places them after the return of Louis from England on the death of King Jean le Bon in London (8 April 1364). Accordingly their date should be 1365; Boulton (p.271) places them in 1367. Viollet-le Duc, *Dictionnaire du costume*, III, pp.205–6 for a drawing and a note on the crown of Anne de Bourbon. For Joan I see chapter 26, n.3. Plancher, p.304; Lobineau, II, 113–14.

24. Gay, I, pp.634–5, s.v. *enseigne*.

25. Plancher, pp.233–5; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.209, nos.498, 500.·

26. Walsingham, 1404, cit. Beltz, p.502; C. Ross, *Wars of the Roses*, 1976, pp.35–6; Commynes, ed. Mandrot, cit. in note 12 to ch.19, I, 1901, pp.212–13.

27. For the Swan Badge see J. Cherry, 'The Dunstable Swan Jewel', in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ser.3, XXXII, 1969, pp.38–53, and London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.162, no.268.


CHAPTER 21    Pendants: I

1. For an essay on mediaeval pectoral crosses see J.W. Legg, 'The encolpion and the pectoral cross of bishops', in his *Church ornaments and their civil antecedents*, 1917, pp.80–9. For King John's crosses see PRO, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, I, pt.I, 1835, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, p.147.

2. Dehaisnes, p.45; for the Copenhagen cross see F. Lindahl, *Dagmar Korset Orø-og Roskilde Korset*, Copenhagen, 1980. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.307, no.2925. For the cross and chain of Edward the Confessor see H. Keepe, *A true and perfect Narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the Crucifix & Gold-Chain of that pious prince, St Edward . . .*, London, 1688; Chadour & Joppien, I, no.49 (for the Cologne cross); Labarte, *Charles V*, p.92, no.614.

3. Levi, p.299; Prou, p.390, no.47; Dehaisnes, p.130; Minieri-Riccio, p.109; Caetano de Sousa, I, pp.117–21; Champollion-Figeac, p.87.

4. Caetano de Sousa, I, pp.226, 230, 231–2; Dufour & Rabut, p.435; Raine, II, p.123.

5. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.112, nos.983, 987, 988–9, p.115, no.3014, p.116, no.3035; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, pp.181–2.

6. For the Clare Cross, now in the Royal Collection, see A. Way, 'Gold pectoral cross found at Clare Castle, Suffolk', in *Archaeological Journal*, XXV, 1868, pp.60–71, and London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, pp.221–2, no.366. For the cross found at Fishpool see London, British Museum, *Jewellery*, cit., p.162, no.270(c.), with previous lit. Caetano de Sousa, p.226. Raine, II, pp.121, 192.

7. Raine, III, p.287 (Marlet); Henry V, pp.216, 219, 220; for the Xanten cross see R. Dieckhoff, in Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–1400 . . .*, exh.cat. 1980, I, p.70. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.288–9, no.861. For a fine German late fifteenth-century German gold pendant cross found in Lüneburg see J.M. Fritz, 'Ein spätgotisches Goldkreuz aus Lüneburg', in *Lüneburger Blätter*, XIX/XX, 1968–9, pp.21–6.

8. The Matlaske and Bridlington crosses are noted by E. Maclagan and C.C. Oman, 'Gold Rosary', in *Archaeologia*, LXXXV, 1935, p.18. Luis de Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealogica de la Casa de Haro*, Madrid, 1920, p.403; Thomson, p.7 (for James III); Tymms, pp.88, 251.

9. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.113, no.2995; González Hurtebise, p.167, no.207; Guillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres*, ed. C. Potvin & J.C. Houzeau, Brussels, 1878, pp.65–6.

10. Prost, II, p.90; Buchner, no.35; Paley Baildon, *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908–9, p.170 (later in Henry's inventory).

11. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6129; M. Bateson, *Mediaeval England*, 1903, p.148; Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.398; PRO, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, loc.cit. in n.1 above; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6161.

12. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6170; Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Anuari*, IV, 1911–12, pp.564, 566.

13. Minieri-Riccio, p.111; Prou, p.274; E. Müntz, *Les Collections des Médicis*, Paris, 1896, p.17; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.69.

14. Chazaud, p.195; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6261; *Liber Quotidianus*, p.351; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6264; Dehaisnes, p.130.

15. Dehaisnes, p.166; Caetano de Sousa, p.226.

16. Palgrave, III, p.137, no.36; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.43, no.37, p.44, nos.39, 40 (described as 'prepared to make a pendant'), nos.41–4; Molinier, p.67, nos.628⁴, 628⁵; Hoberg, pp.97, 99–101, 254–5, 330; Palgrave, III, p.185, no.170; Bapst, p.30; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces*, II, pp.288–325; Bourbon, p.325, no.24; Henry V, p.216.

17. Minieri-Riccio, p.102; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.211, no.520; La Borderie, p.47, nos.7, 8; La Nicollière, *passim*.

18. Boislille, 'comtesse de Montpensier', p.276; Sénemaud, p.209; Jean de Roye, *Chronique scandaleuse*, ed. B. de Mandrot, I, Paris, 1894, pp.365–6 (for St-Pol); Roman, *Pièces*, p.229.

19. *Liber Quotidianus*, p.351; Martorell y Traball, in *Anuari*, cit. n.12, p.559; Minieri-Riccio, p.111; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.42, n.23; Palgrave, III, p.188, nos.200, 201, p.185, no.171.

20. Palgrave, III, p.137, no.36; Caetano de Sousa, p.226.

21. Douët d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces*, II, p.356.

22. For this pendant see G. Gerola, 'The Cividale reliquary', in *Burlington Magazine*, LIII, 1928, pp.288–94 (fundamental); M.M. Gauthier, *Émaux*, pp.201–2, cat.157. For the date of Tamar's first arrival in Naples (after 1 October 1294, when the order was given to fetch her), see M. Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, II, Naples, 1860, p.40, cf. also p.168. For the nautilus cup see J. Evans, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1917–18, pp.92–7 and Lightbown, 1978, p.63. For French goldsmiths at the early Angevin court see E.&C. Catello, *L'oreficeria*, pp.32–3, with references.

23. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.312, no.2986, p.325, no.3132. It is possible that both these pendants were badges, the first of a device, the second of a confraternity. Ibid., p.312, no.2981. For Marie see ibid., pp.50–1, nos.211, 214, 215, 222. Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, pp.304, 311; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.260, no.2416.

24. Palgrave, III, p.235, nos.39, 10 (cf. also p.251, no.10). Labarte, *Charles V*, p.325, no.3129; Henry V, p.216.

25. Is the San Marco medallion what was known in Venice as a *bulla*? Dehaisnes, p.242; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.42, no.23. For the Berlin medallion see Steingräber, pp.37–9, and Paris, Louvre, *L'Europe Gothique*, exh.cat. 1968, pp.288–9, no.448 (with bibl.).

26. For this see Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–1400*, II, 1980, pp.710–11; Leber, p.132.

27. For this see Steingräber, pp.39–40 (who believes it was not originally

28. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.326, no.3138. For the Ara Coeli pendant see P. Verdier, 'A medallion of the "Ara Coeli" and the Netherlandish enamels of the fifteenth century', in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIV, 1961, pp.9–37.

29. For the Basle pendant see Fritz, 1982, p.319, no.966; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.111, nos.977–9.

30. The Poole jewel is published by John Cherry, 'A late medieval love jewel', in *Jewellery Studies*, I, 1983–4, pp.45–7, who cites the verses by Charles of Orléans.

31. Mendoza, pp.92, 87–9; Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.493, no.727; Martial d'Auvergne, ed. Rychner, *passim*.

32. Dehaisnes, pp.155, 283; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.50, no.211; Delisle, p.618, no.1193; Moranvillé, pp.587–8, no.3572.

33. Advielle, in *Réunion des Soc. des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XIII, 1889, pp.288–9.

34. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.266, no.2490; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.49–51.

35. Joursanvault, pp.124–5; Petit, pp.555, 543–4; David, p.69. For the Munich pendant see Vienna, KHM, *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, 1962, p.424, no.499 and H. Thoma & H. Brunner, 1964, p.33, no.17.

36. Guiffrey, I, p.22, no.27; Dehaisnes, p.875.

37. Bourbon, p.325, nos.11, 12; for the Beauveau pendant see Sotheby's sale cat., 11 December 1986, lot 201, with detailed entry; Morice, col.1406–7 (for Françoise de Dinan); La Nicollière, p.416, no.52 – in this inventory too it is difficult to be certain among the many tableaux listed which if any were jewels (cf. nos.5–22).

38. Devon, *Issues*, p.265; Raine, I, p.199; Lobineau, II, p.921; Raine, I, pp.381–3. Henry V, pp.215, 219, 220, 225; Palgrave, II, pp.105–6, nos.5–6.

39. Paley Baildon, in *Archaeologia*, LXI, 1908, pp.169, 173; Furnivall, *Fifty earliest English wills*, 1882, pp.117–18; Raine, II, p.143; Myers, pp.117, 124 (but was it a jewel, or a tablet proper since it was evidently heavy?); Raine, II, p.219; *The Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, III, p.464; OED, s.v. tablet; Palgrave, II, p.216.

40. For the British Museum pendant see London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, p.458, no.580. For the Middleham pendant see Sotheby's sale cat., 11 December 1986, lot 196.

41. Dufour & Rabut, p.402; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.10–11, nos.74, 78, 80, 82, 85, p.115, no.17.

42. Finot, pp.186–7.

43. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.191, no.5921; Dehaisnes, pp.873–4; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.63, II, p.10, nos.76, 73 (cf. also no.81).

44. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.308, no.2935; Riley, p.550; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.313, no.2992; Henry V, p.225; Vayra, pp.171, 172. For the Cologne pendants see Chadour & Joppien, I, p.198, no.91, p.169, no.55.

45. Roman, *Inventaires*, p.213, no.556; *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, I, p.211; Henry V, p.219; Thomson, p.9; Myers, pp.119, 124; Tymms, p.37.

46. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.330, no.972, p.342, no.1018; Gay, I, p.307, s.v. *chaîne*; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.113, no.997; Palgrave, III, pp.393–5, nos.3, 7, 8, 21.

47. Zeibig, in *Anzeiger für Kunde*, n.s. I, 1853–4, pp.216–19.

48. For Charles the Bold's great diamond see Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, pp.125–9, no.12; Myers, pp.117–18.

49. For the White Rose jewel see Deuchler, op.cit., p.124, no.11; Thomson, p.9; La Nicollière, p.414, no.42, p.430, no.163. For the Dresden jewel see Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, *Einführung in das grüne Gewölbe*, cat. 1986, pp.16–17.

50. La Nicollière, p.413, no.35, p.451, no.20; Tuetey, p.47; Dufour & Rabut, pp.448, 436, 448; Sénemaud, pp.209, 47.

51. Guiffrey, II, p.227; Advielle, XIII, 1889, p.284; Texier, 349.

52. For the Munich pendant see Müller & Steingräber, pp.56–7, cat.

no.20; Vienna, KHM, *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, 1962, pp.384–5, no.450; Thoma & Brunner, 1964, p.34, no.19. The references to cameo portraits in the inventories of Jean de Berry are conveniently collected by Texier, 348–9, and see also of course Guiffrey. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.333, no.982; Le Roux de Lincy, p.110.

53. Vayra, p.157, no.1102; Texier, 349; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.345, no.1031.

54. Guiffrey, I, pp.70–3, nos.195, 197–202.

55. O. de la Marche, *Triumphe des Dames*, ed. J. Kalbfleisch, Rostock, 1901, stanzas 92–3.

CHAPTER 22    Pendants: II

1. For this see K. Hauck, 'Der "Talisman Karls des Grossen", mit Ausblichen auf die mittelalterlichen Brustkreuze und- Reliquiare', in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, I, pp.309–15 and B. de Montesquiou-Fezensac, 'Le talisman de Charlemagne', in *Art de France*, II, 1962, pp.66–76. For the encolpion sent by Nicephorus see L. Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Église*, ed. André, II, Paris, 1864, p.115; see also Thomassin's section on the wearing of *philacteria* and pectoral crosses, pp.114–16.

2. Rudolfus Glaber, III, c.2, 8, cit. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Deutschland*, 2969a; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6116; PRO, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, I, pt.I, 1835, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, p.147. For the Wawel pendant see E. Kovács, *Romanesque . . . Art*, p.52, no.17. Aquinas, *Summa*, 2 secundae, 96, art.IV.

3. Chazaud, p.196; Dehaisnes, pp.130, 155.

4. Rymer, II–I, Gaveston list, p.204; Palgrave, III, p.207, no.9; Martorell y Traball in Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Anuari*, IV, 1911–12, p.566; Rymer, II–I, pp.203–5; Dehaisnes, p.241; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.69; Leber, pp.130–1. For the Osnabrück reliquary see Witte, p.28, pl.12, no.2.

5. Caetano de Sousa, p.230; Dehaisnes, pp.53–4, 166; Palgrave, III, p.208, no.20; Caetano de Sousa, I, p.117. For the Quedlinburg reliquaries see J. Marquet de Vasselot, 'Le trésor de L'abbaye de Quedlinburg', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser.3, XX, 1898, pp.305–20, esp. pp.312–13.

6. Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, pp.326, 321; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.216, no.1871, p.301, no.2853, p.303, no.2874; Guiffrey, I, p.65, no.180; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.379, no.6952.

7. For the reliquary of the Holy Thorn see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.223, no.368.

8. Caetano de Sousa, pp.226, 230–2.

9. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.284, s.v. *ésmail de niellure*; Leber, p.132; Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.541, nos.1452–4; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.314, no.3005, p.267, no.2501, pp.48–9, & *passim*.

10. Advielle, XIII, pp.291–2; Guiffrey, I, p.66, no.185, p.300, no.1129; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, pp.331, 322; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.419, no.2929; González Hurtebise, p.168, no.214; Victor Gay sale catalogue, 23 April 1909, lot 180.

11. Guiffrey, I, p.64, no.176; Roman, *Pièces*, p.229; Dehaisnes, p.874.

12. González Hurtebise, p.168, no.212; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.419, no.7125. For the British Museum pendant see London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.222, no.367.

13. For this see E. Taburet-Delehaye, 'Un groupe de bijoux vénitiens du XIVᶜ siècle', in *Razo*, no.7, 1987, pp.157–8 (with earlier bibliography).

14. For the Agnus Dei in the Middle Ages see above all W. Henry, 'Agnus Dei Pascal', in F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I, Paris, 1907, s.v., with bibliography, and E. Mangenot, 'Agnus Dei', in A. Vacant, E. Mangenot & E. Amann, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, I, Paris, 1923, cols.605–13, with bibliography. For the *Ordines Romani* cited in the text see J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, II, Paris, 1687–9, pp.31–2, 138, 144–5, 202–3, 375–7, 588–90. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, bk.VI, c.79 (ed. of Lyons, 1551, f.214v).

15. Hoberg, p.188.

16. Texier, 44, for Urban's verses; Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.509, no.977.

17. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6261; Dehaisnes, pp.155, 170; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.45; Martínez Ferrando, II, p.17; Dehaisnes, p.241; Dufour & Rabut, pp.437, 428; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.326, nos.956–7; Dehaisnes, pp.243, 244; Minieri-Riccio, p.111.

18. Hoberg, pp.183, 57, 141, 143, 264, 384, 415, 506, 508, 146–7; Sharpe, I, p.688.

19. Hoberg, p.147; Milanesi, I, pp.94–5; Hoberg, p.372; Dehaisnes, p.874; Tuetey, p.47.

20. Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p.134; Bongi, *Richezze*, p.68; *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, III, p.464; for Cecily, Duchess of York see J.G. Nichols & J. Bruce, *Wills from Doctors' Commons . . .*, 1862–3, p.6; Tuetey, pp.39, 140; La Grange & Cloquet, II, pp.323–4. For the Bremen Agnus see Brunswick, Braunschweiges Landesmuseum, *Stadt im Wändel*, exh.cat. 1985, II, pp.745–6, no.660.

21. Sharpe, II, p.97; Bongi, *Di Paolo Guinigi*, p.68; Dufour & Rabut, pp.407–8; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.115, no.18; Tuetey, p.29. For the Kempen pendant see Fritz, 1982, fig.957, p.318.

22. For *bullette*, see Gay, s.v.; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, no.849, p.284; Dehaisnes, p.242; Fagniez, p.306.

23. Dehaisnes, p.876.

24. Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Boulogne' (cf. also Gay, s.v. *bullette*); Bapst, p.33; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.271, no.6254; Ogier d'Anglure, *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem*, in *Jeux et sapience du moyen âge*, ed. A. Pauphilet, Paris, 1951, p.385.

25. Dufour & Rabut, p.369; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.11, nos.100–1, p.12, no.103, p.14, nos.121–2, 125; Lemaire de Belges, cit. Gay, s.v. *bullette*.

26. For the pectoral cross see J.W. Legg, in his *Church ornaments and their civil antecedents*, 1917, pp.80ff. Innocent, *De mysteriis*, cit. Lib. I, c.53; Durandus, bk.III, c.9. Thomassin, op.cit. in n.1.

27. Molinier, p.70, no.662; Hoberg, pp.17, 36, 83, 99, 280–1, 414, 169 (cf. p.173).

28. Molinier, pp.69–70, nos.655–66.

29. Hoberg, pp.64, 89, 106, 214, 280, 403, 414, 487.

30. Hoberg, pp.82, 87, 280, 487, 490.

31. Hoberg, pp.83, 99, 280, 281, 279, 403, 414, 485, 415.

32. Hoberg, pp.36, 6, 99, 89, 280, 487.

33. Hoberg, pp.64, 179, 254, 487, 36, 280, 279, 403.

CHAPTER 23    Chains and their Pendants and Necklaces

1. For Venice see Molmenti, I, p.324; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6135 (*muraenulas aureas vermiculatas argento*); Daniele & Gregorio, p.84; Levi, p.299; Thuile, II, p.329; Dufour & Rabut, p.342.

2. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6194; for the Grand collar see Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Les trésors des Églises de France*, 1965, p.439, no.828. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.222; Texier, 4562–7; Furnivall, pp.110–34; Leclercq, bk.V, c.63.

3. Dehaisnes, p.241; Cecchetti, pt.3, p.122; Prou, p.402, no.290; Molmenti, p.445; Mendoza, p.92; Dehaisnes, p.244; La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, p.499; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.297, no.2798.

4. Dehaisnes, p.245; Mendoza, p.56; Palgrave, II, p.219; Boislille, 'comtesse de Montpensier', p.279; Mendoza, p.37; La Nicollière, p.420, no.83; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.334, no.984.

5. Roman, *Inventaires*, p.191, no.415; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, p.355; Thomson, p.5; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.433, no.7172; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.299, no.2828.

6. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.296, nos.2784, 2795; Dufour & Rabut, p.365; Henry V, p.444; Dufour & Rabut, p.365; Minieri-Riccio, p.109; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.60; Palgrave, III, p.182, no.142; Sharpe, I, p.650; Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, p.113, no.1, for Charles the Bold's seal.

7. Henry V, p.225; Leber, p.130; Bapst, p.38; Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.541, no.1457; Thomson, pp.5, 6, 9; Palgrave, III, p.394, no.15; Tuetey, p.28.

8. Dehaisnes, pp.155–6; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6263; Michel de Marolles, *Inventaire des titres de Nevers*, ed. Soultrait, Nevers, 1873, pp.446, 619–26.

9. *Historiae Romanae fragmenta*, in Muratori, RIS, III, coll.307–9; *Legend of the Blessed Marguerita of Cortona*, ed. cit., p.66.

10. Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.47, 49.

11. Rubió y Lluch, I, p.209; Paz y Meliá, pp.30–3; Dehaisnes, p.617; Milanesi, *Documenti*, I, p.91.

12. Thomson, p.24; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.32, no.74.

13. Chavannes, pp.24–5, 29; Dufour & Rabut, p.363; Mendoza, pp.55, 71.

14. St John Hope, pp.302, 220, 217, 222. Henry V, pp.217, 220, 224.

15. Paz y Melia, pp.16–18.

16. The will of Pedro the Cruel is printed at the end of *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Rosell (BAE), I, 1953, pp.593–4. The relevant extract is reprinted in Ferrandis, pp.vi–ix; cf. also *Crónicas*, p.518. Clonard, p.178.

17. Paz y Meliá, pp.30–3; L. de Salazar y Castro, *Pruebas* (vol.IV of his *Historia de la Casa de Lara*), 1694, p.252.

18. La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, pp.499–505; Moranvillé, pp.607–9; Leber, pp.131, 135.

19. Mussis, cit. Muratori, *Dissertatio* XXIII, ed.cit., 584; Vecellio, 1598, pp.164, 170; Graves, *Deux inventaires*, p.61, no.12; Dehaisnes, p.861; Lespy, 'Eléanore de Navarre', in *Revue d'Aquitaine*, V, 1860, p.513.

20. La Borderie, p.47, no.5; Finot, p.168.

21. See his travels in J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, I, Madrid, 1952, pp.319–20; Buchner, nos.61 & 105, Raine, IV, pp.56, 32–3.

22. Alphonse Roserot, 'Bruillart', p.262, no.71. David, pp.83, 29, n.7.

23. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, pp.41–2, no.5448; David, p.61; Dehaisnes, pp.861–2; Roman, *Pièces*, p.228; González Hurtebise, p.164, no.177.

24. Prost, II, p.118, no.722; Roman, *Pièces*, p.228; Henry V, p.225; Lespy, 'Eléanore de Navarre', in *Revue d'Aquitaine*, V, 1860, p.514; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.377, no.6944, p.422, nos.7137–8; Boislille, 'Montpensier', p.275; La Borderie, p.46, no.2, p.47, no.5; Thomas, p.9; *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, I, p.108.

25. Tuetey, pp.45–7.

26. La Nicollière, p.413, no.35 (cf. also no.31), p.439, no.249; Dufour & Rabut, pp.417, 437.

27. Myers, p.119; Bistort, pp.363–6 for a Venetian decree forbidding the wearing of chains; S. Giustinian, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII*, ed. Rawdon Brown, II, London, 1854, pp.319, 322.

28. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.344–6, nos. 1027, 1035, 1037–8, p.352, no.1065, p.359, no.1107.

CHAPTER 24    Collars: I    Livery Collars

1. Rymer, VIII, p.139, for the proclamation of 24 April 1400. For the Earl of Arundel's protest see *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, p.313.

2. C. de Pisan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, pt.II, c.25.

3. The literature of the collar of SS is very large; among the more useful discussions are those of G.F. Beltz, 'Notices relating to the ancient "collars of the King's livery", and in particular, those . . . of SS', in *The Retrospective Review*, ser.2, II, 1828, pp.500–10; J.G. Nichols, 'On collars of the Royal Livery', in *Gentleman's Magazine*, CLXXI, 1842, pp.157–60, 250–8, 378–80, 477–85; CLXXII, 1842, pp.353–60, 595–7; CLXXIII, 1843, pp.258–9; A. Hartshorne, 'Notes on collars of SS', in *The Archaeological Journal*, XXXIX, 1882, pp.376–83; St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen & Designers*, 1913, pp.293–318. For the appearance of the collar of SS on plate belonging to

John of Gaunt see Palgrave, III, p.322, no.52 in the inventory of Henry IV, taken 1399–1400. For the passage from the St Alban's chronicler see *Chronicon Angliae*, by a monk of St Alban's (Rolls Series), ed. E. Maunde Thompson, 1874, pp.125–6. This crucial passage establishing the wearing of livery collars by John of Gaunt's followers already in 1377, has never been cited to my knowledge with reference to the collar of SS.

4. For the Swynford family see London, PRO, *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, XIII, p.174.

5. For Burton and his family see, ibid. XIV, p.97; XV, pp.285–6; Armitage-Smith, I, p.251, II, pp.225, 81. 'Victoria History of the Counties of England', *Rutland*, ed. William Page, II, 1935, pp.239, 241.

6. For Marmion's retainership see Armitage-Smith, I, p.322, doc.819. For his tomb see H.B. McCracken, 'The Marmion Tomb at Tanfield', in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XX, 1908–9, pp.98–100 and T.D. Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, II, pp.173–4.

7. Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, c.96, 97, cxcvi: *E lo collar era tot de esses redones E perco com en tot lo A.B.C. no trobareu letra vna per vna de major auctoritat e perfectio: que pugua significar mes altes coses que aquesta letra S.* For Philippa's use of S see J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 1982, p.64. Devon, p.305, for the collar of 1406.

8. Nichols, art.cit., CLXXI, pp.479–80; Green, III, p.311.

9. L. Toulmin-Smith (ed.), *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby . . .* (Camden Soc.), 1894, pp.107, 112, 280, 283, 286.

10. Palgrave, II, p.235; St John Hope, pp.296–300.

11. Jean Juvenal des Ursins, s.a. 1415. The passage from Upton is in Lib.I, c.XVII (Bysshe's ed., pp.33–4).

12. See Planché, *A Cyclopaedia of Costume . . .*, I, 1876, p.128, for the Bourchier monument.

13. For the Vaux collar see Stow, cit. Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.127; La Nicollière, p.450, no.19; Le Roux de Lincy, IV, p.110; Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.279–80, no.897.

14. Palgrave, III, p.357, no.334, p.341, no.185, p.346, no.231 (for Anne of Bohemia's devices see J.G. Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', pp.48–52 and J. Harvey, 'Wilton Diptych', 1961, p.10). Bongi, '*Richezze*', pp.22, 26. For the Swan knight and his descendants, see A. Wagner, 'The Swan badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia*, XCVII, 1959, pp.127–38. Thomson, p.10.

15. For Markenfield and his collar see R. Knowles, 'A Markenfield monument at Ripon', in *Friends of Ripon Cathedral Annual*, 1986 (I owe this reference to Mr A.V.B. Norman FSA). The Nevill miniature is reproduced by Ross, *Wars of the Roses*, p.30.

CHAPTER 25    Chivalric Fraternities and Orders

1. For companionships and orders of knights, see M. Keen, *Chivalry*, 1984, and R. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, 1987. In fairness to myself I should record that my own studies were largely completed and conclusions formed before Dr Boulton's book was published. He and I are in concord in our views on early insignia and their meaning, and I have made some use of his material on the Ordre de l'Etoile, and much use of his study of the Neapolitan Ordine della Nave. There is still very useful material in Dom Hélyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, VIII, 1719.

2. For the Order of St Catherine see the statutes published in C.U.J. Chevalier, *Choix de documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné*, Paris, 1874, pp.35–9.

3. For the Ordre de la Pomme d'Or, see A. Bossuat, 'Un ordre de chevalerie auvergnat: l'Ordre de la Pomme d'Or', in *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, II, pp.414–16. For the Compagnie du Cigne Noir see E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy*, 1967, pp.78–9, 359–62. Its statutes are printed by Giovanni A.L. Cibrario, *Opuscoli*, Turin, 1841, pp.75–7. Dawes, *Register*, p.73.

4. Dehaisnes, p.523. For Boucicault's Order, see *Le livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre dit Boucicaut*, Livre I, c.38.

5. For the statutes of the Confraternity of the Knights of St George, see G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs Hvngariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis*, VIII, vol.3, Budapest, 1832, pp.163–70, doc. L. I am grateful to Dr É. Kovács for kindly sending me a photocopy of this.

6. For the Orden de la Banda, see L.T. Villanueva, 'Memoria sobre la Orden de Caballería de la Banda de Castilla', in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXII, 1918, pp.436–65, 552–74; G. Daumet, 'L'ordre castillan de l'écharpe (*Banda*)', in *Bulletin hispanique*, XXV, 1923, pp.5–32; Boulton, pp.46–95.

7. *Crónica de Don Alfonso*, XI, chapters XCVII, XCIX. Boulton (p.52) rightly defends the date 1330 for the foundation of the order as against Villanueva (pp.440 ff.).

8. Published in Sempere y Guarinos, I, p.112.

9. Cabaret D'Orronville, *Chronique*, ed. Chazaud, p.111; *Crónica de Juan II*, pp.366–7.

10. The fundamental history of the Order of the Garter is E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols, London, 1672. See also Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 1841. For the relationship between the Garter and the French Ordre de l'Étoile see Y. Renouard, 'L'Ordre de la Jarretière et l'Ordre de l'Étoile: étude sur la génèse des ordres laics de chevalerie et sur le développement progressif de leur caractère national', in *Le Moyen Age*, LV, 1949, pp.281–300. J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 1982; Boulton, pp.96–166.

11. I have not been able to consult the fundamental work on the Ordre de l'Étoile, L. Pannier, *La Noble Maison de Saint-Ouen, la villa Clipiacum et l'Ordre de L'Étoile*, 1878, and have used instead the valuable chapter in Boulton, pp.167–210. See also Y. Renouard, op.cit., n.10.

12. For the Ordre de l'Ecu d'Or see P. Dumont, 'L'Ordre de l'Ecu d'Or', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais*, XXVI, 1923, pp.46–9. For the Order of the Tress, Boulton, pp.338–43. For Amadeo VI n.22 below.

13. Nompar de Caumont, pp.75–6, 136–9; Tafur, *Andanças y Viajes*, I, 1874, p.197.

14. The essential documents about the insignia of the Ordre de l'Étoile were published by D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, III, 1723, pp.730–1 and Pannier, cf. Boulton, pp.201–5, and Boulton's own useful discussion.

15. To the documents in the literature cited in n.14 should be added Leber, pp.92–3. Dawes, *Register*, pp.302, 333 *bis*.

16. Lehoux, I, p.25, n.3; Boulton, pp.204–5; Dehaisnes, p.434; Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Boulogne', no.160. For Jean le Bon's signet rings, whose stones were cut one with a sun, the other with a star, see Bapst, p.30.

17. For the Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit Désir, see Boulton, pp.211–40. Villani, *Cronica*, Bk.III, c.83. Engenio Caracciolo, *Napoli Sacra*, 1624, p.27. E.G. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Iᵉ Reine de Naples, Comtesse de Provence (1343–82)*, II, Monaco, Paris, 1936, pp.12–23.

18. Dawes, *Register*, p.301; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.112, no.780 (not previously noted); Palgrave, III, p.347, no.238; Henry V, p.215.

19. Dawes, *Register*, pp.77, 142; J. Cabaret d'Orronville, *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud, 1876, pp.12–14. For the ensign of the Tress, see C. Blair, 'The sword of Estore Visconti' in *Waffen und Kostümkunde*, II, 1962, pp.112–20. For the statutes of the Ordre du Fer de Prisonnier see Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, I, pp.370–4; Dehaisnes, p.523.

20. On the Ordre du Nef (Ordine della Nave) the fundamental work is all by Boulton, cf. his pp.289–324. L. Frescobaldi–S. Sigoli, *Viaggi in Terrasanta*, ed. C. Angelini, 1944, pp.40–1 (not noted by Boulton).

21. For the Ordre du Tiercelet see Vale, 'A fourteenth-century order of chivalry: the "Tiercelet"', in *English Historical Review*, LXXXII, 1967, pp.332–41; for the Foix order see P.S. Lewis, 'Une devise de chevalerie inconnue, créée par un comte de Foix', in *Annales du Midi*, LXXVI, 1964, pp.77–84.

22. For the Ordine del Collare the fundamental study is that of D. Muratore, 'Les origines de l'Ordre du Collier de Savoie dit de l'Annonciade',

in *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 1909, pp.5–12, 59–66; 1910, pp.72–88 (for the document about the first collars see pp.63–4). Boulton, pp.249–70. See also E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy*, 1967, pp.78–9, 180–6, 371–2.

23. For the Ordre de l'Hermine see Lobineau, *passim*. Boulton, pp.274–8. The passage from Guillaume de Saint-André can be consulted either in Lobineau, II, pp.742–3 or Morice, II, cols. 314, 357. For the ordinance of 1437, see Lobineau, II, p.1056 or Morice, II, col.1315; Lobineau, II, p.1112; I, p.442, II, pp.627–8.

24. For the ref. of 1383, see Du Cange, II, 1842, p.613, s.v. *corona*. Hélyot, VIII, pp.285–6. Van de Put, English ed., Appendix II (pp.41–3).

25. For the Orden de la Escama, see *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (BAE) II, pp.482–525, 534 (*Crónica de Juan II*, año 1430, c.13, 1435, c.8, 1437, c.2). Boulton, pp.327–8. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.126, no.128.

26. For the Order of the Holy Ghost, see *Crónicas* cit. II, p.143.

27. David, pp.133, 151–2.

28. There is a large literature on the Toison d'Or. For the purposes of this book the key article is V. Tourneur, 'Les origines de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or et la symbolique des insignes de celui-ci', in Académie Royale de Belgique, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, ser.v, XLII, 1956, pp.300–23. Boulton, pp.356–96. See also G. Doutrepont, 'Jason et Gédéon, patrons de la Toison d'Or', in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, II, 1908, pp.191–208.

29. For Pentin see Laborde, *Ducs*, I, p.263, no.921 (doc. of 1431–2).

30. For a Catalan version of the Statutes of the Orden del Grifo see Villanueva, *Viaje literario*, XVIII, pp.185–95, 307–12.

31. González Hurtebise, p.164, no.178, p.165, no.187; Villanueva, *Viaje literario*, XVIII, 1851, pp.185–94, 307–12; Van de Put, English ed., pp.47–8.

32. For the Brandenburg Order of the Swan, see Rudolf Graf von Stillfried-Rattonitz, *Der Schwänenorden: seine Ursprung und Zweck, seine Geschichte und seine Alterthümer*, 1845; T. Däschlein, *Der Schwänenorden und die sogennante Schwänenordens-Ritter-Kapelle in Ansbach*, 1927. Stillfried, pp.7, 9 for my text.

33. Thomson, p.6. For the Ordre de Saint-Michel see Boulton, pp.427–47. There are various editions of the Statutes; I have used that of the Imprimerie Royale, Paris, 1725. Cf. also M. Martens, A. Vanrie, M. de Waha, *Saint Michel et sa symbolique*, 1979, pp.93–109.

34. Finot, pp.175–6; Bentley, *Excerpta*, pp.125, 130; Beltz, p.lxxviii; Ashmole, Appendix. A good discussion in Boulton, pp.159–60. Palgrave, III, p.393, no.3, p.394, nos.7, 8.

35. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, pp.492–3, no.7412; Tuetey, p.47; Garciá Mercadal, *Viajes*, I, 1952, p.567; Palgrave, III, p.397, nos.33–4 for the collar of the Golden Fleece and the two little gold badges of the order hung from a chain given by Philip; p.399, no.47 for the Garter collar.

CHAPTER 26    Collars: II

1. Lobineau, II, 921; Upton, Book I, XVII (ed. Bysshe, pp.33–4).

2. Mendoza, pp.56, 55, 19.

3. Van de Put, English ed., pp.9, 13, 19; Sanpere y Miquel, p.228; Beccaria, p.99; Van de Put, pp.17–18; Lanza di Scalea, p.321, no.4; Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.528, no.1269.

4. Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.179–80 (for the wolf device); Palgrave, II, p.1; Guillebert de Lannoy, ed. C. Potvin, Brussels, 1878, p.24.

5. O. de la Marche, 'Epistre pour tenir et célébrer la noble feste du Thoison d'Or', in *Mémoires*, IV, pp.161–3.

6. For the Ordre de l'Epée see Boulton, pp.241–8. Machaut, *La prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. Mas-Latrie, Geneva, 1877, pp.11–12, ll.359–68 – cf. also pp.277–8. Mas-Latrie in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, ser. 1, V, 1843–4, p.423.

7. Ogier d'Anglure, *Le saint voyage*, ed.cit., p.435; Niccolò da Este, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, Bologna, 1861, p.138; Tafur, p.121; Boulton, loc.cit., for other references.

8. For the Order of the Dragon see Boulton, pp.348–55. For Vittorio del Pozzo see Hélyot, VIII, p.332. See also É. Kovács, 'A Gotikus Ronde-Bosse Zománc a Budai Udvorban', in *Müvészettörténeti Museum Érteoitó*, 1982, 2, pp.89–94, who first identified the badges of the Order of the Dragon in the inventory of Henry V. The Berlin badge was found in Livonia, along with five others, now lost (see *Müvészet Zsigmond Király, Korában 1387–1437*, II, *Katalógus*, 1987, p.72, no.49). It has been associated with the admission into the Drachen-orden of Duke Witold of Lithuania in 1429. Furnivall, p.110.

9. Advielle, in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XIV, p.302, XIII, pp.278–9.

10. Prost, II, p.376, no.2501; Joursanvault, p.121; J. Nichols 'On collars of the Royal livery' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, CLXXI, 1842, pp.254–5, cit. from Hélyot, VIII, p.278 (cf. also Palgrave, III, p.354, no.307 for a French royal livery collar inventoried 1399–1400 and Henry V, p.220, for another). For the broom-cod as an English royal device see J.G. Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices . . .', 1842, pp.41–7 (the references to the arch-mythographer Favyn should be disregarded) and J. Harvey, 'Wilton Diptych', 1961, pp.8–9.

11. Gay, p.412, s.v. *collier*; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.116; Joursanvault, p.127; Finot, p.161; *Souvenirs de la Flandre Wallonne*, I, 1861, p.98.

12. Dehaisnes, II, pp.861–2; Finot, p.161.

13. For the Ordre du Camail, besides Hélyot, VIII, pp.336–40, see Van de Put, English ed., pp.43–5. É. Kovács, 'L'ordre du camail des ducs d'Orléans', in *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*, XXVII, 1981, pp.225–31, also first identified and published the Villa altarpiece. Champollion-Figeac, p.64; Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.179–80 (for doc. of 1414); Graves, *Deux Inventaires*, p.28n; Joursanvault, p.130; Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.255–6.

14. Rymer, X, p.655; Leo of Rozmital, pp.45, 53, 67, 92, 137.

15. Henry V, pp.217–19; É. Kovács, art cit. n.8; Dufour & Rabut, pp.367–8; García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*, I, p.567.

16. Devon, pp.288, 358, 372; Rymer, X, 1727, pp.436–7; Myers, pp.118, 123, 127.

17. Guillebert de Lannoy, ed. Potvin, pp.12, 48.

18. *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (BAE), II, pp.482 (Año 1430, ch.13), 525 (Año 1435, ch.8).

19. García Mercadal, *Viajes*, pp.311, 317. Tafur, ed.cit., I, pp.149–50. Boulton, pp.343–8, for the Austrian Order of the Eagle; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, no.4130, p.251 for the Točenice jewel (for the form of the device see J. Krása, *Die handschriften König Wenzels IV*, 1971, p.66, fig.39. I owe this reference to Dr H. Koenigsmarkova).

20. For Jörg see *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, ed. & trans. M. Letts, 1929, especially pp.26, 39, 67.

21. Lobineau, II, 1372–3, Tafur, I, p.243.

22. Lobineau, II, 1034, 1377–8.

23. Martino de Canale, *Cronaca Veneta*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, VIII, 1845, pp.604–27; Renouvier & Ricard, p.185, doc.71; for the De Bont badges (in the Ghent Bijlokemuseum, Inv.438, 1–4) see Ghent, Bijlokemuseum, *Ghent Duizend Jaar Kunst en Cultuur*, exh.cat. 1975, n.25, pp.266–7, no.363 with full bibliography. For the London and Exeter waits see St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers*, p.313. For the Exeter collars see also H. Lloyd Parry, *The history of the Exeter Guildhall and the life within*, Exeter, 1936, pp.157–60 (with references to documents).

24. De Vigne, I, p.23; for the Amsterdam badges see Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *Catalogus van Goud en Zilverwerken*, Amsterdam, 1952, p.6, no.12, pl.4; Fritz, fig.956 (Cleves), p.318, bibliography.

25. For the Ghent collar see Ghent, Bijlokemuseum, exh.cat. cit., pp.265–6, no.361, with full analysis and bibliography; for the Tournai badge see Détroit, Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the fifteenth century: art and civilization*, exh.cat. 1960, pp.291–2, no.129.

CHAPTER 27    Collars: III

1. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.295, no.2780, p.304, no.2882 (cf. also Gay, s.v. *collier*).

2. Dufour & Rabut, pp.358–9. Sénemaud, p.209; Cibrario, II, p.84.

3. Puiggarí, pp.255–6; Mendoza, pp.19, 21–4, 69–70, 87–9. De Mussis, cit. Muratori, *Dissertatio XXIII*, ed.cit., 584. Frati, pp.242–3.

4. Cipolla, *I Gioielli degli Scaligeri*, Verona, 1880, p.8. The Modenese chronicle is the *Chronicon Mutinense*, in Muratori, *RIS*, XV, 607. The marriage contract of Valentina Visconti is in *Annales Mediolanenses*, XV, 806ff. The documents concerning the Scaliger jewels are published by Cipolla, op.cit., and extracted in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande*, exh.cat. 1983, pp.282–5. Graves, *Deux inventaires*, pp.61–2, nos. 12,16,17–20.

5. Joursanvault, p.120.

6. Prost, II, p.434, no.3735; Petit, p.536.

7. Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.107–9.

8. David, pp.45, 58, 62; Joursanvault, p.121; Plancher, pp.145–6, 170.

9. David, pp.34, 83, 154; Finot, p.61.

10. Dehaisnes, pp.861–2.

11. Plancher, p.clxx; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.249, no.4120; Barthélemy d'Aubagne, 'Elipde des Baux', p.133; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.116–17, no.41.

12. Plancher, p.clxx: Advielle, in *Réunion des Sociétés de Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XIV, 1890, pp.301–2; Guiffrey, II, pp.30–1, no.166; Palgrave, III, pp.366–7, no.1; Graves, *Deux inventaires*, p.87, no.239.

13. Barthélemy d'Aubagne, 'Elipde des Baux', pp.132–3; Henry V, p.214; Lespy, 'Eléanore de Navarre', in *Revue d'Aquitaine*, V, 1860, p.513.

14. Devon, pp.402–3; Palgrave, II, pp.129–30 (for a ref. of 1428), p.165, no.21, p.184, no.35, III, p.184, no.3, p.242, no.7.

15. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.126, no.129, p.114, no.13, p.117, no.3042, p.123, no.102; Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.277–8.

16. Dufour & Rabut, pp.428–9; P.E. Muller, *Jewels in Spain 1500–1800*, New York, 1972, pp.7–8; Thomson, p.10.

17. Gay, s.v. *corail*; Thomson, p.9.

18. González Hurtebise, pp.164–5, nos.181–2; Vallet de Viriville, III, p.386; Paley Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXI, p.175; Henry V, pp.219–22; Chavannes, p.25; Barthélemy d'Aubagne, p.133, no.28, p.134, no.46.

19. Turner, *Household expenses*, p.490; Howard inventory of 22 January 1467 in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Seventh Report*, p.537; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.115, no.20, p.116, no.39, p.126, no.130, p.125, no.721; Tuetey, p.46; Thomson, p.9.

20. See Verhaegen in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser.3, V, 1887, p.276. For Elizabeth's collar, see Zeibig, 1854, pp.216–19.

21. For the Hohenlohe collar see Steingräber, p.62, and Müller & Steingräber, pp.58–9, cat.21, where it is identified as a *narrenkette*, a fool's collar, and called Burgundian, *c*.1440–50. In view of a document of 1511 (see below) it is most unlikely to have been a fool's collar. See also Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, 1962, pp.385–7 (with further bibliography) where it is called Burgundian or Rhenish, and dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. The collar, part of the heirlooms of the Hohenlohe family, is first surely documented in their possession in a deed of entail of heirlooms of 1511, where it is recorded that it must only be worn on festal occasions. For the Orléans collar see Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.422, no.7137; cf. also La Nicollière 'Le collier d'Antoinette . . .' cit. in note 26.

22. Guiffrey, I, p.59, no.149, pp.298–9, no.1123, II, pp.26–7, no.124; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.183; Graves, *Deux inventaires*, pp.86–7, nos. 237–8.

23. For the Solothurn collar see Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, pp.131–5, no.21. Boislille, 'Montpensier', p.274; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.249–50, no.4121; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.335, no.989 (this is accepting Arnaud d'Agnel's interpretation and not rendering *janectes* either as narcissi or as the genest, a heraldic beast which was certainly found as a motif on collars), p.317, no.908.

24. Dufour & Rabut, p.378; Riley, p.613; Palgrave, II, p.143, no.14, p.183, no.31; Dufour & Rabut, pp.417–18.

25. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, pp.377–8, nos.6994–8, II, p.112, no.992; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.303; La Borderie, p.46, no.3; Dufour & Rabut, p.427.

26. For this see La Nicollière, 'Le collier d'Antoinette . . .', in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéologique de Nantes*, I, 1859, pp.330–4.

27. Muller, op.cit. pp.8–13; Ferrandis, pp.22, 24; Palgrave, III, p.393, no.6.

28. Bongi, *Ricchezze*, p.65; Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis*, pp.19, 35, 81; for the Contini–Bonacossi altarpiece see M. Horster, *Andrea del Castagno*, Oxford, 1980, pp.22–3, 174–5. There is an essay on the device of the silver sail by Volker Herzner, 'Die Segel-Imprese der Familie Pazzi,' in Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut, *Mitteilungen*, XX, 1976, pp.13–20.

29. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.126, no.125; Le Roux de Lincy, III, pp.111–12, no.28.

30. Joursanvault, II, p.127; the Villa altarpiece is published by É. Kovács, 'L'ordre du camail'; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.251, no.6195; Clément, p.361 (cit. also Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.192, s.v. *camail*).

31. Boislille, 'Montpensier', p.274; Finot, pp.171, 168; Dufour & Rabut, pp.428–9, 448; Finot, p.171.

32. Roman, *Inventaires*, p.218, no.616, p.252; Beaulieu & Baylé, p.107.

33. Finot, p.161; Henry V, p.214; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.119, no.74; Palgrave, II, pp.136–7, no.9, p.143, no.14. For the *gargantille* see a discussion in A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Daily Life in Portugal*, 1971, p.82.

CHAPTER 28    Earrings, Bracelets, Garters and Cloak Fastenings

1. Symon Symeonis, *Itinerarium*, p.42; Bertrandon de la Broquière, p.157; for Mitton, Gay, s.v. *oreillets*. The date should be corrected from Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.347. For the Sicilian earring see Lanza di Scalea, *passim*.

2. Bevere, pp.327–8, 339–40; Accascina, 1974, pp.70–2 for the Palermo earrings; Lanza di Scalea, p.176; Bevere, loc.cit. For Sigelgaita see Lightbown, in *Apollo*, CXXVII, 1988, pp.108–12; Rodoconachi, p.xxx; Levi Pisetzky, II, p.309.

3. Clonard, pp.90, 96; Puiggarí, pp.63, 245; Paz y Meliá, pp.16–18; for the Arcipreste see ch.7, n.8; Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s.v. *arracadas*.

4. There is no passage in the published thirteenth-century chronicles of Faenza that mentions bracelets; for Zuccolo see Ghinassi 'Considerazioni', p.168; Bevere, pp.330, 340, no.539; Mazzi, *Argenti*, p.28, no.343; Saba Malaspina, IV, in Muratori, *RIS*, VIII, 842 (cit. also in *Dissertatio* XXIII, ed.cit., 571).

5. *Liber Quotidianus*, p.352; Palgrave, III, p.190, no.231; Vayra, p.157; Palgrave, III, p.228, no.93; O. de la Marche, cit. Gay, s.v. *manicle*.

6. Clonard, p.94; Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s.v. in text; Paz y Meliá, pp.16–18; for the Arcipreste see ch.34, n.45; Puiggarí, p.63; A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *Historia da Sociedade em Portugal no seculo XV*, 1903, p.438; Saez, pp.524–8.

7. Plancher, pp.128–9; Joursanvault, p.120; for the suggestion of their importation by Jean, Comte de Nevers, later Jean Sans Peur, see David, pp.83–4. Sanpere y Miquel, p.228 for Joan I.

8. David, pp.83–4.

9. Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.118–19, 125, 131, 119–20; Dehaisnes, p.886.

10. Lobineau, II, p.923; Myers, pp.117, 128; Depping, in *Mémoires de la Soc. Royale des Antiquaires de France*, n.s. VIII, 1846, pp.482–3. Furnivall, p.110; Garnier, p.24.

11. Henry V, pp.215, 219, 220; cf. also for the bracelet with two ladies Palgrave, II, p.129, no.3; Bevere, pp.330, 341.

12. Finot, p.161; Zeibig, 1854, pp.216–19; Leo of Rozmital, ed. Letts, p.163.

13. Palgrave, III, p.140; Henry V, p.220; for the Fishpool ornament see

London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, p.162, no.270(d) with previous lit.

14. Tuetey, p.33; Douët d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces*, I, pp.371–2. Laborde, *Ducs*, I, p.328, III, p.378, no.6948; Montalto, p.33 (for date p.39).

15. La Nicollière, pp.413–14, nos. 38–40, pp.419–20, nos.80–2; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.280, no.900.

16. Dawes, *Register*, IV, p.142; Dehaisnes, p.487.

17. Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.348; but cf. Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.189; La Plagne-Barris, in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, pp.499–505.

18. Prost, I, p.172, no.962, p.269, no.1480, p.433, no.2297, II, p.387, no.2554.

19. Beccaria, p.165 (cit. also Van de Put, Eng. ed., p.17); Henry V, pp.215, 218, 219, 225; Reddaway, p.302; Devon, p.480; Laborde, III, p.380, no.6961; Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, pp.122–3.

20. The only modern study of the development of cloak clasps is by É. Kovács, 'Két.13. Szádadi Ekszerfajta magyarországon', in *Ars Hungarica*, 1973, pp.67–95, who publishes a number of little-known examples in Hungarian museums. For the Baltimore clasp see Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *Jewelry*, 1979, p.169, no.470. For the Emden clasps see Brunswick, Braunschweiges Landesmuseum, *Stadt im Wändel*, exh.cat. 1985, I, pp.46–7, no.11d. Caetano de Sousa, pp.117–21; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.306 for Jeanne de Bourgogne.

21. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6266; Mayr-Adlwang, p.137; Finke, II, p.240; Rubió y Lluch, I, pp.175, 71 (for the Infante Jaime); Carderera, I, VI for the Sarmiento effigy; Navarro García, *Palencia*, pl.LIV.

22. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6266; Mayr-Adlwang, pp.135, 137, 139; Finke, II, pp.912–15, III, p.240; Caetano de Sousa, p.231; Richard, p.210, n.3, p.185.

23. Léonard, 'Hôtel de Jeanne 1ere', p.263; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.71; Richard, p.71; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.306; for the St Hedwig miniatures and manuscript see W. Braunfels, ed., *Hedwigs-Codex*.

24. For these Aachen cloak clasps see the literature of the Aachen treasury, especially the catalogue in *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, vol.x.

25. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.31, n.2, pp.31–2, nos. 71–4; compare Plancher, pp.lxxxiv-lxxxv. Cf. Rubió y Lluch, I, p.71; Moranvillé, p.566, nos.3536–7.

26. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.32, no.72, & Plancher, loc.cit.; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175.

CHAPTER 29    Girdles and Belts: I

1. Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, pp.167–8; Dehaisnes, p.156, 245.

2. Muratori, *Dissertatio*, XXI, ed.cit., p.549; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.41; New York, Metropolitan Museum & Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, exh.cat. 1986, p.229, no.83.

3. Ferrandis, p.23; Clonard, p.94; Puiggarí, pp.96, 66–7.

4. Jean de Garlande, ed.cit., p.23, no.10, p.34, no.67; Prou, p.401, nos.272–3; Dehaisnes, p.178.

5. Saez, p.534.

6. Ferrandis, p.23.

7. Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.490, nos.672, 683, 675.

8. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.33; Dawes, *Register*, p.73; N. Harris Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p.84; Rubió y Lluch, II, p.40.

9. Symon Symeonis, *Itinerarium*, p.58 ('the Saracen nobles and knights wear girdles that are broad in the fashion of ladies's girdles'); Leclercq, bk.v, c.63.

10. De Cange, s.v. *succinctorium*; Godefroy, s.v. *sourchaint*; Dehaisnes, p.131; Richard, p.201, n.3; Gay, s.v. *surceinte, sourceinte*; Dufour & Rabut, p.431; Del Giudice, *Codice*, III, p.296.

11. Gay, s.v. *demi-ceint*; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.112, no.778; Moranvillé, pp.582, 583–4, 585–6; Prost, I, pp.182–3, nos.1007–10, 1012.

12. Enlart, pp.287–90. The cut of 1510 is repr. by Gay, s.v. *demi-ceint*.

13. Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.30–1, nos.61–2; Beaulieu & Baylé, p.97, n.5; O. de la Marche, *Le Triumphe*, ed.cit., stanzas 58, 62, 106.

14. OED s.v. *demysent*.

15. Boehn, p.212 (I cannot trace the original document); Enlart, pp.275–8; *The Ancrene Riwle*, ed. Morton, 1853, p.420.

16. For Verona see the 1319 statutes of the goldsmiths' guild (L. Simeoni, *Gli antichi statuti delle arti veronesi secondo la revisione scaligera del 1319*, Venice, 1914, pp.238–50, cit. also in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande*, exh.cat. 1983, p.282, no.37).

17. Fingerlin, pp.66, 421, cat.357. Daniele & Gregorio, p.84.

18. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6118, 6138: Bentley, *Excerpta*, p.398; PRO *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, I, pt. II, 1835, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, pp.148–9, 173a.

19. Green, II, pp.330, 370–1; London, PRO *Liberate Rolls*, pp.83, 120.

20. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p.4; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6262; for Giraldus Cambrensis, *Symbolum electorum*, pt.I, Ep.30; Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6193; Schultz, I, 1889, p.275; *Flamenca*, 2240s.

21. For the New York buckle see Stüttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh.cat. 1977, p.477, no.602; Fingerlin, p.447, cat.467 (Stockholm).

22. For Jacopo da Bettinoro see M. Sarti & M. Fattorini, *De claris archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus*, II, Bologna, 1888–96, p.212; Cipolla, *Arnesi di casa veronese*, cit. Sella, s.v.; Zdekauer, 1925, pp.33, 79–81; Bevere, p.319, no.246, p.336; for the Bitonto relief see E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Rome, 1904, p.656; Del Giudice, *Codice*, II, p.313.

23. A. E. de Boüard, *Receuil des documents en français des archives angevins de Naples, règne de Charles I*ᵉʳ, Paris, 1833, II, pp.21, 23; Del Giudice, *Codice*, p.274; Minieri-Riccio, I, pp.132–3; Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.202–4; Bonaini, pp.452–4.

24. British Academy, *Dictionary of medieval Latin from British sources*, s.v. *cintura*; PRO, *Patent Rolls, 1216–25*, 1901, p.449; PRO, *Curia Regis Rolls*, XV, *1233–7*, pp.257–9; Louandre, I, p.141; Del Giudice, *Codice*, II, pp.275–7; Boileau, *Livre des Mestiers*, pp.158–9, no.XI; Bevere, p.320; Paz y Meliá, pp.16–18.

25. *Liber Quotidianus*, pp.344, 346; Dehaisnes, pp.156, 123–4 (Nesle) 238–45 (Béthune, especially pp.241, 244).

26. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, pp.912–15, III, pp.240–1; Martínez Ferrando, II, p.13.

27. Richard, p.232; Del Giudice, *Codice*, p.304; Palgrave, III, p.142; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.136, s.v. *argent verré*; Hoberg, p.179.

28. Palgrave, III, p.142.

29. For Thibaut's effigy see Chazaud, pp.190, 191, 203, 206; Dehaisnes, p.84. Mayr-Adlwang, pp.137–8 *pro cingulo aureo per totum*; *Liber Quotidianus*, 349; Mayr-Adlwang, p.167; Richard, p.384.

30. Caetano de Sousa, p.230; Dehaisnes, p.170; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Les Trésors des Églises de France*, 1965, p.439 (for the Grand girdle); Brun-Durand, in France, Min. de l'Instruction Publique, *Recueil d'inventaires*, p.389; Caprin, p.167. Anonymous, *Continuatio Eulogii historiarum*, in *Eulogium historiarum*, ed. F.S. Haydon (Rolls Series), III, 1863, nos.230–1.

31. Parsons, p.135; Dehaisnes, p.101; see n.27 (Palgrave); Richard, p.384; Dehaisnes, p.314; for Edward II see the list of the jewels taken from Piers Gaveston in Rymer, *Foedera*, II-i, 1818, p.204.

## CHAPTER 30    Girdles and Belts: II

1. Rubió y Lluch, II, p.192; Garnier, pp.42, 43, 45, 30–1, no.12; Belgrano, p.245.

2. The statutes of the *ésmailleurs* have been published several times (e.g. Lespinasse, pp.96–101). They are most easily consulted in Gay, p.264, s.v. *émailleur*. Fagniez, *Documents*, II, pp.60–5 (for mercers' statutes).

3. Fagniez, p.383; Dehaisnes, p.83; Leber, pp.352–3 (Lespinasse, pp.9–12); Fagniez, pp.300–4.

4. Cecchetti, pt.3, p.91; Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande*, exh.cat. 1983, pp.282–3; Riley, pp.399–400.

5. Fingerlin, cat.45.

6. Fingerlin, cat.61. For the Infante Fernando's girdle see M. Gómez-Moreno, *El Panteón Real de las Huelgas de Burgos*, 1946, p.22, no.84; B. Collin, *The riddle of a 13th-century Sword-Belt* (Heraldry Society, 1955). I must thank Mr Claude Blair FSA for allowing me to reproduce here his analysis of the method of closure of the buckle.

7. For all this discussion of the heraldry see T.R. Davies, 'Edmund of Lancaster' in *The Coat of Arms*, X, no.80, 1969, pp.260–75, cf. also XI, no.83, 1970, pp.102–3; n.s.i., no.91, 1974–6, p.93.

8. Published by Bock, in *Die Kirchenschmuck*, V, 1859, pp.102–5.

9. Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.26, 192; Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Anuari*, IV, 1911–12, p.623; Bevere, p.320, n.248, p.336; list of jewels taken from Piers Gaveston in 1313, in Rymer, *Foedera*, II-i, 1818, pp.203–5. Rubió y Lluch, II, p.160; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.356; Sharpe, II, pp.528, 128.

10. For the Salzburg girdles see C. Svoboda, 'Der Schatzfund aus der Jüdengasse in Salzburg' in *Weltkunst*, December 1980, pp.353–4ff; for the Stockholm girdle see Fingerlin, cat.469.

11. Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.59; Montaiglon, in *Archives de l'art*, ser.2, I, 1861, pp.448–53; Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.287–8; Barone, 1886, pp.416–17.

12. Palgrave, III, p.138, under section 36; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.175; Caetano de Sousa, I, p.226.

13. Minieri-Riccio, p.111; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, pp.62, 172; 'Jeanne of Brittany' in Rymer, *Foedera*, III-2, 1830, p.1056; Palgrave, III, p.337, no.155; Devon, p.170.

14. For these see Verona, Museo de Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe di Can Grande*, 1983, pp.274–6; for the Scaliger jewels pledged in 1387 see Cipolla, *I giojelli dell' ultimo principe Scaligero*, 1880 (cit. also in Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, *Le stoffe*, pp.283–5).

15. Moranvillé, pp.580–1, no.3558; Joursanvault, p.127; Roman, *Inventaires*, for 1402, p.112, no.94, p.115, no.110, pp.190–1.

16. Zimerman, p.ii, no.7; F. Pasquier, in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XXVIII, 1904, p.161, no.VI (wrongly rendered by Pasquier).

17. Léonard, *Comptes*, p.266; Prost, I, p.323, no.1753, p.433, no.2297; Beaulieu & Baylé, p.96; Prost, II, p.181, no.1194, I, pp.182–4.

18. Cibrario, II, p.84; Prost, I, p.108, no.665, p.124, no.719, p.182, no.1009.

19. Fingerlin, cat.14 for the Baden-Baden girdle, cat.364, 358 for the two Cluny girdles.

20. For the New College girdle see London, Royal Academy, *The Age of Chivalry*, exh.cat. 1987, p.473, no.609.

21. For the Acciaiuoli girdles see Mazzi, *Argenti*, nos.3, 4, 6, 7, 26, 27, 33, 244–7, 249, 257–9, 90, 344. For the Verona girdle see n.14. For the sumptuary laws see Casanova in *Bull.sen.*, VIII, 1901, pp.60, 82.

22. Cecchetti, pt.3, pp.90–1.

23. For the Chalcis treasure see O.M. Dalton, 'Mediaeval personal ornaments from Chalcis in the British and Ashmolean Museums' in *Archaeologia*, LXII, 1911, pp.391–404; Fingerlin, cats.151–77; London, British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 years*, 1976, pp.164–5.

24. For the Cleveland girdle see W. Milliken 'A girdle of the fifteenth century', in Cleveland Museum, *Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1930, pp.35–41; Fingerlin, cat.66. For the Berlin girdle see Fingerlin, cat.21 and for this and for the other Bosnian girdles see F. von Luschan, in *Der Cicerone*, 1921, pp.659–66; M. Wenzel, 1987.

25. Fingerlin, cat.335 for the New York girdle.

26. For the Curtea de Arges buckle see Fingerlin, cat.59 and Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, *Die Parler*, exh.cat., vol.2, p.476.

27. For the Hansel see New York, Met.Mus. and Nuremberg, Germ. Nat. Museum, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, 1986, p.136, cat.16; Advielle, 'Jehan du Vivier', in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XIII, 1889, p.285.

CHAPTER 31    Girdles and Belts: III

1. Palgrave, III, p.142; Gay, s.v. *ceinture* (p.292), *coeur* (p.401); Mazzi, *Argenti*, pp.6, 12; E. Taburet-Delehaye, 'Colmar', p.89, fig.1.

2. Moranvillé, pp.583–4, nos.3565–6; Prost, II, pp.245–6, no.1492; Palgrave, III, p.338, nos.163, 167.

3. Raine, I, pp.177 (Usher), 282 (Harlam), 338 (Avice), II, p.22 (Hamerton); Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.243. The Figdor girdle is repr. Enlart, p.277, fig.292.

4. Cibrario, II, p.389; Moranvillé, pp.585–6, nos.3569–70; Palgrave, III, p.343, no.199.

5. Moranvillé, p.584, no.3567; Palgrave, III, p.338, no.165; Moranvillé, p.582, no.3561, p.583, no.3562, pp.384–5, no.3568.

6. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, pp.140–1, no.5784, II, p.xxvi, n.2; Fingerlin, cat.36.

7. Cibrario, II, p.84.

8. Mendoza, p.92; Advielle, in *Réunion des Soc. des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, XIII, pp.203, 290; Gay, I, p.292; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.113.

9. Toulmin-Smith, p.163; Palgrave, III, pp.337–8, nos.158–9.

10. Boehn, pp.233–5, 238–9; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.52, no.5498; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.122, no.132, p.218, nos.624, 626; Palgrave, III, pp.337–8, 347, no.242.

11. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.250, no.4125 & Beaulieu & Baylé, p.96.

12. J. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires*, in J.A.C. Buchon (ed.), *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France avec notes et notices*, Paris, 1838, ch.180.

13. Moranvillé, p.583, no.3563; Gay, I, p.292, s.v. *ceinture*; Gay, s.v. *cordelière*; O. de la Marche, *Le Triumphe des Dames*, ed.cit., stanza 106.

14. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.119, no.75, p.123, no.100.

15. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.423, no.7140; Finot, p.168.

16. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.472, no.7328; Gay, I, p.293, s.v. *ceinture*.

17. Fingerlin, cat.47, 98, 99 (Graz), 107 (Hradec Kralové).

18. O. de la Marche, op.cit., stanza 107; Garnier, p.30, rub.XI; for Siena see Casanova in *Bull.sen.*, VIII, 1901, p.90.

19. Tuetey, p.46; Finot, p.168.

20. Nichols & Bruce, *Wills*, pp.5, 6.

21. Raine, I, p.363 (Vavasour); Fingerlin, cat.362, 35 (Liège); Raine, II, pp.236 (Bedford), 48 (Blackburn), 144 (Aske); Sharpe, I, p.658.

22. Fingerlin, cat.47; C. Enlart, in *Bull. de la Soc. Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1908, pp.209–10; Raine, II, pp.8–9 (Upstall), 104 (Brompton); Sharpe, II, pp.214–15; Raine, III, p.296 (Alcock).

23. Lobineau, II, 1114, 1208.

24. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.379, no.6954; Roman, *Inventaires*, p.270, nos.855–6, p.273, no.877; Piponnier, p.187, n.4; Lobineau, II, 1317.

25. La Borderie, pp.50–1, nos.43–5 (cf. also Lobineau, I, 1317), Boislille, 'Gabrielle de Montpensier', p.275.

26. Texier, 683; for Isabelle's *ceinture* see Douët d'Arcq, *Choix*, II, pp.273–9; Delisle, *Mandements*, p.328; Gay, I, p.594.

27. Gay, *loc.cit.*; Finot, p.161; Henry V, p.214; Roman, *Pièces*, p.230; idem, *Inventaires*, pp.217–18, no.615.

28. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.126, no.127; Boehn, pp.238–9; Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, II, pp.326–7.

CHAPTER 32    Paternoster Beads

1. For the paternoster in general see the article 'Rosaire' by M.M. Gorce in A. Vacant, E. Mangenot & E. Amann, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XIII – pt.2, Paris, 1937, cols.2902–11, G.M. Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz*, Munich, 1962, E. Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game*, 1969, and Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, *500 Jahre Rosenkranz, 1475–1975*, exh.cat. 1975. All contain useful information, but all are preoccupied with the rosary, rather than the earlier paternoster. For Godiva see William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum anglorum*, ed. Hamilton (Rolls Series) 1870, p.311.

2. *The Ancrene Riwle*, ed. Morton, 1853, pp.17–33; Danzas, IV, p.389ff; Garampi, p.203, *cum Avemaria quinquagies Paternoster*.

3. Danzas, IV, p.400 (for Unterlinden); Chevalier de la Tour Landry, 6, c.33; lit. cited n.1.

4. Riley, p.455; Tymms, p.42.

5. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Miracles de St Louis*, ed. P.B. Fay, Paris, 1931, p.28 (*c*.1274); Morelli, *Ricordi*, Florence, 1956, pp.329–30; Buchner, p.33, no.12; Francesco da Barberino, p.356; Venetian observer of *c*.1500 cit. G.G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain*, ed. of 1938, p.38.

6. Giunta da Bevagna, *Antica leggenda della vita e miracoli di S. Margherita di Cortona*, Lucca, 1793, pp.33 (c.II, sec.4), 61 (c.III, sec.4), 144 (c.VI, sec.3) 150–4 (c.VI, secs.12–14).

7. *Ancrene Riwle*, ed.cit., pp.44–5; for Ulrich and William see lit.cited in n.1; Boileau, *Livre des Mestiers*, pp.56–7; Garampi, p.15; Dehaisnes, p.216.

8. Caetano de Sousa, pp.231–2 (I have rendered *dellas grandes vize* as 'some are large', but am uncertain of this rendering); Garampi, p.15.

9. Dehaisnes, pp.684–5.

10. Raine, IV, p.216 (Preston); for S. Francesco di Paola, see G.M. Perimezzi, *Vita di San Francesco di Paola*, II, Venice, 1727, p.175; Tuetey, pp.17–18; for Michelagnolo see L.G. Pélissier, in 'Le trouseau d'un Siennoise en 1500', *Bull.sen.*, VI, 1899, p.150; Tuetey, p.19.

11. P. Carnesecchi, *Vita monastica nel trecento*, 1895, p.5; Magnavia, no.52; for Humbert see Valbonnais, II, p.275; Bartolo di Tura see C. Mazzi, 'La casa di maestro Bartolo di Tura', *Bullettino Senese*, 6, 1899, pp.139-46, 393-400, 513-19, especially I, p.113; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.317, no.911; Tuetey, p.34.

12. Gay, II, p.210, s.v. *patenôtre*; L.-F. de Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Histoire de René d'Anjou*, Paris, 1825, I, pp.453–4; for the paternoster as René's device see L. Germain, 'Le chapelet, emblème du roi René', in *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, XLVII (ser.2, XXV), pp.233–58.

13. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.318, no.915; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, pp.271–2; Fagniez, *Etudes*, p.382, n.1; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.315, no.897; Lobineau, II, 1474.

14. Raine, I, pp.199 (Stapilton), 298 (Depeden), II, p.137 (Wentworth), I, p.362 (Vavasour), II, p.106 (Shireburne), I, p.338, II, p.235; Louandre, I, p.191; Dehaisnes, p.485; Cecchetti, pt.3, p.105; Tóth-Ubbens, p.119, no.322; Furnivall, p.102.

15. Caetano de Sousa, p.230; Dehaisnes, p.873; Capmany, I, pt.II, pp.250–2; Pegolotti, pp.35, 109.

16. For coral in general see Tescione, *Il corallo nella storia e nell'arte*, 1965. For coral-working in Genoa I have consulted O. Pàstine, 'Le corporazioni genovesi e l'arte dei corallieri fino al 1528' in *Atti della Societá Ligure di Storia Patria*, LXI, 1933, pp.280–415. I have not been able to consult the article by A. Ferretto, 'Coralli, corallieri e coralline nei secoli XIV e XV' in *Il Cittadino* (a Genoese newspaper?), 18 March 1927.

17. For the coral industry in Marseilles, largely a creation of the sixteenth century, see Masson, *Les compagnies du corail*, 1908, especially pp.9–10, 12, 117–21. Arnaud d'Agnel, I, pp.333–4, no.983.

18. For the Baltic amber industry see Warncke, in *Nordelbingen*, X, 1934, pp.428–64 & Dollinger, *La Hanse*, 1964, pp.288–9. Cecchetti, pt.3, pp.105–6; *Libro di commercio dei Peruzzi*, p.253.

19. Prost, II, p.17, no.104, p.213, no.1361, p.237, no.1460, p.240, no.1476; David, p.68; Nichols & Bruce, *Wills*, p.6.

20. Molmenti, I, p.440; Dei, p.44; Arnaud d'Agnel, II, p.365, no.2683; Dehaisnes, pp.872–3; for Bohemia see Hettes, 'Bohemian mediaeval glass' in *Czech Glass Review*, XIII, 1958 (I owe this reference to Mrs Jane Stancliffe).

21. Tóth-Ubbens, p.107, no.146; Lalaing in García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*, I, 1951, p.528; Finot, p.168.

22. Dehaisnes, p.126; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p.182; Caetano de Sousa, p.226; Raine, II, p.117 (Revetour); H.P. Kendall, *The story of Whitby jet*, 1936; Filguera Valverde, *Azabaches*, 1943; for René's Compostella beads see Arnaud d'Agnel, II, p.245. For the Lüneburg paternosters see Brunswick,

Braunschweiges Landesmuseum, *Stadt im Wändel*, exh.cat. 1985, I, p.405, cat.324; Barthélemy d'Aubagne, 'Elipde des Baux', p.134, no.48. Mazzi, 'Bartolo di Tura', in *Bull.sen.*, IV, p.113.

23. For Gmünd see E. Wilkins, op.cit., p.46; Arnaud d'Agnel, II, p.366, no.2691, p.375, no.2723.

24. Riley, p.455; O. de la Marche, *Le Triumphe*, ed.cit., p.107.

25. Minieri-Riccio, pp.102, 105, 112; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.45, nos.48–52, p.46, no.62; Dehaisnes, pp.431, 442.

26. Prost, I, p.150, no.886; Petit, *Itinéraires*, p.555; Leber, p.139; Labarte, *Charles V*, pp.110–11, nos.804–7.

27. See chapter 8; Raine, 13, p.334 (Berghe); Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.317, no.908, pp.317–18, no.914; Belgrano, p.397; Dehaisnes, p.873, nos.IV, X; Chaucer, *Prologue*, 157–8.

28. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.111, nos.808, 811; Mendoza, p.37; Leber, p.235; Arnaud d'Agnel, II, p.245; Gay, II, p.210; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.46, no.63.

29. Labarte, *Charles V*, p.299, no.2825; David, p.68; Petit, *Itinéraires*, p.555; Dehaisnes, pp.872–3; Bourbon, p.325, no.13. For the Whittington reference I thank Marian Campbell, cit. in 'Gold, silver and precious stones' in *English Medieval Industries*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay, London, 1991.

30. Massó Torrents, 'Martí d'Aragó', p.538, no.1407; Raimondo da Capua, *Vita*, bk.II, c.III; Sharpe, II, p.214.

31. Chaucer, *Prologue*, 159–61; Prost, II, p.571, no.3453; Massó Torrents, p.584, no.2022; Furnivall, p.102.

32. N. Harris Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p.61; Raine, II, pp.213, 174, 194; Palgrave, III, p.182, no.134; Armitage-Smith, II, pp.191–3.

33. Cecchetti, pt.3, p.105, n.7; N. Harris Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p.67; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.111, no.813, p.295, no.2782, p.299, no.2824; Guiffrey, I, p.300, nos.1126–7; Roman, *Pièces*, p.229; Tuetey, p.33.

34. Morice, II, 720; Raine, I, pp.275, 338; Nichols & Bruce, *Wills*, p.6.

35. Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.130–2, 117, no.49, p.118, no.66; Finot, p.168.

36. For the Munich paternoster see Thoma & Brunner, p.35, no.21; G. Bourbon, 'Inventaire des biens d'Yves de Viespont inventoriés a l'hotel du sénéchal d'Eu a Paris', *Bulletin archéologique*, 1884, pp.322-47, p.325, no.13; Henry V, p.225; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.131–2, nos.164, 172, 3165; Tuetey, p.46.

37. Moranvillé, p.588, no.3573; Prost, II, p.326, no.1809, p.550, no.3378. Petit, pp.554–5.

38. Guiffrey, I, p.300, no.1128; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.346, no.1035.

CHAPTER 33    Pomanders, Musk-balls and Mirrors

1. For the pomander and its composition see C.J.S. Thompson, *The Pomander: a link in the history of preventive medicine*, Evreux, 1922 (offprint from 2ᵉ *Congrès d'Histoire de la Médecine*). For a general monograph see R. Smollich, *Der Bisamapfel in Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 1983.

2. J. de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, ed. of Douai, 1597, p.173; Prou, p.402, no.285; Molinier, p.47, no.402.

3. M. de Marolles, *Inventaire des titres de Nevers*, ed. Count de Soultrait, 1873, p.619 (also cit. by Gay, II, p.252, s.v. *pomme*); Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.80, nos.385–6; Minieri-Riccio, p.111 (the status of her *pomum* of silver (p.105) and of nielloed silver (p.109) as pomanders is unsure); Douët d'Arcq, 'Jeanne de Boulogne', pp.552–62.

4. Dehaisnes, pp.129, 131, 132; Rubió y Lluch, II, pp.51–2; Hoberg, pp.84, 100, 396, 175, 281, 282, 506, 414.

5. La Plagne-Barris, *Revue de Gascogne*, XV, 1874, pp.499–505; Labarte, *Charles V*, nos.2853, 2061, 1941, 2411, 2415, 2869, 2858, 2870, 2865–6, 2885, 2887.

6. Moranvillé, pp.591–3, nos.3578–81.

7. Hoberg, p.281; Garampi, p.15; Albanès, 'Cornillon', p.184; Gay, II, p.155, s.v. *musc*; Dehaisnes, p.873.

8. Guiffrey, I, p.75, no.213, pp.82–3, nos.254–62, p.95, no.318, p.97, no.328, p.98, no.335, p.302, no.1133; Roman, *Pièces*, p.230.

9. Raine, IV, p.107.

10. Labarte, *Charles V*, nos.213, 218, p.289, nos.2703–4; Finot, p.181; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.328, nos.967–8.

CHAPTER 34    Dress and Head Ornaments

1. U. Falcandus, *Epistola La Historia o Liber de regno Sicilie*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, Rome, 1897, pp.178–80. For the Empress see Etienne de Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (Rolls Series), II, 1885, p.759; for the Palermo *paliotto*, see Steingräber, pp.40–1, fig.43. Daniele & Gregorio, p.80.

2. For the Plantagenet plaque see M.M. Gauthier, *Émaux*, pp.81–3.

3. Minieri-Riccio, *Codice, Supplemento*, I, 1882, p.120; Puiggarí, p.63; for the Wiprecht effigy see R. Stecke, in *Beschreibende Darstellung des älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen*, XV, Dresden, 1891, pp.91–2.

4. For this see Gómez-Moreno, *El Panteón*, pp.21–3, pl.XXV-30.

5. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge*, Paris, Le Mans, 1868, pp.438–48; Giunta da Bevagna, *Leggenda*, ed. cit., p.51.

6. Forestié, I, pp.lviii, lxxxvi, II, p.266 and see chapter 8.

7. Dehaisnes, p.74; Martínez Ferrando, II, p.37; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.13.

8. Minieri-Riccio, *Codice, Supplemento*, I, 1882, p.120; Rubió y Lluch, I, p.71, II, pp.35, 174.

9. Del Giudice, *Legge Suntuaria*, pp.262–7; Martínez Ferrando, II, pp.71–2.

10. Barone, 1886, pp.186–7, 421; Del Giudice, *Codice*, III, p.296; Barone, 1886, p.596.

11. Dehaisnes, p.613; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.139; La Plagne-Barris in *Rev. de Gascogne*, XV, pp.499–505.

12. Gay, I, p.324; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.298.

13. Cibrario, II, p.79; Belgrano, pp.225–6; Dufour & Rabut, p.357; Beccaria, p.118; Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.229, no.6064; Finot, p.161; Gay, I, p.427, s.v. *cordon*; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, pp.121–2, no.90; Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*, pp.118–19.

14. P. Santonino, *Itinerario*, ed. G. Vale, 1943, pp.141, 144.

15. Bevere, pp.327, 339; Armitage-Smith, II, p.107; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 1851, p.362; Labarte, *Charles V*, p.28, nos.48–52.

16. Dehaisnes, p.860; Graves, p.86, no.236; Arnaud d'Agnel, I, p.332, no.978, Boislille, 'Gabrielle de Montpensier', pp.274–309 (cf. Gay, I, p.406). Le Roux de Lincy, IV, p.113; De Vigne, II, p.49.

17. For the Tønsberg Museum mould see Brunswick, Braunschweiges Landesmuseum, *Stadt im Wändel*, exh.cat. 1983, II, pp.742–3, no.657; for both moulds see Fritz, 1982, p.232, figs.332–4. G. Caetani, *Regesta chartorum* (Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani), II, 1926, pp.173, 175.

18. Puiggarí, p.14; Dehaisnes, p.83; Martínez Ferrando, II, p.9; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p.240.

19. Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, 1874, p.35; Laborde, *Glossaire*, p.307; Labarte, *Histoire*, II, pp.392–3 (is the correct date 1389?).

20. Toulmin-Smith, pp.110, 342; Reddaway, p.259; N. Harris Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p.119.

21. Del Giudice, *Legge*, pp.129–30. For these quotations from the chroniclers of the imperials lands see Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, I, pp.294, 296, 302, 305–6. Steingräber, p.75. On short tight-fitting men's dress see F. Boucher, 'Les conditions de l'apparition du costume court en France vers le milieu du XIVᵉ siècle', in *Recueil de Travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, I, 1955, pp.183–92.

22. Cecchetti, pt.3, pp.94–5.

23. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine . . .*, ed. H. Géraud, Paris, 1843, II, pp.185, 237; Forestié, *Bonis*, II, p.559.

24. T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, 1844, p.145.

25. C. de Pisan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, I, c.19, III, c.31.

26. Bapst, p.49; Gay, I, p.450, s.v. *cote*; P. Cochon, *Chronique normande*, Société de l'histoire Normande, Rouen, 1870, sub February 1407.

27. Riley, p.411; *Henry V*, pp.217, 218, 225.

28. S.M. Newton, p.42, as a motto; Casanova in *Bull.sen.*, VIII, 1901, p.62 (sumptuary law of 1343, rub.49); Boehn, p.225.

29. Moranvillé, pp.599–601, no.3590.

30. Prost, I, p.106, no.661, pp.167–8, no.947, & n.2, p.286, no.1554, pp.459–60, no.2423; II, pp.245–6, no.1492.

31. Prost, II, pp.509–11, nos.3253–4, cf. also p.502, no.3228.

32. Plancher, pp.128–9.

33. Petit, pp.566–7; David, pp.78, 127–9; Petit, loc.cit.

34. Plancher, pp.232–3, 235; Laborde, *Ducs*, I, p.97, no.70.

35. Prost, II, pp.306–7, no.1728; David, pp.19–20, 78–9, 86, 127.

36. Advielle, in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, XIII, pp.281, 291.

37. Roman, *Inventaires*, pp.117, 120, 121, 125–6, 131, 132.

38. Laborde, *Ducs*, III, p.267, no.6241, pp.266–7, no.6239; Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VI*, I, pp.209–10, 321.

39. Piponnier, p.186; Laborde, *Ducs*, II, p.120, no.79.

40. Francesco Pipino, cit. in Muratori, *Dissertatio* XXIII, ed.cit., 579; Corio, I, p.905; Romano, in *Arch. storico lombardo*, ser.2, VIII, 1891, p.328; Cibrario, II, p.388.

41. Cecchetti, pl.3, pp.91–6, 122–3; Minieri-Riccio, p.112; Bistort, p.343; Garin, 1897, pp.189, 208.

42. Molmenti, p.445; Cecchetti, pp.91–6; Symon Symeonis, *Itinerarium*, p.36.

43. Cechetti, pt.3, p.96, n.2; Symon Symeonis, op.cit., p.42; Belgrano, p.251 (for Benvenuto da Imola); De Mussis, cit. Muratori, *Dissertatio* XXIII, ed.cit., col.581.

44. I have only been able to consult this famous book in a sixteenth-century Castilian version, *El carro de las doñas*, Libro I, c.28.

45. Arcipreste de Talavera (Alfonso Martínez de Toledo), *El Corbacho*, ed. M. Ciceri, Modena, 1975, pt.II, chapters 2 & 3.

46. For the discovery of these see V. Drăghiceanu, 'Curtea Domnescă din Arges,' in Bucharest, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, X-XVI, 1917–23', pp.9–76, especially pl.56, pp.59–63.

47. Lanza di Scalea, pp.60, 263, n.184; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. A. Greco, I, 1970, p.102.

CHAPTER 35    Bourgeois Jewellery and Goldsmiths' Stocks

1. Dehaisnes, I, pp.287, 223, 260, 271, 272, II, pp.260, 457.

2. Ibid, pp.370–1, 377, 417, 531, 514–15, 437.

3. Ibid, pp.472–3, 537, 552–3.

4. Ibid, pp.557–8, 578, 617.

5. Ibid, pp.618, 643, 674, 684–5, 789, 706–7.

6. For Jehanne de Presles see Douët d'Arcq, 'Inventaire de Jehanne de Presles', p.91.

7. Fagniez, *Documents*, II, pp.124–5. For the quotations from Christine de Pisan and the *Spécule* see Rodocanachi, p.329.

8. For this see J. Félix, *Inventaire de Pierre Surreau*, 1892, pp.20–4, 48, 50, 53–6.

9. Clément, 1866, p.379; for Percheron and his wife see L. Le Grand, 'Inventaire des meubles de Michel Percheron', in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, XIII, 1886, p.254.

10. Forestié, *Bonis*, II, pp.275, 311. I have accepted Forestié's interpretation of *frâchis* as a chain, but suspect that it was in fact a garland. Chassaing, *Notes* pp.6–7 (the Latin of the note should be followed, not Chassaing's translation).

11. M. Gonon, *Lyonnais*, p.386, no.1682, p.313, no.1213, pp.433, 134, 130,

no.25, pp.244, 143, 251, nos.855, 486, p.159, no.212, p.197, no.515, p.168, no.281, p.167, no.276, p.222, no.680, p.387, no.1692. *Les bijoux* are discussed pp.98–100.

12. M. Gonon, *Forez*, pp.156–8.

13. Justin Brun-Durand, 'Inventaires des biens . . . de Valence 1348', in *Paris: Comité des Travaux historiques: Receuil d'anciens inventaires, Séction d'Archéologie*, vol I, Paris 1896, pp.389–90, 397–8; E. Michel, 'Orfèvrerie messine', in *Mémoires Ac. nat. Metz: Lettres, sc., arts, agric.*, vol.XXIX, 1847–8, pp.173–205. The quotation is from the verse chronicle of Metz.

14. Zdekauer, *Mercante*, 1900, pp.33, 79–84.

15. For the Polo inventory see Cecchetti, pt.3, pp.125–9; Cecchetti, pp.70, 100.

16. Bistort, p.363; Belgrano, p.397; Fiamma, in *RIS*, XII, col.1033.

17. Puiggarí, p.75; Balaguer y Merino, pp.414–15; for Basset, see Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Anuari*, IV, pp.601, 602.

18. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6220, 6232, 6244.

19. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 6215; Sharpe, I, pp.175–6, 186; Riley, p.203; Sharpe, I, pp.335, 486, 626, 668; II, p.23.

20. Riley, pp.313, 470 (I have corrected the translation of the *monilia* of the original document from collars to brooches).

21. *Book of Margery Kempe*, ch.2.

22. Raine, *Wills and Inventories*, 1835, pp.59–60; Raine, I, pp.181–3 (Benetson), II, pp.8–9 (Upstall), 48–51 (Blackburn), 235 (Bedford).

23. Raine, II, pp.81–2 (Conisby), III, pp.118–19 (Vicars), II, p.103 (Brompton).

24. Palgrave, III, pp.209–12; T.P. Wadley, *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills contained . . . in the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills*, 1886, pp.23, 45, 47–8, 64, 68, 87, 105; Furnivall, pp.45–6.

25. Tymms, pp.15–44, 85–91.

26. Eisenbart, pp.151, 153.

27. Pius II, (Pope) also Aeneas, Silvius Piccolomini, *La Germania*, ed. G. Paparelli, Florence, 1949, p.64; Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, II, p.130.

28. Fingerlin, p.418, no.356, for the Nuremberg girdle. Moryson cit. in Mrs H. Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, London, 1909, p.532.

29. For the Tournai inventories see La Grange & Cloquet, II, pp.320–4.

30. For Thomassin de Béthisy, see Garnier, pp.39–46; for Elzéar d'Ecclesia see Mireur, in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1885, pp.489–96.

Plate 1 Mosaic of the discovery of the relics of St Mark (detail).
Venetian, c.1270. Basilica of San Marco, Venice

Plate 2  St Eloy by Petrus Christus. Oil on panel. Flemish, c.1450–60. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

right: Plate 3  Miniature of a jewellery shop from a Book of Hours (W439, f.64) Parchment. Flemish, c.1490. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland

below: Plate 4  Brooches. Gold, stones, pearls.
Diameter *c.*4cm. Rhenish, late tenth century.
Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

bottom: Plate 5  Brooches. Gold, stones, pearls.
Left: diameter 4 cm, right: diameter 4.6 cm.
Ottonian or Swabian, late tenth century.
Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin
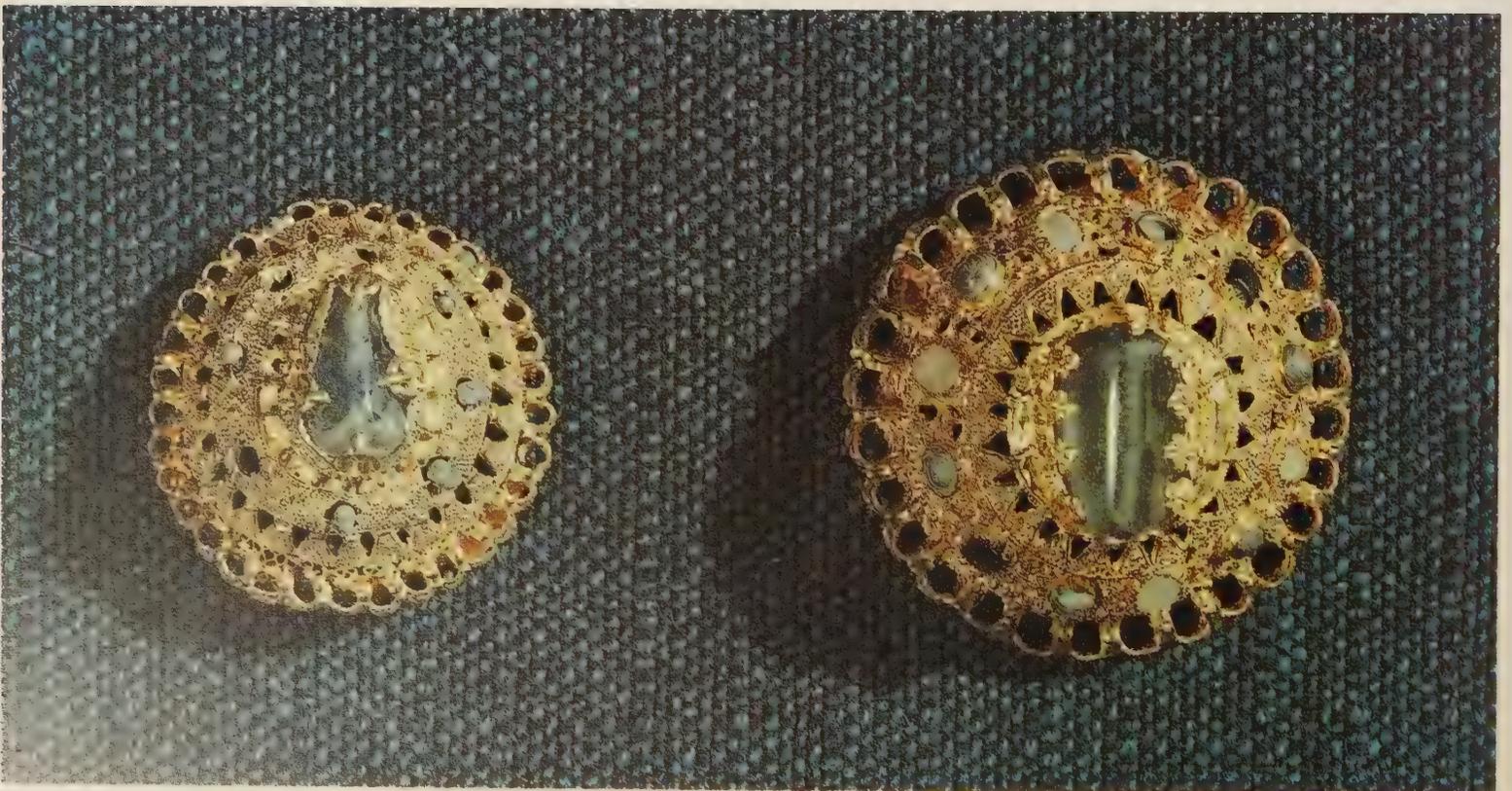
Plate 6 Brooch. Gold, enamel, precious stones, glass, crystals, pearls. Diameter 8.5cm. Ottonian or Swabian, late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin



Plate 7 Brooch. Gold, enamel, sapphires. Diameter 10cm. Ottonian or Swabian, late tenth century. Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz
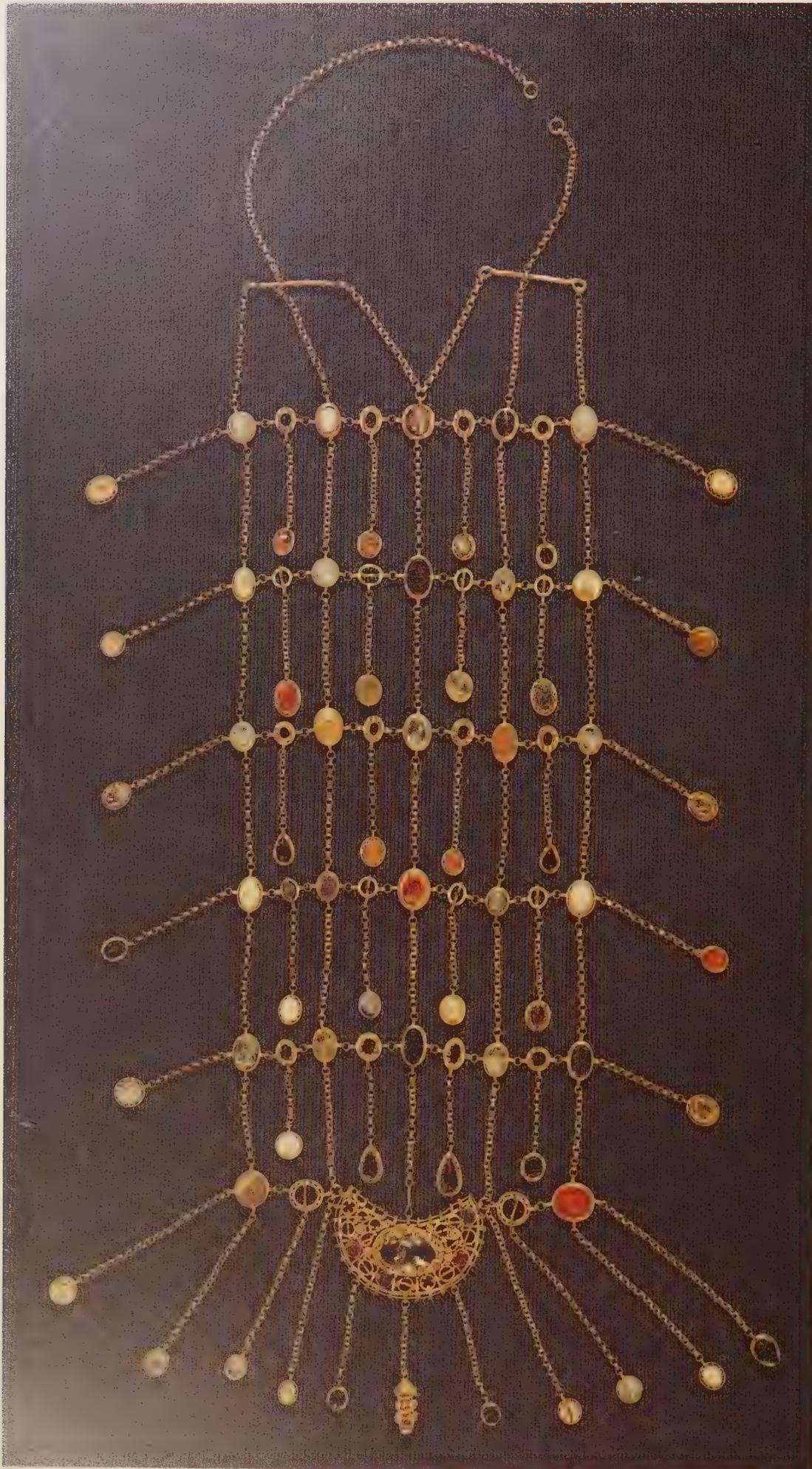
Plate 8 Breast ornament. Gold, Roman intaglios, precious stones, pearls. Length 34cm, width 11.5cm. Ottonian or Swabian, late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin

Plate 9  Pair of earrings. Gold, precious stones, pearls. Widths 4.6cm. Ottonian or Swabian, late tenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin



Plate 10  Statue of Sainte Foy. Gold, silver-gilt, enamel, stones, antique helmet. Height 85cm. Southern French, tenth century. Trésor, Abbaye, Conques, France

above: Plate 12 Circlet (crown of the Empress Kunigunda). Gold, precious stones, pearls. Diameter 19cm, height 5cm. German, 1010–20. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich

right: Plate 13 Coronal fragment. Gold, precious stones, seed pearls. Length 4.8cm. Hungarian, mid-thirteenth century. British Museum, London



left: Plate 11 Miniature of Henry's coronation, from the Gospels of Henry the Lion. Parchment. Height 34.2cm, width 25.2cm. German, c.1173–5. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany

Plate 14 Crown. Silver-gilt, copper-gilt, precious stones, glass, pearls. Diameter 19cm. German, first half of the fourteenth century. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich



Plate 15 Coronal. Silver-gilt, stones, enamel. Length 55cm, height 11cm. French (Parisian ?), late fourteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Plate 16 Crown. Silver-gilt, silk, stones, pearls. Height 18cm, width 35cm. Hungarian, c.1375–1400. Church of St Simeon, Zadar, Yugoslavia

right: Plate 17 Crown (crown of Princess Blanche). Gold, enamel, precious stones, pastes, pearls. Diameter 18cm, height 18cm. English (?), c.1370–80. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich

above left: Plate 18 Effigy of Joan Nevill (detail). Limestone. English, c.1462. Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, England

above right: Plate 19 Miniature of St Hedwig of Silesia from the Hedwigs Codex. Parchment. German, 1353. Ludwig Collection, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen



Plate 20 Brooch. Gold, precious stones. Height 3.8cm. Parisian, first half of the fourteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

Plate 21 Brooch (Oxwich Brooch). Gold, chalcedony, rubies. Diameter 4cm. English (?), c.1320–40, cameos c.1250. Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru (National Museum of Wales), Cardiff



above: Plate 22a Reverse. Silver-gilt, niello



Plate 22 Brooch (Schaffhausen Onyx). Antique onxy cameo, gold, precious stones, pearls. Height 12.5cm, width 15cm. Upper Rhenish, c.1230–40. Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, Switzerland

above left: Plate 23 Brooch. Bronze-gilt, silver-gilt filigree, stones. Diameter *c*.5cm. Rhenish, *c*.1240–50. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

above right: Plate 24 Brooch. Gold, enamel, formerly set with stones. Diameter 5.1cm. Parisian, early thirteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

Plate 26 Brooch. Gold, amethysts, emeralds, paste sapphires, pearls. Length 11cm, width 6cm. Verona or Venice, *c*.1325–50. Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona

Plate 25  Brooch. Gold, amethysts, emeralds,
pearls. Diameter 8.75 cm. Verona or Venice,
c.1325–50. Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona

below: Plate 27  Brooch (Motala Brooch). Gold,
precious stones. Diameter 19.2cm. French (?),
early fourteenth century. Statens Historiska
Museum, Stockholm



bottom left: Plate 28  Ring brooch. Gold, glass.
Diameter 2.2cm. Irish (?), c.1230. Heritage
Centre, Waterford, Ireland

bottom centre: Plate 29  Ring brooch. Silver-gilt,
rubies. Diameter 4.5cm. French (Parisian ?),
c.1220–30. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale
del Bargello, Florence

bottom right: Plate 30  Ring Brooch (Kames
Brooch). Gold, glass. Diameter 2.7cm. English or
French, c.1300. National Museums of Scotland,
Edinburgh
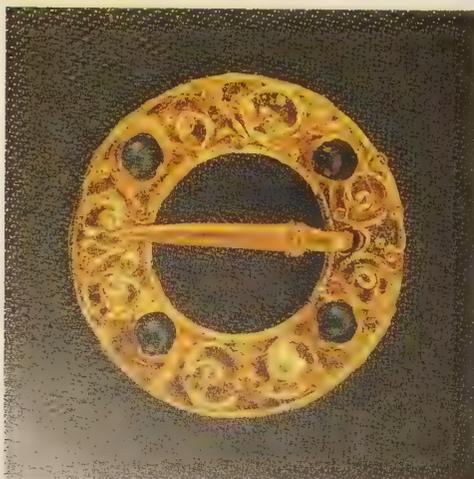
Plate 31 Ring brooch (Kindrochit Brooch). Silver, parcel-gilt. Diameter 8.9cm. English or French, c.1500. National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh

Plate 32 Brooch (Glenlyon Brooch). Silver-gilt, amethysts, pearls. Diameter 13.3cm. Scottish, late fourteenth century. British Museum, London

Plate 34 Ring brooch. Gold, enamel traces. Diameter 2cm, depth 0.5cm. Dutch, c.1400. Private collection, Cothen, Netherlands





above: Plate 35 Ring brooch (Doune Brooch). Gold. Diameter 3.6cm. English (?), c.1400. National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh

right: Plate 33 Brooch. Gold, enamel. Diameter 3.5cm. French, c.1400–10. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

far left: Plate 36 Brooch, element of the Holy Thorn Reliquary. Silver, silver-gilt, enamel, amethysts, emeralds, pearls. Diameter 4cm. Venetian or Parisian, early fourteenth century. Duomo, Monreale, Italy

left: Plate 36a Reverse

Plate 37 Brooches. Gold, enamel, stones, pearls. Diameters 4–7cm. Burgundian, early fifteenth century. Münsterschatz, Essen

Plate 40 Philip the Bold, anon. Copy of a later portrait of *c*.1390–1400. Oil on panel. Height 42cm, width 30cm. Musée de Versailles, Paris



Plate 38 Brooch. Gold, enamel, stones, pearls. Height 4.4cm, width 3.9cm. German, *c*.1475–1500. Domschatzkammer, Osnabrück



right: Plate 39 Brooch (Pelican Brooch). Gold, diamond, ruby. Length 3.8cm. North-west European, late fourteenth century. British Museum, London

Plate 41 Brooch. Gold, enamel, sapphire, pearls. Diameter 5 cm. German (?), early fifteenth century. Carrand Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



right: Plate 42 Brooch. Gold, ruby (formerly enamelled). Diameter 1.9 cm. German, early fifteenth century. British Museum, London

Plate 43  Edward IV of England, anon. Oil on
panel. Height 48 cm, width 31 cm. English,
c.1520-35. Society of Antiquaries of London

Plate 44  Henry VII of England, anon. Oil on
panel. Height 38 cm, width 25 cm. English,
c.1480–1500. Society of Antiquaries of London

right: Plate 45   Miniature of Charles the Bold's hat plume of *c*.1460–5. Parchment. Height 23.3 cm, width 16.2 cm. Swiss, before 1504. Historisches Museum, Basle

above: Plate 46   Miniature of a Burgundian brooch of *c*.1400–20 (Three Brothers Jewel). Parchment. Height 11.5 cm, width 9.1 cm. Swiss, before 1504. Historisches Museum, Basle

below left: Plate 47   Brooch. Gold, enamel, diamond, ruby, pearls. Diameter 5 cm. German or Burgundian, *c*.1430–40. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

below centre: Plate 48   Brooch. Gold, diamond, sapphire, rubies (formerly enamelled). Height 2.4 cm. German, *c*.1420–50. British Museum, London

below right: Plate 49   Brooch. Gold, enamel, diamond, ruby, enamel beads. Height 2.8 cm. German *c*.1420–50. British Museum, London

right: Plate 50  Brooch. Element of a gold box of
1720. Onyx cameo. Height 6.5cm, width 4.5cm.
German, *c*.1230. Schatzkammer der Residenz,
Munich





Plate 51  Brooch. Gold, pastes, garnet. Height
5.2cm, width 3.6cm. German, *c*.1200–10.
Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

Plate 52  Brooch. Silver-gilt, enamel, amethysts,
emeralds, garnets. Height 18.2cm, width 16.7cm.
French early fourteenth century. Musée du
Louvre, Paris

Plate 53  Ring brooch. Gold. Diameter 1.3cm.
English or French, fourteenth century. National
Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh





right: Plate 55  Jewel. Silver-gilt, enamel, rubies,
diamond, emeralds, pearls. Height 5.7cm, width
4.9cm. French (?), late fourteenth century to
early fifteenth century. New College, Oxford

Plate 54 Top: padlock ornament. Gold, enamel.
Length 1.5 cm. English first half of the fifteenth
century
Below: brooch. Gold, enamel. Width 3.8 cm.
English, *c.*1425−40. British Museum, London

Plate 54a Reverse

Plate 56  Left: brooch. Silver-gilt, pearl. Diameter 3 cm. German, early fourteenth century
Right: pendant. Gold, enamel, pearls. Height 3.2 cm. French, early fifteenth century. Formerly Robert von Hirsch collection (sold Sotheby's, London, June 1978)

below: Plate 57  Brooches
Top: silver. Diameter 2.5 cm. English, fourteenth century
Left: gold, stones. Height 1.5 cm. English, thirteenth century
Right: gold, sapphire. Length 2.5 cm. English, thirteenth century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland





left: Plate 58  Badge (Dunstable Swan Jewel). Gold, enamel. Height 3.2 cm, width 2.5 cm, chain 8.2 cm. English, early fifteenth century. British Museum, London
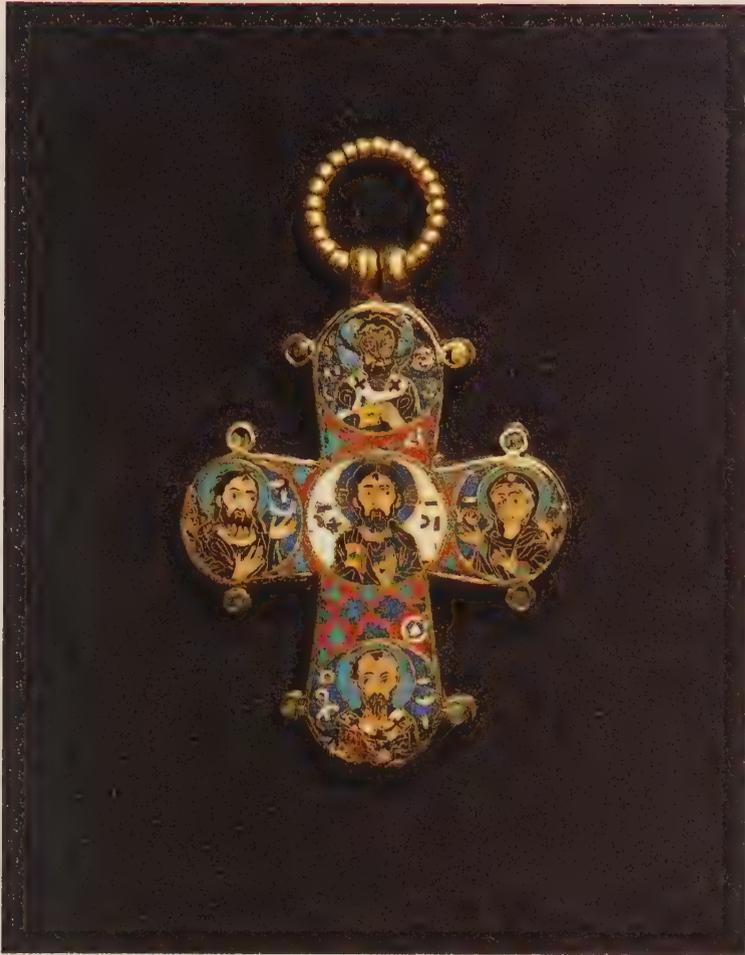
above left: Plate 59  Pendant reliquary cross
(Dagmar Cross). Gold, enamel. Height 3.4cm,
width 2.9cm. Byzantine, c.1000. National Museet,
Copenhagen

above right: Plate 59a  Reverse



right: Plate 60  Pectoral Cross. Silver-gilt, niello.
Height 8.8cm, width 7.4cm. German, c.1170.
Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne
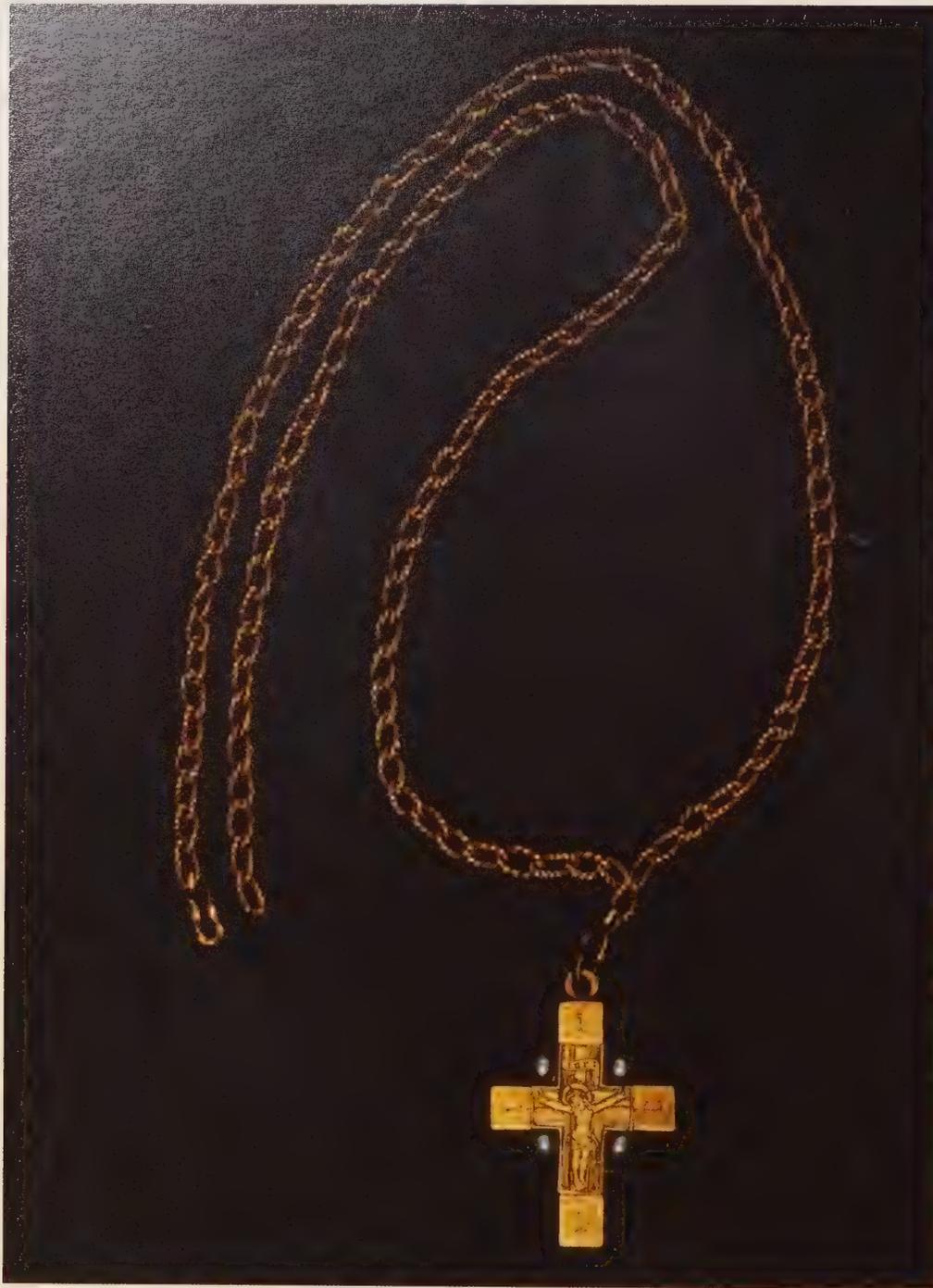
Plate 61 Pendant reliquary cross (Clare Cross). Gold, enamel, pearls. Height 3.8 cm. English, early fifteenth century. Her Majesty The Queen, on loan to the British Museum, London





left: Plate 62 Pendant cross. Gold, ruby, amethyst on reverse. Height 3 cm. English, first half of the fifteenth century. British Museum, London

Plate 63 Pendant cross. Gold, enamel, sapphire, almandine, pearls, pastes. Height 7.4 cm, width 5.2 cm. Cologne or Paris, c.1400. Domschatz, Xanten, Germany

Plate 64  Pendant reliquary cross. Gold, enamel.
Height 3.6cm, width 2.7cm. English,
c.1475–1500. Castle Museum, Norwich

Plate 65  Pierced balas ruby (Black Prince's
Ruby), set in the Imperial State Crown. Balas
ruby, gold. Height 4.3cm, width 3.4cm, depth
2cm. Fourteenth century. Her Majesty The
Queen, on loan to the Tower of London





below left: Plate 66  Reliquary pendant. Lid.
Gold, silver-gilt, enamel. Height 7cm, width
8.5cm, depth 1.5cm. French or Italian,
c.1294–1309. Museo Archeologico Nazionale,
Cividale del Friuli, Italy

below right: Plate 66a  Case underside

Plate 67a  Reverse

left: Plate 67  Pendant (Ara Coeli Pendant). Silver-gilt, enamel. Diameter 5 cm. Flemish, c.1420. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland

right: Plate 68  Triptych reliquary pendant. Gold, enamel, rock crystal, pearl. Height 4.8 cm, width (open) 5.3 cm. Parisian, c.1400. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich

right: Plate 69  Reliquary pendant (Middleham Pendant). Gold, sapphire. Height 6.5 cm, width 5.9 cm. English, c.1425–50. The Yorkshire Museum, York
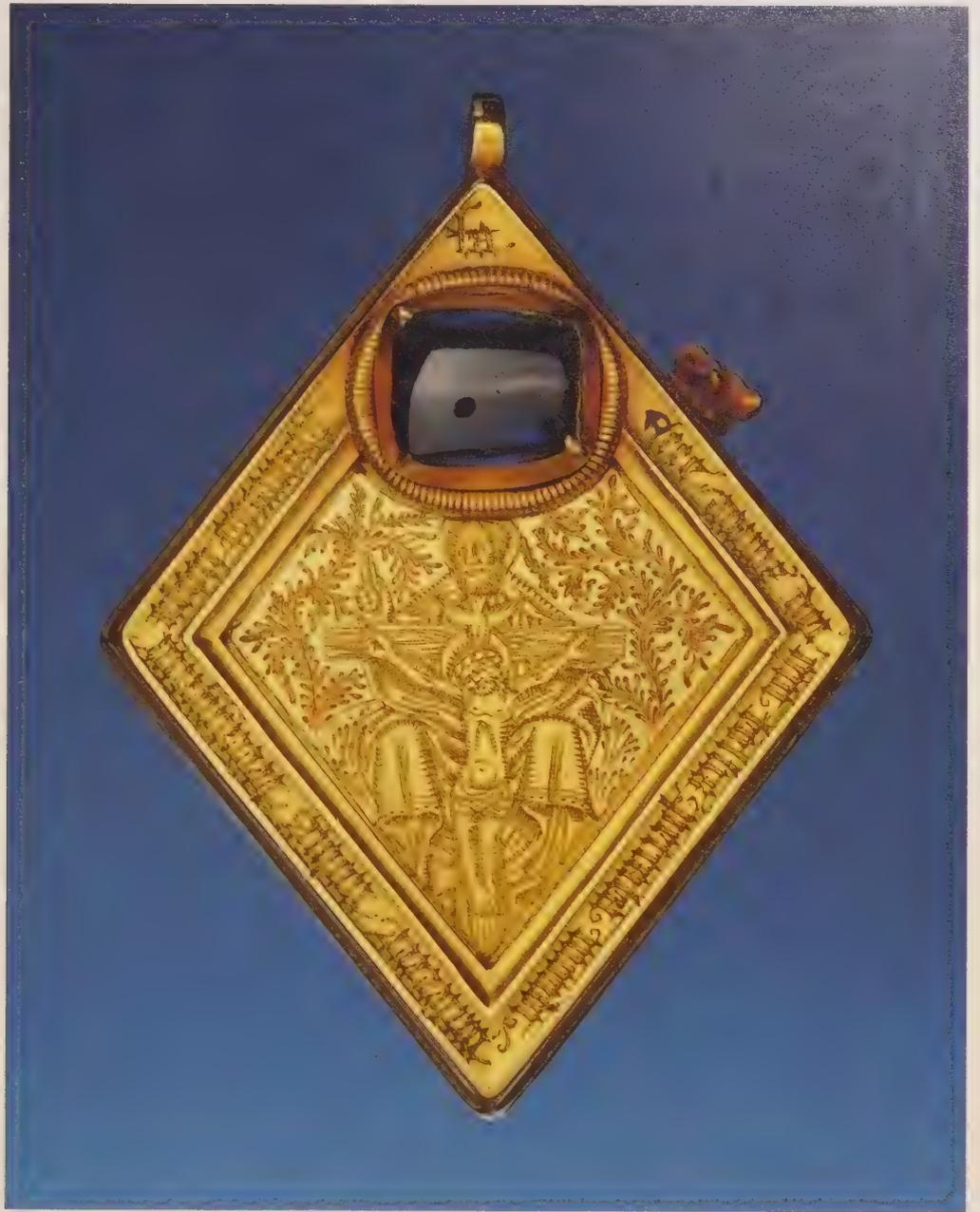


below: Plate 70  Pendant. Silver, silver-gilt, mother-of-pearl. Height 11.4 cm, width 9.8 cm. German, c.1500. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne





left: Plate 69a  Reverse

Plate 72 Miniature of a Burgundian pendant of c.1400–30 (White Rose Jewel). Parchment. Height 6.5cm, width 5.2cm. Swiss, before 1504. Historisches Museum, Basle

Plate 74 Pendant. Gold, balas rubies, emeralds, diamond. Height 5.2cm, width 4.4cm. Nuremberg, c.1500. Das Grüne Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden







left: Plate 73 Jewel. Gold, enamel, balas ruby. Length 4cm. French (Parisian?), c.1400. All Souls College, Oxford

right: Plate 71 Elizabeth Woodville, anon. Oil on panel. English, c.1464–1500. Queens' College, Cambridge

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left: Plate 75 Pendant. Gold, enamel, chalcedony. Diameter 9 cm. Burgundian, c.1440–50. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich

below: Plate 77 Seal of Charles the Bold. Gold. Diameter 7.4 cm. Netherlandish, 1474. Staatsarchiv, Lucerne





above: Plate 78 Reliquary pendant. Stained ivory, silver. Diameter 3.6 cm. German, thirteenth century. Domschatzkammer, Osnabrück
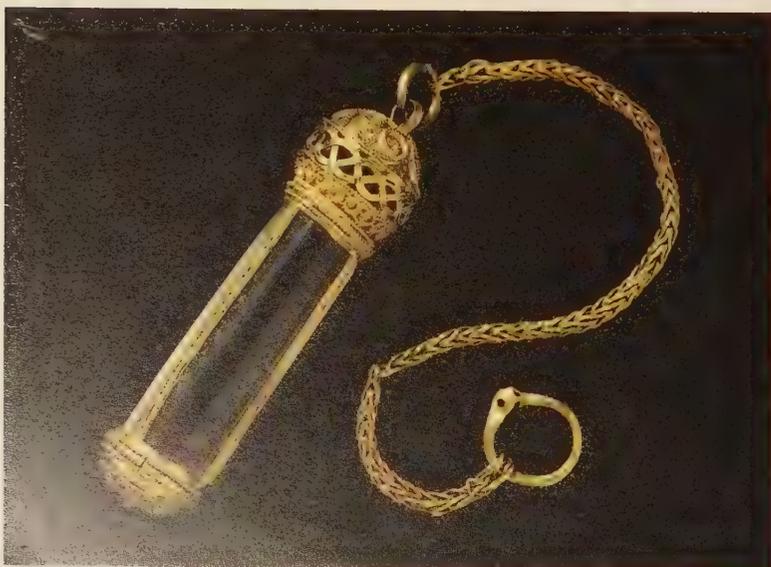


left: Plate 76 Reliquary pendant. Gold, rock crystal. Length 5.7 cm, width 1.1 cm, chain 12 cm. Hungarian, late twelfth century. Wavel State Collections, Cracow

right: Plate 80 Agnus Dei pendant. Silver, wax.
Diameter 6.4cm. German, late fourteenth to early
fifteenth century. Focke Museum, Bremen



below left: Plate 79 Reliquary pendant
(Reliquary of the Holy Thorn). Interior. Gold,
foiled crystal, enamel, miniature on parchment.
Height 3.6cm, width (open) 5.5cm, depth 2.5cm.
French, c.1320–40. British Museum, London

below right: Plate 79a Interior
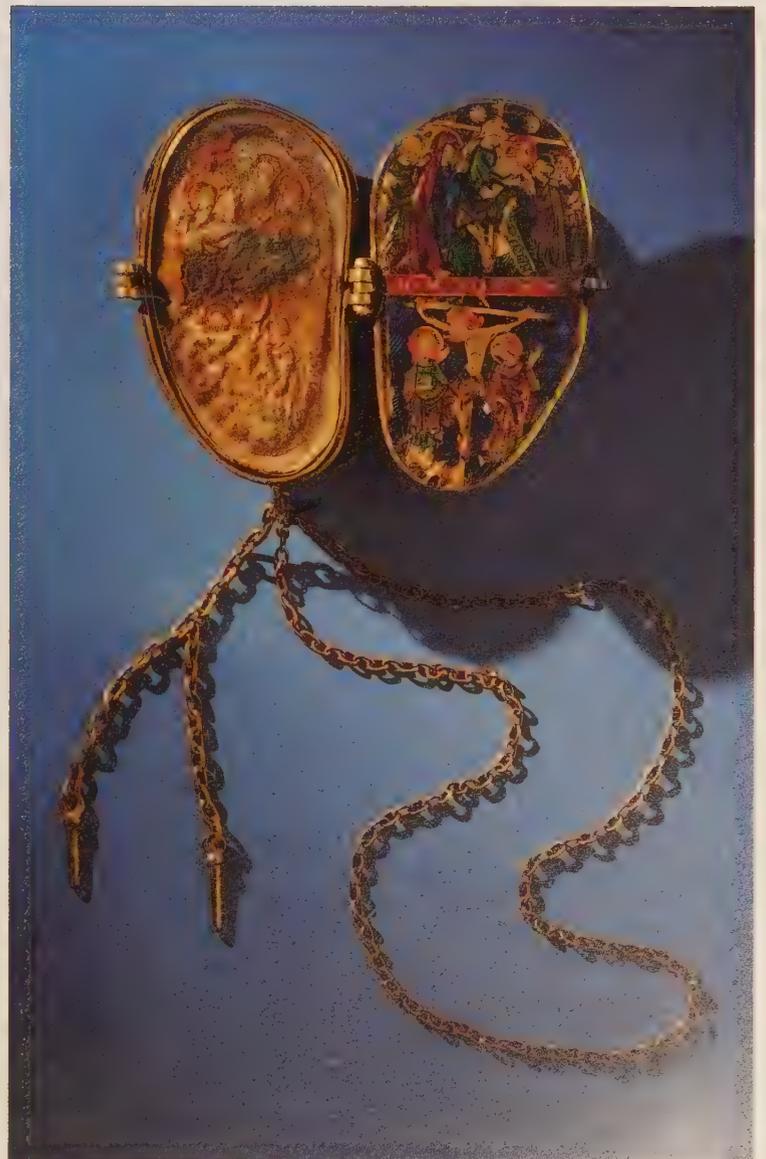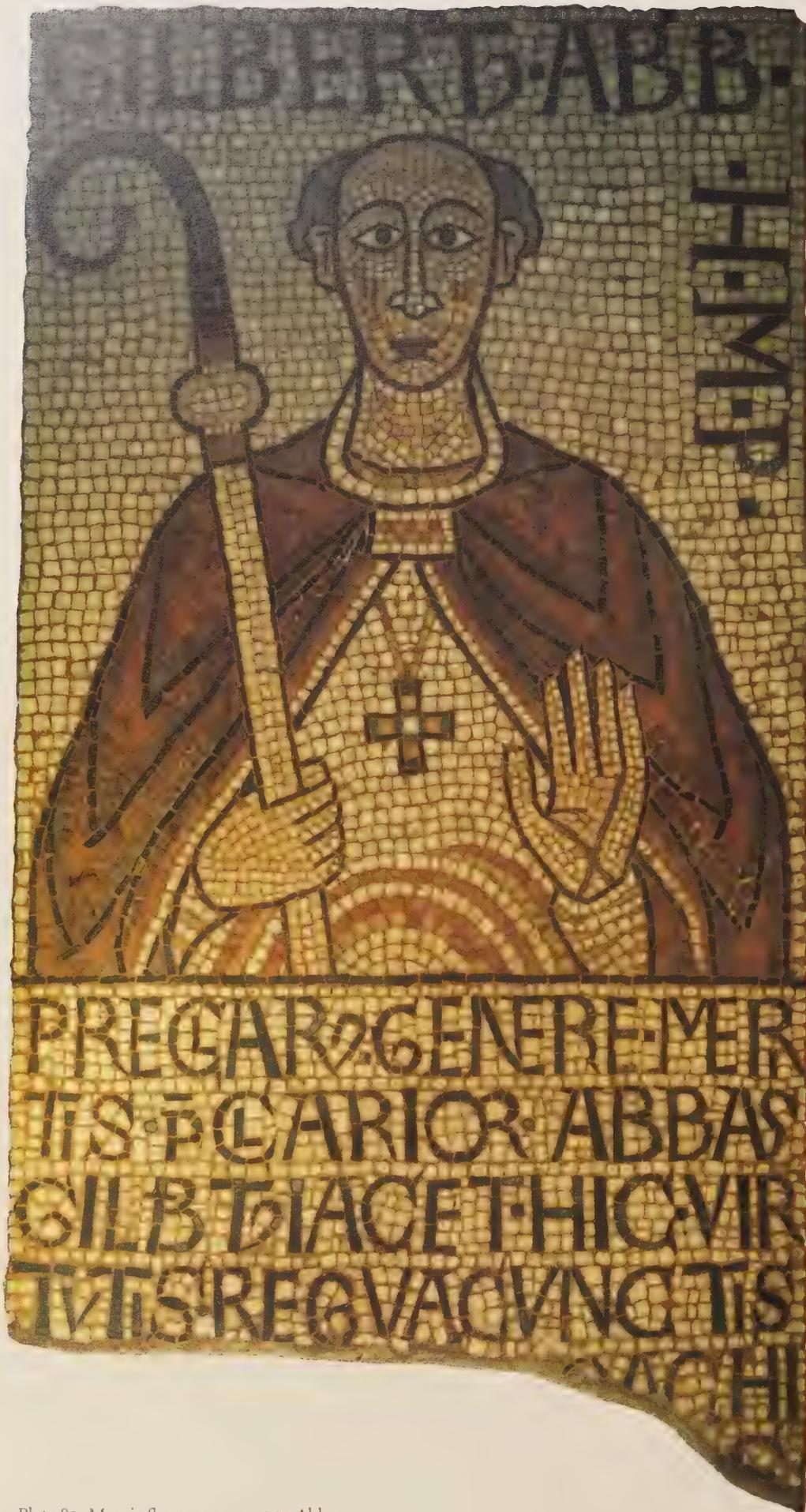
Plate 81  Mosaic floor monument to Abbot
Gilbert from the Abbey of Maria Lach. Rhenish,
1152. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

right: Plate 82  Caterina Cornaro by Gentile
Bellini. Oil on panel. Venetian, c.1500. Version of
the Budapest National Gallery portrait. Private
collection (sold Sotheby's, London, 1987)

Plate 84 Miniature of Alfonso V of Portugal from
the diary of Jörg von Ehingen. Height 21cm,
width 16cm. Swabian, 1456. Württembergische
Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart



right: Plate 85 Philippe de Croy by Rogier van
der Weyden. Detail from a diptych. Oil on panel.
Flemish, c.1459–61. Koninklijk Museum voor
Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

left: Plate 86 A Town Secretary, anon. Oil on panel. Height 42cm, width 30cm. German, 1472. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen



above: Plate 87 Brass of Sir Thomas Burton. English, c.1381. Little Casterton Church, Rutland, England



left: Plate 88 Tomb of Sir John Marmion(?). English, late fourteenth century. Tanfield Church, Richmond, Yorkshire

right: Plate 89 Title page miniature of Oswald von Wolkenstein from his Book of Songs (Lieder-Handschrift B). Parchment. Height 49cm, width 34cm. South Tyrolian, 1432. Universitäts-Bibliothek, Innsbruck

above right: Plate 90   Effigy of Joan Nevill (detail). Limestone. English, c.1462. Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, England

above left: Plate 90a   Detail



left: Plate 91   Collar. Silver. Length 73 cm. English, early fifteenth century. Museum of London, London

below: Plate 91a   Detail

Plate 92  Richard II, anon. Panel painting. Height
213.5 cm, width 110 cm. English, 1394 – 5.
Westminster Abbey, London

left: Plate 93  Collar (Hohenlohe Collar). Gold,
enamel, sapphires. Diameter 36 cm. German,
second half of the fifteenth century.
Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart



Plate 94  Collar (Collar of Michelle de France).
Gold, silver-gilt, rubies, enamel beads. Length
90.9 cm. French or Swiss, early fifteenth century.
Altes Zeugheus, Solothurn, Switzerland
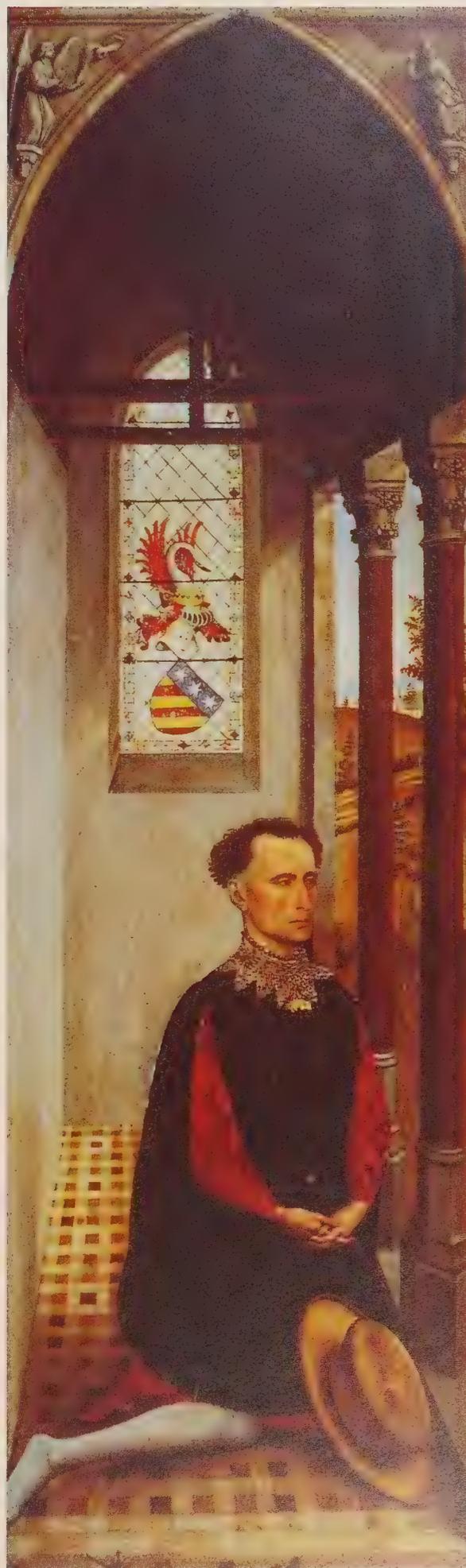
right: Plate 95  The Villa Family Altarpiece, anon.
(detail). Oil on panel. Height 103 cm, width 31 cm.
Flemish, c. 1455. Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg,
Switzerland

Plate 97  Man with three arrows, anon. Oil on panel. Lower Rhenish, c.1500. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden



Plate 96  Earrings. Gold. Height 1.8 cm, width 2.1 cm. Byzantine, twelfth century. Galleria Nazionale, Palermo

above: Plate 98  Miniature of Charles the Bold's
garter of the English Order of the Garter of
*c.*1460–1500. Parchment. Height 44.7cm, width
21.6cm. Swiss, before 1504. Historisches
Museum, Basle

right: Plate 99  Pair of cloak clasps. Gold, silver,
niello. Diameter 2.5cm, clips 0.9cm. North
German, *c.*1200. Ostfriesisches Landesmuseum,
Emden, Germany





Plate 100  Cloak clasps
right: silver-gilt, stones. Height 5cm, width
2.7cm
left: copper-gilt, pearl, stones. Height 5.5cm,
width 3.1cm. French, *c.*1225–50. Carrand
Collection, Museo Nazionale del Bargello,
Florence

Plate 101  Miniature of the marriage of St Hedwig
from the Hedwigs Codex. Parchment. Germany,
1353. Ludwig Collection,
Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen



Plate 102  Cloak clasps. Silver-gilt, enamel. Left:
height 15.5 cm. Right: height 14.5 cm. Hungarian,
c.1365–70. Domschatzkammer, Aachen
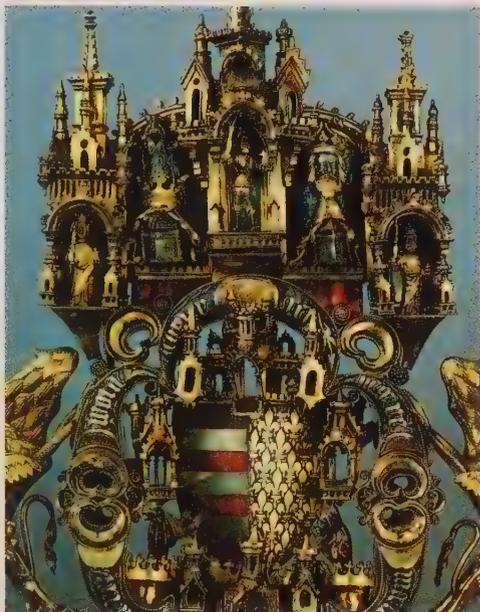
above right: Plate 103 Pair of cloak clasps. Silver-gilt, enamel. Height 22cm, width 16cm. Hungarian, c.1365–70. Domschatzkammer, Aachen

above left: Plate 103a Detail



right: Plate 104 Isabella of Portugal by Rogier van der Weyden. Oil on panel. Flemish, late fifteenth century. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California

Plate 105  The Nativity by Jacques Daret. Oil on
panel. Height 57 cm, width 52 cm. Flemish,
1433 s. Villa Favorita, Thyssen-Bornemisza
Foundation, Lugano, Switzerland
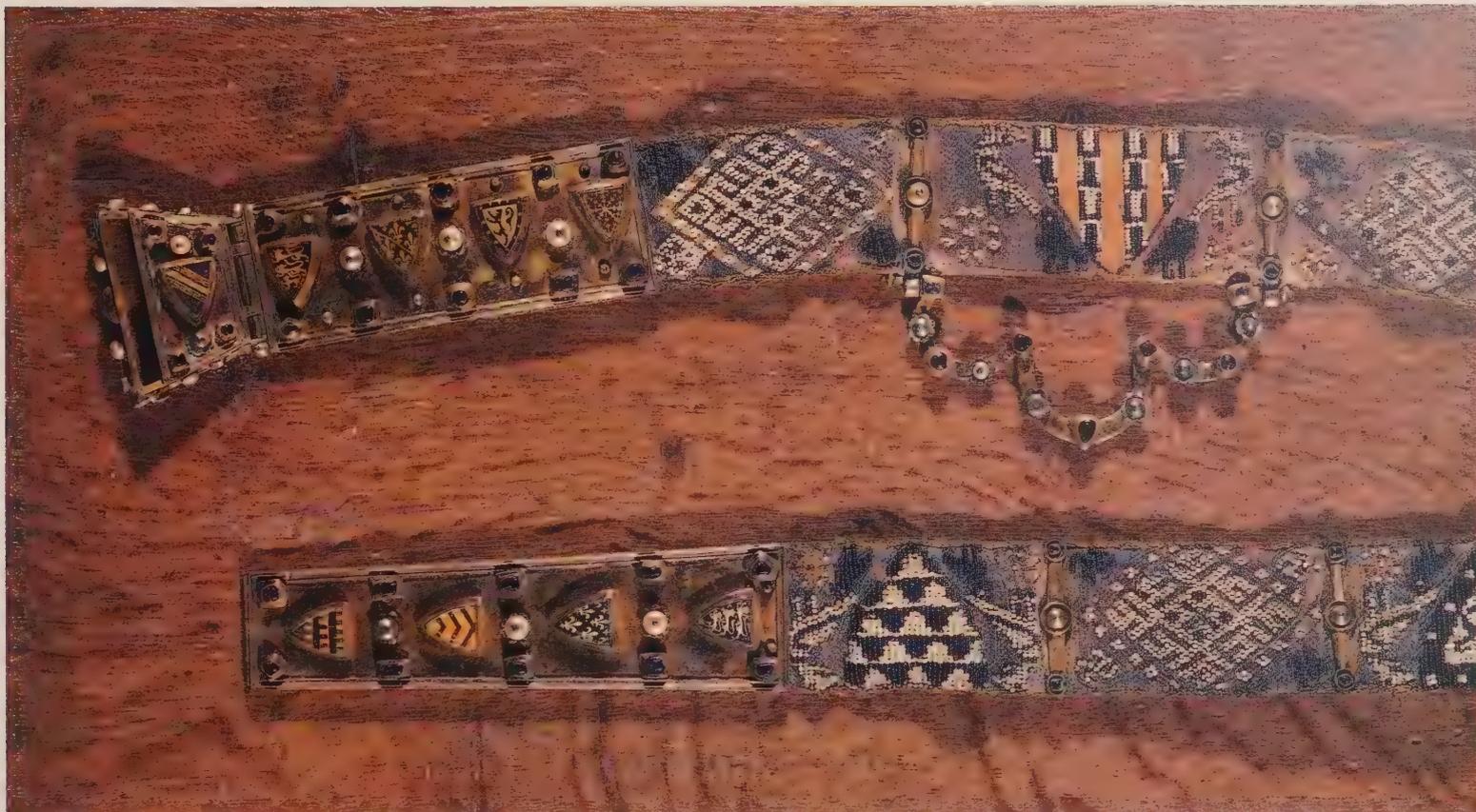
above: Plate 106 Girdle (girdle of the Infante Fernando de la Cerda). Cloth of gold, silver-gilt, enamel, sapphires, pearls. Length 194cm, width 3.4cm. English (?), c.1270. Monasterio de Las Huelgas, Burgos, Spain

right: Plate 107 Girdle (detail). Gold, enamel, paste stones, paste pearls. Total length of fragments 1m 30cm, width 1.5cm. English, c.1330–50. New College, Oxford





Plate 108 Buckle and pendant. Silver-gilt. Top: length 8.6cm. Below: length 8.9cm. Middle European, c.1370–80. Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum, Prague

Plate 109 Girdle mounts. Silver-gilt. Left: height 2.9cm, width 2cm. Right: height 3.2cm, width 2.2cm. Centre: height 1.6cm, width 1.8cm. Bohemian, late fifteenth century. Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum, Prague



Plate 110 Girdle. Silk, silver, enamel, stones. Length 168cm, width 4.4cm. Bohemian, c.1500. Krajské muzeum uýchodních Čech v Hradci Králové, Hradec Králové, Czechoslovakia

right: Plate 111 Walther von Rottkirchen by the Master of the Exaltation of the Virgin. Copy of a portrait of 1479. Oil on panel. German, 1624. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

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Plate 113 Paternoster. Amber. Length 47.5 cm. Middle European, *c*.1260. Músaem, Poiblí Chorcai, Cork, Ireland

below: Plate 114 Paternoster. Gold, enamel. Length 26 cm. French or Flemish, *c*.1480. Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich

Plate 115 Pomander. Copper-gilt. Diameter
3.5 cm. Middle European, late fourteenth to
fifteenth century. Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum,
Prague



Plate 116 Dress ornaments. Detail of fig.208.
Silver-gilt, copper-gilt. Swiss, fourteenth and
fifteenth centuries. Kloster St Andreas, Sarnen,
Switzerland

Plate 118  Ursula Greckin by the Ulm Master. Oil on panel. Height 44cm, width 32cm. German, 1500. Sammlung Gustav Hobraeck, Neuweid am Rhein, Germany



Plate 117  Dress ornaments. Silver-gilt. left: height 1.6cm, width 1.2cm. right: height 1.5cm, width 1.5cm. Bohemian, second half of the fourteenth century. Národní muzeum, Prague

right: Plate 119  Barbara Wespach-Ungelter by the Ulm Master. Oil on panel. Height 39cm, width 30.5cm. German, 1500. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart

Plate 120  Ring brooches
Top left: Gold. Diameter 1.3 cm. English or French, thirteenth century. Cat.6, M.49–1975
Top right: Gold. Diameter 1.1 cm. English, fourteenth century. Cat.15, M.50–1975
Centre: Gold, rubies, sapphires. Length 3.2 cm, width 3.5 cm. French, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Cat.9, M.530–1910
Bottom left: Gold, rubies, sapphires. Diameter 1.6 cm. English, fifteenth century. Cat.28, 6808–1860
Bottom right: Gold, ruby, sapphire. Diameter 1.5 cm. French or English (?), thirteenth century. Cat.5, M.36–1975. Victoria & Albert Museum, London

above left: Plate 121  Ring brooch. Gold, niello, rubies, sapphires. Diameter 5.4cm, height 1.5cm. French, thirteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Cat.8, 547–1897

above right: Plate 121a  Reverse



Plate 122  Top: Ring Brooch. Silver-gilt, pastes. Diameter 1.7cm. English, thirteenth century. Cat.4, M.28–1929
Left: Brooch. Gold, stone missing. Length 2.1cm, width 1.4cm. English or French, fourteenth century. Cat.13, M.35–1975
Right: Brooch. Gold, stone missing. Engraved with the inscription LIV IV: VL VL. Length 2.1cm, width (greatest) 1.4cm. English or French fourteenth century. Cat.14, M.48–1975
Bottom: Brooch. Gold, enamel. Diameter 2.5cm. English or French, early fourteenth century. Cat.11, M.245–1923. Victoria & Albert Museum, London

above: Plate 125 Top: Pendant. Rock-crystal, silver-gilt. Height with ring 6.7cm, width 3.7cm. German, late fifteenth century. Cat.56, 503—1903
Below: Pendant diptych (interior). Silver-gilt. Height 2.7cm, width open 4.2cm, depth 1.1cm. North German c.1400—1450. Cat.44, 14—1873. Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Plate 124 Left: Brooch. Gold, formerly enamelled (?). Height 3.9cm, width 3cm. French or English, c.1400. Cat.26, 86—1899
Right: Brooch. Gold, enamel traces. Diameter 2.1cm. English, early fifteenth century. Cat.24, M.40—1975. Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Plate 126  Ring brooch. Silver, silver-gilt.
Diameter 7.7cm, height 2cm. Scandinavian or
Hungarian, fifteenth century. Victoria & Albert
Museum, London. Cat.31, 529–1893

Plate 127  Pendant. Crystal, silver silver-gilt,
niello. Length 6.2cm, width 2.5cm. French,
c.1300. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
Cat.33, M.110–1966

Plate 128  Pendant reliquary cross. Silver-gilt,
enamel. Length 7cm, width 5.8cm. Italian, mid-
fourteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum,
Cat.36, M.23—1968
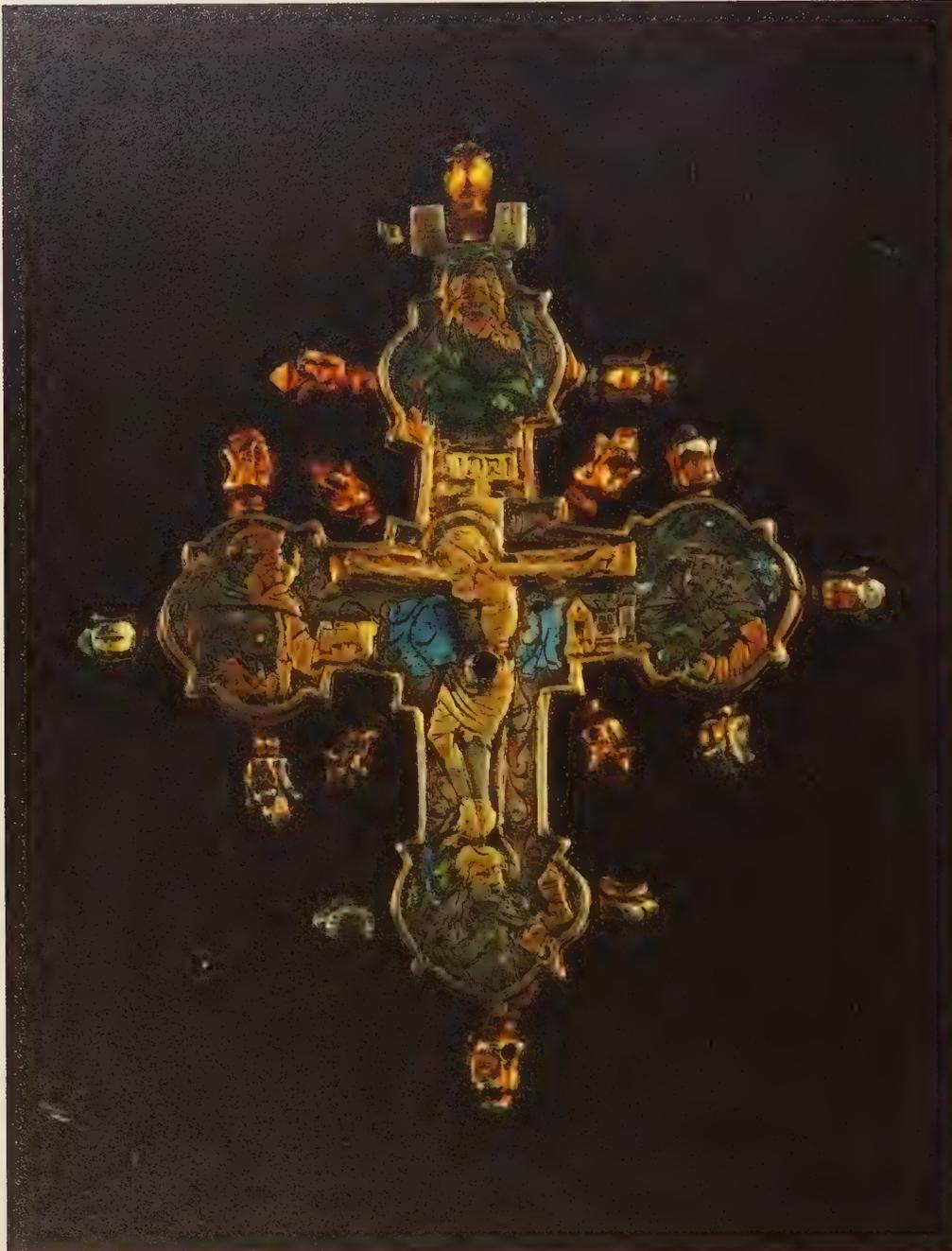


Plate 128a  Reverse

Plate 129  Pendant. Silver-gilt, enamel.
height 5.1 cm, width 4.3 cm. Northern French or
Flemish, *c.*1350–75. Victoria & Albert Museum,
London. Cat.37, 216–1874

Plate 129a  Reverse
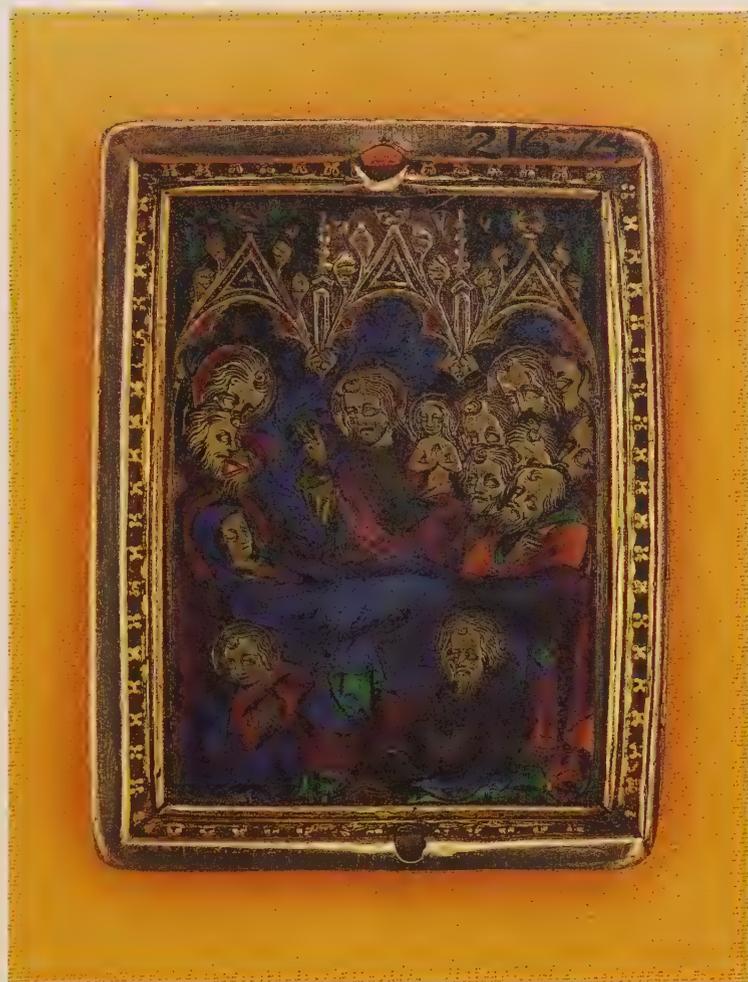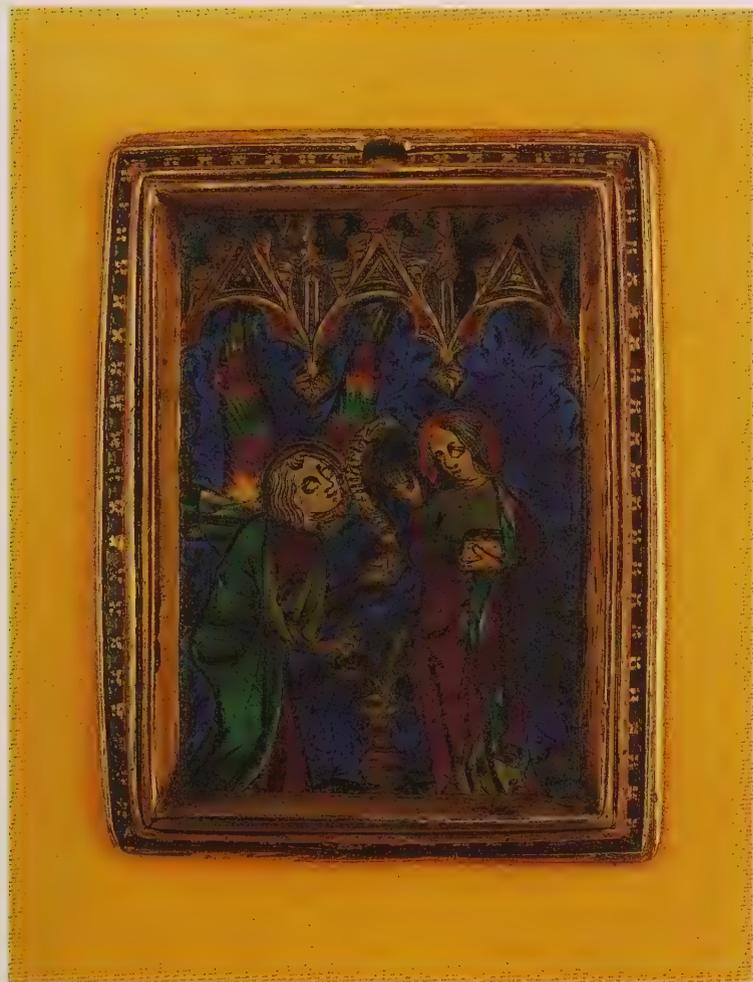
Plate 130 Diptych pendant (exterior). Silver-gilt, enamel. Length 5.8cm, width open 7.8cm, depth 1.6cm. French, c.1370–80. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Cat.38, 214–1874



Plate 130a Interior

Plate 131 Left: Reliquary pendant. Silver-gilt, enamel. height 6.3 cm, width 5 cm. French, c.1370–95. Cat.39, M.350–1912.
Right: Reliquary pendant (obverse). Silver-gilt enamel. Length 5.5 cm, width 4 cm. French, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Cat.40, 217–1874. Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Plate 132 Pendants
Top: Silver-gilt. Length with ring 5.8 cm, width 3.3 cm. German, late fifteenth century. Cat.61, 510–1903.
Left: Silver, silver-gilt. Height 6 cm, width 1.7 cm. German, early fifteenth century. Cat.42, 623–1906
Right: Silver, silver-gilt. length 5.9 cm, width 1.5 cm. German, early fifteenth century. Cat.43, 808–1891. Victoria & Albert Museum, London
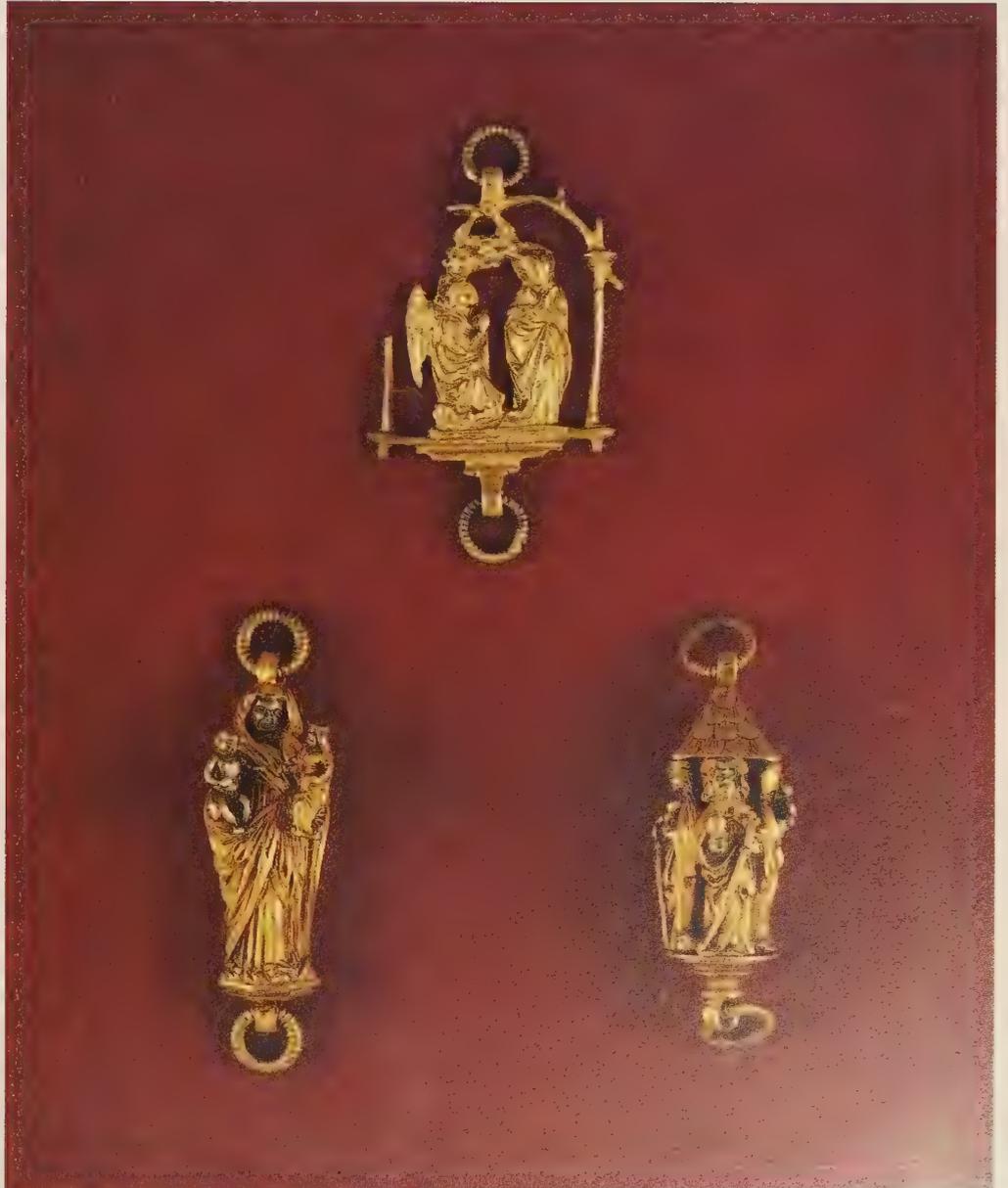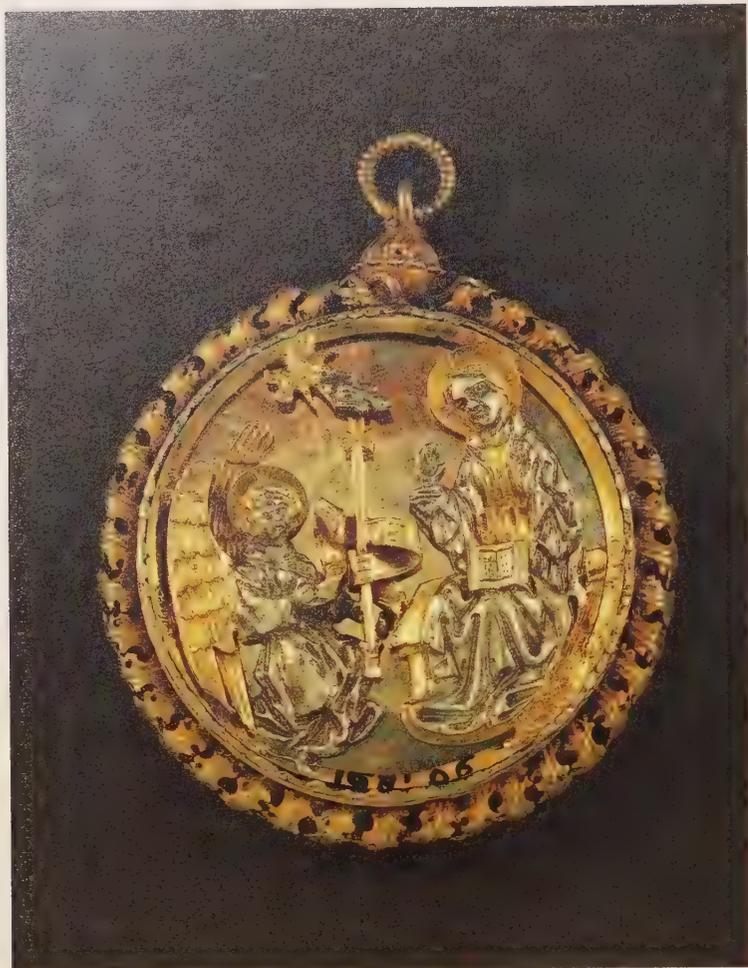
above left: Plate 133  Reliquary pendant.
Silver, silver-gilt. Diameter 3.4 cm, height 7.5 cm.
South German, c.1450–1500. Victoria & Albert
Museum, London. Cat.50, 168–1906

above right: Plate 133a  Reverse

Plate 134  Pendant reliquary cross. Silver-gilt,
ruby, sapphire, garnets, pearls. Length 3.5 cm,
width 3.5 cm. German, c.1450–75. Victoria &
Albert Museum, London. Cat.53, 4561–1858

below: Plate 135 Pendant. Silver-gilt.
Diameter 7.7cm. German, late fifteenth century.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.55,
M.529–1910

right: Plate 135a Reverse

left: Plate 136 Pendant. Silver-gilt. Length
6.5cm, width 3.3cm. German, late fifteenth
century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
Cat.57, 621–1906

Plate 137 Pendant diptych (exterior). Silver,
silver-gilt, enamel. Height 6.5cm, width open
5cm, depth 1.5cm. North German, c.1490–1520.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.72,
213–1874.



Plate 137a Interior

Plate 138 Collar. Silver-gilt. Length 40cm, width 1.3 cm. English, later fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.72, M.1022–1926
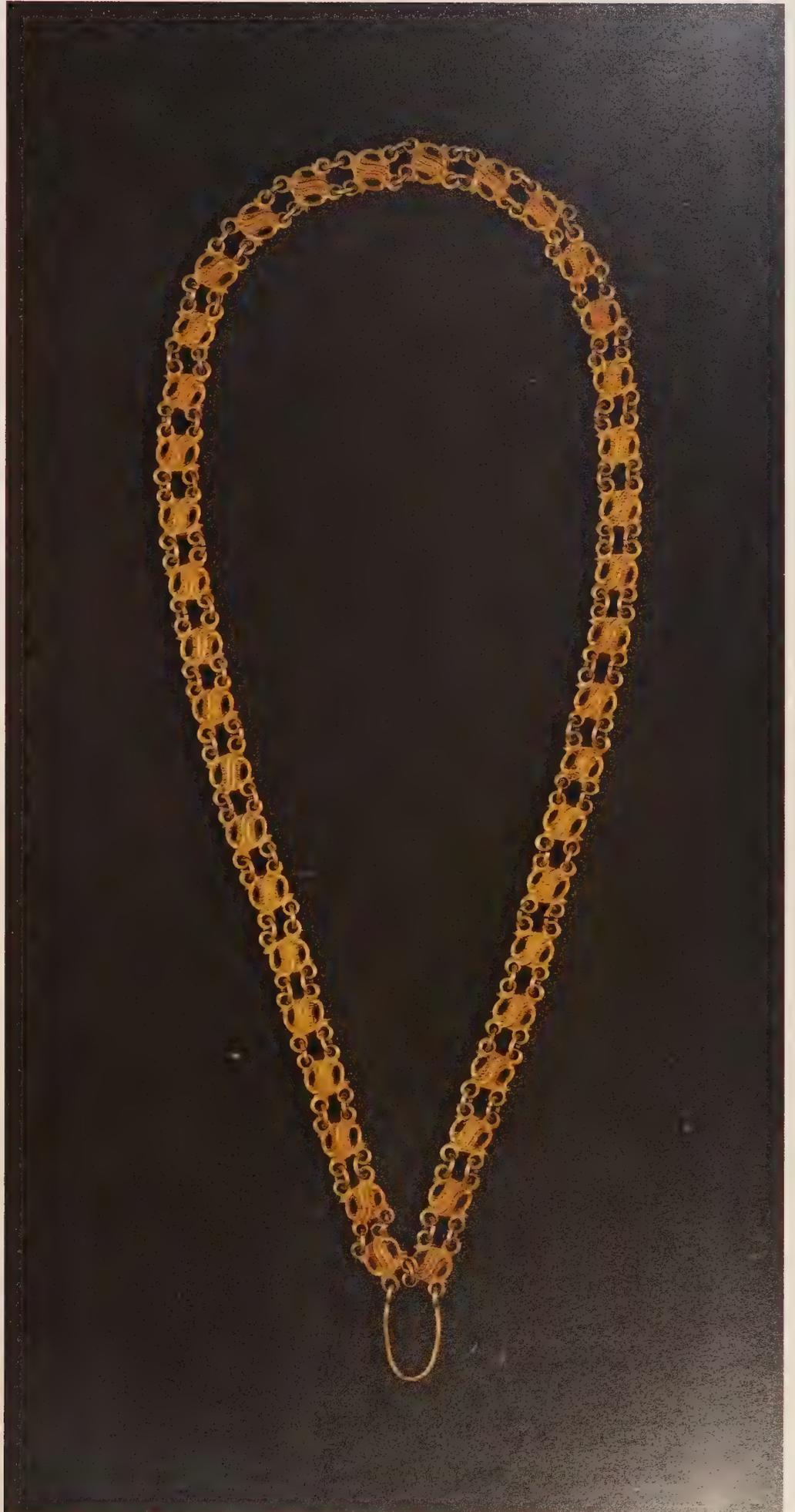
left: Plate 139 Collar. Silver-gilt. Length 40cm, width 1.5cm. English(?), late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.73, M.303–1920

Plate 140 Girdle plaques. Silver-gilt. Heights 2.5–2.69cm, widths 7.6–7.9cm. French (?), c.1320. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.75, M.12a–c–1981

Plate 141 Four plaques. heights 0.8 cm, widths
0.8 cm. Silver, silver-gilt, enamel. English, late
fourteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum,
London. Cat.76, 229m–p–1874
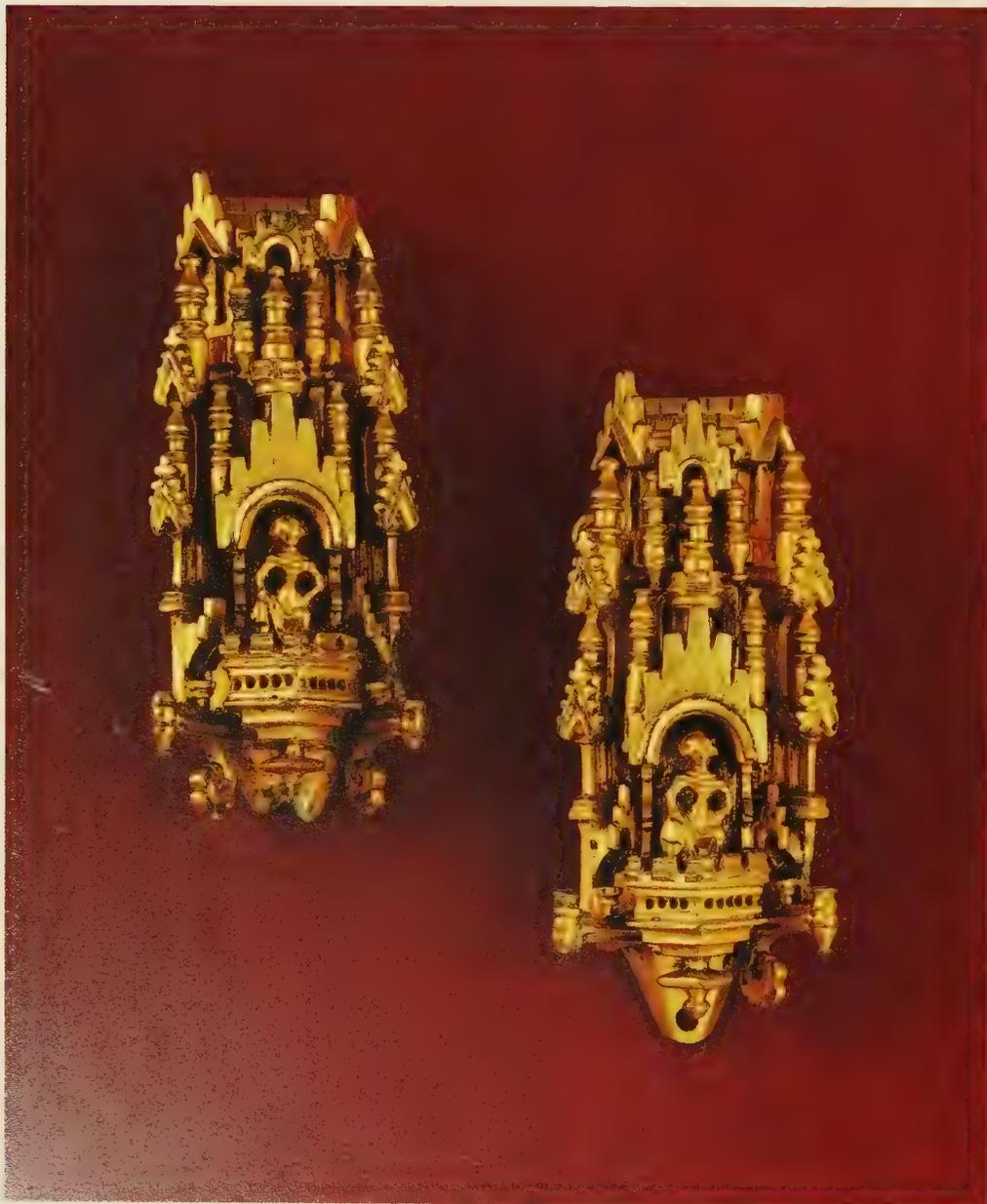


Plate 142 Pair of clasps. Silver-gilt. Length 6 cm,
widths 2.5 cm. Hungarian (?), late fourteenth or
early fifteenth century. Victoria & Albert
Museum, London. Cat.77, 143–a–1865

Plate 143 Buckle girdle end. Gilt-brass. Length
18cm, width 6cm. German, late fifteenth
century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
Cat.78, 4526–1858

Plate 144  Paternoster. Gold, enamel. Length
40.5cm, width 1.2cm, depth 6cm. English,
c.1500. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
Cat.81, M.30-1934

below: Plate 144a  Detail
bottom: Plate 144b  Detail
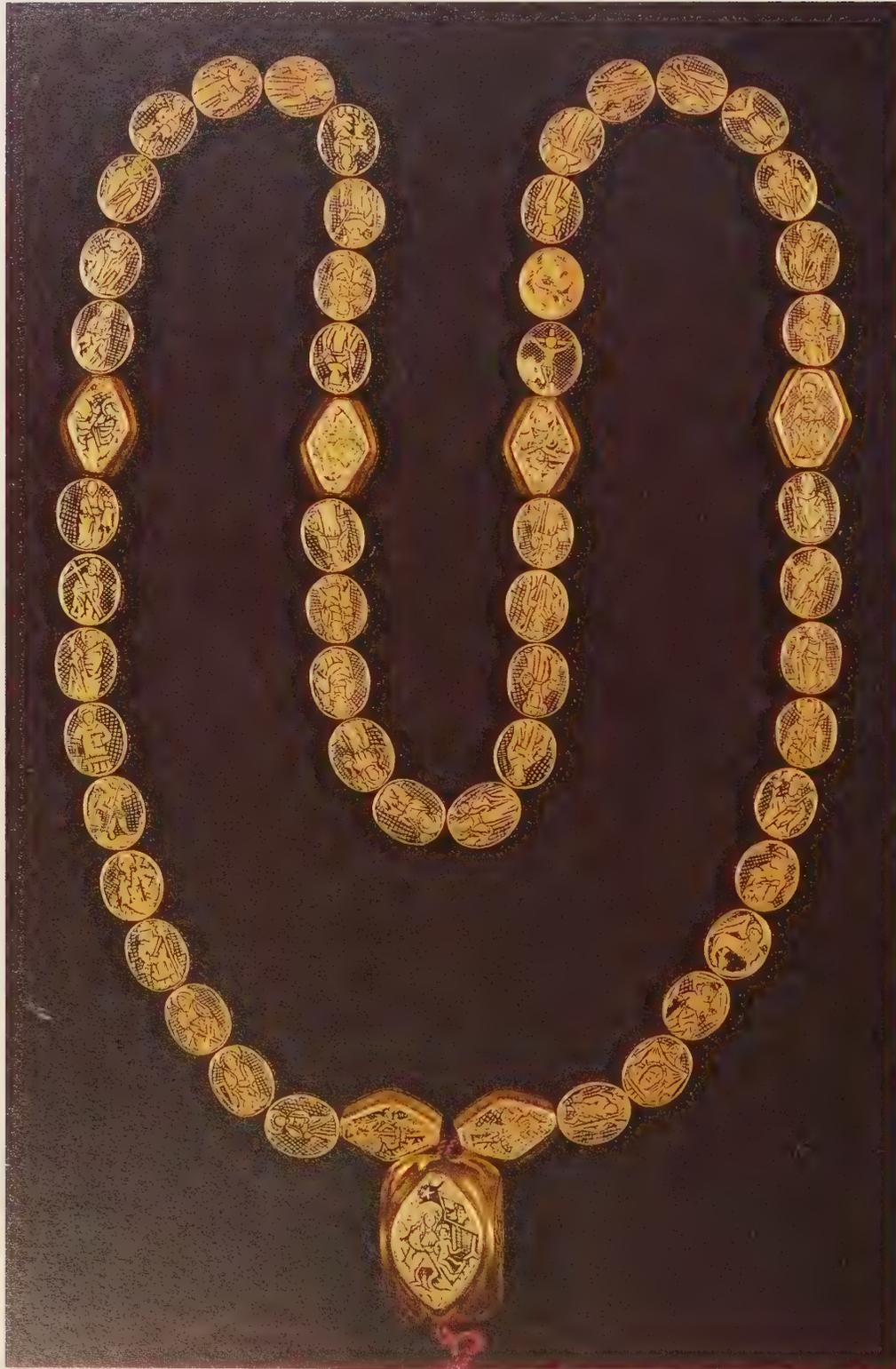
Plate 145 Pomander. Silver, silver-gilt, niello. Height 6.5 cm, width 4 cm. Italian, fourteenth century. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.84, M.205–1925



Plate 145a Pomander-open

Plate 146 Breast ornament. Gold. Diameter
11.2cm, height 5.5cm. North German (?), late
twelfth or early thirteenth century. Victoria &
Albert Museum, London. Cat.86, 392−1872

right: Plate 146a Detail



Plate 146b Detail from underneath

Plate 147 Plaque. Silver, copper-gilt, enamel.
Diameter 8cm. Italian, c.1350–1400. Victoria &
Albert Museum, London. Cat.87, 221–1874

Plate 148 Plaque. Gold, enamel traces. Height
3.5cm, width 2.8cm. English, c.1390–1400.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.88,
M.51–1975

Plate 149 Triptych (interior). Silver, silver-gilt.
height 5.5 cm, width open 6.1 cm, depth 1 cm.
English, *c.*1400. Victoria & Albert Museum,
London. Cat.89, 250–1874



right: Plate 149a Front

far right: Plate 149b Back

Plate 150  Virgin and Child. Gold, enamel. Height 5.1 cm, width 3 cm. French, c.1400. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.90, 829–1891



below left: Plate 151  Medallion. Gold. French, c.1420. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.91, 1149–1864

below right: Plate 152  Plaque. Gold, enamel. Height 4.1 cm, width 2.5 cm. Netherlandish, c.1425–50. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Cat.92, M.546–1910
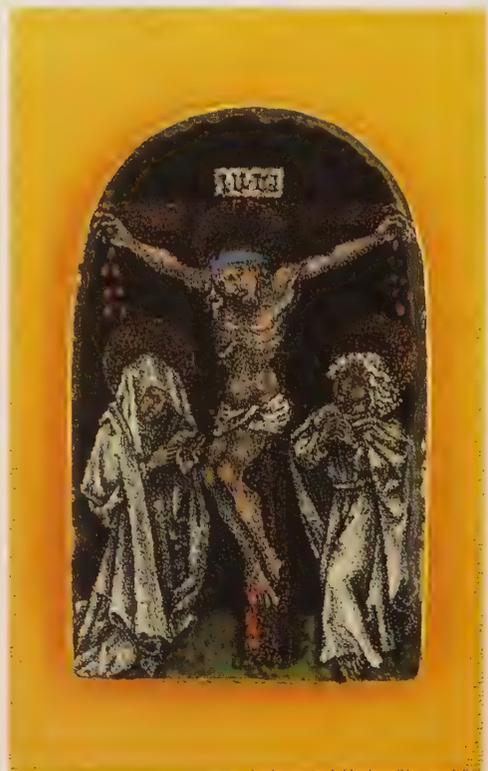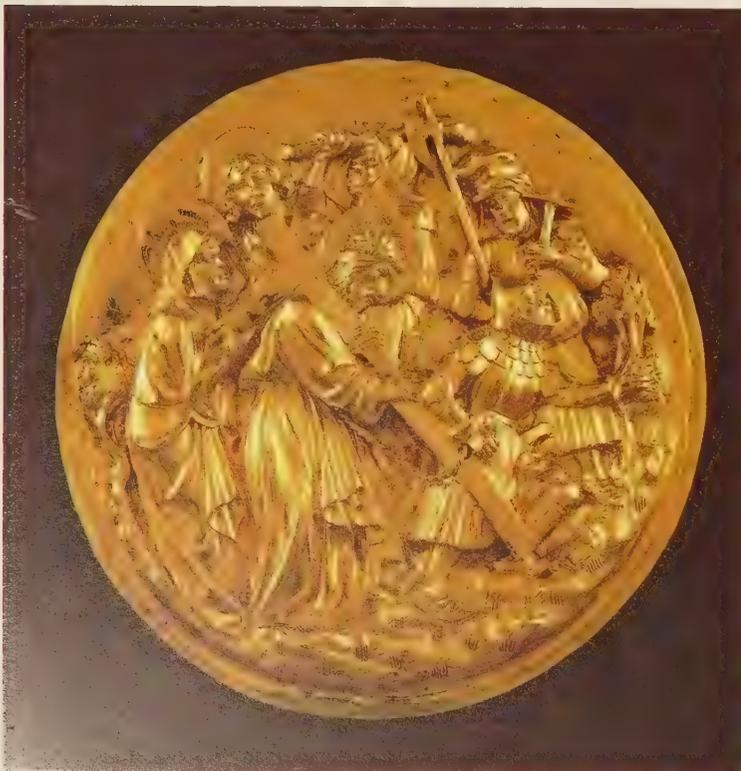
# NUMERICAL CONCORDANCE

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| 2279–1855 | 22 |
| 2280–1855 | 17 |
| 3605–1857 | 60 |
| 4085  1857 | 52 |
| 4526–1858 | 78 |
| 4561–1858 | 53 |
| 6808–1860 | 28 |
| 6809–1860 | 27 |
| 9079–1863 | 54 |
| 358–1864 | 35 |
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| 143-a–1865 | 77 |
| 68 –1867 | 69 |
| 1024–1871 | 1 |
| 392–1872 | 86 |
| 14–1873 | 44 |
| 213–1874 | 67 |
| 214–1874 | 38 |
| 216–1874 | 37 |
| 217–1874 | 40 |
| 221–1874 | 87 |
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| 250–1874 | 89 |
| 139–1879 | 18 |
| 808–1891 | 43 |
| 829–1891 | 90 |
| 833–1891 | 45 |
| 529–1893 | 31 |
| 37-a–1894 | 79 |
| 39–1894 | 41 |
| 547–1897 | 8 |
| 86–1899 | 26 |
| 948–1902 | 74 |
| 493–1903 | 63 |
| 495  1903 | 83 |
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| 497–1903 | 64 |
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| 500–1903 | 62 |
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| 503–1903 | 56 |
| 504–1903 | 58 |
| 507–1903 | 65 |
| 509–1903 | 48 |
| ⁙⁙ 1903 | 61 |

| MUSEUM NUMBER | CATALOGUE |
|---|---|
| 513  1903 | 71 |
| 514–1903 | 49 |
| 517–1903 | 82 |
| 217–1904 | 68 |
| 168–1906 | 50 |
| 621–1906 | 57 |
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| M.546–1910 | 92 |
| M.303–1912 | 51 |
| M.350–1912 | 39 |
| M.303–1920 | 73 |
| M.245–1923 | 11 |
| M.205–1925 | 84 |
| M.1022–1926 | 72 |
| M.28–1929 | 4 |
| M.29–1929 | 21 |
| M.30–1934 | 81 |
| M.94–1962 | 47 |
| M.95–1962 | 46 |
| M.10–1965 | 34 |
| M.110–1966 | 33 |
| M.23–1968 | 36 |
| M.12–1969 | 23 |
| M.33–1975 | 12 |
| M.34–1975 | 2 |
| M.35–1975 | 13 |
| M.36–1975 | 5 |
| M.37–1975 | 20 |
| M.38–1975 | 19 |
| M.39–1975 | 25 |
| M.40–1975 | 24 |
| M.41–1975 | 10 |
| M.43–1975 | 3 |
| M.44–1975 | 29 |
| M.46–1975 | 7 |
| M.47–1975 | 16 |
| M.48–1975 | 14 |
| M.49–1975 | 6 |
| M.50–1975 | 15 |
| M.51–1975 | 88 |
| M.52–1975 | 80 |
| M.344–1975 | 30 |
| M.64–1980 | 32 |
| M.12a-c–1981 | 75 |

# CATALOGUE



1

2

3

## 1

### Ring Brooch

Diam. 3.1 cm
ITALIAN thirteenth century
1024–1871
Silver. Engraved with possibly magical inscriptions, partly nielloed. The inscription reads, obverse:
on the inner face

+ EZERAEZERA ERAVELADAN
on the outer face

+ DVDD VDBALTEBANIALPHAET
reverse

+ AOT VOLIOOIOMOOOIOAV

Acquired in Florence in 1860.
Edmund Waterton Collection. Purchased in 1870 from Mr Whitehead.

On acquisition called South German, fourteenth century. Subsequently catalogued as Italian, thirteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.6
S. La Niece, 'Niello: An Historical and Technical Survey', *The Antiquaries Journal*, LXIII, 1983, pp.279–97, cat.122

## 2

### Ring Brooch

Diam. 1.8 cm. Width of ring 0.4 cm
ENGLISH thirteenth century
M.34 1975
Gold, inscribed in Lombardic letters: AVE MARIA GRAC (Hail Mary, full of grace). Pierced with holes which may have held collets for stones or pearls.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.9
*L'Orfèvrerie Gothique* 1989, p.223

## 3

### Ring Brooch

Diam. 2.2 cm
ENGLISH? thirteenth century
M.43–1975
Gold, inscribed on the obverse in Lombardic characters: NON DETVR PE[N]TENTI (Give it not to any who ask). The letters are reserved on a cut-away ground.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.816
Bury 1982, 12/B no.2
*L'Orfèvrerie Gothique* 1989, p.223

4



5



6

## 4

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.7cm
ENGLISH thirteenth century
M.28–1929 (Colour Plate 122)
Silver-gilt, set with one blue and one green paste. Bifaceted; one side inscribed in Lombardic characters: IOSV ICI ATI VCI (Here I am yours: behold me). Two of the panels of the inner facet decorated with zigzag decoration.

Acquired from the Harman-Oates Collection

Found in the churchyard of Shelfhanger, Norfolk, at a depth of eight feet. Shown by the Rev. C.R. Manning FSA at the Society of Antiquaries on 6 February 1890. (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, ser.2, XIII, 1890, pp.68–9). The inscription, which is misliterated, was discussed in a note by H.D. Ellis (*Archaeological Journal*, LXXIII, 1916, pp.299–301; a letter from him of September 1916 concerning it is in the Metalwork Departmental Inventory). It is equivalent to the modern French *Je suis ici à toi, voici*.

The high collets suggest a thirteenth-century date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.809
Bury 1982, 12/B no.14

## 5
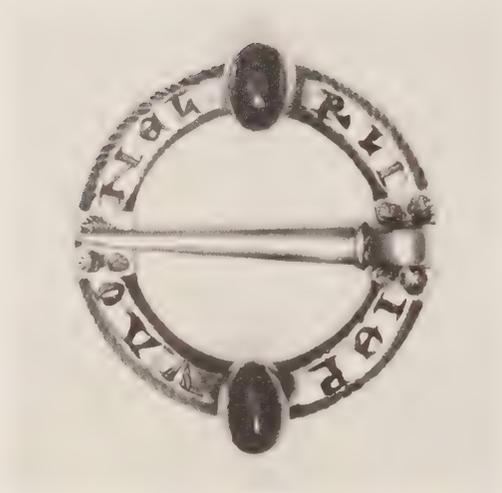
### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.5cm
FRENCH or ENGLISH? thirteenth century
M.36–1975 (Colour Plate 120)
Gold, set with a ruby and sapphire at the upper and lower points of the circle in high collets, and engraved with a quatrefoil at the point of attachment of the pin and the opposite point. Inscribed in Lombardic characters: IEP VAO NEL RLI. (The inscription cannot readily be interpreted.)

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

A. Somers Cocks (note in inventory) finds a parallel for the high collets on the ring of Walter de Grey (d.1255), Archbishop of York (for this see Oman, *British Rings 800–1914*, 1974, p.95, pl.19A). They seem to be characteristic of thirteenth-century rings and brooches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.12

## 6

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.3cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH thirteenth century
M.49–1975 (Colour Plate 120)
Gold. One side has a concave profile. The other is inscribed in Lombardic letters:
+ IESVI: CI: ENLIV: DAMI: (I am here in place of a friend *or* in a friendly place). The pin has a granulated cluster at the head.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

In mediaeval French *ami* (friend) in the language of love has the sense of lover.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.13

## 7

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 3.3cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH thirteenth century
M.46–1975
Gold, inscribed between plain borders in Lombardic letters:
obverse: PENSEET: DELI: PARKI: SUECY: and foliate flourish (I think of him by this token)
reverse: IESVS: NAZEREN[VS] REX: IVDIORVM and foliate flourish
The pin missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.811
Bury 1982, 12/B no.28

7



8



9

## 8

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 5.4cm H. 1.5cm
FRENCH thirteenth century
547–1897 (Colour Plates 121, 121a)
Gold, set with six rubies and four sapphires
in high settings. Within them runs a wreath
of stylised vine-leaves and bunches of grapes
in cut and stamped work. The reverse dec-
orated with a wreath of foliage on a niello
ground.
Two stones missing from their settings.

From the collection of the great nineteenth-
century French collector Baron Jérôme Pichon
(Sale, Paris, 24 April – 1 May 1897, lot 173).

One of the most beautiful of surviving
thirteenth-century brooches. Classified in the
Pichon sale as French. Pichon owned two
similar but smaller French brooches of the
thirteenth century (lots 174, 175) repr. in
the sale catlogue as pl.IV together with the
present brooch. These also have small stones
in high settings and ornaments of foliage; lot
174 is now in the Museum collection (cat.9
q.v.). A comparable brooch in silver-gilt is in
the Bargello, Florence (Carrand Collection).
It has eight high cone-shaped *chatons* set with
small cabochon rubies; between these are
naturalistic foliated scrolls. On the reverse is
the inscription AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA
DOMN (for an illustration of this ring brooch
see Steingräber 1957, p.34 and fig.31).

The naturalistic treatment of foliage and grapes
of the Museum's brooch suggests a date in
the second quarter to middle of the century.
Steingräber calls it Northern French, *c*.1260,
Evans considers it as *c*.1300.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Steingräber 1957, p.34 and fig.30
Evans 1970, pl.13c and p.57
Bury 1982, 12/B no.3 and ill. p.65

## 9

### RING BROOCH

L. 3.2cm W. 3.5cm
FRENCH second half of the thirteenth or early
fourteenth century
M.530 1910 (Colour Plate 120)
Gold, set with rubies and sapphires. At top
and bottom are two high hexagonal collets,
set above with a sapphire, below with a ruby.
To either side of these is set a spray of formal-
ised foliage, cast and applied. Between them
are two smaller collets set with a ruby above
and a sapphire below. The part of the circle
above the point of the pin is a matted bar, its
end shaped; there are parallel matted bars to
either side of the pin.

Salting Bequest

Formerly in the collection of Baron Jérôme
Pichon (sale, Paris, 24 April – 1 May 1897,
lot 174).

The hexagonal collets, of Gothic design, sug-
gest a dating in the later thirteenth or early
fourteenth century. It has been suggested
that the sapphires are blue glass.
Evans, 1970, repr. pl.15a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Evans 1970, pl.15a
Bury 1982, 12/B no.11
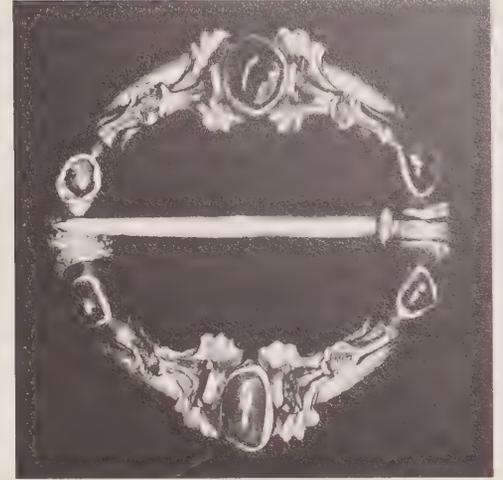
## 10

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 3.2cm
ENGLISH late thirteenth or early fourteenth
century
M.41–1975
Silver, inscribed between plain borders in
roughly formed Lombardic letters on one
side: R.O.B.E.R.T.I LOVE YAG: LOVES ME; on
the other: IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVD.
A little worn.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

The lettering is rather roughly engraved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.31 and ill. p.66

10

11



12



13
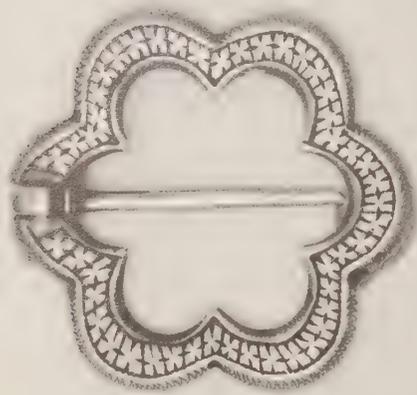
## 11

### Brooch

Diam. 2.5 cm

ENGLISH or FRENCH early fourteenth century
M.245–1923 (Colour Plate 122)
Gold. Sexfoil, the reverse with the inscription, enamelled in black Lombardic characters: + AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DON [NOBIS PACEM] (Hail Mary, full of grace, give [us peace]) on an outlined ground. The front is delicately engraved with a row of small quatrefoils, whose outlines are filled with black enamel.

Bought at the Rosenheim Collection sale (Sotheby's, 9 May 1923, lot 110)

A brooch of a fourteenth-century type of which other examples are known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.808
Evans 1970, pl.14d and p.58
Bury 1982, 12/B no.26 and ill. p.66
*Age of Chivalry* 1987, cat.no.643
*L'Orfèvrerie Gothique* 1989, p.232

## 12

### Ring Brooch

Diam. 4 cm

ENGLISH or FRENCH fourteenth century
M.33–1975
Silver, inscribed on one side in Lombardic letters: AMI AME T X D ELI PEN CET (Love your friend and think of him) and on the other IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM. Each group of letters of the first phrase is divided from the next by a motif of a heart between two quatrefoils.
Originally enamelled? The pin missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

See cat.6 for a note on the meaning of *ami* in this type of inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.29

## 13

### Brooch with a Pair of Clasped Hands

L. 2.1 cm W. 1.4 cm

ENGLISH or FRENCH fourteenth century
M.35–1975 (Colour Plate 122)
Gold. Pointed oval, with bifaceted arms terminating in a pair of clasped hands which once held a stone. With a quatrefoil at the base and centre right. Vertical scratches on the inner and outer faces of the ring appear to be deliberate, but form no intelligible inscription.
The stone held by the hands and the pin are missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

Brooches of this type are mentioned in English wills and inventories in the mid-fourteenth century. They also occur in French inventories in the fourteenth century; that of King Charles V taken in 1380 lists *ung fermillet d'or, de deux braz, l'un blanc et l'autre azuré, à une roze de mesmes* and *ung autre fermillet d'or, azuré, à deux mains qui s'entretiennent*. (Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V*, 1879, p.38, nos.122, 123).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.7

14



15



17

## 14

### BROOCH WITH A PAIR OF HANDS

L. 2.1 cm W. (greatest) 1.4 cm
ENGLISH fourteenth century
M.48–1975 (Colour Plate 122)
Gold. Pointed oval, with bifaceted arms beaded alternately on the outer and inner facets. Engraved with the inscription LIV IV: VL VL: also alternately on the outer and inner facets.
The stone originally held by the hands is missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

See note to cat.13.

A gold ring brooch with a similar inscription VLI.LVI.LIV.LIV was found in a garden at Canterbury and exhibited by John Brent FSA at the Society of Antiquaries on 29 June 1876 (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, ser.2, VII, 1876–8, p.76). It was dated by him *c.*1400.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.8 and ill. p.65
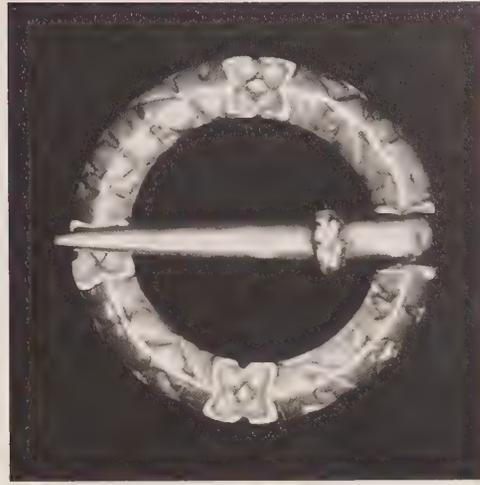


## 15

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.1 cm
ENGLISH fourteenth century
M.50–1975 (Colour Plate 120)
Gold. Circular, bifaceted, with an inscription in Lombardic letters running along both facets:
outer edge
    IES MI CIN VI
inner edge
    DA VI NII LV
(The meaning of the inscription is obscure. It is not readily translatable.) The centre point of the curve is marked by a quatrefoil on three of the sides.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.15

## 16

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 3.2 cm
ENGLISH fourteenth century
M.47–1975
Silver. Engraved with a rosette and the inscription in Lombardic letters: IHC HOPE Y[?]E BEST (I hope the best).

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.27

left: 16

## 17

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.5 cm
ENGLISH second half of the fourteenth century
2280–1855
Gold; engraved on the obverse with the figures of *St George* (left) and *St Christopher* (right) enclosed in frames with foliated ends. The figures are reversed in relief on deep hatched grounds. The areas outside the frames are cross-hatched. The reverse is engraved with a lozenge interlacing with a quatrefoil on a hatched ground.
Lacks the pin.

Bought at the sale of the Bernal Collection (Christie's, 5 March 1855, p.280, lot 3463)

The details of St George's armour suggest a date in the second half of the fourteenth century, and this is confirmed by the decorative details. Probably a brooch for a knight, since St George was the great chivalric saint. St Christopher protected against sudden and violent death (H. David, *Philippe le Hardi . . . le train somptuaire d'un grand Valois*, 1947, p.99).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.831
Bury 1982, 12/C no.5

18

## 18

### RING BROOCH

L. 7.2cm Diam. 4.6cm
SPANISH fourteenth and fifteenth century
139 -1879 (Colour Plate 123)
Gold, set with rubies (see below) and an onyx cameo. The outer ring is formed of a lopped branch, naturalistically chased and engraved, to which are applied broad leaves, each of which curls downwards to form a final scroll. Between each pair of leaves is set a small ruby. Five spiralling stems attach to this a central roundel case set with the cameo, which figures a lion seizing another animal. The case is edged with scrolling crockets alternately trefoil-headed and round-ended.

Traces of the base of a pin (now missing) on the right centre of the outer ring. The settings of the stones open at the back.

Acquired from Sir J.C. Robinson, formerly Art Referee to the Museum. Bought by him in Spain.

The cameo has been dated to the first century BC, but is quite possibly mediaeval, and fourteenth century in date. The rubies, which are table- or rose-cut, have been described as replacements; but there seems nothing about them which is incompatible with a fifteenth-century date.

The piece was acquired as a hat badge, and as Spanish, 'Gothic work', dating from 1450 to 1500. It was subsequently described by Steingräber as Franco— Burgundian, c.1400. The naturalistic lopped-branch motif makes this too early a date for the outer ring and the broad leaves applied to it also confirm that this element is Late Gothic, dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. There is nothing implausible about a Spanish origin; the Northern features are to be explained by the well-known influence of German goldsmiths' work on Spanish goldsmiths' work in the fifteenth century. The central roundel, however, is earlier than the outer ring; the style is formalised, the gold seems to be a different colour. Accordingly a fourteenth-

century date for this central element is probable; Mr John Cherry and Mr Claude Blair agree with this dating. Ring brooches with a central feature appear to be a development of the fourteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Steingräber 1957, p.61, fig.89
Evans 1970, pl.17b and p.49
Bury 1982, 12/B no.19

## 19

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.9cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH late fourteenth or early fifteenth century
M.38—1975
Gold, hollow-cast with the black-letter inscription on one side: *ihesus nazaren[us] rex iudeoru[m]* and on the other: *iaspar: melchior: baltazar/M*
The inscription on the obverse is finished with a sprig of foliage; that on the reverse begins and ends with a sprig of foliage. The *M* is separated from the rest of the inscription by a crown. The inscription on the obverse is engraved; that on the reverse has the background cut away and this was presumably once filled with enamel.
The rim is missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

The inscriptions are well-known prophylactic mottoes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.828
Bury 1982, 12/B no.25

19

20



22



23

## 20

### SHIELD BROOCH

H. 3.3 cm W. (max.) 3.2 cm
ENGLISH OR FRENCH late fourteenth or early
fifteenth century
M.37–1975
Gold. The shield is engraved with a cross-
hatched border and a bend dexter. Inscribed
on the border *cest/ma/le/con* and on the bend
*abcd* in black-letter minuscule (*ABCD c'est ma
lecon*; My lesson is ABCD). The syllables of
the inscription are separated by quatrefoils
in the border.
The top right-hand corner broken off and
replaced in gilt metal.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

Probably a child's brooch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.18

## 22

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.5 cm
ENGLISH early fifteenth century
2279 1855
Gold. On the obverse the black letter inscrip-
tion: *sans/de/par/tier* (literally, 'without dis-
turbing' – i.e. 'all my love is yours'). Each of
the four divisions of the inscription is enclosed
in a frame with curved ends; the ends of the
first and last letters in each are flourished out
into floral sprays. The spandrels between the
frames hatched.

Acquired from the sale of the Bernal Collection
(Christie's, 5 March 1855, p.280, lot 3462)

Acquired as French, fourteenth or fifteenth
century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.829
Bury 1982, 12/C no.7 and ill. p.66
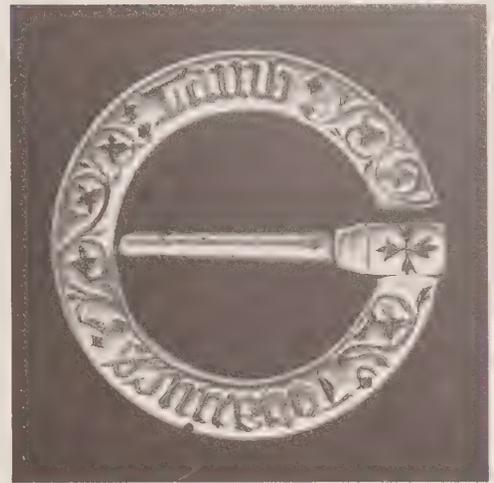
## 23

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.8 cm
ENGLISH early fifteenth century
M.12–1969
Silver-gilt, with black letter inscriptions, on
one side: + *Jhesus: naz[ar]enus Rex: Iudeorum*;
on the other: *Johannes:/:Lamb:* . The two words
of this second inscription are separated by
delicate ivy scrolls. The head of the pin is
ornamented by a floriated cross on one side
and a Latin cross on the other.

Acquired from H.E.P. Spencer

A silver brooch of certain English origin and
refined quality. Acquired as early sixteenth
century, but certainly early fifteenth century,
and possibly even late fourteenth century in
date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.16

## 21

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.3 cm
ENGLISH OR FRENCH fourteenth or fifteenth
century
M.29–1929
Silver
A ring brooch of the simplest possible form,
with concave profile.

Harman-Oates Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.22

21

24



25

## 24

### HEART-SHAPED BROOCH

H. 2.1cm
ENGLISH early fifteenth century
M.40–1975 (Colour Plate 124)
Gold. On one side the surface is concave, with traces of white enamel. The other is engraved with ★sa/nz [floral sprig] de [floral sprig] parter (a rosette).
White enamel almost all missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

The words make the very common inscription sans departir (cf.cat.22, 25, 29).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/C no.3

## 25

### RING BROOCH

L. 7.2cm Diam. 4.6cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH early fifteenth century
M.39–1975
Gold, with black letter minuscule inscription on the obverse SANZ DEPARTIR. The words are divided by rosettes, by a sprig of foliage (right) and cross-hatched spandrels.
Once decorated with opaque white enamel (now almost entirely missing) on the cutaway ground on which the letters and decorative motifs are reserved.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.4

## 26

### HEART-SHAPED BROOCH

H. 3.9cm W. 3cm
FRENCH or ENGLISH c.1400
86–1899 (Colour Plate 124)
Gold. The obverse is bifaceted; the facets are separated by a sunk line, and each is decorated with a pattern of enriched overlapping plumes. Engraved on the reverse in a dentellated border is the black-letter inscription: NOSTRE ET TOUT DITZ A VOSTRE [D]ESEIR (Ours and always at your desire). The words are separated by small floral sprigs.
Wanting a catch for the pin? It is uncertain whether the plumes and floral sprigs were once enamelled (Joan Evans and Steingräber consider that they were).

From the Edmund Waterton Collection.
Purchased from Mrs Edmonstone-Montgomerie.

This notably fine and heavy brooch probably dates from the early fifteenth century. The inscription plays on the heart shape of the brooch; it says that the heart is the owner's and always ready to obey the lover's wish. Steingräber considers it French, fourteenth century, Evans, as fourteenth century. She identifies the plumes as peacock's feathers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Steingräber 1957, p.43 and fig.51
Evans 1970, pl.18c and pp.59-60
Somers Cocks 1980, pl.6 and pp.10–11
Bury 1982, 12/B no.20 and ill. p.65

26, obverse

26, reverse

27



29



30

## 27

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.4 cm
ENGLISH fifteenth century
6809 1860
Silver, with black letter inscription on obverse:
*mierchi/vivort* (thanks for life and strength).

Found in London (bought 10s, vendor not recorded)

The inscription is obscure: *mierchi* means grace or thanks, *vivort* may be a misliterated word.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.815
Bury 1982, 12/C no.4

## 28

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 1.6 cm
ENGLISH fifteenth century
6808–1860 (Colour Plate 120)
Gold, set with rubies and sapphires. The tiny ring is set with four small table-cut rubies in high square collets. Between these and the pin-head and rest are set pairs of tiny cylindrical tubes each containing a minute sapphire.

Found in London (vendor not recorded)

Acquired as fifteenth century, but later re-classified as fourteenth century. The matted ring and the table-cut rubies are in favour of the later dating.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.819
Bury 1982, 12/B no.10
*Age of Chivalry* 1987, cat.no.650

## 29

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 2.8 cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH fifteenth century
M.44 –1975
Gold, hollow cast. Inscribed on the obverse in black letters on a scroll, a lozenge, and a scroll separated by a rosette and quatrefoil *canc ★ d/epaer/tir* [*sans departir*]. The reverse is engraved with a wreath of bows and pine sprigs. There are traces of dark enamel on both the obverse and the reverse, and a trace of white enamel on the reverse.
The enamel almost entirely missing.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

The scrolls are illusionistically treated, and the brooch, in spite of the misliterated inscription, is of high quality. For a note on the inscription, see cat.22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.23

28
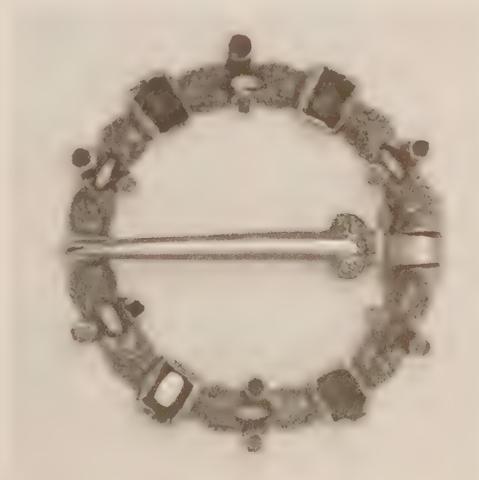


## 30

### RING BROOCH

Diam. 3.7 cm
ENGLISH or FRENCH fifteenth century
M.344–1975
Bronze. The decoration consists of four motifs of three Gothic Is or I-shaped motifs, separated by two V-shaped motifs (centre) and fleur-de-lis. The fleur-de-lis are shaped to suggest that each is bound by a ribbon.

Bequeathed by Miss E.M. Begg

The fleur-de-lis was so popular a motif that a country of origin can only be tentatively suggested. Ring brooches of this type are often English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/C no.8

31

## RING BROOCH

Diam. 7.7cm H. 2cm

SCANDINAVIAN or HUNGARIAN fifteenth
century

529–1893 (Colour Plate 126)

Silver and silver-gilt. The base is a six-lobed
plate with open centre, whose underside is
plain white silver. The large lobes have small
lobes on the centre of their arcs and in their
intersections. The edge is scalloped; the rim
is hatched behind each scallop. To the base is
fastened a second six-lobed plaque of six open
bosses raised on foliated scrollwork to which
are attached alternately a lion and a bird
(eagle). The pin is of plain silver except for
the sunk ribbed section by the loop, which is
gilt.

The rivets are coarse replacements; five are
missing. Two small lobes missing bottom
left and right.

Purchased from F.W. Whelan

Acquired as Scandinavian, fifteenth century.
Brooches of this type were traditional in
Scandinavia; for an earlier example from the
first half of the fourteenth century see Stein-
gräber (1957, p.47, no.67, p.50). The type is
also, however, found in Hungary, and the
brooch has been equally strongly claimed by
authorities from both regions (verbally, and
see É. Kovács, *Romanesque Goldsmiths' Art in
Hungary*, Budapest, 1974, p.57, no.47b, as
Hungarian between 1250 and 1300). Dr Kovács
states that the brooch was 'formerly in a
Budapest private collection'; there is, how-
ever, no record of such a provenance in the
Museum archives. In view of its acquisition
as Scandinavian, a northern origin is most
likely.

31



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BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Kurras, *Das Kronenkreuz im Krakauer Domschatz*,
Nuremberg, 1963, p.91, fig.31

Evans 1970, pl.6d

Kovács 1974, pl.47b and pp.38 and 57

*Hungarian Art Treasures*, 1967, cat.no.175

Bury 1982, 12/C no.2 and ill. p.66

32

## RETAINER'S BADGE

H. 4.4cm W. 2.4cm

ENGLISH fifteenth century

M.64–1980

Cast pewter. A quill, curled over naturalis-
tically to the right, so as to form a plume, is
thrust through a crown with fleur-de-lis-shaped
fleurons. The front is decorated with feather
markings, and with the details of the crown.
At the back a long pin for thrusting into the
cloth, with a small clip at the base.

Tip of quill missing.

Purchased from S. Moore. Excavated in 1979
from the Thames foreshore at Billingsgate.

For a comparable badge see Museum of Lon-
don, *Mediaeval Catalogue*, 1940, pl.LXXI, no.43).
According to Brian Spencer of the Museum
of London, this badge was used by the Lan-
castrian faction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished

33



33

## PENDANT

6.2cm × 2.5cm

FRENCH *c*.1300

M.110–1966 (Colour Plate 127)

Crystal, mounted in nielloed silver, parcel-
gilt. The crystal is an Islamic (Fatimid) crystal
carving of a fish, with a fin at the top, carved
with diaper work, and two carved fins below.
The body ends in a stylised tail with a ribbed
ring encircling it. A narrow carved collar
figures the gill at the neck. A deep tube is
pierced down the centre. The head was cut
off when the fish was mounted in the West
as a pendant; the mounts consist of a moulded
rim of silver-gilt, decorated with a pattern of
leaves reserved in the metal on a nielloed
ground. The mouth is nielloed with the
Lombardic inscription: AVE: MARIA: GRACIA:
PL[E]NA on a ground of plain silver. The
crystal is held by four moulded spurs descend-
ing from the rim; to the left and right spurs,
which are shorter, are attached moulded rings
for suspension. Closed by a screw stopper, to
whose knob is attached a loop for suspension.
The base, upper ends of the body, and the
ends of the fins are chipped. It is possible
that the end of the tail was ground down to
its present shape when the fish was mounted
as a pendant.

Purchased from P.E.L. Bedford

The crystal is of the type known as Fatimid and was probably originally a perfume-holder. For the nielloed decoration of leaves compare the reverse of the Museum's brooch (547–1897, cat.8, col.pl.121a). The crystal is dated to the tenth century by Wentzel, 'Das byzantische Erbe der Ottonischen Kaiser – Hypothesen über den Brautschatz der Theophano', in *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLIII, 1972, pp.51–3. For crystal reliquaries of this kind see text. What may be the present pendant or one very like it was listed after her death in 1405 in the inventory of Marguerite de Flandre, Duchess of Burgundy, widow of Philip the Bold. It is described as 'a little vessel of crystal in the fashion of a fish mounted in silver for holding relics' (Dehaisnes, p.874: *1 petit vaisseau de cristal à fachon de poisson garni d'argent à mettre reliques*). The only discrepancy is that the mount is described as silver, not silver-gilt, but the mounts of our pendant are of course only parcel-gilt. The reference shows that Fatimid crystals mounted in this way as reliquaries were prized in mediaeval France and the Netherlands and worn by great secular personages. Marguerite also left a fish-shaped reliquary of silver-gilt (Dehaisnes, *loc.cit.*: *1 petit reliquaire d'argent doré, à fachon d'un poisson, pesant avoec le pendoir XIIᵉ*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
R.W. Lightbown, 'An Islamic crystal mounted as a pendant in the west', in *Bulletin of the Victoria & Albert Museum*, IV, 1968, pp.50ff
Evans, 1970, pl.6a–c.

34

34

## AGNUS DEI PENDANT

Diam. 6.9cm
FRENCH? fourteenth century
M.10–1965
Brass and horn, wax Agnus Dei
Circular, consisting of two stamped openwork plaques of brass applied over horn sheets, held in a frame with serrated edges. The front has a rim inscribed in Lombardic letters: + AGNE DEI M/ISERERE MEI/QUI CRIMIN/A TOLLIS (O Lamb of God, thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me). The words and letters are separated by a cross whose edges are scalloped into trefoils. In the centre is a lamb with a standard surmounted by a cross in a circular frame. Another lamb in a circular frame is stamped in the centre of the reverse and is encircled by six circles pierced with quatrefoils, the whole forming a sexfoil design. Attached are three hoops for suspension. Fragments of the original wax are still inside.

Purchased from A. Spero

This is probably one of the earliest surviving Agnuses known (for the Agnus Dei, see text). It is impossible to be certain of its place of origin, but France is a possibility. Clearly manufactured by stamping. Agnuses mounted in cheaper metal were certainly in circulation by the late thirteenth century; in 1323 Jaime II of Aragon had an Agnus mounted in pewter which had been confiscated from the Templars after their downfall in 1307.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mortorell y Trabal, 'Inventari . . .', in *Anuari d'Estudis Catalans*, IV, 1911–12, p.566, *item 1. agnus Dei encastat en estayn*

35



36, obverse



37, obverse
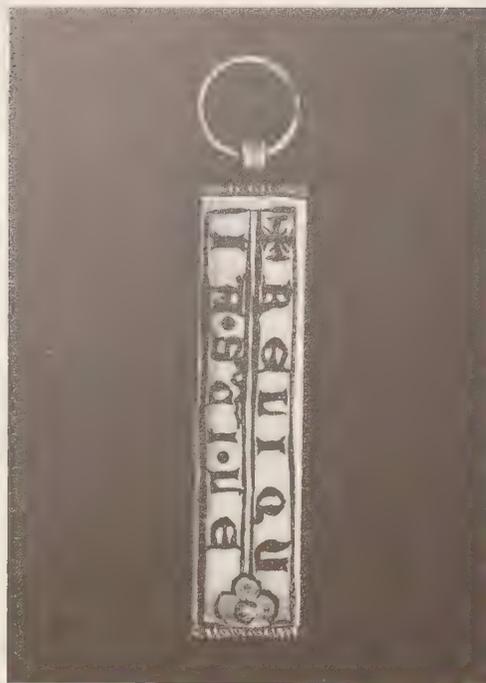
## 35

### RELIQUARY PENDANT

L. (with ring) 5.1cm W. 1cm D. 0.7cm
ITALIAN fourteenth century
358–1864
Silver-gilt. A hollow bar-shaped tablet, closed
at the top by a plate to which a ring for sus-
pension is attached, and open at the bottom.
The relic is held within by a bar running
across. The edge of the bottom and of the
plate hatched. With enamelled inscription:
+ RELIQU/IA . S [AN]C[T]I . LE/ONARDI .✶/
CREMONE✶

Acquired from Signol, Paris, as North Italian,
c.1300. This is too early for the technique of
translucent enamel on silver to be used on
such an object, and a date later in the four-
teenth century is probable.

There is no saint or holy man of the name
of Leonard associated with Cremona (cf.
C. Bresciano, *Corona d'hvomini, e donne cremonesi
in Santità, Prelature, e Virtudi, Insigni, & Emi-
nenti*, Cremona, 1625), and the relic and its
association are probably therefore mediaeval
descriptions of a well-known kind. For the
bar shape compare the reliquary pendant men-
tioned in a list of jewels returned to Edward II
in 1313, after the death of Piers Gaveston
(Rymer, *Foedera*, II–i, 1818, pp.203–5: *un
barel d'or ove reliques*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.21 and ill. p.65

## 36

### PENDENT RELIQUARY CROSS

L. 7cm W. 5.8cm
ITALIAN mid-fourteenth century
M.23–1968 (Colour Plates 128, 128a)
Silver-gilt, decorated with translucent enamel.
The cross has trefoil ends and crocketed sides.
Its front is hinged at the top and lifts to reveal
a case for the relic, probably a fragment of the
True Cross. The figures are partly reserved,
partly enamelled on a ground of enamel. On
the front-face is *Christ on the cross*, flanked (left)
by St Francis holding a book and cross and
(right) by St Jerome, holding a church and a
book. Above is God the Father; below is the
Magdalen, holding a jar of unguent. On the
reverse the central figure is the seated *Virgin*,
with the Child seated on her left knee and
playing with her veil. She is flanked (right) by
St Dominic, holding a cross and book, (left)
by a bishop saint holding a crozier and book.
Above is St Paul, below is St Dominic. All
these figures of saints are half-length. A hole,
evidently original, is pierced in the centre of
the front and back, perhaps for a bar fastening
the relic.
The front of the hinge is a restoration; a
copper tongue inserted for strengthening at
the top of the reverse of the front face.
There are now no signs of a loop for suspen-
sion; possibly the crockets attached to the
upper arm were used for this purpose.

Purchased (Sotheby's, 16 May 1968, lot 91)

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/B no.24
M. Campbell, 'L'oreficeria italiana nell' Inghil-
terra medievale, con una nota sugli smalti
medievali italiani del Victoria and Albert
Museum', *Bolletino d'Arte*, suppl. no.43, 1987,
*Oreficerie e smalti traslucidi nei secoli XIV e XV*,
pp.1–16, esp. p.11 and fig.19

## 37

### PENDANT

H. 5.1cm W. 4.3cm
NORTHERN FRENCH or FLEMISH c.1350–75
216–1874 (Colour Plates 129, 129a)
Silver-gilt, enamelled in blue, green and olive-
green, dull crimson, yellow and opaque red.
On the obverse is the *Annunciation*. Beneath a
triple canopy, the angel, his wings coloured
in bands of green and dull crimson, wearing a
green cloak and crimson robe, salutes the
Virgin with his right hand and with his left
holds a scroll inscribed AVE MARIA in Gothic
letters. The Virgin, dressed in olive-green
and a green-lined crimson cloak, holds a book.
Faces and book are reserved in the metal. In
the foreground is a yellow pot with a lily.
On the reverse is the *Death of the Virgin*
again under a triple canopy. The Virgin, in a
blue cloak lined with green, reclines on a bed
mounted in dull crimson. In the foreground
are two crouching figures of Apostles. Behind,
Jesus, in olive-green robe and crimson cloak,

receives the soul of the Virgin, figured as a babe, with his hand raised in blessing; nine other figures of Apostles crowd around the bed. Again the heads are reserved in the metal. The ground of both scenes above the canopies is green; below it is blue over a pattern of foliated stems.

Both sides are recessed within a moulded double frame of silver, decorated on both sides with a row of tiny quatrefoils. This frame is made in four sections. It is pierced at the top with a hole for suspension, probably by a ring. A similar hole at the base has been filled with a crude copper plug.

Patches of enamel missing.

Purchased from the John Webb Collection

Acquired as Limoges work, thirteenth century. This identification was subsequently corrected to fourteenth century. Later dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. A date in the middle or third quarter of the century seems most probable; given the beards worn by the figures and the Gothic inscription, a date before 1350 is implausible. A northern French or Flemish origin is likely; an English origin less so.

The holes, though old, are not original, and since there are no other visible means of suspension it is a question whether this object was not originally kept in a special case. Although originally it may not have been a pendant, it was certainly converted into one at an early date. The enamelling is of very high quality, more so perhaps than the engraving.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chamot 1930, no.34, plate 17c and d
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.822
Bury 1982, 12/E no.3
Bury 92/12E3

## 38

## DIPTYCH PENDANT

L. 5.8cm W. (open) 7.8cm (closed) 4.2cm
D. 1.6cm.

FRENCH *c.*1370–80

214–1874 (Colour Plates 130, 130a)

Silver-gilt and enamel. The diptych consists of two hinged cases, which are enamelled on the outside, and decorated on the inside with cast figures and canopy work on a ground of blue enamel. The enamelled exterior panels represent *St Catherine of Alexandria* (left) and *St Agnes* (right): the interior scenes represent the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John* (left) and the *Virgin* (right) set against a ground of dark-blue enamel. The two enamelled saints are designed as a pair, and are represented in a very similar setting of a rocky valley, the stones being represented by means of a transparent flux tinged with brown and green, over the silver ground. There are green trees to the right and left of St Catherine; in the scene of St Agnes the left tree is replaced by a lamb (executed in transparent colourless enamel). The ground behind both figures is enamelled translucent over a pattern of squares hatched alternately vertically and horizontally. Both saints wear blue mantles over dark robes (colour no longer distinguishable). Catherine wears an orange–yellow crown on her yellow hair; she holds a yellow martyr's palm in her

38, exterior



right hand, and her brown broken wheel in her left. St Agnes points heavenwards with her right hand and has a palm in her left.

The plain moulded case has two large hoops for suspension. It is inscribed along the right edge of the St Catherine panel *Ora p[ro] a[n]i[m]a D[ominus]|Tho[mas]|BayLEI.*

The two enamelled scenes have patches of restoration in the robes of both figures. The small pin that fastened the hoops which close it on the outer edges missing.

Purchased from the John Webb Collection (as Limoges, thirteenth century)

This is a diptych whose high quality is a little masked by its restorations. It is clearly a Parisian production whose design and enamelling technique herald the Royal Gold Cup (*c.*1390) in their tendency towards naturalism, though the diptych was plainly made a decade or so earlier. As a work intermediate between the more formal Gothic style of the earlier fourteenth century and the naturalistic style of its final decades it is of considerable art-historical interest.

The inscription suggests that the diptych was once owned by the Roman Catholic divine Thomas Bailey DD. Bailey was born in Yorkshire and studied at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he proceeded BA in 1546. About 1557 he became Master of Clare. On the accession of Elizabeth he refused to comply with the

change in religion, was deprived of his mastership, and went to Louvain, where he was admitted DD. He remained at Louvain until January 1576, when he moved to Douai at the invitation of Allen. He managed the temporalities of the College, and in Allen's absence was usually appointed its regent. He died at Douai on 7 October 1591 (*DNB*, I, 1908, p.904).

This early Recusant provenance has its own evocative historical appeal; plainly Bailey may well have acquired the diptych in the Netherlands or Northern France.

For the Royal Gold Cup in the British Museum see *Les fastes du gothique* 1981, cat.213 and p.31 for colour pl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Unpublished

## 39

## RELIQUARY PENDANT

H. 6.3 cm (including loops) W. 5 cm
FRENCH *c.*1370–95
M.350–1912 (Colour Plate 131)
Silver-gilt and translucent enamel. The central panel depicts *St Catherine of Alexandria*, dressed in a light-blue mantle and green robe. She is seated on a wooden Gothic throne, whose brown colour is created by a lightly tinted transparent flux over the plain silver. Its arms are of buttress form; its back is engraved with diaper. She holds a martyr's palm in her right hand, and her wheel in her

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left; on her yellow hair she wears a crown, rendered by outlining in black enamel, as is her halo. The background is delicately pounced with two plant sprays; smaller versions of these decorate the convex upper surface of the broad moulded frame within which the enamelled panel is recessed. This frame is really the upper section of the relic case. It is decorated with ten broad quatrefoil rosettes, originally coated with *rouge cler* enamel on the petals; plain silver studs represent the stamens. The underside of the frame originally had a sliding cover slotted from the top into the two vertical sides of the case; this is missing and the octagonal crystal cover of the relic now forms the back cover of the whole. This cover is held by four silver corners engraved with Late Gothic naturalistic trefoils; they have serrated edges. The case is held within a stylised hedge-shaped frame, with lopped boughs, to which it is attached by fourteen delicate naturalistic leaves whose stems clasp the bough-frame below. At the top two loops for suspension.

Acquired from the collection of J.E. Taylor (sale, Christie's, 1–10 July 1912, lot 236)

First published by D. Gaborit (*Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V*, exh. cat., Paris, Grand-Palais, 1981, p.266, no.215) as Paris, *c.*1380. The technique of enamelling is close to the Royal Gold Cup of *c.*1390, to which Madame Gaborit compares it, but not the figure-style, which is much more purely French Gothic. The use of the technique of *poinçonné*, the broad-petalled floral studs of the frame, and the outer hedge-framework, with its lopped boughs, argue for a date in the later decades of the fourteenth century. The open framework is reminiscent of French miniatures. This reliquary pendant is a work of distinguished quality; perhaps it should be noted that in 1376 Jean, Duc de Berry gave Duchess Blanche of Orléans a *reliquiere des reliques de sainte Katerine* (*Registre de B. de Noces*, p.567, no.LVIII, *cit*. F. Lehoux, *Jean de France, Duc de Berri*, I, 1966, p.390, n.2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Les fastes du gothique*, 1981, cat.no.215 (and cat.no.213 and p.31 for colour pl. of Royal Gold Cup in the British Museum)
Campbell 1983, p.38, fig.38

40

## RELIQUARY PENDANT

L. 5.5 cm W. 4 cm
For the origin and date see below.
217–1874 (Colour Plate 131)
Silver parcel-gilt, and enamel. The central medallion of the obverse is a roundel of translucent enamel (blue and green) in which *St John the Baptist*, wearing a green tunic, his head, arms and legs reserved in plain silver, points to a medallion of the Agnus Dei (the motif reserved in silver on an enamelled ground). To either side are two green trees growing from green earth; the ground is a deep blue, over a background of floriated sprays. The case which holds the roundel is engraved with ribs to either side of a corded wire edging. To it is attached a lid decorated with an embossed relief of *St George and the Dragon*. The princess is represented in the top right kneeling in the air. Above the saint's head a motif of rays issuing from the sun. A hoop for suspension is attached to the corded edge: to this is attached a ring. There is a second hoop below, for suspension of another feature.

On loan to the Museum from 1867
Purchased from the John Webb Collection

The object appears to have been put together at the earliest in the late fifteenth century, if not later. The lid embossed with St George can be dated *c.*1480 from the details of the armour; it fits the case very imperfectly and

40, reverse

41, obverse



41, reverse

is probably from another pendant altogether. Indeed the present hinge partly covers the motif of rays issuing from the sun. The case itself appears to have been taken from another pendant; and the enamelled medallion has been crudely fitted into it.

The medallion itself, though worn, appears to be a fine piece of French enamelling of *c.*1350–60. The lid, though also worn, is likewise a notably refined work of the late fifteenth century, also probably French. The case is of late fifteenth-century type, but not of high quality. The motif of the Baptist illustrates his words ECCE AGNUS DEI (Behold the Lamb of God).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Unpublished

## 41

## MEDALLION PENDANT

Diam. 2.2 cm

GERMAN late fourteenth or early fifteenth century

39 · 1894

Silver-gilt. The medallion is enclosed in a round case edged by a ribbed and twisted band. The front is set with a carved roundel of mother-of-pearl, depicting the *Adoration of the Magi*. The Virgin stands beneath a tall Gothic canopy, holding the Child, who is shown, unusually, holding the cup offered by the eldest of the kneeling Magi. The back, or bottom of the case, is embossed with a silver-gilt roundel of the Vernicle on a cross with ends shaped as fleur-de-lis, all on a gilt ground. Held by two flat rings, one above, one below.

Purchased from Baron Julius von Hoering, London

The Gothic setting and costumes of the mother-of-pearl roundel suggest a date in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. It

is in a different style from the embossed head of Christ, which is of high quality, finely and naturalistically modelled, with great mastery of three-dimensional effect. The shape of the beard, rendered as two opposed curls, and the decorative treatment of certain details, e.g. the ends of the tresses, suggest a date in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century for the case.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/C no.9 and ill. p.66

42



43

## 42

## PENDANT

H. 6cm W. 1.7cm
GERMAN early fifteenth century
623–1906 (Colour Plate 132)
Silver, parcel-gilt. The motif is that of *Anna
Selbdritt*; St Anne standing on a hexagonal
base holds the crowned Virgin on her left
arm and the Christ Child on her right. The
faces and hands of St Anne and the Virgin
and the body of the Child are left ungilt. The
Child stretches out his left hand to his Mother,
who puts out her right hand towards him.
Above and below a ribbed ring.

Purchased from George R. Harding, London

The figures were subsequently wrongly identi-
fied as the Virgin with St Catherine and
Christ.

This is a pendant of fine quality; for the
technique and style compare 808–1891
(cat.43). Pendants of this kind are often
regarded as paternoster pendants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.830
Bury 1982, 12/D no.3

## 43

## PENDANT

L. 5.9cm W. 1.5cm
GERMAN early fifteenth century
808–1891 (Colour Plate 132)
Silver, parcel-gilt. St Anne, St James the
Great, St Barbara(?) and St Leonard stand
about a central pillar beneath an imbricated
canopy; they are modelled in the round and
applied to the pillar, which contains a screw
enabling the group to be turned round as the
viewer likes, and then fixed in the desired
position. St Anne, represented as *Anna Selb-
dritt*, holds the Child on her right hand, the
Virgin on her left. St James holds a scallop
shell and pilgrim staff. St Barbara holds a
sword and a chalice. The fourth figure has
been tentatively identified as St Leonard.
The faces and hands are in plain silver. Hoops
at either end with corded rings.

Zouche Collection (on loan to the
Museum from 1876)

For the technique of leaving faces and hands
ungilt, see also cat.42. The sword held by St
Barbara is of a type current *c*.1400–20. St
Barbara was previously identified as St Cath-
erine, but there are no recorded representa-
tions of Catherine holding a sword and chalice,
whereas there are representations of St Barbara
with these emblems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/D no.5 and ill. p.66

## 44

## PENDENT DIPTYCH

H. 2.7cm W. (open) 4.2cm (closed) 1.9cm
D. 1.1cm
NORTH GERMAN early to mid fifteenth
century
14–1873 (Colour Plate 125)
Silver-gilt, shaped as a book. The two wings
are hinged; when opened, they reveal sunk
panels in bevelled frames to which are applied
(left) a figure in relief of *St George overcoming
the dragon*, right a figure in relief of *St Catherine
of Alexandria*. When closed, the edges are
fastened by a clasp. On the outer sides, recessed
within moulded frames, are panels crudely
engraved representing (front) *Christ of Pity*,
(back) *St James the Great*, both on hatched
grounds. The edge of the enclosing frame is
lightly ribbed. Attached to each wing is a
ring for suspension (one a replacement).

Bishop Wedekin of Hildesheim Collection (see
below)

The collection of Jacob Eduard Wedekin,
Roman Catholic Bishop of Hildesheim from
1850 to 1870, seems to have been largely
formed in his diocese, and the presumption is
that this pendant, an object of modest quality,
is North German. St George holds a tilting
shield which appears to be of a type dating
from the first half of the fifteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.7
Hildesheim 1991, exh.cat.no.47



44, exterior

45

## PENDANT

L. 2.9cm (with ring) D. 2.3cm
GERMAN or FLEMISH fifteenth century
M.95–1962
Silver-gilt and enamel. Obverse, a roundel of the *Agnus Dei* turning to gaze at a banner emblazoned with the cross on a ground of dark-blue enamel, held in a case, whose reverse is engraved with the Vernicle, on a hatched ground. The case edged with a corded wire. A loop for suspension.
Much of the enamel missing from the obverse; probably originally wholly enamelled.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

On acquisition described as Italian. Subsequently re-catalogued as German; given the type of the Christ, a Flemish origin is equally possible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/D no.1



above: 46, obverse; below: 46, reverse



## 45

### AGNUS DEI PENDANT

Diam. 5.8cm
GERMAN first half of the fifteenth century
833–1891
Silver-gilt and horn, wax Agnus Dei. The case, of silver-gilt, has a lid held in place by three pins; it encloses horn panes, between which are the remains of the Agnus Dei. The lid is engraved in Gothic letters on a hatched ground IECUC [*sic*] MARIA IOHANNES ANNUS [*sic*] (Jesus Mary John Lamb (of God)), and the reverse rim with IESUS MAIRA [*sic*] IOHANNES MARIA HILF (Jesus Mary John Mary help). On both sides the words are separated by rosettes; on the lid a sprig is added to the rosette separating the words ANNUS and IECUC. Three rings, also silver-gilt, soldered for suspension.

Purchased from the Zouche Collection (formed by Robert Curzon)

Acquired as German, fifteenth century, an attribution confirmed by the language and lettering of the inscription, which is a little misliterated. A date in the first half of the century is probable. One of the few surviving examples of a once very common form of mediaeval amulet. Almost all those known are German; for examples see text (*loc.cit.*), and J.M. Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder: Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedarbeiten der Spätgotik*, 1966, pp.150-2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Unpublished

47, obverse



47, reverse



49

## 47

### PENDANT

L. 4 cm Diam. 2.8 cm
GERMAN? fifteenth century
M.94–1962
Silver-gilt. The obverse is a roundel engraved
with the *Agnus Dei*, turning to gaze at a
banner emblazoned with the cross. It is held
in a case with serrated edge, whose reverse is
engraved with the Sacred Monogram in Gothic
letters. The case is edged with a twisted,
scalloped band. A loop for suspension.

Formerly in the W.H. St John Hope Collection.
Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

Acquired as Italian, fifteenth century. Sub-
sequently recatalogued as German; certainly
Northern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/D no.2

## 48

### PENDANT

L. 7.4 cm (with ring) W. 1.5 cm
GERMAN fifteenth century
509–1903
Silver, parcel-gilt, with an onyx bead hanging
from a ring. The cut-out figures are enclosed
in a corded ring; they represent the *Adoration
of the Magi*. To the right of the seated Virgin
and Child one kneels, offering a cup; his
companion, holding a vessel, points to the
star, fixed top left on the ring. The third, to
the left, holds an incense boat.

48



Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer,
Strasburg

Crudely executed. This type of pendant is
usually identified as the end of a set of pater-
noster beads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.15

## 49

### PENDANT

Diam. 3.2 cm
GERMAN mid-fifteenth century
514–1903
Silver-gilt and mother-of-pearl. The obverse
is set with a roundel of mother-of-pearl carved
with a three-quarters length figure of *St Barth-
olomew* at an angle to the front plane with
head turned to the spectator. He holds up
his large knife. The reverse of the silver-gilt
case is engraved with a standing figure of a
youthful bishop–saint holding a Gothic chalice
on a lobed foot in his right hand and a crozier
in his left, against a stylised landscape. Edged
with a band of twisted wire. A flat ring for
suspension.
A second hoop or second ring missing below;
the relief much worn.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer,
Strasburg

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.10

50

## Reliquary Pendant

Diam. 3.4 cm H. 7.5 cm

SOUTH GERMAN second half of fifteenth century

168–1906 (Colour Plates 133, 133a)

Silver, parcel-gilt. Obverse: the *Annunciation*. The figures and other motifs are cast in relief and applied. Gabriel (left) holds a staff topped by a star and encircled by a scroll inscribed in Gothic letters *a/g/p* (*ave gratia plena*). Above is the right hand of God, issuing from the clouds and loosing the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The Virgin, seated with an open book on her lap, raises her hands in a gesture of surprise. Reverse: the *Mass of St Gregory*. To the right on an altar, Christ, nailed to the Cross whose titulus is inscribed *inri* in Gothic letters, rises from a casket, holding a sheaf of wheat and a bunch of grapes, symbols of the Eucharist. Gregory kneels before the altar, hands clasped in prayer. Behind him stand two figures (deacons or canons?), one supporting his tiara, the other holding a staff with twisted shaft. On the extreme left are the cock, ladder, column and hand, symbols of the Passion. Half-length figures above appear to be spectators: one, with halo, is blindfold; one wears a cardinal's hat; one is a bishop with mitre and crozier; one has a feather in his hat; one is haloed; and a group of two, one of whom has a halo, are shown pressing their cheeks together affectionately. What may be other emblems of the Passion appear between these figures and the Cross. A shield blazoned with the Cross lies beside Gregory. The medallion is encircled by a band of stylised openwork foliage, and is topped by an inverted lobed and gadrooned cap from which rises a hoop with corded ring for suspension.

Acquired from George R. Harding

Formerly in the Debruge Dumenil Collection (Labarte, *Description . . . Debruge Dumenil*, 1847, p.656, no.984, as dating from the early fifteenth century). Later in the Soltikoff Collection (sale, Paris, 8 April and days following, 1861, p.51, lot 186, bt. Farrer, 175 fr.) as Flemish, second half of fifteenth century.

The relics are missing and the medallion now contains paper. The Mass of St Gregory was a very popular subject in Northern art in the fifteenth century because it confirmed the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation. According to the legend, in answer to the



50

prayer of Pope Gregory, Christ appeared miraculously on the altar during a mass, attended by the Instruments of the Passion, in order to convince a member of the congregation who had doubts about Christ's Real Presence in the Host.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Labarte, *Description des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Dumenil*, 1847, p.656, no.984
J. Labarte, *Histoires des arts industriels*, *Album I*, 1864, pl.LIV, no.7
Bury 1982, 12/H no.6

51

## Cross

H. 8.6 cm W. 6.8 cm

GERMAN mid to third quarter of fifteenth century

M.303 1912

Silver-gilt, with trefoil ends. The crucifix figure, the titulus and the symbols of the Evangelists are cast in relief and applied. The cross is engraved behind the crucifix figure. The sides are moulded and pierced with holes to form quatrefoils. In the back is a cavity for a relic, which would probably have been that of the True Cross. The arms are engraved with a stem of three roses on a hatched ground. The titulus is inscribed INRI in Gothic letters. At the top a ring for suspension

51



52

Titulus broken to either side. The lid of the relic cavity missing. Worn.

Acquired from G. Jorck, a Danish dealer

Probably North German or Danish; see a comparable cross from the Katharinenkirche, Brunswick, dating from the mid-fifteenth century (Fritz, 1966, p.150, fig.119, p.457, K95).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/H no.1

## 52

### PENDANT

L. 5.7 cm Diam. 4 cm
GERMAN mid to late fifteenth century
4085–1857
The obverse is set with a roundel in stag horn, carved in relief with *St George*, mounted on his charger, preparing to strike the dragon whose body forms a coil round the entire rim.

The reverse is set with a round plate of silver-gilt, engraved with the *Vernicle*, and held by the saw-tooth edge of this side of the case. A corded wire runs round the case; rings in hoops above and below.
Crack in the engraved plate on the right.

Source of acquisition not recorded

Acquired as French; later reclassed as German. Dr N. Jopek (MS note in archives) compares an ivory St George in the Landesmuseum, Münster, Westphalia. The shape of the sword suggests a date in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.12

## 53

### PENDENT RELIQUARY CROSS

L. 3.5 cm W. 3.5 cm
GERMAN third quarter of the fifteenth century
4561–1858 (Colour Plate 134)
Silver-gilt, set with pearls, a ruby, a sapphire and garnets. On the obverse high collets are set in corded rings on the centre and on the arms. The rings are set with small beads. The collets contain (left) a ruby, (centre) a sapphire, (right and bottom) nineteenth-century garnets. Between the arms are four pearls set on short stems issuing from large round beads. The reverse, of plain silver-gilt consists of a flat plate, pinned in place, under which the relic (now missing) would have been inserted. It is engraved with five roundels of the Instruments of the Passion: (centre) the three nails, (left) the sponge, (top) the lance, (right) the scourge, (below) a motif that may be the rope.
A stone missing from the top collet; on the top edge a broken motif, presumably a hollow

53



54

55, obverse

## 55

### PENDANT

Diam. 7.7 cm L. (with ring) 6.6 cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
M.529–1910 (Colour Plates 135, 135a)
Silver-gilt. A deep case with an edging of
corded wire, and a twisted hoop with a ring.
The obverse set with a roundel of the *Annunciation* (figures cast in relief and applied). On
the left Gabriel, holding a staff with a banderole
wrapped around it, lifts his hand and addresses
the Virgin, who kneels (right) at a table,
hands crossed in humility. Above, the Dove
of the Holy Spirit. The reverse has a figuration
of the Nativity (figures cast in relief and
applied). The kneeling Virgin lifts the Child
from beside the wattle fence of the manger,

bead to which a ring for suspension was
attached.

Purchased (vendor not recorded)

Acquired as German, fifteenth century

A portrait of a burgher's wife of *c*.1475 in
the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (repr. Steingräber, p.73) shows her wearing a generally
similar pendent cross.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/H no.5 and ill. p.67

## 54

### PENDANT

Diam. 3.2 cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
9079–1863
Silver-gilt; *St George and the Dragon*. The figures
are cast in relief and pierced to form an
openwork design. St George lifts his sword
to strike the dragon, as it lies prostrate on the
rocky ground, with the saint's horse astride
it.
Hoop for suspension missing.

Purchased (vendor not recorded)

Acquired as Russian, eighteenth century; later
correctly recatalogued by H.P. Mitchell as
German. The details of the armour suggest a
dating *c*.1490.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.7

with its ox and ass, and offers him to God the Father who appears in the air, right hand raised in blessing, left hand holding the orb. On the left St Joseph, with a staff in his left hand and holding a hexagonal object in his right hand.

Rim slightly dented.

Salting Bequest (acquired by Salting from Goldschmidt of Frankfort)

Of very fine quality. The iconography of the Nativity scene is most unusual. The object held by St Joseph may be the candle he held in St Bridget's vision of the Nativity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/D no.8

## 56

### PENDANT

H. 6.7cm (with ring) W. 3.7cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
503–1903 (Colour Plate 125)
A shaped shield of rock-crystal, mounted in silver-gilt. It is held in a frame of leaf-work, round which runs a ribbed edging. The upper corners and centre base tipped with globular knobs; a larger version of these in the centre top, with ring for suspension. To the obverse is applied a crucified Christ, his hands pierced by nails, his feet crossed.
The upper right knob missing.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

This pendant may be a rosary pendant; compare G.M. Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz*, 1962, pl.62.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.5 and ill. p.67

## 57

### PENDANT

L. 6.5cm W. 3.3cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
621–1906 (Colour Plate 136)
Silver-gilt; the *Crucifixion*. A tall composition, set on a rocky base figuring Golgotha, with two skulls and a bone. Christ is shown attached to a tree, with its trunk twisted in formal bands and with lopped boughs; two thieves are crucified to thinner, more naturalistic trees beside him. In front Longinus pierces Christ's side with the lance; Mary (left) and



56



57

John (right) stand to either side of him, raised on small pedestals. The tree terminates in a hexagonal-shaped motif to which is attached a corded ring for suspension.
Spear bent and bottom scraped; a hole pierced in the base, perhaps for attachment to a stand.

Acquired from George R. Harding

This is a very heavy group, with a sharp-edged and irregularly shaped base, untypical of pendants. But, as the hoop and base and tree are cast in one, it was certainly designed for wear round the neck or on a rosary. However, it may also have been intended to be stood up for purposes of devotion.

The armour indicates a date *c*.1480. Compare a more elaborate and costly work listed in 1490 among the jewels belonging to François II of Brittany: *Ung cruxiffiement d'or, assis sur ung terraige d'argent esmaillé, à pluseurs person-naiges d'or, de la Passion, pesant iij onces ij gros bon poys.* (La Nicollière, 'Description . . .', p.435, no.214).
A. Somers Cocks (1980), p.9, pl.4, as second half of the fifteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Somers Cocks 1980, pl.4 and p.9
Bury 1982, 12/G no.2

## 58

### PENDANT

L. 6.5cm W. 1.1cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
504–1903
Silver-gilt, with ivory and glass pendant; cast group of the *Virgin and Child* with the young St John the Baptist.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

It was noted on acquisition that the figures are posed in the same fashion as a figure of Charity. However, the Virgin can be securely identified by her halo. Dated sixteenth century on acquisition; later reclassified as fifteenth century. Iconographically datable to the late fifteenth century. A rosary pendant of poor quality, or possibly a pendant from a pater-noster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.6

58



59



60

## 59

### PENDANT

L. 4.7cm (with ring) W. 1.2cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
501–1903
Silver-gilt. The *Martyrdom of St Barbara*. The saint kneels before her emblem, the chalice; her father raises a sword to slay her. A crystal bead hangs by a silver ring below. The loop for suspension shaped as a figure of eight.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

A pendant from a set of paternoster beads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.4 and ill. p.66

## 60

### PENDANT

H. (including rings) 6cm
Roundel H. 3.9cm W. 3.8cm
GERMAN c.1500
3605–1857
Silver-gilt. The *Coronation of the Virgin*. The openwork central motif is enclosed in a corded ring, with hoops centre top and bottom to which are attached small corded rings. In the central motif a bearded God the Father, wearing a crown and holding an orb, and robed in mantle and wide-sleeved robe and gorget, holds an imperial crown on the head of the kneeling Virgin. He is seated, as is Jesus, who supports the crown on the other side, also dressed in a robe and mantle and wearing a crown and holding an orb. The Virgin, in robe and mantle with a long train, lifts her hands in prayer; on her crown sits the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, with expanded wings and a halo. The whole is in relief, crudely cast and finished.
Breaks through the Virgin's neck and Christ's neck crudely soldered and repaired.

Purchased (vendor not recorded), £2 4s

Acquired as German, c.1500, an identification which is certainly correct. Probably like similar pendants a pendant from a rosary. The iconography of God and Jesus supporting the Virgin's crown is modelled on a secular coronation, where the crown was supported by dignitaries after it had been placed on the head of the king. The Holy Ghost descending on the Virgin, who humbly kneels, emphasises her exaltation among the choirs of Heaven. In all these respects the little scene differs from earlier coronations of the Virgin, in which the crown is placed on the head of the Virgin. It glorifies her even more by representing God and Jesus as the supporters of her crown and the Holy Ghost as resting on her head.

For a similar German openwork medallion, but of much finer quality, dating from c.1520 see Steingräber, 1957, p.74, fig.107. Possibly a pendant from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.10

61



62



63

## 61

### PENDANT

L. 5.8 cm (with ring) W. 3.3 cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
510–1903 (Colour Plate 132)
Silver-gilt; the *Annunciation*. In an ogee canopy formed of two slender columns from which spring two lopped branches which cross to form two arches. The angel kneels before the standing Mary who crosses her arms on her breast; above God the Father sends the Holy Spirit from a cloud. These figures are cast in relief and cut out. Corded rings above and below.
The left upper side of the canopy missing.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

Probably a pendant from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.9

## 62

### PENDANT

H. 6 cm W. 1.5 cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
500–1903
Silver-gilt, *St Sebastian*. The saint, naked except for brief drawers, and pierced by four arrows, is bound to a naturalistic lopped tree with his right arm raised above his head. Rounded, moulded base, with a hoop from which hangs a blue glass bead. A flat ring for suspension at the top.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

For a similar South German pendant of St Sebastian, but wearing a loin-cloth, with a dangling jewel and dating from *c.*1500, in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, see Steingräber, 1957, p.74, fig.109. Probably from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.3

## 63

### PENDANT

H. 7.8 cm W. 3 cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
493–1903
Silver-gilt, hung with a baroque pearl. The *Crucifixion*; Christ is figured hanging on a tree with lopped branches, with a titulus inscribed INRI in semi-Roman letters. Two of its lower boughs form loops and link the figures of the Virgin and St John. A skull for Golgotha is set at the junction of the curving arms on which they stand. From a loop below hangs a ring of naturalistic plant stem, from which issues a setting of asymmetrical scrolling cutwork foliage holding a baroque pearl.

Acquired from the collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.14

64



65



66

## 64

### PENDANT

H. 4.8cm W. 2.5cm
GERMAN *c.*1500
497–1903

Silver-gilt. *Christ carrying the cross*. He is dressed in a long robe, and supports the cross in an attitude of pathos, wearing the crown of thorns. The cross is curved naturalistically and engraved with a chain of oval links. A corded ring for suspension.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

Probably a pendant from a set of paternoster beads, rather than a true pendant, given that the figure makes little sense viewed frontally. The composition is sculpturally very subtly conceived in its naturalism and pathos; the quality of execution is good.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.5

## 65

### PENDANT

H. 6.1cm W. 2.2cm
GERMAN late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
507–1903

Silver-gilt. *St Christopher* puts one foot into the water, holding a ragged staff. His robe is pulled up and held by a sash. On his shoulder sits Christ, figured as Imperator Mundi, with an orb surmounted by a cross in his left hand. He has an openwork halo. Hexagonal base. A sceptre missing from Christ's right hand.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

A very heavy pendant, of fine design and quite good quality of execution. Christ as Imperator Mundi was a favourite German devotional motif in the fifteenth century. Probably from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.4

## 66

### PENDANT

L. 5.5cm W. 2.8cm
GERMAN early sixteenth century
499–1903

Silver-gilt. *St George and the Dragon*. He wears armour, a sword and, behind his back, a dagger; on his head is a hat with a feather stuck in it. A hoop is attached to the back with a loop for suspension. He drives a lance with vamplates into the dragon's upturned mouth. A vase-shaped bead hangs from a hoop attached to the underside of the dragon. Lance bent.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

One of the finest and best finished pendants of this kind in the Museum's collection. The details of the armour, in particular the rounded toes, suggest a dating *c.*1510. Probably from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.1

## 67

### PENDENT DIPTYCH

H. 6.5cm W. (open) 5cm (closed) 3.3cm
D. 1.5cm
NORTH GERMAN *c*.1490–1520
213–1874 (Colour Plates 137, 137a)
Silver, parcel-gilt and enamel. The panels of
the diptych are octagonal; they are hinged
together on the inner side; on the outer sides
are hasps (three on the left panel, two on the
right) through which a pin (now missing)
was passed to fasten them together.

INSIDE. The left panel shows the *Virgin of the
Apocalypse*, with long hair and wearing a low-
necked robe and a gilt crown, seated on a gilt
crescent moon. She gives suck to the Child,
who sits on her knee. By her head are two
attendant angels, the left angel holding a
flower or fruit, the right an apple or pear.
Beneath the angels are white clouds, executed
in painted enamel.

The right panel shows the *Crucifixion*. Christ
is raised on the Cross, whose titulus is in-
scribed INRI in Gothic letters. To the sides
of the titulus are a small gilt sun (left) and a
small gilt vertical crescent moon (right). Below
the arm of the cross two cherubs catch the
blood from Christ's wounds in three gilt
chalices; at the foot of the Cross a third
cherub, in an inverted pose, holds up a fourth
gilt chalice to catch the blood from the wounds
on his feet. On the left of the Cross is the
mourning Virgin; on the right the Apostle
John, holding a gilt book.

All the haloes and the hair of the angels
gilt. The figures and other motifs cast and
applied to a ground of translucent blue enamel
set with gilt stars, figuring the sky.

OUTSIDE. Both panels are decorated with scenes
cast and chased on a matted ground within a
sunken octagonal panel. The left panel, cor-
responding to the Crucifixion, shows the *An-
nunciation*; the Virgin, unusually, is on the
left; a lily stands in a gilt pot between her
and the kneeling angel, whose scroll is inscribed
in Gothic letters *ave: maria*. Above, God the
Father, with right hand raised in blessing,
left hand holding an orb, floats between two
censing angels and sends down the Dove of
the Holy Ghost on gilt rays.
The right panel shows the *Virgin adoring
the Child*; the Virgin kneels on the left; St
Joseph, in a short, loose-sleeved robe, with a
gilt purse suspended from his girdle, stands
on the right holding in his right hand a



67, front, closed

flaming candle with twisted stem (a *tortitia*
or Paschal candlestick), and leaning on a crook
with his left. Above the motif of God the
Father, censing angels, and Holy Dove de-
scending on gilt rays, is exactly repeated,
except for a slight variation in the position of
the Dove. All the haloes are gilt. Round the
edge of both panels run inscriptions in Gothic
letters. Those above and below the hasps are
to be taken together, they read: *salue . regina/
misercordie* (Hail, Queen of Mercy); similarly
those above and below the hinge which read:
*dominus . meus/et deus meus* (My Lord and my
God). The other inscriptions read: (upper
end) *ave be[nedicte] . I[es]hu xp̄e [Christe] natus .
ex. maria . v[ir]gine* (Hail blessed Jesus Christ,
born of the Virgin Mary), (lower end) *me .
tibi . virgo . pia . | genet[r]ix . co[m]me[n]do .
maria*. (I commend me to thee, pious virgin
and mother). The engraved panels were sep-
arately made and let into the frame.

Suspended by a quatrefoil fixing through which
passed a ring.
Some wear.

Acquired from the John Webb Collection, as
Flemish, fifteenth century.

This diptych assembles typically fifteenth-
century devotions to the Virgin.
The *Adoration* is of a type that was ultimately
inspired by St Bridget's vision of the Nativity
in Bethlehem (*Revelation*, vii, 21–2). It was
this vision that popularised the motif of the
Virgin adoring the Child, that introduces St
Joseph with a candle, that speaks of rays of
light emanating from the Child and that records



67, side, closed

the Virgin as welcoming the birth of her Son
with the words *Bene veneris, deus meus, dominus
meus et filius meus*. These are repeated in abridged
form in one of the inscriptions on the diptych.
The introduction of God the Father in the
*Adoration* is first recorded in an altarpiece by
Meister Francke of Hamburg (after 1425),
where a scroll issuing from the Virgin's lips
is inscribed like the diptych *dominus meus et
filius meus*. This painting also has a background
of sky and stars (see for the iconography H.
Cornell, *The iconography of the Nativity of Christ*,
1924, pp.1–44). The theme of angels catching
Christ's blood in chalices appears in the four-
teenth century (Réau, 1, 1957, p.491). The
iconography of the Virgin, with crescent moon,
figuring the Immaculate Conception, and giving
suck, is essentially fifteenth-century in con-
ception (Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-
âge en France*, 2$^{nd}$ ed., 1922, pp.210–11).

The diptych was evidently produced by a
goldsmith of great taste and skill; the various
scenes are executed with exquisite precision
of finish, and reveal an accomplished sense of
design and of miniature sculptural form. The
work was almost certainly executed to a per-
sonal commission. A North German origin is
perhaps most likely, given the relationship
between the *Adoration* and Meister Francke's
altarpiece.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Evans 1975, pl.37b
Somers Cocks 1980, pl.5 and p.9
Bury 1982, 12/E no.8

68



69

## 68

### PENDANT

L. 5.5cm W. 4cm
GERMAN *c*.1500–20
217–1904

Silver-gilt. A double ogee frame of twisted lopped boughs forms a bower. Those of the inner ogee open outwards to hold the ring. Below, on a moulded cornice, is a group of figures in relief figuring the *Adoration of the Magi*. The cornice is supported by a twisted branchwork loop.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

On acquisition, the pendant had a crucifix of later date suspended from the loop. The cornice is of incipient Renaissance form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.6 and ill. p.67

## 69

### PENDANT

Diam. 3.4cm L. 4.7cm
GERMAN *c*.1520
68  1867

Silver-gilt. One side is engraved with the *Mystical Marriage of St Catherine of Alexandria* who kneels to left dressed in a coif and long robe, holding a sword in her left hand and with her wheel at her feet. Right, the Virgin sits on a crescent moon on an almond-shaped mandorla. A column in the background supports a vaulted ceiling.

The other side is engraved with the *Mass of St Gregory*. Through an arched window is a representation of the Instruments of the Passion (ladder, cross, hammer, profile head of Peter). Behind the Pope a kneeling cleric and page hold candles. With a corded frame and loop for suspension.

Purchased, Henri Tross, Paris

Acquired as German, sixteenth century. The costume suggests a date *c*.1520.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.16

70



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## 70

### PENDANT

L. 6.5 cm W. 3.5 cm
GERMAN first half of the sixteenth century
496–1903
Silver. A cast shield with ribbed back mounted in a scalloped case set on a flat scalloped frame. The shield is a tilting shield and shows *St Peter* (left) and *St Paul* (right) supporting a second tilting shield with the arms of the Church (two crossed keys) beneath an ogee arch surmounted by a pinnacle. Two copper rings for suspension above; a cylindrical bead of green glass hangs from a ring below.
Bent; a fragment of border missing; the copper rings a replacement?

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

Probably from a paternoster.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/F no.1

## 71

### PENDANT

L. 4.8 cm W. 2.5 cm
GERMAN mid-sixteenth century
513–1903
Silver-gilt
The pendant is cast with St George and the dragon. The saint is on horseback with sword uplifted in his right hand to strike the dragon beneath his horse's hooves. At the top is a corded ring and at the bottom a small knot-pendant.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.8

## 72

### COLLAR

L. (closed) 40cm W. 1.3 cm
ENGLISH late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
M.1022–1926 (Colour Plate 138)
Forty silver-gilt links shaped as an S of late fifteenth-century form, cast in one with four loops, one at each corner, to hold the plain rings that join them. The front of the letter is ribbed, with a line of dots down the centre and to either side; the back is ungilt.

Bequeathed by Colonel G.B. Croft-Lyons FSA

Acquired as English, early sixteenth century. A collar of secondary quality. While an English late mediaeval origin has been generally accepted, a later date and Scandinavian origin are not impossible. The S links are very similar to those of 948–1902 (cat.74), which has a provenance from Iceland.

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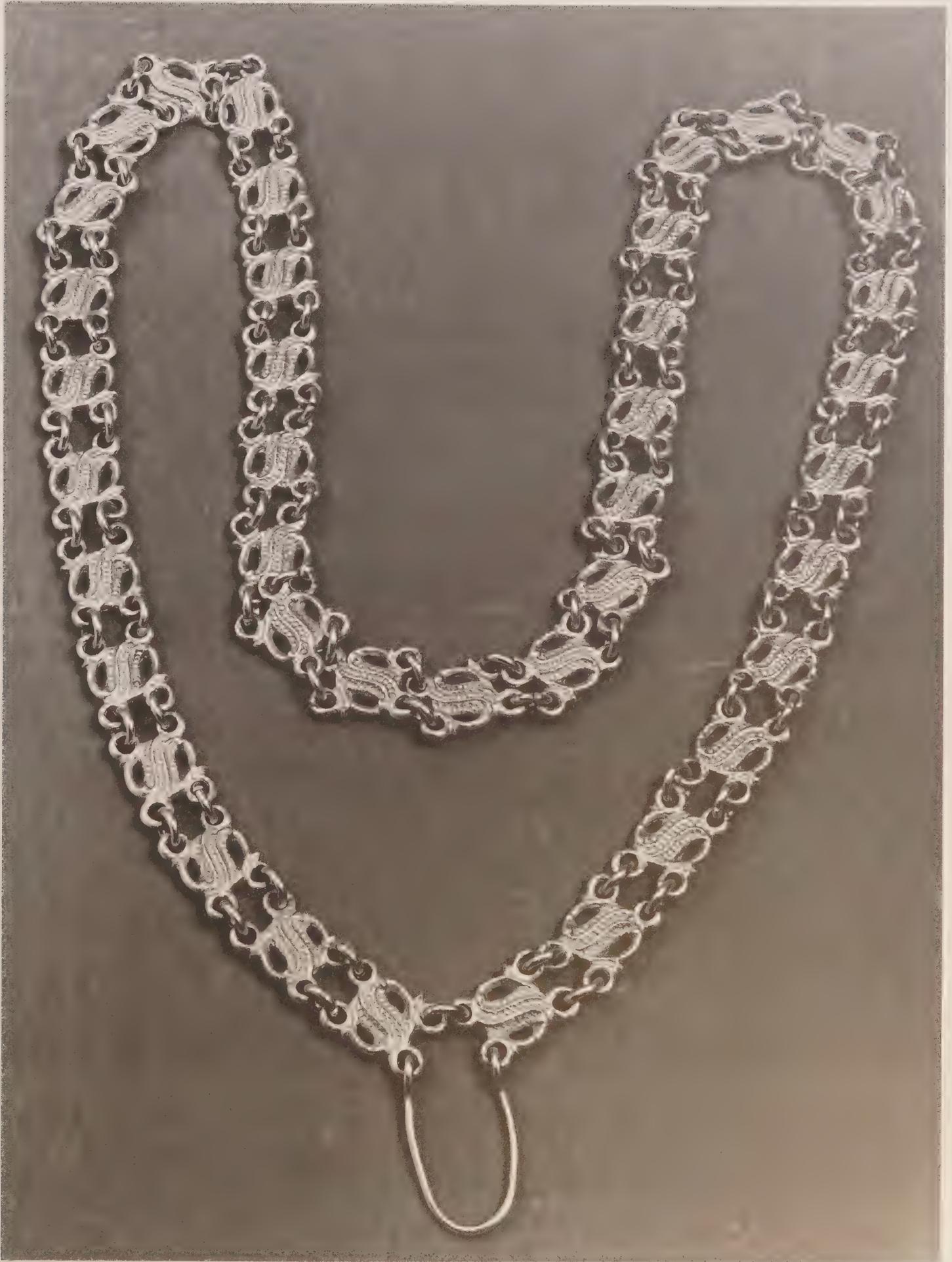
A.P. Purey-Cust, *The Collar of* SS, *a History and a Conjecture*, Leeds, 1910
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Sir George Bonner, *The Gold Collar of* SS *and the Trial of the Pyx*, Cirencester, 1943
A.H. Ormerod, 'The SS Collar', *The Catholic Lawyer*, II, 1956, pp.123–30
London, National Portrait Gallery, '*The King's Good Servant', Sir Thomas More, 1477/8– 1535*, London, 1977 (exh.cat.), cat.no.27 with ill.
Somers Cocks 1980, pl.1, p.6
Bury 1982, 12/J no.2 and ill. p.67

## 73

## Collar

L. (closed) 40cm W. 1.5cm
ENGLISH? late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
M.303–1920 (Colour Plate 139)
Silver-gilt, with thirty-nine links in the form of a letter N, joined by plain rings in couples, with a simple ring coupling. Each vertical of the link is engraved with opposed inverted Vs.

Acquired from 'Toc H', through the Rev. P.B. Clayton, Honorary Secretary, to whom it had been given by Mrs Simpson, 18 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1, for sale for the benefit of this organisation. It had been in her family in Scotland for several generations.

Acquired as German, sixteenth century, and with a South German pendant stamped with the Crucifixion and the monogram IHS, set with a plaque of amber, with maker's mark LW. This was subsequently detached, and the chain was reclassified as English, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, by C.C. Oman. He suggested it might be the badge of a town wait (minstrel) and that the N of the links signified the name of the town. It is equally possible that the N is the initial of a name. The finish is a little mechanical and crude; a later date, and a Scandinavian origin are not impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.837
Bury 1982, 12/J no.1
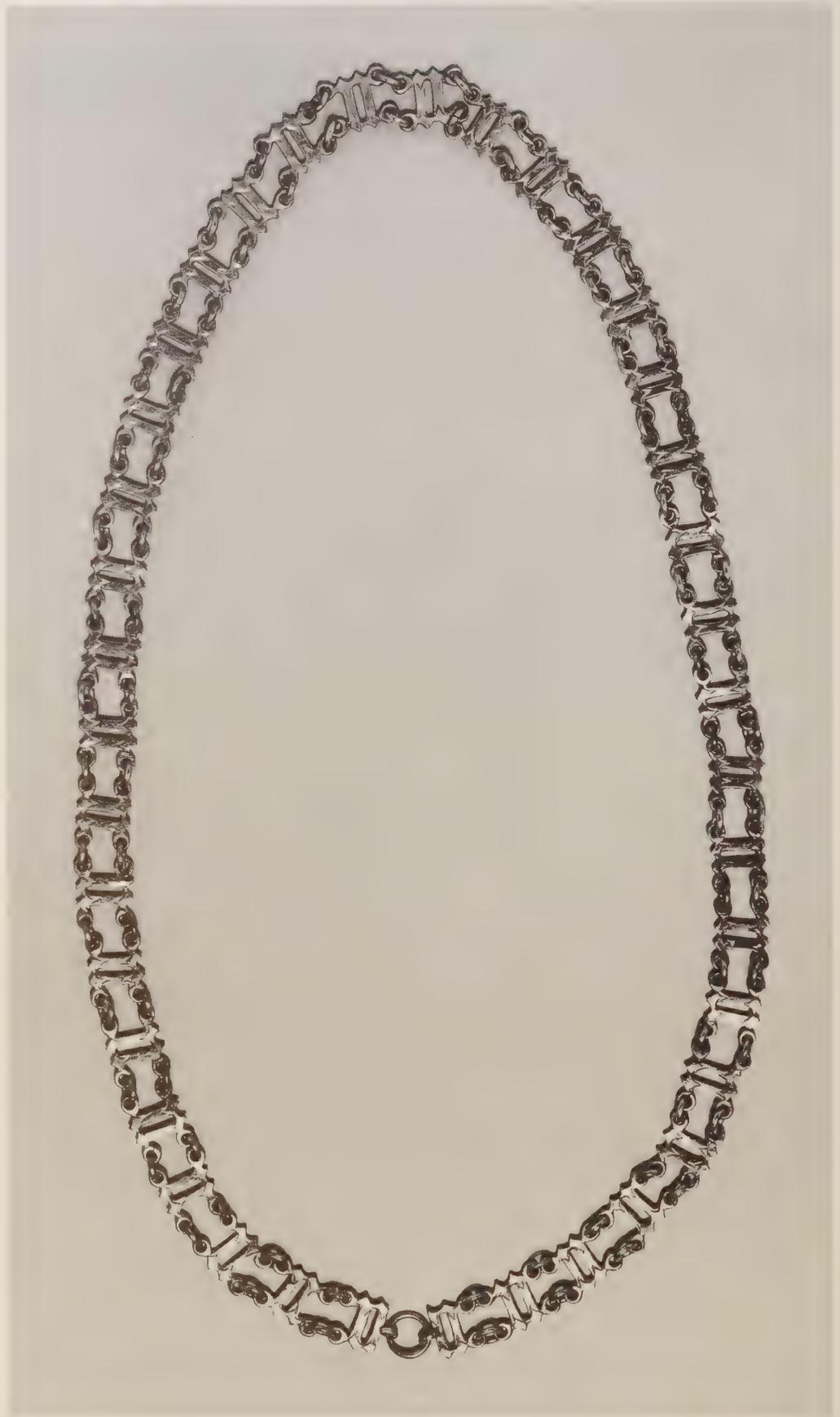


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## 74

### COLLAR

L. (closed) 37.8 cm W. 1.3 cm
ENGLISH? late fifteenth or sixteenth century
948–1902
Silver links of S alternately plain and decorated
with three lines of dots in relief. A crude hoop
for a pendant is attached to one of the links.

Acquired from S. Verdier, Copenhagen, who
obtained it from Iceland

Acquired as English, sixteenth century. On
acquisition a badge, subsequently reclassed as
Scandinavian, nineteenth century, was attached
to it as a pendant. While an English late
mediaeval origin has been generally accepted,
a later date and Scandinavian origin are not
impossible. The S links are very similar to
those on M.1022–1926 (cat.72).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.839
Steingräber 1957, p.78 and fig.101
Bury 1982, 12/J no.3

## 75

### THREE PLAQUES FROM A GIRDLE

PLAQUE I
H. 2.5 cm W. 7.9 cm
PLAQUE II
H. 2.6/9 cm W. 7.9 cm
PLAQUE III
H. 2.6/4 cm W. 7.6 cm
FRENCH? *c.*1320

M.12a-c–1981 (Colour Plate 140)
Each plaque is slightly curved and all are
hollow, with sides and baseplates separately
made. In the back plate of each are cut two
tau-cross-shaped apertures. The scenes are
chased and engraved, and now appear slightly
sunk because of the loss of translucent enamel.

PLAQUE I has a hinge on the left; this is held
by a double-headed pin running through a
hoop at base and top and a central cylindrical
roll that turns on it. This roll is roughly
grooved on the left-hand side. The right side
is pierced by three stud-headed nails, which
held a hinge, now missing. These two ends
are gilt.
*Scene:* on a rough rocky stretch of ground two
knights on horseback are in rencounter. They
wear surcoats, caps of mail, and plate greaves
over mail and carry kite-shaped shields which
have engraved borders. The knight on the left



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points his lance at the horse in front; the other turns back his head and looks at his lance which he holds point downwards. A stylised flower top right.

PLAQUE II: the left end ends in a cylindrical roll; the right is pierced with three holes for a hinge, not separately constructed as in PLAQUE I, but separately made and with a tongue pierced with holes fitting into the open right end of the plaque. Presumably this was originally held by three nails. This construction allows the cylindrical end of the hinge to turn. Again the ends are gilt.

*Scene:* on the right, on a low throne without a back whose ends are formed by two couchant lions, sits a queen dressed in a long robe, with bare loose tresses. Behind, to the right, are two stylised rosettes. She holds a crested helm – the crest has a fantastic animal form, of a horse or dog with a comb – which she is handing to a knight who kneels before her. He wears a pointed cap of mail, a surcoat over mail, knee-caps and a sword. To the left, seated on a low seat, a lady holds a lance and a shield with the device of a human head (signifying the sun?).

PLAQUE III: both ends are open and gilt; there is no trace of piercing for hinges.

*Scene:* divided by four crocketed canopies resting on round pillars with foliate capitals, figuring a royal hall. The triangular spandrels are filled with flowers and leaves shaped as half-quatrefoils. Under the extreme right canopy sits a king, holding a fleur-de-lis sceptre in his left hand and with right hand raised, as a youth under the adjoining canopy plays a harp (or zither). In the next canopy left sits a queen, also holding a fleur-de-lis sceptre in her left hand and with right hand pressed to her breast as she listens pensively to a youth playing the viol. All four figures wear long robes; in addition the queen wears a mantle.

The baseplates of all three plaques have suffered some damage and all the original translucent enamel is lost.

Purchased (Sotheby's, 9 April 1981, lot 24) Said to have been found in Cyprus

These three plaques are from a girdle of solid metal. Girdles of this kind seem to have made their first appearance *c.*1290. The fashion in which the plaques were originally linked to form a whole is not now easy to discern. The scenes are from a chivalric romance: that with the king and queen listening to



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musicians is possibly from *Tristram and Yseult*. A French origin, perhaps in Paris, is probable for these plaques; the girdle from which they originate was certainly made for a personage of high importance. An alternative, but less probable attribution, is to Italy (e.g. Venice).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
'Metalwork acquisitions at the V & A 1978–88', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXXI, May 1989, pp.385–92, fig.IV

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## 76

### Four Plaques

0.8cm × 0.8cm
ENGLISH late fourteenth century
229m-p–1874 (Colour Plate 141)
Silver, enamelled and parcel-gilt
Each plaque depicts a sprig of oak and animals: hare, fox(?), seated dog(?) and running dog(?). The plaques were originally completely covered with translucent enamel in green, yellow, purple and blue. The enamel colours are randomly applied irrespective of the composition.
The remaining enamel is crazed and damaged and all the plaques have been slightly repaired. The borders are gilt and much worn. A short silver tang, soldered to the backs of two plaques, was the means of securing them.

It has been suggested, on grounds of subject and size, that these plaques belong to 'Wykeham's girdle', c.1350–1400, traditionally associated with William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (1367–1404), and now owned by the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford. There is no conclusive evidence that these four plaques belonged to the 'Wykeham girdle', and such enamels were probably made in large numbers to embellish girdles, book covers, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Chamot 1930, no.27
*English Medieval Art* 1930, no.821
Bury 1982, 12/E no.4
*Age of Chivalry* 1987, cat.no.610

## 77

### Pair of Clasps

L. 6cm W. 2.5cm Double W. 5cm
HUNGARIAN? late fourteenth or early fifteenth century
143, 143-a–1865 (Colour Plate 142)
Silver-gilt. The motif of both clasps is a lady seated in a Gothic balcony beneath a tall, round-arched canopy. The protruding arch of the lowest member of the canopy is surmounted by a stepped pediment. Above this, from the top and sides of the canopy rise three pinnacles with bobbin stems. The upper part of the canopy is formed of three more of these pinnacles, surmounted by an arched canopy and stepped pediment which are a smaller version of those below. The canopy is flanked by two canopied openwork flying buttresses surmounted by a pinnacle of the same type as the rest. The buttresses are topped by a roof with stepped canopies at an angle to either side; at the bottom are Gothic canopies and two small pinnacles. Their two lower sections are pierced with (below) a trefoil window, (above) fenestration. The balcony terminates in a handsome pendant boss. At the sides is a scroll-motif.
The back is a separately made thick plate terminating below in a triangular tongue pierced by a hole. To its back are attached two flanged hooks (see below) and three

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clips, two horizontal ones in the centre and, towards the bottom, one vertical. In addition there are two eyelets on the side opposite to the flanged hooks: on 143–1865 these are on the right; on 143-a–1865 they are on the left. Pierced tongue hooks and eyelets missing on 143-a–1865; the lower hook and eyelet on 143–1865. Also missing from this part are the left-hand decorative scroll at the base and the top of the upper canopy.

Purchased Mr Willson, £6

These two remarkable clasps have usually been identified as part of a girdle, but far more probably they are the two clasps of a cloak and were joined by two chains across the upper part of the chest.

Previously called South German, late fifteenth century. The closest parallels to the fantastic architectural style of these pieces are the cloak clasps presented to the Cathedral of Aachen by Louis the Great of Hungary in the 1360s and the belt buckle found at Curtea de Arges on the body of the Voivode Vladislav I of Wallachia (1364–c.1377). For these see text, pls.103, 103a and fig.184. An origin in Hungary therefore seems probable and is accepted by Dr É. Kovács. The maker was perhaps a German goldsmith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/D no.9

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## Buckle and End of a Belt

L. 18cm W. 6cm
GERMAN late fifteenth century
4526–1858 (Colour Plate 143)
Gilt brass. The buckle is banded; essentially the design is a cord round which a ribbon is bound, forming alternate plain and corded bands. It contains a large pin and is hinged to a buckle-plate which is plain on the reverse, and enclosed by a corded rim on the obverse. The obverse is decorated with two engraved foliated stems, which meet to form an ogee over a round arch decorated with pierced Late Gothic tracery. This motif is repeated on the mordant or belt-end; below is engraved a *Virgin of humility* seated on the ground in a grassy landscape, beneath a canopy of Gothic tracery, giving suck to the Child. On the reverse is the same pattern of pierced Gothic tracery; below a Gothic canopy is engraved a figure of *St Andrew*, standing in a grassy landscape in profile to the left, against a Gothic framework. He holds his cross with both hands. The grain of the wood is engraved naturalistically, and also with a pattern of two lines which meet to form ovals. The mordant is framed by a corded band on three sides.

Purchased (vendor not recorded)

The buckle is an object of fine quality. The technique of engraving uses hatching, with some small areas of cross-hatching, though the engraving is less good under close inspection than at first sight.
Somers Cocks *Courtly Jewellery* (1980 p.11, pl.8), describes them wrongly as silver-gilt. Not recorded by Fingerlin (1971, pp.400–5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Somers Cocks 1980, pl.8 and p.11
Bury 1982, 12/H no.2 and ill. p.67

## 79

### BUCKLE AND BELT-END OF A GIRDLE

Buckle L. 8cm

Belt-end L. 6.8cm

GERMAN early sixteenth century

37, 37-a−1894

Silver-gilt. The buckle is formed of a natural-istic lopped bough, from which swing scrolling foliated branches. It is hinged to a buckle-plate whose upper side is formed of lopped boughs and foliated stems cast and applied as openwork above a silver plate with turned-up rims. The two are held by a corded rim on either side. The belt-end is formed in a similar manner, but the foliated stems are curled to form a more formal pattern of scroll-work, and the base is engraved with a floral scroll of rosettes and foliage. A hoop at the end. Back worn.

Purchased from Baron Julius von Hoering, of St John's Wood, London (who appears to have been a German living here and often acting as an intermediary or agent)

The stuff of the girdle was passed under the openwork, through which it showed. Before acquisition by the Museum, these pieces were reproduced by Gay as in the collection of a Monsieur Boy of Antwerp.

Gay illustrates the pieces as of Antwerp work-manship. Fingerlin considers this group of girdles with decoration *à jour* as German, and as having been made towards the end of the fifteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, I, 1887, p.38

Fingerlin 1971, pp.173, 308, cat.3

Bury 1982, 12/F no.11

## 80

### GIRDLE-END

L. 7.1cm W. 3.5cm

GERMAN *c.*1520

M.52−1975

Silver-gilt. Formed of openwork interlacing naturalistic foliated scrollwork encircling a sunflower placed top centre, and inhabited by an eagle (above sunflower), a unicorn (top left), a goat (top right), a bird (centre left), a doe (centre right), a stag (bottom centre), a clinging putto (centre bottom). These are cast and applied. The border is formed as a narrow naturalistic stem, which
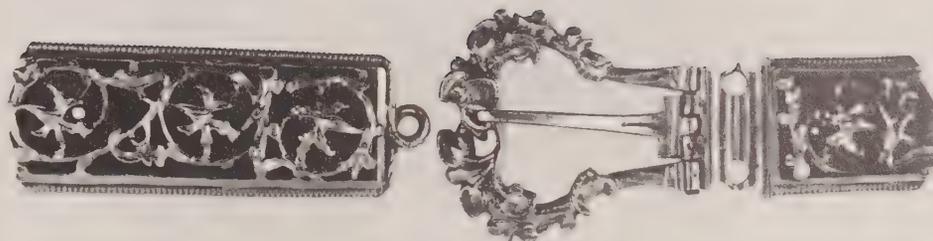


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twists over at the top to form a loop. To it are attached four small plates (two to each side) pierced with holes (probably for stitch-ing). A pinhole is pierced through the centre of the flower.

Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

Originally the stuff passed beneath the open-work, and was probably held by a plate fastened underneath, as in 37-a-1894, cat.79. To the loop at the end was probably attached a chain with a small ornament (compare Finger-lin, 1971, p.477, cat.546).

On acquisition dated to the late fifteenth century; a rather later date, in view of the putto, a proto-Renaissance element, seems likely. Fingerlin (p.173) considers this group of girdles with decoration *à jour* as German, and as having been made from the end of the fifteenth century. The present example is of very high quality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bury 1982, 12/F no.9

81

## 81

### PATERNOSTER

L. (with pendant) 40.5 cm
Pendant L. 2.8 cm W. 1.9 cm D. 1.9 cm
Pater bead
    L. 1.7 cm W. 1.2 cm D. 0.6 cm
Ave bead
    L. 1.2 cm W. 1 cm D. 0.6 cm
ENGLISH *c.*1500.

M.30–1934 (Colour Plates 144, 144a, 144b)
Gold, enamelled black. The beads are hollow
cast and pierced. The knop is four-sided and
oblong in form and is gadrooned on the corners,
leaving a lozenge-shaped panel on each side.
These panels are enamelled with

1. *Virgin and Child.* The Virgin is seated with
the Child by the manger, in which are the ox
and ass; behind her is St Joseph, above the Star.
2. *A kneeling king.* He holds out a box containing
an offering, probably of gold coins.
3. *A middle-aged king, standing*
4. *A youthful king,* standing in tunic, with right
hand raised and left holding a covered cup.

All three kings are shown against a diapered
ground. There can be no doubt that together
these four panels represent the *Adoration of the
Magi.* On acquisition the beads were restrung
at the suggestion of Fr. Herbert Thurston SJ
after the pattern of a mediaeval brass; it is most
unlikely that their present arrangement repre-
sents their original arrangement. As now sorted
they consist of six large lozenge-shaped Pater
beads or gauds, two next to the knop, the rest
separating the fifty oval Ave beads into groups
of ten. All the beads, whether lozenge-shaped
or oval, have motifs on both faces, and these
are identified by inscriptions in black Gothic
lettering on the sides.

### THE SIX PATER BEADS

*1. Lowest left*
    a. The Trinity (*s' trinitas*)
    b. Christ at the column (*Jhs flagellatio*)
*2. Lowest right*
    a. The Archangel Michael (*s' michael*)
    b. St Reinold (*s' reynoldus*)
*3. Middle left*
    a. The Annunciation (*Salutacio*)
    b. The Coronation of the Virgin (*coronacio*)
*4. Middle right*
    a. The Assumption of the Virgin (*Sata maria*)
    b. St Andrew (*s' andris*)
*5. Top left*
    a. Virgin and Child seated (*s'cta maria*)
    b. The martyrdom of St Erasmus (*s' erasmus*)
*6. Top right*
    a. The Crucifixion (*crucifixus*)
    b. The Resurrection (*resurrectio*)

### THE AVE BEADS

The ave beads (oval in shape) between the
gauds or pater beads were arranged arbitrarily
when the paternoster was restrung to make
groupings of the saints represented. *The first
decade* (on the left) groups primarily beads of
the Apostles. A saint is figured on each side.

Bead I, St Peter (*s' petre*): St James the Less (*s'
    iacobus*)

Bead II, St Paul (*s'paulus*): St Jude (*s' iuda*)

Bead III, St Andrew (*s' andria*): Virgin and
    Child (*s'maria*)

Bead IV, St Thomas (*s' thomas*): St James the Greater (*s' iacobus m*<sup>a</sup>)

Bead V, St John the Evangelist (*s' iohan̄*); St Mary Magdalene (*s' mari mad*)

Bead VI, St Philip (*s' philipp*<sup>us</sup>): St George (*s' georgi*<sup>us</sup>)

Bead VII, St Bartholomew (*s' bartolom*<sup>us</sup>): St Lawrence (*s' laurenci*<sup>us</sup>)

Bead VIII, St Simon (*s' symon*) St Ignatius (*s' ignasi*<sup>us</sup>)

Bead IX, St Matthew (*s' mathe*<sup>us</sup>): St Matthias (*s' mathia*)

Bead X, St Stephen (*s' stephan*<sup>us</sup>): St John the Evangelist (*s' iohannes e*)

*The second decade* (on the left) was arranged so as to group saints of English interest together.

Bead I, St Thomas of Canterbury (*s' thō cā*): St Agatha (*s' aghata*)

Bead II, St William of York (*s' wilhelm*<sup>us</sup>); St Clement (*s' clemēs*)

Bead III, St Dunstan (*s' Dunstan*): St Lambert (*s' lamb't'*)

Bead IV, St Erkenwald (*s' e'Kenoldū*): St Abo of Ramsey (*s' abō*)

Bead V, St Felix (*s' felice*): St Bernard (*s' bernarde*)

Bead VI, St Thomas (*s' tomas*): St Severinus (*s' severinus*)

Bead VII, St Botolph (*s' botolu*<sup>s</sup>): St John (*s' iohanes*)

Bead VIII, St Alban (*s' albane*): St Crispin (*s' crispine*)

Bead IX, St Edwold or St Ethelwold (*s'eduald'*): St Susanna (*s'susana*)

Bead X, St Edward (*s' eduard*<sup>us</sup>): St Edmund (*s'edmund*)

*The beads of the third decade* (top centre) were arranged to group female saints.

Bead I, St Anne (*s' anna*): St Catherine of Alexandria (*s' caterna*)

Bead II, St Mary Salome (*sa' ma*<sup>ria</sup> *salo'e*): St Mary mother of James (*s'maria iab*<sup>s</sup>)

Bead III, St Mary Magdalene (*s'mar*<sup>ia</sup> *ma*<sup>dalene</sup>): St Francis (*s'franciscus*)

Bead IV, St Agnes (*s' agneta*): St Clare (*s*<sup>a</sup> *clara*)

Bead V, St Barbara (*s' barbara*): St Ursula (*s' usela*)

Bead VI, St Margaret (*s' m'gereta*): St Dorothy (*s'dorethia*)

Bead VII, St Giles (*s' egidi*<sup>us</sup>): St Apollonia (*sā aplonie*)

Bead VIII, St Elizabeth (*s' elisabet*): St Quirinus (*s'quirine*)

Bead IX, St Bridget (*s' brigida*): St Basil (*s' baseleus*)

Bead X, St Audrey (*s' audria*): St Cecilia (*s' cecilie*)

*The beads of the fourth decade* show saints of various sorts.

Beads I and II are additions or else replacements of earlier beads made in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, most probably after 1607 (see below). In style they copy the earlier beads. Bead I, St William of Norwich (*S.Guil.nor.M*): St Endelienta (*S*<sup>t</sup> *Endelienta. V.M.*). Bead II, a St William figured as a pilgrim (*S*<sup>t</sup> *Guil:e:d:E*): St William of Maleval figured as a hermit (*S*<sup>t</sup> *Guil M*)

With Bead III the original beads are resumed. Bead III, St Cordula (*s' cordela*): an unidentified saint (a crowned abbess, with book and crosier) inscribed *s trone* or *tenne*

Bead IV, St Victorine (*s' victorinus*): St Vincent (*s'uincenti*)

Bead V, St Quentin (*s' quintinus*): St Secundinus (*s'senedene*)

Bead VI, St David (*s' dave*): St Lucy (*s' lucia*)

Bead VII, St Afra (*s' fauer*): Our Saviour (*s' salvator*)

Bead VIII, St Boniface (*s' bonefac*<sup>us</sup>): St Julian (*s' ieilian*)

Bead IX, St Alban of Mainz (*s' albanus*): St Nicholas (*s'nicola*<sup>s</sup>)

Bead X, St Cosmas (*s' cossime*): St Damian (*s' dammianus*)

*The beads of the last decade* again show saints of various sorts, including the Four Evangelists.

Bead I, St Anthony the Hermit (*s' antoni*): a bishop saint (inscription *s'lodcoic*, read by Maclagan as a misliteration for St Eligius)

Bead II, St Benedict (*s' bendictu*<sup>s</sup>): St Servatius (*s' servaes*)

Bead III, St Nicholas (*s' nicolaus*): St Helena (*s' elena*)

Bead IV, St Martin (*s' martin*): St Blaise (*s' blasius*)

Bead V, St Augustine (*s' augusti*<sup>nus</sup>): St Gregory (*s' gregor*<sup>us</sup>)

Bead VI, St Jerome (*s' jeronim*<sup>us</sup>): St Cornelius (*s' corneli*<sup>us</sup>)

Bead VII, St Luke (*s' lucas*): St Mark (*s' marcas*)

Bead VIII, St John (*s' iohan*<sup>es</sup>): St Matthew (*s' matheu*<sup>s</sup>)

Bead IX, St Veronica (*s' uronikal*): St Ambrose (*s' Ambrosiu*<sup>s</sup>)

Bead X, Agnus Dei (*s' agnus dei*): St Christopher (*s' cristo*<sup>phorus</sup>)

Some loss of enamel and denting.

Purchased from Colonel P.J. Langdale JP DL CBE, Houghton Hall, Sancton, Yorkshire. The Langdales are an old Catholic family descended from Lord William Howard ('Belted Will') of Naworth. (See below). The beads had been found by the Langdales years before in a chest containing other religious objects, but their importance had not been appreciated. When received, the beads were arranged in five decades of oval beads separated by four lozenge-shaped ones. The two remaining lozenge-shaped beads were strung to form a pendant ending in the large knop.

The essential clue to part of the earlier history of the beads is provided by the two beads (Beads I and II of the fourth decade) which were added in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Bead I has the only known representation of St Endelient, a very obscure Cornish saint, who was one of the daughters of St Brechann, a sister of St Morwenna of Morwenstow, and patron saint of the church of St Endellion, not far from Morwenstow. She was the object of a fervent cult to Nicholas Roscarrock, a Cornishman who graduated at Exeter College in 1568, became a Catholic, went to Douai and Rome in 1577, and was subsequently twice imprisoned for sheltering priests. He later joined the household of Lord William Howard (1563–1640), the third son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk. Lord William had become a Catholic in 1584, and the bead with the two Saints William was surely added to the beads for his behoof. Certainly his association with Roscarrock explains why a representation of St William of Norwich was chosen to complete the head with the representation of St Endelient. Roscarrock lived with Lord William at his great northern seat, Naworth Castle, from 1607 till his death in 1633. The identification of St Endelient and the tracing of her association with Roscarrock was due to Canon C.H. Doble (cf. Maclagan and Oman, study cit. below, p.7n) and was pushed to the obvious conclusion of an association with Belted Will by C.C. Oman (in *Country Life*, 28 May 1948, pp.1076–7).

This is the only known set of gold paternoster beads to survive complete from mediaeval England. The fifty beads are for telling thrice to make up the number of one hundred and fifty prayers. The inscriptions and iconography were painstakingly studied by Maclagan in a joint article with Oman. He did not realise that the decoration of the knop figures the *Adoration of the Magi* (cf. p.3) and misread the first inscription of Bead IV of the fourth decade as St Victor, rather than St Victorinus, Bishop of Amiternum. He correctly identified one of the inscriptions on Bead II

of the fourth decade as referring to St William of Maleval whose followers founded an order of Hermits known as Williamites; but there is room to doubt his identification of the other saint as William of Rochester. According to legend another saint, William, Duke of Aquitaine, retired from the world to a hermitage, which he left for a pilgrimage to Rome to obtain absolution for his sins. He and William of Maleval were often supposed to be one and the same person, and it seems likely that this confusion is found here, and that the two scenes are intended to show episodes in the life of a single saint. This is supported by the unusual form of the inscription *S.Guil e.d.E.*, which is a descriptive caption, not an identification, like the other inscriptions, and should perhaps be interpreted as *Sanctus Gulielmus exit de Eremo* (St William leaving his desert). The abbey of Saint-Guillaume du Désert, in the Cévennes, claimed an association with William. For comments on the iconography of the other saints, and the occasional mistake made by the engraver, see Maclagan's study. In particular he showed that certain saints were paired on some beads because they shared the same feast day.

Maclagan pointed out that the representation of individual saints on rosary beads is otherwise unknown, but he discovered that in late fifteenth-century England there was a devotional practice of associating each single bead of the paternoster with a particular saint or group of saints. One method of doing so, recorded in a manuscript of *c.*1500 (BL, MS Egerton, 1821) is said to have been revealed by the Virgin to 'a certain devout servant of hers'. The first fifty beads are said in honour of the Joy of the Annunciation, the second in honour of the Joy of Our Lord's Nativity, the third in honour of the Joy of the Assumption. Then the beads are said over again in honour of single saints and groups of saints. Some such system of devotions certainly inspired the making of the present rosary. C.C. Oman concentrated on studying the rosary in the context of other English gaud rosaries known from documents and in relation to other forms of English iconographic jewellery. He dated it *c.*1500. The facture of the beads is excellent, but the engraving is disappointingly summary.

G.M. Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz*, 1962, p.24, pl.21; E. Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game*, 1969, pp.55, 217; Evans (1970, p.77, colour plate III, as English, fifteenth century).

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82

## 82

## PATERNOSTER

L. (double) 20.7cm
Pendant L. 6.5cm W. 2cm
GERMAN late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
517–1903
Silver and silver-gilt, wood and amber. The beads are of wood, and arranged in sets of five, separated either by a larger bead or by



528

83



84, open

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an Instrument of the Passion in silver. The Instruments figured are the hammer, the three nails, the buffeting hand, the seamless coat, the crown of thorns and the head of Christ wearing the crown of thorns. From a corded ring at the end hangs a large amber bead, held by foliated silver settings above and below. To it is attached a second corded ring from which hangs a silver-gilt pendant of (left) *St Catherine* with a sword, (right) *St Barbara* with a chalice. Both saints have the long loose tresses of virgins.

The handle of St Catherine's sword missing.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

For wearing on the wrist or hanging from a girdle. A modest object, with crudely executed pendants. A sixteenth-century German paternoster of coral beads with silver marker beads of the Instruments of the Passion is in the Schatzkammer of Altötting, Bavaria (repr. G.M. Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz*, 1962, pl.23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bury 1982, 12/G no.11

## 83

## PATERNOSTER BEAD AND PENDANT

L. 6.8cm W. 1.8cm
GERMAN late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
495–1903
Silver and silver-gilt; earthenware and glass. The bead, of plain silver, consists of two filigree-work cones, set with beads. A hoop and ring for the next bead at the top; below, the bead is attached to a silver-gilt pendant of the Virgin lamenting over the dead Christ at the foot of the Cross; a blue earthenware drop-shaped bead hangs below.

Acquired from the Collection of Dr R. Forrer, Strasburg

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Bury 1982, 12/F no.8

## 84

## POMANDER

H. 6.5cm W. 4cm
ITALIAN fourteenth century
M.205–1925 (Colour Plates 145, 145a)
Nielloed silver (body); silver-gilt (interior lids of sections, handle and base). The sections of the body of the pomander are held in place by a pin with a screw section at the top, the whole attached to an octagonal gadrooned head to which is hinged a quatrefoil handle.

The body of the pomander is formed as four sections of an apple hinged to a flat circular base with sunk centre. The hinges, which are on the underside, form four little feet. From the inside of the panel rises a square turret pierced by Gothic openwork windows and with a circular nielloed top. Into the four openwork panels the sections fit and then are fastened by passing the pin through the hooks attached to the lid of each of them. The outside of each section is nielloed with a pattern of scrolling foliated stems reserved in the metal and so designed as to form an overall pattern when the sec

joined together as a globe. Each section is hollow and has an upper panel of silver-gilt, part of which is a sliding panel worked by the hook for attachment to the centre (see above). At the head of each of the panels is a nielloed inscription between plain lines. The two sloping sides of each section are nielloed with two designs, used alternately from section to section: one is a pattern of scales containing trefoils, the other a pattern of foliated scroll-work. Round the edge of each section runs an inscription.

*Inscriptions* (in Latin, and in Lombardic letters)

SECTION I
*on lid* IVNO (Juno)
*on borders*
> PRO · POMI · DONO · PARIS
> AGE · PAREM · TIBI · DONO ·
(Come, Paris! for the gift of the apple, I give thee a spouse)

SECTION II
*on lid* VENVS (Venus)
*on borders*
> SENSV · DIVES · ERIS · SI ME
> DITEI · DECVS · ERIS
(Thou shalt be rich in delight, if, the prize being mine, thou become my consort)

SECTION III
*on lid* PALAS (Pallas)
*on borders*
> SE · DANT · REGNA · REGI
> MICHI · SI FA[V]EAS TIBI · REGI
(Kingdoms shall be thine to rule as king, if thou favour me)

SECTION IV
*on lid* PARIS (Paris)
*on borders*
> EST MAGIS · ORE · VENUSTA
> CAUSA · PATET · IVSTA VEN [ERIS]
(Venus is the loveliest; her claim is plainly just)

Purchased at the Humphrey W. Cook sale (Christie's, 10 July 1925, lot 434)

First recorded in the Londesborough Collection. Presumably acquired by Lord Londesborough after Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* of 1857, cataloguing the Londesborough Collection, since it does not figure in it. Exh. Leeds, 1868. Londesborough sale (Christie's, 8 May 1884, lot 137, provenance wrongly given as Bernal Collection). Sir J.C. Robinson Collection (on loan to Museum, 1901–3). Exh. Burlington Fine Arts Club, Loan Exhibition, 1901 (Catalogue, p.181, no.9, pl.XX).

Wyndham Cook Collection (*Catalogue of the Art Collections of Mr Wyndham F. Cook*, 1905, p.97, no.446, entry by H.P. Mitchell).

The inscriptions refer to the Judgment of Paris: the apple he awarded to Venus is figured by the pomander, which is apple-shaped and divided into sections like an apple. Presumably the pomander was originally a gift from a man to a woman: hence the courtly allusions through the inscriptions to her supreme beauty. The only antique literary sources for the Judgment of Paris known to the Middle Ages were Fabula 92 of Hyginus and Ovid's epistle of Paris to Helen (*Heroides*, XVI, ll.63 ff.). Ovid's epistle makes no mention of the apple. But the story was also known to the Middle Ages from the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Saint-More (composed *c*.1155–60), in which 'an apple of massy gold, all lettered' is thrown before the three goddesses (ll.3880–3900). The Greek letters of its inscription promise it to the fairest of the three goddesses. Benoît gives only Venus's promise but in the *Historia destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Colonne (*c*.1300) the promises of all three goddesses are given. Juno offers to make him one of the greatest men in the world, Pallas offers him all human wisdom and Venus a noble and beautiful Greek woman. He describes the apple as *quoddam pomum mirabile et formose cellature* (a certain wondrous apple of beauteous engraved ornament) (Guido, *op.cit.*, ed. N.E. Griffin, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p.62). Neither in Ovid nor in Hyginus do the goddesses give the same promises as on the pomander. Ovid makes Juno offer a kingdom, Pallas virtue, Venus Helen. It seems highly likely that the inscriptions were muddled by the goldsmith who was to execute them and that he gave Venus's promise to Juno, Juno's promise to Pallas and Pallas's promise to Venus.

The pomander is a simulacrum of the precious apple of beauty awarded by Paris and its inscriptions are conceived in a spirit of consummately sensuous gallantry. The muddling of the inscriptions disguises the real nature of the pomander as a marriage gift.

As so many faked nielloes were produced in Italy in the early nineteenth century, it was decided to have the silver of this pomander tested at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1986. It was found to be compatible with a fourteenth-century date. The technique of niello favours an Italian origin. Lombardic letters were used in Italy throughout the fourteenth century,

but the pomander's division into quarters suggests that a date from the last decades of the century is the most likely.

Church dated it on the ground of the lettering and ornament between 1300 and 1325. He calls it Italian, and considers it the earliest known pomander.

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## 85

### BALL FOR MUSK (*Muskapfel*)

Diam. 2.7cm
GERMAN late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
918 1853
Silver-gilt. Shaped as a hollow, slightly pointed ball, divided into two halves and attached to each other by a centrally placed screw. Each half is pierced by Late Gothic tracery – essentially a composition of swerving triangles. A hoop at either end; to one is attached a corded ring.

Purchased (vendor not recorded)

Acquired as a pomander or scent case, German, fifteenth century. In 1975 M. Snodin (MS note in Departmental Register) suggested it was probably a scented rosary bead and compared it with the beads of the rosary in Joost van Cleeve's *Virgin and Child with St Bernard* (Louvre), repr. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, IX, pt.1, 1972, pl.62 (a work of *c*.1508). The bead in the picture closely resembles the present ball, and the hypothesis has much to recommend it. However, there is a comparable South German *muskapfel* of *c*.1500, with a small chain attached to a large ring, in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. See Steingräber (1957, p.81), who notes that such scent-cases were generally worn hanging from the belt or round the neck. If a *muskapfel*, then a bead or ornament of some kind probably hung from the lower hoop.

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85

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## Breast Ornament

Diam. 11.2 cm H. 5.5 cm
NORTH GERMAN? late twelfth or early thir-
teenth century
392–1872 (Colour Plates 146, 146a, 146b)
Gold, embossed, chased and engraved
The base is shaped into sixteen lobes outlined
below and above with a corded wire.
Below, these spring from a small three-quarter
circle of corded wire, and a corded wire running
the entire circle below forms the base of each
lobe. A scroll of corded wire attached to it
decorates each lobe. The area between the
wire and the central boss is left plain.
Above, the lobes are set at the four points of
the compass with human heads, with short
stylised flat curls encircling them. At the
four lesser points of the compass are set
raised ribbed bosses terminating in a small
pierced circle. Between each head and boss is
a lobe bearing a gem setting (now empty).
Behind each of the lobes set with a head or a
boss is a niche with incurved sides and out-
lined with a corded wire. Six of these niches
contain circular hollow stems; these appear
to have been, when complete, alternately
plain and patterned. Two are still surmounted
by what appear to have been animal (lion?)
masks (presumably reduced versions of those
which appear in the niches above); probably
others were originally so decorated, but some
may have been settings for gems. Between

each pair of niches is a panel embossed with a
lion passant.
The upper half is boss-shaped and joined to
the base by a narrow openwork arcade of
corded wire. The lower ring is decorated
with four niches like those below. These and
the intervening panels are outlined with
corded wire. Four animal (lion?) masks pro-
trude from them gargoyle-fashion. The four
panels between are engraved with a griffin, a
dog, a griffin of different design, a leopard.
All are shown against a ground of foliage.
Fitted in the hollow of the boss is a flanged
collar.
The boss is joined to the top section by a
second narrow openwork arcade of corded
wire. This is topped by a thick corded ring,
in which is inset a roundel of a smith seated
on a chair before an anvil wielding a hammer
and forging a bar of metal which curves out-
wards at the end (unfortunately much dam-
aged). The roundel has upturned edges making
a circular frame for it below the ring.
At the back are two hoops (of different shapes).

Acquired from the John Webb Collection
(received 1867 on loan, purchased 1872).
Described on acquisition as the 'cover of a
goblet'.

As noted above, all the gems have been re-
moved, and most of the masks from the

lower section. The four upper masks partly
crushed; the flanged collar pierced with holes.
The gold is thin, and there are areas of wear.
The roundel embossed with a smith has at
some date been damaged, unskilfully repaired
and replaced upside-down (there are now
three patches and the edges of the rim are
ragged).

This ornament has long been tentatively
identified as a morse, but its decoration, in-
cluding that of the roundel at the top, which
is certainly original, is wholly secular and it
is clearly a breast ornament. There are no
traces of wear or solder such as would have
been created by a hinged pin and it must
therefore have been worn suspended from a
lace. The prominence of the lion ornaments
suggests that it is a man's ornament.

A North German or Netherlandish origin –
or even an English one? – is perhaps most
probable for this object, which is unique of
its kind. The smith may be Wayland the
Smith; the motif has no known parallel in
twelfth- or thirteenth-century goldsmith's
work.

Evans considered it as German, probably early
eleventh century.

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87

PLAQUE

Diam. 8 cm

ITALIAN (Sienese) second half of the four-
teenth century

221–1874 (Colour Plate 147)

Copper gilt and enamelled silver. The silver
plaque and its copper frame are gilt. The
plaque is enamelled in translucent enamel
with the *Annunciation*. The ground is blue.
The setting is a canopied pavilion and loggia,
of green edged with gold, the green of the
left covering a pattern of quatrefoils, a gabled
end beneath which the seated Virgin receives
Gabriel's message. She wears a dress of purple,
with yellow border, under a blue mantle.
Gabriel wears a green, yellow-bordered cloak
or robe over a purple dress. His wings are
green and yellow. Behind him shines a star;
another shines above the pavilion, and there
is a third in the blue on the right side of the
pavilion. The heads of the Virgin and Gabriel
are reserved in the metal. A Gothic octofoil
silver frame, its spandrels enamelled with
touches of red, encloses the composition. The
frame is moulded and decorated with punched
bosses on a matted ground. A light plain
everted rim runs round its edge. In this on
the right upper side is set a collet containing
a crystal; this is held behind by a flange bent
over into the rim on the rear side. There were
evidently matching stones inset between the
other lobes in similar collets; of these only
the pierced flanges remain, together with a
fourth which is broken.

Patches of enamel missing from the left corner
of the pavilion, the angel's body, the lower
edges of the Virgin's cloak and the lower
part of her dress. Pieces of the rim broken
away on the bottom left and from the lower
right of the frame.

On loan to the Museum from 1867
Purchased from the John Webb Collection

This beautiful and celebrated piece was ac-
quired as a morse, but it has been argued
that it is a plaque from a reliquary. There are
no signs that the underside, an ungilt plaque
of copper which has been beaten up into an
ornamental frame round the edge, leaving a
short rim, was soldered to a base. Equally
there are no visible signs of suspension. Is
this then a plaque from a pontifical glove?
This or some such origin would explain its
format and the holes for stitching.



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A closely comparable enamelled plaque of
the Sienese saint San Galgano is in the Musée
de Cluny, Paris. Our plaque can therefore be
identified as Sienese. It has been attributed
(see below) to the workshop of Ugolino di
Vieri, working *c.*1337 in Siena, and this attri-
bution has been reinforced by comparison
with Sienese paintings, e.g. the *Annunciation*
(1333) of Simone Martini. The types of the
Angel and Virgin, which are International
Gothic, and the loose tresses of the angel
make this attribution improbable, and a dating
in the later fourteenth century seems more
plausible.

P. Toesca considers it as Sienese, reminiscent
of Simone Martini; Rossi as Sienese, by an
artist in the ambience of Ugolino di Vieri;
Steingräber as Sienese, *c.*1330–40, by a gold-
smith influenced by Simone Martini, and
probably a cope-morse; Bini as Sienese, four-
teenth century; M. M. Gauthier, as Sienese,
from the workshop of Ugolino di Vieri.

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88

## PLAQUE

H. 3.5cm W. 2.8cm
ENGLISH *c.*1390–1400
M.51–1975 (Colour Plate 148)
Gold, with traces of black enamel. Engraved with the *Adoration of the Magi.* In the top left the Moon, a human face and crescent, and right the sun. The upper background is powdered with small stars; in the midst of them the Star of Bethlehem hangs over the straw-thatched roof of the stable, on which is a little gable. Beneath, the Virgin sits to the left, crowned and holding the Child, who stands on her knee, and puts his hand into the gold coins proffered in a cup by the kneeling Caspar. To the right are Melchior and Balthasar, turned to each other in conversation. As a youth Balthasar wears a short tunic; he holds a covered cup. Behind Caspar stands Joseph.
Enamel largely missing; top right corner cracked and resoldered.

Found in the churchyard of Hemel Hempstead. Given by Dame Joan Evans PPSA

Published by Maclagan and Oman, as perhaps the finest surviving example of English iconographic jewellery. He notes that it is only a fragment, and that its original purpose is uncertain; it is perhaps most likely to be a panel from a devotional tablet. Oman thought it could not be dated much later than 1400; this is also the compiler's opinion, on grounds of style and costume.

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PLAQUE



89

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Campbell 1983, p.42, fig.34

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## TRIPTYCH

H. 5.5cm W. (closed) 3.3cm
(open) 6.1cm D. 1cm
ENGLISH *c.*1400
250–1874 (Colour Plates 149, 149a, 149b)
Silver, parcel-gilt. Centre (shaped as a crocketed, canopied tabernacle): *St. George and the Dragon* applied in relief to a diapered ground. The saint's halo is decorated with a wheel-shaped foliated motif outlined in red enamel on a dark enamel ground. His shield and armour are engraved with the cross of St George. On the inside of the shutters are the princess (right) and the king and queen (left), both motifs engraved on a hatched ground. The king and queen are shown seated on top of a tower; in its doorway a porter watches the scene from beneath the portcullis. Above

the princess, a leaf. The outside of the wings is engraved with a design of window tracery (four canopies beneath three quatrefoils) also on a hatched ground. They are hinged to columns topped by turrets rising from battlemented capitals. The back of the tabernacle is decorated with an engraved design simulating stonework. Behind the pinnacle is a loop for suspension. Closed by a silver-gilt hasp attached to the left shutter.
The finial of the pinnacle missing; also missing is the saint's uplifted vizor.

Purchased from the John Webb Collection

Variously dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The details of the armour worn by St George indicate a dating in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century; this is supported by the style of the architectural motifs and of the engraved motifs.

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90

## VIRGIN AND CHILD

H. 5.1cm W. 3cm
FRENCH c.1400
829–1891 (Colour Plate 150)

Gold, enamelled *en ronde bosse*. The piece is hollow-backed; indeed it may be made in two pieces and therefore cast rather than repoussé. Accordingly the composition is not in the round, but is a high relief. The figure of the Virgin is three-quarter length; she is shown standing in three-quarter profile to the right. She wears a green gold-bordered dress with a low neckline (all the gold borders are created by leaving an edge without enamel) and a white, gold-bordered cloak lined with a deep translucent red (*rouge cler*). She holds the end of a gold staff or stem, and supports the Child on her left arm as she gives him suck. He wears a loincloth of white lightly painted with a pattern of red flowers and two stylised pale green leaves; its lining is dark blue. On her head is a gold crown with trefoil fleurons. The flesh-parts of both figures are enamelled white.

The end of the staff or stem broken off. A patch of cold solder in the back; once held to another element by a clip formed of two bands of metal whose heads are bent over. These too have been fixed or refixed by cold solder.

Zouche Collection, formed by Robert Curzon (on loan to the Museum from 1876). Acquired in 'an oval gilt metal frame with a wreath outside'; this late addition was removed in 1919.

This Virgin, a work of great beauty and refinement, must date from after c.1365–70, when the technique of *émail en ronde bosse* was invented or revived in Paris. The figure-style suggests a Parisian origin in the late fourteenth century. Mary is represented as *Regina Coeli* (Queen of Heaven). She presumably held a flowering branch in her right hand (see below). It is difficult to be certain of the original setting of the figure, though it was certainly once part of a larger whole. It could have formed part of a large *joyau* – compare the Virgin of the Göldenes Rössel in Altötting (for this see C. Blair and M. Campbell in *Connaissance des arts*, no.27, April 1982, pp.38-45), but a figure from a large work of this kind is more likely to have been in the round. It has been suggested that it was originally part of a morse – cf. the morse of c.1400, in the Widener Col-

lection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC), but it may equally well have decorated a pax or a secular jewel. Compare for instance the Parisian pax of c.1400–10 (the *Pace di Siena*) in the treasury of the chapel of the Madonna del Soccorso, in the cathedral of Arezzo. This is set with gold plaques decorated in *émail en ronde bosse* with the Pietà and the Virgin held by an angel (for this see M. M. Gauthier, *Emaux du moyen âge occidental*, 1972, p.299). For a related Virgin and Child, also a hollow-backed relief enamelled *en ronde bosse*, mounted since the seventeenth century as a pendant, see D. Gaborit (*Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V*, exh.cat., Paris, Grand-Palais, 1981, p.269, no.220); this is now in the treasury of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. It closely resembles the present piece (the Virgin also holds a tube for a flowering branch) and Madame Gaborit suggests that they were both made in the same workshop about the

same date, which for her is the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It too appears to be a fragment of a larger work – and was converted before 1708 into the pendant of a rosary which was given by Anne of Austria to Madame de Montespan.

For the motif of the tube or branch held by the Virgin compare *Un grant tableau d'or & de musque carré, à la devise de M. de Berry, à une ymage de N.D. qui tient son enfant sur l'un de ses bras, & en l'autre un baston d'or en faczon de cedre; le tout garni de pierreries*. This was presented by the Dauphin to the Duchess of Brittany in Paris, and given by her to the Duke on 17 January 1415 in Nantes on her return (Lobineau, II, col.922).

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90

91, obverse



91, reverse

## 91

### MEDALLION

Diam. 7 cm

FRENCH c.1420

1149–1864 (Colour Plate 151)

Gold, embossed and chased, with some details cast. *The Way to Calvary*. The setting is a steep and rocky road below a slope. It is bounded to either side by a formalised clump of trees. To the right a guard wearing half-armour over a tunic drags Christ forward by a rope (separately cast and applied) holding up the three nails (separately cast and applied) in his left hand. Christ, wearing the Crown of Thorns, advances with lowered head, clasping the cross, which is supported behind by the Virgin. Between the two is St John; a brutal executioner, with chaperon pulled up over his hat, lifts a lopped stump to strike him. On the right a guard holding a halberd (separately cast and applied) in his right hand and the hammer (separately cast and applied) in his left, and wearing an elaborate hat with bent-over crown and a tunic, turns to watch Christ's progress. The ground is delicately pounced with a pattern of scrolls in the *poinçonné* technique; the cruciform haloes are also delicately pounced. On the back are gold patches which bear no relation to the

motifs on the front and are possibly for strengthening.

Acquired from Milani, Frankfort

Meiss (*French Painting in the time of Jean, Duc de Berry*, 1967, pp.102–3) notes that in the iconography of the Way to Calvary the motif of the Virgin supporting Christ's Cross appears only in the early fourteenth century. It is found in the Petites Heures of Jean Duc de Berry and in the Hours of Marguerite de Clisson.

Purchased as 'German (School of Cologne?) date about 1370'. The costume, notably the hat with bent-over crown, is found in French miniatures of c.1410 (M. Scott, *Late Gothic Europe, 1400–1500* (The History of Dress Series), 1980, pp.92–6, figs.41, 42) while the armour is datable c.1420. The costume seems to exclude a German origin and, given the high quality of the medallion, which must be one of the finest surviving examples of early fifteenth-century goldsmiths' work, it may be the product of a Parisian workshop. The *poinçonné* technique was much practised in France from c.1380-90. Alternatively a Netherlandish origin is possible.

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Bury 1982, 12/F no.3 and ill. p.66

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### PLAQUE

H. 4.1 cm W. 2.5 cm

NETHERLANDISH second quarter of the fifteenth century

M.546–1910 (Colour Plate 152)

Painted enamel on a round-arched gold plaque. The enamel is laid on in a very pictorial technique, including much use of stippling; a narrow rim of gold is left round the edge. The scene represented is the *Crucifixion*. The cross is executed in gold against a black sky; it is fixed into the green ground; to the left and right are the Virgin and St John, in attitudes of grief. Both are clad in white. St John has white hair and bare feet, and wears a robe clasped by a girdle under a mantle. The Virgin wears a voluminous cloak over a robe. Christ, likewise with white hair and beard, has a white loin-cloth and a light blue crown of thorns, and the nails that pierce his hands and feet are also light blue. Pale red blood drips from his hands and feet. Above the cross is a white label inscribed INRI in Gothic letters. The haloes are executed in gold; the flesh portions in a palish pink; the shadows on drapery and flesh are in black, modulated by stippling.

On the back are two gold hoops s

there were no colours available to colour the hair naturalistically. The blue of the crown of thorns and the nails is a bright, almost too bright, powder blue. The use of contrasted black and white and stippling is by contrast very subtle and accomplished. The plaque appears to have been executed by laying in the black ground; on this the other colours were then laid or stippled. The ground is used most effectively for modelling and contrast.

Catalogued by Robinson as Flemish, *c.*1480. He associates it with 'the influence of the Van Eycks, or rather of the later Bruges masters, their followers'. The stylistic connection with early Netherlandish art is generally accepted; the technique has obvious parallels in the *Ara Coeli* medallion in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which is rather earlier, and in later Netherlandish painted enamels. The group is published by P. Verdier who correctly dates the present plaque to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (p.10, n.3; p.37, n.88, fig.26). There are errors in his description of the plaque. Von Falke calls it Netherlandish, fifteenth century, Steingräber describes it also as Netherlandish, second quarter of the fifteenth century, and probably from a pendant.

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cally; a rim of paler gold round the edge suggests, as does the gold rim on the front, that the plaque was once held in a narrow frame. There are signs of another fixture above the upper hoop.

Salting Bequest

Previously in the Magniac Collection (sale, Christie's, 2 July 1892 and days following, lot 384). In Magniac's collection by 1862, when catalogued by J.C. Robinson.

It is difficult to be sure of the original purpose of this beautiful plaque. The hoops, though early, are not necessarily original. Robinson (see above) suggested that it was part of a pax, but most probably it was part of a small triptych — the round-headed devotional triptych is a characteristic Netherlandish form. If so, our panel would have been the central panel. Normally, if intended for wearing, the ring for suspension would have been fixed to the top of the frame; the hoops and fixtures suggest that the panel was removed at some date from its frame and converted to another use, perhaps for wearing on two thin chains or laces.

This plaque is of great importance and rarity as an early example of the technique of painted enamel, which appears to have been invented in the early fifteenth century. Its significance was already realised by Robinson who gives a sensitive analysis of its technique (reprinted in the Magniac sale catalogue). The palette used is very limited, and seemingly

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