

Moulding Emotions:

Later medieval badges in England and Wales

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Abstract

This thesis presents a study of later medieval badges and their use in England and Wales *c.* AD 1300-1600. The cataloguing and analysis of nearly 3,500 badges collected from published catalogues of badges, chance find data recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, archaeological journals, and excavation reports has enabled the exploration of the function and meaning of these objects. It investigates the ways in which badges could communicate, create, or reinforce later medieval identities, beliefs, and emotions. This has been accomplished through the application of Eleanor Standley's conception of emotants as a means of integrating past emotions into the interpretations of later medieval badges and how they were not only used but emotionally felt. Additionally, the assessment of the distributions of both devotional and social badges can identify past emotional communities who shared similar beliefs and values. Case studies have allowed a closer interrogation of the badges and their distributions, and to consider how and why they functioned as emotants. These include the examination of badges associated with saintly, Marian, Christocentric forms of devotion; popular and political influence; and contemporary controversies associated with badge use in the later medieval period.

What has been revealed is a fluidity of meanings to badges which appear to have been emotionally constructed, embedded, and intrinsic to their use and perception in later medieval England and Wales. This thesis has shown that by examining the content and imagery of the badges, what is revealed is the ability of badges to communicate emotional or immaterial relationships and connections between badges, what they signify, and their wearers or viewers. These results build upon the foundation of previous interpretations of badge use and their perceived function as souvenirs or secondary relics and add depth to our understanding of later medieval devotion, society, and emotions.

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Statement of previous acceptance of content for a qualification

For my MPhil in Archaeology submitted to the University of Oxford in 2020, PAS records (up to the date of 2019) for badges and ampulla in the counties of Norfolk and Lincolnshire were downloaded and used, and the records for these badges are included in the Portable Antiquities Scheme data collected and studied for this thesis. Preliminary discussion of the emotional impact of badges in Lollard communities of Norfolk and the emotional use of badges in Lincolnshire and the Pilgrimage of Grace, was presented in the MPhil thesis and has subsequently been updated and developed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis. The introduction to pilgrim signs in England and Wales and the literature review presented in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 of this thesis have remained generally consistent with the material which I presented in my MPhil. Finally, the introduction to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and its inherent biases presented in Section 2.4.1, although updated with new data, is also presented in my MPhil. Overall, this thesis has updated, developed, and progressed the work of my 2020 MPhil.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis seeks to evaluate the social, religious, and political elements of later medieval badges in England and Wales *c.* AD 1300-1600. New analysis of the use and distribution of later medieval badges has the potential to produce significant interpretations regarding how these objects actively communicated, shaped, created, and reinforced the identities, ideas, beliefs, and emotions of later medieval individuals and communities. The current state of badge scholarship remains reliant on the interpretations of the late Brian Spencer, and that pilgrim signs in the form of badges and ampulla conformed to roles as either souvenirs of a completed pilgrimage, or as secondary relics or ‘lucky charms’ imbued with saintly or divine power.¹ While Spencer’s work is the foundation of badge studies in England, there has been very little development or critical analysis of the interpretations beyond the general assessments of their roles, with Martin Locker characterising it as an ‘unexplored’ area of scholarship in 2015.² Additionally, a significant aspect of Spencer’s work has been the maintenance of badges as serving either a secular or a religious role.³ Such a division greatly limits the exploration of how religious and secular spheres were interacting and impacting later medieval society.

In removing this barrier, this thesis aims to re-contextualise the objects and address the social, political, and theological circumstances that contributed to/influenced the use and design of badges. The contextualisation will show how certain cults or motifs could encompass a fluidity of meaning which was emotionally constructed and could be made applicable to a spectrum of what we would today characterize as religious and/or secular contexts. To

¹ Spencer 1998

² Locker 2015

³ Spencer 1998

accomplish this, I consider badges as emotants which are ‘physical agents that are characterised by or serve in the capacity of emotion’ and can be affected by and/or influence the emotion felt by a person.⁴ As described in Section 2.3.1, this allows the consideration of how badges materially communicated emotional or immaterial relationships and connections, and what they signified to the badge-wearer and viewer and to wider ‘emotional communities’ (see Section 2.3.4) and society at large. I will be applying Standley’s conception of emotants as a means of integrating past emotion into our interpretations of later medieval badges.⁵ Using this conceptual approach, we may begin to get to the core of how badges were perceived by the later medieval laity and how these materials were not only used, but emotionally felt.⁶ The material badge evidence and the contextualization provided in the case studies will offer an opportunity to explore the ways in which badges could channel emotional intensity and moderate social and individual emotional practices and experiences. In presenting badges as emotants, this thesis is seeking to advance the study of badges by adding depth to the analysis of their agency within later medieval society in England and Wales. Badges will first be conceptualised as signs and emotional objects, regardless of their other potential uses. Under this conceptual umbrella, the secular or religious use (or indeed, somewhere in between the two) will be considered.

Due to the sheer diversity of forms, a persistent issue plaguing badge scholarship has been the lack of an agreed upon definition of what constitutes a badge. While Spencer characterises metal badges as only having decoration on one side (which on English examples is generally openwork) and pin attachments on the reverse, he does acknowledge that by the late 15th century, badges took on a more medal-like form.⁷ The Oxford English Dictionary broadly

⁴ Standley 2020, 745

⁵ Standley 2020

⁶ Standley 2020, 756

⁷ Spencer 2010, 4

defines a badge as ‘any physical object or mark which is used or regarded as a distinguishing sign, emblem, token, or symbol.’⁸ Rasmussen and van Asperen define badges as being small, mass-produced and brooch-like, which are mobile, three-dimensional objects publicly worn by human-beings moving through space.⁹ In this thesis I will follow Rasmussen and Asperen’s inclusive definition, and will focus the analysis on metal examples (Figure 1.1).

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary, badge

⁹ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018, 2



Figure 1.1 14th-16th century openwork badge depicting the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket. This badge was found in London, PAS: PUBLIC-364487. It is also possible that this badge is associated with the cult of Archbishop Simon Sudbury (See Lewis 2018).

It is also imperative that an attempt is made to disentangle the interpretations of badges from that of ampullae. Ampullae were small cast metal flasks that contained holy water, or water which also contained the blood of Christ for example, and were produced and sold at pilgrimage sites. It has been acknowledged by Spencer and Anderson that the preferred form of

pilgrim sign in England shifted in the 14th century from ampullae to badges.¹⁰ However, with the exception of recent work by Lewis, there has been a notable paucity of scholarship investigating the context of this shift or, its impact.¹¹ Similarly, the reactions which were prompted by the proliferation of religious badges that occurred contemporaneously with the advent of political or retainer's badges in England has not been fully explored.¹² The changing nature and growing criticisms of pilgrimage in the late 14th, 15th and 16th centuries¹³ corresponded with the shift from ampullae to badges and suggests that the way in which individuals interacted with badges differed from how later 12th century pilgrims responded to ampullae.

Therefore, this thesis will address an interpretive void by adding depth to a unique and ubiquitous assemblage of material culture by questioning not only the elements which made badges practical and desirable for the later medieval laity, but also the ways in which they could stimulate emotion.

To address these themes, a catalogue of badge finds recovered through archaeological investigations and chance finds in England and Wales has been collated in order to be interrogated. A significant issue hindering the study of later medieval badges is the lack of discoveries from secure archaeological contexts and accurate dating associated with finds.¹⁴ While the catalogues of Spencer (1980, 1990, 1998) and Mitchener (1986) identified the multitudes of badges recovered from urban riverine deposits, the perceived scarcity of badge finds from outside of those contexts prompted the belief that badges were specifically associated

¹⁰ Spencer 1998; Anderson 2010

¹¹ Lewis 2025

¹² Saul 1990

¹³ Spencer 1998; Duffy 2005

¹⁴ Rasmussen 2021, 32

with urban contexts.¹⁵ However, the systematic recording of chance finds for the last 25 years on the PAS and HERs, has shown that this is not the case and provides a wealth of underutilised evidence which this work draws upon.

The catalogue of badges collated in this thesis consists of 3,465 objects (Appendix 1). Out of this, 1,995 were drawn from the published catalogues of urban riverine finds. Chance find data produced a further 1,376 badge finds from across England and Wales. Additionally, a literature search produced 94 further badge finds from archaeological site reports and journal articles. Despite the comparatively small number of excavated finds, there is much to be learned from the contexts surrounding their use and deposition and their object biographies may be explored (see Section 2.3.6).

The compiled dataset of 3,465 objects was assessed and each object, if possible, was associated with a cult or political faction based on their iconography and previous identifications of similar badge motifs.¹⁶ Using ArcGIS, distribution maps of badges according to their cult or faction have been created and the patterns which emerged have been analysed.

The number and diversity of badges in the catalogue do not permit discussion of each and every badge, or even every cult or political group. Therefore, case studies have been chosen due to their prominence within the dataset as well as their representation of diverse themes. They are/include saintly, Marian, Christocentric forms of devotion; popular and political influence; and contemporary controversies associated with badge use in the later medieval period. The case

¹⁵ Anderson 2010, 199

¹⁶ Spencer 1980, 1998; Spencer and Griffiths 1990; Mitchiner 1986

studies have allowed a closer interrogation of the badges and their distributions, and to consider how and why they functioned as emotants.

1.1 Christian pilgrimage and changes to formal religion in the period

A significant theme existing throughout this thesis is the idea of Christian pilgrimage. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Christian devotion has been summarised as being ‘nourished by the sight of images and the touch of sacramentals (sacred objects, such as holy water), focused on the Passion of Christ and the intercession of the saints above all the Virgin Mary, but also practical helper saints.’¹⁷ A crucial element to achieving spiritual nourishment was engaging in the act of pilgrimage which Martin Locker defines as the exposing of oneself to the divine through a journey to a physical location which has a ‘perceived link with the divine.’¹⁸ A link to the divine could be found at the location of a miraculous event or the bodily remains of a saint or holy individual. Intercessions, or divine interventions were sought by pilgrims as they worked to secure healing, forgiveness, and spiritual salvation. However, the intercessions or assistance offered by the saints usually required acts of devotion and the establishment of a faithful relationship before the saint would intercede with God on behalf of the devotee.

The shrines that housed relics of saints were places which were understood to have a clear and perpetual connection to the spirit of those holy individuals. The shrines of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral (Kent) and Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk became the most popular shrines for pilgrims to visit in England.¹⁹ Pilgrimage to such places was to experience not only a physical proximity to holiness but also an all-encompassing ‘closeness’

¹⁷ Duffy 2006, 312

¹⁸ Locker 2015, 2

¹⁹ Locker 2015, 6

consisting of an emotional and devotional relationship. The extent and duration of these relationships with holy figures were bolstered by the badges whose iconographies express and imply the crucial devotional ideals fostered by a cult.

Nevertheless, there were contemporary criticisms pitted against the practice of pilgrimage as well as the cults of saints generally. Spencer notes a decay in the popularity of devotion afforded to the saints starting in the 14th century and continuing to wane throughout the 15th.²⁰ However, Eamon Duffy has argued that lay people were ‘intensely and increasingly interested in religion’ at this time and the proliferation of devotional texts across England by the early 15th century shows that individuals were becoming highly involved and ‘literate’ in many of the theological issues of the day.²¹ The advent of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century brought new ideas concerning the means of attaining salvation and forgiveness which eschewed the old traditions of pilgrimage and the intercessions of saints. Finally, pilgrimage was banned in 1538.²² In short, Christianity and the tradition of pilgrimage experienced a period of great change between the 14th-16th centuries in England and Wales.

1.2 The political context

This study also engages with badges associated with livery, which necessitates a brief introduction to the later medieval practice of livery and the political context of its use in England and Wales *c.* AD 1300-1600. This is not to suggest that this thesis views livery badges as conceptually distinct from how religious badges were used. However, even though both are

²⁰ Spencer 2010, 1; Klaniczay 2014, 229

²¹ Duffy 2006, 336

²² Duffy 2005, 407

acting as emotants, there are contextual intricacies in how people may have emotionally responded to something overtly secular as opposed to an implicitly religious badge.

One of the essential building blocks of later medieval political society was the affinity.²³ This consisted of a lord or magnate, their family, as well as their servants or followers, whose services were maintained through a variety of methods in a system designated in the past as ‘bastard feudalism.’ Retaining was the means through which a magnate bound an individual to their service, and this included the distribution of liveries. These were identifying objects that took a number of forms such as robes, hats, collars, and badges.²⁴ The shared nature of these distributed liveries helped to form groups and political identities which facilitated the expression and activity of political and social power and the ability of later medieval magnates to obtain administrative, legal, and military services.²⁵ Operating within this system, badges acted as a marker of social and political relationships and thus may be investigated to understand more about the emotional experiences and connections that they were part of.²⁶

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents the existing literature on later medieval badges, and the theoretical ideas that underpin the approach taken in this thesis. It also considered the Portable Antiquities Scheme as a source of evidence as well as its limitations. In Chapter 3 the collated data is presented, including comment on the sources that they come from (including chance finds, excavation, or the published catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner), distributions, and the breakdown of what the badges depict and/or their associated devotional

²³ McKelvie 2020, 1

²⁴ Ward 2016, 21

²⁵ McKelvie 2020, 1

²⁶ McKelvie 2020, 8

theme. The trends and patterns of the evidence is used to identify the case studies that are considered in Chapters 4 to 8. The first case study considered in Chapter 4 focuses on pilgrim badges and particularly on those relating to St Thomas Becket at Canterbury, and the various cults of Our Lady such as those found at Walsingham and Willesden. This chapter engages with questions pertaining to the role that badges played within the later medieval pilgrimage experience, such as what made them so desirable and practical for the laity, and question whether their distributions are reflective of a nationwide popularity commonly associated with these cults. Chapter 5 examines the badges associated with the unofficial saint of Henry VI. Here I analyse the elements driving the popularization and establishment of unofficial cults and how Tudor patronage impacted the popularity of the cult of Henry VI. Chapter 6 will shift its focus to some of the reactions prompted by the use of pilgrim badges. It will consider the impact of the significant populations of Lollards/Evangelicals in eastern England who actively avoided and occasionally attacked religious imagery. Chapter 7 focuses on Christocentric badges and their use in 16th century revolts. Chapter 8 will conclude with an examination of social and political badges and their use dating from the late 14th century. It will address the use of lover's tokens and livery badges and how their use compared to that of contemporary badges with religious imagery. The final chapter presents a broader discussion and the final conclusions of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Signs, theory, and conceptual approach

2.1 Introduction to pilgrim signs in England and Wales

This thesis engages with badges which have generally been considered within the corpus of material culture known as pilgrim signs. This section will provide a brief introduction to these objects and their study to date.

The study of later medieval material culture across England and Wales involves the archaeologically visible remnants of Christian pilgrimage. The most common small finds associated with pilgrimage are the objects which are collectively known as pilgrim signs. Anderson defines pilgrim signs or ‘souvenirs’ as a ‘range of badges, flasks, and tokens that were cast in moulds from inexpensive metals and sold at pilgrimage sites across medieval Europe.’²⁷ Although ampullae, or small metallic flasks, had been available to pilgrims in the Holy Land from the 6th century onwards, according to Spencer it was not until the later 12th century that pilgrim signs became common in Western Europe.²⁸ The advent of pilgrim signs in England and Wales has been linked specifically to the development of the cult of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury in the years following his martyrdom in 1170.²⁹ The peak of pilgrim sign use in Britain has been assessed by Standley to be between the 14th and 15th centuries.³⁰ By the mid-16th century, sanctioned pilgrim sign usage in England and Wales was ended following the Dissolution of the Monasteries and Henry VIII’s 1538 declaration that Becket was not a saint and that he was indeed a traitor to England.³¹ This declaration was accompanied by iconoclastic

²⁷ Anderson 2010, 182

²⁸ Spencer 1998, 3

²⁹ Mitchiner 1986, 8

³⁰ Standley 2013, 72

³¹ Lewis 2014, 20

acts which included the destruction of Becket images which were to be ‘putte downe and auoyded out of all churches, chapelles and other places.’³² Thus, the use of pilgrim signs in later medieval England and Wales came to mirror the fortune and timeline of the veneration of St Thomas Becket. The two most common forms of pilgrim signs are ampullae and badges. However, it is emphasised in this thesis that these two types of objects differed not only in their form, but also in their function and use.

Ampullae were the principal form of pilgrim sign from the late 12th to the early 14th century.³³ Indeed, it has been suggested that in the 13th century, ampullae ‘were almost the only kind of pilgrim souvenir available’ in England.³⁴ Pilgrimage sites including those at Canterbury, Burton-on-Trent, Bromholm, Worcester, Waltham, Westminster, York, Walsingham, and Evesham, were all producing ampullae out of lead or lead-tin alloy.³⁵ Limestone moulds for ampullae have been recovered from excavations in York, Canterbury, and Hertfordshire among other chance finds.³⁶ Nevertheless, moulds for both ampullae and badges are uncommon archaeological finds,³⁷ and no areas indicative of large-scale pilgrim sign production centres have been identified within the archaeological record in England.³⁸

The popularity of ampullae was reflected by a pilgrim who in 1485, journeyed to the shrine to St Nicholas in Bari, Italy, and stated, ‘they give an ampulla to each pilgrim; for my part, I found a way to get three of these.’³⁹ Although they were cheap and mass produced, ampullae served two essential purposes. First, they have been considered as a memento or remembrance

³² Spencer 1998, 20

³³ Anderson 2010, 184

³⁴ Spencer 1998, 203-205

³⁵ Spencer 2010, 22

³⁶ Tweddle 1986, 200; Macgregor and Spencer 1987, 194-199; Spencer 1968, 141

³⁷ Tweddle 1986, 205

³⁸ Anderson 2010, 199

³⁹ Boertjes 2007, 57-58

of a completed pilgrimage. In *Piers Plowman*, William Langland describes a fictional encounter with a pilgrim whose dress included a ‘hundred tiny phials’ perched upon his head.⁴⁰ These ampullae, along with the badges which were pinned to his breast and cloak are explicitly described by Langland as being ‘designed to inform the world at large of the pilgrim-shrines he had visited.’⁴¹

Pilgrimage brought people together through their devotion as described in the late 12th-late 13th century *Annales de Waverleia*, ‘Such a great assembly of persons of both sexes from different parts of the Earth came together.’⁴² Therefore, the display of pilgrim signs facilitated the identification of communities of ‘like-minded believers.’⁴³ Indeed, Lee has suggested that the wearing and continued display of pilgrim signs away from the shrine maintained that like-minded community ‘in diaspora.’⁴⁴ The creation of a community is therefore an intrinsic part of pilgrim sign use.

Pilgrim signs have been assessed as having a ‘functional role’ as a secondary relic or amulet.⁴⁵ Spencer has suggested that by the 12th century it was believed that if pressed against a relic, shrine, or image, a pilgrim sign could absorb some of the shrine’s power and grace and ‘transform the badge or ampulla from mere souvenir into a touch relic.’⁴⁶ Enthusiasm for devotional souvenirs, which had the ‘intense value of a relic’ and accompanying talismanic, curative, or protective qualities, would have been valued objects for pilgrims.⁴⁷ Ampullae also

⁴⁰ Langland and Schmidt 2009, 59

⁴¹ Langland and Schmidt 2009, 60

⁴² Webb 2000, 89

⁴³ Lee 2018, 121-122

⁴⁴ Lee 2018, 122

⁴⁵ Anderson 2010, 184

⁴⁶ Spencer 1998, 16-17

⁴⁷ Koldeweij 2007, 72

contained holy matter such as water tinged with holy blood or oil.⁴⁸ Contained within the ampulla, the holy water, blood, or oil would have transferred the qualities of its holiness to the physical material of the ampulla that it was stored in.⁴⁹ Thus, an ampullae ‘bore witness to God’s power,’ and could be used to heal or to ease pain and suffering (physically, mentally, and spiritually) as well as to bring comfort and protection.⁵⁰ The healing potential associated with ampullae and their contents is similar to the use of amulets and charms and their functions within practices of later medieval medicine.⁵¹ The contents themselves could also be ingested by an individual in need of healing.⁵² Additionally, the observed prevalence of ampullae finds in rural cultivated fields has led Spencer and Anderson to suggest that the contents of ampullae were used to ‘bless the fields’ where their deposition in tilled soil would ensure ‘a good harvest or cure failing crops.’⁵³

I mention that ampullae were signs first and then containers because although their imagery (particularly considering the simpler, later ampullae forms) is less clear or overt than that of badges, I would forward the notion that they were most essentially objects whose recognizable purpose was to point towards or signal the holy and the power of the divine to act through matter.⁵⁴ Indeed, although the material being contained by the ampullae is itself special, these substances remain only a fragment, piece, or drop of the greater part of Christian holiness signalling the healing, forgiveness, and peace it is to offer the faithful.

⁴⁸ Boertjes 2007, 57

⁴⁹ Boertjes 2007, 57; For additional discussion of devotional material and medieval materiality, see Section 2.3.2

⁵⁰ Hall 2007, 81

⁵¹ Jones 2007, 92-107

⁵² Boertjes 2007, 57

⁵³ Anderson 2010, 199-200

⁵⁴ Lewis 2025, 127-128.

In the 14th century, badges were introduced at English shrines ‘with immediate popular success’⁵⁵ and proceeded to largely displace the ampulla as the preferred pilgrim sign.⁵⁶ Badges are cast objects typically made of alloys of lead and tin (pewter). They are small and exceedingly affordable to produce⁵⁷ and have generally been considered as serving an identical function to ampullae as both souvenirs and secondary relics. It has been suggested that badges were the lesser of the two forms of pilgrim sign within a hierarchy of devotional material given that badges had ‘only been in contact with the place of pilgrimage’ (by being pressed to the object or place of veneration) while the ampullae ‘actually contained tangible material from the venerated sanctuary.’⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the popularity of badges in the 14th and 15th centuries as attested to by the thousands of English and Welsh finds, involved their conspicuous display on articles of dress, or nailed up in homes or buildings.⁵⁹

2.2 Literature review

The interpretation of the function of pilgrim badges, that they, like ampullae, served as either souvenirs or relics, may be associated with the influential work of Brian Spencer regarding the identification and interpretation of pilgrim sign assemblages in Britain.⁶⁰ Within his seminal 1998 work *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Spencer organised the catalogue of badges according to what he perceived as their association with either Christian pilgrimage or those which he identified as being secular in nature (including livery or funerary badges). Spencer’s

⁵⁵ Spencer 1998, 205

⁵⁶ Spencer 1998, 3; See also Anderson 2010, 184

⁵⁷ Boertjes 2005, 450; Additionally, Spencer 1998, 15 notes ‘At a penny a dozen, badges would have been the same price as thimbles’ (to buy).

⁵⁸ Boertjes 2007, 57

⁵⁹ Spencer 1998, 18

⁶⁰ Spencer 1980; Spencer and Griffiths 1990; Spencer 1998

work has nevertheless helped to ‘shed light on a wide range of popular medieval imagery, beliefs, and religious practices and on many aspects of everyday life.’⁶¹

With regards to the London riverine finds catalogued by Spencer, these badges consist of stratified finds and secondary finds which were recovered from the River Thames’ foreshore deposits adjacent to archaeological sites on and off site spoil heaps.⁶² The London riverine finds were recovered either from the silt and gravel of foreshore deposits or from dumps of mainly organic refuse formed *c.* 1150-1450 behind wharves which were used to form new land along the river.⁶³ Spencer, noting the limited badge finds from inland London, suggested that the great discrepancy between inland and riverine find numbers is unlikely to be simply the result of variable soil conditions and its impact on badge survivability.⁶⁴ Spencer suggested that the badges were likely deliberately thrown into the river, from where they subsequently entered the foreshore deposits. Although acknowledging the intentionality behind the deposition of these badges, Spencer explained it as the same superstitious votive depositional practices of earlier travellers (likely referring to Iron Age or Roman practices) unconsciously adopted by later medieval peoples.⁶⁵ This explanation for the riverine deposition, although convenient, is at odds with the orthodox practices of later medieval religious and devotional behaviour. Found in large numbers in the riverine deposits and rubbish dumps, I concur with Spencer that such deposition is purposeful. However, the intention behind the riverine deposition of these badges may vary greatly. This thesis explores several additional explanations for why so many badges may have ended up in rivers throughout the following chapters. Indeed, the survival of badges in rubbish

⁶¹ Spencer 1998, 1

⁶² Spencer 2010, 35. In Spencer’s catalogue, secondary finds are denoted by the addition of a letter to its numeric designation (e.g. 12f).

⁶³ Spencer 2010, 24

⁶⁴ Spencer 2010, 24

⁶⁵ Spencer 2010, 24

dumps is itself indicative of a termination of the use of a badge which may have been reached for a multitude of reasons ranging from the simple breaking of an attachment (both physically and emotionally or metaphorically), collection of detritus or lost objects including badges and their subsequent dumping, iconoclasm, or indeed as Spencer suggests, votive deposition. Therefore, the survival of badges in riverine or rubbish deposits does not negate from notions of their role as emotants and the potential emotional values which they may have once embodied.

Expanding upon the works of Spencer, Blick's 2007 volume *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* explores the interactions between people and pilgrim signs,⁶⁶ how badges and ampullae exhibited a multitude of meanings to later medieval communities,⁶⁷ as well as questioning both the devotional and secular function of these objects.⁶⁸ Additionally, Lewis has provided a discussion of badges and cults apparent in the finds of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, as of 2015, Martin Locker in *Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Medieval Britain* described the study of pilgrim signs as an 'unexplored' area of great potential to the study of later medieval society.⁷⁰

Although this thesis builds upon the works of previous scholars, there are a number of significant interpretative gaps persisting within the current state of badge research. The continued use of the term 'pilgrim souvenir,' clearly reinforces the interpretation that this assemblage of diverse material (temporally, spatially, and in form) functioned as souvenir keepsakes. Throughout this thesis, the term 'pilgrim sign' will be utilised when not using the term 'pilgrim badge' or 'badge' as it is a suitably more flexible term which permits a degree of

⁶⁶ Jones 2007, Boertjes 2007

⁶⁷ Robinson 2007, 170-81

⁶⁸ Blick 2007, 182-200

⁶⁹ Lewis, 2013; Lewis, 2014; Locker and Lewis 2015

⁷⁰ Locker 2015, 168

interpretive ambiguity. The expression ‘sign’ also encourages the consideration of semiotics and the theory of signs and sign-use into studies of later medieval society and religion. The ways in which badges are labelled can easily influence our interpretations of how badges were used in the later medieval period. Indeed, the assertions of Robinson (2007) and Blick (2007) found in Blick’s *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, which suggest that badges served a political and propaganda role, clearly show that badges had potential to be more than just ‘souvenirs’.⁷¹ As recently as 2015, Locker made the assertion that interpretations pertaining to pilgrim signs have yet to advance beyond their consideration as universal official souvenirs or objects appropriating some measure of power from the shrine of its origin.⁷² The functions and use of both badges and ampullae have typically been considered together with largely only tentative explorations of how badges could act in different ways from ampullae and beyond the idea that they were merely souvenirs or markers of a pilgrimage which was undertaken or completed. McClain has cautioned that ‘often it is implicit underlying research that describes, classifies, and categorizes the data in detail, but which shies away from interpretations that go beyond the functional or pragmatic.’⁷³ In order to avoid such a situation, it is essential that the study of badges continues to develop.

An intriguing recent publication concerning the study of badges is *The Mediaeval Journal*’s 2018 Special Issue: Medieval Badges.⁷⁴ In that volume, Rasmussen and Asperen make clear suggestions regarding the construction of a ‘visual rhetoric of badges’ which was understood by a range of ‘diverse individuals and communities.’⁷⁵ Rasmussen expanded upon

⁷¹ Robinson 2007; Blick 2007

⁷² Locker 2015, 168

⁷³ McClain 2012, 131-142; Also, see Moreland 2010, 45; Thomas et al 2017; Graves and Gerrard 2018,

⁷⁴ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018

⁷⁵ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018, 2

the notion of a visual rhetoric of badges in 2021 with the idea that badges were part of a pan-European form of visual literacy.⁷⁶ Nevertheless Rasmussen and Asperen maintain that the role and function of visual and communicative literacy in the later medieval period are still not understood.⁷⁷ However, Rasmussen and Asperen have suggested that context is the crucial element in establishing how badges created later medieval relationships.⁷⁸ This thesis holds that establishing the contexts of badge use is essential to our understanding of how the meanings of badges could become versatile and fluid.

Camille stated in 1994 that in order to stay relevant, medieval studies must champion a ‘vibrant, animated, and colourful Middle Ages.’⁷⁹ It is suggested here that there is great potential for a study of emotion and how it could be expressed through later medieval badges.

2.3 Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.3.1 *Emotants*

I have adopted Standley’s notion of ‘emotants’ as a conceptual approach for extracting evidence of later medieval emotions and attitudes associated with religious and secular material.⁸⁰ Standley defines an emotant as ‘a physical agent that is characterized by or serves in the capacity of emotion’ which can be affected by and/or influence the emotion felt by a person.⁸¹ While this study will not delve into the debate regarding what emotions are, some foundation must be established concerning how emotion will be approached throughout this

⁷⁶ Rasmussen 2021

⁷⁷ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018, 3

⁷⁸ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018, 3

⁷⁹ Camille 1994, 375

⁸⁰ Standley 2020

⁸¹ Standley 2020, 745

project. It must be noted that while the term ‘emotion’ was not used until the 16th century, the words affect, feeling, and passion were used interchangeably throughout the later medieval period to describe strong feelings and emotions. All of these terms will be used throughout this study. Tarlow describes a spectrum of approaches to emotion in which the poles are psychological and constructivist.⁸² This study takes a social constructivist view of emotions and the notion that individuals experience and recognize culturally constructed feelings within their own mind and body. Social construction of emotions integrates them with social norms and expectations which can be learned. As such, emotions can become embedded in forms of practice and performance which as Standley discusses, facilitates their exploration through the consideration of material culture.⁸³ The dialogue between the human and material world includes the moulding and mediation of ideas, beliefs, cultural attitudes, and emotions through material practices. Additionally, the material world is receptive to emotional stimuli and may be shaped, created, manipulated, or interpreted according to the emotional environment in which it exists. Applying this situation to the study of badges presents a challenge to the current static position of pilgrim signs which have been interpreted in manners void of contextual implications, and blanket explanations of their roles despite their use spanning centuries, their varied form and their role in personal and communal devotion.

Although the term ‘emotant’ is highly versatile in the sense that it may be applied to any archaeological feature including entire landscapes, its application to material culture highlights how objects can be used in ways prompted by human feeling and become embedded in emotionally constituted practices.⁸⁴ In this way, emotants may be used to address communal and

⁸² Tarlow 2012, 170

⁸³ Standley 2020, 743

⁸⁴ Gosden 2004, 39

individual relationships with material and by extension, emotional experience. In their form or use, emotants may ‘communicate, change, create, hide, or intensify emotions’ but revealing this requires the consideration of context with special reference to how the emotant (in this study, a badge) was used and how it formed social and devotional relationships.⁸⁵ Jennifer Lee suggested in 2004 that badges could ‘label’ or identify relationships between devotees and saints.⁸⁶ However, in considering badges as emotants, this thesis seeks to expand upon how badges could materially communicate *emotional* or *immaterial* relationships and connections with a holy or secular figure or community. For example, how might they have acted as an emotant for the badge-wearer? How did they affect the relationships between individuals and within communities or, society at large? Or, how might have badges intensified passionate beliefs or communicated a shared sense of the righteousness for causes, particularly in the case of political or religious movements?

This communicative value naturally draws in a discussion of semiotics as it is the interpretation of a sign which prompts a response of the addressee. The response to a badge as a symbol (which does not necessarily resemble, but which does refer to the signified) is reliant on what Rasmussen and van Asperen consider to be a pan-European visual literacy which operated as a symbolic mode of communication transcending ‘verbal, linguistic, political, and social boundaries’ through their use of familiar images.⁸⁷ While this is certainly applicable to those standards of medieval iconography (such as the lily and its reference to the purity of the Virgin Mary), Ward’s discussion of the Lancastrian political SS badges critically refers to the negotiable quality of badges and their fluidity of meaning.⁸⁸ This may lead to the misinterpretation of what

⁸⁵ Standley 2020, 745

⁸⁶ Lee 2004, 486-487

⁸⁷ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018, 2

⁸⁸ Ward 2014, 109-110

badges actually signify, both in their contemporary use and in the modern interpretations of these objects. For example, reliance on the association between badges and the figure of a bishop has led the PAS recorders to identify badges that depict a bishop as being related to the cult of St Thomas Becket (e.g. BERK-A95AE5, IOW-2DEFA3, and SWYOR-506DB6). However, the subtle inclusion of multiple kneeling figures alongside the bishop on these badges, suggests that they are in fact referring to St Nicholas.⁸⁹ Therefore, although the iconography of many badges (particularly religious badges) remained unchanged for long periods of time across Western Europe, I stress the danger of adopting a conceptual approach which ignores the intricate individual, communal, and regional manipulation of these objects and the meanings badges as conveyed in the standardisation of the later medieval experience advocated by Rasmussen and van Asperen. Such an approach reinforces existing interpretations of badges as general markers of pilgrimage or personal service, and it is (unintentionally) dismissive or unconcerned with the agency of later medieval individuals. This is where I hope to stimulate the discussions surrounding badges and their use through the adoption of an approach which emphasizes the personal, emotional responses associated with badges.

Overall, the adoption of the emotant conceptual approach may help in understanding how meaningful and emotionally charged these objects could be. It raises the question whether these objects were mass-produced intrinsically worthless trinkets, or if they played a role within the highly affective and emotional devotional practices existing throughout later medieval England and Wales.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See *Three Legends of St Nicholas*, National Galleries of Scotland

⁹⁰ Boertjes 2005, 467

The current state of research into badges paradoxically and unhelpfully suggests that badges are either souvenirs *or* relics. The gulf existing between these two assessments has yet to be adequately discussed. Partially, this situation may be improved simply by considering the terms we use to discuss, catalogue, and define these objects. Principally, the term ‘pilgrim souvenir’ although convenient, clearly reinforces the interpretation that religious badges and ampullae, a diverse assemblage of material (temporally, spatially, and in form) served as keepsakes (only one end of the spectrum of their use). Disentangling badges from ampullae demands the abandonment of the idea of the pilgrim souvenir. Rather, the term ‘pilgrim sign’ is a suitably flexible term which permits the necessary degree of ambiguity for what is meant to be a catch-all term used to describe a variety of objects. The expression ‘sign’ also appropriately invites a discussion of semiotics and the potential for a variety of meanings. In the medieval period the term ‘signs’ was used to call what we now refer to as badges today.⁹¹ The term badge is likely of English origin first coming into use sometime in the late 14th/early 15th century and is roughly contemporary with the accepted advent or popularisation of badges in England. In this thesis, a badge or sign is defined either as ‘any physical object or mark which is used or regarded as a distinguishing sign, emblem, token, or symbol’ or in a figurative sense ‘with reference to immaterial things.’⁹²

According to the philosopher Pierce, ‘nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted,’ therefore, contextualization and how people were interpreting badges and what they represented, takes on a critical role within this conceptual approach (as discussed in Sections 2.4.2, 2.4.3).⁹³ This coincides with Tarlow’s assertion that contextualization permits archaeologists to explore how

⁹¹ Other terms often used when writing about badges are; English-signs, French-enseignes, Latin-sigillum or signum, German/Dutch- zeichen or teken.

⁹² Oxford English Dictionary, badge

⁹³ Peirce 1931-58, 172, 228.

emotional significance may attach itself or indeed be an intrinsic quality of a thing.⁹⁴ As argued by Standley, emotants are not part of a sequential or linear progression of feeling as described by the historian Rosenwein, but rather they can be conceptualized as a spider's web in which the relationship between emotants and human emotions may 'evolve, grow, be recreated, decline, or even resonate' across periods of time.⁹⁵ As webs, I may interrogate how the meanings of badges shifted or persisted over time. For example, were the long-standing depictions of St Thomas Becket on pilgrim signs viewed in the same manner by an individual acquiring an ampullae in 1215 from Canterbury, as someone using a badge of the saint in 1538 after King Henry VIII publicly declared St Thomas to be a traitor? Similarly, what happened to the meanings and associated emotions of badges of the Holy Name of Jesus during the Reformation of the 16th century, when the object of affective piety became a symbol of treason by 1569 (See Chapter 7)? How does context show us how badges may have changed over time, or added to the webs of feeling which inform us of the emotional meanings implied in the use of badges.

In considering badges as emotants, the changing nature of later medieval practice and experience in both religious and social life may be investigated. It is particularly useful to adopt this concept for badge research in light of the lingering questions raised by Spencer and Anderson regarding the rapid popularization of badges in the late 14th century and their notable displacement of ampullae as the preferred object associated with pilgrimage.⁹⁶ It is important to draw out that coinciding with this shift in material culture towards badges, there was also a shift in religious thought and devotional practice which focused on the cultivation of personal relationships with the divine as well as fostering the emotions of Christian devotion. Therefore,

⁹⁴ Tarlow 2012, 180

⁹⁵ Rosenwein 2016, 8; Standley 2020, 746

⁹⁶ Spencer 1998, 3; Anderson 2010, 184

in correspondence with the works of Rubin, Bynum, and Duffy, who acknowledge the increasing affective nature of piety and the ‘inwardness’ of devotion from the late 14th century, I aim to address the emotional potency of badges within the contemporary devotional environment and how they might have evoked or produced certain responses through their reference to the immaterial.⁹⁷

2.3.2 *Christian materiality*

The concept of Christian materiality is also a crucial element underlying many of the interpretations found throughout this thesis. Ward’s study of livery collars addresses the importance of signification and symbols and the way livery objects (including badges) could share layered meanings.⁹⁸ This may be related to/considered alongside Bynum’s notion of Christian materiality and the idea that objects go beyond simply signifying what they represent, but become what they represent.⁹⁹ The conception of emotants utilized within this project is in many ways reliant on Bynum’s concept. This may be summarized as the intense awareness of the power of matter (and consequentially objects and images) and the belief that God as divine creator could and did act through matter.¹⁰⁰ Later medieval devotion simultaneously experienced ‘both an intensifying rejection and an intensifying revering of matter as the locus of the divine.’¹⁰¹ In many ways, these responses may be mapped upon the existing conceptualizations of badges with the reverence of matter correlating to the amuletic and secondary relic interpretation, while the rejection of those traits relates to their perceived status as cheap souvenirs. To some, religious badges, like other forms of devotional material, had the power

⁹⁷ Rubin 2009, 2; Bynum 2015, 269; Duffy 2022, 209

⁹⁸ Ward 2021, 78

⁹⁹ Bynum 2015

¹⁰⁰ Bynum 2015, 34-35

¹⁰¹ Bynum 2015, 235

through association, nearness, and likeness with a sacred place or person to heal an ill or provide protection. To others, such as the Lollards, they were useless trinkets; images were merely ‘stiks and stons’ which had no value.¹⁰² However, as Bynum states, many theories of materiality tend to ‘freeze’ objects into a static existence; this can be detrimental to the labile and fluid perception of matter and the power of God to act, as held by later medieval Christians.¹⁰³ This power is not restricted to devotional objects. Christian materiality is not necessarily attached, bound, or reliant upon distinctions made between what objects are physically made of. Whether an object consists of elite materials such as gold or silver, copper alloy, lead, or even wood, the notion of Christian materiality holds that all such materials may be acted upon by the divine and therefore able to affect its owner or wearer. Therefore, no particular importance is placed on the physical material of the badges discussed in this thesis. Divine interaction, according to Christian materiality, is not channelled through precious objects but rather often through the mundane or everyday in a way that was possible to interact with.

In stories of miracles, everyday objects such as milking stools could interact with people if acted upon by the divine.¹⁰⁴ There is a story of a badge being melted down and yet refusing to change. How does this impact the idea of badges as relics? An ampullae functions as a relic in the sense that it is a container for an actual holy substance be it either holy water, oil, or water tinged with the blood of a martyr. Boertjes argues that badges were the lesser of the two forms of pilgrim sign within a hierarchy of devotional material given that badges had ‘only been in contact with the place of pilgrimage’ (by being pressed to the object or place of veneration) while the ampullae ‘actually contained tangible material from the venerated sanctuary.’¹⁰⁵ If we

¹⁰² Bynum 2015, 122

¹⁰³ Bynum 2015, 287

¹⁰⁴ Rosenwein 2021, 36

¹⁰⁵ Boertjes 2007, 57

embrace Bynum's idea of Christian materiality entirely, in particular, with religious badges, our interpretations are pulled towards the conceptual pole of the secondary relics. However, if this is the case, how do we interpret their depositions? If religious badges are relics, the actual earthly presence of the holy, why are they apparently being deposited in rivers as offerings of thanks? Surely if an object had the potential to interact with the devotee, that individual would not discard and distance themselves from the very thing they sought upon embarking on their pilgrimage. Rhodes' discussion of the 1974-1976 Trig Lane excavations along the Thames concluded that the presence of significant assemblages of other small objects alongside the badges challenges the notion of a purposeful, votive practice of depositing badges in rivers.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, he suggests that the badges were likely recovered from rubbish layers.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, how are we to reconcile the fact that badges are ending up in rubbish deposits with the stories of the miracles associated with the material of badges. One story, from a 1474 miracle book concerning a badge of the Blessed Virgin of Amersfoort (Netherlands) claims: 'A fellow from Osterhout was supposed to melt lead for casting. But he didn't have enough [material] so he looked for some more and all he could find was a badge of Blessed Virgin of Amersfoort. So, he added it to the others and it melted and then he finished filling the mould. But the excess that flowed out immediately reformed into a badge of the Blessed Virgin Mary.'¹⁰⁸ Rasmussen raises the point that the essential information to be gleaned from this anecdote is that badges were 'routinely treated like scrap metal.'¹⁰⁹ This coincides with Lee's argument that the retrieval of pilgrim signs from rubbish deposits correlates to 'medieval pilgrims regarding these particular

¹⁰⁶ Milne and Hobley 1982

¹⁰⁷ Milne and Hobley 1982

¹⁰⁸ Rasmussen 2021, 60-61

¹⁰⁹ Rasmussen 2021, 61; This will be discussed further in Section 6.4

images without lasting reverence.’¹¹⁰ The key word here is ‘lasting.’ It is here that the integration of the secular material may provide useful insight.

While Ward advocates caution in the appropriation and applicability of notions of materiality or Christian materiality to objects of a secular nature (with particular regard to animation), what is clear is that royal badges (including badges, collars, banners, and seals) were potent representations of the dignity, power, and honour of the King.¹¹¹ Indeed, Ward describes them as representing a ‘presence-in-absence of the King’s essence’ with individuals expected to doff their caps to the great seal and maintain proper decorum in the presence of any device of the King.¹¹² On occasion, orders to remove livery collars after the ascension of a new ruler such as Janico Dartasso (a former retainer of King Richard II) and later Sir Thomas Tresham, who was ordered by King Edward IV in 1471 to cease wearing his collar of Henry VI were met with stubborn refusal out of a profound (and respected) sense of stubborn loyalty.¹¹³ This critically illuminates the life-cycle of these objects. For a royal badge, upon the ascension of a new ruler, the merits and associations of the badge dissolved, prompting the requests or expectation of their abandonment. However, for some, they remained potent embodiments of an ‘emotional reality’ or the living, expressed consciousness of particular values and relationships. Emotional significance, such as that displayed by the way Thomas Holland, a loyal follower of Richard II, was said to have aggressively ripped away the badges of Henry IV worn by the servants of Isabella, the deposed Queen, worked through and could be recognized in the badges.

¹¹⁰ Lee 2014, 11

¹¹¹ Ward 2014, 112

¹¹² Ward 2021, 111

¹¹³ Ward 2014; 80, 93

Badges primarily acted in variable contexts on the basis of a personal relationship between the divine or a saint and the person wearing the religious badge, or a social/political figure and their badge-wearing supporters. In addition to the clear role of Christian materiality within the emotion-centric devotional trends of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, there is a secular/political element which is also critical in a balanced assessment of later medieval badges.

2.3.3 *Identity*

In the later medieval period, badges were key elements in the construction and expression of a variety of identities. Expanding from the notion that identities are socially constructed and manifested through performativity and material culture, the articulation of later medieval identities could be made through ‘the provision of symbolic forms.’¹¹⁴ The idea of the individual within the community and that the formation of identities occurred within social spaces results in the ability of the later medieval individual to ‘mould their various identities within groups.’¹¹⁵ Objects of material culture and dress accessories including badges effectively communicated those identities which function as the building blocks of both self and broader communities.¹¹⁶ The notion of community within the later medieval period has often been stressed to the great detriment of the individual and their agency or role in the formation of personal identities.¹¹⁷ Community was essential as displayed by the work of Duffy who discusses the critical roles of guilds and the parish in the construction of a communal identity or ‘corporate Christianity.’¹¹⁸ Yet the establishment of a communal religious identity was still reliant upon the individual as the

¹¹⁴ Smith 2007; Rubin 2006, 395; Hicks 2010, 95

¹¹⁵ Mead 1934; Trexler 1985; Smith 2007; Ward 2021, 84

¹¹⁶ Harlow 2012

¹¹⁷ Rubin 2006, 384

¹¹⁸ Duffy 2005, 137

‘locus for moral choice and responsibility.’¹¹⁹ Therefore, the use of a badge to express an identity could operate at a variety of different levels from individual to familial to political or religious in nature.¹²⁰ These identities could be negotiated and were fluid depending on the connections and actions of the individual badge wearer.¹²¹ Standley also notes that while identities were experienced at a broad social level, they were also simultaneously experienced at the individual level.¹²² This project will consider how badge use was key in the expression and formulation of group identities and how they impacted individuals.

2.3.4 Emotional communities

Within this study, I propose that badges can represent what Rosenwein calls ‘emotional communities.’¹²³ Emotional communities are ‘groups that have their own particular values, modes of feeling, and ways to express those feelings.’¹²⁴ The identification of the multitudes of emotional communities co-existing within the chronological and geographical scope of this project is linked to Rosenwein’s disciplinarian adherence to what she calls an emotional vocabulary or the words which are used to describe feelings and emotions.¹²⁵ Another prominent historian addressing the emotion of the past is Reddy, who defines these vocabularies as ‘emotives’ to which Standley has added a material element in her formulation of the neologism ‘emotant.’¹²⁶ Expanding our attempts to distinguish past emotional communities through the

¹¹⁹ Rubin 2006, 385

¹²⁰ Ward 2021, 84-85; Meskell and Preucel 2004, 122

¹²¹ Ward 2021, 85

¹²² Standley 2010, 23

¹²³ Rubin 2009, 2; Bynam 2015, 269; Duffy 2022, 209

¹²⁴ Rosenwein 2016, 3

¹²⁵ Rosenwein 2016, 4

¹²⁶ Reddy, 2001; Standley 2020, 745

integration of material culture studies to what has been a purely historical approach to date, offers great exploratory potential.¹²⁷

I propose that as emotants, badges are able to identify communities through an assessment of their distributions. As Rosenwein states, these communities are not necessarily ‘emotional’ but are people who ‘share important norms concerning the emotions that they value and deplore and the modes of expressing them.’¹²⁸ In the case of badges, they may be one of the modes of expression shared by these emotional communities. For example, did a community share certain values and norms which were expressed through the devotion of a certain cult? Can a concentration of badges associated with that one particular cult signify the geographic area where an emotional community was active? Or can an emotional community who supported the policies or personalities of leading political figures and their factions be recognised?

Unearthing the communicative potential of emotant badges (or how they actually spoke) and consequentially the emotional communities which they were a part of is achievable through the interpretation of their context and semiotic values. However, applied in isolation, the emotional communities approach leads to broad conclusions being applied to the detriment of the individual’s experience.¹²⁹ Rosenwein acknowledges this with the affirmation that while the feelings of an individual at a particular moment are not addressed, the broad approach ‘will help us understand how people articulated, understood, and represented how they felt.’¹³⁰ This is where adding the consideration of emotants to the exploration of emotional communities is helpful as it is more concerned with distinguishing the layers of individuals, objects, and

¹²⁷ Plamper 2010, 255

¹²⁸ Rosenwein 2016, 3

¹²⁹ Standley 2020, 745

¹³⁰ Rosenwein 2010, 11

emotions.¹³¹ Webs of emotants provide a way of picking apart those layers by focusing on the mutability of communities and their individual constituents, and associated material culture. I argue that as emotants, badges signified and provoked the emotions and values of individuals within specific later medieval emotional communities.

2.3.5 *Memory*

Another key concept within this study is memory and how it manifests through badges. Objects can be used to recall events, people, and emotions and as a result, they become mnemonic devices which represent and encode information.¹³² Viewing or using an object can spark the mental recollection of something and creates, what Carruthers calls a memory-image.¹³³ As discussed by Duffy and Standley, memory was a vital part of Christian devotion.¹³⁴ For example, a badge of St Margaret might remind one of the *vita* of St Margaret and the righteous merits of enduring suffering through the memory of Christ's promise and deliverance of the faithful.¹³⁵ The role of devotional material culture as mnemonics or aide memoires has been discussed by authors including the work of Tertunte and Metzger.¹³⁶ For example, rosary beads are 'aide memoires for the laity to remember their devotions' As similar personal accessories with devotional power (see Section 2.3.2), how were the devotional badges actively engaged in memory and eliciting emotional responses of individuals during private or communal devotion?

¹³¹ Standley 2020, 745

¹³² Carruthers 2008, 2

¹³³ Carruthers 2008

¹³⁴ Duffy 2005; Standley 2010, 20

¹³⁵ Bledsoe 2013, 189

¹³⁶ Tertunte and Metzger 2021

2.4 Sampling and issues

Throughout this thesis, the data which is used was downloaded from the Portable Antiquities Scheme on November 11, 2021 and was subsequently cleaned, and given corrected attributions. This data was then combined with the published badges from Spencer and Mitchiner's catalogues as well as badges published in excavation reports and archaeological journals (See Chapter 3). The resulting catalogue of badges forms Appendix 1. This dataset was then interrogated with the distributions being plotted using ArcGIS with the results being considered within the theoretical framework outlined below.

2.4.1 Issues with PAS data and recording

This thesis utilises the archaeological data accumulated by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). A brief introduction is included here considering the aims and objectives of the scheme, its history, potential, as well as the inherent limitations and biases to the dataset which demand consideration.

The stated purpose of the PAS is to 'encourage and facilitate the recording of archaeological objects uncovered by members of the public.'¹³⁷ As a partnership program run by the British Museum and Amgueddfa Cymru – Museum Wales through a network of locally based Finds Liaison Officer posts, museums, county councils, and independent trusts throughout England and Wales, the PAS gathers data into an online database (www.finds.org.uk) in an effort to 'advance our understanding of the past.'¹³⁸ The growth of metal detecting beginning in the 1970s led to strained relationships between archaeologists and metal detectorists throughout the

¹³⁷ Robbins 2014, 11; Additionally, for further detailed discussion of the PAS, see Lewis 2016

¹³⁸ Robbins 2014, 11

1980s and 1990s as archaeologists considered widespread metal detecting to be a grave threat to the preservation of the archaeological record.¹³⁹ The eventual collaboration of the two parties led to the establishment of the PAS in 1997 as a ‘detailed, permanent, and accessible record of objects of archaeological interest discovered by members of the public.’¹⁴⁰

This partnership has produced a system which is recording around 80,000 archaeological finds per year.¹⁴¹ In 2023, 74,506 finds were recorded.¹⁴² Of those finds, 95% were found by metal detectorists and 94% were recovered from cultivated land,¹⁴³ and 20% were dated to the medieval period (AD 1066-1539).¹⁴⁴ According to geographical area, the three highest counties in terms of recorded finds in 2023 are Somerset (6,849), Lincolnshire (6,674), and Norfolk (6,315).¹⁴⁵ Access to this rapidly expanding and large-scale dataset facilitates the archaeological consideration of many diverse small finds of past material culture.

Despite the potential of the PAS as a tool for archaeological research, its data is not without limitations or biases and consideration must be afforded to its proper use when interpreting the past. How then might the badge data used in this project, which is a product of amateur collection practices, be affected by biases of the archaeological record? Schiffer’s 1987 conception of sampling bias features seven stages which summarise how human and physical factors enter and influence the archaeological record. The seven stages are: deposition, preservation, survival, exposure, recovery, reporting, and recording.¹⁴⁶ Of particular importance

¹³⁹ Robbins 2014, 12

¹⁴⁰ Harper 2018, 86

¹⁴¹ Robbins 2014, 14

¹⁴² Naylor and Lewis 2024, 5

¹⁴³ Naylor and Lewis 2024, 5, 37

¹⁴⁴ Naylor and Lewis 2024, 29

¹⁴⁵ Naylor and Lewis 2024, 35

¹⁴⁶ Robbins 2014, 25

to the study of badges in this thesis are the biases associated with preservation, reporting, and recording.¹⁴⁷

The preservation of metals in soil is affected by the processes of corrosion. As the overwhelming majority of badges recorded by the PAS are made from lead or a lead alloy, it is important to consider the corrosive properties of that material. Lead is a largely corrosion-resistant metal, but it will severely corrode in acidic soils.¹⁴⁸ In acidic conditions, the corrosion products of lead dissolve easily and will leave almost nothing left of the artifact. With regard to badge preservation, Anderson argues broadly that pilgrim badges, which were cast ‘as thin as possible’ were less likely to survive in plough soil than the more substantial and metal-rich ampullae.¹⁴⁹ Anderson’s 2010 study found that 85% of ampullae recorded by the PAS were found on cultivated land (plough soil).¹⁵⁰ This raises significant doubts as to whether the distribution of pilgrim signs observable in the PAS database are reflective of medieval deposition or if it is merely reflective of areas which are ideally suited for the preservation and survivability of lead-based materials.¹⁵¹ Therefore, further investigation into the presence and absences of badges in certain areas (particularly where levels of metal detecting and recording of other medieval objects are high) would be highly informative.

As the PAS is reliant upon amateur collectors, the database and the distributions of artifact types are influenced by the areas of England and Wales where metal detecting is constrained.¹⁵² Metal detecting is not always possible and a landscape which ‘limits, inhibits, or

¹⁴⁷ For extensive discussion regarding bias in the PAS database, see Robbins 2014

¹⁴⁸ Robbins 2014, 28

¹⁴⁹ Anderson 2010, 197

¹⁵⁰ Anderson 2010, 197-198

¹⁵¹ Anderson 2010, 197-198

¹⁵² For further reading on the relationship between archaeologists and detectorists, see Bland 2005, Thomas 2016.

restricts the recovery of finds from a particular location' has the potential to substantially impact the distributions of object recorded by the PAS.¹⁵³ Examples of constraining landscapes include urban areas, National Trust Properties, military training areas, Royal Estates, waterlogged areas, and many other types of landscape (Figure 2.1).¹⁵⁴

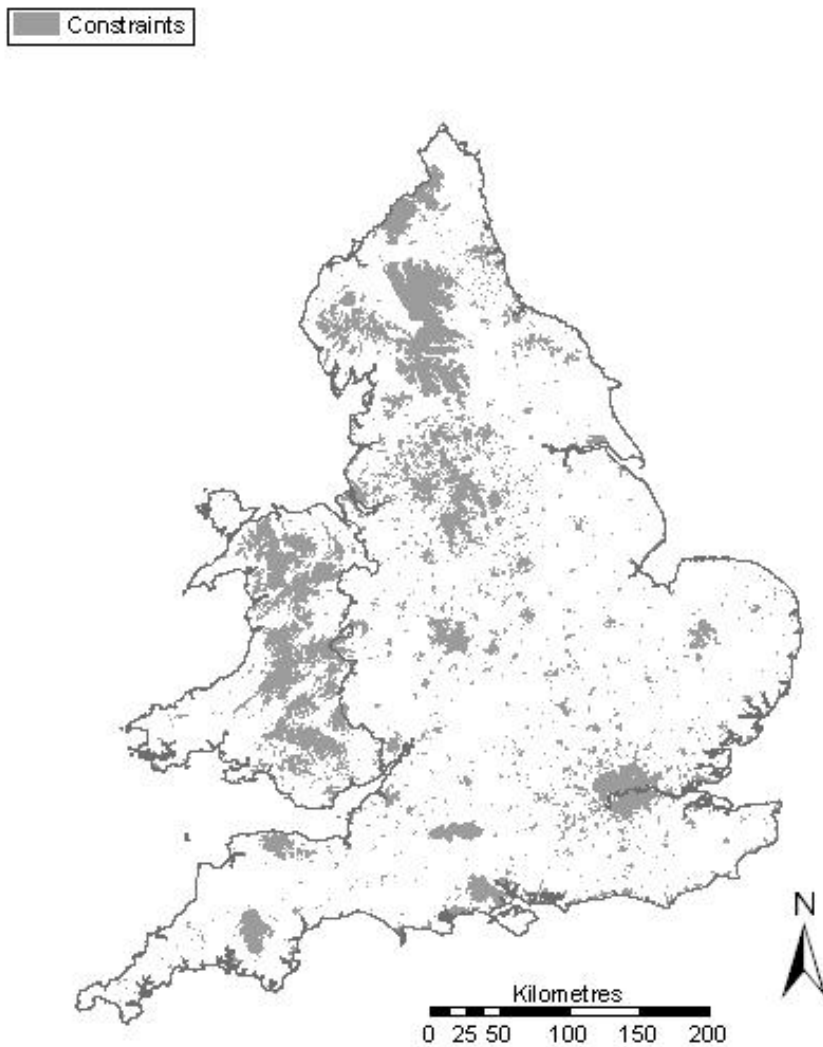


Figure 2.1: Map of PAS constraints. From Richards et al 2009.

¹⁵³ Robbins 2014, 38-39

¹⁵⁴ See Robbins 2014, 40-46 for an extensive list of landscape constraint types. Additionally, see Richards et al 2009.

The dataset of the PAS may also be impacted by the reporting habits of individual amateur collectors. Participation in the reporting of artifacts not classified as treasure by the *1996 Treasure Act* is entirely reliant on the discretion of the finder. Robbins has considered a variety of causes for the non-reporting of finds to the PAS.¹⁵⁵ Understanding that there are likely thousands of artifacts unrecorded and held by members of the public illuminates the potential for misinterpretations of artifact distributions.

The recording of finds is also not without limitations. As stated by Robbins, ‘the identification and classification of artifacts is reliant on human perceptions’ introducing an element of variability into the recording process.¹⁵⁶ Variability in recording is compounded by the nature of the database which only permits the attribution of one function or ‘object type’ classification to each record.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, recent work by Lewis and others has discussed human decision making in detail and the impact it can have on archaeological databases.¹⁵⁸ This fails to account for the multiple functions and meanings that an object may have had.¹⁵⁹ Although this project is largely only considering objects labelled as ‘pilgrim badge’ or ‘badge’ by the PAS, it is likely that additional examples of badges have been labelled as a different type of object. For example, a pilgrim badge could mistakenly be labelled as a mount in the PAS system and therefore not considered in this thesis. Within this thesis, downloaded records were checked and any erroneous identifications of saints or iconography were corrected. However, although there may be errors in identifying very damaged or corroded lead alloy objects as a badge by recorders on the PAS, this is not a situation which may be mitigated.

¹⁵⁵ Robbins 2014, 35

¹⁵⁶ Robbins 2014, 36

¹⁵⁷ Harper 2018, 86

¹⁵⁸ Lewis et al 2025

¹⁵⁹ Harper 2018, 86

With regard to dating finds, Harper's 2018 discussion of medieval toys and the PAS raised the issue of the attribution of dates to objects from unstratified contexts which results in very broad and unspecific dating.¹⁶⁰ With consideration to this thesis, badge dates are reliant on the works of Spencer and his studies of pilgrim badge forms and iconography. In practice, the assigning of dates to individual pilgrim badges by the PAS is largely unspecific. As a result, care must be taken when considering the given dates of the badges on the PAS. However, it is not an aim of this thesis to create dated typologies of badges.

In an effort to address the limitations of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, Robbins highlighted the key questions which must be addressed by archaeological research utilizing the PAS database. As discussed above, the consideration of the survey area, the choices of the collector and the possibility of reporting and recording issues are vital for all PAS-based projects. While Robbins councils awareness of the issues surrounding collectors, reporting, and recording and how they will affect a study area, she does offer the methodology of constraint mapping for understanding the area in which amateur collectors can search, and the areas that have actually been searched.¹⁶¹ Robbins does caution that although constraint mapping is effective, it is not infallible and does not prove whether fields have been thoroughly searched.¹⁶² Therefore, while this project does not actively utilize constraint mapping, it does consider areas which restrict metal detection in an effort to limit possible misinterpretations of the distribution of badges recorded by the PAS across England and Wales (Figure 2.2).

The Portable Antiquities Scheme often provides exact find spot information, which can be used to plot distributions. For example, of the PAS finds records completed in 2023, over

¹⁶⁰ Harper 2018, 86

¹⁶¹ Robbins 2014, 77

¹⁶² Robbins 2014, 77

85% had at least an 8-figure National Grid Reference (precise to 10m) which helps the data to be archaeologically viable.¹⁶³ The creation of distribution maps will be utilised as a method of understanding the distributions of pilgrim badges in relation to the shrines they are associated with; if there are tangible links between political/household badges and the holdings or power bases of those entities; and used to investigate possible emotional communities (as discussed above in Section 2.3.4). Additionally, distribution maps are analysed to consider the absence of badges and to consider if these are true absences, or potentially due to biases in metal-detecting and recording. To do this, other later medieval finds will be plotted to see if there is a general lacunae of later medieval objects or PAS recording in those areas. If, for example, seal matrices, coins, lead alloy spindle whorls, or indeed pilgrim ampullae are commonly reported in the areas lacking any badges, this may suggest a real absence of badges. The addition of excavated finds will also potentially assist in filling some of the gaps within metal detecting distributions. Importantly, this method provides a means of comparing urban and more rural results, and whether any differences in religious and political practices, or emotional communities are discernible.

Throughout this thesis, PAS find spots will be interpreted as evidence of use (regardless of what form it takes) although they are findspots representing loss (either accidental or purposeful). However, I will be assuming that PAS findspots are reflective of the losses of badges while they were being worn and used.

¹⁶³ Naylor and Lewis 2023, 37

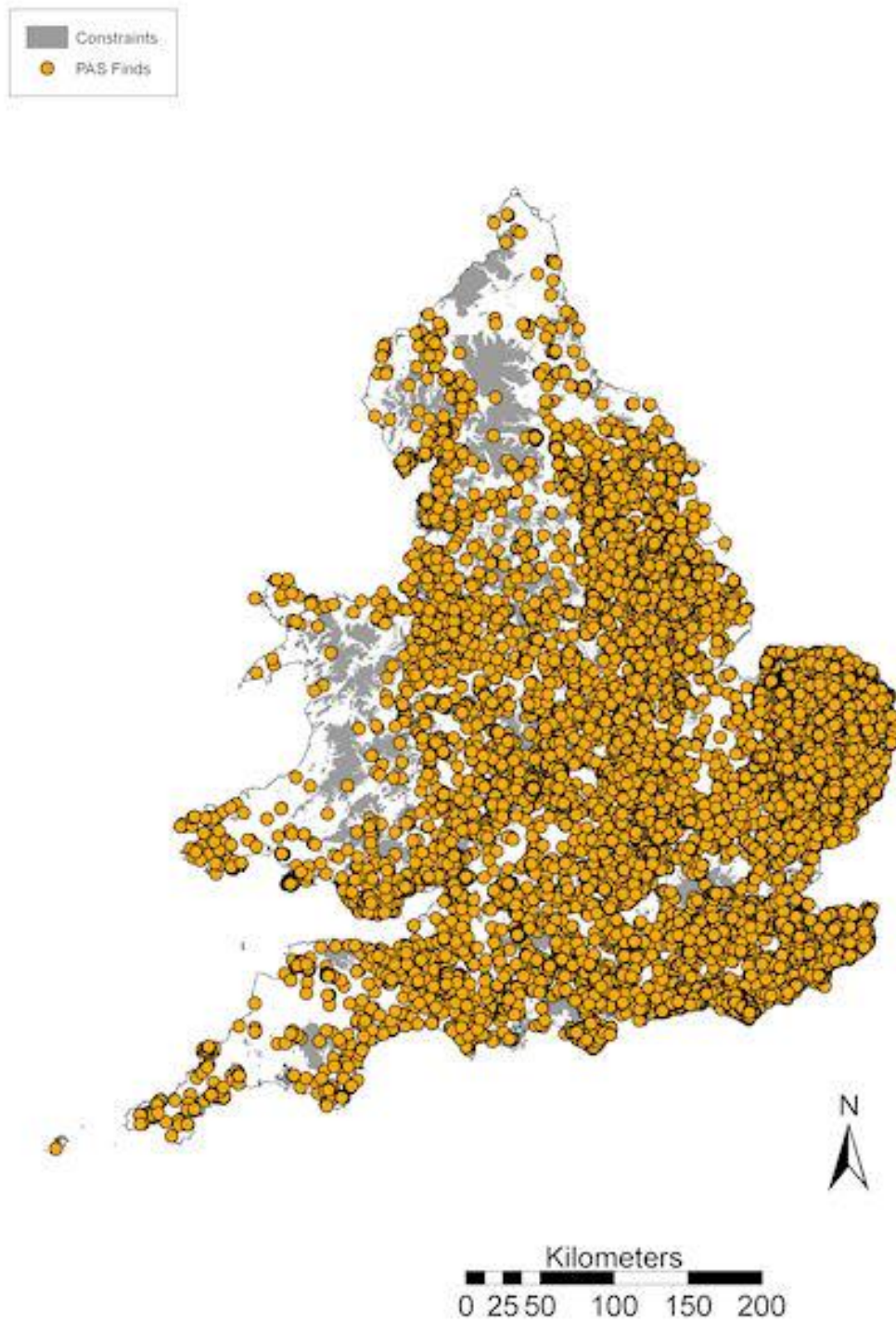


Figure 2.2: Map of PAS constraints and the distribution of all PAS finds (2009). From Richards et al 2009.

2.4.2 *Archaeologically excavated badges*

The nature of extant badge data necessitates the adoption of a methodology or conceptual approach that is not reliant on excavated archaeological contextual information because, compared to the numbers recovered by chance and recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), very few badges are recovered by controlled archaeological excavations. The current paucity of such data has been the determining factor in the decision to begin this study with an analysis of the PAS data which is substantial. Virtually all of the *c.* 1,200 badges recorded as chance finds by the PAS suffer from a lack of archaeological context. Therefore, one of the priorities of this project is to also identify badges found through excavations which do have recorded contexts via the indices of published archaeological reports, journals, and historic environment records (HER's). In particular, urban areas have been targeted where there is a limit to the chance find data (excluding the riverine finds from London and Salisbury).

It is recognised that relatively few objects of a religious nature, including pilgrim signs, are excavated at sites in England and Wales. The extensive excavations at York which produced over 6,000 medieval objects only produced two badge fragments (as well as three further possible badge fragments).¹⁶⁴ Excavations at Winchelsea carried out between 1974 and 2000 only produced one badge fragment, and Standley's study of 92 separate archaeological sites (including rural, urban, and religious sites) recorded over 1,430 dress accessories but only two pilgrim badges from known excavated contexts.¹⁶⁵ It must also be emphasized that very few religious/devotional objects are found in the excavations of religious houses due to the iconoclastic practices of the Reformation.¹⁶⁶ Despite the low numbers, other studies of small

¹⁶⁴ Ottaway and Rogers 2002

¹⁶⁵ Martin and Rudling 2004, 147; Standley 2013; 5, 74

¹⁶⁶ Willmott 2020; Sommerville 1992; Standley 2010, 39

finds have successfully utilized PAS data as their primary source, and supplemented it with the excavated material to bolster their discussions.¹⁶⁷

Therefore, the inclusion of available contextualized finds provides supplementary/additional material in the broader discussion and case studies of this project.

2.4.3 *Supplementary sources of evidence*

Investigating an object's context is critical in the process of identifying an object as an emotant. Therefore, the limitations of this project concerning the lack of consistent availability of archaeological context can be bolstered by the consideration of relevant documentary sources and contemporary forms of material culture. Contemporary documentation and depictions of badges or references to their use is sparse and often enigmatic in the pictures that they present and as such, they must be critically analysed. This thesis does not include a complete survey of contemporary sources that mention signs or badges. However, a selection of relevant documentary sources that reference sign use has been included where relevant in order to expand our understanding of their contexts of use and societal beliefs and practices. The contexts in which documents were written, and the biases of the authors must be considered, such as the vehemently Protestant Tudor chronicler Edward Hall who derided badge usage in the Pilgrimage of Grace as tools of superstition.¹⁶⁸ Amongst the best-known literary references to badges are found in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *A Vision of Piers Plowman* which are themselves offering a critical view of pilgrimage and pilgrims in late 14th century England.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Martin 2015; Weetch 2014; Standley 2016; Standley 2013

¹⁶⁸ Hall 1809, 823

¹⁶⁹ Chaucer et al 2011; Langland and Schmidt 2009

Often it has been these references and their implications that badges were souvenirs which have led to the modern interpretations discussed in Section 2.2.¹⁷⁰

A degree of caution must be exhibited in the acceptance of these references to badge use. If we place these references within the paradoxical environment described by Bynum (see Section 2.3.2), they merely exhibit one perspective on the spectrum of views regarding the use of images and material as a whole within later medieval devotional practice. Nevertheless, the perspectives that they display are important to our understanding not only of badge use, but of the dialogues they prompted within broader social and religious contexts. For example, there are parliamentary references and legislation relating to badges and other objects of livery which have been documented by Saul.¹⁷¹ Such references place badges within a finite environment which does not necessarily inform us of how people related to badges, but it does establish and contextualize the controversial nature of their use.¹⁷² Rather than simply reading literary references as direct witnesses to the later medieval use of badges, or the only correct way of using them, I instead use them to help build a fuller picture of the varied contexts in which badges existed.

There is a plethora of documentary sources pertaining to the use of religious material culture. Again, they must be critically analysed, but as in Margaret Paston's letter and gift of a ring of St Margaret (see Chapter 7.3), these sources assist in identifying what Standley describes as the 'finer human and object stories' which are often lost in the generalizations created regarding our assessments of material culture.¹⁷³ These are not to be solely relied upon but can

¹⁷⁰ Spencer 2010; 1,4

¹⁷¹ Saul 1990

¹⁷² Saul 1990

¹⁷³ Standley 2020, 745

add colour or perspective to the relationships sparked between individuals and badges and their existence as part of a broad culture of religious iconography.

Other forms of material culture and images are also helpful in building the contextual environment in which badges existed. Pictorial evidence of English badge use may also be considered for the occurrence and identification of worn badges in later medieval and Tudor era portraiture.

Finally, mapping is linked to the identification of emotional communities as discussed above. The creation of distribution maps will also be utilized as a method of understanding the distributions of pilgrim badges in relation to the shrines they are associated with or if there are tangible links between political/household badges and the holdings or power bases of those entities. Additionally, I will use them to identify unexplained gaps in badge find data compared to other medieval finds. This is displayed in the discussion of the badges of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus in Chapter 7 and in Chapter 6 where discussion will focus on Lollardy and the limited badge finds in Eastern England in the same areas which feature abundant PAS ampullae finds. The addition of the excavated finds to the distribution maps will potentially assist in filling some of the gaps within the metal detecting distributions and provide a means of comparing urban and rural data and whether any differences in religious and political practice are discernible.

2.4.4 Dating of the badges

Concerning the dating of badges considered throughout this thesis, I have not challenged the dating conventions of the PAS or published sources of badge data such as the catalogues of Spencer. It is not the intention of this work to set a typology of badges and establish concrete

dating parameters for each badge type. Where possible, I have discussed cults and badge types which have definable and accessible date ranges such as that of King Henry VI, whose cult flourished after his death in 1483 and lasted into the mid-16th century. The intent of this work is calibrated to address and attempt to explore the heart of the iconographic messaging of the objects. Although dating is essential to consider, particularly given the emphasis afforded to the distributions of the material, the badges are essentially 14th-early 16th century objects. Indeed, within that period, the majority of evidence appears to date to the 15th to early 16th century. Throughout this period, devotional badges likely remained quite consistent in what they expressed concerning Christian or cultic intricacies. However, when considering livery badges or political/social badges (or the application of devotional messaging to the political sphere), the lack of precise dating can impair the ability to interpret all of their possible meanings. Yet, the persistence and consistency of badge use and iconographies from the 14th to early 16th century is suggestive that badges were a durable source of visual literacy. I am nevertheless conscious of the issues concerning the accurate dating of badges and its effect on my subsequent interpretations.

2.5 Research questions

Following the consideration of the available evidence, current state of research, and theoretical ideas outlined above, this project aims to answer the following research questions:

- How many badges have been found in England and Wales, what saints, cults, or factions are represented, and are there any patterns in their distribution?

- What made badges practical and desirable in England and Wales and were they part of national, regional, or localised emotional communities? What does this suggest about the popularity of cultic devotion and pilgrimage shrines?
- How did badges actively communicate, shape, create, and reinforce identities, ideas, beliefs, memories, and emotions in the later medieval period?
- How were badges used and how did this change over time, particularly considering the religious and political contexts of the period? Is there any evidence of negative emotional reactions or criticisms of badges and their use?
- How did livery badges grant agency to their wearers and how did that affect later medieval society? What contributed to the end of widespread badge use in England and Wales?

Chapter 3: Dataset overview

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides an introduction to the data utilized in this thesis. This entails an overview of where the data have been collected from, the total numbers of objects considered within this project, the spatial distributions of the material, and what the badges depict and the areas associated with the finds. As will be shown below, this thesis engages with a large and diverse form of material culture. This chapter analyses and records later medieval badge finds and assesses the patterns which are observable in their survival. It establishes how many badges have survived and where they were found. It also identifies what saints, cults, or social elements are revealed in the badge finds and observes their distributions for any foci relating to certain badge-types. Section 3.2 focuses on the overall numbers of badges and their distribution across England and Wales, while Section 3.3 analyses the designs and associations of the badges that have determined the reasons for selecting the case studies featured in Chapters 4 - 8.

3.2 Overall data

The dataset utilized in this thesis considers a total of 3,465 objects collected from sources across England and Wales (Appendix 1, Figure 3.1). Essentially, the origins of the data collected may be organized within three general categories; material from published catalogues of badges, chance find data, and finds gleaned from archaeological journals and excavation reports.

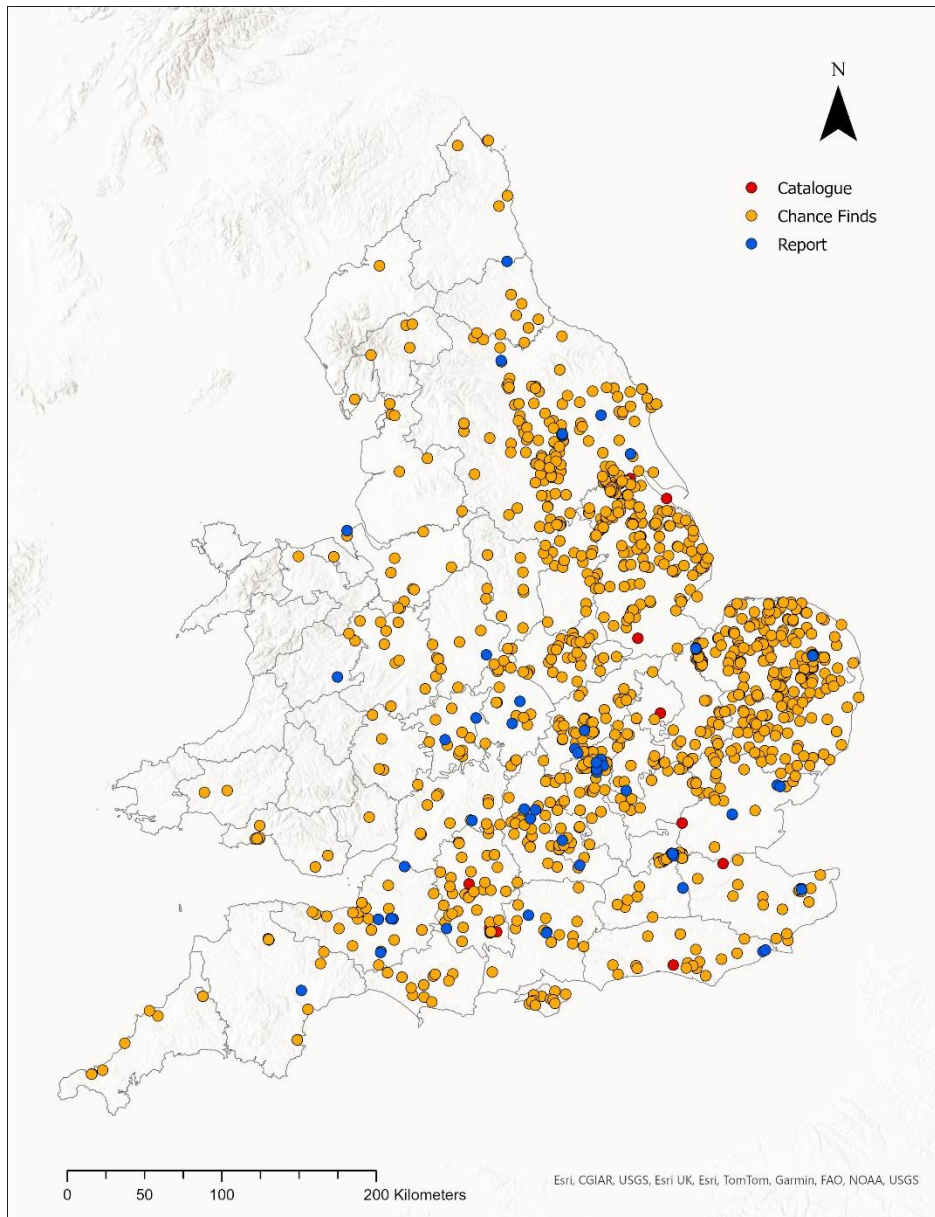


Figure 3.1 Distribution plot displaying all of the 3,465 later medieval badges recorded in this thesis. It shows the widespread distribution of material across England and Wales.

The published catalogue data which accounts for 1,995 badges or 58% of the dataset (Chart 3.1) was drawn from the three catalogues by Spencer of badges from the riverine deposits recovered from London, Salisbury, and King's Lynn.¹⁷⁴ Mitchiner's 1986 volume of objects

¹⁷⁴ Spencer 1980, 1998; Spencer and Griffiths 1990

principally from London riverside excavations and Salisbury yielded 835 of the 1,995 badges.¹⁷⁵ Additionally considered alongside these more extensive compilations are 41 badges published by Geoff Egan in 2005 on the Abbot's Lane (London) excavations.¹⁷⁶ Chance finds constitute 40% of the dataset with 1,376 objects. These were drawn principally from the Portable Antiquities Scheme which yielded 1,133 badges; the remainder were recorded from the Heritage Gateway scheme and Historic Environment Records (241 badges). In addition, the Durham Sites and Monuments record produced two further chance finds.

A search of approximately 150-200 publications of medieval excavations and site reports for any discoveries of badges was carried out as part of the data search. Additionally, every article within the 67 volumes of the *Medieval Archaeology Journal* which pertained to post-1066 England and Wales were searched for badge finds. This resulted in the relatively small number of 94 badges being added to the data. These 94 badges account for a mere 3% of the total dataset (Chart 3.1). This stark difference in the recovery of badge finds tells us that these objects are rarely found through archaeological investigation. The data show that badges are most likely to have been recovered from urban riverside deposits or from rural settings.

¹⁷⁵ Mitchiner 1986; It is necessary to note that between the catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner, there is the potential for a small number of duplicate badge records from London.

¹⁷⁶ Egan 2005; Abbot's Lane was also featured in Spencer's London catalogue.

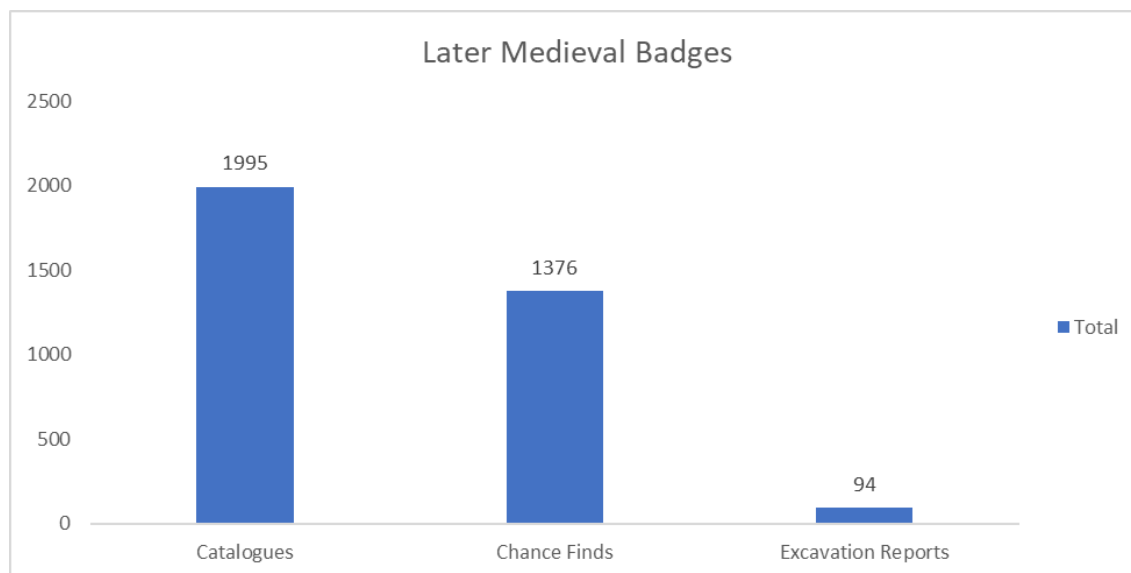


Chart 3.1 Chart of later medieval badges recorded in this thesis according to the source of their data. Although the works of Spencer and Mitchiner remain essential to our interpretations, the ever-growing numbers of chance finds now provide a substantial comparative source. Discussions of badges in excavation reports remain limited.

This project in no way claims to be an exhaustive compilation of English and Welsh badges as a definitive search of grey literature and unpublished collections (for example in museum collections) was not undertaken.¹⁷⁷ It is likely that there are a significant number of badge finds that have simply not been recorded by finders or which have been missed by the data collection of this thesis, in addition to those simply lost over time. Indeed, it has long been suggested that millions of badges would have been manufactured in the later medieval period, and the broad distribution of badges shown in Figure 3.1 supports their ubiquity.¹⁷⁸

For many years, the catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner have essentially been the only guides, source of data, and discussion surrounding later medieval badges in England and Wales, however they are dominated by riverine provenances. The nature of the riverine finds means that most of these badges do not have precise spatial or archaeological contexts. I have nevertheless

¹⁷⁷ It must be noted that some of the published catalogue finds are now part of museum collections including the London Museum, British Museum, and Salisbury Museum. Additionally, other badges from Spencer's catalogues were recorded by him and then returned to their finders.

¹⁷⁸ Spencer 2010, 13

elected to include the catalogues. Regardless of their very general or absent spatial information, they do provide a substantial iconographic source, permitting comparisons with the chance finds and excavated badge material.

What the data collection in the project has shown is that while these catalogues continue to be central to our understandings of the material, we now also benefit from a continuously growing repository of chance finds from other largely rural locations which can be considered alongside the urban riverine finds. However, while the chance finds (largely courtesy of the PAS) have rapidly begun to close the gap with the catalogue data in terms of sheer numbers of finds, there remains a staggering paucity of data being revealed through excavations of non-riverbank locations. Thus, where are badges being recovered from in England and Wales away from riverine deposits, and how do the different sources of badge data impact their spatial distribution?

The plot of the 3,465 individual badges shows a widespread distribution across England and Wales (see Figure 3.2, Figure 3.3). As discussed below, the gaps in the distribution generally occur in expected locations and may be explained by the nature and biases of the sources from which the badge data was drawn (see Section 1.7.1 for a discussion of PAS land restrictions). Chart 3.2 above demonstrates the overwhelming concentration of badges in the London area due to the river deposit finds published by Spencer and Mitchiner. Producing a kernel density map of the data (Figure 3.4) clearly shows that in addition to London, the dense clusters of finds in Salisbury and King's Lynn also reflect the impact of the catalogues on the dataset. Nearly 60% of the entire dataset are concentrated in these three urban, riverside settings. What these maps show is that the catalogues provide only a very narrow or concentrated view of badge use across England which prevents an analysis of how the badges and their uses may have differed across

regions. It is vital that we test whether the patterns reflected in the riverine finds of London, Salisbury, and King's Lynn hold true across the country or if they are a reflection of specific urban environments and local practices.

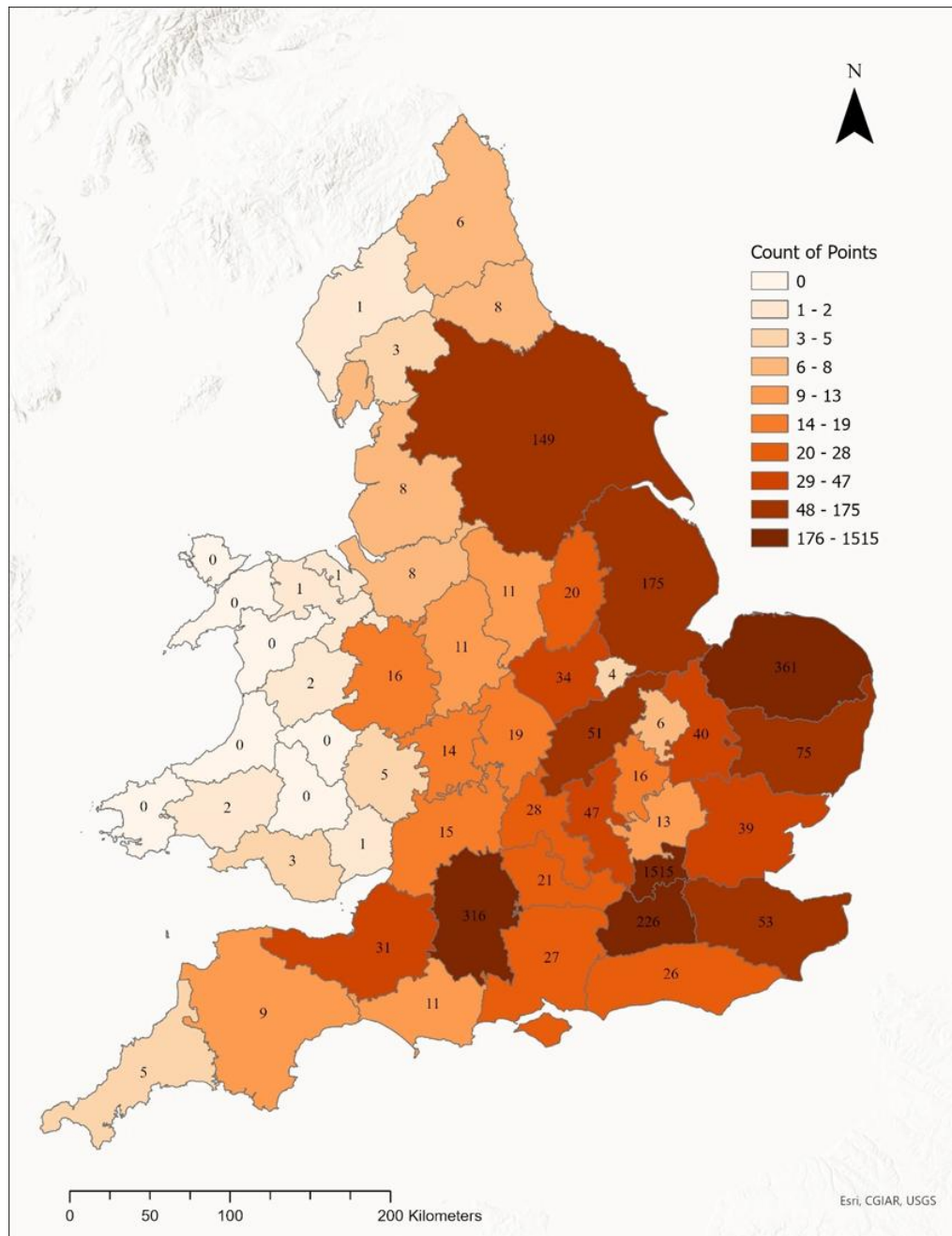


Figure 3.2 This map summarizes the distribution of the 3,465 badges according to their county of origin. Note the impact of the catalogue data as London, Norfolk, and Wiltshire have the most finds by a large margin. Please note that the numbers for Surrey are inflated by the London finds on the south bank of the River Thames. (See Chart 3.2)

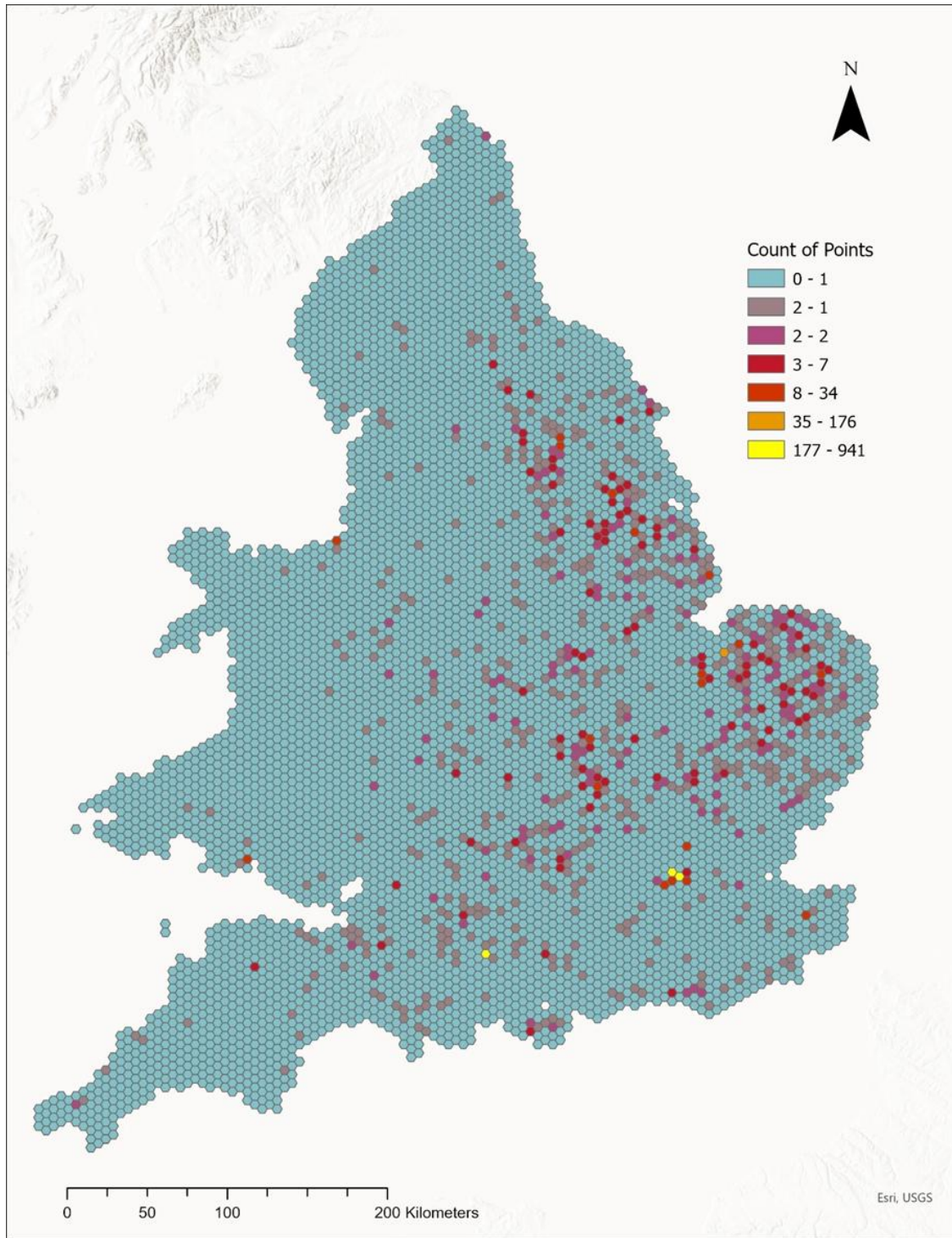


Figure 3.3 This map presents another way of viewing the density of the 3,465 badges across England and Wales.

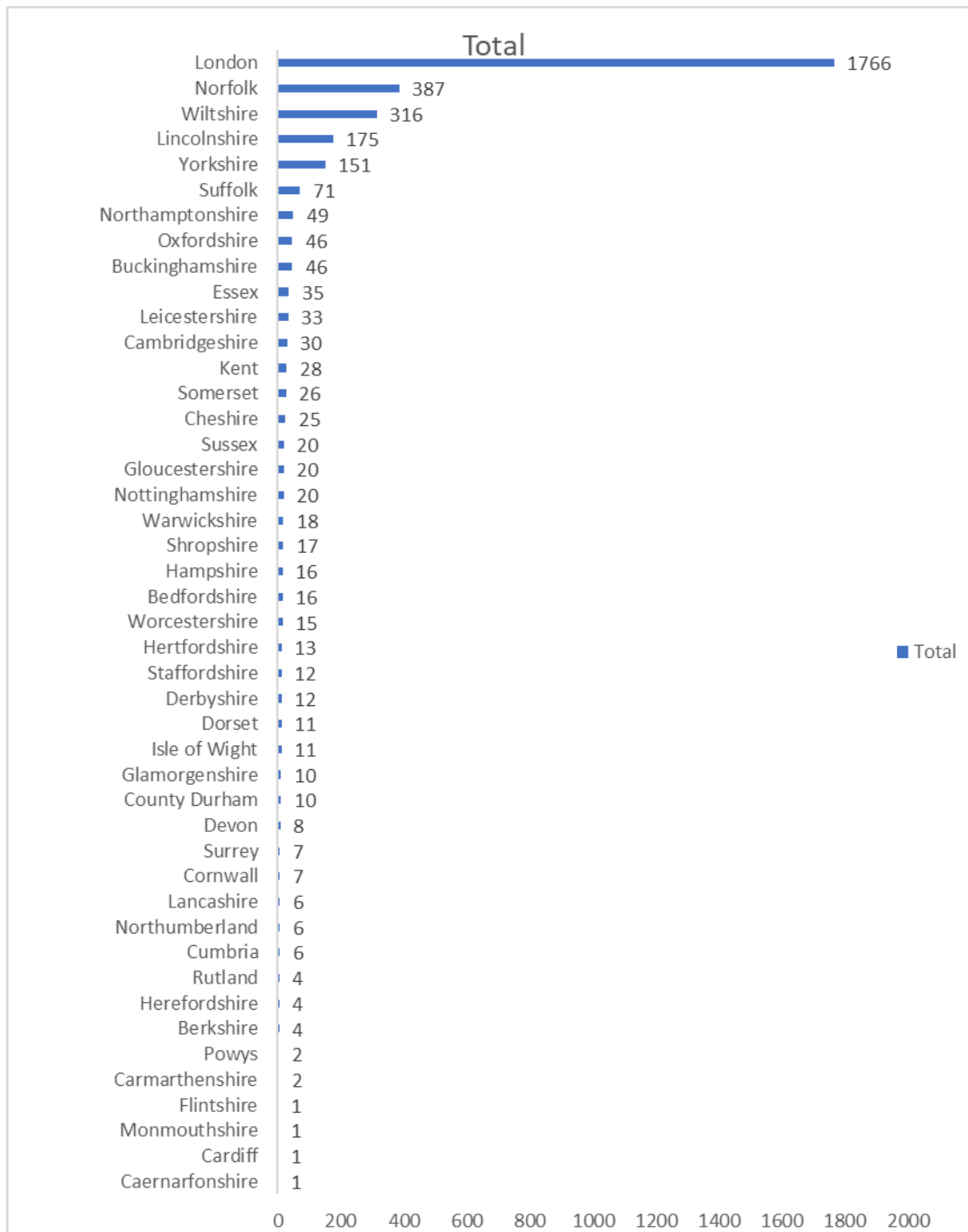


Chart 3.2 Chart displaying the badge finds by county in England and Wales. This clearly show the vast discrepancy existing between London and the rest of England and Wales.

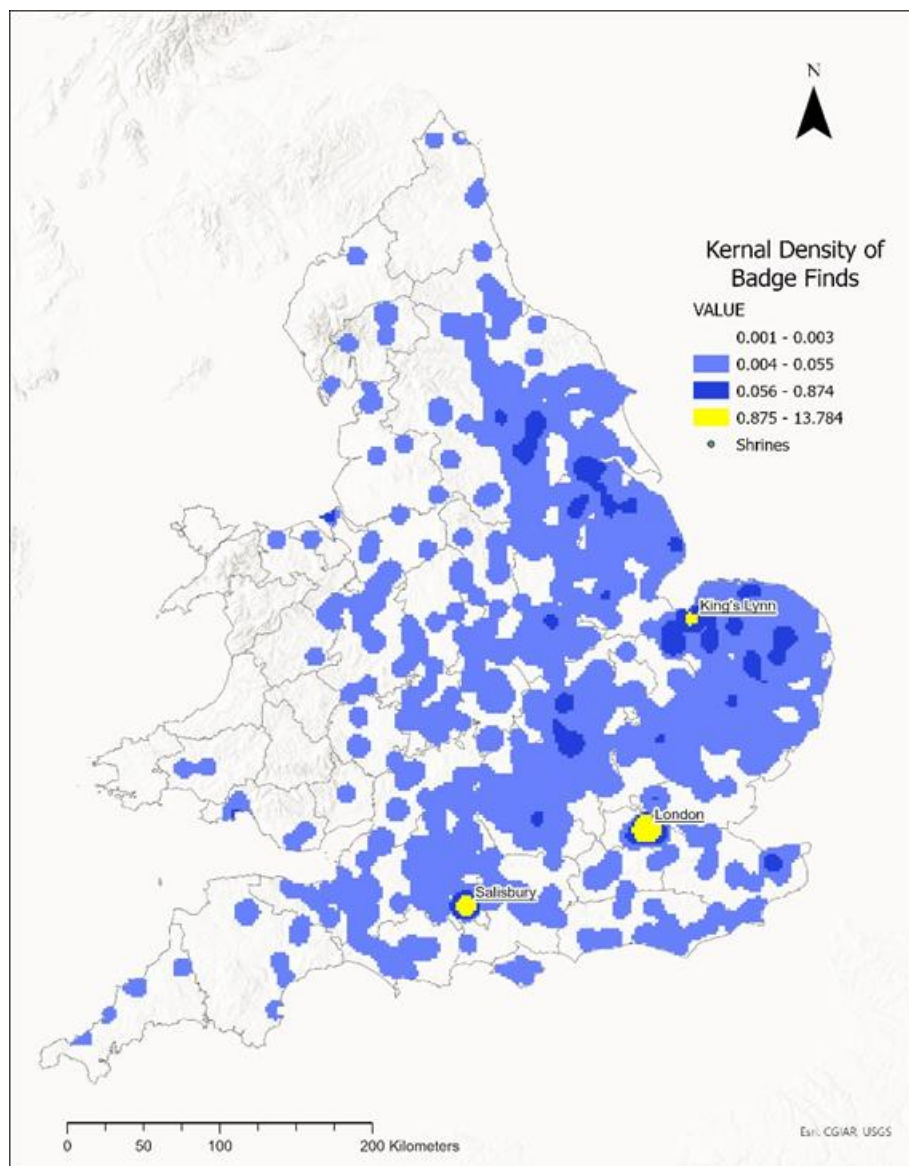


Figure 3.4 Kernal density map of the 3,465 badges. The three yellow concentrations in London, Salisbury, and King's Lynn represent nearly 60% of extant published badge data.

3.2.1 Chance finds

The chance find data (and excavated finds discussed below) are therefore necessary to present a much broader view of where badges are being found, and what is being represented by the badges. The nature of chance finds and the metal detecting practices producing the vast

majority of PAS finds allow us to understand more about the later medieval rural environment.¹⁷⁹ The distribution of the 1,376 chance finds as well as the gaps, are unsurprising (Figure 3.5; see Chapter 1.7.1). Notably, while finds from London appear to be densely recovered (216 chance finds, predominantly due to the mudlarks searching along the Thames greatly bolstering the dominance of riverine deposits), there is a ‘lacuna’ of badge finds emanating from elsewhere in central London as seen by Oksanen and Lewis for other later medieval small finds and is to be expected as the urban development of the region generally inhibits metal detecting.¹⁸⁰ The extreme paucity of data across Wales, Devon and Cornwall, the Fenlands of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and southern Lincolnshire, and the areas north and west of the Pennine Hills is expected given the unsuitability of those landscape terrains for metal detection. Regarding where chance find badges are being reported, Figure 3.6 shows the prevalence of finds from York in the north, extending south through Northampton and London, and encompassing Norwich at the eastern point of what becomes a triangular distribution. While finds are not particularly dense outside of this area, it must be stated that this triangle of finds between London, Norwich, and York generally correlates to areas of high population density in later medieval England and Wales as discussed by Oksanen and Lewis (Figure 3.6).¹⁸¹ The county of Norfolk has the most chance finds as well as one of the largest recording teams. The 241 total badges from the Heritage Gateway data bolsters the already substantial PAS data collected from Norfolk (143 badges) (See Charts 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 below). Overwhelmingly concentrated in Norfolk, the Heritage Gateway reflects the strength of reporting practices to the PAS and Historic Environment Records in that county.

¹⁷⁹ Oksanen and Lewis 2023, 161

¹⁸⁰ Oksanen and Lewis 2020, 113

¹⁸¹ Oksanen and Lewis 2020, 122



Figure 3.5 Distribution plot displaying the broad spread of the 1,376 chance finds considered in this thesis.

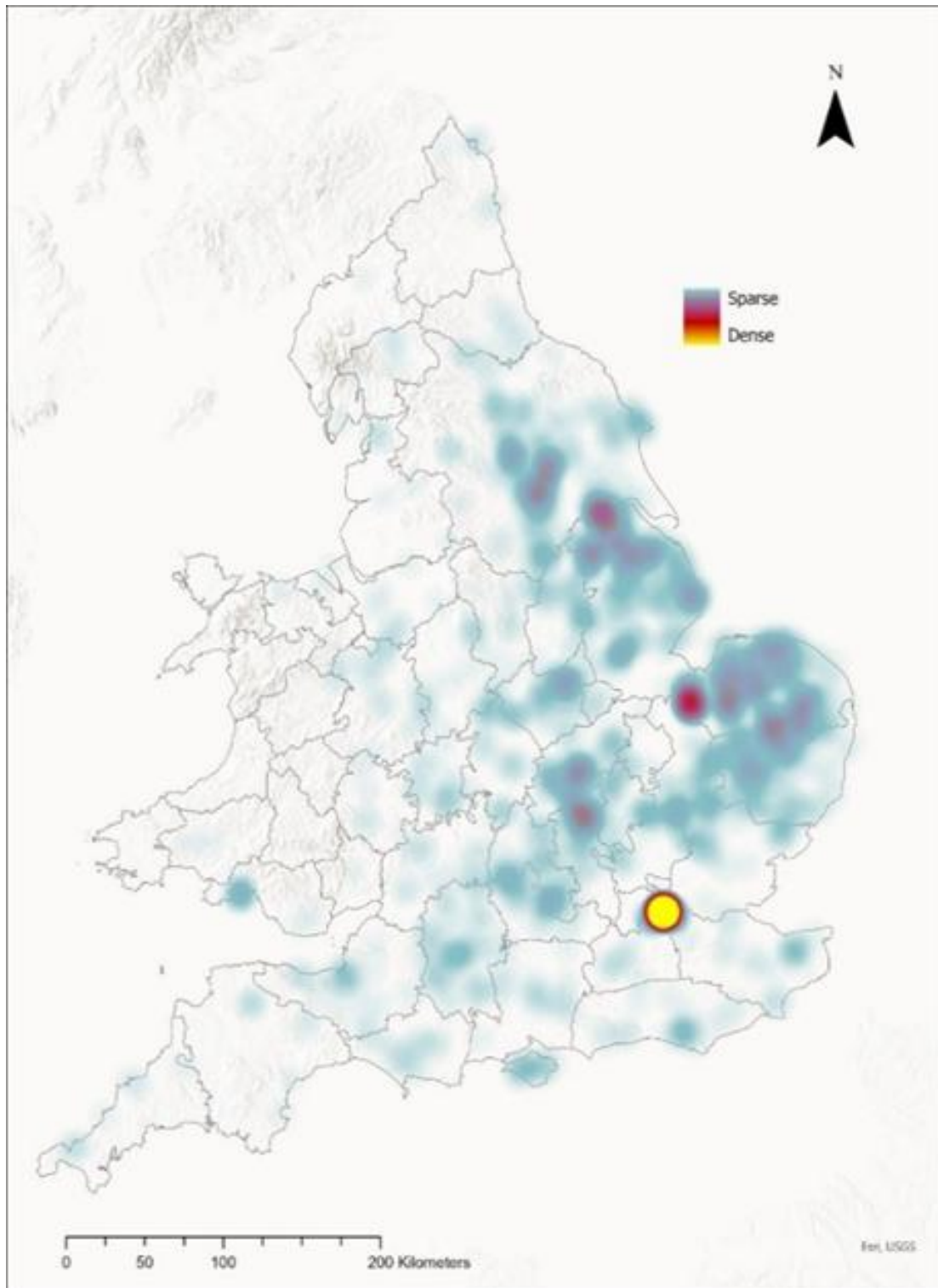


Figure 3.6 Heat map displaying the density of the 1,376 chance finds.

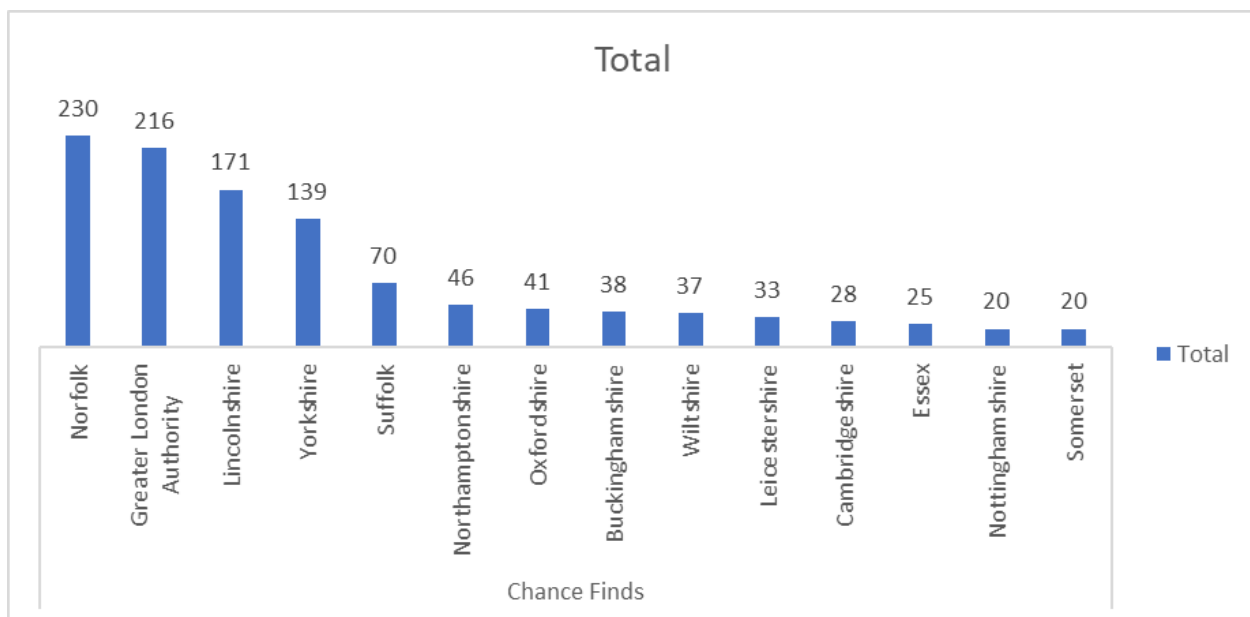


Chart 3.3 Chart displaying the counties displaying 20 or more total chance finds.

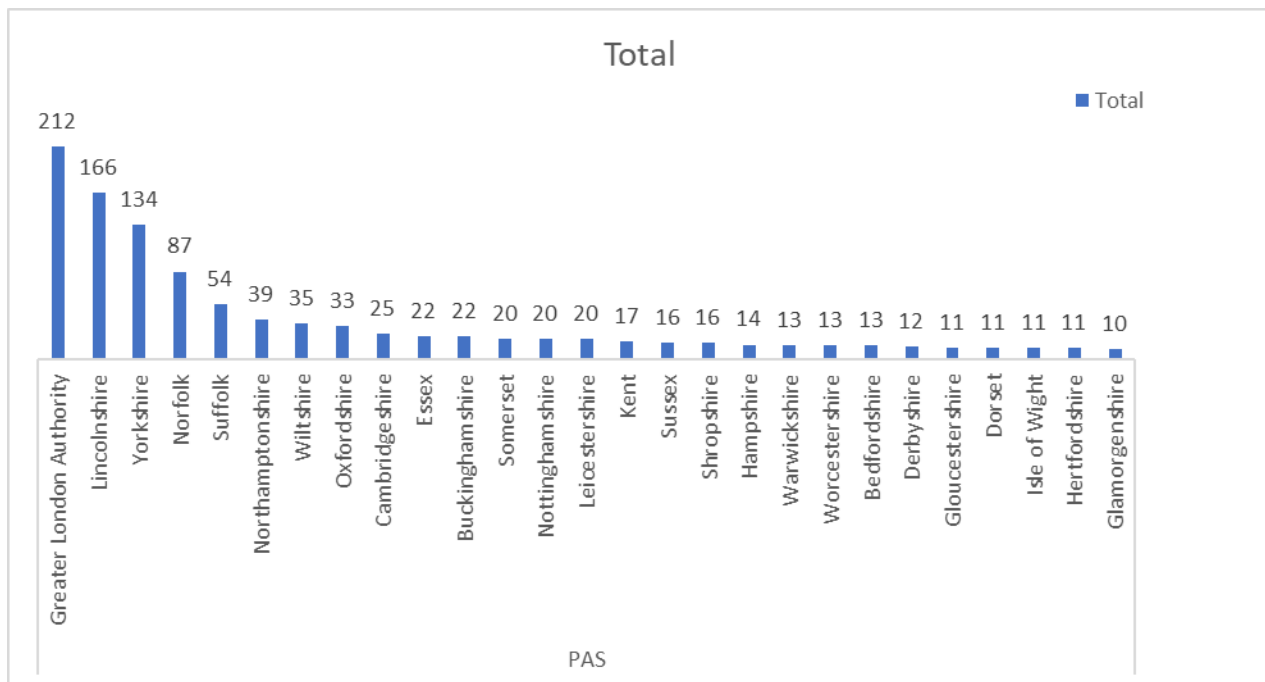


Chart 3.4 Chart displaying the counties reporting 10 or more badges to the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

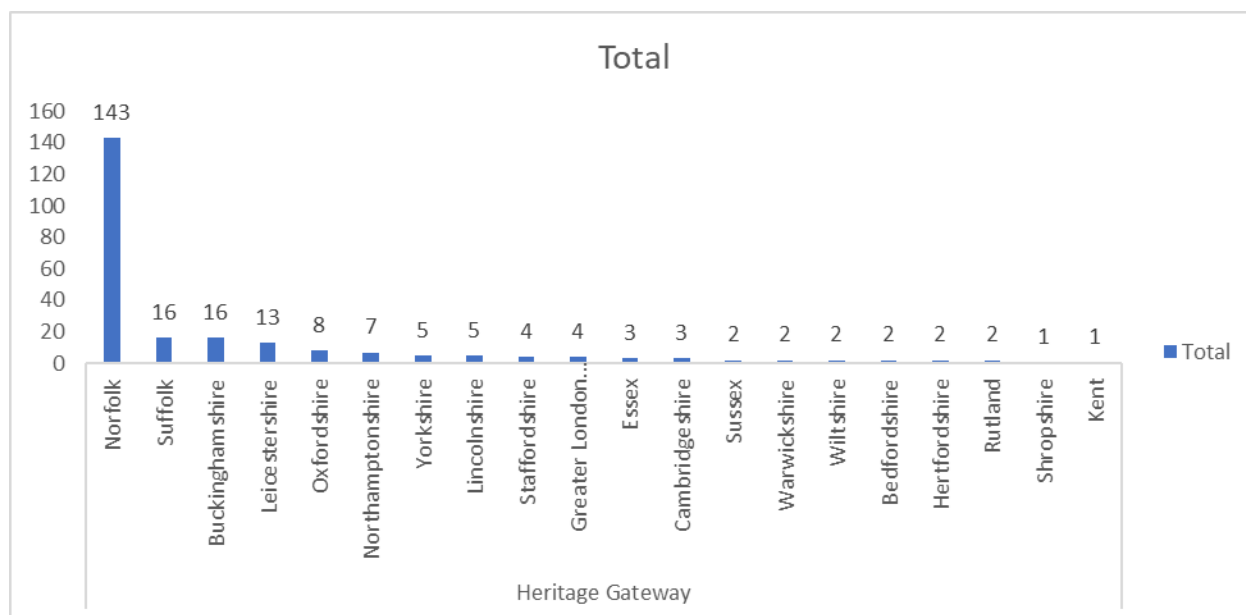


Chart 3.5 Chart displaying the distribution of the 241 badges of the Heritage Gateway according to the county in which they were found. This clearly shows the active chance find reporting practices maintained in the county of Norfolk.

However, the chance finds distribution does reveal a few unexpected results. Namely, the sparse distribution of chance find badges in Kent is surprising given the relatively large numbers of other types of small, metal, later medieval finds being reported in that county by the PAS. For example, if we consider both later medieval seal matrices and ampullae recorded by the PAS, Kent is among the highest producing counties for both of those assemblages with 225 seal matrices and 58 ampullae finds (See Table 3.1, Table 3.2). In contrast, for PAS badge finds, Kent has produced only 17 (see Chart 3.4). As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the particular context of Kent and the importance of Canterbury makes this sparse distribution particularly surprising. If the PAS and Heritage Gateway are representative of casual loss, the density of pilgrims moving their way through the county in the late 12th to mid-16th centuries would have been assumed to have left a more tangible trace of that crucial pilgrimage area and routes. Indeed, as discussed below, of the 18 chance finds from Kent (17 PAS and 1 Heritage Gateway), only two are representative of St. Thomas Becket's cult at Canterbury.

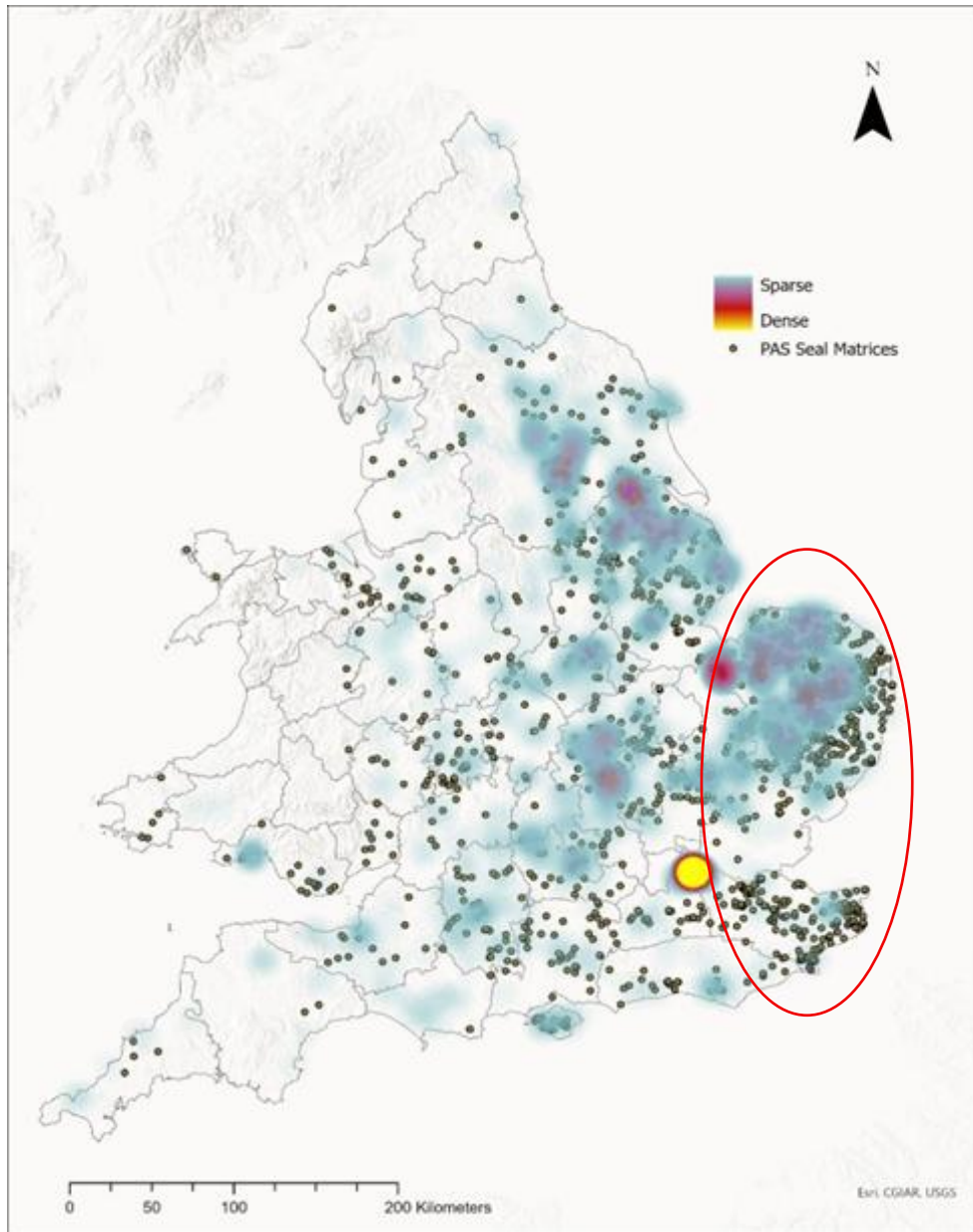


Figure 3.7 Heat map displaying the chance find badge data. The points represent the 1,817 seal matrices recorded by the PAS. The area outlined in red indicates areas of Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk which have sparse distributions of later medieval badges. The same areas have produced significant numbers of seal matrices indicating that metal detection is occurring in these areas.

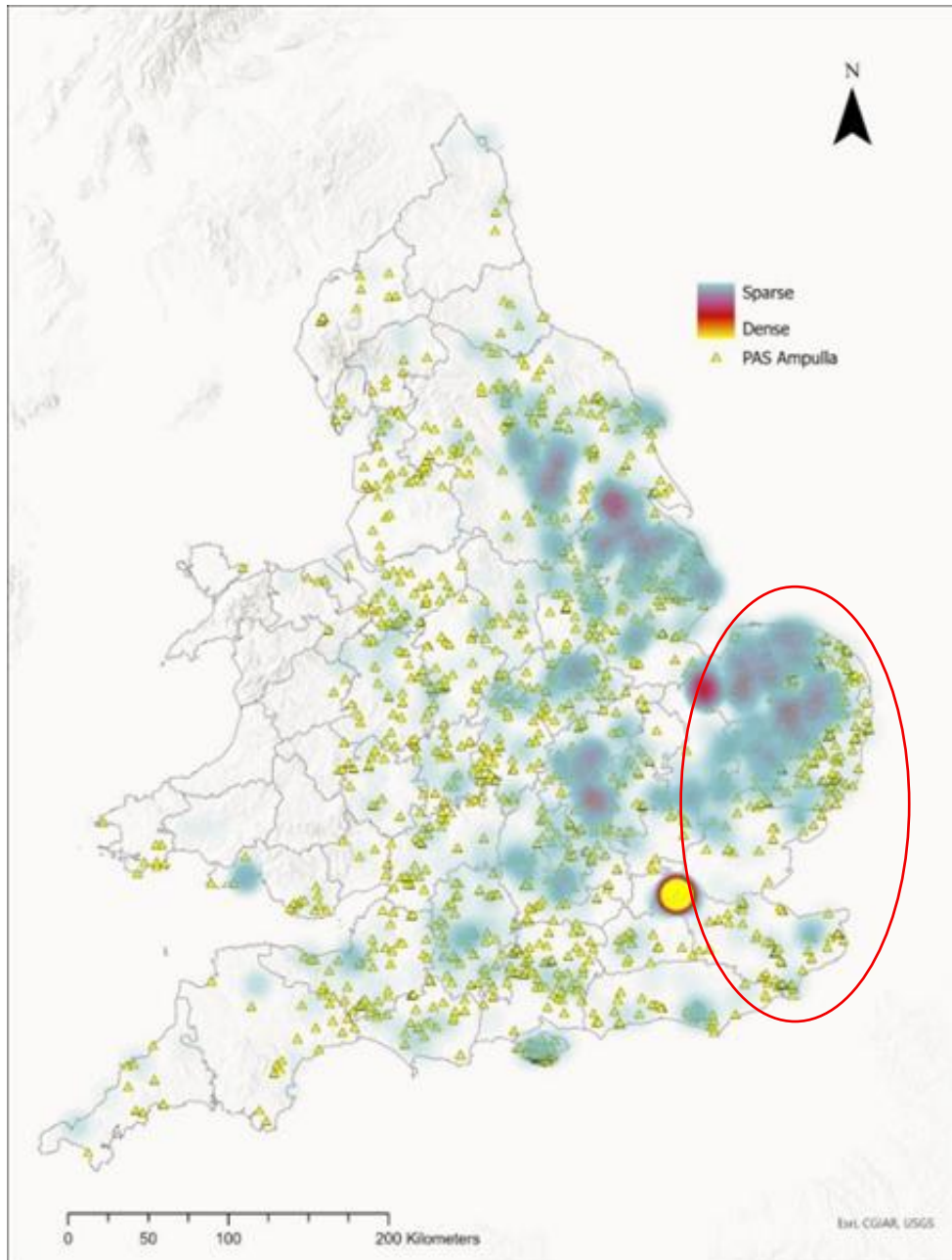


Figure 3.8 Heat map displaying the chance find badge data. The triangles represent the 1,860 ampullae recorded by the PAS. The area outlined in red indicates areas of Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk which have sparse distributions of later medieval badges. The significant numbers of ampullae recovered particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk once again indicate that metal detection is occurring in these areas. This suggests a difference in practice between the use of badges and ampullae in these areas.

The paucity of chance finds extends further northwards along the eastern coast of England from Kent into Essex and the most easterly parts of Suffolk and Norfolk. Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8 compare the chance finds of badges to the PAS finds of seal matrices and

ampullae respectively.¹⁸² This demonstrates that contemporary chance finds of non-ferrous metals *are* being recovered via metal detection in significant numbers from the same areas (additionally, see Figure 2.2 which displays all PAS finds to 2009). Why is it then that badges are not being reported from these otherwise productive regions of metal detection and finds reporting? Is the absence of badges across the eastern coast of England indicative of differences in the practices of use surrounding later medieval badges from other nearby areas which abound in badge finds – or are they the result of biases in detection? These questions will be addressed further in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Portable Antiquities Scheme Seal Matrices	
Norfolk	334
Suffolk	274
Lincolnshire	228
Kent	225
Yorkshire	106
Cambridgeshire	56
Nottinghamshire	52
Hampshire	45
Wiltshire	34
Sussex	33
Worcestershire	30
Essex	29
Northamptonshire	28
Surrey	26
Hertfordshire	24
Leicestershire	23
Cheshire	19
Buckinghamshire	19
Warwickshire	18
Isle of Wight	17
Bedford	16
Glamorgan	15
Berkshire	14
Oxfordshire	14
Somerset	13
Shropshire	13
Staffordshire	12
Flintshire	12

¹⁸² Seal matrices and ampullae have been selected as comparative materials as both object types are non-ferrous metallic objects and are among the highest reported object types of the medieval period on the PAS.

Bedfordshire	12
Gloucestershire	11
Monmouthshire	10
Herefordshire	8
Lancashire	6
Derbyshire	6
Pembrokeshire	6
Rutland	5
Cornwall	4
Greater London Authority	3
Powys	3
Northumberland	2
Cumbria	2
Anglesey	2
Devon	2
Dorset	2
County Durham	2
Carmarthenshire	1
Denbighshire	1
Grand Total	1817

Table 3.1 Table of PAS seal matrix data by county.

Portable Antiquities Scheme Ampullae	
Lincolnshire	285
Norfolk	224
Yorkshire	181
Suffolk	121
Hampshire	68
Leicestershire	61
Kent	58
Isle of Wight	52
Wiltshire	49
Somerset	48
Nottinghamshire	42
Sussex	42
Warwickshire	40
Cheshire	39
Lancashire	39
Northamptonshire	37
Buckinghamshire	37
Shropshire	36
Gloucestershire	32
Oxfordshire	29
Staffordshire	28
Dorset	26
Worcestershire	25
Cumbria	23
Essex	23
Cambridgeshire	20

Berkshire	20
Derbyshire	18
Devon	18
Surrey	16
Herefordshire	14
Glamorgan	14
Hertfordshire	13
Bedfordshire	13
Greater London Authority	11
Cornwall	10
Pembrokeshire	9
County Durham	9
Rutland	8
Powys	6
Monmouthshire	5
Flintshire	4
Northumberland	3
Denbighshire	3
Anglesey	1
Grand Total	1860

Table 3.2 Table of PAS ampullae data by county.

In summary, the 1,376 chance finds present a wide-ranging picture of badge finds across the country (excluding those restricting terrains discussed above) (Figure 3.5). These findings correlate and may contribute to previous studies undertaken by Oksanen and Lewis analysing medieval PAS finds and the observed relationship between the numbers of PAS finds and historical population density and economic activity.¹⁸³ The interpretation of chance finds revealed in this study's dataset helps us to formulate a more complete picture of material culture used and lost in rural medieval England.¹⁸⁴

3.2.2 Excavated finds

During the search of published archaeological reports sources a particular emphasis was placed on assessing medieval urban sites with notable, and often large-scale excavations, such as

¹⁸³ Bevan 2012; Oksanen and Lewis 2020; Oksanen and Lewis 2023, 161

¹⁸⁴ Oksanen and Lewis 2023, 161

York, Norwich, and Bristol. The total of 94 badges from 59 separate sites throughout England and Wales are plotted in Figure 3.9. Within the excavation reports and journal articles detailing these badge finds, the prevalence of uncontextualized finds from spoil heaps further impacts the data with 38, or 40% of these excavated badges having no definitive and secure archaeological context. Therefore, this category of finds may be further divided into two groups consisting of the 38 uncontextualized badges and 56 badges recovered from secure archaeological contexts.



Figure 3.9 Distribution plot displaying the 94 later medieval badges published within archaeological site reports and journals.

A total of 19 published sites produced uncontextualized badges including the urban sites in Bristol (Floating Harbour and Narrow Quay), Colchester, Lichfield (1 Bird Street), Exeter (Preston Street), Northampton (St. Peter's Street), and Towcester (Grammar School and Pury End drainage).¹⁸⁵ The site of Meols (Cheshire) produced 16 finds, although all are uncontextualized; the next largest group of badges from a single site were six finds dredged from Bristol's Floating Harbour and Narrow Quay (Figure 3.10).¹⁸⁶ Two badges were recovered from separate sites in Towcester, Northamptonshire at the Grammar School and St. Peter's Street sites.¹⁸⁷ In addition to the coastal site at Meols, are the rural village locations of Shapwick and South Petherton (Somerset), Great Linford (Buckinghamshire), Standlake (Oxfordshire), West Knoyle (Wiltshire), West Walton (Norfolk), Chelsham (Surrey), and Wherwell (Hampshire).¹⁸⁸ Additionally, two religious houses produced uncontextualized finds at Eynsham Abbey (Oxfordshire) and Bradwell Abbey (Buckinghamshire).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Oetgen 1995; Nenke et al 1994; Goodall 1984; Woodfield 2001

¹⁸⁶ Griffiths et al 2007; Barker 1977

¹⁸⁷ Brown and Alexander 1982; Williams 1979

¹⁸⁸ Gerrard and Aston 2007; *Medieval Britain and Ireland* in 2000; Mynard et al 1991; Blair 1985; Griffiths 2004; Gaimster and Goodall 1999.

¹⁸⁹ Hardy et al 2003; Youngs and Clark 1982

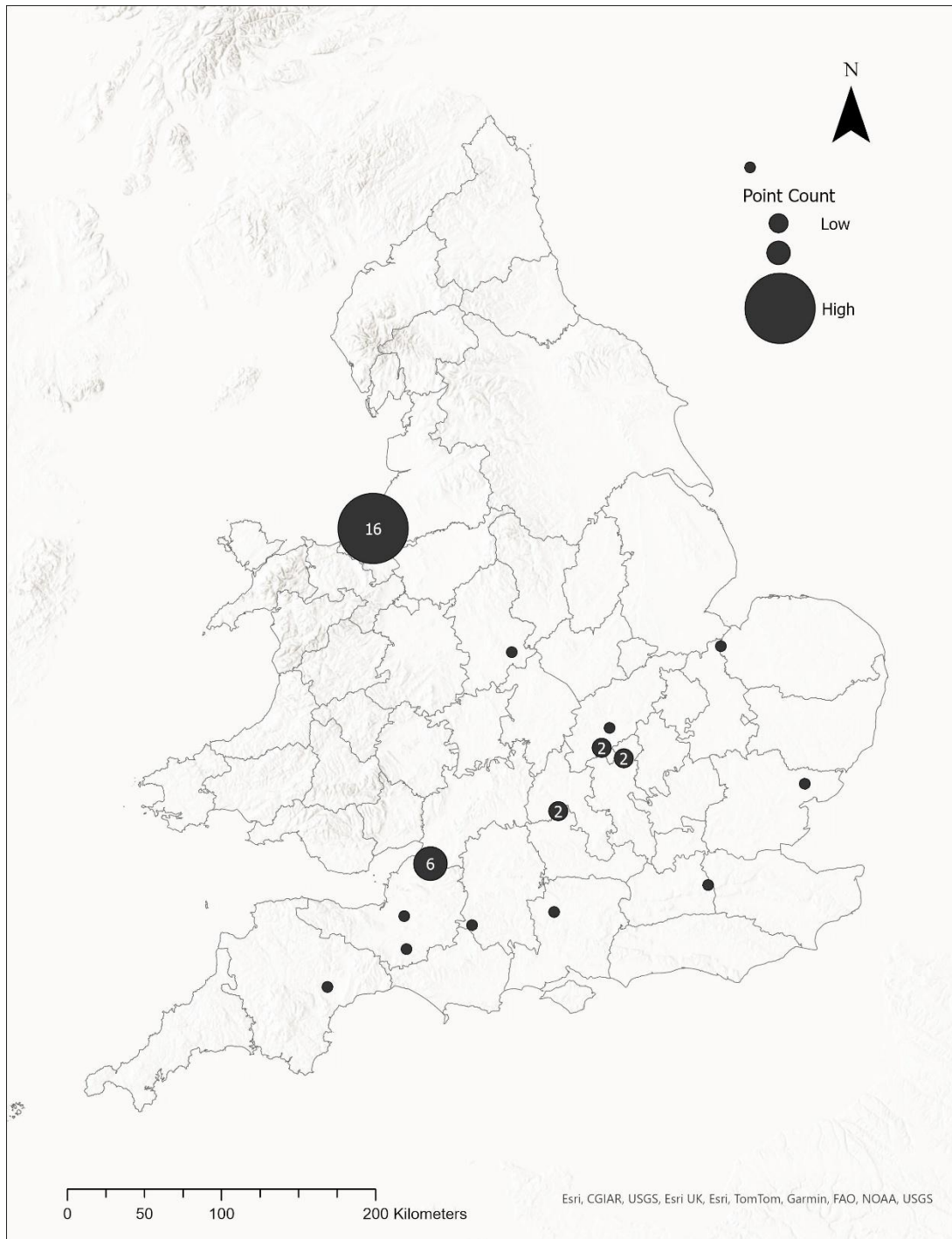


Figure 3.10 Map displaying the location of the 38 uncontextualized badge finds discussed in site reports and archaeological journals.

The distribution of the 56 badges which do have secure archaeological contexts are plotted in Figure 3.11. As discussed in Section 1.7.2, this is important as these contexts not only provide vital information concerning badge dating and when and where specific badge types

were being used, but they may also grant insight into aspects of their daily use, and how they were treated once they had fallen out of use. Margeson's discussion of Norwich households revealed nine badges from six separate household investigations.¹⁹⁰ A total of eight contextualized badges were recovered from the extensive medieval excavations carried out in York.¹⁹¹ These included finds from two separate burials (one possibly 12th century and the other c. 1350-1450) in the cemetery of St Helen's Parish Church and three finds from Bedern Hall (which was part of the College of Vicars Choral), including one found in an early – mid-14th century room of the college which the author suggests was owned by a vicar.¹⁹² Finds from York also include a singular find from 22 Picadilly Street found in a 15th – early 16th century dump of building debris in a disused barrel well.¹⁹³ Two further badges were found at 16-22 Coppergate, including one from a 13th – mid-14th century building levelling dump.¹⁹⁴ Other finds from Yorkshire were produced from the excavations of a singular burial at the Hospital of St. Giles in Brompton-on-Swale which contained two badges, as well as excavations in urban Beverley and at the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy.¹⁹⁵ In Northumberland, excavations of the Castle Ditch in urban Newcastle upon Tyne yielded a badge from an early to mid-16th century context.¹⁹⁶ Welsh contexts produced one badge find from Dolforwyn Castle in Powys.¹⁹⁷ Two religious sites in Worcestershire produced finds including a late 15th – early 16th century burial in Worcester Cathedral and a find from the metalworking complex associated with Bordesley Abbey.¹⁹⁸ Two badges were found beneath the choir stalls of Whitefriars, Coventry, while

¹⁹⁰ Margeson 1993

¹⁹¹ Ottaway and Rogers 2002

¹⁹² Dawes and Magilton 1980, Gilchrist 2008

¹⁹³ Ottaway and Rogers 2002

¹⁹⁴ Ottaway and Rogers 2002

¹⁹⁵ Cardwell et al 1995; Nenke et al 1994; Rahtz et al 2004

¹⁹⁶ Harbottle et al 1981

¹⁹⁷ Youngs et al 1984

¹⁹⁸ Lubin et al 1990; Astill and Allen 1993

another was found beneath mid-15th century stalls in the Beauchamp Chapel of St. Mary's Church, Warwick.¹⁹⁹ St. Mary's Abbey in Cirencester, Gloucestershire produced three badges dating to the 15th – early 16th century, 16th century, and another dated by the author to the early 17th century.²⁰⁰ Excavations in Glastonbury produced four badges with three coming from Glastonbury Abbey and a single find from St. Michael's on the Tor.²⁰¹ A burial at the Leprosarium of St. Mary Magdalen in Winchester represents the singular contextualized find from Hampshire.²⁰² In Oxfordshire, two badges were recovered from St. Martin's Churchyard with another coming from the rural manor of Cogges Farm.²⁰³ A badge fragment was also recorded along the urban waterfront in Reading.²⁰⁴

The rural Buckinghamshire villages of Tattenhoe, Westbury-by-Shenley, Woughton, and Great Linford yielded six badges (two apiece from Tattenhoe and Westbury-by-Shenley).²⁰⁵ The nearby Dominican Friary at Dunstable in Bedfordshire recorded one 15th – early 16th century badge in its kitchens.²⁰⁶

Urban finds in London include those at Southwark Street (late 16th century), Upper Thames Street (from a mid-15th century revetment), and Chaucer House (c. 1500 badge found in a late 16th century dump layer).²⁰⁷ Additionally, one badge was produced by the investigation of a shipwreck in the River Thames.²⁰⁸ In Sussex, a badge was found in the 16th century coastal artillery fort of Camber Castle and also on the floor of an occupational level of a residence in

¹⁹⁹ Woodfield and Caple 2005; Cunningham and Drury 1985

²⁰⁰ Wilkinson and McWhirr 1998

²⁰¹ Gilchrist and Green 2015; Wilson and Hurst 1966

²⁰² Roffey et al 2017

²⁰³ Soden 2018; Rowley et al 1996

²⁰⁴ Hawkes and Fasham 1997

²⁰⁵ Ivens 1995; Mynard 1994

²⁰⁶ Cherry 1969

²⁰⁷ Stevenson 1993; Mackinder 2009; Robinson 1989

²⁰⁸ Marsden and Caldwell 1996, 100-101

Winchelsea.²⁰⁹ A child's burial in St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury represents the only contextualized find in Kent.²¹⁰ One of the two finds from Essex is from urban Colchester while the other from urban Chelmsford was found in a late 16th century context near the detached kitchen building of a residence.²¹¹



Figure 3.11 Map displaying the location of the 56 contextualized badge finds discussed in site reports and archaeological journals.

²⁰⁹ Biddle et al 2001; Martin and Rudling 2004

²¹⁰ Sherlock et al 1988

²¹¹ Crummy 1988; Cunningham and Drury 1985

A total of 59 sites produced excavated badge finds and the types of sites represented are urban areas, religious establishments, rural sites, and fortifications. The distinctions made between urban and rural sites are subjective and are based simply on the location of the site. Certainly, the nature of sites may change over time and a range of activities and uses for the sites may have existed. For example, while Bordesley Abbey is considered as a religious establishment here, the badge was found near metalworking workshops and windmills reflecting elements of industrial activity at the site.²¹² The types of sites producing badges includes 26 urban areas (18 of which have archaeological context) and 17 religious establishments (15 of which have context). Included within the religious establishment sites are the records of six burials which contained badges. There are also 14 rural sites (six of which have context) and two fortification sites which have contextual information for their badge finds. Therefore, in considering only the contextualized finds, they are primarily being recovered from the excavations of urban areas or religious establishments (Table 3.3).

The relationship between urban and religious finds is particularly intriguing given the statement of Lloyd-Morgan that ‘few specifically religious items turn up at monastic sites, as these would have been cherished as much for their spiritual value as for their intrinsic financial and artistic worth; hence they would not have been disposed of lightly.’²¹³ This statement seems to hold true for the small number of badges found at the 17 religious sites. However, if the scarcity of their appearance in religious contexts is a product of their value (spiritual, economic, or emotional) and subsequent careful management, it contrasts quite starkly with the urban finds and the repeated recovery of badges from dump layer and riverside revetments. The urban situation is bolstered by the hundreds of catalogued finds from London’s foreshore/riverine

²¹² Astill and Allen 1993

²¹³ Lloyd-Morgan 1990, 170

deposits and the plausible assertions of Lee that the appearance of badges in rivers are not reflective of deliberate votive deposition.²¹⁴ Rather, as stated previously by Rhodes in his report of the 1974-1976 Trig Lane excavations, ‘the majority of previously discovered badges are equally likely to have been removed from rubbish layers.’²¹⁵ Indeed, it is also apparent that badges are not common within burials as there are only six burials discussed in this thesis. This exceedingly low figure is nevertheless supported by previous archaeological assessments including Standley’s work which found that of the 1,510 burials investigated within that study, only 58 (3.8%) contained dress accessories of any type.²¹⁶ Therefore, while contextualized badges are more likely to be found at urban and religious sites (18 and 15 finds respectively), the overall numbers remain quite slender. Overall, considering these finds and their sources, despite coming from contexts, they do not generally offer any revealing insights or useful contextual information.

Archaeological sites with contextualized later medieval badge finds	
Bedfordshire	1
<i>Dunstable</i>	1
Dominican Friary	1
Berkshire	1
<i>Reading</i>	1
Crane Wharf	1
Buckinghamshire	6
Westbury-by-Shenley	2
Tattenhoe	2
Woughton Village	1
Great Linford	1
Essex	2
<i>Chelmsham</i>	1
Moulsham Street	1

²¹⁴ Spencer 2010; Lee 2014

²¹⁵ Milne and Hobley 1982

²¹⁶ Standley 2010, 29

<i>Colchester</i>	1
Lion Walk Church	1
Gloucestershire	3
<i>Cirencester</i>	3
St Mary	3
Greater London Authority	4
Upper Thames Street	1
Thames	1
Chaucer House	1
Southwark Street	1
Hampshire	1
<i>Winchester</i>	1
St Mary Magdalen	1
Kent	1
<i>Canterbury</i>	1
St Augustine's Abbey	1
Norfolk	9
<i>Norwich</i>	9
149N	4
169N	1
161N	1
735N	1
148N	1
159N	1
Northumberland	1
<i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i>	1
Castle Ditch	1
Oxfordshire	3
<i>Wallingford</i>	2
St Martin's Churchyard	2
<i>Witney</i>	1
Cogges Manor Farm	1
Powys	1
Dolforwyn Castle	1
Somerset	4
<i>Glastonbury</i>	3
Glastonbury Abbey	3
St. Michael's on the Tor	1
Sussex	2
<i>Rye</i>	1
Camber Castle	1
Winchelsea	1
Warwickshire	3
<i>Coventry</i>	2

Whitefriars	2
Warwick	1
St. Mary's Church, Beauchamp Chapel	1
Worcestershire	2
Worcester Cathedral	1
Bordesley Abbey	1
Yorkshire	12
Beverley	1
North Becksides	1
York	8
Bedern	3
16-22 Coppergate	2
22 Piccadilly	1
St Helen on the Walls, Aldwark	1
St Helen's Parish Church, Fishergate	1
Brompton-on-Swale	2
Wharrah Percy	1
Grand Total	56

Table 3.3 Table of the archaeological sites identified in excavation reports and journals which have badges with definitive archaeological contexts.

3.3 Badge iconography

Focus may now shift to the actual badges, their iconography, and what they represent. From the 3,465 badges studied in this thesis, I have identified 16 thematic groupings relating to the forms and iconographies which are depicted (Chart 3.6). Each of these groupings constitute badges relating to later medieval religious cults, political factions, social groups, or undiagnostic iconographic imagery. Comprising nearly 35% of all finds, the largest overarching theme presented in the data are the 1,228 badges relating to the various cults of saints. The next largest group are objects of Marian character with 521 badges or 15% of the dataset. While there are 326 badges and badge fragments which have uncertain imagery, the third largest identifiable sub-theme are the 305 Christocentric badges. Thus, if we do not consider the uncertain badges, material relating to the three central aspects of later medieval Christianity (the cults of saints,

Marian devotion, and Christocentric devotion) account for 65% of all identifiable badges (total 2,054 objects).

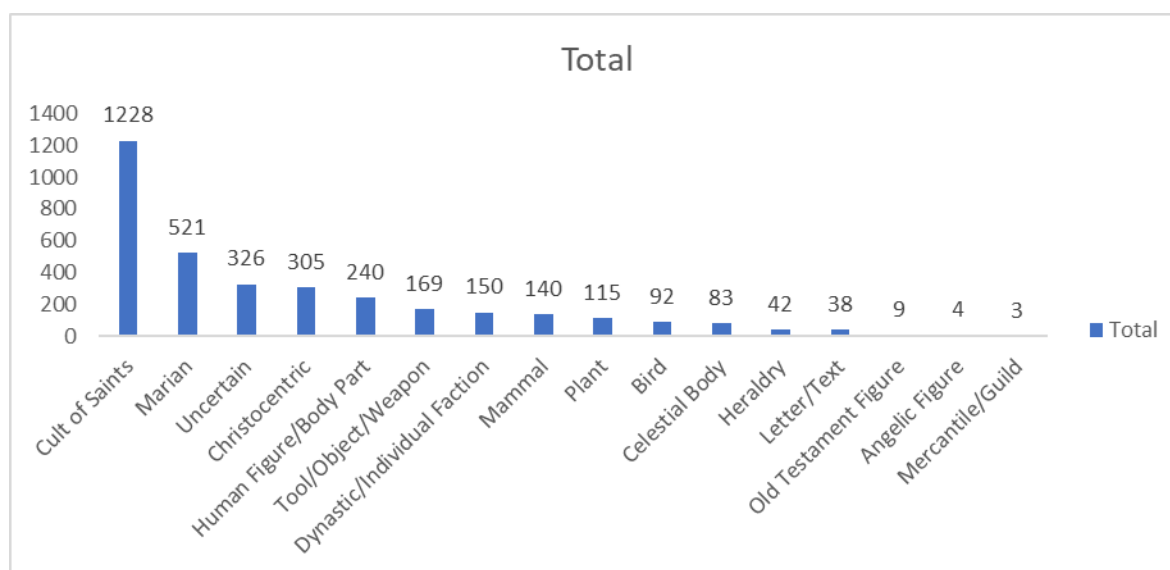


Chart 3.6 Chart of the 16 themes identified throughout the material and the numbers of finds associated with each.

The next most numerous themes include depictions of human figures and body parts (240 badges), tools/man-made objects/weapons (169 badges) and iconography relating to dynastic or individual factions (150 badges). Elements of the natural world including mammals (140 badges), plant life (115 badges), birds (92 badges) and celestial bodies (83 badges) are also represented. The remaining themes all feature less than 50 finds including undiagnostic heraldry (42 badges), depictions of letters or text (38 badges), Old Testament figures (9 badges), Angelic figures (4 badges) and mercantile or guild badges (3 badges).

3.3.1 *Cults of saints*

Of the 1,228 badges presenting imagery relating to the later medieval cults of saints, this thematic distinction consists of at least 66 different cults.²¹⁷ Breaking the 1,228 saints finds

²¹⁷ Included in this tally as their own cult are the two instances of a shared badge between two separate saints. SS Peter and Paul as well as the singular badge combining St. John of Beverley and St. John of Bridlington.

down by the source of their data, 769 saints' badges are from the urban catalogues, 424 are chance finds, and 35 were revealed from journals and excavation reports. Across all three sources of data, the cult of St. Thomas Becket produced the most badges with 488 total finds. In addition to Becket's cult, the ten most common cults include; King Henry VI (95 badges), St. George (74 badges), scallop shells (62 badges), various cults of St. John the Baptist including Amiens, Lateran, and Charing (50 badges), St. Barbara (36 badges), St. Margaret of Antioch (28 badges), St. Catherine (27 badges), SS Peter and Paul (23 badges), and John Schorne (21 badges) (Table 3.4).²¹⁸ The 902 badges associated with these ten figures account for 73% of all saints' badges. The remaining saints' cults all feature fewer than 20 finds.

Cult of Saints	Number of badges
St. Thomas Becket	488
Henry VI	95
St. George	74
Scallop Shell	62
St. John the Baptist (including Amiens, Charing, Lateran)	50
St. Barbara	36
St. Margaret of Antioch	28
St. Catherine	27
SS Peter and Paul	23
John Schorne	21
St. Edmund	19
St. Edward the Confessor	16
Richard Caister	14
Three Magi	14
St. Andrew	13
St. Anne	13
St. Thomas of Lancaster	13
St. Christopher	12
St. Hubert	12
St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	12
St. Giles	11
St. James	11

²¹⁸ Scallop shells present a unique situation as they have typically been associated with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella (St. James) in Galicia. However, the imagery of the scallop shell came to be generally associated with pilgrimage necessitating its cautious, separate treatment here within the cults of saints.

St. Peter	10
St. Roche	10
St. Alban	9
St. Michael	9
St. Nicholas	9
St. Osmund	9
St. Blaise	8
St. Etheldreda	8
St. Anthony	7
St. Dorothy	6
St. Eloi	5
St. Jos	5
St. Julian	5
St. Servatius	5
St. Werburga	5
St. Bridget	4
St. Guilhem	4
St. John of Bridlington	4
St. Patrick	4
St. Sitha	4
Charlemagne	3
Margaret of Scotland (Dumfermline Abbey)	2
St. Cornelius, Ninove	2
St. Denis	2
St. Edith	2
St. Martin of Tours	2
St. Olaf	2
St. Paul	2
St. Ursula	2
Saint and heart	1
Simon of Cyrene	1
SS John of Beverley and John of Bridlington	1
St Thomas of Lancaster	1
St. Adrian of Grammont	1
St. Aldhelm	1
St. Cuthbert	1
St. Dominic, Bologna	1
St. Guthlac, Croyland Abbey	1
St. Helen	1
St. Lawrence	1
St. Luke	1
St. Mark, Venice	1
St. Mary Magdalene	1
St. Quirinus of Neuss	1

Table 3.4 Table displaying the 1,228 badges of the cults of saints.

Of the ten top cults, neither Henry VI nor John Schorne were canonised by papal authority. Along with England's patron St. George, which has the third most badges out of all the saints, the cults of both King Henry VI and John Schorne came to be centred in Windsor. So, while the site of Canterbury remains as expected the principal saintly shrine in England, based on the frequency of surviving badges, Windsor's importance as a centre of pilgrimage is also reaffirmed. The two most commonly found saints represented on the badge corpus, St Thomas Becket and Henry VI (as well as brief discussions of St George and John Schorne) will be explored further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Considering the spatial distributions of Becket's Canterbury pilgrimage badges, 379 of the 488 badges or 78% of that cult's finds are concentrated in London (See Table 3.5 and Figure 3.12). While 28 Becket badges were recovered from river deposits in Salisbury along with eight from King's Lynn, these numbers as well as clusters in northern Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire pale in comparison to the London finds. As mentioned above, Kent is surprisingly home to only three Becket badges. Additionally, while 14 finds were reported from Norfolk, they are densely concentrated in King's Lynn and the nearby western border of the county. It must be noted that clusters of chance finds may in fact be reflective of the activity and behaviour of particularly conscientious detectorists. The remainder of the county reports only three Becket badges. This is unexpected given that Norfolk reports the most badges overall outside of London. The excavations of urban Norwich and York did not produce any Becket badges although one was dredged from Bristol's Floating Harbour.²¹⁹ Excavation and site reports revealed one contextualized badge of St. Thomas at Whitefriars in Coventry.²²⁰ Found beneath choir stalls in a resonance passage in a late 14th century context, the badge takes the form of St. Thomas'

²¹⁹ Barker 1977,48

²²⁰ Woodfield and Caple 2005, 341

episcopal glove. Spatially, the cult is overwhelmingly concentrated in southern England. If a line is drawn from the Severn estuary to the Wash, 452 badges or 93% of Becket's data lies south of that arbitrary demarcation. There are however, the 14 badges reported from northern Lincolnshire. This raises the question of why Lincolnshire, although very arable and thereby ripe for metal-detecting, would be home to the most badges found by chance of Becket outside of London and the south. Discussion of the cult of St. Thomas Becket and an exploration of the material remnants of England's premier place of pilgrimage will be the focus of Section 4.2.

St. Thomas Becket	
Greater London Authority	379
Wiltshire	28
Norfolk	14
Lincolnshire	14
Oxfordshire	10
Glamorgenshire	4
Yorkshire	4
Suffolk	4
Nottinghamshire	3
Essex	3
Derbyshire	3
Cheshire	3
Kent	3
Leicestershire	3
Northamptonshire	2
Isle of Wight	2
Buckinghamshire	1
Dorset	1
Gloucestershire	1
Cambridgeshire	1
Warwickshire	1
Hampshire	1
Cornwall	1
Bedfordshire	1
Staffordshire	1
Grand Total	488

Table 3.5 Table displaying the 488 badges of the cult of St. Thomas Becket. The material is overwhelmingly concentrated in London.



Figure 3.12 Distribution plot of the 488 badges of St. Thomas Becket. Although nearly 80% of the finds are found in London, this map displays the spread of material throughout the rest of the country. Note the sparse finds in Kent.

The posthumous cult of King Henry VI (d. 1471) is the next most common saintly cult represented by 95 badges (Figure 3.13). Of these, 49 are from the riverine catalogues (39 from London, eight from Salisbury, two from King's Lynn) and two are uncontextualized finds from Bristol's Floating Harbour and St. Peter's Street, Northampton. There are 44 chance finds from

London and 18 counties. Regarding the spatial data of the badges, there is a reasonably compact distribution of material concentrated between southern Wiltshire in the west to western Suffolk in the east and the concentrated finds in London to Northamptonshire. Although there are no finds from Windsor itself or nearby Chertsey in Surrey where the cult was first established, the finds emanate from those origin points and may be indicative of the cult's regional importance to nearby Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Northamptonshire, and London. While Spencer's work names the cult of Henry VI as the second largest producer of pilgrim signs, the badge data shows that the appeal of the cult was regionally restricted.²²¹ The high badge reporting counties of Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire have very few examples with four, two, and one badges of Henry VI, respectively. The cult itself flourished under the sponsorship of the Tudor regime in the late 15th and early 16th century and the impact of their patronage will be considered in Section 5.5. In addition to these three counties with sparse finds, there are no badges reported from Kent, Devon, or Cornwall. This raises the question of whether the popularity of Henry's unofficial cult and pilgrimage was linked to support of the Tudor's as the low or no numbers in Kent, Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, may be explained by the unpopular nature of this royal-sponsored cult. All of these counties erupted in large popular rebellions against the Tudor regime within the 70-year life span of the cult. This is explored further in Chapter 5.

²²¹ Spencer 2010, 189

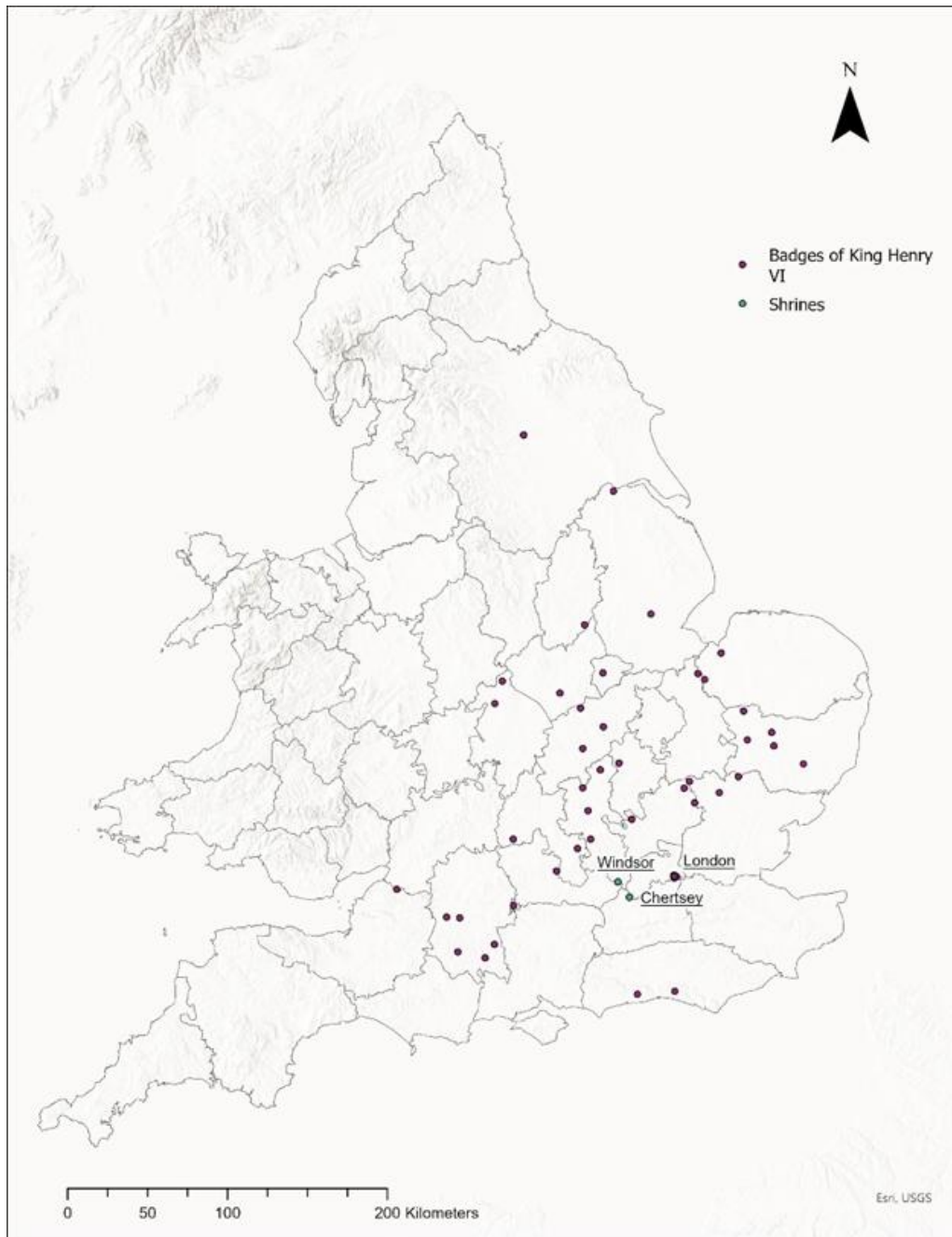


Figure 3.13 Distribution plot of the 95 badges of King Henry VI.

Closely tied to the cult of King Henry VI and representing the tenth largest assemblage of saints' badges is the uncanonized figure of John Schorne. Out of a total of 21 badges, 17 were found in London (Table 3.6). Of the remaining four badges, two are from Salisbury, one is from

Oxfordshire, and one is from northern Buckinghamshire.²²² The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire finds are both very close to the origin point of the cult in North Marston, Buckinghamshire. The reappropriation of the blossoming, unsanctioned pilgrimage to Windsor in 1480 brought the cult within 25 miles of London and likely explains the high proportion of London finds. However, the finds outside of London conform to the local and regional distributions associated with the contemporary cult of Henry VI sharing the Windsor shrine alongside John Schorne. As with Henry VI's cult, the badge data seems to reflect the importance of the cult to nearby counties and London (Figure 3.14).

John Schorne	
Greater London Authority	17
Wiltshire	2
Buckinghamshire	1
Oxfordshire	1
Grand Total	21

Table 3.6 Distribution of the 21 badges of John Schorne

²²² The badges and mould of John Schorne held by the Ashmolean Museum were not included within the dataset due to their lack of spatial data.

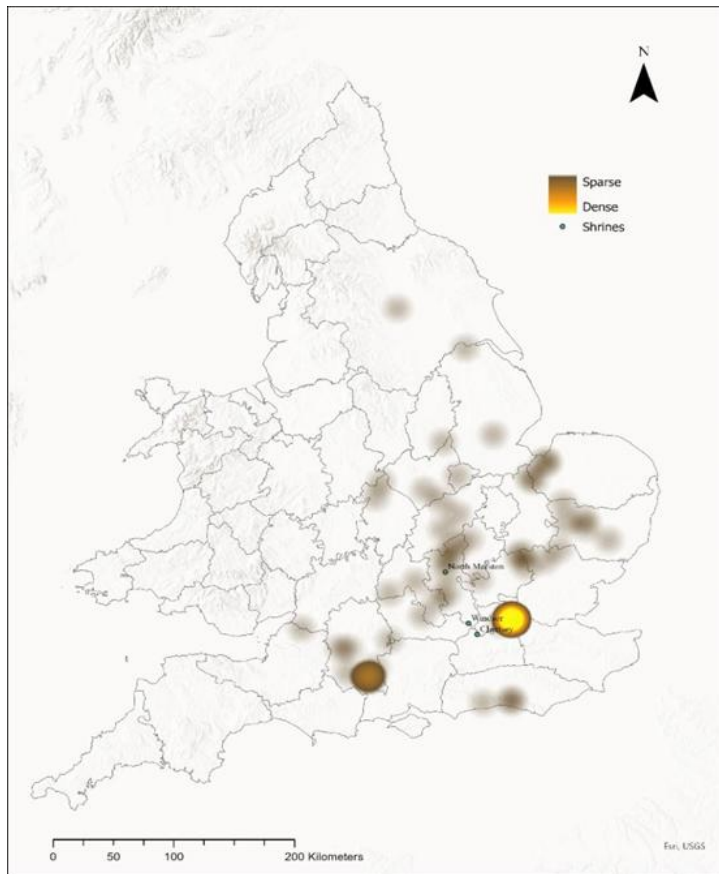


Figure 3.14 Heat map of the combined badge finds of King Henry VI and John Schorne. Note the regional spread of the finds emanating from the three shrines associated with each cult.

The third largest assemblage of saints' badges belongs to England's patron saint, St. George. There are 74 badges of St. George with 33 coming from London. While St. George's cult was also centred in Windsor, the remaining badges present a much more dissipated spread of material across England and Wales (Figure 3.15). This data supports the notion St. George's national popularity as well as its local prominence. It also raises the issue of distinguishing between badges firmly associated with the act of pilgrimage to a saintly shrine and badges which may have taken on more of a social role, such as George's links both to England as a whole and to the Order of the Garter.²²³ Indeed, it is worth noting that many badges of St George are made of silver. If considered without the finds from London, the cults St. George as well as St Thomas

²²³ Aston 2016, 401-444

Becket present similarly broad spreads of material which suggests widespread use, and supports the broad appeal associated with these cults. However, as displayed by the Henry VI and John Schorne data, certain cults do not have broad distributions but in fact display unique concentrated assemblages of material. Understanding the cults of John Schorne and St. George and their relationship to Henry VI's cult in Windsor is addressed in Chapter 5.

The decision to choose the cults of St Thomas Becket, King Henry VI, and his fellow Windsor shrine-mates St George and John Schorne for further analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 allows a reassessment of some of the largest cults of later medieval England and their assemblages of badges. It also has allowed an exploration of the potential social, political, and emotional elements in addition to their religious nature.

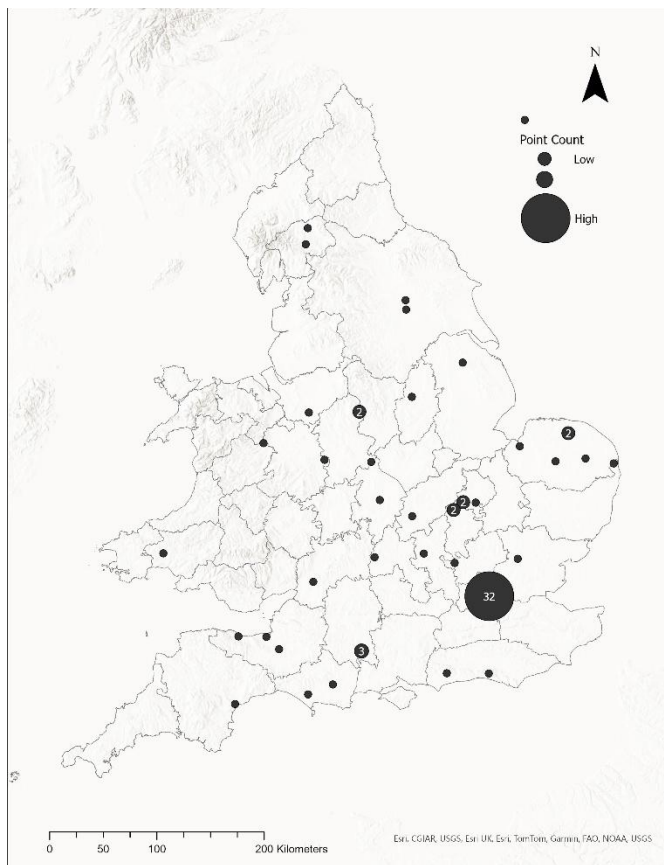


Figure 3.15 Distribution plot displaying the aggregated findspots of badges of St. George. Although London remains prominent, the distribution is generally widespread and not limited to the regions around Windsor.

Of the saints' cults addressed in Chapters 4 and 5, the different forms and iconographies displayed are unique to each cult, greatly facilitating their identification process. As discussed in Chapter 4, distinguishing between the many different forms that indicate devotion to the Virgin Mary and confidently assigning a cultic attribution to a specific shrine dedicated to her can be exceptionally difficult. This means that the Marian badge data cannot be discussed in the same manner as the badges of saints. The choice to focus on figures of Becket with his mitre or the tools of his martyrdom, Henry VI with his crown, orb, and sceptre, St. George in triumph over the dragon, and John Schorne with the devil in his boot all provide iconographic standards which helps to mitigate possible misattributions and ensures that the inferences made in this thesis are based upon the sound identification of the cults and factions in question (Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17, Figure 3.18, Figure 3.19).



Figure 3.16 Badge depicting the Head Reliquary of St. Thomas Becket recorded by the PAS from Queenhithe, London (LON-104944).



Figure 3.17 Badge of King Henry VI recorded by the PAS from Colehill, Warwickshire (WMID286) Diameter: 24.07mm. The uncanonized saint is crowned and clasps his orb and scepter. Lozenge shaped badges depicting similar imagery are also common.



Figure 3.18 Silver gilt badge of St. George slaying the dragon. This badge was recorded by the PAS in Orton, Cumbria (LANCUM-4501B2).



Figure 3.19 Badge of John Schorne, vicar of North Marston, Buckinghamshire (42 x 24 mm). The badge depicts Schorne preaching from a pulpit while clasping his boot which has ensnared the devil. This badge was found in London. See Spencer 1990, 57 (fig. 166).

The 62 scallop shell-shaped objects are widely distributed throughout England. While London is again the location of the most finds (14), Yorkshire has eight finds while Lincolnshire and Norfolk each boast six finds. An additional 17 counties reported at least one scallop shaped badge (Table 3.7). This represents a departure from the prominence of the London material within the distribution of badges. Unlike the previously discussed cults of St. Thomas Becket, Henry VI, St. George, and John Schorne, who all have significant concentrations in London, the proportion of scallop shell badges from London is only 22% of the total finds. This means that the distribution of scallop shells is more widespread which is indicative of its general association with pilgrimages rather than a specific or exclusive association with Santiago de Compostella.

Among the most common saints' cults in terms of badges recorded are the three dedicated to female saints and the imagery relating to the stories of their martyrdoms: St Catherine, St Barbara, and St Margaret of Antioch. The 27 badges of St. Catherine and the object of her martyrdom, the wheel, maintain a strong tie to London, which produced 11 badges or 40% of her

cults evidence (Figure 3.20). In contrast, the cult of St Barbara and the 36 badges with imagery of her standing with a tower presents a concentration of material in Norfolk (Figure 3.21), with a total of 11 badges or 31%, while London has only four badges.

Scallop Shell Badges	
Greater London Authority	14
Yorkshire	8
Lincolnshire	6
Norfolk	6
Leicestershire	3
Suffolk	3
Wiltshire	3
Somerset	2
Cumbria	2
Oxfordshire	2
Hampshire	2
Cambridgeshire	2
County Durham	1
Essex	1
Derbyshire	1
Devon	1
Lancashire	1
Worcestershire	1
Buckinghamshire	1
Hertfordshire	1
Kent	1
Grand Total	62

Table 3.7 Distribution of scallop shell badges across England and Wales.



Figure 3.20 Map showing the distribution of the 27 badges of St. Catherine. Although widespread, there is a dense cluster of finds in London.



Figure 3.21 Map showing the 36 badges of St. Barbara and the concentration of finds relating to her cult in Norfolk.

St. Margaret of Antioch's 28 badges have a particularly dense concentration with 22 badges or 79% of the data being found in Lincolnshire (Table 3.8, Figure 3.22). The iconography of the majority of St. Margaret's badges are unique in the corpus as 23 of them also feature Christocentric imagery on their reverse.²²⁴ These include 18 pendant-like objects all from Lincolnshire featuring depictions of St. Margaret in triumph over a dragon while the

²²⁴ See Lewis 2013

reverse bears the Sacred Trigram of Christ (IHS). A further badge from Lincolnshire as well as all four badges from Yorkshire have images of Christ's crucifixion. The remaining five badges (3 from Lincolnshire, 1 from Cambridgeshire, and 1 from Wiltshire) feature only the imagery of St. Margaret and the dragon. Therefore, the combination of St. Margaret and Christocentrism is intensely concentrated in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. That there are no finds of St. Margaret's cult recorded from London also suggests there is a regional focus for the use of badges of St. Margaret of Antioch. Understanding why there is a cluster of badges and gaps elsewhere, the unusual combination of St Margaret and Christocentric iconography, and how such badges may be evidence of devotional or emotional ideas, habits, and communities in these regions is considered in Section 7.3.

Badges of St. Margaret of Antioch	
Lincolnshire	22
Yorkshire	4
Cambridgeshire	1
Wiltshire	1
Grand Total	28

Table 3.8 Distribution by county of St. Margaret of Antioch badges.



Figure 3.22 Map showing the distribution of the 28 badges of St. Margaret of Antioch. It shows the high concentration of material in Lincolnshire.

3.3.1.1 Badges not from English or Welsh shrines

The identification of badges originating from Scottish or Continental shrines raises a critical question; are all badges of saints' indicative of the actual travel or pilgrimage to a particular location? Spencer and Mitchiner included a series of 'foreign' shrines in their

catalogues and if these cults are considered together, this project has 124 saints' badges of Scottish or continental origin (See Table 3.9, Figure 3.25). Two of the cults, St. Margaret of Scotland whose shrine was at Dunfermline Abbey, Fife, (two badges) and St. Adrian's cult at Geraardsbergen, Flanders, (one badge) were revealed only through chance finds.²²⁵ While the forms of continental and Scottish badges are often distinct from English badges due to their common use of sewing loops typically situated at the corners of the badge (Figure 3.23), not all of the foreign cults identified in Table 3.9 conform to this form of badge. For example, a badge of St. Martin of Tours, France, (Figure 3.24) from Battle, Sussex represents a departure from the sheet style of badge thought to be typical of continental badges. I mention this in order to inject a degree of caution into this discussion of the origins of a cult's badge.

Continental and Scottish Shrines	
SS Peter and Paul	23
St. John of Amiens	15
Three Magi	14
St. Andrew	13
St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	12
St. Giles	11
St. Jos	5
St. Servatius	5
St. Eloi	5
St. Guilhem	4
Charlemagne	3
St. Denis	2
St. Martin of Tours	2
St. Cornelius, Ninove	2
Margaret of Scotland (Dunfermline Abbey)	2
St. Quirinus of Neuss	1
St. Nicholas, Bari	1
St. John Lateran	1
St. Adrian of Grammont	1

²²⁵ See Prosser and Webley 2021

St. Dominic, Bologna	1
St. Mark, Venice	1
Grand Total	124

Table 3.9 Table displaying the cults of saints considered to be associated with continental or Scottish shrines.



Figure 3.23 Badge of St. Giles from Hilton, Dorset displaying the sewing loops thought to be typical of badges of continental or Scottish origin. PAS (DEV-279513)



Figure 3.24 Badge from Battle, Sussex of St. Martin of Tours. This is a cautionary example to show that not all badges of continental shrines feature sewing loops. PAS (SUSS-2CCCF6)

Of the 124 saints' badges of likely non-English/Welsh origin, 84 or 68% are recorded from London. Outside of London, the 15 badges across the East Anglian counties of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk as well as the one badge from Canterbury means that 100 of the 124 non-English cults were recorded from the regions between Canterbury, London, and Walsingham in Norfolk (Figure 3.25). These happen to be the locations of the shrines which are thought to exercise the most significant draw in terms of pilgrimage.

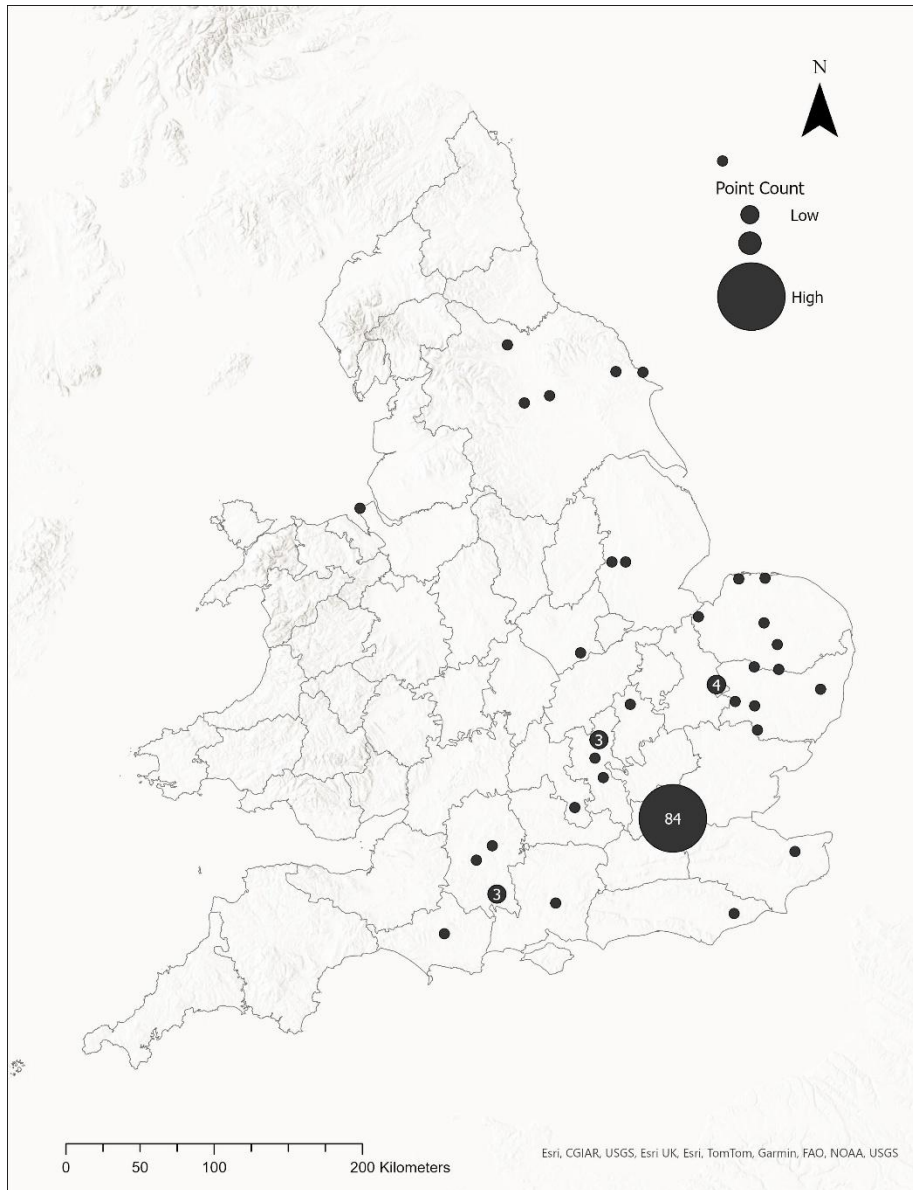


Figure 3.25 Map displaying the distribution of the 124 badges of continental or Scottish shrines. Note the density of finds between London and Walsingham, Norfolk.

The most common continental cult in the dataset belongs to the basilica of St. Peter in Rome. The 23 badges depict the images of the apostles Peter and Paul (Figure 3.26). The one badge of this cult which is from a secure context was recovered from a burial at the Hospital of St. Giles by Brompton-on-Swale in rural Yorkshire. Found on the right breast of a buried adult male (along with a badge of the Christocentric Holy Face from Lucca, Italy) the burial dates to

the late 13th-14th centuries.²²⁶ Considered together, the two badges of Italian origin alongside the individual's burial at a hospital suggests that the interred individual was a pilgrim who had once journeyed to the Italian peninsula.²²⁷



Figure 3.26 Map of the 23 badges (aggregated) of SS Peter and Paul.

²²⁶ Cardwell et al 1995, 201

²²⁷ Historic England Research Records suggest the Hospital of St. Giles ceased to function by the 1440's.

Rounding out the discussion of the cults with the most badges in the corpus are the several cults relating to St. John the Baptist. Typically depicted on badges as a bearded bust, the cult is generally associated with the shrine in Amiens (France) but there were other shrines throughout Europe which are also represented in the dataset; the badges can be associated with pilgrimage locations in Amiens, Lateran (in Rome), and Charing (Kent). There are 50 badges of St. John the Baptist, of which 34 or 68% of the data was concentrated in London (Figure 3.27). Overall, the distribution of these badges are concentrated in the southeast near London with additional finds in nearby Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Hertfordshire.

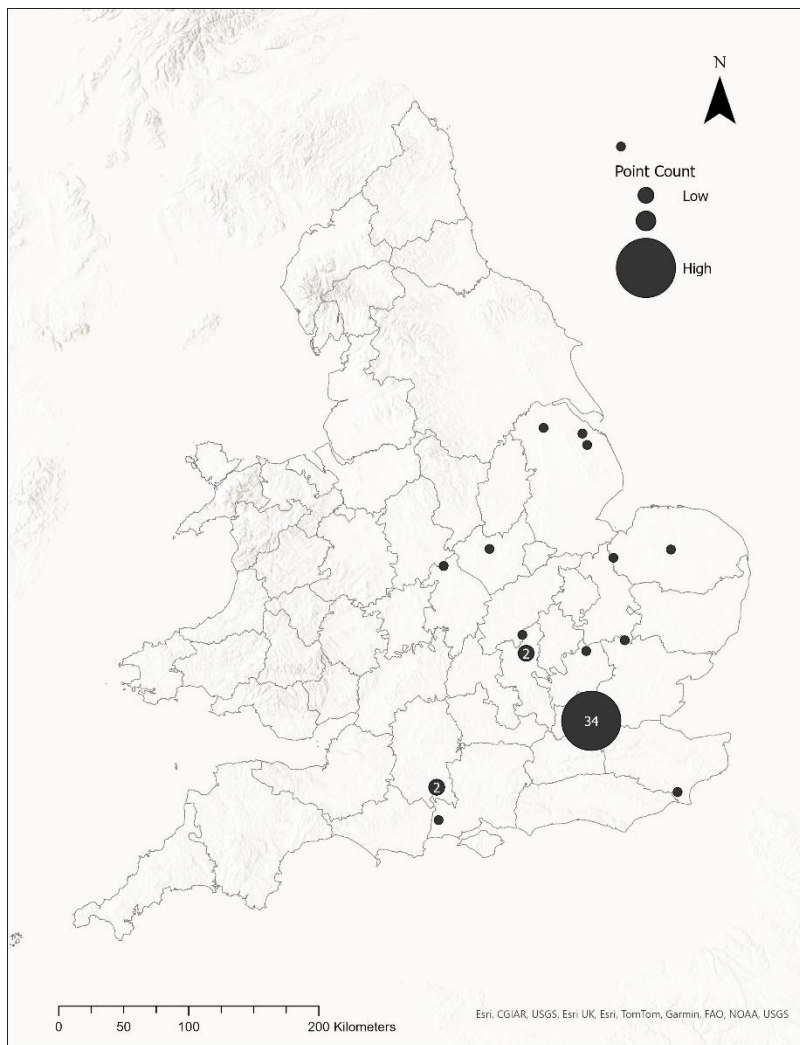


Figure 3.27 Map displaying the 50 badges of St. John the Baptist. Note the concentration of finds around London and nearby areas.

3.3.1.2 *Other saints*

In addressing the 1,228 badges featuring imagery relating to saints' cults I have focused my discussion on the cults which are represented by the most badge finds. The diversity of the material and the many cults apparent in the data (Table 3.4) means that an in-depth discussion of each cult is not feasible within this thesis. Nevertheless, a couple of notable discoveries for other saints' cults are outlined here. One made through the PAS are two badges relating to St. Margaret of Scotland, Dunfermline – the first badges ever to be associated with that cult. Previously considered as a cult with devotees from Scotland, the badges were recovered from Cambridgeshire relatively close to a hospital dedicated to St. Margaret of Scotland in Huntingdon.²²⁸ Are these markers of pilgrimage and the visit to the Scottish shrine or could they have been used in a way that is divorced from pilgrimage and instead intended to communicate and embody the beliefs of an emotional community in the hospital?

3.3.2 *Badges of the cult of the Virgin Mary*

Badges featuring Marian imagery include 521 finds from across England and Wales (Figure 3.28). While the majority of the Marian badges are from Spencer and Mitchiner's catalogued data (373 badges or 72%) there are also 128 chance finds, and 20 badges from excavation reports. Overall, the material is concentrated in London with 298 finds from the city while King's Lynn and Salisbury add 59 and 55 badges, respectively. Outside of those three locations, the distribution remains widespread across southern and eastern England with a notably dense cluster of finds in Norfolk and northwestern Suffolk. Shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary were intensely popular centres of devotion across later medieval Europe as

²²⁸ For further discussion of the two badges of St. Margaret of Scotland, see Prosser and Webley 2021.

demonstrated by Table 3.10 and the inclusion of continental shrines of Our Lady such as those found at Rocamadour and Aachen. The general attributes of Marian badge iconography make many of the standard depictions of the Virgin (who is often also shown holding the Christ Child) difficult to attribute to a specific shrine. While there are 205 badges featuring undiagnostic Marian imagery, two shrines from England are prominent within the dataset.

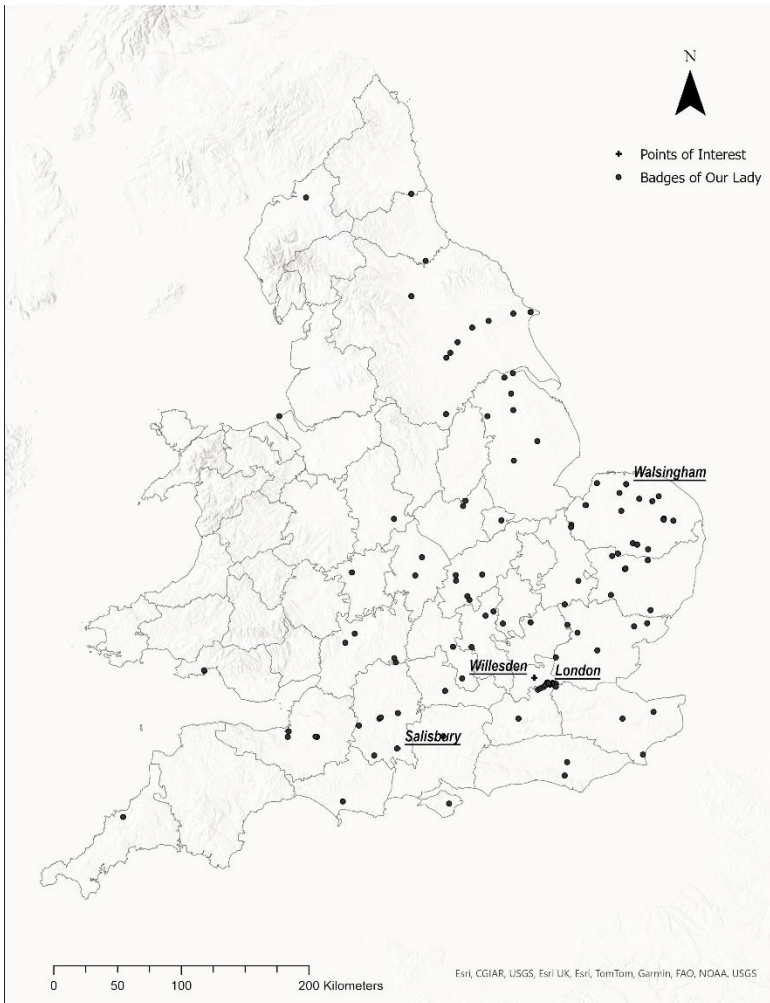


Figure 3.28 Map displaying the 521 Marian badges found across England and Wales.

The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in northern Norfolk is considered to be one of the principal pilgrimage destinations in later medieval England alongside Canterbury and, as discussed in Section 3.3.1, Windsor. The Walsingham cult's association with the Annunciation (the Archangel Gabriel informing the Virgin Mary that she was with child) also features

prominently on badges. This has led to the understanding that badges of the Annunciation are tied to the Norfolk shrine.²²⁹ There are a total of 160 Walsingham badges represented in the dataset of which 129 or 80% of the dataset have been recorded from places between London and Walsingham itself in north-central Norfolk (Figure 3.29). This includes the 34 badges from King's Lynn and the 79 badges from the London riverine deposits. This concentration of material seems to reflect the patterns of pilgrimage and movement of people to and from the shrine. Walsingham's pilgrimage has long been associated with the well-known road to the shrine known as the 'Palmer's Way.'²³⁰ According to Locker's discussion of later medieval pilgrimage landscapes across England and Wales, the Palmer's Way traversed through south central Norfolk on its northward journey to Walsingham.²³¹ Additionally, it is possible that pilgrims travelling to Walsingham from Lincolnshire or the northern parts of Britain may have passed through King's Lynn.²³² The distribution apparent in Figure 3.29 seems to display this convergence of pilgrims upon Walsingham. It is possible to interpret the small clusters and singular finds between London and Walsingham, including the cluster of badges in south central Norfolk, as indicating that well-trod pilgrimage route. Indeed, the concentration of 34 finds in King's Lynn, seemingly an important stop for pilgrims, seems to reinforce this distribution as being indicative of the journey to or from Walsingham.

²²⁹ Spencer 2010, 141; Anderson 2010, 190

²³⁰ Locker 2015, 31

²³¹ Locker 2015, 31

²³² Locker 2015, 31

Marian Shrines	
Our Lady	205
Our Lady of Walsingham	160
Our Lady of Willesden	43
Our Lady and Child	21
Our Lady of Pity	18
Our Lady of Eton	12
Our Lady of Rocamadour	10
Our Lady of Salisbury	8
Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	8
Our Lady Queen of Heaven	6
Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	5
Our Lady of Aachen	4
Our Lady of Chartres	3
Our Lady of Tombelaine	3
St. Mary of Ospringe	2
Our Lady and Child/Crucifixion	2
Our Lady (Crucifixion)	1
Our Lady of Hertogenbosch	1
Virgin of the Carmelite Friars, Toulouse	1
Our Lady of Le Puy	1
Our Lady of Kevelaer	1
Our Lady of Poulton	1
Sta Maria Rotunda	1
Our Lady in the Whitefriars' church, Doncaster	1
Our Lady of Hal	1
Our Lady of Boulogne	1
Our Lady of the Tables	1
Grand Total	521

Table 3.10 Table displaying the Marian shrines represented in the data.

showing that while the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham drew pilgrims from across England and Wales as shown by the Glastonbury find, it seems to have been particularly important in eastern England, and specifically London and Norfolk. The Norwich, King's Lynn, and other Norfolk finds clearly demonstrate the local pull and importance of the cult within that area.

Similarly, the 43 badges able to be attributed to the shrine of Our Lady of Willesden in what is now the London area display a localized distribution. Of the 43 badges, 40 have been found in the London area. Spencer also noted the concentration of these distinct badges featuring the Virgin and Child situated within a crescent moon and suggested that they were one of the most worn badges in London in the first three decades of the 16th century.²³⁵ The 17 chance find badges of the PAS strengthen this assessment as 16 are from London while the other is from Selby in Yorkshire (the remaining two non-London finds are from the Salisbury riverine deposits). This remarkably dense concentration of the second largest identifiable Marian cult shows the importance of local patronage when it comes to the wearing and use of badges.

Within the Marian badge data across England and Wales the distributions seem to show how each shrine fitted into its regional and local landscape. Walsingham is known to have been a nationally popular and important centre of pilgrimage yet 80% of its badge finds are found within its surrounding region. Along with Our Lady of Willesden's strong local distribution, these results are not entirely surprising given the relative ease and suitability of undertaking local or regional, rather than long-distance pilgrimages. However, it does raise questions as to what may have driven and maintained a compact distribution like Our Lady of Willesden's and what sort of communal, personal, and emotional interactions were associated with local shrines.

²³⁵ Spencer 2010, 149

3.3.3 *Christocentric badges*

There are a total of at least 305 badges in this dataset which may be identified as being part of Christocentric devotion across England and Wales. These are badges which represent Christ in their iconographies. In contrast to the previously discussed themes of the cults of saints and Marian devotions, where the riverine finds account for 63% and 72% of the data of each theme, respectively, the riverine data for Christocentric badges is not as prominent. There are 165 badges originating from the catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner, while the chance finds account for a total of 130 badges. Additionally, there are ten badges which came from archaeological journals and reports. Therefore, whilst the catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner account for 54% of Christocentric badges, chance finds from the PAS (128 badges) and Heritage Gateway (two badges) make up a substantial 43% of them. The ten excavated finds make up roughly 3% of the data. This proportion of the excavated data is consistent with the overall numbers of badges which, as discussed above, include 94 out of the 3,465 total badges or again roughly 2-3% of the dataset.

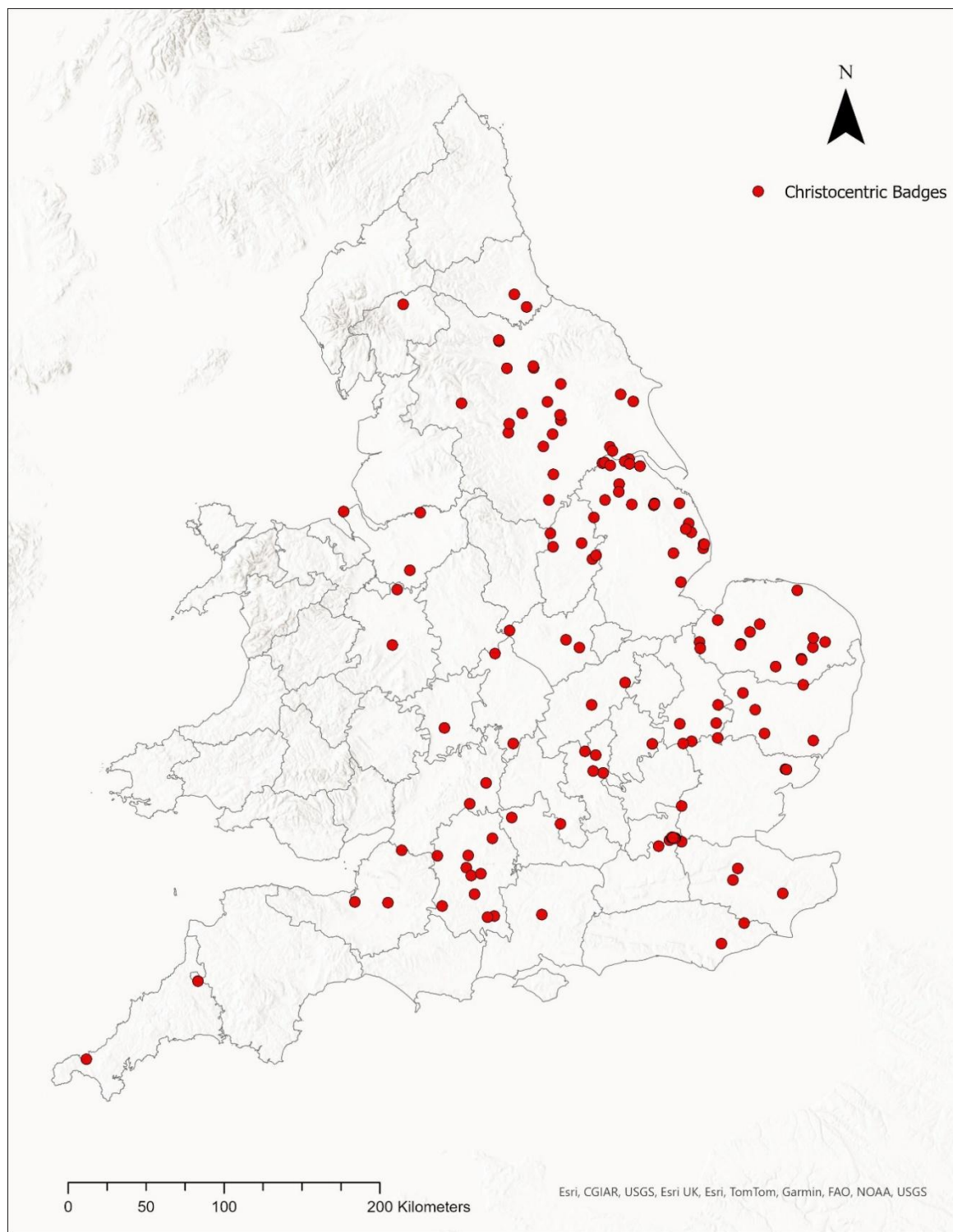


Figure 3.30 Distribution plot of the 305 Christocentric badges.

Geographically, London accounts for nearly half of the total number of Christocentric badges with 148 finds (of which 18 are chance finds). London, the two counties of Wiltshire and

Norfolk have 27 and 26 finds respectively. In Wiltshire, 20 of the 27 badges are from the riverine Salisbury data while the rest of the county produced a total of seven chance finds of Christocentric badges. The situation in Norfolk presents 12 badges from the riverine data of King's Lynn yet, there are also 13 chance finds distributed throughout the county as well as one badge which was recovered from excavations in urban Norwich. The counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are the only two remaining counties which feature more than five Christocentric badges (Table 3.11). Lincolnshire has a total of 24 finds (23 chance finds) while Yorkshire has a total of 22 finds (20 chance finds). Nevertheless, despite the majority of badge data being concentrated in London, Wiltshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, outside of Wales (where there are no examples in this dataset), the distribution of the 305 badges provides Christocentric representation across all regions of England (Figure 3.30). If we remove the riverine data briefly from consideration, the concentration of badges across the area of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and County Durham (particularly near the River Humber and the border between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire) is quite pronounced and will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

County	Number of Badges
Greater London Authority	148
Wiltshire	27
Norfolk	26
Lincolnshire	24
Yorkshire	22
Nottinghamshire	5
Suffolk	5
Gloucestershire	5
Buckinghamshire	4
Essex	4
Cambridgeshire	3
Northamptonshire	3

Cheshire	3
Kent	3
Sussex	2
Leicestershire	2
Oxfordshire	2
Derbyshire	2
Somerset	2
Cornwall	2
Warwickshire	2
County Durham	2
Shropshire	2
Worcestershire	1
Cumbria	1
Bedfordshire	1
Hampshire	1
Hertfordshire	1
Grand Total	305

Table 3.11 Table displaying the number of Christocentric badge finds by county.

With regards to the content of the Christocentric badges, as the case with the Marian material, there are large numbers of badges which feature undiagnostic imagery. These include the 69 examples of the Crucifixion of Christ and 46 examples of a cross. The image of a cross or crucifixion on a badge could simply be a visual reference to a common Christian motif. However, the repetition of several unique badge forms have permitted the attributions by Spencer of some of these cruciform badge types to at least two specific devotions including the Boxley (Kent) Rood of Grace (35 badges) and the Rood of Bermondsey Abbey (London) (7 badges) as well as a single mid to late 15th century continental example depicting the Gottsburen Rood (Germany).²³⁶ Nevertheless, the presence of a Holy Rood or crucifixion image/sculpture in virtually every church across pre-Reformation England and Wales does make the positive identification of a cruciform badge with a specific English or Welsh Holy Rood difficult.²³⁷ Additionally, there are 11 15th century Tau crosses which Spencer has attributed to St. Antony's

²³⁶ Spencer 2010, 164-170

²³⁷ Spencer 2010, 167

Hospital, London, and the Order of the Hospitallers who used the Tau cross as their badge.²³⁸ It also must be noted that while there are 31 badges of the Holy Name of Jesus, these numbers are bolstered to a total of 49 if consideration is given to the 18 badges of St Margaret of Antioch which feature the Holy Name of Jesus or Sacred Trigram (IHS or IHC) in addition to their depiction of St Margaret (highlighting some of the issues with the categorisation of badges).

When considering the chance finds of a number of Christocentric cults including the Holy Name of Jesus, the Five Wounds of Christ, and Christ Man of Sorrows, there are significant proportions of their finds coming from northern England or the Midlands as opposed to southern England (not including London or Salisbury) (Table 3.12). Comparing the Christocentric and Marian data also shows how each have their own unique distributions and highlights the presence of the northern and central English Christocentric badges in areas where there are fewer numbers of Marian badges. This will be considered further in Chapter 7.

Christocentric faction	Number of badges
Crucifixion	69
Cross	46
Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	35
Holy Name of Jesus	31
Veronica	27
Lamb of God	14
Five Wounds of Christ	13
St. Anthony's Hospital, London	11
Christ Man of Sorrows	9
Rood of Bermondsey	7
The Holy Face from Lucca	6
Passion of Christ	5
Holy Blood of Hailes	4
Christ Child	4
Eucharistic	3
Fish	3
Pelican in her piety	3

²³⁸ Spencer 1998, 176-178

Holy Blood, Wilsnack	3
Trinity	2
Celestial Body	2
Anti-Clerical	2
Heart	2
Gottsburen Rood	1
Our Lady of Willesden	1
Fountain of Life	1
Tree of Life	1
Grand Total	305

Table 3.12 Table displaying the number of badges according to Christocentric faction.

3.3.4 Social badges

Whilst the themes of the cults of saints, the Virgin Mary, Christocentric badges and the fragments of uncertain attribution make up the majority of badges in this dataset, there are at least 1,085 badges which do not fit within these categories. Removing the badges relating to Old Testament (nine badges) and Angelic figures (four badges), which depict overtly religious themes, results in around 30% of the dataset or 1,072 badges being distributed amongst ten other more general iconographic themes. The diversity of the material represented within these themes necessitates their arbitrary grouping together here in what I categorise as ‘social’ badges. The application of this terminology is not meant to be indicative of the attribution of secularity to each of these badge forms but rather to address some of the ambiguity existing across later medieval images and symbolism and the visual vocabulary of the period which so often incorporated the religious into the secular and vice versa.²³⁹ The ten themes include: unidentifiable human figures or body parts; tools, objects, or weapons; dynastic or faction badges; various mammals, plants, and birds; celestial bodies; mixed heraldry; badges made up of a letter or text; and mercantile or guild badges (Table 3.13). Of these, 645 badges or about 60%

²³⁹ Gray 2000, 1-5.

of social badges are from the riverine catalogue data. There are also 409 chance finds and 18 badges from archaeological reports.

Theme	Number of badges
Human Figure/Body Part	240
Tool/Object/Weapon	169
Dynastic/Individual Faction	149
Mammal	140
Plant	116
Bird	92
Celestial Body	83
Heraldry	42
Letter/Text	38
Mercantile/Guild	3
Grand Total	1072

Table 3.13 Table displaying the number of badges by 'social' thematic content.

Considering the geographic distribution of this diverse collection of social badge forms, it is worth noting that London accounts for 551 or about 51% of all social badges. Similarly, the concentration of finds from Salisbury accounts for 114 badges while the remainder of Wiltshire has eight social badge finds. This means that six out of every ten social badges are found concentrated in only the two cities of London and Salisbury. Outside of the density of finds from these two locations, a distribution plot which includes the chance finds and the excavated finds does show that social badges are being found across England in a fairly even distribution. However, the diversity of the badge forms and their potential meanings becomes apparent in Table 3.14 .

There are at least 137 different forms or badge types relating to social badges. The social badges with the most common motif are the various flowers or floral depictions (91 badges). This designation is not including depictions of the lily or fleur-de-lys which are included in the Marian material. Celestial bodies follow with 82 examples of suns, stars, and starbursts. The

remaining types which have over 50 examples include badges with lions (75 badges), unidentified busts or fragments of human heads (67 badges), and depictions of hearts (62 badges).

Faction/cult	Number of badges
Flower	91
Celestial Body	82
Lion	75
Unidentified Human Head	67
Heart	62
Axe	39
Raptor	34
Letter/Text	31
Crown	31
Talbot family (Talbot dog)	30
Cockerel	29
Purse	26
Unidentified Human Figure	23
Heraldry	22
Edward the Black Prince	19
Hart	18
Leaf	14
Boar	14
Swan	12
Knight	10
Mowbray family (Mulberry)	10
Arrow	10

Table 3.14 Table displaying the social factions or iconographies which have 10 or more badge examples.

The limited scale of this project precludes the detailed analysis of each of these 137 groups of badge types and their individual distributions. However, each of these forms do present potential for further exploration elsewhere concerning their distributions and uses across England and Wales. Nevertheless, there are a number of trends which are apparent in the data and are worth commenting upon. Among them is the inclusion of heart-shaped badges as one of the most common social badge forms. There are also three additional badges with saintly or

Christocentric imagery which also feature the image of a heart. Of these 65 badges, 25 are from London. There is also a clear cluster of chance finds found across southern Yorkshire and northern Lincolnshire.

Another intriguing and relatively common form of badge are the 26 examples which depict the mundane image of a money-purse. While 23 of the 26 examples are from London, Salisbury, or King's Lynn, the three chance finds from Northamptonshire and Suffolk do maintain a southeastern English distribution of this badge form. Several badges of Henry VI also depict a purse hanging from the belt of the saintly figure and the motif and these money-purse badges will be explored further in Section 5.4 which considers the unofficial royal saint.

Additionally, the presence of badges of mixed heraldry and the multitudes of forms including the mammals, birds, and objects such as crowns, are suggestive of the practice of distributing livery which was contemporary with the use of badges across England and Wales. The use and controversy surrounding the practice of livery and badge use will be considered further in Chapter 8.

3.4 Summary

To summarise, this chapter provided an overview of the 3,465 badges considered within this thesis and included in Appendix 1. It analysed and recorded where the badge data was collected from, the spatial distributions of the badges, and what saints, cults, or social elements were revealed in the iconographies.

It is apparent that the balance of the overall distribution of badges is no longer as heavily weighted towards the urban.²⁴⁰ As a whole, we are finding more and more chance finds and if

²⁴⁰ Anderson 2010, 199

we accept the findings of Bevan, and Oksanen and Lewis, the chance finds of the PAS help us to investigate the later medieval rural environment.²⁴¹ We are now presented with a relatively balanced division between the urban riverine deposits of London, Salisbury, and King's Lynn and the rural chance find representation in the badge data. The result of this is that we can now confidently claim that badges were widely circulated throughout England and were not prevalent only in urban, elite, or mercantile contexts but were in wide use and permeated all aspects of society.²⁴² The reassessment of where badges are being recovered and published involving a synthesis of information from the catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner, as well as the chance finds of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and Heritage Gateway, and excavation reports detailing the archaeological recovery of badges, provides an unprecedented view of badges across England and Wales. This more complete picture is a combination of the urban and rural data (roughly a 60:40 ratio) and the gaps in the spatial distribution are generally in expected areas given the origins of the data. However, there are areas such as Kent and the eastern parts of East Anglia which present unexpected distributions and which will be considered further in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, the resulting broad distribution provides sufficient data to expand our analysis of badge use beyond the confines of London, Salisbury, and urban riverine finds. We may begin to work on identifying wider patterns of badge use.

Analysis of the iconographies of badges shows a prevalence of material relating to Christian devotion. Amongst the largest numbers of badges include those associated with the cults of St Thomas Becket, the various shrines of Our Lady, Christ, and King Henry VI. Yet analysis of the of badges associated with each cult such as those of King Henry VI or St Margaret of Antioch

²⁴¹ Bevan 2012; Oksanen and Lewis 2020; Oksanen and Lewis 2023

²⁴² Wales remains difficult to assess due to the challenges associated with the collection of chance finds; Anderson 2010, 197

show that there are unique patterns of distribution suggesting different patterns of use or devotional practices existing across England and Wales. For example, while badges of Our Lady of Willesden are nearly all found in London, there are no badges of St Margaret of Antioch found near that city. Section 3.3.4 discussed the large number of ‘social’ badges and the variety of motifs which are difficult to attribute to any particular later medieval context. Although this greatly hinders a clear discussion regarding the practice of granting liveries in the form of badges, there are nevertheless social badges which have more obvious political associations such as the hart badges of King Richard II which will be analysed further in Chapter 8.

Chapter 4: Devotion to St Thomas Becket and the Virgin Mary

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the significant numbers of badge finds associated with the cult of St Thomas Becket of Canterbury and the Virgin Mary in England and Wales. As discussed in the previous chapter, these two devotional figures, the Virgin Mary and St Thomas Becket account for almost 30% of the entire dataset. How can we begin to account for the apparent extraordinary popularity of acquiring badges of the Virgin Mary and St Thomas? How and why do these two figures seemingly resonate so clearly with English and Welsh individuals and communities and why are there so many more badges of these two cults compared to the entirety of the cults of other saints and holy figures?

What follows in this chapter is an introduction of the potential ways in which badges could operate as emotants. The initial focus on the cult of St Thomas Becket in Section 4.2 is relatively brief and rather than concerning itself with the distribution or deposition of badges, it seeks to identify the elements within badge forms of a specific cult which can be interpreted as having emotionally charged meaning. This is followed by Section 4.3 which discusses the badges of Our Lady. Here, having established that badges had emotional potential, consideration is given to how badges were desirable and practical for devotees and how distinct forms and their emotional messages could create or sustain emotional communities. At the heart of this chapter is the exploration of badges and their capacity to encapsulate specific emotional sentiments and express them in a manner which was discernible or relatable to the visually literate later medieval population.

4.2 The badges of St Thomas Becket

The immense appeal of St Thomas Becket as an intercessor and the popularity of his shrine at Canterbury is borne out by the significant numbers of finds attributable to his cult. Thomas Becket (1118-1170) was a royal official who had risen to become the Chancellor of England.²⁴³ He was an exceptionally powerful individual who vainly ‘enjoyed all the trappings of wealth and power’ and was noted for his luxurious clothes and general lack of spiritual depth.²⁴⁴ His close ties to King Henry II also brought Becket the Archbishopric of Canterbury. However, upon taking this position, Archbishop Becket apparently dedicated himself to the Church and his newfound faith, bringing himself into conflict with the King. Their quarrel grew and on December 29, 1170, four knights in service to the king struck down the Archbishop in Canterbury Cathedral.²⁴⁵ Immediately after his death, it was found that water which contained drops of Becket’s blood could produce miraculous occurrences of healing.²⁴⁶ Consequentially, pilgrims, devotees, and those in need of healing began to flock to the site of Becket’s martyrdom.²⁴⁷

The 488 badges which are clearly attributable to St Thomas Becket establishes the cult of St Thomas as the most popular across England and Wales. However, the badges are heavily concentrated in London which accounts for 379 of the badges (see Section 3.3.1). There are many designs of badges attributable to the cult of St Thomas Becket.²⁴⁸ In the dataset in Appendix 1, there are six which account for the vast majority of the data. At least 237 badges depict the mitred head and shoulders of St Thomas (these include depictions of only a bishop’s

²⁴³ Spencer 2010, 37

²⁴⁴ Koopmans 2025, 8

²⁴⁵ Spencer 2010, 37

²⁴⁶ Spencer 2010, 38

²⁴⁷ Spencer 2010, 38

²⁴⁸ Spencer 2010, 72-128

mitre). These badges are referencing the head reliquary of the saint which was housed in the Corona Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral. There are also at least 82 badges either depicting or clearly referencing the martyrdom of St Thomas. These include images of the weapons of the martyrdom including swords and bucklers, recreations of the shrine at Canterbury, and the depiction of the actual moment of St Thomas' martyrdom. There are 46 badges or fragments which show St Thomas on horseback as well as 12 badges or fragments which place the saint aboard a ship. Additionally, there are a total of 18 badges which depict St Thomas and a peacock. There are also 18 badges which show the episcopal gloves of St Thomas (Figure 4.1). Considered together, these forms account for more than eight out of every ten badges of St Thomas considered in this dataset. Other forms include the standing figure of the saint and the letter T.



Figure 4.1 Badge depicting the gloves of St Thomas Becket. Found near Willingham, Cambridgeshire c. 1400-1550. W: 24.98 mm. PAS CAM-3D1B8).

4.2.1 Badges, emotions, and the cult of St Thomas Becket

National and civic identities of both England and London were fostered by the cult. Yet, what was it about the cult of St Thomas which drew in individuals and led them to desire and

acquire badges for display? What did a badge of St Thomas serve to embody and communicate which impacted both individuals in their everyday life as well as wider society?

St Thomas' popularity and particular relationship with the city of London is clearly represented in the heavy concentration of the badge finds with nearly eight out of every ten badges of the cult in this dataset being recovered from that city. St Thomas or Thomas of London as he was known during his lifetime was born in Cheapside in the city and was the patron saint of London.²⁴⁹ The relative proximity of Canterbury meant that the cult was readily accessible for Londoners seeking the saint and his shrine. Indeed, London was also a gateway for pilgrims travelling to Kent and Canterbury.

One of the clear ways in which the cult of St Thomas became established into the daily lives of the English and Welsh faithful was in his perceived potency as a healer or as a protector to those who were devoted to him. Personal healing and protection was an intimate act and if a heavenly saint deigned to assist and give love and support, it was because there was an emotional relationship and reciprocal depth of feeling or faith. The healing and protection was merely the expected fruit of a sustained devotional relationship. Therefore, a large part of the cultivation and the sustaining element of that relationship could be found in the wearing of badges and their expression of thanks, optimism, and loyalty.

In terms of the protections offered by the saint, the cult appears to have been particularly sought by those working or travelling by sea and sailors. There are at least 12 badges depicting St Thomas and a ship and they may be reinforcing this sense of maritime protection (Figure 4.2). When St Thomas sailed back to England in 1170 out of his exile in France, he did so triumphantly and confidently. This is shown on the badges by the manner in which St Thomas is

²⁴⁹ Spencer 2010, 37

depicted amidships, defiant as he is surrounded by the sailors and rigging. It is highly possible that English sailors would have worn badges or tokens of St Thomas as they travelled. Indeed, badges which recreate the shrine of St Thomas Becket (such as Figure 4.6) include the depiction of votive ships which were commonly placed upon the shrine and presumably offered by mariners in thanks for a safe voyage.²⁵⁰ There are a number of recorded miracles in which St Thomas Becket assists those at sea.²⁵¹ On the high seas, the image of the saint boldly standing amidships and the knowledge of his reputation for intercessions and deliverance offered to any maritime travellers may have brought about a great sense of comfort and calm.



Figure 4.2 Badge depicting St Thomas Becket amidships as he returns to England from exile in France. This example is from the Trig Lane site in London (catalogue number 34a) 70 x 80 mm. Spencer 2010, 79-80.

The character of St Thomas may also have been viewed as a moral warning, and in his later life, as an example. Before finding God, Thomas Becket was known to have been someone

²⁵⁰ Blick 2003, 267

²⁵¹ Koopman 2025, 255-258

who was indulgent in many of the ways of worldly living,²⁵² but upon being named the Archbishop of Canterbury, he became renowned for the intensity and integrity of his conversion. It has been suggested that this is a context through which the 18 badges of St Thomas and a peacock may be viewed (Figure 4.3).²⁵³ The peacock, in later medieval consciousness, was a symbol of vanity thereby tying in quite readily with the depictions of the pre-conversion lifestyle of Thomas.²⁵⁴ Therefore, the image of St Thomas emerging from a peacock, clothed in his vestments and mitre, may be seen as a bold proclamation of the ability to overcome worldliness and vanity and live according to grace and faith. In his conversion, Becket became an embodiment of the theme of Christian redemption and the idea that sinfulness, indulgence the flesh, and worldly living can be overcome through a renewed faith and the grace which accompanies an earnest renewal of the spirit. A crucial element of the Christian psyche was the fervent desire for forgiveness and a reliance upon the notion that it is attainable. Becket's conversion and journey to sainthood is a clear example of God's forgiveness and that forgiveness was attainable for all who repented their worldly ways. An excerpt from 'The Passion and Miracles of Thomas Becket' by Benedict of Peterborough written in the 1170s vividly illustrates how the cult provided aid in this manner and how the example of St Thomas helped people return to living in virtue and righteousness.

By means of the blood of the lamb of Canterbury [Rv 7:14/Rv 12:11] the benevolence of the Almighty provided for everyone, and either corrected each person, or invited them to correction. For with the flashing of miracles, little by little the darkness of vices ceased, the seed of the word of God grew in the good earth, and the buds of reviving virtues

²⁵² Spencer 2010, 75

²⁵³ Spencer 2010, 75

²⁵⁴ Spencer 2010, 75

*sprouted in the field of the church. By the flashing of miracles, innumerable people are turned from their evil ways [Jer 26:3] and, striking their breasts, they return to the Lord [Lk 23:48].*²⁵⁵



Figure 4.3 Early 15th century badge depicting St Thomas Becket standing on or emerging from a peacock. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 30a) H: 50 mm. Spencer 2010, 75-76.

This is also displayed in the 46 badges depicting an equestrian figure of St Thomas returning triumphantly and without fear from his six years of exile in France (Figure 4.4). Lee has also suggested that both equestrian and ship badges are referring to Becket's *Regressio* or return from exile with the equestrian imagery mirroring that of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem on the back of a donkey.²⁵⁶ Interpreted figuratively, the exile could be conceived of as the past, sinful life of Thomas Becket from which he eventually turned, emerging as a righteous and redeemed saintly figure. Thus, in the badges, there is a communication of triumph and a joy in the proclamation that forgiveness and redemption is available. Among the recorded miracles of St Thomas Becket is the mention that many people who had been 'enmeshed in sin for many

²⁵⁵ Koopmans 2025, 78

²⁵⁶ Lee 2021

years,' out of reverence for the martyr, renounced their past lives and sins before approaching the holy tomb.²⁵⁷ The badges of St Thomas Becket tap into the currents of everyday life and devotion because they speak and appeal to the things which pricked the consciousness, worries, and the joys of later medieval Christians. The badges are stimulants in the sense that they can energise or reignite both memories of the relationship with the holy and the affiliated emotions.



Figure 4.4 Late 14th century badge depicting St Thomas Becket riding a horse. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 37a). 82 x 87 mm. Spencer 2010, 83-84.

I would suggest that the 237 badges of the bust or head reliquary of St Thomas Becket serve to emphasise the immediacy of the presence of the saint to those devoted to him (Figure 4.5). The human qualities apparent in the facial features including the enlarged almond-shaped eyes and the pious or sincere expression of the saint on the badges may have helped to focus devotional attention on the maintenance of an interpersonal relationship with St Thomas. These badges bring Becket close with their focus on his calm and steady expression and presence bringing comfort in the remembrance of Becket's faithfulness to those who sought his

²⁵⁷ Koopman 2025, 175

intercessions. Indeed, this kind of visual connection can be applied to other devotional imagery with human facial elements as well, and is not applicable only to badges of St Thomas Becket.

The badges in the form of shrines are considered to replicate the real shrine of Becket which was built for the remains of the saint in 1220 (Figure 4.6).²⁵⁸ This is evidence of the purposeful reclamation of memory and the personal exploration of the most tangible aspect of an intangible relationship. These inner recollections could bring about positive emotions such as calm, peace, joy, or relief. This is because of the memory not only of the healing or protection which St Thomas may have offered to a devotee, but also the memory of St Thomas' own life and story and the redemption he received in his overcoming of the world and sinful living.



Figure 4.5 14th century badge of the bust of St Thomas Becket. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 112). H: 60 mm. Spencer 2010, 115-116.

In the replication of the shrine, the martyrdom, and the tools of the martyrdom in the form of portable, wearable badges there is also the possibility that it is meant to be an expression of confidence that the saint is always near to the faithful. Such badges may also provide a way of communicating the idea that travelling to the shrine physically was not strictly necessary to

²⁵⁸ Blick 2003; Spencer 2010, 99-100

finding the healing, protection, or religious experience that was being sought. This also raises the notion that badges could and were being acquired at locations away from the principal shrine. Although not a badge, a mould for a Canterbury ampullae was found near Pirton, Worcestershire, suggesting the mobility of the means of producing badges or cast devotional objects.²⁵⁹ Cohen has discussed the trade disputes concerning the sale of badges in France and the attempts by cults to gain and protect the exclusive rights to create badges with specific iconography.²⁶⁰



Figure 4.6 Badge replicating the shrine of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 73c). H: 79 mm. Spencer 2010. 98-100

Additionally, recent work by Awais-Dean has highlighted the presence and ubiquity of pedlars selling their wares which included dress accessories²⁶¹ and they may well have carried and sold devotional or pilgrim badges. This adds a degree of nuance to the idea of the locality of pilgrimage. Given that the vast majority of Becket badges seem to date to the mid-to-late 14th century, it may also be reflective of changing perceptions of pilgrimage. The act of wearing

²⁵⁹ Macgregor and Spencer 1987

²⁶⁰ Cohen 1976

²⁶¹ Awais-Dean and Hohti 2025

badges which replicate aspects of a pilgrimage or shrine, such as the head reliquary of St Thomas Becket, could be interpreted as a statement of the belief that the holy figure depicted on the badge was actively taking part in the wearer's life. It could become a statement that the saint is an active participant in the life course of the wearer. The gifts of the saint are only available through the establishment of a relationship or emotional bond, and that bond or closeness is made tangible and expressed in the material badges. In a sense, the badges bring both the shrine and the saint anywhere or everywhere, making the saint a companion to the wearer.

4.2.2 The decline of the cult

With the majority of Becket's badges dating to the late 14th century, by the late 15th and early 16th century their popularity appears to have declined. However, this is not to suggest that the cult of St Thomas had lost all of its communicative and emotive meaning. It has been discussed by MacCulloch, Fletcher, and Bush that the cult of St Thomas may also have been associated with the ideals of church rights and privileges²⁶² and the 'long-standing popular belief that Becket had been killed by Henry II's men for his opposition to tyrannical royal taxation.'²⁶³ Further, they suggest that this belief lasted into the 1530s making the cult a target of Henry VIII who destroyed it in 1538.²⁶⁴ Therefore, the display of a Becket badge may have been a bold statement of defiance in the face of perceived royal injustice and taxation. The images of St Thomas in triumph either on the ship or on horseback place his saintly figure in a position to essentially revel in the defiance towards Henry II thereby setting a clear example for others (Figure 4.2). Used or considered in this light, badges of St Thomas Becket assisted in the establishment or maintenance of an emotional community which was not only opposed to

²⁶² Bush 1991, 395; MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

²⁶³ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

²⁶⁴ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

tyrannical taxation, but placed value on the notion that one must stand true to a sense of justice and right even in the face of overwhelming odds. Henry VIII's assault on the cult in 1538 may be viewed as part of his strategy of removing all possible opposition or rallying points as witnessed in his elimination of the Yorkists and alluded to by MacCulloch and Fletcher.²⁶⁵ The cult of St Thomas and the wearing of its badges could have become a symbol of defiance to royal authority generally. Indeed badges such as Figure 4.4 from Spencer's London catalogue demonstrate the possibility of targeted damage to the head of a figure who was branded by Henry VIII and others in the 1530s as a traitor.²⁶⁶ Therefore, it is possible that some 'devotional' badges may have been used in ways which blend with the perception of how contemporary livery badges were being used.

4.3 The badges of Our Lady across England and Wales

Within the dataset of this project there are a total of at least 521 badges associated with Marian devotions across England and Wales (see Section 3.3.2). The badges are spread throughout England and southern Wales and feature a number of iconographies and forms which have been analysed by Spencer and Mitchiner and attributed to a total of at least 21 different English and continental shrines of Our Lady. However, I would first like to focus the discussion in this section on Marian devotion generally and how its elements are reflected in the badge material rather than by seeking to establish the differences between individual Marian cults and their specific badge forms. This is due to the consistency within Marian devotion of utilising certain motifs or representations of particular moments in the story of Mary such as the lily and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, or the Virgin holding the Christ Child. While we can

²⁶⁵ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

²⁶⁶ Aston 2016, 365

identify certain badge types and slightly differing variations of badge forms with specific cults, such as Spencer's association between badges of the Virgin and Child set within the horns of a crescent moon (Figure 4.7) and the shrine of Our Lady of Willesden near London, some caution should be injected into this endeavour.²⁶⁷ For example, it is natural to attempt to attribute 14th-16th century badges referencing the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary specifically with the shrine at Walsingham. Yet, to do so is problematic given the many local images in churches across Europe which were dedicated to Our Lady. However, there are badge examples such as Figure 4.8 which feature an inscription identifying a shrine of origin. Rubin attests to the spread of Marian imagery in the form of wooden statues across European churches and shrines beginning in the late 12th-13th centuries.²⁶⁸ This development as well as the use of badges assisted in making the Virgin Mary available to lay people in local and familiar settings and consequentially, her devotion is thought by Rubin to have taken on 'the colours of daily life; she dwelt within surroundings familiar to most people.'²⁶⁹



Figure 4.7 Early 16th century badge depicting the Virgin and Child in a crescent. This badge is from Dowgate, London. PAS LON-FB13A5.

²⁶⁷ Spencer 2010, 149-152

²⁶⁸ Rubin 2009, 85

²⁶⁹ Rubin 2009, 83

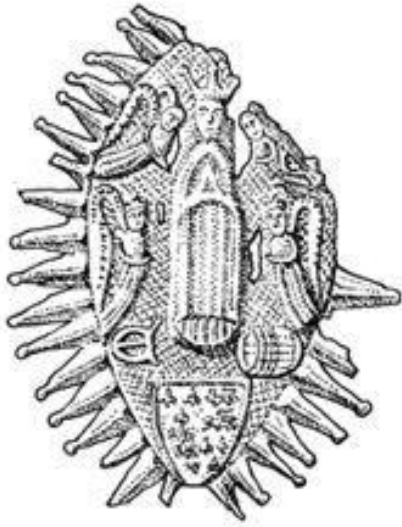


Figure 4.8 Late 15th century badge depicting the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The inclusion of the letter 'E' and a cask or 'tun' identifies this as a badge of Our Lady of Eton. This badge is part of Spencer and Griffiths Salisbury catalogue. However, as this badge does not have a secure findspot, it is not part of the catalogue of this project in Appendix 1. Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 29.

4.3.1 The emotions of Marian devotion

The Virgin Mary, as the Mother of God, is considered to be at the side of Christ and have His ear and is therefore regarded as the principal intercessor or 'chief advocate for humanity' amongst the holy host.²⁷⁰ The Virgin was viewed as a knowing and tender guide, taking on the title of 'Mother of Mercy' and in later medieval devotions, she was integral to the idea of attaining grace, forgiveness, and comfort through the intercessory efforts of holy individuals in addition to her role as a universal protector. Emotion is the central aspect of Marian devotion with Rubin summarising that its development across Europe throughout the medieval period led to it becoming an 'enabling site for reflection on the expression of emotion.'²⁷¹ Devotional attention came to focus intensely upon the joys and sorrows experienced by the Virgin. There

²⁷⁰ Verdon et al 2014, 56

²⁷¹ Rubin 2009, 79-80

are explorations of the happiness and love of her motherhood associated with the joys of her immaculate conception, birth, and nurturing of Jesus Christ. These are coupled or juxtaposed with the profound tragedies of her character including the inevitability of the loss of her son, the violence and humiliation of His punishment, and the immeasurable depth of her mourning.²⁷²

The focus on the emotions of the Virgin also establishes the importance of seeking a ‘closeness’ or personal and emotional connection with Mary. Speaking broadly, Rubin suggests that it is the visual qualities of images which provide the vehicle for participation in the experiences and emotions of the Virgin Mary.²⁷³ This has often been discussed as an emphasis on mimesis or the act of imitation as ‘an emotional register of communication’ or forming connection.²⁷⁴ Yet, I would like to emphasise here the emotional connection and knowledge of the presence of the Virgin Mary (or other holy figures) which is implied and entailed through the practice of mimesis. Therefore, images and specifically badges can provide a ‘closeness’ through their visual and physical qualities which were actively sought and valued. Importantly they were objects of personal adornment which were readily available and cheap to acquire.

That badges of Marian devotion are found throughout England in large numbers (for badges) is reflective of the importance of Marian devotion in the later medieval period and the interaction with Mary in familiar settings, and with a sense of intimacy. The four iconographies discussed below of the Annunciation, Virgin and Child, Pietà, and Assumption (which together account for at least 60% of all Marian badges included in this dataset), each relate a nuanced aspect of the emotional nature of the Virgin’s life and cult which are embodied and recognisable through the clear and distinctive iconographies of the badges. While certain Marian shrines may

²⁷² Rubin 2009, 79-80; Duffy 2005, 256-265

²⁷³ Rubin 2009, 93-94

²⁷⁴ Rubin 2009, 82

or may not be associated with certain imagery or badge forms, I seek to emphasise how they assisted in providing reliable access to the Virgin Mary. In a sense, I consider badges and the various images and shrines of Our Lady to be like many doors, each providing a unique and localised entry point into a single ‘room’ of Marian devotion for an individual or emotional community.

4.3.2 Badges of the Annunciation

There are at least 86 badges which depict the Annunciation or the announcement to the Virgin Mary by the Archangel Gabriel that she will conceive and give birth to Jesus, the Son of God. The moment of the Annunciation is also reflected or invoked in the Ave Maria prayer which was a pillar of later medieval Christian practice and knowledge.²⁷⁵ The scene of the Annunciation in the Gospel is highly emotionally charged; Mary is at first described as troubled, but is quickly reassured by Gabriel to ‘fear not’ before hearing the Archangel’s praise and message.²⁷⁶ The badges of the Annunciation capture the moment of the reception of grace and good news, which Mary accepted with a humble, devout, and full spirit (Figure 4.9).

²⁷⁵ Duffy 2022, 53

²⁷⁶ Luke 1: 26-38



Figure 4.9 Copper alloy badge depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary c. 1450-1520. The reading Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel are separated by a lily plant. This example is from London. L: 38 mm. PAS LON-69C4E5.

The association between the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham and the Annunciation is due to the inspirational vision received by Richelde de Faverches to build a wooden replica of the Annunciation house (the place where Mary received the message of the Archangel) in 1061.²⁷⁷ Yet, the distribution of the 86 Annunciation badges, although concentrated in London and King's Lynn, are found all across southern England (Figure 4.10). While it is possible that Annunciation badges originated from a pilgrimage to Walsingham, I would suggest that they may also have been used to express a desire or need to receive good news or joy – as experienced by Mary at the Annunciation. Badges including GLO-A14B8D from

²⁷⁷ Locker 2015, 29

Maiseyhampton, Gloucestershire or example 151c from Spencer's London catalogue depict the exact moment when Mary, who is reading alone, is interrupted by the appearance of the Archangel (Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12).²⁷⁸ The scene shows daily life being interrupted by grace or put differently, grace and joy is being injected into daily life.

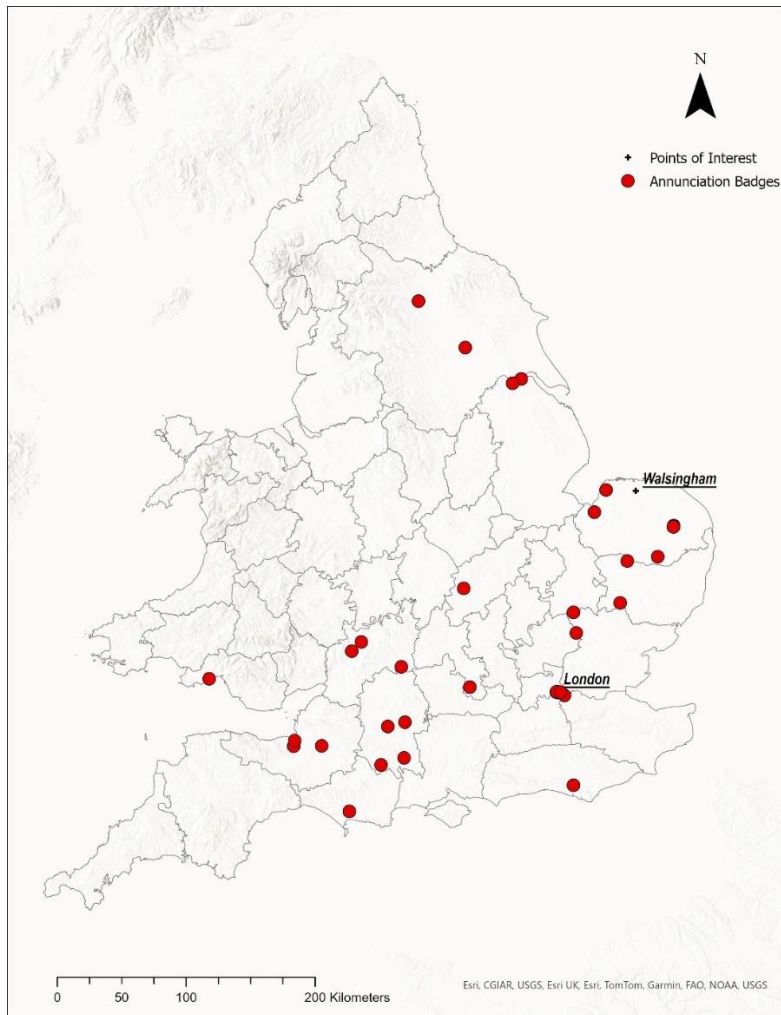


Figure 4.10 Distribution of the 86 badges depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Commonly associated with the shrine at Walsingham, the distribution shows that such badges are found across southern England and Wales.

²⁷⁸ Spencer 1998, 142-144



Figure 4.11 Badge depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. From Maiseyhampton, Gloucestershire, c. 1400-1550. PAS GLOA14B8D.



Figure 4.12 Late 15th-early 16th century badge of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. From Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 151c). 27 x 27mm. Spencer 2010, 142-145.

There is at least one source providing documentary evidence for the gifting of what is described as a ‘Walsingham brooch.’²⁷⁹ The letter, written in the early 16th century by a widow named Elizabeth Newhouse to her son Robert, provides an example of badges being used and shared in daily life.²⁸⁰ Essentially, the letter consists of a concerned mother checking on her son who had just left his employer, ‘I pray you send word where you be and in whose service.’²⁸¹ Elizabeth mentions that she had been to Walsingham, but there is no mention of devotion, only that she had spoken to Robert’s brother there.²⁸² The letter concludes with ‘Also I have no good token to send you at this time but a Walsingham brooch.’²⁸³ There is no boasting of the pilgrimage or anything clearly pious in Elizabeth’s gifting of the badge. Therefore, I interpret the letter to be an expression of motherly love and worry for a son from whom she has received little news and who has been without employment. Although no specifics are given as to the type of badge Elizabeth sent to her son, I would forward the suggestion that it was likely to have been a depiction of the Annunciation whose image was used by the shrine at Walsingham. Elizabeth’s gift may then be interpreted as a gentle expression of her love and care and her hope and prayers that good news and joy might find Robert in his life. The depiction of the Annunciation could indicate something beyond simply a pilgrimage to a shrine of Our Lady. It may be that these objects are representative of the emotional act of well-wishing or the sharing of an expression of positivity within a community or, as the letter above demonstrates, family networks.

²⁷⁹ Green 1846, 3-4

²⁸⁰ Spencer 2010, 145

²⁸¹ Green 1846, 3

²⁸² Green 1846, 3-4

²⁸³ Green 1846, 4

4.3.3 *Badges of the Virgin and Child*

Marian devotion is also focused upon the sorrows and solemnity of the Virgin Mary and her life as the mother of Christ. There are at least 192 badges which depict the Virgin as she holds the Christ Child. There are a variety of forms which depict the pair either enthroned or standing together and with a variety of frames (Figure 4.13). The image of Mary and her infant son may be referenced to the Gospel and Luke 2, and the story of how Jesus was brought to the temple for the purification rites required by the Law of Moses. There, mother and child encountered the prophet Simeon, who blesses them and told Mary of Jesus' importance ending with the cautionary words that 'a sword will pierce your own soul too.'²⁸⁴ This Gospel story is essential to the depiction of the Virgin and Child because it so clearly foreshadows the sorrow and grief which they will face. Knowing this passage injects the view of a Virgin and Child badge such as Figure 4.14 with a sense of sympathy, empathy, or even melancholy alongside that of Mary who nurtures, loves, and cares for her infant son knowing the burden and tragedy which they must eventually face. This is also seen in larger scale paintings of the Virgin and Child which feature depictions of goldfinches with the red on their heads foretelling Christ's Passion and the crown of thorns.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Luke 2: 35

²⁸⁵ Friedmann 1946



Figure 4.13 Late 15th century badge of the Virgin and Child set within an architectural frame. From Dowgate, London. PAS LON-4FC379.



Figure 4.14 15th century badge of the Virgin and Child found near Cricklade, Wiltshire. PAS WILT-0618C8.

In the badges, Mary is serene, stately, and solemn as she holds the Christ Child mirroring how she steadfastly remained at her son's side in his humiliation, torture, and agonising death. This steadfast nature of Mary is also explored in 43 badges which feature the crowned Virgin and Child set atop a crescent moon (Figure 4.7). Spencer notes that there are upwards of 300 examples of these badges with the majority of these being held in museum collections or otherwise without provenance and therefore are not considered in this study.²⁸⁶ The implication of this imagery being the juxtaposition of the fickleness or constant changing of the moon with the constancy of the love of both Christ and His mother.²⁸⁷ Shown side by side, those viewing

²⁸⁶ Spencer 2010, 149

²⁸⁷ Spencer 2010, 151

the badge are also reminded of the power of Mary and her intercessions. Mary is ever at the side of Christ and a devotional relationship with her, as projected through a badge of the Virgin and Child, is a marker of confidence in the presence, immediacy, and potency of her intercession on behalf of the faithful wearer/devotee. The physical act of wearing the badge either on a hat, hood, or worn on clothing or the body essentially mirrors the image depicted, placing the holy pair physically or tangibly present and in contact with the wearer.

Returning to the 43 badges of the Virgin and Child and the crescent moon, Spencer has attributed this form specifically to the shrine of Our Lady of Willesden near London.²⁸⁸ Regarding their distribution, 36 are found concentrated in the London area. I would suggest that this exceptionally strong or localised concentration of badges is indicative of how specific emotional messages were fostered by cults and disseminated amongst their emotional communities. Dated by Spencer to the first 30 years of the 16th century, this offers a clear sense of when these objects were in use and shows that while the cult of St Thomas Becket may have been declining, devotion to the Virgin Mary may have been becoming more popular. As such, the distribution of these badges may be emblematic of the continued importance of local Marian cults or pilgrimages on the eve of the 16th century English Reformation. Yet, despite the clear concentration of badge material reflecting the local importance of the shrine of Our Lady of Willesden, there are also at least six badges found across Essex, Hampshire, Norfolk, Wiltshire, and Yorkshire. These finds from outside of the local context of the shrine may be viewed as evidence for the delivering of badges as gifts. The portable nature of badges as well as the reference in Section 4.3.2 to a badge being sent with a letter also provides evidence of the gifting of badges as emotants.

²⁸⁸ Spencer 2010, 149

4.3.4 *Badges of the Pietà*

Furthermore, there are at least 21 badges which depict a Pietà or the image of the mourning Virgin Mary holding the dead body of Jesus Christ. Chance finds from the PAS account for 11 of the examples while riverine catalogues provide another four badges. Archaeological reports also revealed six Pietà badges (two of which are from unstratified contexts). The four contextualised finds include an example from Chelmsford, Essex, found in a context dating to *c.* 1590-1630 and found near the walls of a small building (perhaps a kitchen) detached from the main house at the site.²⁸⁹ Cunningham and Drury also reference an identical badge found in the 1920's beneath mid-15th century stalls in Beauchamp Chapel in Warwick, Warwickshire.²⁹⁰ The two other examples are from Colchester (Essex), and Tattenhoe (Buckinghamshire).²⁹¹ Regarding the overall distribution of the Pietà badges, it is notable that there are only four badges from London and only three badges overall coming from the riverine catalogue material (Figure 4.15). Compared to the Virgin and mandorla badges considered above in Section 3.3.4 where all 18 examples were recovered from urban riverine contexts, badges of the Pietà are found distributed more broadly across southern England. Coupled with the nature of the contexts of the two excavated finds (encompassing both domestic and religious spheres), as well as the late 16th century dating of the Chelmsford badge, it is suggestive of a different treatment of the Pietà badges. Perhaps this is due to the inclusion of the figure of Christ in addition to the Virgin Mary. However, it may also be a reflection of the importance within 15th-16th century devotional practice of pondering the Passion and atoning death of Christ through the emotional experience of His mother, Mary.²⁹² Images of the Pietà as well as hymns,

²⁸⁹ Cunningham and Drury 1985, 50-51

²⁹⁰ Cunningham and Drury 1985, 51

²⁹¹ Crummy 1988, 86; Ivens 1995, 337

²⁹² Duffy 2022, 260

poems, sermons, and other media devoted to the suffering of Mary abounded throughout Europe in this period and served to cultivate an appreciation of the sacrifice of Christ through Mary's grief.²⁹³ The 13th century hymn known as the Stabat Mater, which was widely disseminated in later medieval England, expresses such a sentiment.

*Come then Mother, the font of love, make me feel the force of your grief, make me mourn with you... Make me weep lovingly with you, make me feel the pains of the crucified, as long as I shall live... I long to stand with you by the Cross, and to be your companion in your lamentation... Grant that I may carry with me the death of Christ, make me a partner in his Passion, let me relive his wounds.*²⁹⁴

Identification with grief and the desire to experience it in a devotional manner is something which persisted within later medieval devotions even after the English Reformation. In Ryrie's discussion of early Protestant English devotions, the intricate cultivations of the emotions of despair and the act of mourning are crucial elements of what was viewed as a healthy or natural devotional life.²⁹⁵ Note how in the Stabat Mater the importance is placed on the grief of Mary and the sharing of her experience as pointing towards an appreciation of the Passion of Christ. Again, this is indicative of a hierarchical devotional and visual literacy where saints and the Virgin Mary, although essential devotional elements in their own rights, nevertheless must be perceived as pointing upwards, towards Christ.

²⁹³ Duffy 2022, 258-265

²⁹⁴ Duffy 2005, 259

²⁹⁵ Ryrie 2013, 27-62

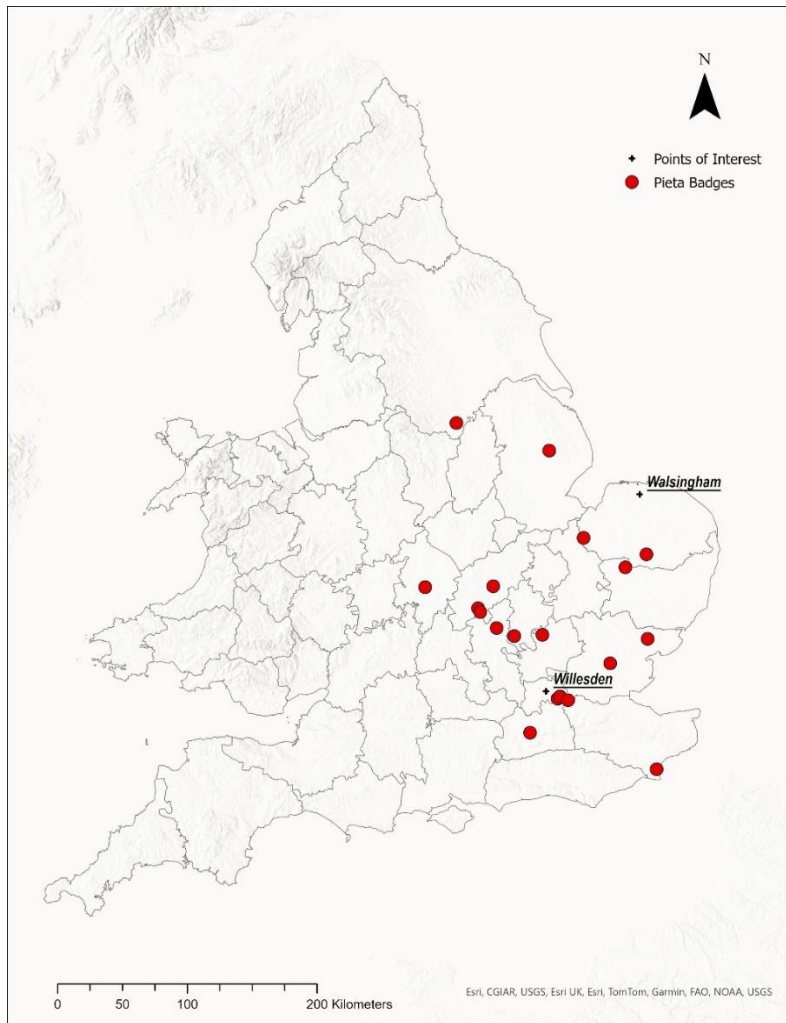


Figure 4.15 Distribution of the 21 badges depicting the Pietà. The majority of finds are not from London or riverine deposits.

I have included here a late 15th century story which presents an intimate domestic narrative of how people experienced and reacted to an instance of tragedy, personal grief, and pain. It presents a window through which we may comprehend and appreciate the quality of the emotions which later medieval devotees may have projected upon Mary and sought to experience for themselves. The heartrending story describes the accidental death of a three-year-old girl named Beatrice Shirley from Wiston, Suffolk, in 1489.²⁹⁶ Whilst playing near a pile of recently felled timbers with a group of other young children, Beatrice was crushed by a timber

²⁹⁶ Knox and Leslie 1923, 50

which became dislodged from the pile.²⁹⁷ The father, who was likely working nearby, heard the distressed cries of the other children and seeing from a distance that it was his own daughter imperilled, he ‘hastened forward, and, on drawing near and finding her already carried off by so cruel a death, found his face grow pale, and his heart wrung with an agony of grief: yet, lifting the log with some difficulty, he raised her in his hands. Then the fountains of his eyes were loosed, and calling his wife, he put the poor corpse in her arms.’²⁹⁸ The mother, who is also overwhelmed with grief, ran with Beatrice to a nearby church where she implored the aid (again, hierarchically) of God, His mother, as well as Henry VI, and her fervent and acceptable devotions brought about the ‘grace that was asked for’ and Beatrice swiftly recovered in the arms of her mother.²⁹⁹

The imagery and sentiment of the story is also mirrored in the Pietà badges and the devastation of the loss of Mary’s child. Badges such as Figure 4.16 place the lifeless body of Christ in the arms of His mother and the physicality or sense of weight in this image lends itself to a clear and unclouded depiction of parental grief and the tremendous burden borne by Mary as the Mother of God.

²⁹⁷ Knox and Leslie 1923, 51

²⁹⁸ Knox and Leslie 1923, 52

²⁹⁹ Knox and Leslie 1923, 52-54

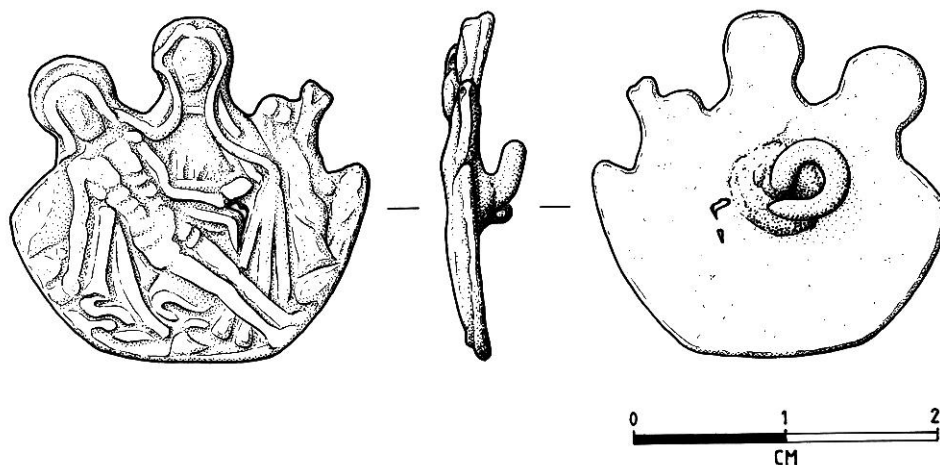


Figure 4.16 15th century Pietà badge from Snetterton, Norfolk. PAS NMS-3C99D3

Without deemphasising the devotional importance of reflecting upon the Passion of Christ and the sorrows of Mary, I would suggest the possibility that Pietà badges may also be considered to have been used as symbols of mourning when worn and used as a form of ‘mourning jewellery’. Used in such a way, they would reflect the wearer’s true sorrow, which was supported and relieved by their Christian belief. The badges do not erase the sorrow through their invocations of Christ and His mother, but they could have supported the bereaved with a knowing and sympathetic reference to the paradoxical death of Christ that brought joy through sorrow, and life through death. Badges of the Pietà such as Figure 4.17 interpreted in this manner give insight into expected emotional norms and how people might have reacted and attempted to cope with tragedy and pain in their lives by allowing the ideal exemplified by the Virgin Mary to guide them along. These badges confront us with a sense of personal resilience and a depth of love and loss which becomes apparent in the exploration of the content of the images which were desired and worn.



Figure 4.17 Pietà badge from Hitchin, Hertfordshire c 1400-1525. PAS BH-C4ED35.

4.3.5 Badges of the Virgin Mary within a mandorla

The life of the Virgin Mary also provides another joyous moment which is featured on at least 19 badges in this dataset. The badges depict the Virgin Mary at the moment of her Assumption or when she was called up to heaven in the midst of her life. In England, these badges have been attributed by Spencer to the shrine of Our Lady of Eton, Berkshire. On the badges, the figure of the Virgin Mary is encapsulated by the rays of a mandorla or a halo-like framing of a holy figure. Spencer dates these badges to the end of the 15th century and there is at least one example (Figure 4.8) which features the letter E followed by the image of a cask or *tun* for Eton.³⁰⁰ All 19 of these badges are from the riverine data (ten from London, five from King's Lynn, two from Salisbury, and two from Canterbury) and there are no chance finds relating to the Virgin Mary in a mandorla. Compared to the nearby Windsor pilgrimages devoted to King Henry VI, St George, and John Schorne mentioned in Section 3.2.1, which feature significant

³⁰⁰ Spencer 2010, 148-149

numbers of rural chance finds, the distribution of the Virgin and mandorla appears to be strictly urban in nature. Particularly given the association between Henry VI, who fostered the cult, and the shrine of Our Lady of Eton, the expected distribution would mirror that of the nearby pilgrimage to Henry VI in Windsor.³⁰¹ This would be so if we consider badges as being souvenirs or as a record of the shrines visited by a pilgrim or individual. However, if we emphasise that there are unique devotionally communicative elements in each cult and their badges, we may account for unique distributions.



Figure 4.18 Late 15th century badge of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The figure of Mary is encapsulated by a mandorla. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 154b). Spencer 2010, 149-150.

To that end, I would interpret the mandorla 'Our Lady of Eton' badges less as objects of Eton, but as objects expressing a source and sense of radiant joy of the sort experienced in the reunification of loved ones after a prolonged absence (Figure 4.18). This is echoed by Mary's ascension into heaven and her reunification with her beloved Christ. The design of the badges and the rays of the mandorla encapsulate the moment of Mary's joy and glory. If mimesis was

³⁰¹ Spencer 2010, 149

implicit within Marian devotion as the ‘search for vestiges of the holy in the mundanity of human life,’ badges of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary provide individuals and emotional communities the means to communicate the holy sense of Mary’s joy through the mundanity of a badge.³⁰² There is joy or an exultation of spirit being implied and communicated by these badges which may be transmitted from Mary and her experience in the image of the mandora, to those witnessing the image of her glory and Assumption and the communities choosing to wear this particular message. Although the badges of the Annunciation discussed above also emphasise joy, there is a nuance or distinction between the message. For while the Annunciation badges may intend to deliver joy like a message, badges of the Assumption focus upon the joy (or hope) of reunification.

4.4 Summary

In summary, this chapter considered the two largest devotions which are apparent in the corpus of badges considered in this thesis. The chapter sought to introduce the ways in which badges could function as emotants and how they could be desirable and relatable objects.

Regarding both the badges of St Thomas Becket and the various cults of Our Lady, each of the various iconographies of these cults may be interpreted in ways which communicated specific emotional sentiments in their display of the story of a holy individual and the moral examples which they set. These emotional messages which were fostered by each of the cults, were disseminated through the emotional communities which were acquiring and wearing the badges. In the case of St Thomas Becket’s cult, the emotional community wearing badges which referenced the triumph or defiance of the saint towards an English king, may have contributed to

³⁰² Rubin 2009, 89

the politicisation and eventual destruction of the cult in the 16th century. Overall, this emotion-centric approach to interpreting badges as demonstrated in this chapter emphasises the familiarity existing between devotees and the lives or stories of holy individuals. Indeed, Marian devotion often emphasised emotional reactions and this is also reflected in the badge material. It encourages the consideration of how devotional relationships were formed and how devotion could become personalised through the use of badges.

Chapter 5: The ‘unofficial’ badges of King Henry VI

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on the cult of King Henry VI (r. 1422-1461, 1470-1471). The centre of the cult in Windsor flourished in the devotional and political environment of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, despite Henry never having been canonised by the Pope. With 95 badges associated with him in the catalogue in Appendix 1, Henry’s cult appears to be the second largest saintly cult by virtue of the number of surviving badges. This suggests that despite its ‘unofficial’ status, people seem to have interacted with it at some level. Within this project, the dating of the cult is also beneficial as the badges may all be associated with the very clear and concise time frame associated with the cult and its existence in later medieval England from the death King Henry in 1471 until the 1538 Royal Injunction against pilgrimage. This is particularly useful given the consistent issues encountered whilst attempting to provide precise dates for individual badges.

Spencer’s assessments of the material suggest that the cult was very popular in the early 16th century leaving a significant material record to rival that of St Thomas Becket despite its much shorter duration (See Chapter 3.2).³⁰³ This statement is seemingly reinforced by the significant numbers of badge finds associated with this cult as identified in Appendix 1. However, despite the large number of Henry VI badges, the distribution of the material is not evenly dispersed throughout England and Wales. Additionally, many of the areas of England with large numbers of reported badges overall, such as Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire,

³⁰³ Spencer 1998, 189

have produced few badges of Henry VI. This situation provokes a number of questions pertaining to the elements driving the popularisation of a later medieval cult.

Therefore, in this chapter I address not only the political associations of the cult and the implications of Tudor patronage, but I also seek to emphasize the under-discussed devotional elements of the cult including the virtues promoted by Henry's character. This discussion also engages with 26 further badges from the dataset which take the form of money purses. These are included because Henry VI is depicted wearing a purse on a number of the badges, and the combined group can be considered together to explore the possible cultic meanings of the purses.

In this discussion I consider how the use and meaning of badges informs the emotional impact of forming a relationship with 'saint' Henry VI. Through the badge evidence, we may observe how Henry VI served not only as a saint and intercessor for his devotees, but also as a friend who brought comfort and reminders of goodness to those who recognised and identified with his emotional community.

5.1.1 King Henry VI

King Henry VI ascended to the thrones of England and France in 1422 at the age of nine months. The roughly 50 years of his reign may be summarized as disastrous by all contemporary standards. Weak leadership and finances led to the collapse of England's holdings in France and Henry's own illness exacerbated the political rivalries in England leading to war between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions eventually leading to Henry's deposition in favour of the Yorkist Edward IV in 1461. Forced into hiding across Scotland, Northumberland, and Yorkshire, Henry was eventually captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Although a brief episode led to his reclaiming the crown in 1470, the Yorkists quickly recaptured the throne

and Henry died in the Tower in 1471. While the Yorkists attributed his death to overwhelming melancholy, the crowning of Edward as King of England (Edward IV) the morning after led to the contemporary opinion that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in fact murdered the King.³⁰⁴

5.1.2 The cult of King Henry VI

In the immediate aftermath of Henry's death, even from the time of his funeral, stories of miracles attributed to Henry began to spread across England. Edward IV had Henry buried at the quiet rural Abbey of Chertsey (Surrey) near the River Thames, but pilgrims began to flock to this location despite Edward's best attempts to discourage and suppress their visits.³⁰⁵ The earliest evidence of a cult forming around Henry's saintly character comes from York minster where an image of the King on a rood screen was said to have been receiving veneration by 1473.³⁰⁶ By 1480, King Edward was actively pressuring the Abbot of Chertsey and appealing to London's livery companies to stop the 'great usage... in going of Pilgrimage to King Henry.'³⁰⁷ Richard III chose in 1484 to move Henry's body to St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle in a move which brought the burgeoning cult under closer royal supervision.

Political figures who were assassinated, such as Thomas of Lancaster (d. 1322), Richard Scrope Archbishop of York (d. 1405), King Edward II (d. 1327), and King Henry VI, became saintly figures within their contemporary devotional environments in a manner which may have served to resist or criticise the 'political status quo.'³⁰⁸ With Henry's political martyrdom being attributed to the Yorkists, coupled with Edward IV's suppression attempts, the cult of Henry VI appears decidedly anti-Yorkist in sentiment. After 1485 Henry VII (Tudor) became a great

³⁰⁴ Craig 2003, 188

³⁰⁵ Spencer 1978, 240-241

³⁰⁶ Wolffe 2001, 351

³⁰⁷ Wolffe 2001, 351

³⁰⁸ Duffy 2022, 164

patron of the cult dedicated to his uncle (Henry VI) and sometime before 1492, he began to appeal for his canonisation. This process only ended in the late 1520's due to Henry VIII's matrimonial disputes with Rome.³⁰⁹ The cult faded after 1538 which Craig ties to royal injunctions against pilgrimage and the fact that the Tudors had little need to further legitimise their rule by that time.³¹⁰ However, Spencer claims that the royal associations of the cult allowed it to survive for a time into the 1540's.³¹¹ Indeed, as late as 1543 pilgrims particularly from Devon and Cornwall made their way to Windsor 'by plumps, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Wyndsor, as they called him... to kiss a spur and to have an old hat set on their heads.'³¹²

Discussion of the cult has tended to focus on the clear political elements apparent in the veneration of a murdered anointed King of England. In 1500, a compilation of 174 miracles attributed to Henry VI was made along with a *vita* of his life written sometime before 1510 by John Blacman, a Carthusian monk and former spiritual advisor to the King.³¹³ Assessments by Wolffe and McKenna argue for the political manipulation of Henry's character by the Tudors in order to project a legitimate and virtuous relative.³¹⁴ Duffy also acknowledges the permeation of political anti-Yorkist elements into some of the recorded miracles.³¹⁵ This includes the story of a little girl who was healed of the 'King's evil' through the invocation of Henry VI after her parents refused to take her to the 'usurper' Richard III for his healing touch.³¹⁶ Walker considers

³⁰⁹ Craig 2003, 189

³¹⁰ Craig 2003, 189

³¹¹ Spencer 1978, 244

³¹² Foxe et al 1837, 467

³¹³ Craig 2003, 189

³¹⁴ Wolffe, 2001; McKenna 1974

³¹⁵ Duffy 2022, 164

³¹⁶ Duffy 2022, 164; King's evil or scrofula was a tuberculosis infection of the lymph nodes of the neck. In England and France it was thought to have been curable by the touch of a monarch. Oxford English Dictionary 'King's evil'

Henry's cult (along with other political martyrs) as political but not simply as a lightning-rod manifestation of anti-Yorkist discontent.³¹⁷ Instead, he suggests that Henry's cult sought to cultivate social harmony amidst political and social turmoil.³¹⁸

Challenging the political explanations for the cult's popularity, Craig believes that Henry did in fact find appeal as a saintly figure, and not simply as a marker of anti-Yorkist or pro-Tudor support.³¹⁹ Craig points out that while the patronage of the Tudors has been the 'fallback explanation' for the impressive popularity of the cult, the artistic evidence (to which I add the badge evidence), liturgy, miracles, and *vita* of King Henry all suggest a strong devotional appeal.³²⁰ Such evidence suggests that there was an appeal to Henry which Craig claims was linked to his experiences of adversity throughout his life.³²¹

There are no specific illnesses or situations which Henry seems to specialise in remedying such as toothaches, bad eyesight, or childbirth. Instead, Henry's miracles paint the picture of a generalist helper-saint, a friend who helped all those who sought him and his intercessions.³²² The miracles show Henry's invocation in moments of urgency and tragedy and his help was often immediate. This is unlike other saints' cults where devotees travelled with a chronic condition and supplication was sought at the saint's shrine or image.³²³ This willingness to help those in need may be linked to Henry's own experiences of adversity in life and thus his particular sympathy with those who are similarly afflicted.³²⁴ As Craig points put, supplicants are like Henry in that they are in trouble, oppressed and harassed, or experiencing distress,

³¹⁷ Walker 1995

³¹⁸ Walker 1995, 91

³¹⁹ Craig 2003, 208

³²⁰ Craig 2003, 194

³²¹ Craig 2003

³²² Craig 2003, 205

³²³ Craig 2003, 205

³²⁴ Craig 2003, 201

calamity, or tragedy.³²⁵ Consequentially, Henry was described in liturgy as being ‘in every adversity adorned by a love of perfect charity’ and serving as ‘a school of patience / to those oppressed by force / to the sad and desolate.’³²⁶ The miracle collections show that Henry helped and appealed to all: young and old, men and women, rich and poor.³²⁷ In particular though, the miracles show an association with the healing of children and the consolation of young men and grieving parents.³²⁸ Henry’s patronage of the boys’ school at Eton as well as his boyhood kingship led to his association and benevolence to ‘unhappy boys who are in sadness.’³²⁹

Overall, it is necessary to reevaluate the devotional potential of the cult. Craig’s work has brought new perspective to the discussion surrounding the cult by emphasising how those battling adversity or sadness may have sought Henry’s help. I suggest that the badge material allows us to gain additional insights into the devotional meaning and comfort which could be derived from this cult in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and is discussed in the following sections.

5.2 Badges of Henry VI and their distributions

There are a total of 95 badges of Henry VI included in this dataset. Riverine urban finds account for 49 of these finds with 39 coming from London, eight from Salisbury, and two from King’s Lynn. There are 44 chance find badges recorded across 18 different counties across England. Additionally, there are two examples from archaeological reports, albeit uncontextualized. They include a badge dredged from the Floating Harbour in Bristol as well as

³²⁵ Craig 2003, 205

³²⁶ Craig 2003, 200

³²⁷ Craig 2003; 194, 207

³²⁸ Craig 2003, 207

³²⁹ Spencer 1978, 249

an example from the St Peter Street, Northampton, excavations of 1973-1976.³³⁰ Broken down by county, London accounts for 46 badges or 48% of all Henry VI badges (Table 5.1). The next highest producing county is Wiltshire with 13 badges highlighting the great impact of the London data. While the remaining counties each have five or fewer examples, the overall distribution of material across England is nevertheless fairly compact and clear, particularly when compared to that of St Thomas Becket as discussed in the previous chapter (Figure 5.1). The finds are concentrated across the areas of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Northamptonshire. Generally speaking, this seems to be indicative of more of a local or regional based pilgrimage centred around Windsor. This would be in line with the assessments that later medieval pilgrimage was often more localized or regional.³³¹ Indeed, we do not have badge material of Henry VI being found at great distance from Windsor such as the far west, north, or Wales. The proximity of London and the large numbers of finds fit within the idea that local pilgrimages held great popular accessibility and appeal.

Geographical Area	Number of badges
Greater London Authority	46
Wiltshire	13
Suffolk	5
Buckinghamshire	4
Norfolk	4
Hertfordshire	3
Northamptonshire	3
Oxfordshire	3
Essex	2
Lincolnshire	2

³³⁰ Barker 1977, 50; Williams 1979

³³¹ Locker 2015

Warwickshire	1
Bedfordshire	1
Leicestershire	1
Nottinghamshire	1
Sussex	1
Cambridgeshire	1
Gloucestershire	1
Yorkshire	1
Staffordshire	1
Rutland	1
Grand Total	95

Table 5.1 Badges of Henry VI by county.

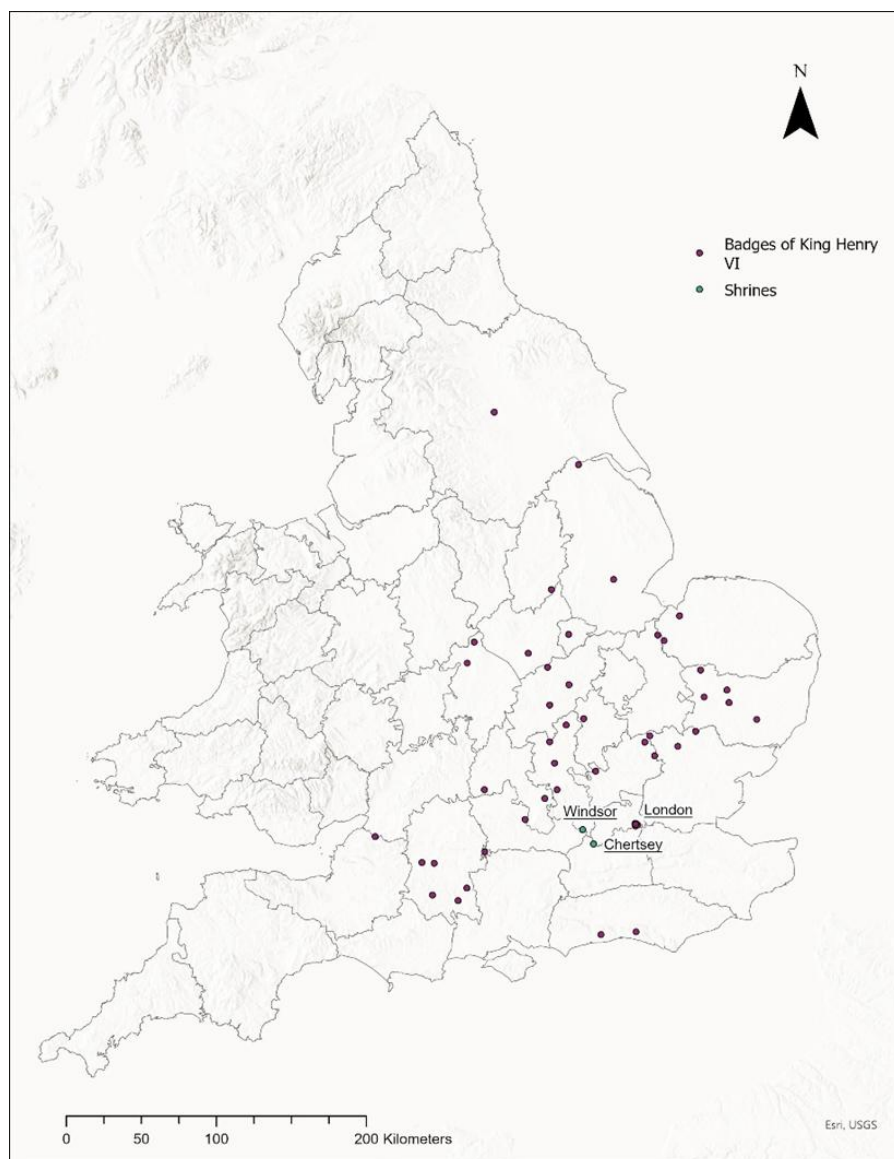


Figure 5.1 Distribution plot of the 95 badges of King Henry VI

5.3 The designs of the badges

The 95 badges which have been attributed to the cult of Henry VI in this project conform to seven distinct forms. While there are a few slight variations within some of the forms, they may generally be described as: the crowned figure of King Henry VI; the king within a lozenge-shaped badge; the king within a circular medallion-like badge; an equestrian figure; a monogram of the letters HR; the figure of the king atop a tower or battlements; and a circular coin-like badge bearing the image of the king on a ship (Figure 5.2 - Figure 5.8).³³²



Figure 5.2 Lozenge-shaped badge from London depicting King Henry VI. 27 x 26 mm. Spencer 1998, 191.

³³² See Spencer 1978, 250-259 for its description of Henry VI badges. As this project is not an exhaustive compilation of all badges, Spencer 1978 provides a discussion of many of the Henry VI badges from museum collections. Spencer considered 108 badges of Henry VI, John Schorne, and purse badges. The vast majority of these materials were from London although there are also small numbers of finds or individual finds from King's Lynn, Salisbury, Canterbury, Coventry, and Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire. Overall, the spatial data provided in Spencer 1978 correlates to the findspots and distribution of Henry VI badges discussed within this project.



Figure 5.3 Badge from London depicting the crowned figure of King Henry VI. 37 x 18 mm. Mitchiner 1986, 228.



Figure 5.4 Badge from Bampton, Oxfordshire depicting King Henry VI wearing a large hat and holding a book. D: 23.50 mm. PAS: BH-CC6103.



Figure 5.5 Badge from London depicting an equestrian figure of King Henry VI. H: 58 mm. Spencer 1998, 191.



Figure 5.6 Medallion-shaped badge from London depicting King Henry VI. 25 x 25 mm. Spencer 1998, 189-190.



Figure 5.7 Badge from London depicting the crowned figure of King Henry VI standing atop battlements. H: 25 mm. Spencer 1998, 191.



Figure 5.8 Coin-like badge from London depicting the figure of King Henry VI standing aboard a ship. 30 x 30 mm. Spencer 1978, 240.

The most numerous form of Henry VI badge in this dataset is the circular medallion form (Table 5.2). There are 25 badges which display the crowned king robed in state with orb and sceptre with a hatched background and a pelleted border. There are also 12 circular badges with a figure who is wearing a hat in place of a crown whilst holding a book. Egan considered these

to be depicting Cardinal Wolsey due to the inclusion of the large hat and suggested that the circular form of the badges was derived from the badge types of Henry VI.³³³ While the figure presents a departure from Henry's standard cultic depiction, it is also possible that it is intended to be Henry, rather than Wolsey, and that the floppy hat and simple garment is showing Henry's propensity for wearing simple, unfashionable garments; the hat is thus a representation of his 'old hat' which pilgrims to Windsor would expect to see at the shrine and try on.³³⁴ Indeed, the figure is reminiscent of the portrait of Henry found in the diary of Georg von Ehingen dating to c. AD 1455 showing Henry in a long blue garment with a tall red collar and a broad chaperon-like hat (Figure 5.9).³³⁵ Therefore, I am confident in the attribution of these 11 badges to King Henry's cult.

Henry VI Badge Types	Number of Badges
Crowned Figure (various forms)	30
Medallion and King	25
Lozenge and King	14
Figure with Floppy Hat and Book	12
Ship and King	7
Equestrian King	4
Battlements and King	2
Monogram (HR)	1

Table 5.2 Summary of the 95 badges attributed to King Henry VI organised by their general type.

³³³ See Watters 2008

³³⁴ Spencer 1978, 244

³³⁵ Ritter Georgs von Ehingen Selbstbiographie - Cod.hist.qt.141



Figure 5.9 Portrait of King Henry VI from the journal of Georg von Enghen c. 1455. Note the King's attire including his headwear and the purse depicted on his belt. <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829>

There are 28 badges which feature the standing figure of Henry, crowned and in robes of state with orb and sceptre. There are 11 examples where Henry is simply shown standing while 14 depict him standing on either an antelope or lion. Also relating to these badges are three crowned heads which seem to have once been attached to similar badges of Henry's freestanding

figure. One of these examples (NARC-509038) is gold with traces of enamel. I have also attributed three badges to Henry's cult which have no parallels within this project or the various catalogues of Spencer and Mitchiner. These badges frame a crowned bust within a vaguely triangular form which appears to have an ermine mantle (WILT-DBC381). While there is no precedent for a disembodied treatment of Henry, the somewhat youthful appearance of the crowned head, coupled with the ermine mantle and possible sceptre (now missing from all three examples) allows the association to be suggested. The treatment may simply be a unique frame for the display of Henry's crowned bust. There are also 14 badges which frame King Henry within a lozenge shape (one of which is an openwork lozenge). One of these badges places Henry between the letters R and H for *Rex Henricus*. There is a single crowned monogram badge combining the letters H and R again for *Rex Henricus*.³³⁶

Among the Henry VI badge forms there are seven badges of circular, coin-like shape which feature the crowned figure of Henry VI on board a ship. Spencer suggests that these are imitations of coins, the wearing of which, pinned to hats or cloaks was fashionable in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.³³⁷ Positioned amidship, Henry grasps either his sceptre or a sword and shield. While the King on a ship may simply be a replication of numismatic style, it may also serve as a reference to the King as the 'ship of state.' Indeed, in a mocking tone, those critical of Henry during his reign were to have often said 'Put a sheep on your English noble [a coin] in place of a ship.'³³⁸ Put plainly, they believed that there was no one at the proverbial helm of England. Therefore, in placing Henry aboard a ship, the badges mimicking English gold noble coins may be referring to Henry's own patient, noble, and righteous weathering of the

³³⁶ Spencer 2010, 191

³³⁷ Spencer 1978, 248

³³⁸ Wolffe 2001, 16

abuse and adversity directed towards him as will be discussed further below. Similarly, two badges depict a crowned Henry atop a tower or battlements. Spencer suggests that being shown ‘rising up in majesty or saintly triumph behind the ramparts’ of the Tower of London where he faced his unjust imprisonment and death displays his ‘indifference to adversity.’³³⁹ Finally, four further badges depict Henry as an equestrian figure again crowned and bearing orb and sceptre as though making a royal progress.³⁴⁰

5.3.1 Other images of Henry VI

Outside of badges, the cult of Henry VI also produced other devotional imagery which is found across England. Craig has identified images in parish churches such as Alnwick, Northumberland, across East Anglia, and in Devon and the southwest.³⁴¹ This broad geographic spread contrasts with the relatively condensed geographic distribution of the cults’ badges. Images on rood screens often place Henry alongside virgin saints like St Barbara and St Catherine, English saints like St Thomas Becket and William of Norwich, and English royal saints including St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund.³⁴² Generally, I suggest that these associations reveal a degree of relevance and accessibility particularly concerning the English or royal saints. But, the virgin martyrs also frame the approachability of the cult and their shared gentle virtues and persistence in Christian faith despite their struggles.³⁴³ While Craig suggests that the parish church imagery is indicative of ‘a more popular culture’ of the ordinary laity, images of Henry may also be found in manuscripts, prayer-books, and Bibles (such as MS. 277

³³⁹ Spencer 1978, 246

³⁴⁰ Spencer 1978, 245

³⁴¹ Craig 2003, 191

³⁴² Craig 2003, 194

³⁴³ Craig 2003, 194

from the Bodleian Library which will be discussed further below) providing evidence for the appeal of the cult to the literate.³⁴⁴

What remains consistent is that across all artistic mediums; badges, sculpture, stained glass, panel painting, or manuscript illumination, Henry invariably appears robed and crowned while clasping a sceptre, orb or on occasion, a book.³⁴⁵ There are slight adjustments to the imagery, for example while Henry's coat of arms can be shown on a stained glass panel, on the small badges it is replaced simply with an antelope which was Henry's heraldic badge. Additionally, there are instances on the stained glass at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and a fresco at St Lawrence, Alton, Hampshire, where in lieu of the orb, Henry is shown holding a book.³⁴⁶ This also seems to be reflected in the badges discussed above which were previously had been thought to depict Cardinal Wolsey with a large hat and book. Craig suggests that Henry's holding of a book is a reference to his educational foundations at Eton and Cambridge, but Henry's *vita* also emphasises his affection for holy books.³⁴⁷ One story claims that when interrupted whilst reading by a 'mighty duke of the realm,' Henry is to have said 'They do so interrupt me that by day or night I can hardly snatch a moment to be refreshed by reading of any holy teaching without disturbance.'³⁴⁸ While this story may not depict Henry as a particularly vigilant ruler, imagery of Henry with a book on a badge or stained glass panel would remind his devotees of Henry's delight in the law of God and by extension, his virtue and goodness.

There are two other saintly English monarchs which feature in the badge data. Both St Edmund and St Edward the Confessor are shown as crowned kings but for St Edmund, the focus

³⁴⁴ Craig 2003, 194

³⁴⁵ Craig 2003, 194-195

³⁴⁶ Craig 2003, 195-197

³⁴⁷ Craig 2003, 195

³⁴⁸ Blakman and James 1919, 38

of the badge is placed upon the moment of martyrdom and his death by arrows.³⁴⁹ In the case of St Edward the Confessor, the emphasis of the imagery is the crown with badges showing a crowned bust of the saint or simply a crown having been attributed to the cult by Spencer.³⁵⁰ So, there is a precedent for the stately presentation of royal saints on badges.

5.4 The ‘kingly’ virtues of the cult and its badges

Overall, Henry is depicted across all badge forms as a regal king adorned in stately raiment excepting the examples where the crown is replaced with the floppy hat. One way of interpreting this continuity is quite logical and straight-forward: Henry was a king of England who was martyred by his political rivals. Portraying him as the true and legitimate King bolstered anti-Yorkist sentiment and legitimized the Tudor usurpation of the Yorkist throne. At first glance, the repetitive imagery of Henry’s austere, regal figure fits neatly into this solely political manipulation of popular sentiment. It is possible that this political aspect may have been the primary use for the cult of Henry VI. But if we look deeper, the badges can also communicate that many people resonated with the devotional message found at the heart of the cult. An English prayer in verse to Henry VI from a primer of 1508 in the Library of St. Cuthbert’s College, Ushaw (Co. Durham) refers clearly to the standard imagery of the cult saying ‘O crownyd king with sceptur in hand / Most nobyll conqueror I may thee call / For thou hast conqueryd I undyrstand / A hevynly kyngdome most imperyall.’³⁵¹ Henry’s reign was disastrous and a common phrase in Tudor London was ‘Harry of Monmouth won all; Henry of Windsor lost all.’³⁵² So what was it that Henry conquered? Why is he shown as an imperious

³⁴⁹ Spencer 1998, 181, 182

³⁵⁰ Spencer 1998, 182-185

³⁵¹ Blakman and James 1919, 50

³⁵² Spencer 1978, 244

regent when he was remembered in both action and appearance as being un-kingly in life? The Ushaw Prayer continues with ‘Thy trowblas life and grett vexacion / With pacyens that thu had therein / And thi constans in contemplacion / Has mad the hevyn for to wyne.’³⁵³ This indicates that Henry is remembered by his cult as someone who patiently bore the troubles and sorrows of life and in doing so, he was rewarded with a heavenly kingdom where he now reigns as a perfect king. There is a hint of ‘other-worldliness’ to Henry’s depiction on the badges because Henry is being portrayed in his heavenly spirit, not as he was (or at least not as he was remembered).³⁵⁴ It was the kingly virtues which he clung to in life which now adorned his image.

Despite his failings and trials in life, for Henry to be shown as a king in heaven could be a great reminder of God’s love and mercy. This is a powerful emotional and personal message to wear as a badge and could offer great comfort, consolation, and confidence to the ‘sad and desolate’ and those enduring hardships of any kind.³⁵⁵ Considering badges in this light presents a new picture of devotional and emotional potency which gives insight into later medieval emotional lives and experience.

5.4.1 Purse badges and heavenly virtues

A form of badge which I argue may also be associated with the cult of King Henry VI are the 26 purse-shaped objects included in this project’s dataset (Figure 5.10). Of the 26 badges, 20 are from the catalogues while five are chance finds. The remaining badge was recovered in the 1980 excavation at 15-23 Southwark Street, London. Regarding their distribution, 17 of the badges are from the London area, four are from Salisbury, and two are from King’s Lynn.

³⁵³ Blakman and James 1919, 51

³⁵⁴ Spencer 1978, 246

³⁵⁵ Craig 2003, 200

Outside of these locations, the PAS records a purse badge in southwestern Suffolk and two further badges in Northamptonshire. This distribution of material, although heavily influenced by the riverine deposits, conforms readily to the distributions of the kingly forms of Henry VI badges discussed above (Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.10 15th century purse badge. 29 x 35 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2002.306.14

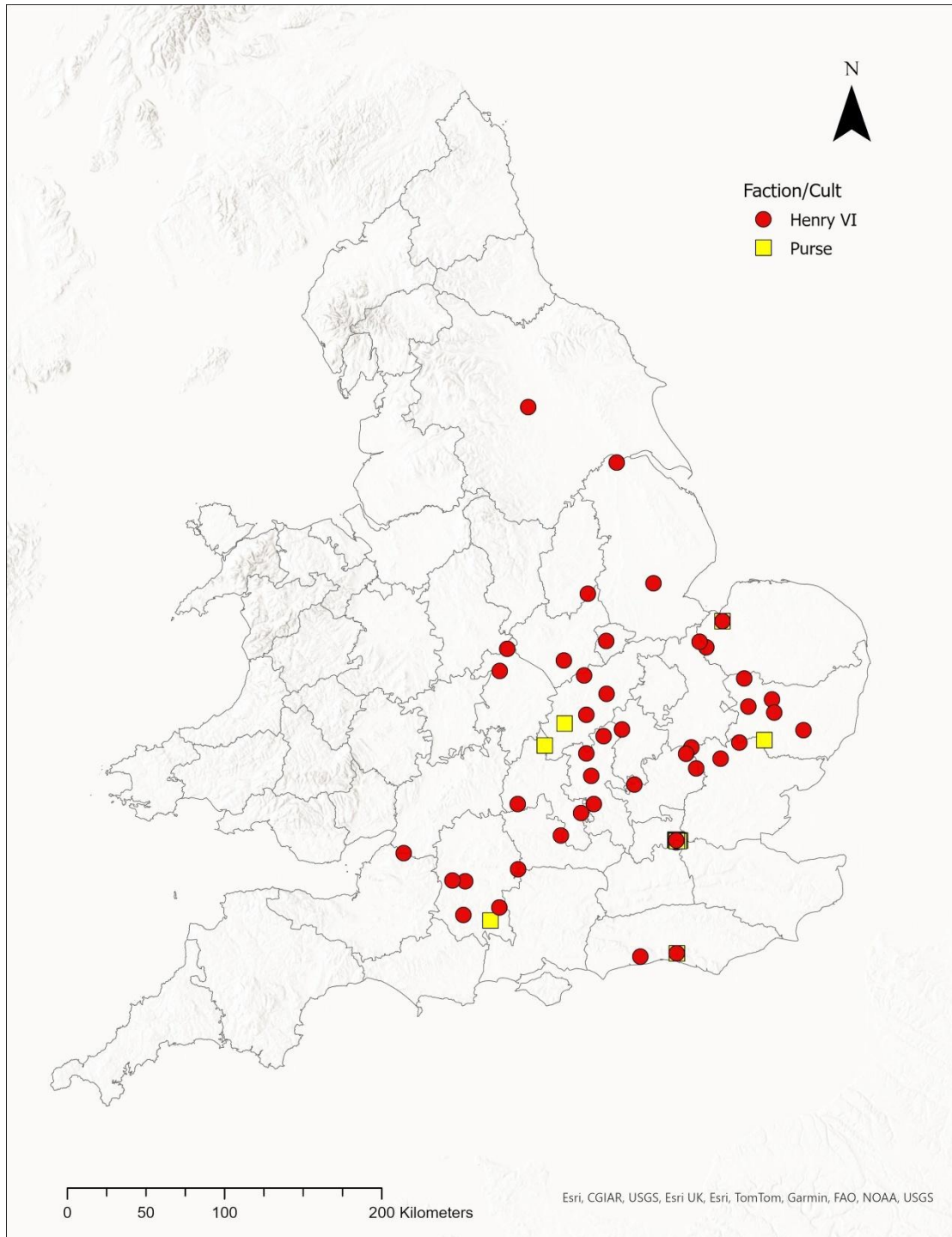


Figure 5.11 Distribution map comparing the 26 purse badges to that of the 95 badges of King Henry VI. While both cults are overwhelmingly concentrated in London, outside of that location purse badges are found in areas where Henry VI badges are prevalent.

Only five of the purse badges have archaeological contexts. The single badge from Southwark presents a unique example within this project as it is the only ceramic badge in the dataset and was found in a feature near the cellar of a 16th-century building. This structure was situated on a thoroughfare known for its many inns just south of London Bridge.³⁵⁶ The pottery associated with the find was given a date of c. 1550-1575.³⁵⁷ Stevenson suggests that the ‘uniqueness’ of this object may be attributed to its individual commissioning ‘for a particular expression of piety.’³⁵⁸ The implications of this particular badge will be discussed below in Section 5.4.1.

Regarding the interpretation of purse-shaped badges, Spencer identified them as secular in nature and catalogued them as ‘Lover’s tokens and lucky charms’ in 1998; asserting that they served a talismanic purpose, he states that they were considered to be ‘lucky charms destined to attract money to their owners by sympathetic magic.’³⁵⁹ This assessment has neatly boxed these objects and the intentions of those wearing them into one singular purpose – to gain wealth. It is critical that we continue to question and develop the discussions surrounding badges in order to challenge the simplification and consequent restrictions of our understanding of their use.

To demonstrate their versatility, the analysis presented here focuses on one of the purse badge examples included in Spencer’s London catalogue. Dating to c. AD1475-1499, the purse bears the inscription ‘*grommerci*’ upon its raised lid (Figure 5.12). Spencer translated this as ‘grant merci, [God give me] great reward.’³⁶⁰ Rather, gramercy or grant mercy in later medieval

³⁵⁶ Stevenson 1993, 83

³⁵⁷ Stevenson 1993, 83

³⁵⁸ Stevenson 1993, 85

³⁵⁹ Spencer 2010, 315

³⁶⁰ Spencer 2010, 317

use was actually an expression of thanks often used to express gratitude or give thanks to God.³⁶¹ While Spencer would frame it as emblematic of the ‘eternal hope of acquiring a well-filled purse,’ it may also be interpreted within a suitably devotional and personal context.³⁶² Indeed it is important to consider the meaning of the term purse, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as ‘a money bag or receptacle for money, and its contents’ but also, in a later medieval context, could denote a ‘person’s conscience, heart, etc. regarded as a place of safe storage and supply; a person’s thoughts or store of ideas.’³⁶³ Spencer presses the argument that base metal purses are ‘unlikely to have had such an exalted [devotional] purpose,’ a sentiment which perpetuates the material ‘worthlessness’ of such base metal badges.³⁶⁴



Figure 5.12 Purse badge, c. 1475-1499 AD with the inscription ‘Grommerci.’ Museum of London: 85.428/1.

³⁶¹ Oxford English Dictionary, Gramercy

³⁶² Spencer 2010, 317

³⁶³ Oxford English Dictionary, Purse

³⁶⁴ Boertjes 2005, 467; For further discussions of lead recycling/reuse and the value of lead; See Standley 2016

Attempts to associate purse badges with the cult of Henry VI based on Henry's presumed reputation for almsgiving as well as the inclusion of a purse on a number of Henry VI badges were forwarded by Spencer in 1978, but were excluded from his seminal 1998 work. Rather, in 1998, the magical purpose of the purse badges was asserted.³⁶⁵ Indeed, considering the Henry VI badges in this project's dataset, at least 4 of the 95 badges clearly depict a purse on the body of the King (Figure 5.13).³⁶⁶



Figure 5.13 Badge of King Henry VI with purse attached to his belt. 52 x 22 mm. Mitchiner 1986, 227.

³⁶⁵ Spencer 2010, 315

³⁶⁶ Mitchiner 1986, 227 (cat. 838, 839); Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 84 (fig. 155, 156)

The argument that they are lucky trinkets is convenient, but it fails to consider the scriptural passages referring to the imagery of purses or money receptacles. Extracting the meaning of badges from scriptural passages is not an unprecedented interpretive leap; for example, the badge of the Beaufort family (including King Henry VII) of the closed and chained portcullis, while also being a play on words, is drawn directly from Ezekial 44: 1-2.³⁶⁷ Considering the purse, within the book of Haggai in the Old Testament, the people of Israel are implored to ‘Give careful thought to your ways... You earn wages, only to put them in a purse with holes in it.’³⁶⁸ Referring to this passage, the Gospel of Luke’s telling of the Sermon on the Mount addresses the ways in which people worry after worldly things and states,

*Do not be afraid little flock, for your Father has been pleased to give you the kingdom. Sell your possessions and give to the poor. Provide purses for yourselves that will not wear out. A treasure in heaven that will never fail, where no thief comes near and no moth destroys. For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also.*³⁶⁹

The expression of gramercy above an empty purse on the London badge thereby takes on a different meaning. It may be interpreted as a way of exclaiming ‘Here I am, a vessel to be filled, bless me with grace and spiritual riches.’ This acknowledges a spiritual deficiency in the individual (the empty purse) but more importantly, it expresses an openness and desire to improve oneself in their faith. The badge wearer is opening their heart and conscience to God and the purse signifies the faithful heart which is a place of safe storage for the treasures of heaven. This is an intensely personal and emotional sentiment made even stronger through its

³⁶⁷ Ezekial 44: 1-2. Then the man brought me back to the outer gate of the sanctuary, the one facing east, and it was shut. The Lord said to me, ‘This gate is to remain shut. It must not be opened; no one may enter through it. It is to remain shut because the Lord, the God of Israel, has entered through it.

³⁶⁸ Haggai 1: 5-6

³⁶⁹ Luke 12: 32-34. Emphasis added

public proclamation by a badge. Contextualizing these badges within the corpus of Christian symbolism shows that they may also be used to point to the spirit and inward matters of the heart and not merely towards the worldly pursuit of wealth.

Artistic depictions of purse badges also point towards a devotional role. For example, a 15th-century painting known as the Madonna of the Sweet Pea Blossom displays the Virgin Mary wearing both a purse badge and a badge of the Holy Name of Jesus as she holds the Christ Child.³⁷⁰ Additionally, the infant Jesus is shown clutching a set of rosary beads (Figure 5.14). Similarly, the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (1417-1476) also display a set of rosary beads which appear to be attached directly to a purse (Figure 5.15). Why would wealthy individuals like Catherine of Cleves or Philip the Bold of Burgundy, who purchased 24 purse badges in 1394, or indeed the Virgin Mary need to publicly display a monetary charm?³⁷¹ Spencer offers that these particular examples, with their aristocratic associations are ‘possibly devotional’ but this assessment is only linked to what he views as their use of ‘high-class, jewelled materials.’ The ‘high-class’ materials identified by Spencer in these particular examples are the gold embroidery on the blue-cloth purse depicted in the Book of Hours and the purse badge worn by the Madonna of the Sweet Pea. The Virgin’s badge is described by Spencer as a jewel, but it is very similar in form to a pewter badge in his 1998 London catalogue (Figure 5.16).³⁷² The depicted badge may indeed be gold, but it is also known that badges could be painted or gilded and that the same form of badge could be created using a variety or possibly a hierarchy of materials from pewter to silver and gold.³⁷³ For example, as discussed above, amongst the 95 badges of Henry VI, there is an example of a gold badge with traces of enamel (NARC-509038). However, in form,

³⁷⁰ Attributed to Master Wilhelm ca. 1426, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

³⁷¹ Lightbown 1992, 164

³⁷² Spencer 2010, 315

³⁷³ Spencer 2010, 4; Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018; Lightbown 1992, 195-196

the gold badge is very similar to the leaden examples with Henry in his regalia atop an antelope. This trend persists across the dataset with objects of gold or silver taking on the same forms as their leaden counterparts. The consistency of badge forms despite the different materials used makes it difficult to distinguish and determine the particular function of a badge simply through an assessment of whether it is made of gold, silver, or lead alloy. This is precisely what Spencer does with his exclusion of base-metal purse badges from a devotional function. To do so contradicts all established understanding of later medieval badges, including his own exemplary works, and how objects were used to supplement religious experience.



Figure 5.14 The Madonna of the Sweet Pea Blossom, attributed to Master Wilhelm, ca. 1426. 59 x 39 cm (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne).

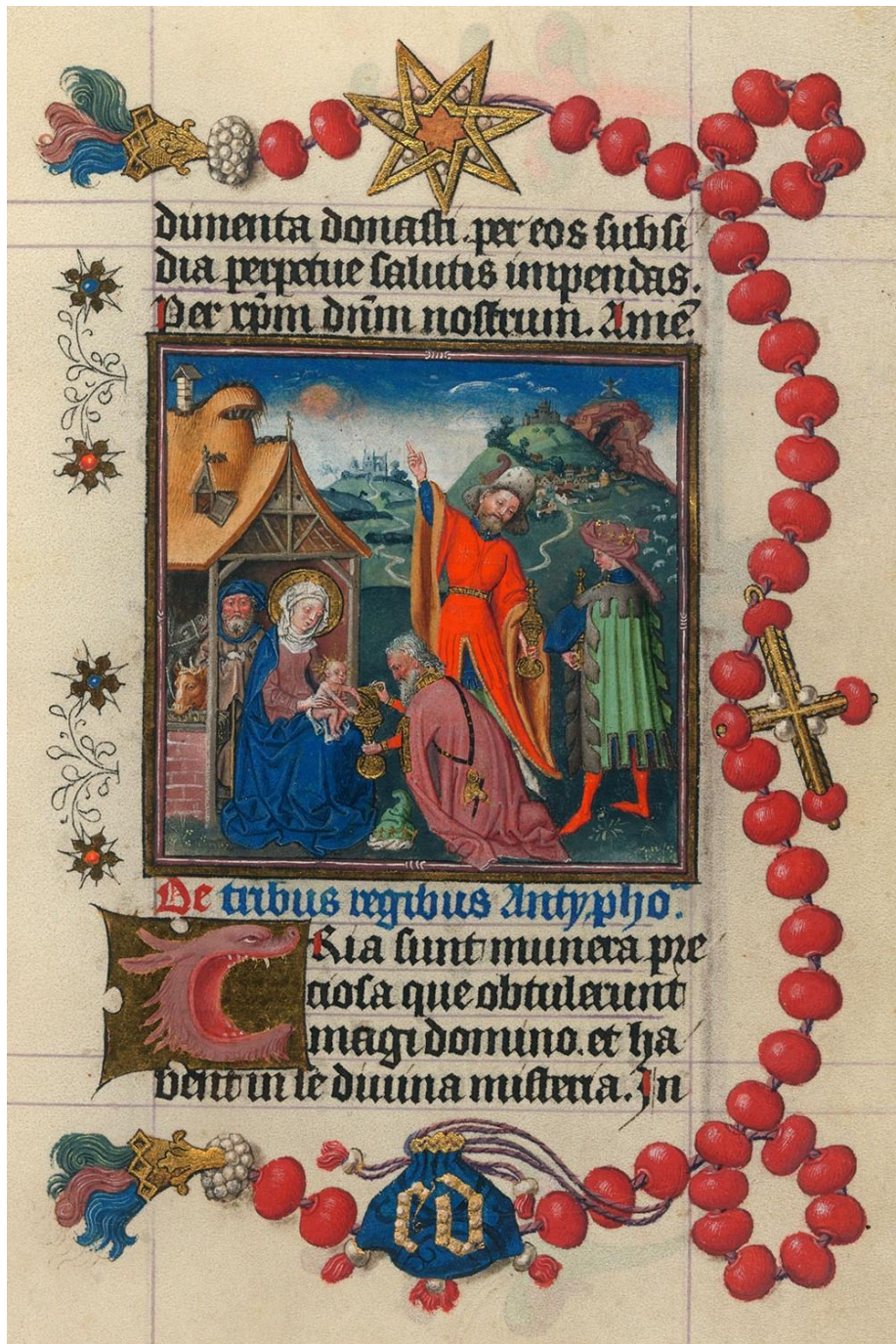


Figure 5.15 Hours of Catherine of Cleves, Adoration of the Magi. Master of Catherine of Cleves, ca. 1440. MS M.917/945, pp. 236–237. 19.2 x 13 cm (The Morgan Library and Museum).



Figure 5.16 Purse badge 314b from London. H: 24 mm. Spencer 2010, 314.

It is possible that the painted Virgin's badge in Figure 5.14 is in fact attached to the set of beads, as in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (Figure 5.15). This association between prayer beads and purse badges is particularly intriguing given the assessment of paternosters as an 'aide-memoire for the laity to remember their devotions.'³⁷⁴ It is natural then to attach another object, which prompts one to remember the blessings in their life and give thanks to God, to a set of rosary beads which encourage reflection on the elements of salvation.

Returning to the question of why wealthy patrons would need to display a purse badge, the answer may lie in the context of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves. The rosary beads and attached purse border a depiction of the Adoration of the Magi (or Three Kings). The personalisation of the purse with the initials CD (for Catherine Duchess) places her alongside the Magi who despite their worldly wealth, bowed down, worshipped the Christ Child, and presented him with their kingly gifts. The rosary and purse serve to recall the importance of humbling

³⁷⁴ Standley 2013, 64

oneself before God and giving thanks and praise for the blessings received in one's life as shown by the example of the Magi. Here the purse operates as a memory-image, helping to shape and ground an individual to consider the source of worldly blessings and encourage the cultivation of a humble and meek heart. That movement of the mind produced by the display of a rosary and purse or purse badge towards a personal devotion and relationship with Christ is not the cold, obligatory gesture of a mechanistic devotion, but rather a warm and voluntarily shared piece of an individual's innermost thoughts, beliefs, and ideals.

Reinforcing the devotional nature of purse-shaped badges, regardless of their material, is the fact that purse frames themselves regularly feature devotional inscriptions.³⁷⁵ Often invoking the Holy Name of Jesus or the Ave Maria, the use and display of these prayers or names on objects operated within the fully orthodox understanding of the perpetual virtue and helpful nature of these invocations.³⁷⁶ One example of a purse frame from Bilsington, Kent, features the sacred trigram on its central boss, the upper bar reads AVE MARIA GRACIA PLE, A DOMINV TECUM (Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee) (Figure 5.17). Additionally, the hinged frames feature DEO HONOR ET GLORIA LAVS TIBI SOLI (Honour and glory to God praise to you alone).³⁷⁷ Such objects not only supplicate for protection of the body and possessions, but they also offer thanks and represent an acknowledgement that worldly possessions are a gift from God.

³⁷⁵ Standley 2013, 62

³⁷⁶ Standley 2013, 62

³⁷⁷ Standley 2013, 63



Figure 5.17 Purse frame c. 1450-1550 AD. From Bilsington, Kent. 155 x 198 mm. Museum of London: 2003.50.

What becomes clear is that to attribute purse badges simply to sympathetic magic in the service of financial profit is to potentially reduce or ignore their emotional and devotional potency. Indeed, an alternate but similarly overlooked interpretation of purse badges is the possibility that they served as lovers' tokens. This is tied to the later medieval definition of a purse as a 'person's conscience, heart, etc., regarded as a place of safe storage and supply; a person's thoughts or store of ideas.'³⁷⁸ The gift of a purse badge would then have the recipient in possession of both the giver's heart and confidence. Again, it is curious that such an interpretation has been avoided in favour of the monetary charm explanation (especially

³⁷⁸ Oxford English Dictionary, purse

considering that they were catalogued by Spencer as ‘Lover’s tokens and lucky charms’).³⁷⁹

Stepping beyond the shadow of Spencer’s interpretations opens the possibility of these objects to express more than the practical, albeit simplistic understanding of their role in later medieval English society.

Therefore, what are we to make of the association between purse badges and the cult of King Henry VI? The Madonna of the Sweet Pea, the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, and the purchase of purse badges by Philip the Bold in 1394 show that they were being worn and depicted in the late 14th and 15th centuries. Each of these examples predate the advent of Henry’s cult but I suggest that the sentiments and emotions provoked and instilled by purse badges correlated to the devotional character being cultivated by Henry’s devotees. If we consider the devotional potential of purse badges, the inclusion of purses within the imagery of the cult integrates naturally into the ways in which the cult depicted Henry’s virtues, behaviour, and saintly example. Within the Bodleian Library an illuminated manuscript from a complete English Bible c. 1490-1500, depicts King Henry VI as a saint, standing with orb and sceptre on an antelope (Figure 5.18).³⁸⁰ Kneeling before this figure is a collection of supplicants, some of whom are pierced by knives, arrows, or bearing a noose around their necks. Purses are fixed to the belts of two of these figures. While at first glance the purses appear to simply reflect the elements of everyday dress, I suggest that in an image so loaded with cultic meaning, the inclusion of the purses also served a communicative purpose. Included in the background of the image are a series of objects including figurines, crutches, a chain, and a model ship. These, as well as the various predicaments of the afflicted petitioners, match the descriptions of people

³⁷⁹ Spencer 2010, 313

³⁸⁰ Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 277

found in volumes of Henry's miracles.³⁸¹ For example, the man with the arrow in his chest may be associated with the story of Reginald Scarborough who was injured at archery practice and saved by good King Harry's intercession in South Luffenham, Rutland.³⁸² Similarly, the votive objects included in the background refer to particular moments of Henry's intercessions with those suffering or experiencing some form of adversity.³⁸³ I suggest then that the purses in the image may be considered as being indicative of the attitudes promoted and lauded by the emotional communities existing within the cult. In using badges, which as discussed above, were used in the late 14th and 15th centuries, the cult of Henry VI appropriated the emotional imagery of the purse.

³⁸¹ Craig, 2003, 202

³⁸² Craig, 2003, 203

³⁸³ Craig, 2003, 203

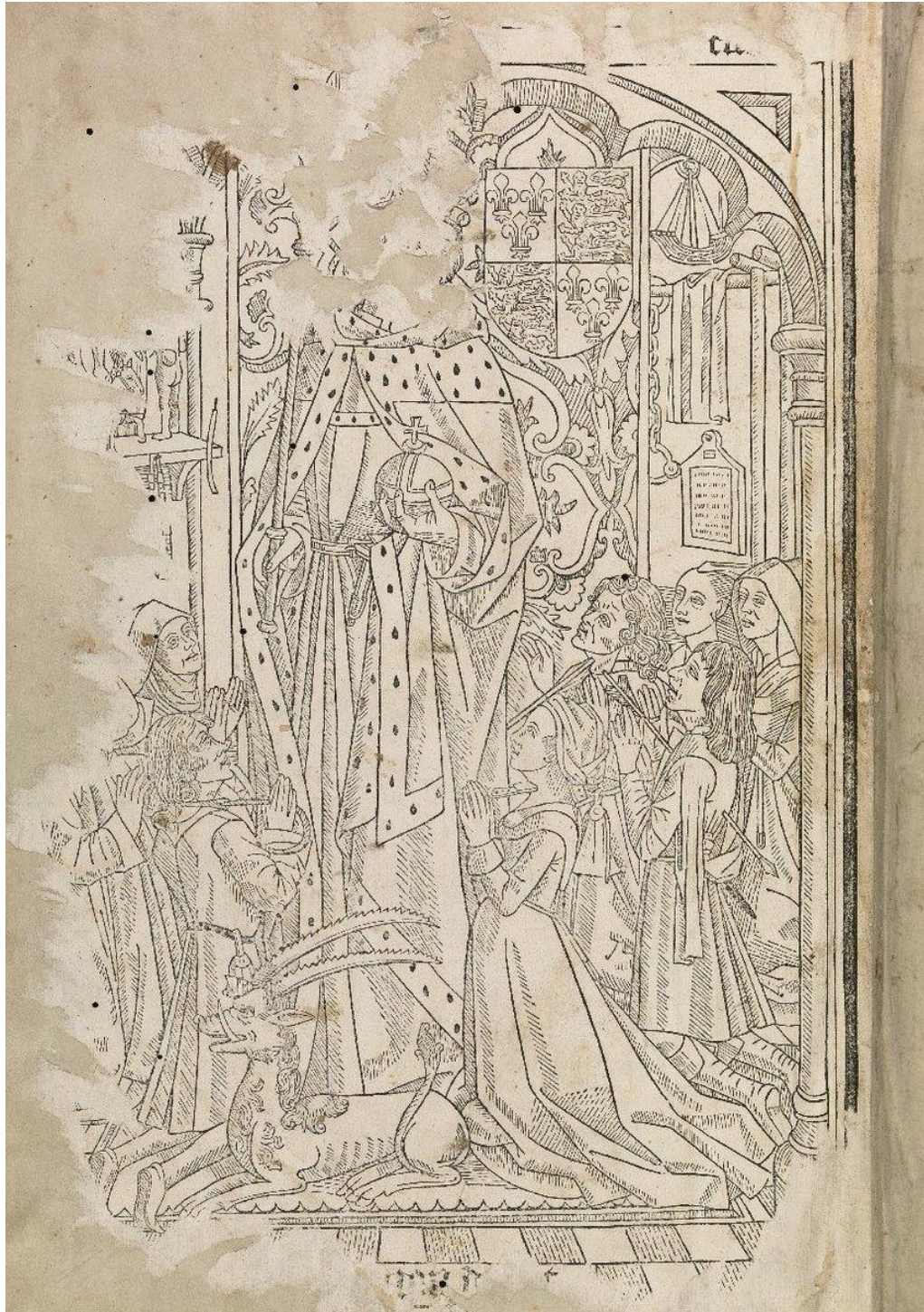


Figure 5.18 Henry VI King of England, with suppliants mutilated, and with the inscriptions erased c. 1490-1500. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 277.

The way that a purse badge may offer thanks to God (even in the face of adversity or suffering as shown with the empty purse examples) is readily applicable to the virtues of Henry as shown in Blakman's *Life of King Henry VI*.³⁸⁴ In a prayer attributed to Henry himself, the King of England says 'Thou knowest, Lord, what is profitable for me poor sinner; be it so done with me as pleaseth Thee and as seemeth good in the eyes of thy divine Majesty.'³⁸⁵ Here is the possible reflection of the sentiment of the purse which does not wear out (Luke 12: 32-34) and the humility to patiently bear the trials of life and count it all as blessing. To display King Henry or his supplicants with a purse could interweave the elements of his cult with that of the humble, gracious intent of a purse badge. Here we can observe how badges and emotions are connected in emotant webs. The incorporation of new emotant elements into emotional communities operates in both directions. The cult of Henry VI could have made use of an earlier communicative form which adequately expressed many of the key aspects of the saint and set an example for his devotees. Similarly, what the purse badge may have communicated did not change but its sentiment was renewed in the portrayal of a purse at the belt of good, saintly King Henry or his devotees. For Henry's cult, the purses are not the central imagery, but by associating itself with the particular image of a purse, a degree of emotional and devotional depth was added to what the cult was focused on and what badge wearers may have wanted to express. This possible renewal of an older or existing iconography draws from, what Rasmussen and van Asperen suggest, was a deep well of visual culture.³⁸⁶ Moulding a purse on King Henry's belt was a subtle addition which an image-literate later medieval population would have naturally been able to translate.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁴ Blakman and James 1919

³⁸⁵ Blakman and James 1919, 24

³⁸⁶ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018

³⁸⁷ Rasmussen and van Asperen 2018

5.4.1.1 *A ceramic badge from Southwark*

Returning to the ceramic purse badge example recovered from Southwark, we are given an insight into the emotional capacity and hold that a badge, its imagery, and the sentiments it signified for an individual or an emotional community (Figure 5.19). Stevenson suggests that the object was an individual, unique commission ‘for a particular expression of piety.’³⁸⁸ Given its recovery from a mid-to late-16th century context, decades after the official cessation of pilgrimage throughout England, the suggestion that the ceramic badge is an individual commission implies the resonance of the purse imagery possibly long after it had become unfashionable or indeed dangerous to display certain forms of devotional imagery or vestiges of earlier religious practice. On the other hand, it does also represent the ‘phasing out’ of badges from popular use in England. Stevenson suggests that it might be a ‘one-off demonstration piece, or as one of only a handful of products and the oddity of its medium coupled with its context bolsters this line of thought.’³⁸⁹ There is the possibility that it is indicative of the remnants of the emotional communities which were engaging and expressing their emotions and beliefs with purse badges earlier in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. As a solitary object, the commissioning frames an individual and their personal choice as a means of their managing or dealing with the aspects of life (personal and devotional) which were once addressed and communicated through metallic purse badges or the badges of King Henry VI. The choice to depict a purse with the ceramic badge perpetuates the morals of those devotions but the imagery of the purse maintains a degree of subtlety (as a secular object) necessary for the survival of

³⁸⁸ Stevenson 1993, 85

³⁸⁹ Stevenson 1993, 85

devotional material in the mid-16th century English religious environment. If we think of this object being used or worn in the years following the cessation of pilgrimage, what we are presented with is an individual clinging to a ‘particular expression of piety.’³⁹⁰

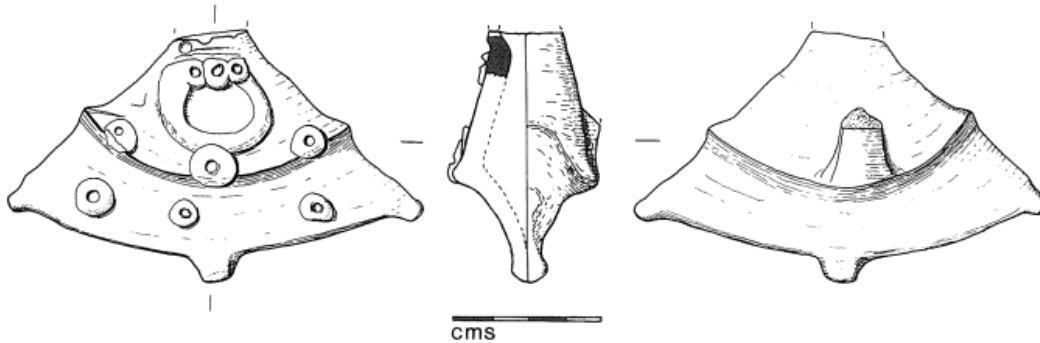


Figure 5.19 Ceramic purse badge from Southwark, London. Stevenson 1993, 84.

However, the context of later medieval Southwark itself, where the ceramic badge was found, also presents insight into the ceramic badge and how it may have been used. The character of Southwark in the 16th century was coloured by the many inns and alehouses which were clustered about Long Borough Street near London Bridge.³⁹¹ As assessed by Knight, the area was a ‘natural spot for providing accommodation for travellers arriving late after the city gates had been closed for the night.’³⁹² In this environment of alehouses and brothels, it is tempting to emphasise Spencer’s interpretation for a purse badge as a monetary charm, as a marker of who to pay or who can lend money, or indeed as a reference to the sexual connotation of a purse.³⁹³ But, amongst the travellers to the city and the patrons of the inns and brothels were pilgrims journeying to their holy destinations. Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* sets out from a Southwark inn and at least two badges (one of St Thomas Becket and another depicting John

³⁹⁰ Stevenson 1993, 85

³⁹¹ Knight 2002, 3

³⁹² Knight 2002, 12

³⁹³ Spencer 2010, 315-317

Schorne) were recovered from excavations around Southwark.³⁹⁴ The badges may have belonged to a resident of the area, or they may have been lost by travelling pilgrims, and as Knight says ‘at least not all of the clientele of the inns of Southwark were as ungodly’ as one would like to believe.³⁹⁵ The recovery of a John Schorne badge in the general vicinity of the ceramic purse badge does indicate that people were travelling between Southwark and Windsor. This would also suggest that purse badges could have been acquired and used by devotees of Henry VI.

The use or display of the badge is not only, as Rasmussen claims, ‘a public-facing object, to be used and seen by everyone,’ but it is also critical to consider the individual agency and personal impact involved in the act of wearing such an emotant badge.³⁹⁶ There is not only the outward projection of ideals, associations, or devotions, but also the incitement of memory and the activation of the inner-mind of devotion. Ryrie’s study of early modern Protestant emotional religious experience likened the ability to perceive this inner devotion or mind as ‘trying to recover the sensation of smelling a rose and all we had to work with was the gardener’s account books.’³⁹⁷ But I would suggest that the equivalent ‘account books’ which we do have to work with—the physical badges— point us towards a fuller understanding of later medieval emotional experience. There are personal elements reflected in the context of the Southwark ceramic purse badge and its individual (or limited) production to meet an individual’s personal emotional and devotional needs.

³⁹⁴ Knight 2002, 12

³⁹⁵ Knight 2002, 12

³⁹⁶ Rasmussen 2021, 238

³⁹⁷ Ryrie 2013, 10

5.4.2 *Purse badges and the cult of King Henry VI*

Where does this leave us with respect to the interaction between purse badges and the cult of Henry VI? The devotee/saint relationship and mindset are important to consider when thinking about a purse badge, which may at first appear as a mundane object. Henry acted as a friend and helper for the devotee when they found themselves facing adversity, peril, or struggle. This was because of the perception of Henry as someone who had himself waded through the trials of hardship. The 1508 Ushaw prayer shows this relationship between Henry and a supplicant.³⁹⁸ The prayer states that although his life was troubled and filled with ‘great vexacion’ as King he was ‘full of grace and of charyte Mercyfull ever to man and chylde.’³⁹⁹ After Henry’s death and his attainment of a heavenly kingdom due to his great well of faith and patience, the supplicant is asking for Henry’s prayers which ring with ‘mor melody than I can myn.’⁴⁰⁰ This shows the trust in the goodness of saintly Henry and the confidence that his prayer on behalf of the supplicant is heard and received in heaven. For the devotee, the saint is ‘For ever att neyd thou art present In troubyll or payn wen I am schent or stand in warely juberte Thy socur to me full son thu sent.’⁴⁰¹ Here the supplicant is describing how Henry as earthly King, saint, benefactor, and friend stands alongside those in need with an empathetic, righteous spirit. A purse badge or a badge of Henry VI materially communicated the sentiments of this prayer. Henry (as he was characterized by his cult) was someone who persisted in life despite tragedy, abuse, and grief. He lived a life reflected in Luke 12, with a faith and humility like ‘a treasure in heaven that will never fail, where no thief comes near and no moth destroys,’ that is, a faith and humility which is unshaken by the tribulations and temptations of life. The purse, as a reflection

³⁹⁸ Blakman and James 1919, 50-51

³⁹⁹ Blakman and James 1919, 50

⁴⁰⁰ Blakman and James 1919, 50

⁴⁰¹ Blakman and James 1919, 50

of someone's heart where thoughts and ideas are stored, shown at Henry's belt is a reminder of the principal devotional and emulative virtues of the cult.

Additionally, the purse in its secular function as a receptacle for money can also merge into the devotional role as the content of purses can be emptied, or rather, shared. In his saintly life, Henry (notoriously) gave away and was generous with his wealth and benefices. He was known to be especially merciful and compassionate 'to them that sinned against him, while he was in power.'⁴⁰² The Ushaw prayer describes Henry as a 'well of pety and of pacyens' and I suggest that the purse fastened to Henry's belt was a sign of this great well of virtue. A purse badge from Spencer's Salisbury catalogue which he attributes to the 15th-century forms a purse with five tassels and a flowering heart depicted on its front (Figure 5.20).⁴⁰³ Spencer associates the depiction of the heart with objects of love and courtship and while the use of a heart may indeed link to ideas of love, there is also the potential that the heart points towards a blossoming of non-romantic love, mercy, kindness, humility and so on. As discussed in Chapter 4, there is a strong connection between lilies and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Additionally, images of the 'Tree of Life' or blossoming crosses focus on the idea that through the death of Christ on the dead wood of the cross, there is a renewal and salvation for the faithful.⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, regardless of its exact association, the devotional potential of the flowering heart iconography is quite clear; the flowering of goodness from a bountiful purse or heart coupled with the gramercy badge discussed above and its depiction of a simple 'thanks', is reflective of a cultivation of meekness, godliness, and humility — the very qualities forwarded by the cult of King Henry VI.

⁴⁰² Blakman and James 1919, 39

⁴⁰³ Spencer 1990, 117

⁴⁰⁴ Salenius 2020



Figure 5.20 Purse badge with flowering heart motif. H: 29 mm. Spencer 1990, 117. Fig. 313.

Throughout the latter half of the 15th century, Watts summarises that contemporary opinion held that the woes afflicting the ‘common weal’ of England were the result of the men and women ‘who put the claims of self, family, or party before those of king and community; who abandoned the old political virtues and sought their own material satisfaction instead.’⁴⁰⁵ Blame for the political and social troubles of the time were not placed upon Henry, whose character, as promoted by the cult, was thought to abound in meekness, love, and charity. Rather, disapproval was reserved for public figures around the King who were thought to have misused and abused Henry’s goodness, viciously exploiting the King who seldom exerted his power or displeasure. In the aftermath of his martyrdom in 1471 and the subsequent development and rapid popularization of his cult, I suggest that there is a potent, contemporary, emotional appeal associated with the late King’s cult. Although there was a political aspect of

⁴⁰⁵ Watts 1996, 1

the cult as discussed in Section 5.5, the devotional impact and appeal of the cult can not be glossed over.

Spencer associates the high numbers of badges with the cult's great appeal despite its relatively short duration.⁴⁰⁶ I forward the possibility that Henry VI's appeal (as substantiated by his cults having the second highest number of saintly badges within this study despite its short duration) lies in the popular reaction prompted by its contemporary circumstances. People may have reacted and reflected upon the abuse endured by a simple and godly man, anointed King of England and France and rallied to the plight of what was recognized as good, Christian virtues. The cult of Henry VI may then be viewed in the light of society seeking to reevaluate important modes of social behaviour and 'recapture' Christian morality and love of one's Christian neighbour. Badge depictions of Henry adorned him in the splendour of kingship and regalia in sharp contrast to his famed reputation for wearing 'simple' clothes. The cult was visually displaying the notion described in the Ushaw Prayer, that Henry's kingdom was not of this world. Instead, his perseverance in virtue led to his great heavenly reward. The cult is encouraging its community to likewise draw upon their own wells of goodness and virtue, their own hearts, or figuratively, to share the contents of their purse. To put plainly, the purse becomes an object of love and a representation of the readiness to share or express love and goodwill.

Standley's discussion of finger rings with amatory inscriptions and heart symbols clarifies that such objects 'provide evidence of the *ideal* emotional feelings and practice' within contemporary notions of chivalry and courtly romance.⁴⁰⁷ As Standley also points out, the

⁴⁰⁶ Spencer 2010, 189

⁴⁰⁷ Standley 2020, 746. Emphasis added

depiction of a heart, as the ‘all-encompassing’ seat of emotions, is indicative of the intention to create, stimulate, intensify, and convey emotions.⁴⁰⁸ Bearing in mind that a heart and a purse are figuratively synonymous, it is plausible that the meaning of a purse badge was intended to be emotive in nature. Indeed, the evocation of love seems to have met with the derision of some as two late 14th-early 15th century badge examples from the Kunera database (one from Middelburg, Netherlands and the other from London MoL collection) depict male genitalia in the purse. While their clear sexual euphemisms have guided the argument that such objects served as talismans or charms of aphrodisiac quality as has been discussed by Gilchrist and others, it is also possible that they reflect an element of derision or sarcastic mocking levelled at the emotional communities wearing purse badges.⁴⁰⁹ Despite the clarity of the sexual talisman argument, it still exists within the basic assumption of the purses’ communicative emotive nature and the ability of the purse badge to convey the emotional expression of love.

Therefore, while the purse is only a minor iconographic element of the cult of Henry VI, the otherwise relative simplicity of the imagery of the cult accentuates its inclusion. This subtle element manifests a heartfelt love and goodness to one’s neighbour rooted in an honest Christian faith. The purse gives us a clue, helping us to decipher the appeal of the cult and how it helped to form, shape, and sustain an emotional community. Henry post-mortem, was thought of as a king who was an embodiment of the servant’s heart, emulating that of Christ’s own.⁴¹⁰ After martyrdom, that heart of a servant not only served as an example for those afflicted by the trials and cares of life, but actively assisted, interceded, saved, and assuaged those in need.

⁴⁰⁸ Standley 2020, 746

⁴⁰⁹ Purses also have a figurative, sexual definition in the later medieval period. Gilchrist 2012, 144.

⁴¹⁰ Mark 10: 46 For even the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many

Craig argues that ‘it was *not* Henry’s virtues that called him to mind’ for his devotees but rather his ‘experience of adversity, a demonstrably real aspect of his life, which created bonds of sympathy and brought him to mind in moments of genuine distress.’⁴¹¹ Firstly, to understand the appeal of Henry’s cult, it is not important to reconstruct the actual character of Henry VI. Modern scholars insist that his virtuous life was only a skewed perception.⁴¹² Skewed or not, the badges provide a glimpse of the contemporary perception that Henry was in fact a virtuous individual as shown by his kingly attire and purse at his side. I would suggest then that what called Henry to the mind of a devotee was the *combination* of his virtue and the adversity he faced. For what was it that brought saintly Henry through the adversity in his life? Those who recognized his merit in the late 15th and early 16th century attested it to the purse of virtue, a heart rooted in faith and following the example set by Christ of goodness, kindness, charity, and patience.

5.5 Tudor aspects of Henry VI’s cult

As briefly discussed above, a significant element to be considered alongside the devotional pull of the cult was its association with the Tudor’s and the establishment of their rule. While I am not seeking to fully disentangle the secular from the devotional, their separate treatment here is intended to emphasize the multiplicity of meanings embedded in later medieval badges. As shown with the discussion of purse badges and their purported magical monetary function, previous discussions surrounding particular badge forms have often become thoroughly entangled in one context or in binary choices of their interpretations (similar to the binary choices in the interpretation of medieval castles and the debate surrounding the issues of

⁴¹¹ Craig 2003, 209. Emphasis added

⁴¹² Craig 2003, 209

symbolism versus military function),⁴¹³ often at the great expense of an open, creative dialogue. In the case of a cult such as Henry VI's, where worldly and saintly contexts seem to be interwoven so thoroughly, there are clearly other avenues to explore beyond the identification and association with a specific pilgrimage undertaken by an individual in the past. Egan acknowledges that the later medieval period underwent a gradual blurring of the secular and religious coupled with a growing scepticism regarding pilgrimage and the cult of saints generally.⁴¹⁴ Due to this, Egan identifies the cult of Henry VI specifically as a political cause bolstered by the interjection of religious undertones.⁴¹⁵ The cult undoubtedly developed and flourished under the patronage of King Henry VII (r. 1485-1509) but it is important to consider that this was also a time and environment in England of vibrant activity and participation generally in the doctrines and trappings of the Catholic faith.⁴¹⁶ Nationwide programs of church building and renovation, new rood screens, windows, wills, etc. attest to societies continued emphasis on Catholic works.⁴¹⁷ This situation coupled with my discussions in Section 5.4 above regarding the clearly devotional aspects of King Henry's cult challenges the notion that the cult was purposely crafted, curated, and regarded as a purely political cult.

But what was it about this cult which prompted royal Tudor patronage and association with the failed worldly kingship of Henry VI? According to Wolffe, contemporary opinions of Henry while he was king could occasionally be less than complimentary and did not commend the King's virtues.⁴¹⁸ These instances provide some glimpses into the popular discontent felt in the mid-15th century with numerous exclamations that the king was 'simpleminded or dim-witted

⁴¹³ Creighton 2018, 355-370.

⁴¹⁴ Egan and Forsyth 1997, 220

⁴¹⁵ Egan and Forsyth 1997, 220

⁴¹⁶ Duffy 2005, Graves 2000

⁴¹⁷ Duffy 2005, Graves 2000

⁴¹⁸ Wolffe 2001

on the evidence of the failure of his policies.’⁴¹⁹ Cade’s Rebellion in 1450 has been linked to anger at those failures, and ill will towards Henry’s rule seems to have festered in Kent.⁴²⁰ Given the paucity of Henry’s badges in Kent (Figure 5.1), there is a possibility that Henry may have been a generally unsympathetic or even maligned character in that area. It was only in August 1484, the final full year of Richard III’s reign, that Henry’s body was moved from Chertsey in Surrey to Windsor and the trickle of pilgrims to the former sovereign became a flood.⁴²¹ With the canons of Windsor now producing badges, their stylistic choices in the depiction of Henry VI were certainly appealing from the early Tudor perspective. Showing Henry crowned with orb and sceptre consistently across each of the cult’s badge types displays a stable, legitimate, idealized, and saintly forebearer to his nephew, King Henry VII. This allows Henry VI badges to be confidently dated to post-1484. Inheriting control of the cult in 1485 and injecting their power and influence into this new socially and politically relevant cult, the Tudors were presented with a unique opportunity to ingratiate and insert themselves into the good graces of their subjects through their associations with the cult and patronage. Not only was Henry’s cult attractive to the Tudor’s as a saintly forebearer abused and martyred by their bitter political rivals, but because of the devotional sentiment the cult came to exude. In administering their patronage and attaching themselves with a cult emphasizing mercy, love, charity, and reconciliation, similar to other political saints’ cults discussed by Walker, the Tudors were actively working towards the reestablishment of social harmony as well as establishing their own strong rule.⁴²² As Walker proposes, other political martyrs including Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster, Richard Scrope, and King Edward II, seem to have emphasized social

⁴¹⁹ Wolffe 2001, 18

⁴²⁰ Wolffe 2001, 18

⁴²¹ Wolffe 2001, 352

⁴²² Walker 1995, 91

harmony in the aftermath of political and social turmoil in contrast to the bold, righteous defiance exuded by the cult of St Thomas as shown in the previous chapter.⁴²³ However, each of these cults seem to have been localized and lacking in broad appeal.⁴²⁴ This lack of widespread appeal is shown in the limited badge evidence relating to these four cults with only 13 badges of St Thomas of Lancaster, all being recovered from riverine contexts and published in Spencer's London catalogue.⁴²⁵ But in contrast, Henry's cult has the second largest number of saintly badges distributed across England.

Nevertheless, where badges of Henry VI are present and absent is intriguing given the development of the cult in Windsor and the clear influence of the Tudors. As discussed above, proximity to Windsor where the canons were producing badges for the cult and its pilgrims as well as the trend in later medieval pilgrimage towards local shrines, seems to have impacted the concentration of material around Windsor and London (Table 5.1). The strength of the badge finds stretching from Salisbury and Wiltshire across Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, to London and the western parts of East Anglia could be interpreted as a regional rather than a local or national pilgrimage (Figure 5.1). Locker's discussion of localised saints' cults considers the potential for personal relationships between cults and society in local contexts where intimate connections exist between the pilgrim and the landscape.⁴²⁶ Locker further states that universal pilgrimages (such as St Thomas Becket at Canterbury or St James at Santiago de Compostella), while not lacking in personal appeal, presented the pilgrim with a more 'overawing experience, one of being confronted with a legendary figure rather than a relatable one.'⁴²⁷ Yet within his

⁴²³ Walker 1995, 91

⁴²⁴ Walker 1995, 83-86

⁴²⁵ Spencer 2010, 199-203

⁴²⁶ Locker 2015, 175-176

⁴²⁷ Locker 2015, 176

cult, Henry is shown as a legendary figure, but he was known as a relatable and intimate saintly friend. The badge data for Henry's pilgrimage points to something in-between the two designations of localized and universal. Although essentially regionally located across southern England, the relative distances involved do not suggest the intimate knowledge of landscapes which Locker suggests informs the personal impact of local pilgrimages (i.e. the pilgrims travelling from Suffolk, Wiltshire, or Rutland). Spencer asserts the universal appeal of the cult.⁴²⁸ However, the badge data does not support such a statement. Large areas of England have little or no badge representation relating to Henry's cult. The locations of the miracles attributed to King Henry VI also seem to be concentrated in the southeastern parts of England and with the exception of Kent, the distributions of the miracles and the badges are very similar (Table 5.3). Kent, the southwest including Somerset, western Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire and their limited badge finds as well as miracles relating to the cult (despite the otherwise high numbers of badge finds from Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire) in effect highlights the central/southern distribution of material. The challenges to metal detecting in the Fenland areas of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire is clearly shown here. The interruption of the badge distribution occurring precisely in this area is keenly felt as Henry's particular association with Cambridge would be interesting to gauge and assess if badges were being used in the area.

County	Total Miracles of King Henry VI
Kent	17
London/Middlesex	17
Sussex	11
Essex	9
Hampshire	7
Northamptonshire	6

⁴²⁸ Spencer 2010, 189

Oxfordshire	5
Surrey	5
Wiltshire	5
Berkshire	4
Buckinghamshire	4
Cambridgeshire	3
Devon	3
Dorset	3
Hertfordshire	3
Leicestershire	3
Somerset	3
Cheshire	2
Cornwall	2
Huntingdonshire	2
Lancashire	2
Norfolk	2
Nottinghamshire	2
Rutland	2
Staffordshire	2
Suffolk	2
Wales	2
Westmoreland	2
Worcestershire	2
Bedfordshire	1
Calais	1
Durham	1
Lincolnshire	1
Shropshire	1
Warwickshire	1

Table 5.3 Locations of the miracles attributed to King Henry VI. From Knox 1923, 23.

One possibility tying the areas of few Henry VI badge finds together is each of their involvements in popular rebellions in the early Tudor period. There was a rebellion in Yorkshire in 1489 expressing popular anger at the Tudor programs of heavy taxation.⁴²⁹ The Paston Letters make note of the rebels' intentions 'to geynstonde such persons as os about to warde for to destroy owre suffereyn Lord the Kynge and the Commons of Engeland for suche unlawfull poyntes as Seynt Thomas of Cauntyrbery dyed for.' That is, the later medieval populace would

⁴²⁹ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

evoke a saint, in this case, St Thomas in opposition to tyrannical royal taxation.⁴³⁰ Further rebellions erupted in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in 1536-1537 (See Chapter 7). In the southwest, multiple rebellions with their epicentre in Cornwall shook the regime in 1497 (the first like the 1489 Yorkshire episode has been tied to opposition to taxation and the second was the Perkin Warbeck episode), 1537, and again in 1549 the commons rose against the Tudors.⁴³¹

Dissent across the North and Southwest was a consistent thorn in the regime's side. Henry VII's predecessor, Richard III displayed significant regional favouritism towards the north of England and Tudor presence in the north waned particularly during Henry VIII's reign with MacCulloch and Fletcher noting the reluctance of Henry to travel north (possibly leading to the eruption of the Pilgrimage of Grace in the North, as discussed in Chapter 7, rather than the West Country through which Henry progressed in 1535).⁴³² Thus, the scarcity of Henry VI badges in the north and southwest may in fact be linked to the unpopularity in these regions of the Tudor royal family and its close ties to the Henry VI cult.

The scarcity of Henry VI badges apparent in Kent and Norfolk also requires consideration because we know that metal detecting is common in these counties, and find numbers of other objects recorded on the PAS suggests that there is some anomaly with the badges (as will be discussed further in Chapter 6). These areas experienced expressions of discontent during the Tudor era with Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1549 and Wyatt's Rebellion in Kent in 1553-1554. Both of these movements had more of an evangelical foundation than the other more conservative Tudor revolts.⁴³³ Nevertheless, they were significant manifestations of

⁴³⁰ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 20

⁴³¹ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020

⁴³² MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 135

⁴³³ For further discussion of these events, see MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 71-104

popular discontent during the Tudor reign. During the life of Henry VI, Cade's Rebellion brought on a crisis in 1450 and according to Wolffe, the embers of discontent continued in that region for some time afterwards.⁴³⁴ However, as MacCulloch and Fletcher point out, the 'foundation of Tudor authority was the dynasty's hold on the confidence of London and the southeast.'⁴³⁵ Overall, the significant presence of badges and miracles in London and the southeast attributable to the cult of Henry VI would seem to indicate that Tudor patronage of the cult was not resented in these areas.

If the cult of Henry VI was a political cult manipulated by the Tudors, the badge data does not seem to reflect this southeasterly support (not including London) (Figure 5.1). But, while the picture of the material evidence is somewhat dim, the records of where the miracles attributed to Henry VI took place, do indicate a very strong southeastern concentration (Table 5.3). Outside of the unknown locations, the largest numbers of miracles are recorded in Kent (17), London/Middlesex (17), Sussex (11), and Essex (9).⁴³⁶ Additionally, the counties of Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire are among those counties with four or more miracles. However, although Norfolk and Suffolk are both among the top five counties in terms of having the most badges of Henry (in the western areas of these two counties), they were home to only two miracles apiece. The slender presence of Henry badges across large swathes of the eastern and central parts of Norfolk and Suffolk as well as the limited presence of miracles combined with the Kentish data (few badges coupled with the most miracles) will be discussed further in Chapter 6. It is also important to note that these counties of eastern England were home to their own national cults including St. Thomas Becket and Our

⁴³⁴ Wolffe 2001, 18

⁴³⁵ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020, 104

⁴³⁶ Knox and Leslie 1923, 23

Lady of Walsingham as discussed in Chapter 4. It is possible that the scarcity of Henry VI badges in these areas is linked to a regional ‘competition’ between the emotional communities of saintly or devotional cults.

However, there is evidence of a genuine early veneration of Henry VI in the north at York Minster before the body of Henry was moved to Windsor.⁴³⁷ Yet, this is not reflected in either the badge data or in the distribution of miracles. This suggests that Henry VI’s cult did not have a significant material impact or following in the north of England. Additionally, in 1543, the people of Devon and Cornwall were scorned and discouraged from continuing to travel in great numbers in pilgrimage to King Henry,⁴³⁸ but there are no badges then from these counties. Indeed, it is possible that badges of Henry VI simply have not yet been found in particular areas of England and Wales (especially in places like Devon and Cornwall where there are significant limitations to metal detection as discussed in Section 2.4.1). This is a situation which is suggestive of the ways in which emotant webs can shift. It may be that by 1543, given the state of the church in England and the drama of the divorce, the cult of Henry VI may have been viewed with new eyes by the orthodox and traditional communities of Devon and Cornwall who now found a saintly king who did relate to their own immediate emotional and devotional needs. But in this case, the emotion of ‘politics’ or popular dissent seems to have determined how and when badges were displayed.

In attempting to make sense of the distributions that we do have, the evidence seems to reflect how the Tudor’s injected themselves into a new, popular, and relatable popular social/political strain. The badge data shows that certain emotional communities appear to have

⁴³⁷ Wolffe 2001, 351

⁴³⁸ Wolffe 2001, 354

rejected the overtures of the Windsor-based cult and its patrons. Conversely, other emotional communities closer to Windsor readily and warmly accepted the badges of the cult and its message of love and meekness and obedience. In conclusion we have a ‘universal’ cult but not universal evidence of the use of badges. This shows how emotional communities negotiated badge use and highlights the emotant quality of later medieval badges.

5.6 John Schorne and St George at Windsor

Briefly, it is also helpful to consider the badge distributions of the cults of St George and the uncanonised saint John Schorne who were both venerated in Windsor alongside Henry VI’s cult. A consideration of these two cults assists in briefly illustrating the variations apparent in the badge distributions which may be associated with the same possible ‘point of origin.’ John Schorne, who was the rector of North Marston, Buckinghamshire, is represented by a total of 21 badges in this dataset. While 17 of these are from London, the remaining badges are found in Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire. With all of the badge evidence of the cult of John Schorne being recovered from counties relatively close to Windsor and North Marston, we can observe the regional or localised nature of this cult.

In contrast, the 74 badges of St George in this dataset have a far more expansive distribution (Figure 5.21) which shows the nationwide appeal of England’s later medieval national patron saint.⁴³⁹ While all three of these cults (King Henry VI, John Schorne, and St George) emanating from Windsor, each display a unique context of use with John Schorne having a localised appeal and St George having a national appeal. Henry VI, because of the high numbers of his badges coming from London and the Thames, has long been thought of a saint

⁴³⁹ Aston 2016, 401-444

who maintained a broad appeal across later medieval England.⁴⁴⁰ Yet, the badge data of the cult is shown to be essentially regional in nature. Consequentially, this situation of the three Windsor pilgrimages helps to reveal that there are different emotional communities negotiating the varied use of badges.

⁴⁴⁰ Spencer 1998, 189

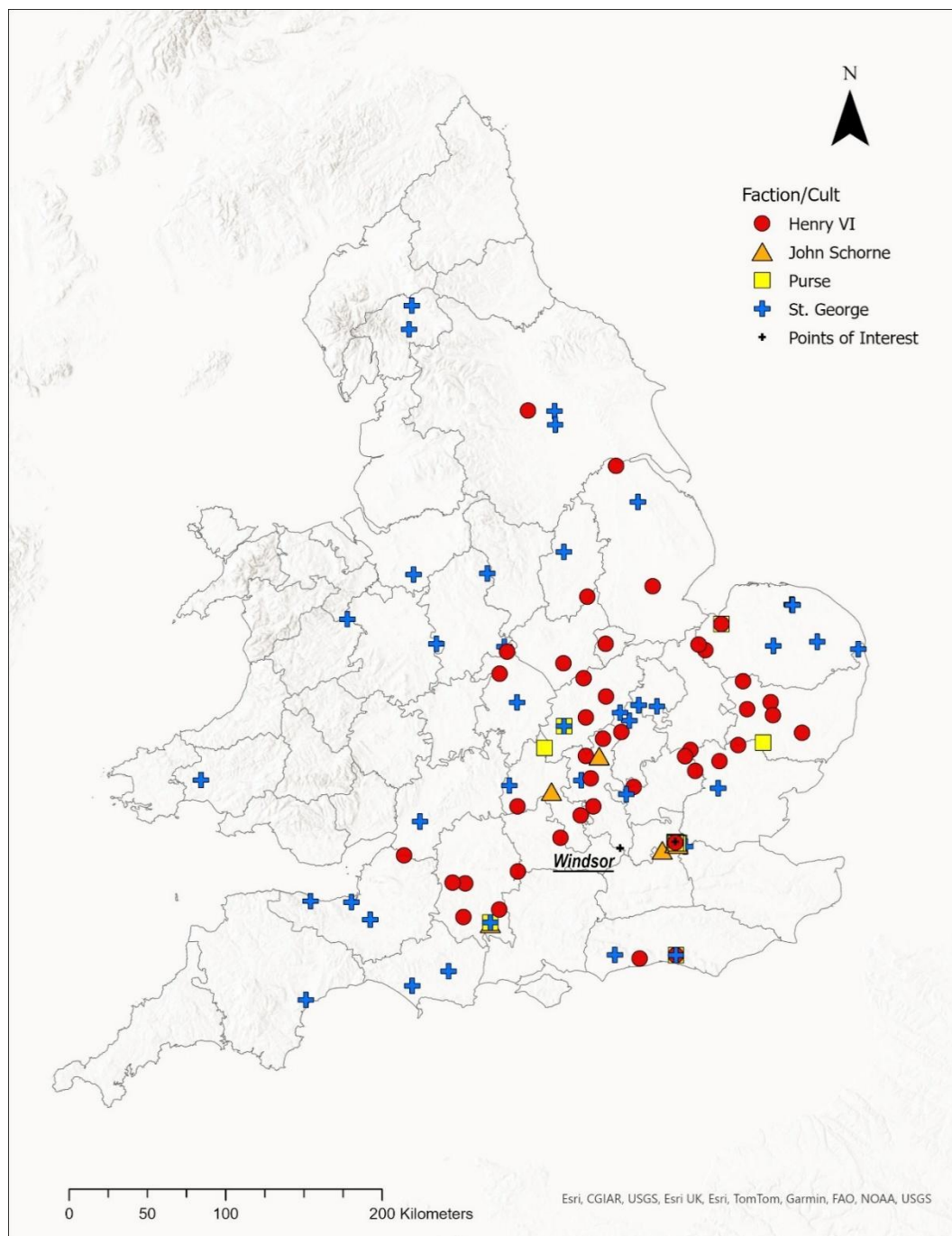


Figure 5.21 Map depicting the distribution of badges which may be associated with the Windsor pilgrimage. Note the concentrated distribution of finds associated with John Schorne and the broader distribution of St George badges.

5.7 Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of the cult of King Henry VI and emphasised the devotional and emotional elements contributing to its popularity in the late 15th and early 16th

centuries. The 95 badges show that while uncanonised, the cult of Henry VI was popular and is eclipsed in saintly badge finds only by the long-standing cult of St Thomas Becket. However, the distribution of the badges of Henry VI is more localised and seemingly centred around its shrine in Windsor especially when compared to the distributions of badges of St George and the local uncanonised saint, John Schorne, whose shrines were also in Windsor. Furthermore, the absence of Henry VI badges (as well as documented miracles associated with the cult) in areas of England where there were populations which were critical of Tudor rule is suggestive of the politicisation of the cult and how Tudor patronage affected patterns of use.

However, analysis of the iconographies of the badges of Henry VI focus upon the heavenly virtues of the saint and depict Henry as a noble king rather than the simple, humble man described in the literature of the cult and in popular memory. Additionally, the badges often include the depiction of purses, which I have suggested to have also maintained a clear devotional meaning. The distribution of 26 badges featuring only the depiction of a purse also generally conform to the distribution of the 95 badges of Henry VI. To summarise, this chapter investigated not only the political impact of the cult of King Henry VI, but also the potential of badges to communicate sentiments and values as well as how they could personally remind and console later medieval people through the establishment of a saintly relationship.

Chapter 6: Reactions to religious badges in the Southeast and East Anglia

6.1 Introduction

The discussion which follows considers the evidence and visibility of the possible negative emotions or criticisms associated with badge use and how such reactions to badges might be represented. In particular, it engages with the growing anxieties concerning religious imagery and an increasing negativity levelled towards the use of such objects in the later medieval English religious environment. The development and longevity of communities in England which were vehemently opposed to religious pilgrimage and imagery raises the question of how their well-documented beliefs may have impacted the use and survival of badges. This chapter asks if we can see the impact of the critical or negative reception of badges which may have been a natural target of criticism for substantial elements of the population.

Considering the badge data as a whole in Chapter 3 raised a number of questions concerning the distributions across East Anglia and the southeast of England outside of London. There was an observed sparse concentration of badge finds along England's eastern coast, and there was a disparity observable between the find locations of PAS badges and those of both ampullae and seal matrices on the PAS. This situation prompted the exploration of the badge evidence and religious character of the eastern seaboard counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent throughout the 14th to 16th centuries in this Chapter.

These regions maintained a large later medieval population and were home to the two principal places of pilgrimage in England in Canterbury (Kent) and Walsingham (Norfolk). Indeed, outside of London, the county of Norfolk is home to the most badge finds across

England and Wales. However, the distribution of badges across the county is not evenly distributed. Throughout the following chapter, I question what may have contributed to the uneven distribution of badges across the area through a contextualisation of the material and how it may have been treated by the later medieval communities.

The period in which badges were being used throughout England and Wales was heavily influenced by a number of significant and dramatic changes in the organisation and fundamental tenets of the Christian faith. Indeed, by the close of the 16th century the course of English religion had shifted with the winds of the Protestant reformation. Yet, this change was not a singular, abrupt schism which traded the Catholic for the Protestant. Rather, Tarlow has defined it as a ‘process which transformed British religious practice and relations of power at a slow, reluctant, and untidy pace.’⁴⁴¹

The medieval church served as the vehicle through which the faithful received the teachings of Christianity, where they received their healing and forgiveness, and where the sacraments were communicated and shared. According to Duffy, the search for salvation was a social, not solitary endeavour which involved the integration of the individual into ‘the community of love which was the Church.’⁴⁴² In medieval England, the parish was the essential building block of this community which bound together the faithful of an area.⁴⁴³ These parish communities interacted and existed not as a monolithic whole of a later medieval church (that is, as an entity either wholly supportive of orthodoxy or wholly against it) but as complex webs of diverse attitudes towards religion.⁴⁴⁴ Tanner has stated the necessity for the archaeological study

⁴⁴¹ Tarlow 2003, 109; MacCulloch 1994, 321

⁴⁴² Duffy 2006, 294

⁴⁴³ Davies 2003; Duffy 2001

⁴⁴⁴ Tanner 2009a, 53-54

of regional later medieval religion and the intricate differences between cities, localities, and regions.⁴⁴⁵ As of 2009, Tanner stated that there were ‘no regional studies of religion’ in contrast to the archaeological study of non-religious aspects of later medieval society or the works of historians such as MacCulloch’s study of Tudor Suffolk.⁴⁴⁶ Yet, Graves’ 2003 work considering the devotional character of Norfolk and Devon clearly exemplified the potential of such studies for later medieval archaeology.⁴⁴⁷

It is however impossible to display something like personal devotion with lines on a map. Individuals, communities, and parishes had a mixture of beliefs and attitudes towards pilgrimage, images, and the cults of saints and there is no distribution of material which can give an accurate or full depiction of the beliefs of an area given the biases inherent in the archaeological record.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, I suggest that distributions are able to reflect the *influence* of certain beliefs. Even in those areas featuring significant heterodox communities and networks, even the orthodox would have been informed, aware, and influenced (in one way or another) by the ideas being expressed and permeating through their communities and parishes.⁴⁴⁹ Badges give us an insight into the personal, that is, the non-parochial use, treatment, and attitudes towards saints and religious imagery.

Once again, the difficult or uncertain dating of the badges is crucial to consider. However, although precise dating of the material remains generally elusive, the advent of the ideas expressed throughout this chapter concerning the negative views associated with pilgrimage, religious imagery, and badges mirror the dates of the development of badge use throughout

⁴⁴⁵ Tanner 2009, 54

⁴⁴⁶ Tanner 2009 54; MacCulloch 1986

⁴⁴⁷ Graves 2000

⁴⁴⁸ Lutton 2006

⁴⁴⁹ Lutton 2006

England (mid-14th-early 16th century). Therefore, the badges discussed in this chapter were very likely to have been used contemporaneously within a social environment which may not have always viewed or interacted with them positively.

One of the prominent themes permeating through any study of the religious character of later medieval Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, or Kent, is the persistence of populations or networks of people who were deemed to be heterodox in their beliefs and practices.⁴⁵⁰ Each of these groups, Wycliffite, Lollard, and later Evangelical or ‘Puritan’ movements constitute their own separate phenomena yet they may all be associated with one another in this study because of their similar or shared critical views concerning religious images, pilgrimage, and the cult of saints. Indeed, Ryrie stresses the commonalities uniting Protestant ideas spanning from the 1530s (and earlier) until the 1640s.⁴⁵¹ A significant amount of scholarly attention has been directed towards the significance and potential impact upon society of the individuals and communities in the 15th and early 16th centuries, which have been collectively identified as Lollards.⁴⁵² Although studies of this movement in England have often sought to establish the ways in which 15th or 16th century Lollard communities inform us of the evolution of reformed or evangelical development, thought, and entrenchment in England, this is not the objective of this discussion.⁴⁵³ Rather, this Chapter considers the observable impact of the sustained presence of image-wary communities upon the later medieval archaeological record.

⁴⁵⁰ See MacCulloch 1986, Graves 2000, Lutton 2006, Tanner 2009

⁴⁵¹ Ryrie 2013, 469-470

⁴⁵² See Aston 1984, Hudson 1988, McSheffrey 1995, Lutton 2006

⁴⁵³ See Royal 2020

6.2 Lollard beliefs concerning images

There has been a great deal recorded concerning the intricacies of Lollard belief and doctrine towards images.⁴⁵⁴ Although Lollard theology was often uncoordinated, the opposition to images was a consistent feature of the movement.⁴⁵⁵ That consistency spanned the entire history and geography of the movement with 37 (of the 45 specific defendants) singled out by the prosecution in Norfolk for their objections to religious imagery.⁴⁵⁶ Lutton documents that 29 out of 30 suspects objected to images during the Kentish heresy trials of 1511-12.⁴⁵⁷ However, it must be noted that Lollard opposition to images existed within a varying scale of intensity relating to personal beliefs.⁴⁵⁸ For example, the 14th century opinions of the reforming theologian John Wycliffe were moderate in his criticisms and he stressed the importance of avoiding idolatry and keeping to the first commandment.⁴⁵⁹ Wycliffe stated that ‘It is evident that images may be both well and ill’ and that images could be a useful tool for the laity.⁴⁶⁰ However, Wycliffe also made the statement that worshipping God *through* images was idolatry and that ‘since this often occurs among laymen, it is evident that this danger would be removed were all such images to be destroyed.’⁴⁶¹ This sentiment encouraged a minority of Lollards to engage in attacks throughout the 14th-16th centuries on images in attempts to test or try their worthiness including a number of well documented examples involving the public decapitation and burning of a wooden statue of St Catherine.⁴⁶² Further documentation of iconoclasm in

⁴⁵⁴ See Aston 1984, Jones 1973

⁴⁵⁵ Aston 1984, 136

⁴⁵⁶ Tanner 1977, 11

⁴⁵⁷ Lutton 2006, 158

⁴⁵⁸ Aston 1984, 137

⁴⁵⁹ Aston 1984, 137-143

⁴⁶⁰ Aston 1984, 137

⁴⁶¹ Aston 1984, 142

⁴⁶² Graves 2008, 39

Norfolk includes John Burell of Loddon, who admitted to chopping down a large wooden cross near the gates of Loddon Hall, while John Skylly of Bergh Apton and William Wardon of Loddon burned an image of St Andrew.⁴⁶³ While on trial in 1429, Burell admitted that he had learned from a Lollard teacher that the first commandment stated that ‘no honour should be shown to any images sculpted in churches by the hand of man’ and that no one should ‘bow to them nor worship them.’⁴⁶⁴ Therefore, while prosecutors labelled individuals as ‘against images,’ this incorporates the advocacy of iconoclasm as well as the more moderate ideas that images, although potentially useful to inform the illiterate, generally mislead those who use them in their devotions.⁴⁶⁵

Thus, it is worth considering the findspots of badges (or the portable ‘images’) and their treatment, with areas of known Lollard activity to consider if there are patterns of intentional damage to the images, or even complete absences in the areas that might suggest the avoidance of this material culture form by the Lollard communities.

6.3 Spatial distributions and patterns of metal detecting

The data considered in this case study are confined to the four counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent. There is a total of 521 badges which have been found in these four counties (Figure 6.1). Comparing this with the find locations of the 1,860 ampullae and 1,817 seal matrices recorded on the PAS from these counties helps to mitigate some of the biases associated with metal-detecting practices.⁴⁶⁶ As will be discussed, the comparisons demonstrate

⁴⁶³ Hudson 1988

⁴⁶⁴ Aston 1984, 145

⁴⁶⁵ Hudson 1988, 279

⁴⁶⁶ Ampulla data captured from the PAS on November 10, 2021. Seal Matrix data captured from the PAS on November 12, 2021.

that there are areas where there are few to no badge finds, but there are other later medieval small metal finds being recovered in large numbers. While this does not erase the biases inherent in metal-detecting such as the activity of detectorists in certain locations, it does suggest that some of the perceived gaps in the spatial data may in fact be reflective of a true distribution of the badges. This is bolstered through the consideration of Figure 2.2 which demonstrates that metal-detection is occurring throughout the study area.

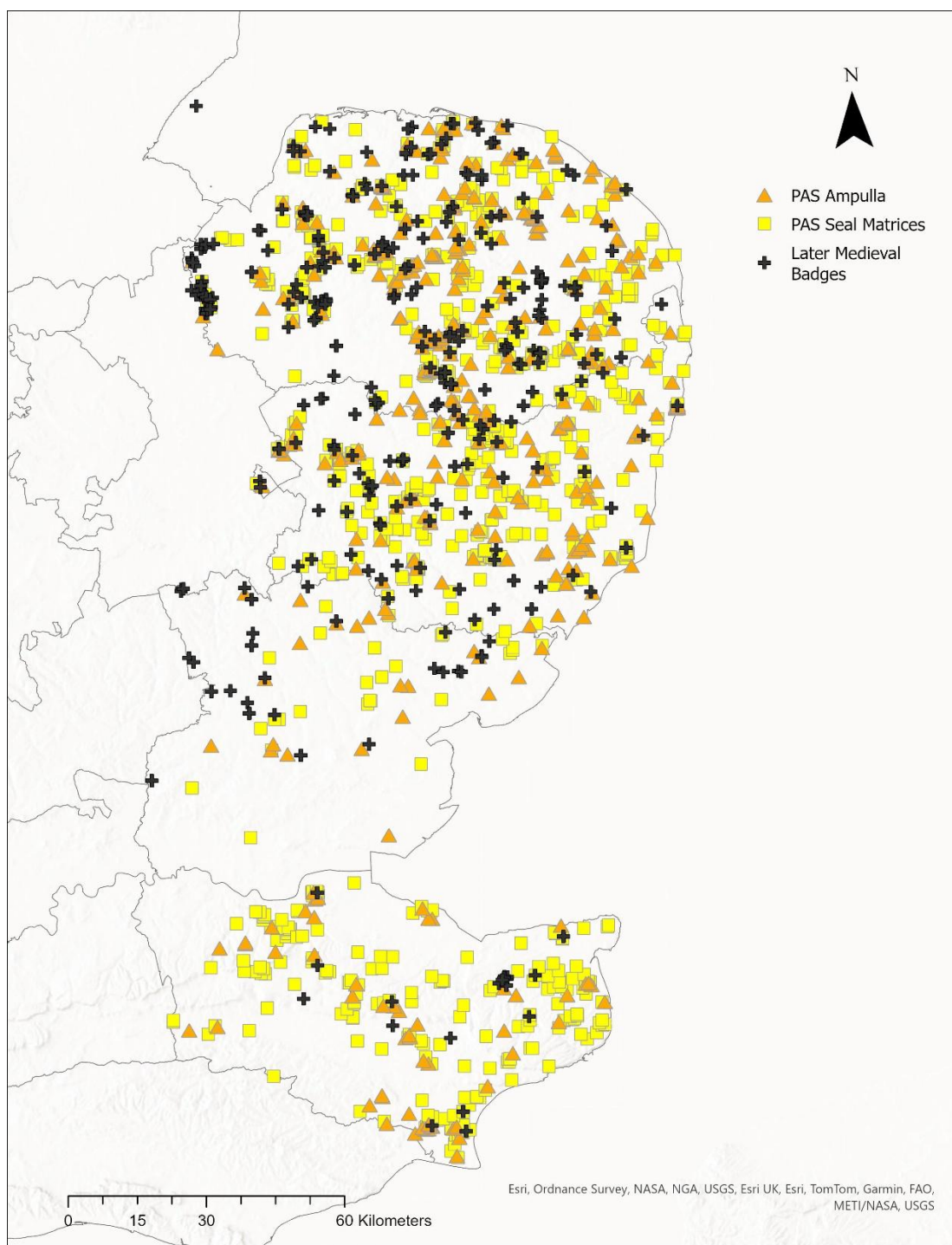


Figure 6.1 Distribution map of the 521 badges from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent. Also shown are the finds locations of ampullae and seal matrices recorded by the PAS.

In the four counties discussed in this chapter, badges are overwhelmingly concentrated in King's Lynn, Norfolk, where Spencer compiled the riverine finds from that city (Figure 6.2). Yet, there is also a clear concentration of badges extending from western Suffolk and the Bury St Edmonds area northwards through Thetford to the vicinity of Norwich (both in Norfolk). This concentration is evocative of Locker's discussion of the Ely to Walsingham pilgrimage as well as the Palmer's Way leading pilgrims from London to Walsingham.⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, this band of concentrated pilgrim badge finds would appear to correlate with areas which were experiencing mass movement of pilgrims and people across the landscape. The eastern terminal of this band is the city of Norwich which Tanner has characterised the later medieval religious culture of the city as highly participatory and evocative or 'almost Baroque' in its 'High Church' devotional expressions.⁴⁶⁸ Overall, Norfolk as a county has the second highest number of badge finds in England outside of London, yet we can observe that the badges are not evenly distributed throughout the county. There are areas of very sparse concentrations of badges existing all along the eastern and southeastern parts of Norfolk. This pattern of sparse concentration persists into eastern Suffolk which suggests that it is not simply the result of biases in the PAS and metal detecting but may in fact be reflective of actual depositional patterns. If consideration is given to the finds' locations of other contemporary material including ampullae (as another and older form of pilgrim sign) and seal matrices (which are less overtly devotional), we are confronted with the sparse density of badge finds in areas where there are numerous ampullae and seal matrix finds, such as in north-central Suffolk.

⁴⁶⁷ Locker 2015, 27-61

⁴⁶⁸ Tanner 2009, 48

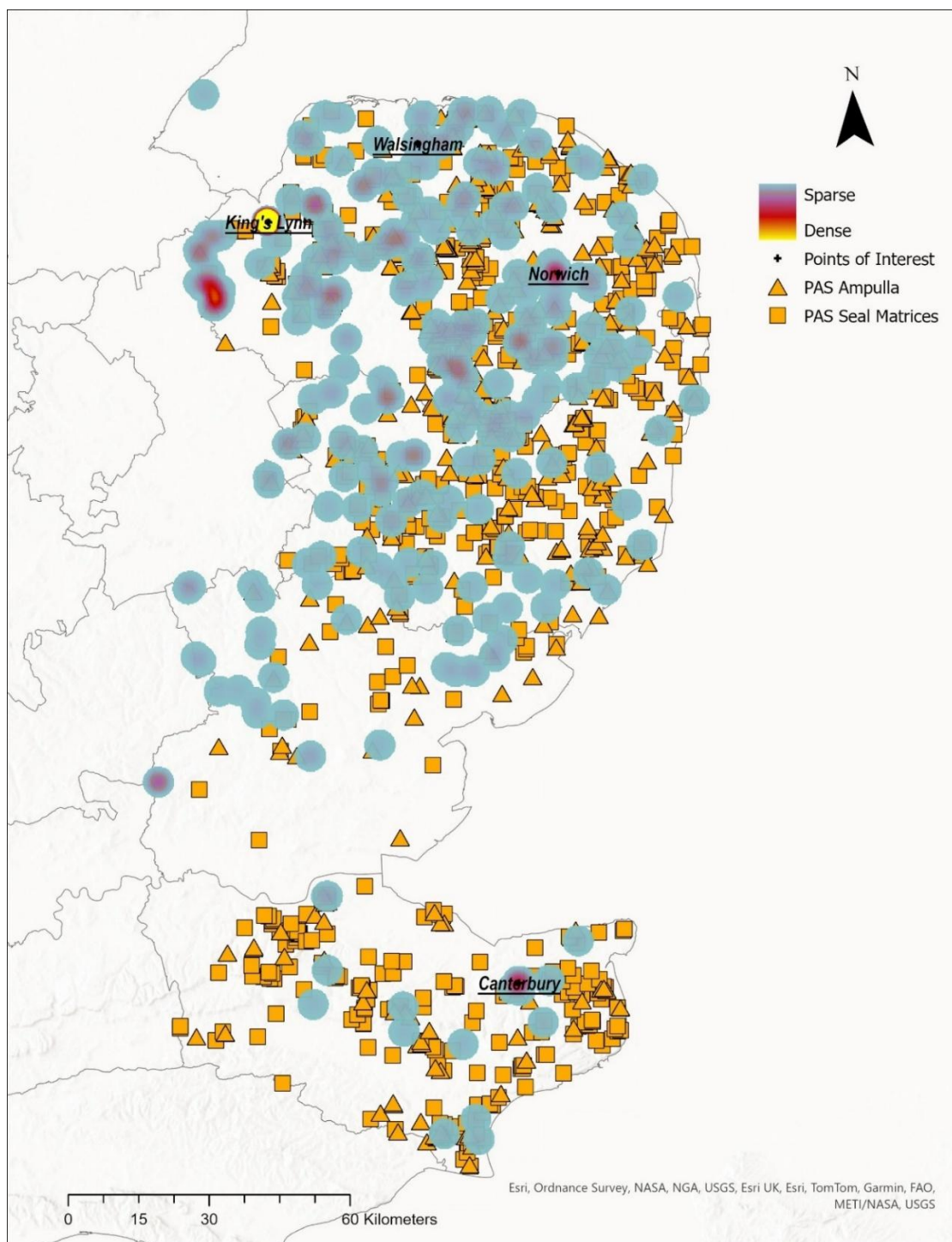


Figure 6.2 Heat map displaying the concentration of finds throughout the study area. Note the areas of eastern Norfolk and Suffolk where there are no badge finds, but plentiful ampullae and seal matrix finds.

The distribution of badges across Essex is also uneven with the vast majority of the finds being recovered from the northern areas of the county. However, unlike the apparent situation in

Norfolk and Suffolk, the absence or small numbers of badges from the southern half of Essex is accompanied by a correlating dearth of ampullae and seal matrix finds. This would then be more indicative of the metal detecting practices in Essex than of a true distribution of later medieval small metal finds across the county. The badge finds in Kent are impacted by landscape restrictions, as the county is bound along its western border by the High Weald National Landscape where there are more restrictions to metal-detecting. This impacts the southwestern area of Kent, with the number of all metal-detected finds being low. However, in comparison to the large numbers of ampullae (58) and seal matrices (225) being found in Kent there are comparatively few badges found across Kent (only 28). Outside of Canterbury, the badge finds are not concentrated but are found sparsely throughout central Kent. Canterbury itself accounts for 15 badge finds although it must be noted that there are significant numbers of badges which were dredged from the River Stour in Canterbury which are being held in various museum collections. However, the museum material lies outside of the data collection parameter of this project.

Therefore, the overall distributions of later medieval material across these four counties are varied and chance-find data are absent from large swaths of the landscape. However, where there are clear and consistent chance-find data found throughout the majority of a county, such as in Norfolk and Suffolk, there is an opportunity to consider if there are any differences in the treatment of badges. The results of such an assessment may be indicative of the impact of the beliefs which challenged the orthodox public commitment to pilgrimage and the cults of saints. The presence of intentional damage to badges may be material evidence of the critical views of images and iconoclastic action. Conversely, the absence of widespread intentional damage to religious badges particularly in eastern England — where heterodox beliefs were believed to

have taken root so thoroughly in certain areas and persisted throughout the 14th – 16th centuries — would be indicative of the arguments of Duffy and others who view the challenge to orthodox Catholicism as being something which was forced upon the English and Welsh populations and which was not initially widely popular.

6.4 Damage to the badges

6.4.1 *Selection process*

For this preliminary consideration of treatment of the badges, I have chosen to consider only the badges from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent which feature imagery of human or human-like figures (e.g. angels). This includes the depiction of the body as well as images only of the head or face of a subject. The decision to focus upon the head of a subject is due to the work of Graves and the establishment that iconoclastic actions were more likely to have been targeted at these particular parts of an image.⁴⁶⁹ I have not included badges which depict other body parts, such as the heart or a heart shape, or those of a hand or glove. However, it must be noted that many fragments of badges such as architectural fragments are very likely to have once featured human figures as part of their larger composition. For example, there is a badge from King's Lynn which depicts a fragment of battlements (Figure 6.3) and is likely part a badge depicting Henry VI standing atop the Tower of London as seen on a badge recovered from London (Figure 6.4).

⁴⁶⁹ Graves 2008



Figure 6.3 Fragment of a badge likely depicting the battlements of the Tower of London. The figure of Henry VI is missing. Spencer 1980, 22.



Figure 6.4 Badge of King Henry VI atop the Tower of London. Note the missing head of the figure. This badge was recovered from London and is therefore not considered within this chapter. 23 x 20 mm. Spencer 1978, 240.

Additionally, in this assessment I have not taken into account missing or damaged attachment loops or pins instead focusing on damage to the body of the badges themselves. This is somewhat problematic as damage to an attachment could be representative of the emotional removal or jettisoning of an offending article. It may also be evidence of the cause of a casual loss of the object.

Finally, I have chosen to omit the 163 badges from the Heritage Gateway Scheme which were recovered from the four counties due to the lack of images associated with Heritage Gateway records which nullifies their effectiveness in this exercise.

6.4.2 The forms of damage

All of these restrictions have left a total of 188 badges from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent which depict a human figure or likeness (Table 6.1). I have made a determination of damage based upon the simple query of whether a badge exhibits visual evidence of damage either to the actual human figure or more broadly to the badge which features a human figure or likeness. There are significant biases associated with such an assessment of damage including but not limited to the various post-depositional processes impacting the metal objects, such as corrosion or plough damage. The preliminary nature of this assessment must be stressed, and modern actions may account for the damage. It is also important to consider how some of the badges may have been handled by their finders. For example, although badge SF9179 depicting St Andrew remains folded, there is potential that others may have been unfolded or otherwise manipulated after having been recovered (Figure 6.5) — and thus there is the possible loss of evidence relating to medieval actions, or pieces have broken off badges after discovery. Additionally, the casting process itself may have contributed to some of the damage visible today as breaks may occur in the natural weak points of the cast, such as badge SF-524947 from Glemsford, Suffolk, where there is a slight break across the neck of the figure of the Archangel Gabriel (Figure 6.6). However, the prevalence of damage to the head and neck of a figure on a badge necessitates the inclusion of such examples as evidence of possible intentional and targeted damage. Of the 188 badges with human figures, 102 or about 54% exhibit clear visible damage. The damage also may have been targeted. Of the 102 figure

badges where damage is present, at least 61 are either missing the head of the figure or the head is damaged in some way (Figure 6.7).

Thematic material of badge	Badges with human figure(s)	Damage to badges with human figure(s)	Damage to Head/Neck of human figure(s)
Angelic Figure	1	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
Christocentric	19	10 (53%)	2 (11%)
Cult of Saints	76	37 (49%)	24 (32%)
Dynastic/Individual Faction	1	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Human Figure/Body Part	23	17 (74%)	12 (52%)
Marian	67	36 (54%)	22 (33%)
Old Testament Figure	1	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Grand Total	188	102 (54%)	61 (32%)

Table 6.1 Table displaying the numbers of badges with human figures which are damaged generally as well as those which have damage specifically to the head or neck of a human likeness according to faction or cult.

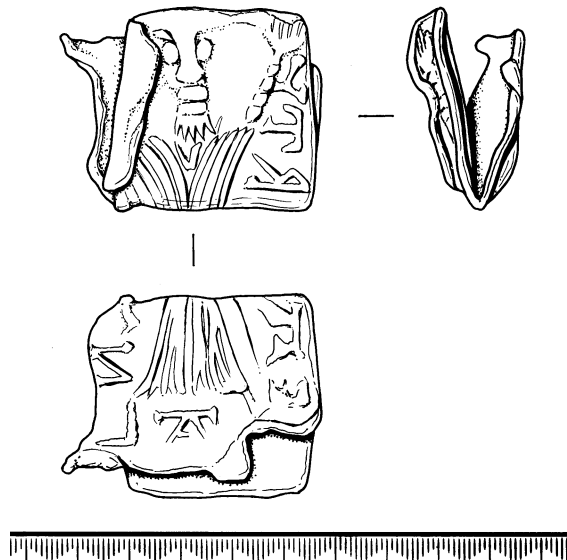


Figure 6.5 Folded badge of St Andrew from Bradfield Combust with Stanningfield, Suffolk. PAS SF9179.



Figure 6.6 Badge depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. The badge likely originates from Walsingham, Norfolk and was found in Glemsford, Suffolk. Note the break at the neck of the Archangel Gabriel. PAS SF-524947.

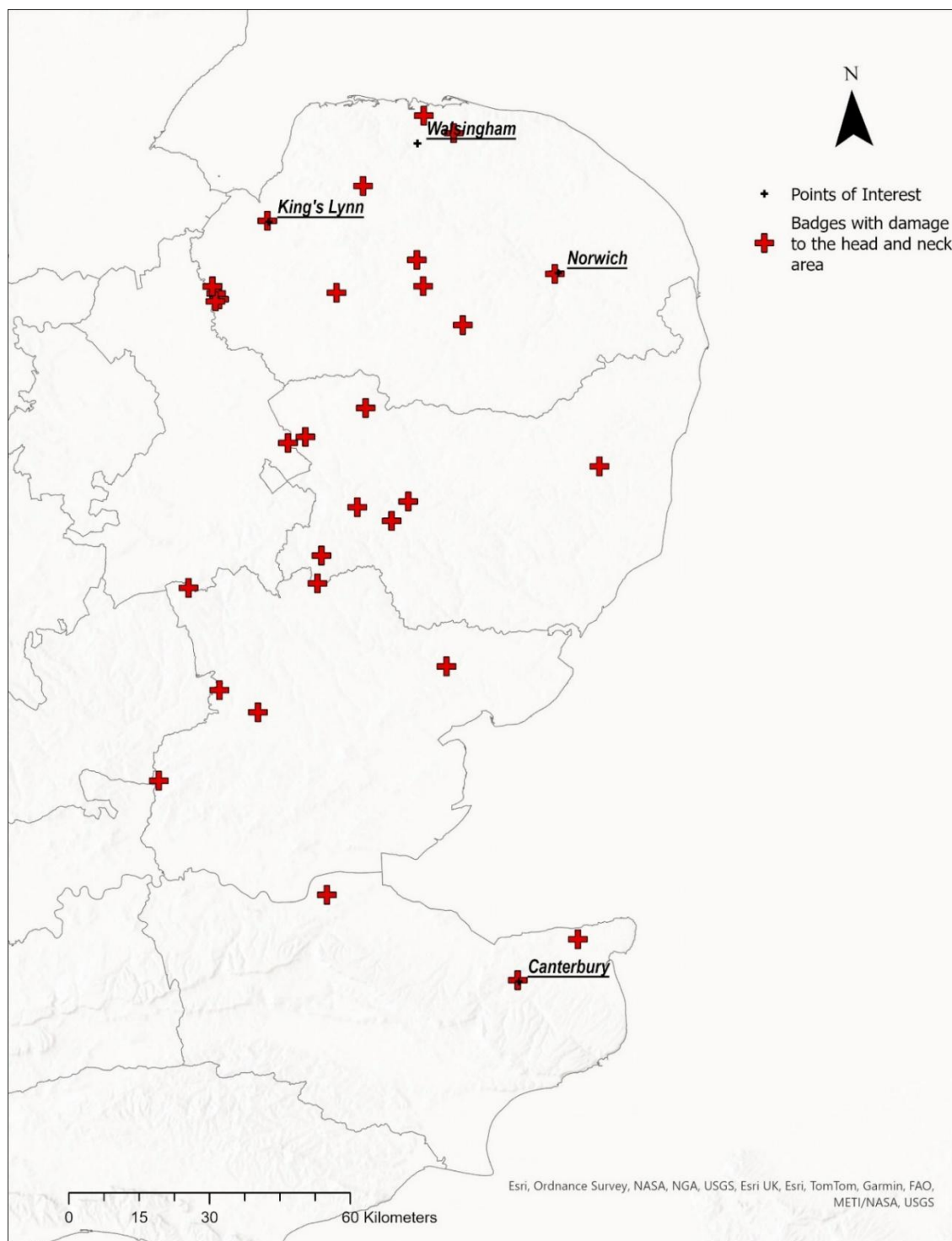


Figure 6.7 Distribution of the 61 badges which have damage to the head and neck area of a human figure or likeness.

Badges are folded, torn, cut, and punctured. For example, badge NMS-66BC25 depicting SS Peter and Paul side by side is torn in a manner which separates the two figures (Figure 6.8).

Equestrian figures are often cut at their waist removing them from their mount. A badge from Spencer's Norfolk catalogue demonstrates clearly the element of intentionality behind some of the damaging actions (Figure 6.9). The equestrian figure is depicted with a lance and is intact except for the missing head of the rider. The angle of the cut runs perpendicular to the delicate casting of the lance suggesting the precise and targeted intentions of an individual. Although identified by Spencer as merely a jousting figure, I would suggest that it may in fact be a depiction of St George.⁴⁷⁰ Extant badges of St George almost invariably depict the lance being pointed downwards (Figure 6.10) yet the deliberate treatment of the head, while difficult to explain in a secular context, is reminiscent of the iconoclastic punishment of religious figures as discussed by Graves.⁴⁷¹ Two further decapitated figures recorded by the PAS are also shown in knightly raiment. One of these, (NMS-86F6A1) (Figure 6.11) was thought by Bales to be associated with the profane badges of Queen Isabella (1292-1358) which mocked and belittled her political authority by placing her at the tiller of the 'ship of state' whilst grasping a crowned phallus.⁴⁷² There is a badge in the British Museum (WITT.269) which Robinson discusses that may have led to its attribution to Queen Isabella (Figure 6.12).⁴⁷³ However, I suggest again that this is in fact a depiction of St George as many badges show the saint with his lance positioned across his body (Figure 6.13).

⁴⁷⁰ Spencer 1980, 30

⁴⁷¹ Graves 2008

⁴⁷² Bales 2007; Slater 2021, 290

⁴⁷³ Robinson 2007



Figure 6.8 Damaged badge of SS Peter and Paul likely from Rome. Found near Walpole, Norfolk. PAS NMS-66BC25.



Figure 6.9 Badge from Spencer's 1980 catalogue of finds from King's Lynn, Norfolk. Note the deliberate treatment of the head of the figure and the remaining delicate features of the badge such as the lance. Spencer 1980, 30.



Figure 6.10 Badge of St George from Briston, Norfolk. Note the downward angle at which the lance is being held. PAS PAS-24DD43.



Figure 6.11 Decapitated badge from West Rudham, Norfolk. PAS NMS-86F6A1.



Figure 6.12 Profane badge thought to depict Queen Isabella of England. 35 x 36 mm. British Museum WITT.269.



Figure 6.13 Badge of St George from London. Note the manner in which the lance is positioned and compare with Figure 6.9. Spencer 1990, 52.

If these knightly badges are in fact showing St George, there would be a total of eight badges from the four relevant counties. Of these, six are damaged with all having a damaged or missing head. If we extend the analysis to other cults, there are 13 badges of St Thomas Becket, eight of which feature damage to the head or neck of the figure (Figure 6.14) (Table 6.2). Two of these, SF-550A95 and SF-54EB64 were both found in the parish of Bradfield St George, Suffolk, and appear to have been cast from identical moulds which have no exact parallel depicting the shoulders and head of a figure wearing a bishop's mitre (Figure 6.15). There are seven depictions of the figure of St Peter, five of which also depict St Paul on rectangular badges likely from Rome. Six out of the seven are damaged including four out of the five Roman examples. Considering these, one example (NMS-55D6C6) is torn horizontally under the necks of both figures (Figure 6.16). The three others are torn or folded in ways which emphasise the separation of the two figures (Figure 6.8). The casting of these badges as a rectangular plaque

and the absence of a weak point that might compromise the iconography of the badge is suggestive of the damage being targeted and focused.



Figure 6.14 Damaged badge of St Thomas Becket from Spencer's King's Lynn catalogue. Spencer 1980, 19.

Faction/Cult of badge with a human figure(s) or likeness	Badges with human figure(s)	Damage to badges with human figure(s)	Damage to Head/Neck of human figure(s)
Adam and Eve	1	0	0
Bishop	2	1	1
Cherub	1	1	0
Christ Man of Sorrows	1	0	0
Crucifixion	10	7	0
Figure	3	3	2
Head	5	3	3
Henry VI	11	4	1
Holy Blood, Wilsnack	1	0	0
King	1	1	1
Knight	3	3	3
Labourer	1	1	0
Lamb of God	1	0	0
Moor's head	1	0	0
Our Lady	12	8	6
Our Lady and Child	4	1	1
Our Lady in the Whitefriars' church, Doncaster	1	1	1

Our Lady of Aachen	1	1	1
Our Lady of Eton	4	1	0
Our Lady of Hal	1	0	0
Our Lady of Pity	6	3	2
Our Lady of Walsingham	36	20	10
Our Lady Queen of Heaven	1	0	0
Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	1	1	1
Queen Isabella	1	1	1
Richard Caister	3	1	1
SS Peter and Paul	5	4	3
St. Andrew	2	1	0
St. Anne	1	0	0
St. Barbara	9	3	2
St. Catherine	1	1	1
St. Christopher	2	2	0
St. Edmund	2	1	0
St. Edward the Confessor	1	0	0
St. Etheldreda	2	1	0
St. George	5	3	3
St. Hubert	1	0	0
St. James	1	0	0
St. John of Amiens	1	0	0
St. John the Baptist	3	1	1
St. Leonard	2	1	1
St. Michael	2	1	0
St. Nicholas	3	1	1
St. Patrick	2	2	0
St. Peter	2	2	2
St. Roche	2	0	0
St. Thomas Becket	13	8	8
Uncertain Figure	7	5	2
Veronica	6	3	2
Grand Total	188	102	61

Table 6.2 Table displaying the numbers of badges with human figures which are damaged generally as well as those which have damage specifically to the head or neck of a human likeness according to faction or cult.



Figure 6.15 PAS badges SF-550A95 (left) and SF-54EB64 (right) were both found at Bradfield St George, Suffolk. They appear to have been cast from identical moulds and likely depict St Thomas Becket. Both also have damage to the head or neck of the figure.



Figure 6.16 Badge of SS Peter and Paul likely originating from Rome. The badge is damaged in a manner which decapitated both figures. Found in Warham, Norfolk. PAS NMS-55D6C6.

The intentional damage or iconoclastic action inflicted on an object of personal adornment was not necessarily something which was reminiscent of the cold and calculating stripping of assets as witnessed at the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the late 1530s,⁴⁷⁴ but was an action with the potential to be emotional and imprecise, albeit targeted. Given the treatment of the similar badges of SS Peter and Paul, I suggest that SF8205 could be viewed as being representative of such emotional treatment (Figure 6.17). The badge is torn in a manner which separates the figures of SS Peter and Paul. However, the tear is incomplete and although it began along the figure of St Peter, it pulls away and cuts into the figure of St Paul. I would attest this damage to the rapid tearing or cutting of the badge, pulling down and away. Such damage was initially targeted, but was carried out with imprecise and emotional action. Cuts tend to be

⁴⁷⁴ Willmott 2020

clearer, with more of a controlled straight-edge while tears are more jagged, lacking control. The damage on badge SF8205 is not the careful separation of the two saints with the possible intention of reusing the two now separate cultic images. Two further figures which depict only St Peter and the crossed keys of Rome are both broken directly underneath the bust of the saint (Figure 6.18). Similar examples from the Netherlands and the Kunera dataset do show that the intersection point of the keys is quite unsubstantial and a weak point where the natural breaking of the badge would be likely (Figure 6.19). Yet, I would point out that one of Spencer's badges from King's Lynn, Norfolk, which is very similar to the Kunera example, is not simply broken at the weak point, but has also been detached from the relatively substantial bars of the keys which are attached to the side of the saint's bust.

If we consider a figure with a more substantial dataset, there are a total of 67 Marian figures from the four counties. Of these, 36 (or 54%) feature damage. Further, 22 (or 33%) of these Marian figures have damaged or missing heads. Considering the cult of King Henry VI whose badges may be confidently dated to the very late 15th and 16th centuries, there are a total of 11 figures (four damaged) and only a single badge with a damaged head. Therefore, there may be different treatment afforded to badges of different cults. Expanding the study of damage to badges featuring human figures to other counties of England and Wales which were less influenced by the iconoclastic ideas of Lollardy will be important to the testing and development of this theory.

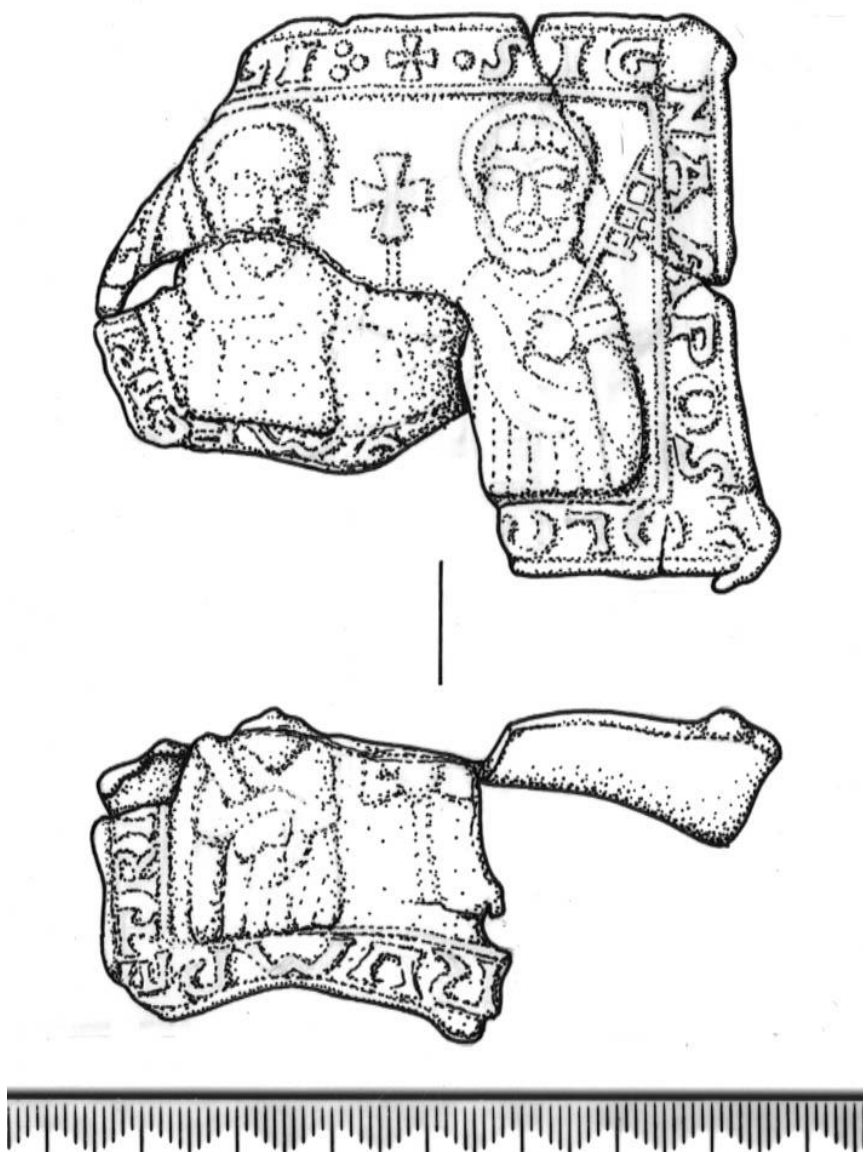


Figure 6.17 Badge of SS Peter and Paul from Badingham, Suffolk. Note the tear along the figure of St Peter. PAS SF8205.



Figure 6.18 Badge from Canterbury, Kent depicting St Peter. It is now missing the crossed keys. Spencer 1990, 43.



Figure 6.19 Badge of St Peter found in the Netherlands. Compare with Figure 6.18. 54 x 38 mm. van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 186.

Considering the spatial distribution of the 188 badges with human figures across Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, and the 102 of these which are damaged, there are a few inferences which can be made. The majority of the extant badge finds from Essex and Kent feature human figures and of these, 19 and 18 badges respectively are damaged. This means that 54% of all

badges found in Essex and 64% of all badges found in Kent (including the badges which do not depict human figures) take the form of a human figure that has evidence of damage. In Norfolk and Suffolk, where the numbers of badge finds are greater, the majority of human-figure badges (both damaged and intact) are found in the western and central areas of the two counties. There are few examples being found in the eastern areas of both Norfolk and Suffolk. These eastern regions, particularly in Suffolk, have large areas which have no badge finds but do have large numbers of PAS ampullae and seal matrix finds (Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2). In order to make sense of these distributions, it is necessary to contextualise them and consider the religious character of this region – particularly the presence, beliefs and actions of Lollard communities.

6.5 The badges and the Lollard communities in Kent and East Anglia

In all of the academic skirmishes⁴⁷⁵ considering the scale or popularity of Lollardy and indeed what Lollardy actually means, at least two statements may confidently be agreed upon. First, Lollards were people who boldly rejected the practice of pilgrimage and the cults of saints and their images. Second, that the maintenance of Lollard beliefs was generally geographically entrenched in certain areas of England.⁴⁷⁶ Although the Chiltern Hills, Bristol, and Coventry were home to Lollard communities, the area discussed in this chapter maintained two of the most prominent and sustained networks in both the Tenterden region of Kent and the Waveney Valley along the Norfolk/Suffolk border (Figure 6.20).⁴⁷⁷

Studies of the trial proceedings against suspected Lollards in East Anglia in the 1420s and 1430s and Kent in 1511 and 1512 have revealed many of the communities which fostered and

⁴⁷⁵ See Duffy 2022, xlvii-l

⁴⁷⁶ Marshall 2017, 109

⁴⁷⁷ Lutton 2006, Jurkowski 2007

sustained Lollard beliefs (Figure 6.21).⁴⁷⁸ MacCulloch also refers to networks of religious dissenters in his study of Tudor Suffolk and the communication existing between individuals and communities of like-minded believers across southeastern England and East Anglia.⁴⁷⁹ If we consider the distribution of badges across Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, we can see that in the areas of concentrated Lollard presence discussed by Jurkowski, Lutton, and Tanner, there are fewer badges (both generally and specifically badges featuring human imagery) in comparison to the rest of the study area which did not have large, concentrated, or documented communities of religious dissenters before the mid-16th century (Figure 6.22). There is also no correlating lack of seal matrices or ampullae in the Lollard areas of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent (and therefore no apparent bias from metal-detecting and recording), indicating an apparent shared and consistent treatment of badges in these particular areas in the later medieval period (Figure 6.2).

⁴⁷⁸ Tanner 1997, Jurkowski 2007

⁴⁷⁹ MacCulloch 1986, 149

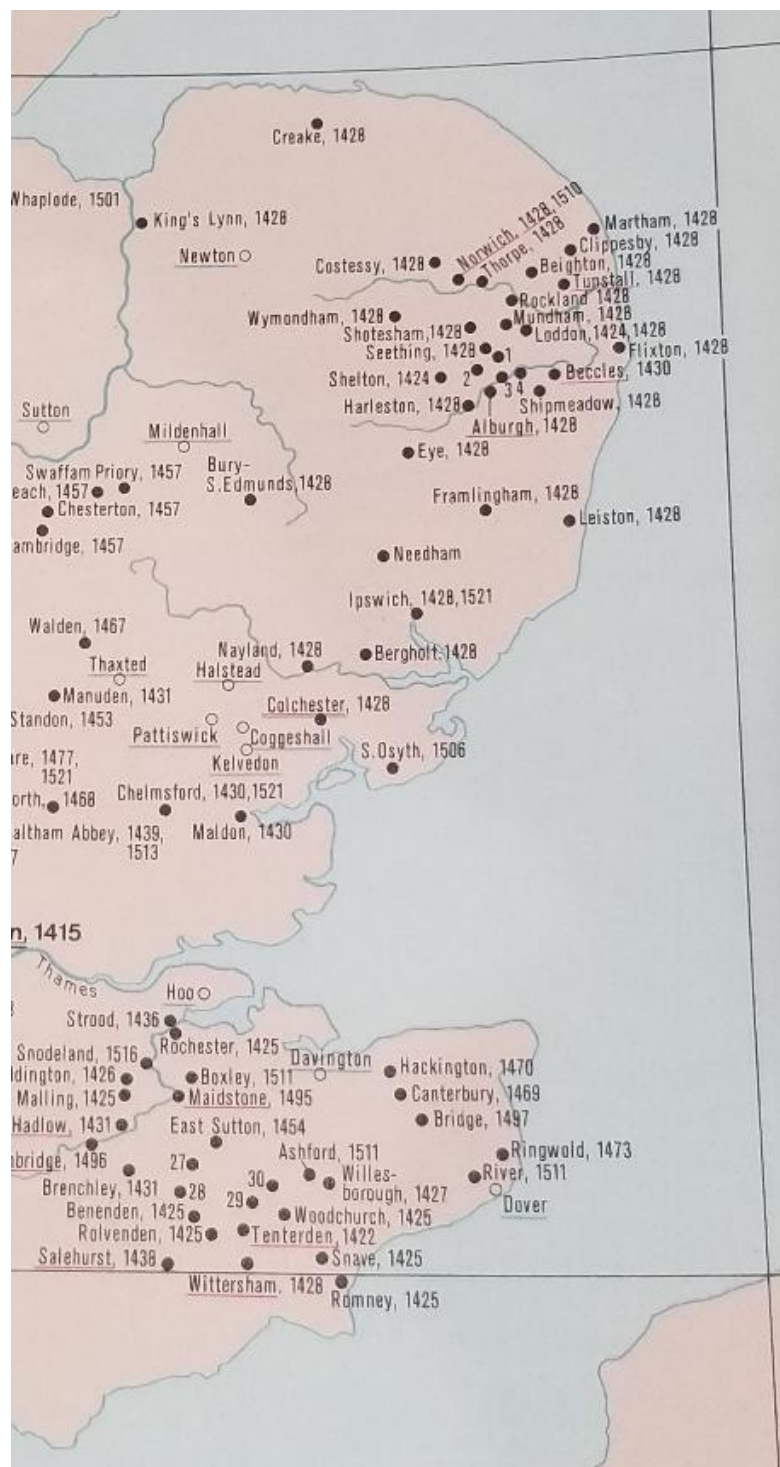


Figure 6.20 Map showing Lollard networks. From Jedin et al. 1970, 69.



Figure 6.21 Map of where suspects were from in the Lollardy trials of the 1420s and 1430s across East Anglia. Note that they are heavily concentrated along the Norfolk/Suffolk border to the southeast of Norwich. From Jurkowski 2007, 124.

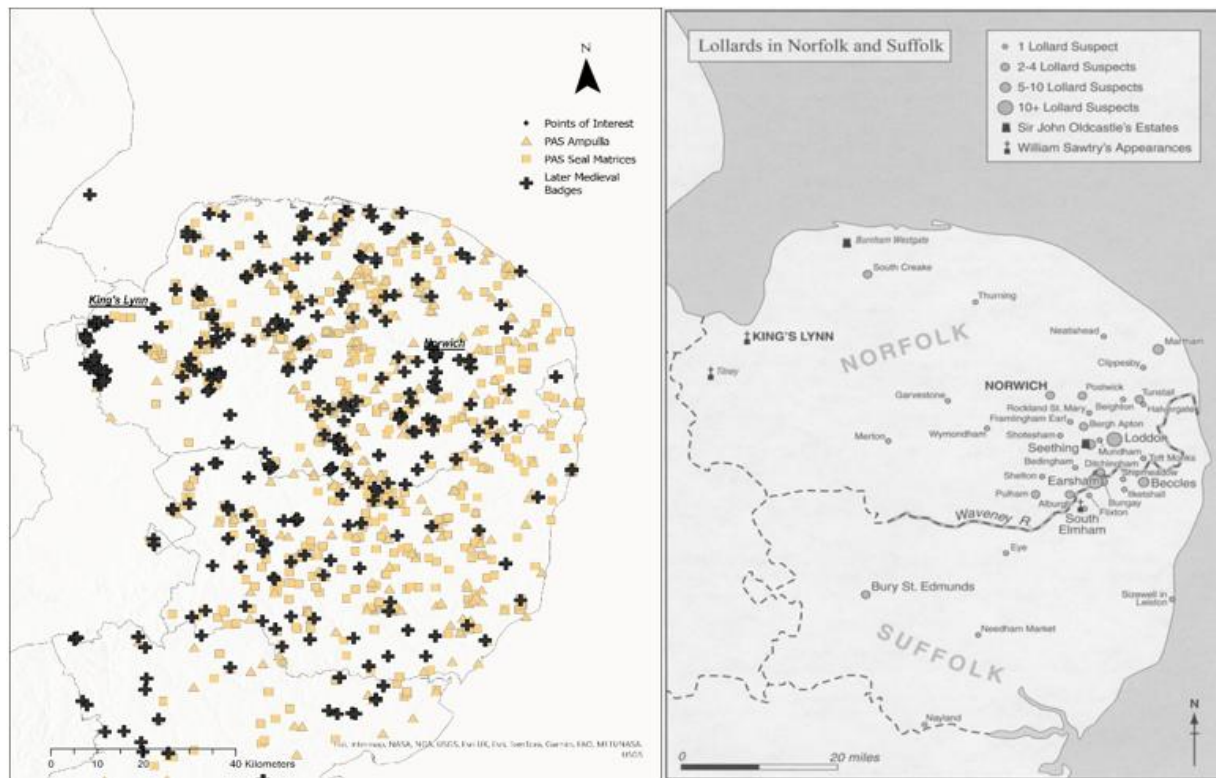


Figure 6.22 Comparison between the distribution of later medieval badges, ampullae, and seal matrices (left) and the locations of early 15th century Lollard suspects in Norfolk and Suffolk. Jurkowski 2007, 124.

Considering the locations of the badges which feature damage to the head and neck of human figures, they are not found in the Lollard areas in the Waveney Valley or the Tenterden region (Figure 6.7). Coupled with the relative scarcity of badges generally, it may be that fewer badges are being encountered or brought back to these areas by those who were not explicitly Lollard in their beliefs. Therefore, there are fewer badges to incite negative emotions and actions in these areas. If Lollards did seek to coexist and seek social harmony for decades alongside those of orthodox convictions as attested to by Lutton⁴⁸⁰, their simple avoidance of badges is shown by the presence of fewer badges in comparison to the surrounding areas. The mutilation of badge figures away from Lollard communities may then be more indicative of isolated radical actions. Indeed, it is possible that they are evidence of Lollard proselytization or evangelism,

⁴⁸⁰ Lutton 2006, 169

and the testing of images was one of their means of achieving new followers or a way of spreading Lollard ideas.⁴⁸¹ This was the explicit challenging of Christian materiality and the demonstration that carved images were simply dead and inert matter.⁴⁸² Damage to the head of images was often part of these tests, such as the public decapitation and subsequent burning of a wooden statue of St. Catherine.⁴⁸³ There is at least one possible badge of St Catherine which has a missing head in the dataset from King's Lynn (Figure 6.23). Graves has argued that such treatment in the 16th and 17th centuries was linked to ideas of capital punishment and the targeting of the head and hands as the focal points of the human life-force.⁴⁸⁴ Such punishment was not random, but was targeted at images which were perceived to encourage idolatry and erroneous beliefs.⁴⁸⁵ Graves notes that as the Reformation came to denounce the saints and their intercessional potency, there may have been an enormous 'sense of religious, emotional, and social betrayal amongst some portions of the population.'⁴⁸⁶ This betrayal was rooted in ideas of the networks of mutual debt and obligation between the saint and the devotee which was tied to 'livery' or badges.⁴⁸⁷ The perceived inability of a saint to answer prayers and requests, which amounted to betrayal or treason, incited the same capital or corporal punishment to the image of the offending saint as would have been applied to any person committing such a crime.⁴⁸⁸ Such treatment of material is founded upon the later medieval controversies surrounding the power and materiality of images and their ability to represent the saints or the holy in a real way.

⁴⁸¹ Graves 2008, 39

⁴⁸² Graves 2008, 39

⁴⁸³ Graves 2008, 39

⁴⁸⁴ Graves 2008

⁴⁸⁵ Graves 2008, 38, 39

⁴⁸⁶ Graves 2008, 47

⁴⁸⁷ Graves 2008, 47

⁴⁸⁸ Graves 2008, 48



Figure 6.23 Possible badge of St Catherine from King's Lynn, Norfolk. Spencer 1980, 26.

While there does appear to be an association between Lollard networks and the absence of badges, the prevalence of damage to the heads of badges may not necessarily all be attributed to iconoclastic action. Rather, I would suggest that there is a spectrum of the negative reaction to badges scaling from the outright avoidance of such objects to the emotional negative punishment inflicted by orthodox individuals to the iconoclastic cleansing of idolatrous objects. Yet, as Graves has discussed, orthodox emotional punishment may also have represented a salvific treatment of the offending badge. Even if the intercessions of the depicted saint failed, leaving the devotee bitter and doubtful of the saint's efficacy, martyrdom (in this case the decapitation of a badge) was something which brought salvation and was redemptive for those who endured it.

Yet the punishment of a saint through material form is not something which should only be associated with radical iconoclasm. Relationships of a devotional nature were emotional, ongoing, and highly variable situations. They required nurturing and maintenance to manage the

periods of spiritual dullness which so troubled the consciences of early Protestants in England.⁴⁸⁹ In their devotions, people were seeking relief from their worldly burdens, from sickness, and from the weight of their sins. Often when relief was not immediate or forthcoming, a dullness of spirit might turn sharp as anger, doubt, distrust, and feelings of abandonment could overwhelm and suppress positive devotion. These emotions could have led to one to seek punishment upon a saint or religious figure who may have been seen as betraying or failing to uphold a committed spiritual and personal relationship (Figure 6.24). In the four counties considered in this chapter, it has been shown that at least 50% of the 188 badges which feature human (including saintly) imagery have some form of damage. Further, 61 badges feature damage specifically of the head or neck of the figure or figures. Therefore, with one out of every three badge figures across Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent exhibiting the clear signs of punishment outlined in Graves' study, it is clear that badges were objects being targeted.

⁴⁸⁹ Ryrie 2013



Figure 6.24 Decapitated badge of St Nicholas. Bradfield Combust with Stanningfield, Suffolk. 15 x 15 mm. PAS SF8047.

Lollard opposition to images also involved what Hudson characterizes as a desire to suppress the abuses of the Church which were ‘mostly financial and involving clerical advantage.’⁴⁹⁰ Lollards considered themselves to be ‘poor priests’ and their challenges of church endowments led to their belief that religious imagery perpetuated social injustice.⁴⁹¹ The General Prologue of the 1396 Lollard Bible reads ‘When men give not alms to poor needy men, but to dead images, or rich clerks, they rob poor men of their due portion, and when such offerings to dead images rob poor men, they rob Jesus Christ.’⁴⁹² In the eyes of Lollards, giving offerings or alms to images or ‘dead stones and rotten sticks’ deprived the poor and needy from receiving assistance.⁴⁹³ According to Aston, Lollards enhanced the emotional appeal of their

⁴⁹⁰ Hudson 1988, 279

⁴⁹¹ Aston 1984, 159

⁴⁹² Aston 1984, 160

⁴⁹³ Bynum 2015, 122

beliefs by equating the giving of alms to images to the ‘shedding of blood and slaying of poor men.’⁴⁹⁴

Pilgrimage, according to Lollards, was to consist of visiting and caring for the poor, infirm, imprisoned and to attend church and hear the Word of God.⁴⁹⁵ According to one Lollard, this task was to be carried out with abstinence, penitence, and avoidance of evil.⁴⁹⁶ However, they lamented that ‘pilgrimage nowadays is accompanied by noise, revelry, song and the chief joy of pilgrims on their return are the badges of their journey.’⁴⁹⁷ Those accused of heresy by Bishop Alnwick believed that pilgrimage ‘should be to poor men alone’ rather than giving alms to images, buying pilgrim signs and increasing the ‘scale of ecclesiastical profits and possessions.’⁴⁹⁸ The practice of pilgrimage and the veneration of images and the associated pilgrim sign trade evoked feelings of outrage throughout the Lollard community,⁴⁹⁹ and perhaps is why few were brought to the areas of well-documented Lollard activity in East Anglia and Kent.

Marshall, in studying the English Reformation, raises a crucial point. He argues that Lollardy ‘reveals the capacity of ordinary men and women, orthodox and heretic alike, to think seriously and deeply about issues of conscience and belief.’⁵⁰⁰ We are presented with moments such as when the Lollard William Dorset teases his wife for wishing to go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Willesden (Middlesex) saying ‘Our Lady is in heaven.’⁵⁰¹ I would suggest that his meaning here is that Our Lady can be found in prayer and inner-devotion wherever (and

⁴⁹⁴ Aston 1984, 159

⁴⁹⁵ Hudson 1988, 307

⁴⁹⁶ Hudson 1988, 308

⁴⁹⁷ Hudson 1988, 308

⁴⁹⁸ Hudson 1988, 308; Aston 1984, 160

⁴⁹⁹ Aston 1984, 160

⁵⁰⁰ Marshall 2017, 119

⁵⁰¹ Marshall 2017, 113

whenever) she was needed. His issue was the physical act of pilgrimage, and not his wife's devotion to Mary. Another example of discourse from around 1520 pitted Mistress Alice Cottismore against her servant Elizabeth Wighthill. Mistress Alice Cottismore stated that 'if I were in a house, where no images were, I could remember to pray unto Saints as well as if I did see the images' while Elizabeth Wighthill maintained the orthodox view that 'images do provoke devotion.'⁵⁰² On another occasion, Mistress Alice boldly proclaimed in accord with the sentiments expressed above that when people went on pilgrimage, 'they did it to show their gay new gear.'⁵⁰³ According to Jones, Lollardy was generally tolerant of 'unadorned crucifixes and simple images of saints as commemorative signs.'⁵⁰⁴ Lollards sought to contrast what they viewed as their own earnest and potent inner-devotion with the 'physicality and superficiality of orthodox religion.'⁵⁰⁵ Such a desire and striving for a conscience-led faith invites a comparison with the work of Ryrie and his attempts to reinvigorate our perceptions of how early Protestants in England were actively seeking to live their lives in authentic, intense faith and highlighting the internal, emotional motivations of individuals.⁵⁰⁶

If we apply these emotional motivations to the material world of later medieval England and Wales, we can begin to make sense of the deposition and treatment of the material observable through the archaeological record. For example, if simple images did not prick the conscience if most Lollards, we can make some sense of the prevalence of ampullae even in the Lollard areas where there are few or no badges.⁵⁰⁷ Anderson notes that of the 569

⁵⁰² Marshall 2017, 113-114

⁵⁰³ Marshall 2017, 114

⁵⁰⁴ Jones 1973, 48

⁵⁰⁵ Jones 1973, 48

⁵⁰⁶ Ryrie 2013

⁵⁰⁷ Jones 1973, 48

ampullae PAS finds extant in 2007, the vast majority are from the 15th-16th century.⁵⁰⁸ Anderson has demonstrated that ampullae from the mid-15th to mid-16th century became standardised and simplified in contrast to earlier late 12th-13th century forms.⁵⁰⁹ These forms may have been more suited to the Lollard beliefs and perhaps this is why they are found in the Lollard areas (Figure 6.25, Figure 6.26); however, contemporary badges depicting saints may not have been acceptable or simple enough for those who resonated with Lollard beliefs. Although the comparison of badges and ampullae to demonstrate the rejection of religious imagery may add a degree of confusion, it is nevertheless an essential issue and nuanced element of the discussions and disagreements driving Lollard or Reformist beliefs. The distinction between a badge and an unadorned ampullae highlights the varying degrees of viewpoints.

⁵⁰⁸ Anderson 2010, 186

⁵⁰⁹ Anderson 2010, 198; See Lewis 2025, 127-128.



Figure 6.25 Simple lead ampullae form likely dating from the mid-15th-mid 16th century. This badge was found near Mettingham, Suffolk, which lies in the vicinity of the Lollard areas discussed by Jurkowski 2007. PAS NMS-884AA1.



Figure 6.26 Elaborate 13th century lead ampullae form depicting St James. This ampullae was found near Wraxall, North Somerset. PAS GLO-03558D.

It has been suggested by Lutton that throughout the 16th century there was ‘already a lessening of the cult of saints’ in the devotions of people in Kent.⁵¹⁰ Yet even for those of heretical sentiment, most people seemed to have had a ‘desire to maintain social harmony.’⁵¹¹ Apart from the minority of Lollards whose outrage towards images led to acts of iconoclasm, the

⁵¹⁰ Lutton 2006, 208-209

⁵¹¹ Lutton 2006, 208-209

majority of Lollards or Lollard sympathizers seem to have passively opposed religious imagery while still engaging in outwardly orthodox religious practice.⁵¹² Lutton argues that despite the strength of personal beliefs expressed towards many aspects of orthodox religion during their trials, many Lollards continued to attend church services and actively participated in parish life.⁵¹³ This brand of private non-conformity would not produce bombastic assaults on the church but rather a quiet opposition to pilgrimage and pilgrim signs which Lollards characterised as the trappings of false and emotionally insincere faith. This is reminiscent of the late 14th century pilgrim described in *Piers Plowman* and his extensive arrayment of pilgrim signs. In the narrative, as they search for Truth (an understanding of God), a group of people come upon a figure who they recognise as a pilgrim due to his many badges and ampullae.⁵¹⁴ The group then ask the pilgrim for directions to the ‘shrine of a saint called Truth.’⁵¹⁵ The pilgrim-signs, as external symbols, identified that individual as someone deeply concerned with inner piety and ‘the good of their soul.’⁵¹⁶ However, upon conversing with the pilgrim, despite his multitude of pilgrim signs, it becomes clear that he has no understanding of Christian Truth.

Tanner’s study of the penances imposed upon Kentish Lollards in the early 16th century revealed that they were not only forced to undertake a pilgrimage but were ordered to perpetually wear an embroidered badge depicting a burning faggot of wood as punishment for their heterodox beliefs.⁵¹⁷ The choice of image may simply be a reference to the wearer’s heretical beliefs but it may also have been intended to serve as a reminder to the wearer (and to all who looked upon the badge) of the punishment and fate of an unrepentant person of heretical views.

⁵¹² Lutton 2006, 169

⁵¹³ Lutton 2006, 169

⁵¹⁴ Langland and Schmidt 2009, 59-60

⁵¹⁵ Langland and Schmidt 2009, 59-60

⁵¹⁶ Langland and Schmidt 2009, 59-60

⁵¹⁷ Tanner 1997

While I have been unable to identify any such badges in metal, it is again indicative of the widespread use of textile visual material which is no longer visible in the archaeological record. It may be suggested then that both acts of punishment, the pilgrimage and the wearing of a badge, would have been something offensive to an unrepentant Lollard.

If the majority of badge use was in the 15th and 16th centuries, the practices of their use were developing alongside the general decline of pilgrimage and the cult of saints, and an increasing devotional focus on the channelling of inner, spiritual devotion. It is noteworthy that a cult such as that of St Thomas Becket, whose images were ordered to be destroyed in 1538, have damage to eight out of the 13 total figures. The figure of St Peter was also closely associated with Rome and the Papacy and six out of the seven badges with his depiction are damaged. Even if this damage is not necessarily from the 16th century, it may still be reflective of anticlerical attitudes which abounded across East Anglia.⁵¹⁸ Conversely, of the 11 figures of Henry VI, only four are damaged (with only one damaged head). These badges were not part of a canonised cult, depicted a King of England, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the cult of Henry VI emphasised inner and authentic devotion. Given the data considered in this chapter, this signals that Henry may not have provoked negative emotional actions. Similarly, only two out of 19 Christocentric figures have any damage to the head or neck (Table 6.2). This coincides with the general growth in Christocentric devotions throughout the 15th and 16th centuries as noted by Lutton in his assessments of Kentish practices.⁵¹⁹ Expanding this analysis to the rest of England and Wales would be highly beneficial to gaining an understanding of popular relations

⁵¹⁸ Graves 2000

⁵¹⁹ Lutton 2006, 209

with devotional cults and if the patterns apparent in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent remain true throughout the archaeological record.

6.6 Summary

To summarise, this chapter considered the distribution of badges across East Anglia and the southeast of England in light of the disparity observable between the chance finds of badges and both ampullae and seal matrices recorded by the PAS. The county of Norfolk in particular has a large number of badge finds. Yet they are largely concentrated in the western and central areas of the county. This is similarly reflected in the Suffolk material. There is also prevalent damage to the badges which feature depictions of the human form or human head throughout Kent, Essex, and western Norfolk and Suffolk.

Contextualisation of these areas has shown that there were sustained populations of religious dissenters found across areas of Kent and eastern Norfolk and Suffolk in the late 14th-15th centuries. In addition to the later 16th century Protestant populations of these areas, this chapter investigated the influence and beliefs of these groups and their critical views concerning religious imagery and pilgrimage. This chapter found that there were instances of damage inflicted upon the head and neck area of human badge figures. This is suggestive of the works of Graves and the intentional punishment of objects. However, it is notable that badges with damage to the head or neck area are not being found in the areas where there were documented dissenting communities. This is likely indicating that there may have been fewer badges being used in areas with sustained dissenting communities. It is also suggestive that the damage or punishment being inflicted upon the badges was not necessarily iconoclastic in nature, but rather indicative of personal and emotional actions.

Chapter 7: Christocentric badges and revolts in mid-16th century Northern England

7.1 Introduction

The following chapter contains a discussion of the badges and tokens included within the dataset of this thesis which feature the Christocentric iconography of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus or the Five Wounds of Christ. An analysis of the distribution of these finds coupled with comparisons to previous assessments of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus reveals that the surviving badges of these Christological cults are found frequently in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and the northern regions of England. Section 7.2 provides an analysis of 18 pendants from Lincolnshire featuring the iconography of both the sacred trigram and St Margaret of Antioch, and considers how they served as objects of consolation for those who faithfully endured suffering. To date, there has been very limited discussion of how badges impacted individuals and later medieval English society at large despite the clear devotional and emotional implications of their use. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 discuss the badge finds associated with the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ, respectively. The popularity of these Christological motifs and the use of badges featuring their iconography throughout the 15th and early/mid-16th centuries was prominently documented in the mid-16th century northern Catholic revolts against the Henrician Reformation. These revolts, how badges were presented in the narrative, and how they served as emotants throughout the events will be discussed in Section 7.6. This chapter addresses why the badges of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ were chosen by these dissenting orthodox communities to represent their beliefs and how the badges encapsulated the emotional values of their cause. Additionally, it addresses how the historical record of badges used in 16th century revolts informs us of the life

cycle of badges including their curation and revival and how the politicisation of badges impacted their later use and eventual disappearance.

7.2 The Holy Name of Jesus

Amongst the clearest distributions of later medieval badges revealed clearly through the badge data is that of the Christocentric cult of the Holy Name of Jesus. There is a total of at least 49 badges which include the readily identifiable abbreviation of the Holy Name of Jesus in the form of the three letters of IHS or IHC (Figure 7.1). These three letters, known as the sacred trigram, are representative of the Greek spelling of Jesus (IHCOYC) which became a widespread devotional aid in the later medieval period. Although the nature of finds compiled by the PAS presents significant issues with the accurate dating of the material, Blake *et al's* 2003 study of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in England offers indispensable information regarding its chronological, regional, and devotional development. Therefore, although there continues to be a significant degree of ambiguity to the manufacture date of each of the badges, the 2003 analysis of over 800 objects of material culture associated with the Holy Name offers some clarity on the subject. Devotion to the Holy Name in England rapidly expanded from the 1380s with about two-thirds of Blake *et al's* datable examples coming from the period between 1450 and 1550.⁵²⁰ Additionally, although there was a 17th century revival of the sacred trigram Blake *et al's* study found very little material datable to the second half of the 16th century.⁵²¹ It is then with a degree of confidence that 15th and early/mid-16th century dates may be applied to the badges from the PAS featuring the sacred trigram. This is also supported by the following

⁵²⁰ Blake *et al* 2003, 177

⁵²¹ Blake *et al* 2003; 188, 190-191

analysis of the chance finds of badges featuring the sacred trigram recorded by the PAS as well as the finds recovered from excavated or riverine contexts.



Figure 7.1 Distribution of the 49 badges featuring the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus.

7.3 Tokens of the sacred trigram and St Margaret of Antioch found in Lincolnshire

Eighteen badges featuring the sacred trigram appear to have been cast from the same mould (Figure 7.2). The badges, which were discussed in 2012 by Lewis are perhaps best described as pendants given their two-sided designs, suspension loop, and no evidence of a

pin.⁵²² These pendants each feature a double border with zigzag lines on one side and the sacred trigram which Lewis interprets as standing for the Latin monogram *Iesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus is the Savior of Mankind).⁵²³ However, this interpretation was addressed by Blake *et al* who stated that the sacred trigram is frequently and incorrectly referred to as the ‘sacred monogram’ and ‘erroneously interpreted as a monogram for Latin phrases such as *Iesus Hominum Salvator; In Hoc Signo (Vinces)*, and *In Hac Salus*.’⁵²⁴ The use of the trigram on the badges is then referring explicitly to the cult of the Holy Name, IHCOYC, and the invocation of Christ. The reverse of these pendants features a female figure identifiable as St Margaret of Antioch. The saint is depicted with the crown of martyrdom and standing victorious over a dragon while clasping a book and a processional cross which is planted in the mouth of the beast. This iconography refers to an episode within the *vita* of St Margaret in which the saint, whilst imprisoned, is suddenly confronted by the devil (in the form of a dragon), causing her in fear to forget her prayer and be swallowed by the beast. Yet, as she is swallowed, her simple sign of the cross and ineffable faith tears the dragon apart.⁵²⁵

⁵²² Lewis 2013, 280

⁵²³ Lewis 2013, 281

⁵²⁴ Blake et al 2003, 194

⁵²⁵ Savage et al 1991; 291, 295



Figure 7.2 Badge of St Margaret of Antioch featuring the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus on its reverse. Found near Hogsthorpe, Lincolnshire. PAS LIN-FD4722.

All of the 18 pendants were found in Lincolnshire with 10 coming from north and west of Louth while the remaining eight were discovered to the south and east of Louth (Figure 7.3). This stark distribution conforms to the inferences of both Spencer and Lewis and their discussions of these badges where they indicated that the church of St Margaret at Ketsby in Lincolnshire was the centre of the cult and producer of the badges.⁵²⁶ While Mitchiner attributed all badges featuring St Margaret of Antioch to the Minster and Priory Church of St Margaret, King's Lynn (Norfolk), Spencer in 1990 observed the strength of the cult in the East Midlands and stated that the church of St Margaret at Ketsby 'was still attracting notable offerings in

⁵²⁶ Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 55-56; Lewis 2013, 283

1529.⁵²⁷ Additionally, he dated the pendants (which he described as pewter medallions) to the ‘late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century.’⁵²⁸ Lewis’ 2012 assessment of the pendants of St Margaret and the sacred trigram found that they could all be found within 40km of Ketsby (nine recorded badges in 2012).⁵²⁹

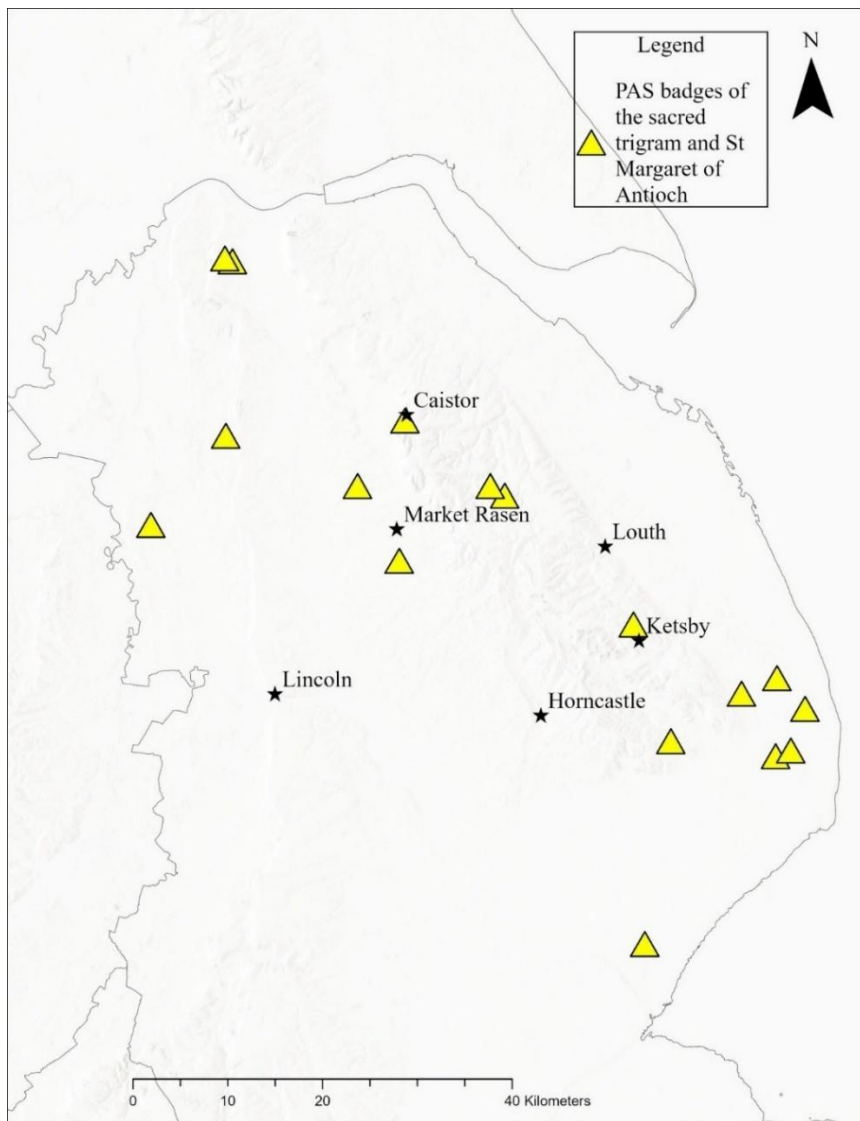


Figure 7.3 Distribution of the 18 badges of the sacred trigram and St Margaret found in Lincolnshire with key locations mentioned throughout the text.

⁵²⁷ Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 55-56

⁵²⁸ Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 55

⁵²⁹ Lewis 2013, 283

The association between the Holy Name and St Margaret requires some elaboration. Spencer and Lewis have made remarks by way of identifying the motif of the sacred trigram but nothing has been said about why the two cults are united on the Lincolnshire pendants. While they have been considered in the past as objects of the cult of St Margaret, the primacy of the Holy Name asserts itself when consideration is given to how the cults interacted within the *vita* of St Margaret. In the midst of her trials and tortures, St Margaret entrusts her body and soul entirely to Christ's hands. She proclaims that the 'high Savior is my help' and 'hear me now, and help me, because in my affliction I have no courage but yours alone.'⁵³⁰ Bledsoe argues that St Margaret suffered in imitation of Christ and his Passion.⁵³¹ Her victory in faithful martyrdom was Christ's victory as it was the grace and mercy of Christ resulting from her invocation which enabled her to endure the agony and persevere to the very end.

Therefore, in the case of the Lincolnshire pendants, it is St Margaret pointing to Christ and His Holy Name as the source of all help, safety, and victory. St Margaret's inclusion on what becomes a badge of the Holy Name acts in a manner which stimulates the memory of the badge owner or viewer, reminding them of the efficacy of devotion to Christ and the invocation of his Holy Name. Writing in the 1380s, Hilton in *Scale of Perfection* reflects on the Holy Name 'that it is not IHS painted on a wall or written in a book [or cast into a badge] but... [is] all goodness, everlasting wisdom, your God... and your salvation.'⁵³² Its presence on a badge would then reflect the presence of Christ in all things, always with the faithful and supporting them in their trials and suffering, just as He was with St Margaret in her time of great need. The addition of St Margaret on the reverse helps to mediate and translate that relationship between Christ and

⁵³⁰ Bledsoe 2013, 190-191

⁵³¹ Bledsoe 2013, 188

⁵³² Hilton et al 1991, 221

the badge wearer through the stimulation of the wearer's memory of St Margaret's story, giving them assurance of security in the knowledge that faithful endurance of suffering and trust in Christ will be rewarded.

In the *vita* of St Margaret, among her last words, she said, 'In the house where a woman is in labour-pain with a child, as soon as she calls to mind your name and my pain, Lord, quickly help her Lord, and hear her prayer.'⁵³³ The Lincolnshire pendants may be the physical representation of this saintly prayer to a wearer or viewer. In combining 'your name and my pain,' the pendants are the material manifestation or signifier of what assists in bringing elements of faith into the minds-eye of the devotee. Carruthers discusses such memory-images and describes them as being composed of sensory and emotional elements or 'sensorily derived and emotionally charged.'⁵³⁴ Connecting 'the process of sensation which ends in memory' and human emotional life, Carruthers argues that memory plays a crucial role in the shaping of personal moral judgement.⁵³⁵ Therefore, in the case of the Lincolnshire pendants and their ability to recall and build a memory-image of St Margaret's righteous suffering and the attainment of Christ's kingdom and the love, peace, and relief contained therein, they end up reflecting a devotional emphasis on the merits of enduring suffering for the sake of Christ.

As this excerpt from the life of St Margaret shows, the saint has been strongly associated with childbirth. Although this is undoubtedly an intrinsic element driving the popularity of the cult, I have sought to deemphasise a specific role for a cult and its badges and have instead attempted to broaden the focus on the idea of how the stories of saints could help people through the badges and what they express. St Margaret's specific help to those in childbirth is essential

⁵³³ Bledsoe 2013, 189

⁵³⁴ Carruthers 2008, 75

⁵³⁵ Carruthers 2008, 85

to understanding her later medieval cult, but it is also only a part of her saintly story which is itself generally helpful to those enduring suffering or uncertainty in their lives.

While the *vita* of St Margaret could easily frame the pendants as being simply amulets or lucky charms for use in childbirth, Bledsoe expands the meaning of that legend to be the broad understanding that bodily suffering was a means of empowerment.⁵³⁶ This argument was formulated due to the way in which Bledsoe observed how religious women adopted and adapted their devotion to St Margaret in a manner less concerned with childbirth and more focused on the moral example of the saint as a model for their own behaviour.⁵³⁷ In this way, the Lincolnshire pendants remind the wearer or viewer of Christ's promise to help those who invoke His name. The legend calls on an individual to 'call to mind your name and my pain' and while the Name of Christ is clearly manifested, St Margaret is not depicted in the midst of suffering. Rather, she is shown emerging triumphantly from the depths of her grievous trials and tortures. There is a positivity inherent in such a depiction. The pendants embody and share a sense of consolation, not merely fixating on the suffering in a way that cultivates fear but eliciting the positive emotion of hope and the knowledge that suffering is never endured alone but alongside the 'communion of saints' witnessed in the Creed of the church.⁵³⁸

The Paston Letters provide a fleeting yet fascinating insight into the emotional roles of objects featuring imagery of the cult of saints. In December 1441, Margaret Paston wrote to her husband John (from whom she had been separated on account of his lengthy stay in London) 'I pre yow that ye wyl were the reynge wyth the emage of Seynt Margrete that I sent yow for a

⁵³⁶ Bledsoe 2013, 196

⁵³⁷ Bledsoe 2013, 189

⁵³⁸ Knowledge of the Creed was a critical aspect of the church's catechetical program with a 14th century baptismal font in Bradley, Lincolnshire bearing the inscription 'Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Criede, Leren the childe yt is need.' Duffy 2005, 53

rememrau[n]se tyl ye com hom. Ye have lefte me sweche a rememrau[n]se that makyth me to thynke uppe on yow bothe day and nyth wanne I wold slepe.’⁵³⁹ Although the object in this particular story is a ring and not a badge, it nevertheless reveals how images of the cult of saints (and particularly St Margaret) were actually used. It shows how the saints inserted themselves into people’s lives, not always with their miraculous curative abilities (the stories of which unsurprisingly capture the majority of scholarly attention) but in the behavioural or moral examples that they share with individuals. Margaret Paston’s gift and message to her husband is a beautifully warm sentiment of love and longing. She calls the ring itself a ‘remembrance’ while equating that to her own (emotional) memory of her husband which she also calls a remembrance. In this way, we begin to see how the object as an emotant speaks or exudes an emotion or a multitude of emotions. The practice of a lover gifting a remembrance of St Margaret is an expression of pure and true love which is founded upon or guided by St Margaret’s faithfulness despite the extraordinary pain that she had to endure. In the context of separated lovers, St Margaret’s story reminds one that enduring the pain of separation ‘tyl ye come hom’ will be rewarded just as she was (her body was given up for torture, so that her soul may be crowned in heaven).⁵⁴⁰ The eventual and longed for reunion is that moment of victory when souls are crowned with perfect love. This example displays how material featuring saintly imagery become the vessel or emotant through which emotion could become a practice thereby permitting the identification and exploration of past emotional experiences and those ‘visceral aspects of life’ which are consistently missing from archaeological work.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Davis 1971, 5. ‘I pray now that you will wear the ring with the image of Saint Margaret that I sent you for a remembrance until you come home. You have left me with such a remembrance that maketh me to think upon you both day and night when I would sleep.’

⁵⁴⁰ Bledsoe 2013, 188

⁵⁴¹ Standley 2020, 745

If the critical feature of the Lincolnshire badges is the sacred trigram with St Margaret bolstering its efficacy, it is indicative of the changing nature of pilgrimage in the 15th and 16th centuries. The growing criticism of pilgrimage in Britain voiced in the 15th century by Thomas a Kempis in *The Imitation of Christ* challenged the ‘localization of the holy in sacred places.’⁵⁴² The growth of Christocentrism from the mid-14th century in England, particularly in the form of the sacred trigram, emphasized the omnipotence of Christ, possibly to the great detriment of the cult of saints and their pilgrimage shrines which Klaniczay and Spencer assess as waning in popularity and devotional importance by the end of the 15th century.⁵⁴³ However, although Lutton argues that the cult of the Holy Name marks the increasing popularity of Lollard or proto-Evangelical ideas, the Lincolnshire badges and their combination of St Margaret and the trigram align with Blake and Duffy’s assessment of the very Catholic nature of devotion to the Holy Name with its clear emphasis upon strict liturgical procedure.⁵⁴⁴ What these badges do is further interweave the cult of saints with Christocentrism in a manner which is not reflecting an abandonment of the saints or traditional Catholic belief but rather in a way which reinforces each within Christological hierarchy. St Margaret relies on Christ, Christ glorifies and rewards St Margaret, and the devotee benefits emotionally from the knowledge that righteousness and perseverance of faith in the midst of trial is rewarded. Although this is contrary to how these badges are usually interpreted, it would be consistent with the hierarchical perception of medieval Christianity and could be emblematic of a visual literacy which was fluent in such nuanced iconographic distinctions.

⁵⁴² Duffy 2005, 190

⁵⁴³ Spencer 2010, 1; Klaniczay 2014, 229

⁵⁴⁴ Lutton 1997; Blake et al 2003, 188; Duffy 2005

This series of relationships between Christ, saintly intercessors, and faithful devotees is given material form in the shape of the Lincolnshire pendants. Besides the 18 pendants with the Saint and the sacred trigram, there are five badges of St Margaret standing on a dragon and five further badges combining that imagery with a crucifixion scene on its reverse (Figure 7.4). One of the examples of St Margaret and the dragon is from Spencer's riverine catalogue of material from Salisbury and has been dated to the early 15th century.⁵⁴⁵

If devotion to St Margaret was known to be popular across England, especially with pregnant women, the distribution of these pilgrim signs of the cult reflects a more regional pattern of use. Devotion to St Margaret included nearly 230 churches and chapels dedicated to her, most of which are concentrated in central and eastern Norfolk and north-eastern Suffolk causing Dresvina to claim that East Anglia was particularly active in its promotion of the cult.⁵⁴⁶ Additionally, Bledsoe adds that St Margaret was perhaps most popular in Dorset due to the proximity of a vibrant Cistercian nunnery and a long tradition of devotion to the virgin martyr.⁵⁴⁷ However, the PAS distribution of the nine badges of St Margaret shows that seven come from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire while only two come from East Anglian contexts. While these distributions may simply be reflections of the biases of using material from the PAS and the overwhelming bulk of saints' badges that once existed across England have either been destroyed or have yet to be discovered, the material that we do have is densely concentrated and it is not in the areas where it would be expected based on Bledsoe and Dresvina's studies. This situation raises a number of questions regarding pilgrim signs. Does the significant presence of St Margaret badges in Lincolnshire mark a particularly vibrant tradition of local pilgrimage and

⁵⁴⁵ Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 55

⁵⁴⁶ Dresvina 2017, 142-143

⁵⁴⁷ Bledsoe 2013, 195

acquisition of souvenirs at the Ketsby shrine? Or, is it in fact a reflection of a regional reliance or use of devotional talismans of the Holy Name and St Margaret for use in childbirth (a tradition which may or may not be tied to elements of formal pilgrimage)?

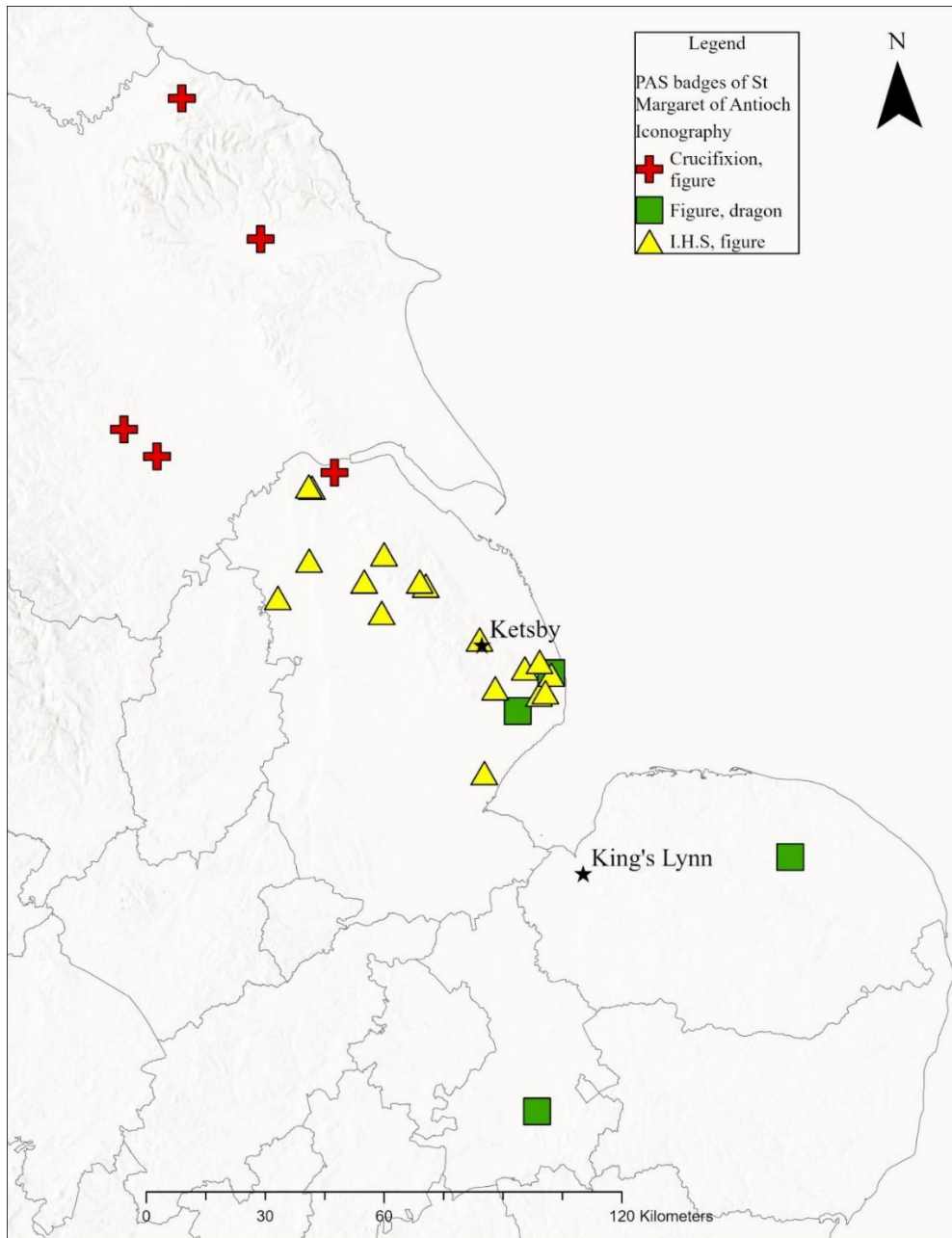


Figure 7.4 Distribution of the 27 PAS badges attributable to the cult of St Margaret of Antioch. There is also a single riverine find of the figure of St Margaret holding a book from Salisbury which is not depicted on this map.

It is all too often that the manner in which scholars seek to categorize badges is to grasp for the obvious association such as Margaret and her association with childbirth. It must be noted that although St Margaret is undoubtedly the patron and helper of women in childbirth, she was also revered by men such as John Cocke, the parson of Ketsby who stated in his 1534 will ‘Firste I bequethe my soule to God allmyghtty with the intercession of Hys blessyd mother Our Lady St. Mary and of all the saintes in heven, and my body to be buryd in the chauncell of Ketesby before sayd, before the image of St. Margaret.’⁵⁴⁸ How then are we to grasp the desirability and meaning of such objects to the laity? In order to answer this question, as shown above, it is necessary to consider the ways in which badges may be observed to operate outside of their commonly assumed uses as souvenirs or talismans of magical properties.

The ambiguity and distance with which scholars have discussed badges has stifled the intricate and personal meanings that they contain and communicate. Classified as souvenirs or lucky charms, the weight of what these objects speak is easily shifted to the periphery of the dialogue regarding later medieval devotion and society at large. For example, Duffy’s masterful assessment of the state of the Catholic church in England on the eve of the Reformation only mentions pilgrim badges once (in the same breath as ampullae) as capable of stimulating devotion and communicating ‘some of the virtue of it [the shrine of the badge’s origin]’ to the individual possessing the badge.⁵⁴⁹ Surely these statements which have been recycled at any mention of pilgrim badges and yet rarely expanded upon demand a deeper discussion. The implication that badges stimulate personally and then communicate some sense of devotion (in a religious or non-religious sense) shows how they are inherently emotional objects. As emotants

⁵⁴⁸ Hickman 2001, 340

⁵⁴⁹ Duffy 2005, 198

or ‘physical agents characterized by or serving in the capacity of emotion,’ the desirability and meaning of badges featuring St Margaret and the sacred trigram to the laity is in their ability to remind and console.⁵⁵⁰ This is not to suggest that the Ketsby badges, as discussed above, are not to be associated with childbirth or that they served as talismans. However, by emphasizing the emotive, personal value that they could possess rather than relying on the mere repetition of a detached assessment of their magical properties, a glimmer of past feeling becomes discernible and emerges as central to the comprehension of why these objects were so popular, powerful, and controversial in the later medieval period. If they were purely associated with childbirth, it would be expected that similar objects of St Margaret and the Holy Name would be found in a broader distribution. Their concentration in Lincolnshire then points to a particularly strong regional practice. Local attachment to St Margaret and her example of faith and the utilization of the Holy Name of Jesus focuses on a relief from suffering and fear applicable in childbirth but also able to influence and assuage the emotions of the likes of John Cocke of Ketsby.

7.4 Badges of the sacred trigram

There are a total of 31 additional badges which I have identified within this projects dataset which feature only the depiction of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus (Figure 7.5). There are 13 badges from the riverine catalogues including nine from London, three from Salisbury, and one from King’s Lynn (Figure 7.6).⁵⁵¹ Additionally, there was a single badge of the sacred trigram recovered from excavations at Glastonbury Abbey, Somerset.⁵⁵² This example is a mass-produced terracotta medallion bearing the inscription IHV MCY (Jesus Mercy) and a

⁵⁵⁰ Standley 2020, 745

⁵⁵¹ Note that badge 818 from Mitchiner’s catalogue may not be a badge of the Holy Name of Jesus. I have included it due to uncertainty regarding the image and the description of the badge as being ‘of similar form’ to badge 819 which does bear the inscription I.H.C. See Mitchiner 1986, 222

⁵⁵² Gilchrist and Green 2015, 293-294

pierced right hand which Gilchrist and Green suggest represents the Well of Mercy.⁵⁵³ Found near the Church Crossing, the authors suggested that the badge dates to the early to late 14th century.⁵⁵⁴ Therefore, this is possibly an early form of badge dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus given that it was not until the 1380s that such devotions became particularly widespread in England. The find location in Glastonbury Abbey may in fact be indicative of a religious individual engaging in a ‘new’ devotion.

The remaining 17 objects documented by the PAS as badges which feature the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus take on a number of forms. It must be noted that 4 of the objects are in fact likely to be mounts (SF-7A5314, NMS-A02342, LON-387A32, LIN-4901B4) due to the remnants of their attachments. However, I have tentatively included them in the dataset due to similar examples being presented by the Kunera database as well as from Mitchiner’s 1986 catalogue of badges primarily from London contexts.⁵⁵⁵ Additionally, two of the objects are likely to be dress hooks (NCL-0AEDA2, WAW-4C737E) which have been included due to the ambiguity of their attachments. These six objects all turned up through the PAS search for ‘badges’ due to the finds liaisons’ proposing the possibility that they could have been used as badges. However, I will not be including them in the discussion of badges of the Holy Name but rather, wished to mention them as a means of highlighting some of the

⁵⁵³ Gilchrist and Green 2015, 293-294

⁵⁵⁴ Gilchrist and Green 2015, 293-294

⁵⁵⁵ Mitchiner 1986, 194

inconsistencies of using the PAS and the frequency with which ambiguous terminology associated with later medieval small finds is encountered.



Figure 7.5 Badge of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus from Adel and Wharfedale, Yorkshire. PAS SWYOR-19829B.

Of the 11 PAS badges, one (LANCUM-9CDF01 from Morland in Cumbria) seems to have served as a model badge from which further badges of the sacred trigram could be produced (Figure 7.7). This assessment was made by Boughton due to the material utilized (copper-alloy), its non-functional suspension loop, and the unfinished nature of its surface decoration.⁵⁵⁶ Another example, badge LIN-B3E623 from Withern in Lincolnshire in the vicinity of Louth is a token bearing the letters IHC which was pierced with an attachment hole. Curiously, the hole was placed at an angle which would have displayed the trigram off-centre. It appears to have been a token which was hastily repurposed into a badge or pendant and likely to have been fixed to a garment, hat, or bag. Overall, the 11 PAS badges are distributed across northern England

⁵⁵⁶ Boughton 2012

with four examples from Yorkshire, two from Lincolnshire, and one example each from Buckinghamshire, Cheshire, Cumbria, London, and Shropshire.



Figure 7.6 Distribution of the 31 badges displaying only the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus. Note that there are 11 badges from London and three from Salisbury.



Figure 7.7 Copper alloy badge featuring the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus from Moreland, Cumbria. PAS LANCUM-9CDF01.

Therefore, when considering PAS badges of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus (the 11 certain badges as well as the 18 examples also featuring St Margaret of Antioch), 27 or 93% of the dataset are from areas north of Nottingham. This overwhelmingly northern distribution is intriguing if consideration is also given to the 525 objects besides badges which are catalogued by the PAS as displaying the sacred trigram in the form of either IHS or IHC; these include finger rings, dress hooks, buckles, and purse frames (Figure 7.8). The distribution of all material featuring the sacred trigram corroborates Blake *et al's* 2003 study of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the claim that by the 16th century, devotion to this cult was exceptionally widespread and popular throughout England.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁷ Blake et al 2003

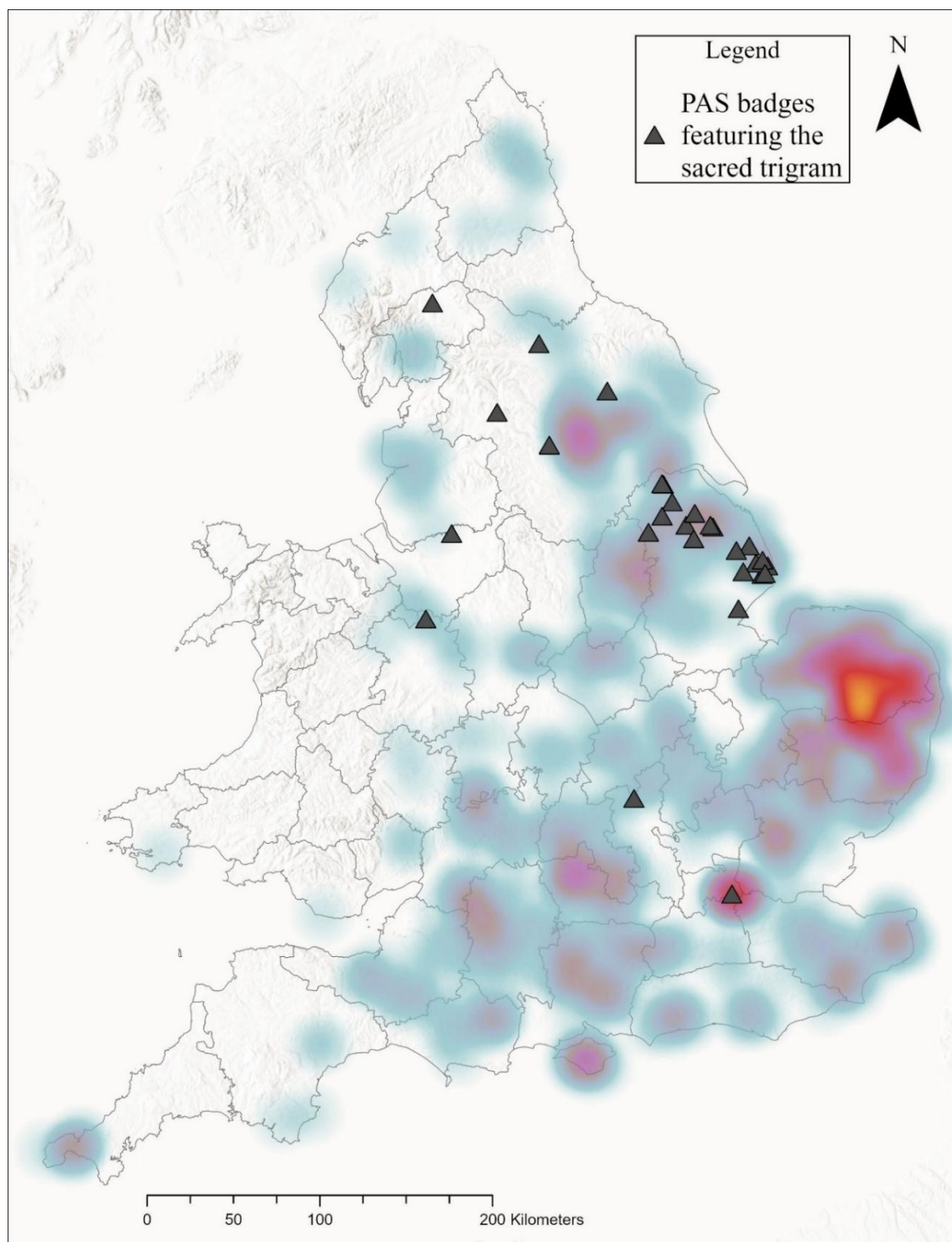


Figure 7.8 Distribution of the PAS badges of the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus (triangles). The heat map layer (green=sparse, yellow=dense) below displays the density of the 525 objects of material culture other than badges recorded by the PAS also featuring the sacred trigram.

Nevertheless, despite its national character, there were some observed regional differences in the development of the cult. The Holy Name was immensely popular in southern England and the Midlands with Jesus guilds forming in Suffolk from the 1450s and many fraternities in Kent being formed from the 1470s.⁵⁵⁸ In contrast, popular devotion to the Holy Name seems to have been slow to develop in the north of England where it was not until 1515 that a Yorkshire Jesus guild was founded and fraternities in the north continued to be ‘few in number.’⁵⁵⁹ There have also been interpretations that devotion to the Holy Name received particular patronage from high-status individuals and households. Duffy claims that devotion to the Holy Name, especially the Jesus Mass was a ‘genuinely popular devotion’ but one which was ‘emphatically an observance seized on by elites in every community as a convenient expression, and perhaps an instrument of their social dominance.’⁵⁶⁰ From the 1480s, the Tudors, namely Lady Margaret Beaufort and Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, heavily promoted the cult with Wabuda claiming that ‘the sacredness of Jesus’ own name was appropriated to bolster the power and prestige of the dynasty.’⁵⁶¹ Socially, this patronage seems to have incentivised the participation of elites, particularly in urban centres where Jesus guilds at places like St Paul’s in London, Colchester, and Tenterden in Kent, tended to draw its adherents from the upper strata of society.⁵⁶²

Of the 11 PAS badges of the sacred trigram, three are silver-gilt with SWYOR-19829B presenting a particularly finely produced openwork design (Figure 7.5). Despite the high-status associations of the cult of the Holy Name and the survival of silver-gilt badges, as briefly

⁵⁵⁸ Blake et al 2003, 177

⁵⁵⁹ Blake et al 2003, 177

⁵⁶⁰ Duffy 2005, 115-116

⁵⁶¹ Wabuda 2002, 157

⁵⁶² Lutton 2006, 76-77

discussed above in Chapter 5 concerning purse badges, a degree of caution must be exercised when interpreting badges according to their material. The hierarchy of cheap cloth or lead alloy badges for the masses and silver, silver-gilt, and gold badges (which Koldeweij believes were ‘not regularly stocked’ by vendors) being reserved for individuals of high-status becomes unbalanced when confronted by stories such as how King Louis XI of France was known to have acquired and worn lead badges.⁵⁶³ Partially, this hierarchy is driven by an incident recounted in Grafton’s chronicle in which the garrison of Calais wore the badge of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; the captain of the garrison ‘did weare on hys Cap, a whyte ragged staffe of Gold enamyled, and so did many other, and he that could haue it neyther of Golde nor of Siluer, had it of silke or cloth.’⁵⁶⁴

Blick’s discussion of a badge of Our Lady in the Undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral effectively argues that despite its ‘humble materials and mass production,’ the exceptional quality of the design and the high-status patrons of the Undercroft Chapel clearly radiated high-status influence.⁵⁶⁵ Additionally, one of the few badges to which we may ascribe ownership, is a cloth badge (to be discussed below in Chapter 7.6) considered to be the humblest of badge materials, which was owned and worn by Sir Thomas Constable of Everingham during the Pilgrimage of Grace. However, although the elite could acquire badges of cloth or lead, they are likely to have sought to acquire badges of precious materials as well.

Returning to the cult of the Holy Name and its high-status associations, Williamson believes this perpetuation and popularisation of the Jesus cult by the Tudors shows how there was a circulation of devotional practices between ‘court, metropolis, universities, towns, and

⁵⁶³ Koldeweij 2007, 65; Lee 2009

⁵⁶⁴ Grafton 1809, 29

⁵⁶⁵ Blick 2007, 192

ultimately, villages' being fostered by social networks.⁵⁶⁶ In all of these different contexts, the sacred trigram is communicating the omnipotence of Christ's mercy and presence. Regardless of the materials utilized in producing material culture of the Holy Name, that same devotional essence is communicated. However, the implied sluggish adoption of the cult in the north attested to by Blake *et al* despite the region's patronage of its early development (such as the devotional works of Richard Rolle) illuminates a fraught relationship between the Tudor regime and the northern regions of the country.

Nevertheless, that 'sluggish adoption' is not reflected by the badge finds recorded in this thesis. That the majority of the PAS dataset is reflecting precisely those areas thought to be hesitant in the support of the 'official' aspects of the cult, namely the Jesus guilds and the associated Jesus Mass, is a reflection of the efficacy of the Name of Jesus in the minds of the faithful across later medieval England. What it could be indicative of is a reluctance in the north to accept and adhere to the elements of the cult being championed by the Tudors.

It is the consideration of this troubled context which may reveal the reasons for the survival of badges of the Holy Name of Jesus, a nationally popular cult which produced a wealth of easily recognizable material culture between 1450 and 1550, almost exclusively in northern England and Lincolnshire. An exploration of the historical context of the 1530s reveals the documented and prominent use of badges of the Holy Name but also badges of the Christocentric cult of the Five Wounds of Christ in the massive popular religious rebellions known as the Lincolnshire Revolt and the Pilgrimage of Grace.

⁵⁶⁶ Williamson 2017, 132

7.5 Badges of the Five Wounds of Christ

Prior to embarking on a discussion of those movements and their use of badges, attention must be given to the 13 badges revealed by this dataset which may be attributed to the cult of the Five Wounds of Christ. The 6 chance find badges conform to the distribution of those of the Holy Name with two badges from Yorkshire, two from Lincolnshire, one from County Durham, and one from London (Figure 7.9). The London PAS badge (LON-0DC910) is similar to three examples from Spencer's catalogue of badges from the Salisbury riverine deposits in which he attributes the quatrefoil shape with central pellet and four exterior circular roundels to be a representation of the Five Wounds of Christ.⁵⁶⁷ This assessment has also been forwarded by Mitchiner's badge database and three similar badges from London but the ambiguity of the objects coupled with their similarity to a number of ornamental mounts discussed by Egan and Pritchard means that the association with the cult of the Five Wounds is uncertain.⁵⁶⁸ I have nevertheless included the Spencer and Mitchiner examples here for this discussion.

The remaining six badges all prominently feature a heart motif. One, badge SWYOR-0E13B5 is a silver gilt heart within a pentagon of flowers which is similar to the 16th century cap-hooks discussed by Gaimster *et al* and Awais-Dean (Figure 7.10).⁵⁶⁹ Although now missing its hook or pin, the remnants of the solder on the reverse coupled with the fact that it consists of silver-gilt material allows it to be associated with similar 16th century dress accessories. The attribution of these objects has been somewhat ambiguous with them being classified as both badges and cap or dress hooks.⁵⁷⁰ For the purpose of this study, they will be considered as 16th

⁵⁶⁷ Spencer and Griffiths 1990, 38

⁵⁶⁸ Egan and Pritchard 1991, 162-243

⁵⁶⁹ Gaimster et al 2002; Awais-Dean 2017, 63-66

⁵⁷⁰ Awais-Dean 2017, 63

century badges similar to the two similar examples featuring the sacred trigram (NCL-0AEDA2, WAW-4C737E) which also may be identified as Tudor cap-badges. Badge SWYOR-0E13B5 also bears resemblance to the annular brooches discussed by Standley who suggests that they were made to look like garlands gifted and worn during courtship.⁵⁷¹ Nevertheless, I have included this piece in my discussion given its use of five flowers coupled with the heart, which although commonly assumed to be a symbol of courtly love, features prominently in the iconography of the cult of the Five Wounds. The silver gilt Tau cross pendant with a twisted wire frame from northeastern Lincolnshire (LIN-D1EFDA) depicts the Five Wounds with the nail wounds and drops of blood at the cross terminals and a wounded heart at the centre of the cross arm (Figure 7.11). The context in which this badge was found was on the floor of St James' hospital near Thornton Abbey where it was sealed under rubble from the hospital's destruction after the dissolution of the Abbey in 1539.⁵⁷² Therefore, it may safely be assumed that the use of this pendant of the Five Wounds terminated in the late 1530s. The badge from County Durham (DUR-F183F4) is an elongated heart shape with a suspension loop and five raised circles representing the Five Wounds (Figure 7.12). The badge features a unique series of linear designs particularly on its reverse where a central form has been suggested to be either a cup or a crown. Interestingly, it has been noted that if the badge were sewn to a garment, the lifting of the badge would display the reverse designs 'upside-down' to a viewer. The cup shaped design is then revealed to resemble what I suggest is a bishop's mitre (albeit in a crude fashion).⁵⁷³ Finally, there is also an early 16th century heart shaped bone pendant which was found in the excavation of a household in Norwich (Figure 7.13). Recovered from a 17th century

⁵⁷¹ Standley 2010, 72

⁵⁷² Knowles and Hadcock 1971; 335, 398

⁵⁷³ For example, on badges from Canterbury, the mitre of Thomas Becket is typically depicted in a more angular fashion. Nevertheless, the central pellets are reminiscent of depictions of mitres. See Spencer 2010, 37-133

pit group which contained re-deposited material from the 1507 cellar, the badge takes the form of a heart with incisions and dots representing the wounds of Christ.⁵⁷⁴ This example establishes that such badges were in use in the early 16th century. However, it also shows that sometime between 1507 and 1640 the badge fell out of use and was discarded.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ Margeson 1993, 6-7

⁵⁷⁵ Margeson 1993, 7



Figure 7.9 Distribution of the 13 badges of the Five Wounds of Christ. There are four badges in London and three in Salisbury.



Figure 7.10 Silver gilt badge referencing the Five Wounds of Christ. From Newton-on-Ouse, Yorkshire. PAS SWYOR-0E13B5.



Figure 7.11 Silver gilt Tau cross with wire frame depicting the Five Wounds of Christ. From Thornton Curtis, Lincolnshire. PAS LIN-D1EFDA.



Figure 7.12 Heart-shaped badge of the Five Wounds of Christ from Bradbury and the Isle, County Durham. Note the possible depiction of a mitre on the reverse of the badge. PAS DUR-F183F4.

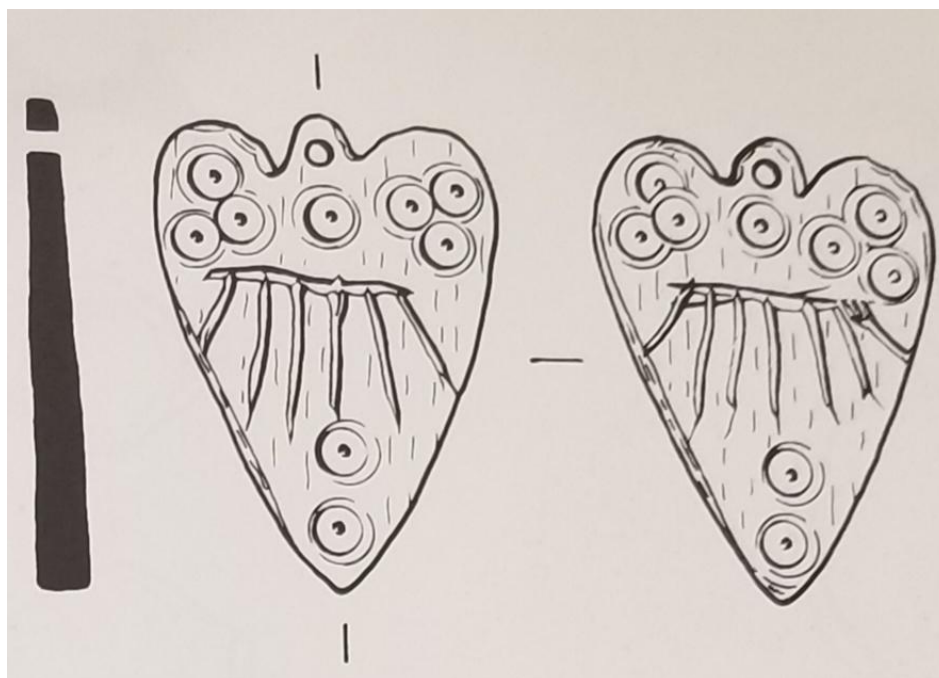


Figure 7.13 Bone heart-shaped 16th century badge with the Five Wounds of Christ recovered from excavations in Norwich. Margeson 1993, 6.

Across England and Wales there are at least 62 badges which may be associated with the Christocentric cults of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ (Figure 7.14). With 35 of the 62 (56%) being recovered from areas north of the Wash, there is a fairly strong northern/Lincolnshire distribution of the badges. This is particularly apparent when the London and Salisbury riverine data is not considered. Lincolnshire contains 23 of the 62 total finds (37%) while the counties of Yorkshire, Cumbria, and Durham account for nine of the 62 finds or about 15% of the dataset. The survival of these badges in the northern parts of the country may reflect the active role of these badges within the dissenting orthodox populations of these regions in the mid to late 16th century and their struggles to uphold the rights of the traditional church and persist in their long held devotional practices. Although all of these badges may not date to the mid-16th century, and are in fact reflective of 15th century production and use of the sacred trigram, they nevertheless show that there was a tradition of using badges of the sacred trigram in the north and Lincolnshire which is not mirrored elsewhere in later medieval England and Wales. That tradition of reliance and memory of the efficacy of the Holy Name of Jesus was to resurface in Lincolnshire and the north in the 1530s.

Yet, the question lingers as to what actually makes a badge a badge. Indeed, it may be suggested that most objects with imagery could act as a badge, or rather, a sign. There are differences in the purpose of a dress accessory to include the functional (such as a dress hook) and the non-functional (such as a badge or a finger ring). This is also exemplified by the difference between a modern button (functional) and a modern political campaign badge (non-functional). Non-functional objects with imagery are the simplest to conceptualise as signs. However, until further studies analyse and map the iconographies of other later medieval functional and non-functional dress accessories (which may then also be conceptualised as

emotants) the data are showing that if emotant badges were being used in specific ways to express beliefs and emotions, their current distribution seems to reflect that there was possibly a long-standing tradition of specifically wearing Christocentric badges in the areas discussed above. That a later religious uprising selected such badges to encapsulate their cause and feelings furthers the possibility that the residual emotive qualities tied to badge use could continue to impact and sustain emotional communities. So, the assertion here is not that all of the badges considered in this chapter are mid-16th century in date. Rather, I am interpreting this as the longevity and influence of a regional practice which built an emotional community through its use of emotant badges.

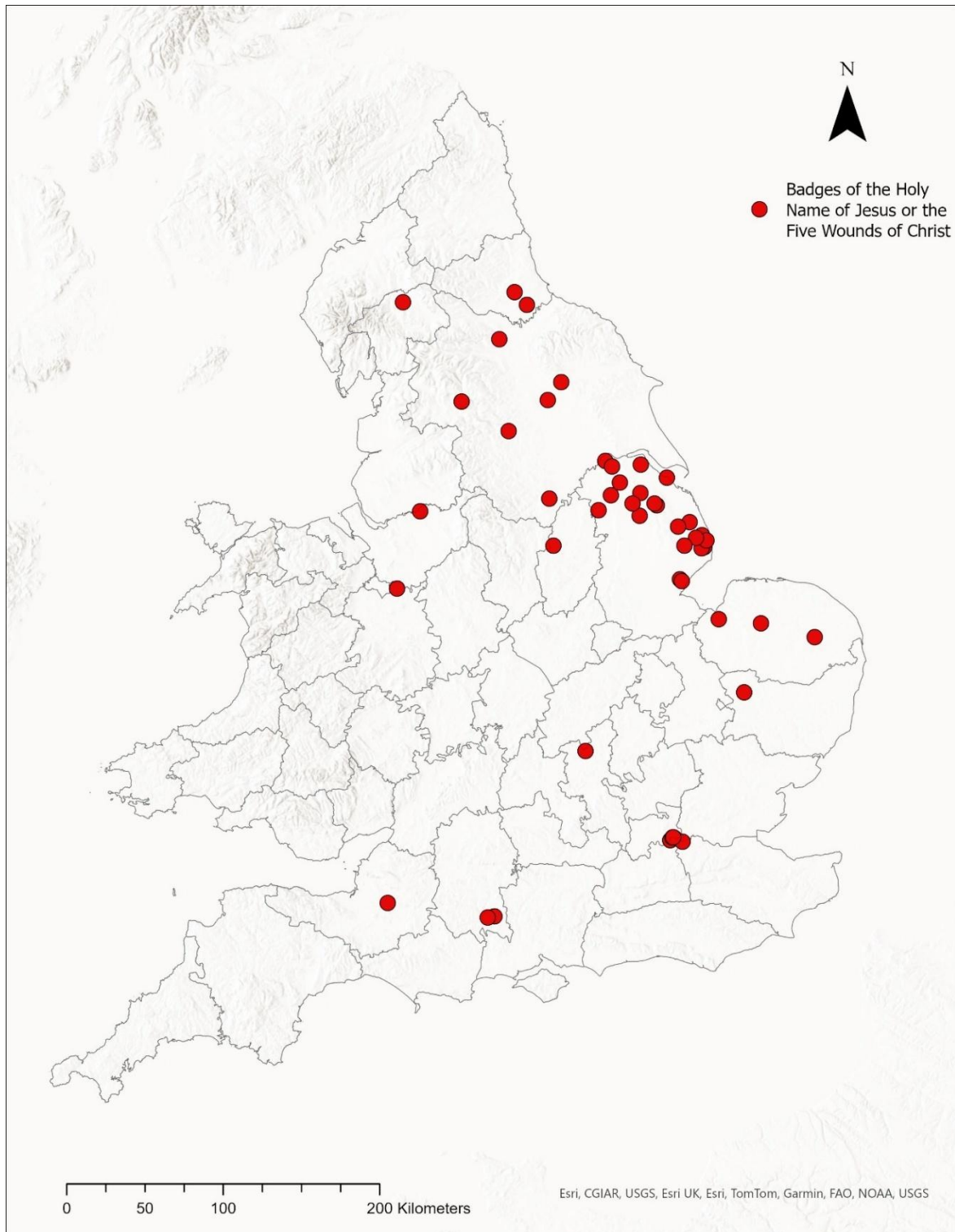


Figure 7.14 Distribution of the 62 badges featuring either the sacred trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus or the Five Wounds of Christ.

7.6 The Lincolnshire Revolt and Pilgrimage of Grace

The late 1530s in Lincolnshire was a time of extreme trial and tribulation for those who held to the tenets of the orthodox Catholic faith. While a discussion of the developments of English religious reforms in the later medieval period far exceeds the scope of this study, those policies and their attending changes to the fabric of English worship directly resulted in the explosion of popular anger and fear towards the confiscation and destruction of churches, church property and images, monasteries, and places of worship.⁵⁷⁶ In October of 1536, the county of Lincolnshire erupted in rebellion in an effort to stem the tide of Henry VIII's program of Reformation. Set into motion at Louth amidst rumours, fears, and anxiety that the plate and liturgical gold and silver of the parish church were to be confiscated by agents of the crown, the Lincolnshire rebellion was predicated on the firm conviction that the abuse to church goods and rights had to be opposed. The confusion amongst the population is palpable as long held traditions including pilgrimage and devotion to the cult of saints were discouraged and depreciated. The vicar of Louth described how people 'grudged at the new opinions' they were suddenly expected to maintain towards subjects such as Our Lady, Purgatory, and pilgrimage which had been integral aspects of public piety.⁵⁷⁷ Traditional narrative would have the anxieties over impending confiscations in Louth turn to action with the comment of a parishioner who, gazing upon the church's silver cross in procession said, 'our Lord speed you, for I think ye shall be taken away shortly so that we may never follow you more.'⁵⁷⁸ As emotions heightened and riots broke out in Louth, news of the uprising spread throughout the county and supporters flocked in support of the rebels. Further uprisings in Horncastle and Market Rasen consolidated

⁵⁷⁶ James 1970, 166; Davies 1985, 68

⁵⁷⁷ James 1970, 16

⁵⁷⁸ Hoyle 2001, 105

with the Louth rebels and proceeded towards Lincoln where despite the impressive size of the movement (an estimated 20,000 men), confused leadership and inertia dissipated the movement upon first contact with royal authority and the threat of the King's wrath.

The actions of the Lincolnshire rebels found great sympathy and support in Yorkshire and the North of England (Figure 7.15). Many of the key figures in what would become known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire including Lord Darcy, Lord Hussey, and Robert Aske and his family maintained significant landed connections in both counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Indeed, Lord Hussey was once to have stated that the two counties must act together in order to defend the faith.⁵⁷⁹ The ringing of bells and lighting of beacons along the south bank of the Humber informed the commons of the East Riding of the revolt who responded in letters to the Lincolnshire rebels that they were ready to follow their lead and their cause.⁵⁸⁰ It is only in the rapid and unexpected dissipation and suppression of the Lincolnshire movement which separates it from the larger and more mature continuation of the rebellion in Yorkshire, relegating the role of Lincolnshire in the Pilgrimage of Grace to that of the preamble.

⁵⁷⁹ Dodds and Dodds 1971, 24

⁵⁸⁰ Moorehouse 2002; 51, 54



Figure 7.15 Map of the Northern rebellion routes of 1536-1537. From Fletcher and MacCulloch 2014, 22.

The articulation of the rebels' cause in the oaths shared by both the Lincolnshire and Northern contingents proclaimed their love of 'God, faith, the Holy Church militant' and that the movement 'should extend no further but only to the maintenance and defence of the faith of Christ and the deliverance of Holy Church sore decayed and oppressed.'⁵⁸¹ In addition to the

⁵⁸¹ Hoyle 2001, 7; Hall 1809, 822

oaths, the multitudes of songs and banners featuring the Five Wounds of Christ, the Eucharistic Host, ploughs, chalices, and horns wrapped the movement in visual expressions of orthodox Catholicism.⁵⁸² The Tudor chronicler Edward Hall also made note of the badges worn by the pilgrims who he describes had a ‘badge embroidered or set upon the sleeves of their coats which was the similitude of the Five Wounds of Christ and in the midst thereof was written the name of our Lord.’⁵⁸³ This statement of ‘embroidered *or* set upon’ indicates that both textile and metal badges were being used interchangeably.⁵⁸⁴ A surviving example of an embroidered textile badge is in the collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle (Figure 7.16). The textile, which was carried by Thomas Constable of Everingham during the Pilgrimage of Grace, features the wounded hands, feet, and heart of Christ which is framed by a Eucharistic Host and chalice. Immediately above the heart and Host is the sacred trigram while occupying the lower corners of the badge are the initials T and C (for Thomas Constable). The textile badge combines the iconography of the Holy Name and the Five Wounds in a manner which is not mirrored in the metal badge finds. However, certain elements of the badge such as the central heart perpetuate the association between hearts and the Five Wounds. Additionally, the configuration of the hand and feet wounds around the central heart resembles badge DUR-F183F4 from County Durham and the alignment of its five roundels. Hall’s protestant bias derided the badges as ‘false and counterfeited signs made to delude and deceive the simple and ignorant people’ but the badges seem to have meant a great deal to the pilgrims themselves as evidenced by the ownership claimed by Thomas Constable and his bold initialling of a badge used in a rebellion.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² Fletcher and MacCulloch 2014, 30

⁵⁸³ Hall 1809, 823

⁵⁸⁴ Hall 1809, 823

⁵⁸⁵ Hall 1809, 823



Figure 7.16 Embroidered textile badge of the Five Wounds of Christ and the sacred trigram carried by Thomas Constable in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, during his interrogation, Aske acknowledged that early in the movement the pilgrims had adopted the badge of either the Five Wounds or the Trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus.⁵⁸⁶ It is notable that at the conclusion of the Pilgrimage of Grace when pardons were supposedly granted, Aske knelt down, removed his badge of the Five Wounds and

⁵⁸⁶ Bateson 1890, 572

the entire host did the same saying ‘we will wear no badge but the badge of our sovereign lord’ and dispersed.⁵⁸⁷ This connection between the cause of the traditional church and objects illuminates the powerful symbolic potency of badges. In this situation, the badges were not an idle accoutrement. Rather, they were used to recall Christ’s suffering and equate that to the denigration of what the pilgrims saw as the true church and faith. No mention is made of the pilgrims removing their weapons and harness — rather — the moment of disarmament and de-escalation is tied to the removal of their Christocentric badges.

The potency of the symbols of the Five Wounds and the Holy Name and their emotive appeals to the Christological notion of triumph through suffering fixed themselves in the memory of 16th century dissenters who assimilated the iconography into their rebellions. In rallying around the symbols of the Five Wounds and the Holy Name, the pilgrims unknowingly compromised these crucial elements of later medieval popular English devotion by uniting the political with what was once purely devotional. As Aston summarizes, the symbols used by the rebels ‘could never be the same’ and found themselves to be ‘early casualties to an insidious reforming process.’⁵⁸⁸ The manner in which Christocentric imagery was hardening sentiment into rebellious, martial fervour posed an enormous threat to Tudor control over the nation.

Returning to the interrogations following the Pilgrimage of Grace, the King’s advocates seemed fixated upon the badges. Aske and Darcy were given fourteen consecutive questions about the badges worn by the pilgrims.⁵⁸⁹ Although most of the responses to these questions (indeed, if there were any made by the accused) have been lost, to the question of why did you give badges of the Five Wounds of Christ, Aske responded that the badges were adopted when a

⁵⁸⁷ Hoyle 2001, 362

⁵⁸⁸ Aston 2016, 192

⁵⁸⁹ Hoyle 2001, 417; Bateson 1890, 554-555

pilgrim wearing a cross on his back was mistaken for a member of the royal faction and killed.⁵⁹⁰ After this incident, it was stated that ‘then there was a cry for all men to have the badge of IHS or the Five Wounds on him both before and behind them’ in order to distinguish themselves.⁵⁹¹ The badges then produced by Lord Darcy at Pontefract were in fact purchased by him in 1511 for a crusade in Spain against the Moors.⁵⁹² While that expedition may only be described as chaotic and unsuccessful, the badges were retained by Darcy for the next 25 years. The question was put to Aske and Lord Darcy as to why the image of the Five Wounds of Christ was chosen, ‘Was it not to thentent ye wold have made the souldiours to beleve that they shuld feight in the defense of the faith of Christ and be ready to die in that cause?’⁵⁹³ This was in response to the ‘Captain Poverty’ elements of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the righteous claims of the rebels that they were in fact ‘Christ’s Soldiers.’⁵⁹⁴ This would have been a very dangerous admission, hence the simple and cautious explanation of the accused that the badges were adopted merely for identification purposes. The boldness with which the badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name were displayed by the pilgrims in their opposition to the King and his policies transitioned their meaning into a symbol of resistance.⁵⁹⁵

Associations between treason and the badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name were furthered in Tudor and Evangelical minds by their use in the later Catholic uprisings in the West Country in 1549 and their resurrection for the Northern Rebellion in 1569. Indeed, in 1539 in the wake of the Pilgrimage of Grace, King Henry VIII and Lord Thomas Cromwell infamously

⁵⁹⁰ Hoyle 2001, 416; The cross was likely the black cross of St Cuthbert adopted by the rebels in County Durham. The red cross of St George was used by the royal faction.

⁵⁹¹ Bateson 1890, 572

⁵⁹² Aston 2016, 192

⁵⁹³ Aston 2016, 192

⁵⁹⁴ Bush 1992, 36

⁵⁹⁵ Aston 2016, 218

attainted and executed the elderly Plantagenet Margaret Pole upon producing a tunic which bore the Five Wounds of Christ which she presumably possessed, marking her treasonous beliefs and affiliations.⁵⁹⁶ The use of the Five Wounds and Holy Name across the series of 16th century rebellions prompted Aston to postulate that ‘if continuity of resistance sometimes belonged to a given place, so it is possible that a given image might become imbedded by traumatic events in popular memory, ready to resurface in rebellious action.’⁵⁹⁷ The badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name had been used in ways which firmly entangled them in popular consciousness as objects of rebellion and discontent.

Resistance to the Tudor regime was met with swift, ruthless, and calculated counter-measures. By the end of 1537 martial law had been imposed in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and the ringleaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace including Aske and Darcy had been executed. Additionally, within a year Henry and the agents of Cromwell had moved against the principal sites of pilgrimage including Walsingham where it was reported that there was a place ‘in wiche there were instreumentes, pottes, belowes’ and other things pertaining to the art of multiplying’ likely for producing pilgrim badges.⁵⁹⁸ The period immediately following the Pilgrimage of Grace also featured the first act of official iconoclasm in 1538 as the cult of St Thomas Becket was vilified as ‘the most wicked traitor’ and all his images were to be ‘put down and avoided’ with no distinction between secular and ecclesiastical locations.⁵⁹⁹ This abrupt change in the course of the Henrician Reformation must have been prompted by the Pilgrimage of Grace and the adaptation of traditional religious imagery for the purpose of rallying and binding the Commons to the cause of the traditional church. That the cult of St Thomas Becket was so

⁵⁹⁶ Pierce 2003

⁵⁹⁷ Aston 2016, 219

⁵⁹⁸ Spencer 2010, 136

⁵⁹⁹ Aston 2016, 369; Houliston 1993, 46

tightly bound to the rights and temporal privileges of the Roman Church, an association clearly abhorrent to Henry VIII's sensibilities, presented it as the next logical target for censure after the badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name. Indeed, according to Blake *et al*, very few of their 800-object database of items featuring the Holy Name are dated to the second half of the 16th century with only two dating between 1558 and 1595.⁶⁰⁰ Although Lutton asserts that the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus was largely acceptable within Lollard traditions and could be reconciled with conservative evangelical and Lutheran teaching, that a symbol which appealed to both parties was discarded in the midst of the challenges of the English Reformation, can only be due to the political contamination of its meaning as a result of its use in the religious rebellions. Indeed, badges of the Holy Name of Jesus are not being found in areas with significant numbers of Lollards such as Kent. That badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name survive as chance finds almost exclusively in the north of England and Lincolnshire, where resistance to Tudor religious policy was active, reflects the determination with which the elements of orthodox devotion were passionately maintained by the inhabitants even to the point of treason and open rebellion.

7.7 Summary

In summary, this chapter discussed the use of Christocentric badges of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ. Analysis of the finds shows that they are frequently found in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and northern England suggesting a strong regional practice of using badges of the sacred trigram throughout the 15th and early 16th century. Among these finds are at least 18 badges in Lincolnshire which combine the imagery of the sacred trigram with the

⁶⁰⁰ Blake et al 2003, 188

depiction of St Margaret of Antioch. It is suggested above that badges featuring the Holy Name of Jesus or the Five Wounds of Christ display how devotional iconographies and how they relate to elements of Christian belief can produce emotional reactions and a sense of comfort to later medieval believers.

Furthermore, this chapter considered 16th century rebels from Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and northern England who adopted the images of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ as the symbols of their beliefs and cause. It has been shown that they were chosen and used by the rebels in a manner which emphasised the emotional qualities of the Christocentric badges. Finally, the findings of this chapter also suggest that the politicisation of Christocentric badges in the aftermath of the Lincolnshire Revolt and the Pilgrimage of Grace shifted their meaning from what was once purely devotional to becoming objects of dissent and rebellion.

Chapter 8: Social and political badges

8.1 Introduction

Up to this point, this thesis has largely discussed the use of religious or pilgrimage badges depicting the saints, the Virgin Mary, or Christ. Yet, badges also served to visually communicate group identities of a seemingly more secular nature: at least 1,072 being recorded in the dataset of this project. The identities communicated by badges reach into all facets of medieval English social existence. This has been explored in the 2016 work of Ward who considered the functions and meanings of livery collars as well as the 2017 work of Awais-Dean who has analysed Tudor and Jacobean hat badges and their impact on the formation of masculine identities.

There are badges representing royal, civic, guild, occupational, and family identities as well as lovers' badges which provide evidence of other types of personal relationships. Badges are objects designed to be displayed and consequently seen, and the dataset of this project includes a great number of objects which feature imagery that is not explicitly religious. However, one of the challenges concerning the study of badges lies in the accurate and clear attribution of a badge due to the fact that there are large numbers of badges which have generic imagery. For example, there are 75 badges with the imagery of a lion and it is often impossible to determine whether the lion is representative of a royal English element, a family faction such as the Percy's, or indeed if it may be of some other significance congruent with later medieval bestiaries.⁶⁰¹ The prevalence of generic imagery particularly impacts the badges which have been categorized in this study within the themes of mammals, plants, birds, and tools/objects/weapons. However, the medieval practice of using livery can inform our

⁶⁰¹ Clark and McCunn 1989

identification of badges. Certain images came to be adopted by factions and individuals such as the Talbot family's adoption of a Talbot dog as their family emblem (Figure 8.1). Therefore, this chapter will primarily focus on the 149 livery, affinity, or retainers' badges which were used across England and Wales from the late 14th century until the end of the 16th century.⁶⁰²



Figure 8.1 Silver badge of a Talbot dog. This form of badge was adopted by the Talbot family who as the Earls of Shrewsbury, had significant landed power in Cheshire and Shropshire. This badge was found near Tong, Shropshire, and dated c. 1425-1460. PAS WAW-48AAB3.

What follows in this chapter is a discussion of surviving and identifiable livery badges and how they fit within the practice of livery use. Additionally, the complaints fostered by the Commons and the various legislations attempted and enacted throughout the period will be highlighted. These acts and appeals provide some insight into the contemporary perceptions of badge use and suggest that secular badges were often seen as disruptive elements within society. Consequentially, it is through the lens of these parliamentary complaints that the agency of the badge wearers and the emotional communities formed and fostered through their use becomes diminished. This is due to the focus being on the legislation and not on the agency of badges and their wearers. Such a legislative ‘top-down’ perception of social badge use can be informative, but it can also be detrimental to our view of the badge-wearing community at large; a community

⁶⁰² The terms faction, affinity, and retinue will be used throughout this chapter to groups of people bound together through service or kinship and who were granted liveries in the later medieval period.

that continued to wear and distribute badges throughout the 14th-16th centuries in the face of numerous attempts to legally curtail its practice.⁶⁰³ How then are we to interpret and discuss these badges in a manner which is inclusive of later medieval perceptions of emotion, identity, and community?

To this end, a discussion of a livery badge celebrating a marriage or union and the potential of these types of badges to form and sustain meaningful emotional relationships and ideals is warranted. The decision to present such a badge here alongside the livery badges highlights that the giving, receiving, and wearing of a badge was a practice which was embedded in feeling and emotion. Applying what is known about emotant lovers' tokens and badges to the social and political badges suggests that although the expressed and involved emotions may be different, there is a similar intensity of feeling underlying the practice of giving and wearing a political badge just as there is with a lovers' token or pilgrim badge.

Throughout each of these topics (the use of livery, the crisis and eventual abolition of badge use, and the emotional practice of distributing and wearing a badge) the currents of identity, community, and the expressions of feeling and belief apparent in each of these contexts begin to flow together presenting a congruous view of badge use. This is important because overall, the current discussion of the more secular badges is evocative of Jones' discussion of medieval imagery and the overwhelming emphasis on the religious aspects.⁶⁰⁴ If we accept that religious objects and specifically religious badges maintained a special meaning and significance associated with their materiality and their status as emotants, should not a similar meaning and significance also be applicable to the social and political badges? Were political and livery

⁶⁰³ Lee 2018, 133

⁶⁰⁴ Jones 2002, 295

badges simply tools of the elite, objects distributed to display power and garner assent, or did they (like pilgrim badges) carry and communicate some sense of relationship and community in a way that was explicitly emotional? This chapter considers how livery badges granted agency to their wearers and how this impacted later medieval social and political stability and whether the legal acquisition of badges was made difficult as a result. Finally, this chapter sets out to determine whether the use of both secular and religious badges was referencing each other through similar inherently emotional practices which focused and sustained themselves in the construction and nourishment of emotional communities throughout England and Wales. Viewed alongside the religious badges presented in the other chapters, rather than as a practice separate and distinct, political and social badges display a similar emotional quality which courses through the surviving examples of their use. It is their status as emotants which ingrained badge use so thoroughly in later medieval English society despite the attempts to curtail and restrict their use.

8.2 Distributions and content

There are 149 badges which I have identified with a particular individual or familial faction from later medieval England and Wales. Considering these types of badges as a whole, while 104 are from the three locations of London (74 badges), King's Lynn (eight badges), and Salisbury (22 badges), the distribution of the remaining 43 chance finds and two finds from archaeological reports are spread across 20 counties and the cities of London and Cardiff, Wales (Figure 8.2). However, comparing the non-Spencer and Mitchiner catalogued finds to a kernel density map of all badge finds shows that few factional badges are found north of the River Trent (Figure 8.3). Additionally, in contrast with the entire badge dataset, there are few finds from Kent and central and eastern East Anglia. Nevertheless, factional badges appear generally

evenly spread throughout England south of the River Trent. With particular reference to Yorkshire where there are large numbers of overall badge finds, the lack of factional badges is surprising given that some of the most notorious and powerful factions of the period including the Percy and Neville families and Richard, Duke of Gloucester (later Richard III) were all heavily invested and landed in the region.

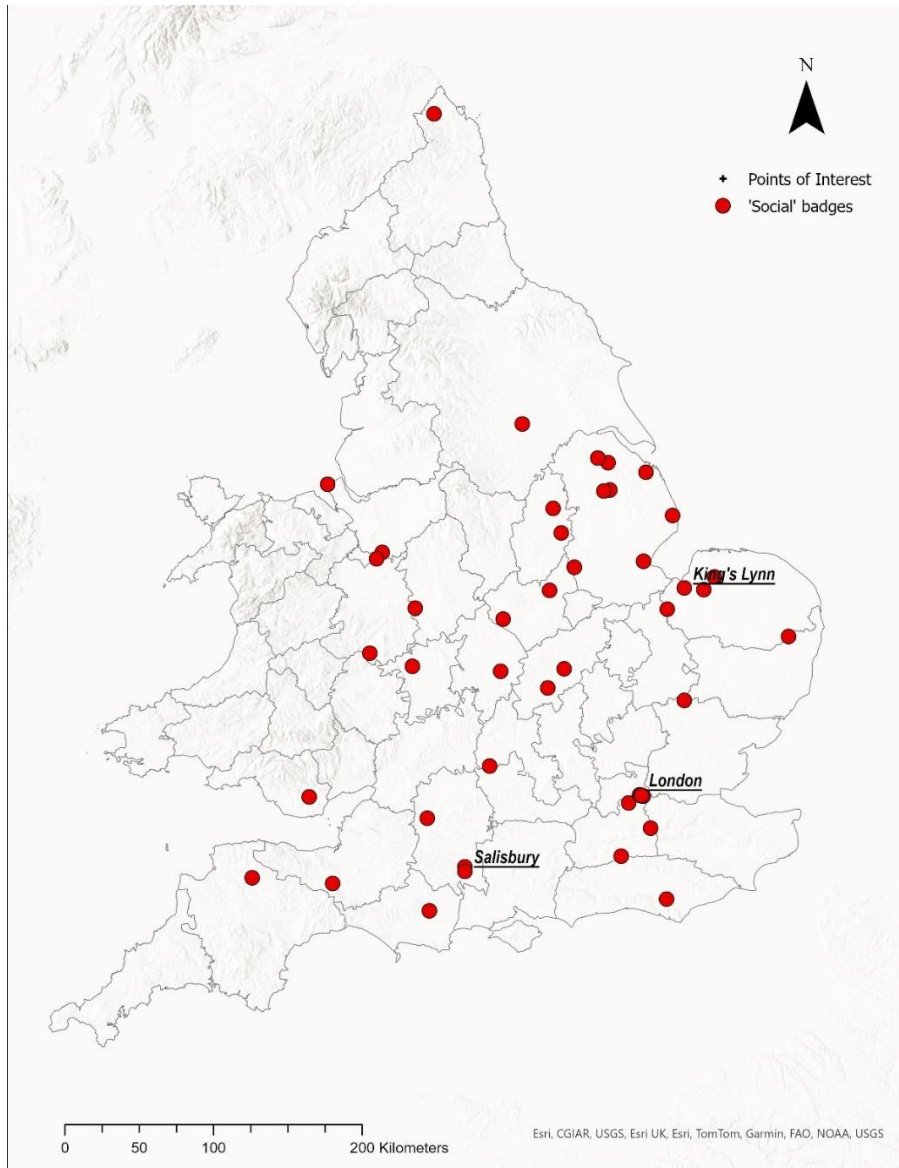


Figure 8.2 Distribution plot displaying the 149 dynastic or individual faction badges. The material is clustered in the three locations of London (74 badges), and Salisbury (22 badges), and King's Lynn (eight badges).

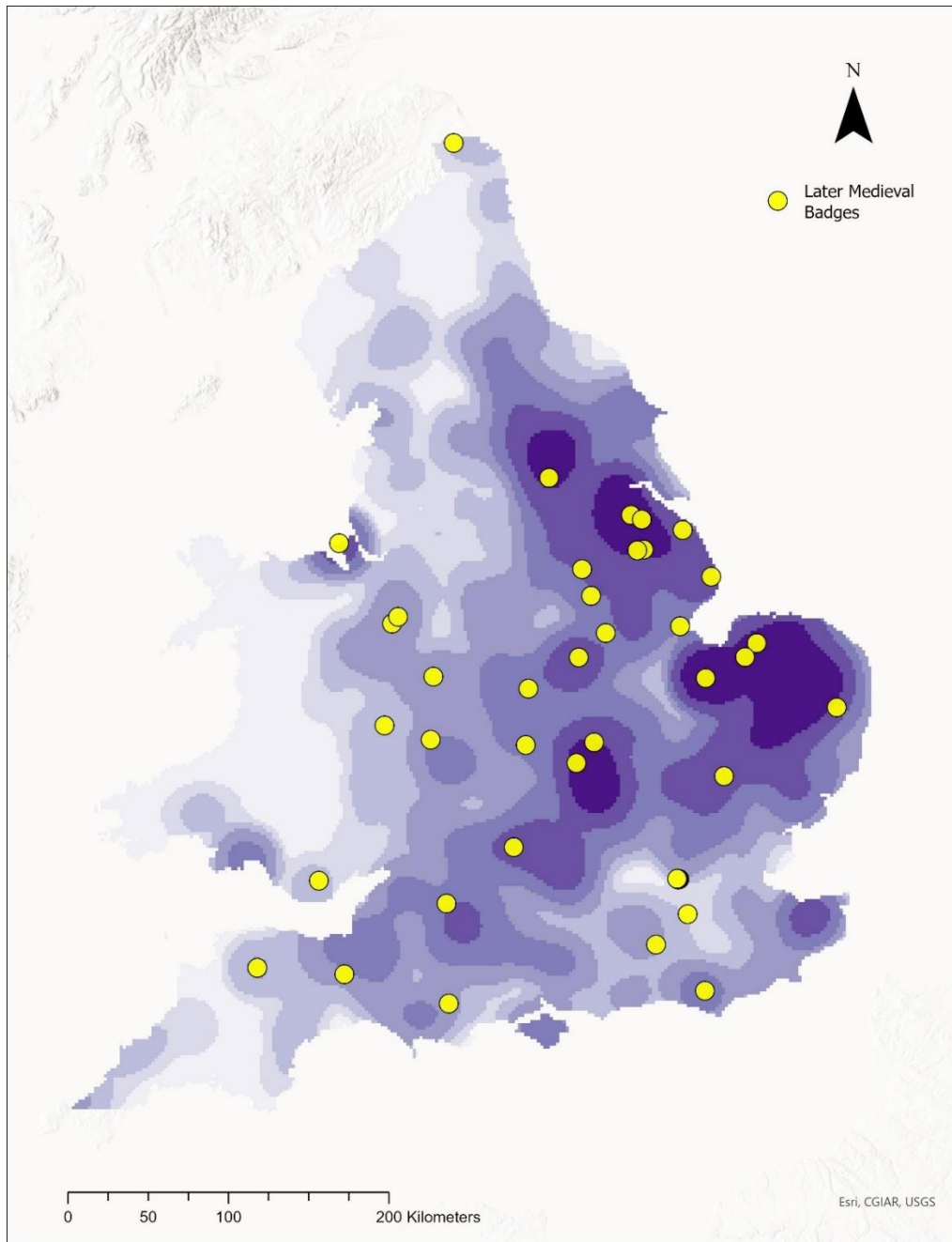


Figure 8.3 Map comparing the 45 chance find and archaeological report badges to a kernel density map of all badge material excluding the sites of London, King's Lynn, and Salisbury. This shows that there are not many factional badges being reported from Yorkshire and Northern England, Kent, or the eastern and central areas of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Out of the 149 badges, there are 35 identifiable factions represented (Table 8.1). Within these factions, 30 badges are easily identifiable as the dog of the Talbot family. Although the

majority of the Talbot badges are from London, there are five badges from the counties of Cheshire and Shropshire where, as the Earls of Shrewsbury, the Talbots maintained their power.

Identified Faction	Number of badges
Talbot family	30
Prince of Wales	24
Mowbray family	10
Neville family	10
Lancastrian	7
Richard II	7
FitzAlan family	6
Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	5
Holland Family	5
Lord Willoughby	5
Queen Isabella	4
Beaufort family	3
Henry VIII	3
Stafford family	3
Tudor Rose/Pomegranate of Aragorn	3
Bourchier family	2
Henry V	2
Humphrey Duke of Gloucester	2
Hungerford/Hastings families	2
Anne of Brittany	1
Arthur Plantagenet	1
Beaumont family	1
Catherine of Aragon	1
Eleanor of Castille	1
Gainsford family	1
Henry III/Edward I	1
John of Gaunt	1
John, Duke of Bedford	1
Percy family	1
Plantagenet	1
Richard II/Richard Duke of York	1
Stanley family	1
Viscount Lovel	1
Welsh family	1
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	1

Table 8.1 Table displaying the 35 identifiable dynastic factions and the number of badges for each.

The 24 ostrich feather badges representing the Princes of Wales including Edward of Woodstock (the Black Prince, d. 1376) are the next largest group while the Mowbray and Neville families each have 10 examples (Figure 8.4). The Mowbray badges take the form of a mulberry branch which is a pun or play on the name Mowbray (Figure 8.5). The single chance find of a Mowbray badge is the only factional badge recorded from central or eastern East Anglia which is where the Mowbray family served as Dukes of Norfolk. Seven of the bear and ragged staff badges of the Neville family are found in London while two are from King's Lynn and a single badge is from the county of Lincolnshire. Surprisingly, there are no Neville badges from either the northern counties of England or Warwickshire where their power was concentrated. Each of the remaining 31 identified factions have fewer than 10 examples in this dataset.



Figure 8.4 Badge depicting an ostrich feather adopted by the Prince of Wales, Edward of Woodstock (The Black Prince). The badge also features the motto Ich Dene (Flemish - I serve). From Spencer's London catalogue of finds (catalogue number 267). 111 x 52 mm. Spencer 2010, 276



Figure 8.5 Badge of a mulberry branch used by the Mowbray family (Dukes of Norfolk). It also bears the inscription MOVBERI. This example is from Mitchiner's London catalogue (catalogue number 310). 45 x 38 mm. Mitchiner 1986, 122.

8.3 The Rose and Pomegranate Badge

Although not surviving in large numbers, there are other social badge types which give some insight into the emotional use of the badges. The dataset features three badges which take the form of a rose combined with a pomegranate. The two London badges feature only the flower blooms dimidiated without stems so that only half of each is portrayed on the badge (M974). Both badges (M974, S288g) are made of silver and both of their attachments consist of a loop on the back. A third badge from South Molton, Devon, also consists of a silver dimidiated rose and pomegranate with a loop attachment on its reverse (Figure 8.6). Where this badge differs from the other two is in its inclusion of a stem with a single leaf included on each side as well as two horizontal branches. All three of the badges have been dated to between *c.* AD 1495 and 1533.⁶⁰⁵ Regarding the identification of the badges, the rose is associated with the Tudor

⁶⁰⁵ Spencer 2010, 294-295; Mitchiner 1986, 250; Burnett 2016

family while the pomegranate is linked to the kingdom of Aragon.⁶⁰⁶ Therefore, it is believed that these badges are referencing the marriage between either Arthur Tudor (1486-1502) and Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) or the swift remarriage of Catherine to Arthur's younger brother Henry VIII (1491-1547) in the aftermath of Arthur's death. The secure dating of these badges and their clear associations is the reason for their special consideration in this section.



Figure 8.6 Badge combining the Tudor Rose with the Pomegranate of Aragon. This badge was found in South Molton, Devon. PAS DEV-1C5D334.

It has been suggested by Gilmore that such badges 'would have been worn by loyal subjects who wanted to show their love for the king and queen.'⁶⁰⁷ Certainly to the English population, the wedding was an important event in the sense that it represented another step towards the continued stability of the realm under the Tudor dynasty. This situation is

⁶⁰⁶ Burnett 2016

⁶⁰⁷ Gilmore 2019

particularly poignant and longed for given the tumultuous upheavals of the late 15th century; events which were still fresh in the memories of those wearing the rose and pomegranate badges.

Yet, royal weddings were also state affairs whose celebrations were wrapped in a certain decorum. Wearing a badge celebrating a royal union was the expression of a sense of connection or association with the structures of power but in a manner that was more expressive of duty and obligation or deference, than it was of a personal love and attachment. Indeed, that all three rose and pomegranate badges are formed of silver is suggestive of the expectation of decorum associated with the event but also implies that they were being worn by individuals with the means to acquire items of higher quality. In this we may infer that the badges provided individuals with a means to participate alongside the ruling parties (despite not being physically present at the ceremonies). In effect, participation constructed an affinity around the royal marriage of loyal, content subjects which provided the Tudors with a manifestation of public assent and a show of stability. Additionally, it also permitted individuals with the opportunity to display their own connections with high places as well as their pride of association and personal sense of loyalty and duty. Ward's discussion of livery collars suggests that the wearing of a royal collar could signify a tangible and personal relationship between recipient and donor.⁶⁰⁸ Although leaden badges are unlikely to have been received directly from the hand of the king (there are records of Richard II detaching members of his household, a sergent-at-arms, for the purpose of distributing badges), Ward suggests that the act of wearing a royal device enhanced the dignity of the wearer while simultaneously advertising 'the honour and worship of the master.'⁶⁰⁹ Therefore, although the wearing of a leaden badge in contrast to the more prestigious

⁶⁰⁸ Ward 2016, 88

⁶⁰⁹ Ward 2016, 87

collar is not indicative of a direct, or personal royal relationship, it does form a symbolic unity and connection.⁶¹⁰ This is similar to the devotional badges and their abilities to form relationships with saints or holy figures.

It is most likely that these badges were made for the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine in 1509. Although it is possible that the rose and pomegranate motif was created following the 1489 Treaty of Medina del Campo between England and Spain which proposed and formalised the marriage between Arthur Tudor and Catherine of Aragon, the continued and documented use of the motif throughout the marriage of Henry Tudor and Catherine suggests the association of the badges with the latter couple. With Henry's exploratory divorce inquiries beginning around 1526, by 1527 there were rampant rumours spreading throughout the country of Henry's dissatisfaction with his marital status.⁶¹¹ The intensification of public discourse surrounding the religious, moral, legal, and social implications of a royal divorce continued unabated unto and indeed likely beyond the finalisation of the divorce in 1533. Used in the contentious environment of 1526-1533, the rose and pomegranate found together on a badge would have been a potent and divisive material proclamation of an individual's opinion.

The 2019 discovery of an enamelled gold pendant and chain documented by the PAS (WMID-A51F34) in Warwickshire provides some additional insight into the use of objects bearing the imagery of the rose and pomegranate (Figure 8.7).⁶¹² The find consists of the following parts: the gold pendant (with obverse, reverse, and two removable pins), a suspension link taking the form of a hand, and a chain. Beginning with the pendant, it is an enamelled gold piece in the shape of a heart (cordate) with decoration on both sides. There are an additional 65

⁶¹⁰ Ward 2016, 87

⁶¹¹ Owen and Probert 2019, 80-81

⁶¹² See King 2026

badges identified in Appendix 1 which feature the imagery of a heart. As shown in Chapter 7, the meaning of a heart-shaped badge may be devotional as it may be associated with the Five Wounds of Christ. Yet, as will be discussed below, these badge forms may have been used to indicate love in general (both devotional and romantic love). The obverse decoration consists of a central floral decoration. This entails a red and white enamelled rose bloom and pomegranate sprouting from a single stalk. Where the two plants merge into one, there is an unfurled banner with the inscription +TOVS + IORS. The reverse decoration consists of a red enamelled Lombardic H and K intertwined with a white enamelled ribbon or knot. Again, a banner is depicted with the same inscription of +TOVS + IORS. Analysis of the lettering suggests that the pendant dates to c. 1500-1530. The inscription '*Toujours*' is split into two components and is French for 'Always.' The phrase is found on other contemporary objects such as a gold finger ring from the V&A collection (V&A 892-1871) inscribed with '*pors tous jours*' or for all days/always. It has been suggested by Cahill Marron that it may be a pun: *tous/your*s.⁶¹³ Overall, the use of the pendant seems to be analogous to the practice of gifting and wearing objects of jewellery which feature affective words or phrases. These pieces, which could be finger-rings, brooches, or pendants from a range of materials including gold, silver, silver-gilt or copper alloy have been discussed by Standley who explored their emotant qualities.⁶¹⁴ The inscribed and embodied affective words came to characterise the objects themselves and in 'speaking' the inscription, the emotant object could intensify, change or manage the feelings associated with a relationship.⁶¹⁵ There is an earnest quality attached to the use of these materials. Used as courtship gifts, among the affective words recorded by Standley are things

⁶¹³ Gilmore 2019

⁶¹⁴ Standley 2020

⁶¹⁵ Standley 2020

such as ‘Love, Trust, Loyalty, Grace, and Adore.’⁶¹⁶ Although no instances of ‘Always’ were recorded in Standley’s study, its presence on a pendant signifying the marriage between Henry and Catherine speaks of a sense of confident certitude and constancy into the royal partnership. In this way, the badge wearer becomes a *metaphorical* wedding guest earnestly wishing the newlyweds well through the emotant’s communicative values.



Figure 8.7 Enamelled pendant of the rose and pomegranate and H & K. The pendant was found in Warwickshire. PAS WMID-A51F34.

Yet, in the context of the divorce and the intense dialogues surrounding it in the late 1520s and early 1530s, the meaning of the pendant may have shifted into an embodiment of cutting disapproval. The display of an image of the King and Queen joined together ‘Always’ in this environment would give voice to a thinly veiled sense of betrayal. It could display the emotional weight of the situation and the outrage of many at the breaking of a sacred and royal promise which entailed both personal and public obligations. But it was not only religious qualms driving opposition and outrage. The divorce could also be seen as a violation of the romantic

⁶¹⁶ Standley 2020, 748

ideals and expectations of the day, ideals tightly bound to and intertwined with to the material practice referenced above. That the object being used to draw attention to the breaking of those expectations that once served as the very expression of those ideals presents us with an example of emotants referring to each other in their different uses. Bearing in mind the earlier iteration of how these badges were used and the emotions that they embodied, their presence or reappearance in the late 1520s and early 1530s may be built upon self-referential messages. They could be revealing of a mocking tone in the pendant's speaking of 'Always,' given the dissolution of past promises.

There is also the possibility of a sense of concern being communicated by the use of the rose and pomegranate badges if worn at the time of the divorce. We may consider how the visual and physical matter of the badges and pendant impact the narrative of the marriage and divorce in the mind's eye. The rose and pomegranate motif shown on the pendant and the badges, coupled with the H and K bound together with a ribbon or knot on the former, formulated the image in the mind's eye of two individuals coalescing into one conjoined figure – this was in line with the Christian Sacrament of Marriage and the idea that matrimony is the joining of both body and spirit.⁶¹⁷ Therefore, there was the potential reinforcement of the idea that the separation was something that would be unnatural and damaging.

Throughout their marriage, there are records of the rose and pomegranate being used by the Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon at public functions including a joust held in October 1518 at Greenwich near London to entertain French dignitaries and celebrate the Treaty of Universal Peace.⁶¹⁸ A list of expenses from the event clearly records the acquisition of

⁶¹⁷ Loyola Press. (2020, April 28). *The Sacrament of Matrimony*. <https://s3staging.loyolapress.com/catholic-resources/sacraments/matrimony/sacrament-of-matrimony/>

⁶¹⁸ Gilmore 2019

metalwork and embroidery featuring the letters H and K, branches of roses and pomegranates, and hearts.⁶¹⁹ Used in this public and political way, the rose and pomegranate was meant to exude unity and project a picture of stability. England expressed through the persons of the King and Queen was shown to be united: it was not fractured, but was bound or woven together. In use a decade later, the rose and pomegranate badge still emphasised the unity implied by the joining of the two individual's emblems. For the pendant, the vividness of the enamelled motifs may have reinforced the stability and permanence of the joining of the two individuals. Therefore, the separation as it operated through the visual material in the division of the motifs emphasised and expressed the implications of the royal divorce. The badges gave voice to the emotions of those opposed to it. It would have been undoubtedly bold and dangerous to have worn a badge in such a manner. Yet, this boldness of belief and action in the early 16th century, as also witnessed in the previous discussion of the Pilgrimage of Grace, may be associated with badge wearing.

While two of the badges are from London and the pendant and chain are from Warwickshire, it is intriguing that one of the rose and pomegranate badge finds is from the county of Devon. The southwest took part in several popular revolts in the Tudor period and the conservative nature of popular religion across Devon meant that they were consistent in their support of traditional Catholic religious practices.⁶²⁰ This is shown not only in the revolts, but also in the continued support of pilgrimage to the shrine of Henry VI discussed previously in Section 5.1.2. This rose and pomegranate badge from South Molton (Figure 8.6) is one of only eight badges with any iconography found in the county and it was discovered by a metal

⁶¹⁹ Gilmore 2019

⁶²⁰ MacCulloch and Fletcher 2020

detectorist in close proximity to two other badges. These depict a silver scallop shell and the Temptation of Adam and Eve with the Tree of Life and the serpent (Figure 8.8). Although only a broad medieval date has been applied to the Adam and Eve badge, the silver gilt scallop shell likely dates to the 15th or 16th century.⁶²¹ While it is not certain that these badges were all in use at the same time and by the same person, the proximity of a rose and pomegranate badge and an Adam and Eve badge is worth noting. It is possible that *if* they were worn together at the time of the divorce, the Temptation might have been referring to the influence of Anne Boleyn. The idea of a fall from what is good and right (a paradise) fits with the idea of a rose and pomegranate being severed through divorce. The rose and pomegranate badge from South Molton, if used in the 1520s or 1530s gives voice to a fear of social and religious divisions. Additionally, the findspots of the South Molton badge and the Temptation badge are within 16 miles of the village of Morebath which Duffy has highlighted as a particular bastion of conservative religious sentiment.⁶²²

⁶²¹ Wootton 2010

⁶²² Duffy 2001



Figure 8.8 Badge of the Temptation of Adam and Eve (Eve missing) with the Tree of Life. This badge was found in Devon in the vicinity of the South Molton Rose and Pomegranate badge (Figure 8.6). PAS DEV-2FD8C3.

The rose and pomegranate therefore could have been a marker of conservatism in the 16th century. However, an examination of this form of badge helps to reveal the versatility of such materials in their ability to express different things. The same badge can shift in tone of what it expresses, thereby maintaining a consistent appeal for adoption and use by particular emotional communities. The renewal or revival of the rose and pomegranate badge to meet the particular and immediate needs of an emotional community and the expression of their beliefs and feelings may also be shown in the other elements of the pendant necklace. Comprising a curb chain and a clasp is the form of an enamelled gripping hand, it has been suggested by Gilmore that the three key elements of the necklace may not have been made for one another and that the necklace, as it was found, may be the marriage of the pieces (Figure 8.9).⁶²³ Gilmore argues that the contrast between the high quality of the gold used in the object coupled with the rather poor craftsmanship of the clasp, barrel hinges, and cast hand gives the impression that the elements were hastily

⁶²³ King 2026; Gilmore 2019

brought together.⁶²⁴ If the elements were married together it was likely to have been sometime between 1517 and 1533, i.e. between the Greenwich joust (which also mentioned the use of images of hands grasping the branch of a rose and pomegranate), and the actual annulment of the royal marriage. It is possible that the heart pendant, which was initially produced and used for either the marriage or a royal celebration, was joined to the chain and clasp in the 1520s in order to prominently display it as a badge of dissent.



Figure 8.9 Warwickshire pendant of the rose and pomegranate shown married to a curb chain. Total weight: 317.4 g. PAS. WMID-A51F34.

⁶²⁴ King 2026; Gilmore 2019

Although the focus of this section has dealt specifically with the rose and pomegranate examples and their possible uses, the goal of this section was to establish how ‘secular’ badges could have been used by emotional communities and how those uses could shift over time. Every badge was capable of expressing some belief, idea, or emotion which was meaningful across individual, communal, and societal levels. Again, if we question the use of a specific badge and push beyond the simple identification of the motifs apparent in its form (i.e. the rose and pomegranate identifying the union of the Tudors and Catherine of Aragon and how this impacted diplomacy between England and Spain), we are presented with contexts which imply the emotional use of badges. In the rose and pomegranate example, we may see how badges were being used to express opinions and played a clear communicative role and marker of participation in contemporary dialogues and disputes. The rose and pomegranate example shows how there was an adaptability to the badges which was connected to the intentionality of the badge wearer. Understanding just how a secular badge lent emotional weight to a social issue requires a new reading of the objects, one that is open and cognisant of contextual cues, such as the rose and pomegranate, and how the wearing of a badge could shift in meaning over time.

This section established the way a badge could share and entice opinions in a manner which could be used to bolster, support, or express contrarian views. In this way, were badges viewed as provocative objects and detrimental to social harmony and order? In the lead up to the divorce of Henry and Catherine, rose and pomegranate badges could have been worn as a direct challenge to Henry VIII’s royal opinion and wishes. Was such controversial use of the badge too bold and personal of an expression to be made in defiance of Henry? The use of badges to express discontent with Henry’s decision to divorce and the growing influence of religious reformers in his court in the early 1530’s may also lend some insight into some of Henry’s later

policies and the importance his later reign placed on curtailing certain elements of popular religious imagery. When confronted in 1536-7 by the IHS wearing northern retinue of Pilgrims as discussed in Chapter 7, it is apparent that the previously potent religious imagery of the IHS was contaminated because of its 'anti-Tudor' use. Henry's next step was to eviscerate the cult and imagery of St Thomas Becket whose status as shown in Chapter 4 as a defender of church rights at the expense of the English monarchy marked the imagery as a potential threat and rallying point for dissenters. The use of rose and pomegranate badges in the 1520s and 1530s along with the IHS and Becket examples appear then to have been highly provocative to the regime which were likely to become (certainly in the case of Becket's cult) victims of the political spite of the Tudors.

8.4 Badge legislation

Henry VIII was not the only monarch to wrestle with the popular (mis)use of badges. Beginning in the late 14th century, a number of legislative acts and records show us that Parliament maintained a high degree of concern towards the use and distribution of livery for a period of 150 years. According to Saul, it was the badges or signs which provoked the most frequent complaints amongst the Commons.⁶²⁵ In 1384, grumblings in the Commons claimed that badges were being distributed by Lords in their localities in order 'to establish petty tyrannies over their neighbours.'⁶²⁶ While John of Gaunt and the Lords were unsympathetic to their complaints, the Commons continued to raise their concerns and demands that badge use be abolished.⁶²⁷ The issue was again raised in 1388, 1390, 1393, 1397, 1399, and 1401.⁶²⁸ The

⁶²⁵ Saul 1990, 302

⁶²⁶ Saul 1990, 302

⁶²⁷ Saul 1990, 302

⁶²⁸ Saul 1990, 302-303

concern with which the Commons viewed the distribution of badges at this time was exacerbated by Richard II's affinity building policies, and persisted into the early reign of Henry IV. Richard II aggressively sought to rapidly enlarge his personal power and affinity and extend crown influence into the localities through the distribution of his own personal badges.⁶²⁹ This was first attempted in East Anglia in 1387 when Richard sent a sergeant at arms to distribute silver and gilt crown badges to the local gentry in return for their armed support when called upon.⁶³⁰ The archaeological evidence of the 31 crown badges in the dataset are perhaps some of these badges, notably the four which were recovered from the East Anglian locale of Kings Lynn, Norfolk (Figure 8.10). Spencer attributes crown badges to the cult of St Edward the Confessor due to his status as a royal saint,⁶³¹ and while the cult may indeed have used crown imagery, it is clear from the documentary sources that such objects were also being used in a more secular manner. Again, caution must be exercised when attributing undiagnostic badges to specific cults. For example, the Kunera badge database categorizes its crown badges as objects of St Edward the Confessor (Westminster) with no reference to a secular use of these badge types (database.kunera.nl).

⁶²⁹ Ward 2016, 73

⁶³⁰ Ward 2016, 55

⁶³¹ Spencer 1980, 21



Figure 8.10 Badge from London depicting a crown. These crown badges have often been associated with the cult of St Edward the Confessor. However, there are references to the use of similar badges by King Richard II. PAS LON-8598D9.

While the East Anglian scheme failed and the sergeant distributing the crown badges was arrested, three years later Richard introduced his badge of the white hart and began to distribute them with considerable success throughout the county of Cheshire (Figure 8.11). Richard's intensifying rivalry with Henry Bolingbroke and the massive Lancastrian affinity at this time was perpetuated by the distribution of livery badges.⁶³² Rose describes this period of competitive badge giving and affinity building as the fostering of a gang culture across England.⁶³³ Vestiges of this competitive environment can be seen in the Wilton Diptych (c. 1395-1399) (Figure 8.13).⁶³⁴ While the exterior of the diptych features a painted hart and crown, the inside scene depicts a kneeling Richard II with St Edmund, St Edward the Confessor, and St John the Baptist standing behind him. The king is shown kneeling and facing the Holy Virgin and Child

⁶³² Rose 2017, 280 n. 68

⁶³³ Rose 2017, 208 n. 68; Given-Wilson 2016, 93-94

⁶³⁴ Gordon et al 2015

accompanied by a host of angels who acknowledge Richard's adoration. Richard and the angels are wearing hart badges which are identical to the image painted on the exterior of the diptych. Perhaps tactfully, the personal badge of Richard is not depicted on the bodies of the Virgin, the Christ Child, or the three saints. Yet, in showing the angelic multitude with hart badges, Richard is making the claim that his personal affinity bears the assent of heaven. In reality, Richard's perceived favouritism towards those who wore his badge and particularly his Cheshire affinity was straining the bonds of trust between the king and his subjects.⁶³⁵ The contemporary poem *Richard the Redeless* clearly reflects on the situation claiming that for every hart (badge) given out, ten score more faithful 'hearts' would be lost.⁶³⁶ In restricting favour to the badge wearer, particularly given that his affinity was largely drawn from a concentrated geographical area, the sense of common purpose and unity of England was suffering.⁶³⁷ According to Ward, the badge of the white hart came to represent 'the inflated attitudes of the king and those who wore it.'⁶³⁸ Bearing this in mind, the badge wearing angels on Richard's Wilton Diptych reinforce the exclusivity fostered by the king's personal practice of using and distributing badges. In many ways, the badge-less are outside of the 'heavenly host' and favour of the king.

⁶³⁵ Saul 1990, 313

⁶³⁶ Saul 1990, 313

⁶³⁷ Saul 1990, 313

⁶³⁸ Ward 2016, 56

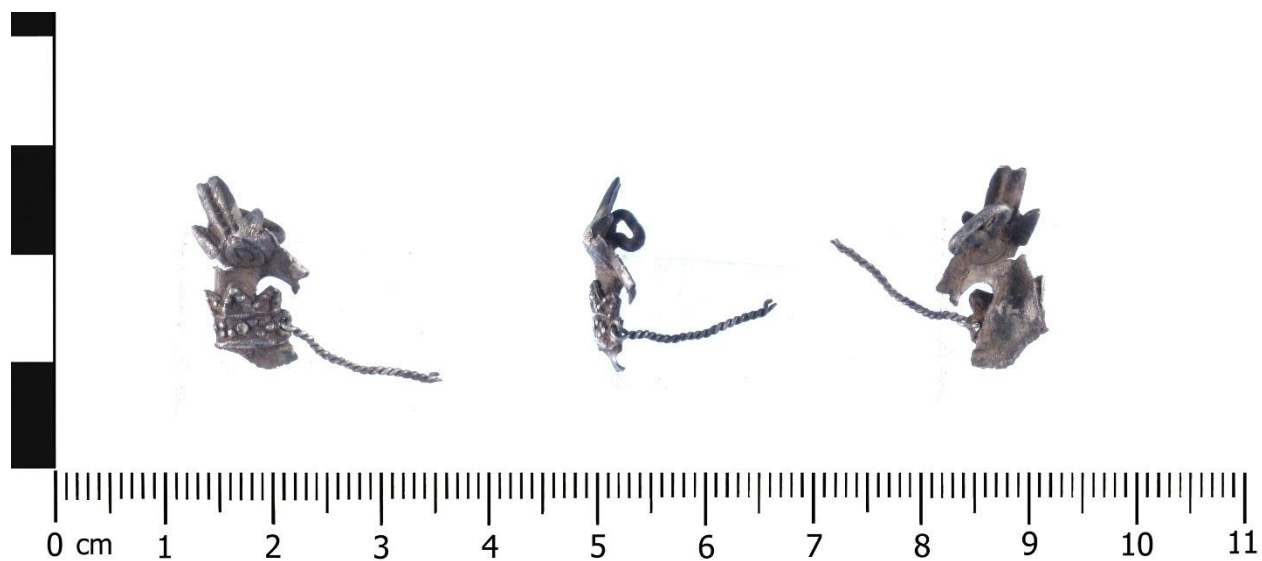


Figure 8.11 Fragment of a badge of a white hart. This became Richard II's personal badge which was distributed with great success in the locality of Cheshire. PAS WAW-B11303.



Figure 8.12 Late 14th century badge of a stag or hart similar to those adopted by King Richard II. This example is from Mitchiner's London catalogue (catalogue number 304). 62 x 60 mm. Mitchiner 1986, 120.



Figure 8.13 Images of the interior scene of the Wilton Diptych c. 1395-1399. Note the badges of the white hart being worn by Richard II (kneeling at left) and the angel host attending the Virgin and Child (at right). c. 1395-1399. 53 x 37 c. The National Gallery, London. NG4451.

There are 28 badges in this projects database which feature the image of a hart or stag (Figure 8.12). Overall, the distribution of these badges is unsurprising due to the nature of the overall corpus of badges with 14 examples from London and six from Salisbury. Additionally, there are two further hart/stag badges from Wiltshire as well as single badge finds from the counties of Cheshire, Norfolk, Somerset, Surrey, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire. The recovery of the hart badge from the coastal site of Meols in Cheshire is of particular note given Richard's intensive policy of retaining in that area.⁶³⁹ However, when considering hart or stag imagery, it

⁶³⁹ Griffiths et al 2007, 157

is important to consider that similar iconography was also used by others including William, Lord Ferrers and Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent (who was also Richard's half-brother).⁶⁴⁰

Therefore not all of these 28 badges are necessarily to be associated with King Richard II.

Badges played a significant role in the chaos and violence marking the end of Richard II's reign. It is telling that in the very first parliament of his successor Henry IV, in 1399, action was taken to prohibit the distribution of badges by all Lords (with the exception of the king, who retained the right to distribute badges). That Henry would seek to address the badge situation immediately is a tribute to the efficacy the badges were considered to have in garnering support, expressing opinion, and binding groups (emotional communities) together according to a similar message, belief, or purpose. Henry would have been particularly conscious of the disruptive potential of badges given the seeds of discord and factionalism which were sown and perpetuated by his predecessors (as well as his own) zeal for giving out personal badges.⁶⁴¹

The issue of badges and livery persisted and continued to perplex the Commons for the next eight decades. The 15th century was fraught with rivalry and strife between magnates and eventually culminated in the Wars of the Roses. The weak and lenient kingship of Henry VI concerning the management of the magnates and their badge-wearing affinities allowed feuds, such as that between the Neville and Percy families, to escalate and negatively impact the maintenance of law and order at a local level throughout England.⁶⁴² Rose has provided a compilation of the 12 livery statutes enacted between 1377 and 1485.⁶⁴³ The timing of when the statutes were enacted is of interest. Five statutes were enacted during the contentious reign of Richard II where Saul has discussed in detail the preoccupation of Commons with the issue of

⁶⁴⁰ Griffiths et al 2007, 157

⁶⁴¹ Saul 1990, 313

⁶⁴² Wolffe 2001; Ward 2016, 65

⁶⁴³ Rose 2017, 371-379

livery and badges (between 1377 and 1397).⁶⁴⁴ As mentioned above, Henry IV immediately placed prohibitions on the distribution of badges in 1399 with further amendments and statutes in 1401, 1406, and 1411.⁶⁴⁵ Henry VI addressed the issue of livery only once via statute in 1429 which is unsurprising given the factionalism witnessed during his reign and the conflict between the Lancastrians and Yorkists.⁶⁴⁶ Conversely, Edward IV, like his usurper predecessor Henry IV, immediately placed restrictions on the giving of badges and livery upon ascending to the throne in 1461.⁶⁴⁷ Edward addressed the issue again in 1468, the timing of which correlates to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick's growing displeasure with the Yorkist king.⁶⁴⁸ Within a year of the statute, Neville and his massive retinue wearing his bear and ragged staff badges were in open rebellion, in league with King Edward's rivals, the Lancastrians.

Richard III's short reign in the early 1480s saw the enactment of no further livery and badge statutes. Yet, before becoming king, Richard as Duke of Gloucester had amassed a great following north of the river Trent through the consolidation of his holdings in northern England.⁶⁴⁹ For the investiture of his son Edward as Prince of Wales in York in 1483, Richard ordered 13,000 badges of a white boar.⁶⁵⁰ Hicks notes that this badge order would have exceeded the entire population of York and because of the multitude of Richard's badges, 'All northerners must have appeared to be Richard's men.'⁶⁵¹

The use of cloth or embroidered badges (as also evidenced by the badge of the Five Wounds and Holy Name of Jesus discussed in Chapter 7 as well as the reference to the garrison

⁶⁴⁴ Saul 1990; Rose 2017, 373

⁶⁴⁵ Rose 2017, 373-374

⁶⁴⁶ Rose 2017, 376

⁶⁴⁷ Rose 2017, 378

⁶⁴⁸ Rose 2017, 378

⁶⁴⁹ Hicks 2020, 139

⁶⁵⁰ Watts 2003, 205

⁶⁵¹ Hicks 2020, 275

of Calais in 1470 acquiring badges of the bear and ragged staff of the Nevilles in cloth if they could not have them in metal⁶⁵² raises the question of just how many badges were in circulation which we have no record of today (Figure 8.14). The difficulty of identifying the badges of secular affinities such as the Percy or Neville families may be compounded by the possibility that they were distributing large numbers of cloth badges to meet their retaining and affinity-building purposes. It is possible that there were large numbers of textile badges with common motifs (such as the bear and ragged staff of the Neville family or the Talbot dog of the Talbot family) which were mass produced and ready for immediate distribution (Figure 8.15). Indeed, it is possible that the negative data concerning all badges generally may have been impacted by the later medieval practice of using cloth badges. There is contemporary precedent for this in the *opus anglicanum* tradition of English textile manufacture or embroidery.⁶⁵³



Figure 8.14 Pewter 15th century badge fragment depicting a ragged staff as adopted by the Neville family. This example is from Mitchiner's London catalogue (catalogue number 743). 54 x 12 mm. Mitchiner 1986, 209.

⁶⁵² Ward 2016, 60

⁶⁵³ Ward 2007



Figure 8.15 Badge depicting a chained and muzzled bear similar to those adopted by the Neville family. This example is from Spencer's London catalogue (catalogue number 287b). 31 x 48 mm. Spencer 2010, 292-293.

Considering the surviving metal badges, despite the textual reference to 13,000 cloth badges featuring the boar of Richard III, this project only records 14 metal boar badges. Regarding their distribution, it is worth noting that the London data do not dominate the distribution in contrast to the majority of other badge types identified in this thesis. This is perhaps due to Richard's unpopularity in the city. While there are two finds from Yorkshire and the North which was supportive and receptive to Richard's rule, the cluster of three badges from the general vicinity of Bosworth Field in Leicestershire including a silver-gilt example (Figure 8.16) is also intriguing. These finds represent either the detritus of Richard's last battle or provide evidence for the abandonment of the affinity following the death of the king. A similar chaotic abandonment of association through the frantic shedding of collars and badges occurred in 1377 London; John of Gaunt and his followers, having incited the rage of Londoners for a

variety of reasons, found themselves being assaulted by mobs who tore their collars off.⁶⁵⁴ Upon hearing of these attacks, Gaunt's followers were said to have swiftly concealed their badges to avoid the violence and wrath of the Londoners.⁶⁵⁵ The mob not finding John of Gaunt himself, went throughout the city attacking any symbol representing him.⁶⁵⁶ Those fleeing Bosworth in 1485 may have been struck by the same sense of fear and panic as felt by Gaunt's followers as they discarded their badges. These two events show how badges and the decision to wear one could attract emotional and possibly even violent responses on occasion. They show that there were personal risks involved in the decision to wear a factional badge. Once an association with a faction was shattered or became problematic, the badge itself could become dangerous to its wearer as it acted as an emotional lightning rod attracting both attention and reactions.



Figure 8.16 Silver-gilt badge of a boar found near the vicinity of Bosworth Field, Leicestershire. The boar was the personal badge of Richard III. PAS. LEIC-A6C834.

⁶⁵⁴ Ward 2016, 50

⁶⁵⁵ Thompson 1874, 125

⁶⁵⁶ Ward 2016, 51

After Bosworth and upon ascending the throne of England, Henry VII seems to have made a concerted effort to enforce and enact livery statutes in an effort to control retinue building by great magnates and therein maintain public order. Retaining did not cease during Henry's reign but statutes enacted and enforced in 1487, 1495, and 1497 took care to ensure that retinues operated in a manner which conformed to the letter of the law.⁶⁵⁷ Presumably, each of these statutes were enforced. However, their repeated introduction suggests that they were not successful in managing retinues. Henry VII, unlike previous rulers was particularly adamant that when retinues were in existence, that their activities were 'confined to the purpose for which it was raised, that is to say military service' for the defence of the kingdom.⁶⁵⁸ Enforcement was concentrated on the retinues of magnates whose power was concentrated in certain localities such as Lord Burgavenny (who was a member of the Neville family) and his Kentish retinues, the Duke of Buckingham (Stafford family), or the Earl of Northumberland (Percy family).⁶⁵⁹ As discussed by Cameron, it was the growth of these three powerful retinues in particular which led to the retaining statute of 1504 which was the first real attack on feudal retaining privileges as it questioned the very right of nobles to retain.⁶⁶⁰ With these laws in place, Henry shattered the Kentish retinue of Lord Burgavenny.⁶⁶¹ Overall, there was a general tightening of the royal noose around the independent activities of the largest and most powerful factional/familial retinues. In short, Henry oversaw the enforcement of the laws regarding livery and badges and his letters to Carlisle, Cumbria, provide clear evidence of the vigilance maintained throughout Henry's reign.⁶⁶² Carlisle, as a fortress on the Scottish border, but also several urban governing

⁶⁵⁷ Cameron 1974, 24

⁶⁵⁸ Cameron 1974, 24

⁶⁵⁹ Cameron 1974, 22, 25

⁶⁶⁰ Cameron 1974, 34

⁶⁶¹ Cameron 1974; Ross 2021

⁶⁶² McKelvie 2017

bodies such as Leicester and very likely places like Berwick, Durham, and York, received letters from Henry in 1498 in the immediate aftermath of the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy and rebellions.⁶⁶³ These letters explicitly reminded these areas of their duty to uphold the laws restricting the distribution of livery and badges with the implication being that, ‘illegal retaining would exacerbate existing divisions to the hinderance of their ability to defend the border’ from invasion by the Scots.⁶⁶⁴ All of this attention directed towards the distribution of badges and the restrictions imposed specifically upon England’s powerful magnates and their factions resulted in the controlled use of these objects. Badges became objects that were not to be freely given or worn publicly lest they should attract the full weight of Henry VII’s legal and punitive action.

The impact of Henry VII’s policies concerning badges is shown in the dataset. Although at least 149 badges have been identified with a particular faction or family, this number pales in comparison to the thousands of badges recorded as being distributed by the likes of magnates such as Richard III or the Stafford’s and being worn across England. There are not many finds which can be securely associated with the late 15th or early 16th century. Indeed, Gaimster and Goodall writing in 1999 identified only two such badges including a badge of the Gainsford family which depicts a female figure holding a garland dating to *c.* 1525-1550 (Figure 8.17).⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ McKelvie 2017, 164, 165

⁶⁶⁴ McKelvie 2017, 165

⁶⁶⁵ Gaimster and Goodall 1999, 398



Figure 8.17 Silver gilt badge of a maiden holding a garland from Chelsham, Surrey, c. 1525-1550. This badge has been attributed to the Gainsford family. From Gaimster and Goodall 1999, 393

All of these statutes were enacted to curtail the behaviour and actions of badge-wearing retainers. But what exactly was that behaviour and how was it emotionally bound to and expressed through material badges? Griffiths summarised that badges were highly provocative objects while Saul claimed that badges were ‘associated with the twin evils of maintenance and disorder’ as it was likely that their distribution was at its highest during periods of unrest or rebellion.⁶⁶⁶ The Commons clearly stated their opinion concerning badges in 1384 and

Complained bitterly about the tyranny of certain locally powerful persons who, furnished with badges by the lords of realm and sheltered by their favour, and having in natural consequence an exaggerated conceit of themselves, unjustly oppressed and dismayed the

⁶⁶⁶ Griffiths 1981; Saul 1990, 310

*poor and helpless of their neighbourhoods, trying to overthrow laws passed and published for the common weal of the realm, and, in full reliance on their own smartness and friendship of their lords, refusing to allow those laws to hold to their straight course.*⁶⁶⁷

The Commons were complaining that badges were fostering a ‘gang culture’ throughout England or as Keen would describe it, ‘local mafias.’⁶⁶⁸ Again in 1388, Parliament claimed ‘It is certainly the boldness inspired by their badges that makes the unafraid to do these things and more besides.’⁶⁶⁹ A century later, the situation remained largely unchanged as shown by Henry VII’s attempts to manage the troublesome retinue of Lord Burgavenny which had been a ‘constant threat to the peace of Kent’ between 1495 and 1507.⁶⁷⁰ Yet even though in this period when nearly all of Kent was controlled and retained by Lord Burgavenny, there are only four badges in the dataset representing a bull which was thought to be his badge.⁶⁷¹ Of these four badges, there are no bull badges found in Kent (three from London, one from King’s Lynn). Indeed, of the 28 total badge finds from Kent, only two (a plough and what was once a heraldic shield) may be deemed as purely secular in nature. The remaining 26 badges all have religious imagery of some sort.

Kent’s history of unrest throughout this project’s period of study makes this a particularly surprising finding; the lack of evidence in Kent is not necessarily an indication that factional badges were not being used in this area. Rather, I would suggest that it may be indicative of the

⁶⁶⁷ Hector and Harvey 1982, 82-83

⁶⁶⁸ Given-Wilson 2016, 94; Keen 1990, 18

⁶⁶⁹ Hector and Harvey 1982, 356-357

⁶⁷⁰ Cameron 1974, 31-34; Ross 2021 provides a detailed discussion of Lord Burgavenny’s situation and the many misdeeds of his retainers.

⁶⁷¹ Cameron 1974, 31

care and control concerning the ways in which these objects were managed. Badges were thought by the Commons in the 1380s to be detrimental to public order in England and because of this, the historian Storey claims that this put the Commons, who were dismayed by the amount of unpunished crime, ‘in open discord with the Lords’ who were the ones responsible for distributing badges.⁶⁷² But the badges themselves could also place their wearers in ‘open discord’ with their Lords. The effective use of badges to communicate shared viewpoints contributed to the creation of legislation directed against their use. Consequentially, badges became objects which were not treated or handled casually. Tight control of these objects, as seen with Lord Darcy’s curation of the badges of the Five Wounds for nearly 25 years as discussed in Chapter 7 suggests that badges were not idly handled and were therefore unlikely objects to have been accidentally misplaced or lost, considering the legal implications of their misuse.⁶⁷³ This then suggests that these livery or retainer’s badges would have been purposefully discarded or destroyed.

8.5 Summary

To summarise, this chapter considered the use of social and political badges and the emotions associated with contemporary perceptions concerning their use. This included the examination of a form of badge used to commemorate the marriage between King Henry VIII and Queen Catherine of Aragon. The discussion of these badges showed how emotional communities and individuals could use badges in ways that shifted their meanings over time.

⁶⁷² Storey 1971, 132-135

⁶⁷³ Again, in Darcy’s interrogation, legal emphasis and questioning was directed at Darcy’s ownership and distribution of the badges. Bateson 1890, 554-555

Badges such as the Rose and Pomegranate played a communicative and participatory role which was connected to the agency, affiliations, and beliefs of the wearer.

The consideration of contemporary controversies and legislative acts also attest to the notion that the act of wearing and distributing badges was perceived to be disruptive and detrimental to society and political stability. Indeed, badges were considered to have fostered a 'gang culture' across later medieval England and Wales. Nevertheless, this demonstrates that social and political badges communicated a sense of relationship and community to their wearers.

Chapter 9: Discussion

Throughout this thesis, a number of themes became apparent and consistently appeared in each of the focused case studies. The following discussion is guided by the five research questions posed in Chapter 2.5.

9.1 Deposition of badges

The spatial data concerning badges which was analysed throughout this project revealed a number of key points. Namely, the development of the PAS has contributed tremendously to the overall corpus of badge finds in England and Wales. Although the numbers of finds recovered from the urban riverine contexts are impressive, the concentration of these finds in the three locations of London, Salisbury, and King's Lynn provides only a narrow spatial perspective of badge use across the country as a whole. The ever-expanding rural chance finds of the PAS permits the exploration of the distributions of badges in the places unrepresented in the catalogue data. The merging of these datasets has revealed many unique distributions of badge material which have been interpreted as being indicative of emotional communities. For example, as discussed in Chapter 7, while there are numerous Christocentric badges found in London, outside of that location, the PAS data revealed the prevalence of badges of the Holy Name of Jesus in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and northern England. When contextualised, this northern distribution appears to reflect the social and devotional importance and uses of Christocentric badges across northern England. Other distributions apparent in the data include the badges of St Margaret of Antioch whose PAS finds have also been discussed by Lewis.⁶⁷⁴ These finds are heavily

⁶⁷⁴ Lewis 2013, 283

concentrated in Lincolnshire yet, there are not many examples of the cult from the urban riverine data which is unexpected given St Margaret's presumed importance for women in childbirth. Such a universal appeal would seemingly be accompanied by a broad distribution of badges. But, this is not shown by the current state of badge data relating to St Margaret of Antioch. Furthermore, Spencer's assessments of the cult of Henry VI also suggested a broad appeal based on the numbers of finds from London. While still numerous in the PAS dataset of rural finds, the distribution is not indicative of a broad or 'national' appeal. There are not substantial numbers of chance finds of Henry VI badges recorded from the counties of the southwest, Wales, or northern England. This is compounded by the low or absent badge data from the counties of Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire which have high reporting of PAS badge finds overall. This then emphasises a regional distribution of the badges of the cult of King Henry VI. Therefore, considering badge data as a whole, utilising both chance finds and urban riverine data as well as available excavated finds is essential in producing inferences regarding later medieval badge use across England and Wales.

Concerning the limited data gleaned from excavated reports, in comparison to the catalogue and chance finds, it may be stated that such material permits the assessment that badges are being recovered from a variety of social contexts. This further implies that badges were ubiquitous in their use and were highly visible elements throughout 14th-16th century society.

9.2 The popularity, desirability, and practicality of badges

The emotional potential of badges has been demonstrated for each of the badge types discussed spanning the joys and sorrows of the various depictions of Our Lady, the goodness and friendship of Henry VI, the confidence instilled by a Christocentric badge, or the familiarity of a

livery badge and the camaraderie of the bonds they forge. To understand badge use, it is essential that an attempt is made to address the basic elements of how they were valued. That is, not from an economic sense of value but in how they can show us the importance of relationships and how people sought ideal connections with the holy or the powerful.

I have considered the cults of St Thomas Becket, Our Lady, Henry VI, St Margaret of Antioch, and Christocentric devotions in detail and have interpreted the acquisition of badges to have been the seeking out of the particular virtues of a holy individual. The internalisation or simply the desire to experience or value those virtues is expressed through the acquisition and display of a badge. This forms the individual building block of what becomes an emotional community of like-minded individuals who share similar values.

With regard to the association between badges and the act of pilgrimage, or their classification as pilgrim signs, a pilgrimage is something which is indicative of a relationship with a holy figure. Such a relationship is established even before the physical pilgrimage is undertaken as there would have existed some knowledge or recognition of the qualities of a holy figure and a trust or confidence that a devotional pilgrimage would bear some expected fruit. I am speaking here of devotional pilgrimage where healing, protection, or emotional succour is being actively sought by a pilgrim. Certainly, there were more touristic or non-devotional pilgrims for whom the badge was in fact never anything but a souvenir. But, for the devotional pilgrims, the notion that badges were acquired as a secondary relic is perhaps too quick to emphasise the 'other-worldly' in these simple objects. I would suggest that there is a clear and plausible devotional explanation to the use of badges which lays in the consistent emphasis of the imagery of the badges on the moments of a holy individuals story which displays their virtue and exemplary nature. Discussions of later medieval pilgrimage clearly engage with the

importance of healing and intercessions. Yet, missing from these conversations is the recognition of the emotion and trust which is implicit and foundational to that experience. The perception of badges as emotants throughout this project has shown that Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were accessible to people in ways which were not always miraculous but were emotionally charged and devotionally meaningful.

The emotions of Marian devotion and how later medieval people sought to experience it should not relegate the impact of Marian badges specifically to the idea that they merely served to identify those who had undertaken a pilgrimage. Overall, amongst the nuanced messages of good news, joy, constancy, and grief, there was an underlying current flowing throughout Marian depictions on badges which sought to emphasise a closeness to Mary. This was a relationship founded upon shared or mutual experiences encompassing the joys and sorrows of life where Mary is known to be near, familiar, and therefore comforting to the badge wearer.

This attachment could be localised in nature, implying the maintenance of local traditions or values as shown in the badge data of Our Lady of Willesden (See Section 4.3.3) that were found close to the shrine in nearby London. While it is probable that an emotional community would have developed in close proximity to a shrine as the epicentre of a cult, there was also the potential for the message and imagery of a local cult to resonate with individuals further afield. To suggest that Marian badges, or other badges in general, can act in this manner as emotants is not a denial of the importance of the physical place of pilgrimage. It is rather a shift in interpretive emphasis towards the emotions sustaining the people who recognised the message of a devotion or cult and its badges, and were drawn to it. Therefore, it is the maintenance of a devotional relationship of trust and comfort which I suggest is the real appeal laying behind the practice of acquiring and wearing badges.

There is a propensity among scholars to identify the specific ailment or situation for which a particular saint was sought in the later medieval religious environment.⁶⁷⁵ For example, St Apollonia was sought for toothaches or St Margaret was a helper during childbirth. Craig summarises that Henry VI, albeit uncanonised, was sought by the English faithful specifically in times of adversity. However, the specialised helper saints who assisted those with particular maladies, who travelled to their shrines, were beginning to wane in popularity in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.⁶⁷⁶ Gecser argues that the cults of holy helpers were ‘explicitly materialistic’ because people turned to them in order to resolve everyday problems.⁶⁷⁷ Gecser further states that it was the increasing numbers of these specialised helper cults and their veneration which ‘brought about a turn towards more visible materialism in the cult of saints in general.’⁶⁷⁸ Responding to this situation, in 1503 Erasmus wrote in his *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier* that ‘we have appointed certain saints to preside over all things we fear or desire... If this sort of piety is not turned from mere consideration of material advantages or disadvantages and redirected towards Christ, then far from being Christian it is not much removed from superstition.’⁶⁷⁹ In Germany, Martin Luther also expressed his frustrations in 1516 (before his break with Rome) that helper cults turn the attention of the faithful ‘away from the virtues and exemplary lives of these saints and makes them instruments of material needs.’⁶⁸⁰ The cult of Henry VI formed and flourished within this shifting devotional environment precisely because its focus was fixed upon the virtue and exemplary life of faith maintained by Henry (crafted posthumously or not).

⁶⁷⁵ Gecser 2023

⁶⁷⁶ Gecser 2023, 62

⁶⁷⁷ Gecser 2023, 62

⁶⁷⁸ Gecser 2023, 62

⁶⁷⁹ Erasmus and O’Malley 1988, 63-64

⁶⁸⁰ Gecser 2023, 63

According to Gecser, in the 15th and 16th centuries developing cults of saints eschewed the specialisations of older saints and became generalists in efforts to increase their devotional pull and corresponding likelihood of canonisation.⁶⁸¹ This generalisation entailed socially unrestricted assistance or a willingness to help anyone.⁶⁸² The unofficial cult of Henry VI embodied this ‘softening’ of the role of saints but it was the relatability of the cult and the strength and emphasis of the saint/devotee bond which facilitated its great popularity in England. The occurrences of purses depicted with Henry on badges points the attention of the cult to the virtues and exemplary Christian life led by Henry.

There is an element of paradox in the depiction of King Henry VI on badges and other artistic imagery. He is shown as a radiant King even though his devotees knew him as a modest, simple, devout, and humble man. A crown is typically shown on his head in place of his slovenly hat which pilgrims to Windsor continued to try on even into the 1540’s.⁶⁸³ Therefore, despite his formal depictions, there was an approachability to Henry as a holy person. Craig has suggested that there were deep bonds of sympathy driving the relationships of Henry’s cult.⁶⁸⁴ Devotees considered and sympathised with Henry’s ‘genuine experiences of failure and adversity, and assumed that he would have sympathy for their own.’⁶⁸⁵ It has been claimed that Henry was ‘a poor saint by modern standards as he was un-kingly in the eyes of his contemporaries.’⁶⁸⁶ Yet, of all the various saints represented by badges across England and

⁶⁸¹ Gecser 2023, 49

⁶⁸² Gecser 2023, 46

⁶⁸³ Spencer 1978, 244

⁶⁸⁴ Craig 2003, 202

⁶⁸⁵ Craig 2003, 202

⁶⁸⁶ McKenna 1974, 72-73

Wales, it is Henry's cult which sits with the second most badge material behind only Becket's long standing cult.

This clearly displays a significant degree of popularity which I suggest is a result of Henry being unencumbered by a specific healing or helping purpose. Instead, his genuine intercessions allowed him to resonate as a true friend and example of obtainable virtue. His particular attention to children, grieving parents, and the sad and desolate reveals the healthy devotional bonds or friendships of trust and constancy. Even though in life Henry was 'un-kingly' his kind and virtuous behaviour shows that his appeal lay in tenderness, approachability, and charity to clients.⁶⁸⁷ Duffy states that saints 'could be appealed to as loving friends, who would not be too hard on poor flesh and blood.'⁶⁸⁸ Certainly, this type of relationship applies to the cult of Henry who despite his great power, rarely exerted force or displeasure in his life despite the abuse, mistreatment, and injustices done to him. Thus, the reaffirmation of the emotions of sympathy, admiration, and friendship existing between saints and their later medieval devotees is revealed in the use of badges and adds a perspective of personal relationships to the archaeological study of later medieval society and religious practice.

Beneath the austere imagery of Henry's badges is a reserve of ideals and reminders of virtues which could bring great comfort and confidence to those who sought them. We must therefore be wary of underestimating the devotional and emotional draw of Henry's cult. Confronted with the badge data and the apparent success of Henry VI as a saint, it is suggested that there was an eagerness for a relatable, sympathetic holy figure whose experiences and virtues pointed towards the comfort and grace of God. Henry, even in his uncanonised state

⁶⁸⁷ Duffy 2022, 170

⁶⁸⁸ Duffy 2022, 187

offered a substance of connection and relationship rather than the esoteric and contractual material assistance offered by the long established helper cults. Henry's cult was something devotionally new, relatable, accessible, and was an example within living memory for his devotees. The badges of Henry VI provide physical evidence of the cultivation and activation of devotional emotion in the later 15th and early 16th centuries, that was part of a dynamic and participatory practice.⁶⁸⁹ The cult and its badges gave voice to Christian love and the encouragement to persist in good living and good works.

Yet, the badge data raises some questions regarding the universal practice of wearing the badges of Henry VI by cult devotees. The deft political manoeuvring of the early Tudors and the political elements associated with the cult may explain the distribution of the badges across England and their scarcity in the otherwise high reporting areas of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk. Despite the emphasis here on the devotional potential of the cult, we cannot ignore what current evidence suggests regarding the impact of the Tudors and their detractors. Nevertheless, there is some doubt concerning the survival of badges within the archaeological record and whether the distributions are indeed reflecting past patterns of use or if we are only observing a fragmentary picture affected by undiscovered or lost material. The deft political manoeuvring of the Tudors injected a new political element into the wearing of a devotionally potent badge of Henry VI. Evidence suggests that some emotional communities accepted and used the badges and some rejected them because the cult was so closely tied to the regime.

⁶⁸⁹ Duffy 2022

9.3 The emotive and communicative value of badges

No attempt has been made to understand why the Christological badges of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Five Wounds of Christ (discussed in Chapter 7) were actually chosen by the rebels. They have become merely a passenger of the narrative retellings of the Pilgrimage of Grace but in characterising badges as emotants, the depth and earnestness of that choice and the emotions and ideals which drove that movement begin to shine through. It is here that the 18 ‘Ketsby’ badges with both the sacred trigram and St Margaret can add a degree of colour to our understanding of not only those involved in the mid-16th century religious revolts and their use of the sacred trigram, but they also grant an insight into the relationships between badges and people throughout the late-14th to mid-16th centuries. The added context of St Margaret to a badge of the sacred trigram acts as the visualization of an internal conception and memory-image of the power, merit, and security of the Holy Name of Jesus.

In appealing to and adopting the Holy Name of Jesus as one of the emblems of their movement, the rebels were drawing upon the deep emotive Christological traditions which had become imbedded in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the 15th and early-16th centuries. Hilton described the sacred trigram as ‘your God...and your salvation’ and what the inclusion of St Margaret reveals is how that presence is translated into a confidence of faith and the alleviation of suffering.⁶⁹⁰ Consolation and the positivity encouraged by the intercession of Christ with saints who called upon His name produces a sense of comfort and patiently reminds the faithful of a secure and righteous future. The Pilgrim’s choice of the Holy Name and Five Wounds was prompted by confusion, fear, and desperation as they perceived the destruction of the very foundations of their faith and society. The badges, as emotants, captured the vulnerability of the

⁶⁹⁰ Hilton et al 1991, 221

mid-16th century population of Lincolnshire and northern England in a way which paradoxically embodied the ideals of their movement. I use the term ‘paradoxically’ in an attempt to draw out how an object which gives comfort to those who suffer in faith, whether that be the suffering of childbirth, separated lovers, or pilgrims desperately clinging to their faith, can also communicate and moderate a bold and rich devotion coupled with a sense of fearless confidence.

Aston speaks of traumatic events and how an image may become imbedded in popular memory, but the Pilgrims of Grace made a choice to adopt the badges of the Five Wounds and Holy Name as the means of communicating their deeply imbedded sense of confidence and unflinching trust in the righteousness of their cause.⁶⁹¹ The material evidence would suggest that these badges were already embedded in the consciousness of the laity in Lincolnshire and the northern regions of England. It must be noted that in choosing these Christocentric badges, they were not choosing objects which were associated with any extant pilgrimage. For example, in the face of Evangelical criticisms of pilgrimage, an object of Marian or saintly devotion such as St Thomas Becket (with his precedent for resisting secular infringement of church rights) were eschewed in favour of a symbol which was in fact heavily patronized by the Tudors. The adoption of an image promoted emphatically by the Tudors by rebels diametrically opposed to the policies of that regime provides a vivid testament to the communicative value and emotional depth which may be associated with badges.

When we think about how people and materials were interacting, the Pilgrimage of Grace provides us with a narrative of how badges came to embody a popular movement which erupted emotionally and spontaneously in an environment of uncertainty. The badge data now provides tangible material evidence of a tradition in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and the northern region of

⁶⁹¹ Aston 2016, 219

England which utilised badges featuring the Holy Name of Jesus and/or the Five Wounds of Christ. As emotants, Christocentric badges produced and influenced the emotions felt by individuals and society at large while being used in ways prompted by human feeling.⁶⁹² That is, their use was prompted by both individual and societal pleading for the mercy, grace, and peace which was promised to those who endured suffering for the sake of Christ. By incorporating feeling and emotions into our interpretations we begin to gain an understanding of how objects were actually engaging with people and vice versa. In the case of the Pilgrimage of Grace, we can see how the wearing of Christocentric badges could encapsulate something far beyond their previous assessment as souvenirs of a completed pilgrimage or lucky charms. As emotants, they could quite literally place one's heart upon one's shoulder and substantiated meaningful elements of the immaterial past.

9.4 Shifting practices

There were seismic shifts in Christianity across this period which impacted badge use and led to the end of widespread badge wearing in England and Wales by the mid-16th century. Chapter 6 engaged heavily with the beliefs of Lollards and early Protestants and their aversions to religious imagery. Chapter 7 considered the use of religious badges in a popular revolt and the political as well as social threat that this posed for the Tudor regime. In each of these discussions, the criticisms for the religious, social, or a combination of these two forms of badge use are contemporary and overlap with each other. For example, while Commons was claiming that badges made retainers 'bold' and arrogant in their behaviour, pilgrims wearing badges were also being mocked by Lollards for 'placing their chief joys' in their badges. Both critiques focus

⁶⁹² Standley 2020, 745

on the feelings and emotions evoked or expressed by the use of badges. This contrasts with Rasmussen's assessment that badges were 'routinely treated like scrap metal' as well as Lee's statement that badges were regarded 'without lasting reverence.'⁶⁹³ I suggest that the crucial point raised by Lee is the notion of a 'lasting reverence.'⁶⁹⁴ If the deposition of badges has shown that they were not revered objects, this marks a departure from the idea that they may have acted as a kind of relic when originating from a religious shrine or devotional setting. Yet, they retained the ability to provoke the emotion-centric criticisms described above. Therefore, it is asserted that badges were meaningful but not necessarily holy or revered objects (such as an ampullae containing holy water or oil or a royal seal). Badges instead pointed towards the holy, a relationship, or an association in a manner which accentuated the emotions intertwined with the particular story of the depicted image. As discussed in Chapter 6, religious reformers by the early 16th century were lamenting the straying of the cults of saints from focusing on the examples of virtue and holy living as shown by the saints. Yet, badges may have been intended to act precisely according to these standards, serving to simply remind the faithful of specific virtues and cultivate devotional emotions.

The advent of badges in the 14th century provided something different from the ampullae (which carried with them tangible holy elements from a shrine). Badges did not carry or attempt to localise or physically capture aspects of the holy. What they did accomplish was to shift focus gradually from the physical to the emotional, producing a movement of the mind away from pilgrimage as a physical act and towards an emotion-centric pilgrimage or a devotion of the mind and conscience. Emotant badges carried with them comfort and relief both in the act of

⁶⁹³ Rasmussen 2021, 61; Lee 2014, 11

⁶⁹⁴ Lee 2014, 11

acquiring and wearing them or in the act of giving. This is suggested by the letter discussed in Chapter 4 where a worried mother sent her distant son a ‘Walsingham brooch.’ Even while being acquired at pilgrim shrines, this marks a preliminary devotional step away from the importance of physical pilgrimage. It shows that there was a changing environment of later medieval devotions and new perspectives concerning the locus of the divine. This change is not an end to the seeking out of holy assistance yet, as shown by Ryrie, in England and Wales there was devotional movement away from external expressions such as through the wearing of emotant badges.⁶⁹⁵

This changing nature of devotion across the 15th and 16th centuries and its impact upon communities and the use and distributions of badges provides an opportunity to comment on the termination of widespread metal badge use in England and Wales. The influence of image-wary networks and their desire to avoid or destroy images and badges should not be viewed as the widespread rejection of the saints themselves or of orthodox Marian devotion. Rather, it should be viewed as an injection of dynamism into existing devotional patterns. The cessation of badge use is not evidence of the lack of an emotional use or potential in badges, but is instead indicative of an emotional turn in the mindset of the Christian faithful and their perception of how to cultivate ideal relationships with the holy. If badges served to project both emotion and devotion, it is noteworthy that as they fall out of practice and the archaeological record, the internalised, emotional practices of daily life so vividly described by Ryrie, begin to take shape and influence society.⁶⁹⁶ Badges and their outward emotional role may then be seen to fall out of widespread use not because they failed in that role but also because of the profound emphasis

⁶⁹⁵ Ryrie 2013

⁶⁹⁶ Ryrie 2013

being placed on intense inner experiences of devotion in addition to new laws and growing communities of those sceptical of excess imagery. This fundamental shift in emotional experience and expression resulted in the eventual fading of widespread religious badge use by the mid-16th century.

The prevalence of human heads in the dataset, both the large numbers of St Thomas Becket examples as well as the 67 ‘social badges’ depicting unidentifiable heads, could very well be linked to the intentional damage of badge material possibly for iconoclastic purposes. However, it is certain that not all intentional damage to badges is iconoclastic in nature. As discussed in Chapter 6, it is possible that targeted damage to badge figures may be linked to the emotional punishment of a holy figure for their failure to heal or protect, in line with the works of Graves.⁶⁹⁷ This again shows a straying from the importance of pilgrimage and a reliance on the ‘other-worldly’ capabilities of the saints acting through specific physical locations or objects. Such damage as done to the head or neck of a figure may in fact be indicative of the loss of faith of an individual towards the importance of the shrine as the font of healing, protection, and devotion. This sentiment is shown in the words of a Lollard who exclaimed to his wife, ‘Our Lady is in Heaven’ when she discussed going on a pilgrimage.⁶⁹⁸ This is not a denial of the virtues of the Virgin Mary or her ability to intercede. It is an expression that the Virgin Mary can be sought in spirit at any time or in any place. This sentiment is precisely what emotant badges can produce in a believer.

This is also where the appeal of the cult of King Henry VI and its late 15th - early 16th century badges becomes apparent. The emphasis of that cult on the virtue and exemplary nature

⁶⁹⁷ Graves 2008

⁶⁹⁸ Marshall 2017, 113

of Henry's life, as opposed to an emphasis or speciality in healing, may be indicative of cults seeking to adapt to shifting devotional practices. The acceptability of a cult focusing on emotional and devotional mindfulness as opposed to physical healing is borne out in the preliminary results of the assessment of damage to badges in Chapter 6. This showed that there was a general lack of damage associated with badges of Henry VI compared to other cults such as that of St Thomas Becket or SS Peter and Paul. It was only the politicisation of the cult by the Tudors which impacted the widespread use of its badges.

Interpreted in this way, one is faced with the ironic possibility that pilgrim badges may have contributed to the declining popularity of pilgrimage across the 14th-16th centuries through their emphasis on inner devotion and the forming of personal emotional bonds of sympathy and trust with a holy figure.

9.5 The social impact of badge use

The many badge forms that survive today demonstrate that there was choice or agency in the selection of a specific badge form. I would suggest that the selection of a badge was founded upon either the creation or maintenance of a connection or attachment to a badge, and the emotional/devotional message that it embodied.

However, when badges were distributed and worn as part of the building or bolstering of a social or political affinity, they clearly had the ability to form and maintain bonds and communities. Badges were described as having fostered a 'gang culture' in later 14th - early 16th century England and these 'gangs' of the Percy family or Richard II's Cheshire retinue are examples of later medieval emotional communities. Emotion is embedded in gang activity and

is one of the principal motivating factors in gang participation.⁶⁹⁹ In a study of modern street gangs, the sociologist Moran states that gangs ‘mine the honorific properties of loyalty to peers and place, sustained by iterative symbolic and violent expression, to generate feelings of pride.’⁷⁰⁰ If we consider Richard II’s badge of the white hart we can identify a sense of personalisation; the pun *Rich-hart*, personalised the badge and let the badge-wearer take part in something personal alongside the King. This bond with a peer coupled with the localised Cheshire character of the affinity certainly enabled feelings of pride and built a community albeit one with oppressive and violent tendencies. On the other hand, the formation of a number of these local ‘gangs’ or factions could create an environment of fear for those who did not belong or wear a badge, or who did not display the *correct* badge. As referenced by the Commons in 1384, these people were ‘oppressed and dismayed’ and described as the ‘poor and helpless living in the neighbourhoods’ of the badge-wearing groups.⁷⁰¹ It is also entirely possible that this plight of the helpless was being exaggerated by the Commons for political effect.

To alleviate this situation, numerous programs of legislation were designed to crack down upon or manage these particular emotional communities which were made distinct and tangible through their material badges. The legal attacks on the factional emotional communities associated with England’s great magnates through their badges (which was at its most effective during the reign of Henry VII) had a limiting effect on the distribution of these types of badges. The emotional use of these objects contributed significantly to the character of their current distributions. Particularly, the absence or scattered distribution of the most prominent of these factions – such as the Percy, Neville, Stanley, Stafford families – means that any assessment of

⁶⁹⁹ Moran 2015

⁷⁰⁰ Moran 2015, 573

⁷⁰¹ Hector and Harvey 1982, 82-83

the distribution of these factions must also consider other forms of material culture depicting political identities.

The end of the practice of wearing devotional badges was also hastened by the use of Christocentric badges in popular revolts which unleashed reactionary assaults by the Tudors upon the cults of saints and pilgrimage in Britain and the evisceration of the cult of St Thomas Becket. These responses included the identification and likely destruction of a place at Walsingham where in 1537, there were ‘instrewnents, pottes, belowes’, and other things pertaining to the art of multiplying’ for the production of badges.⁷⁰² This moment effectively captures the end of popular badge use in Britain.

9.6 Conclusions

This thesis set out to evaluate the social, religious, and political elements of later medieval badges and their use across England and Wales *c.* AD 1300-1600. Analysis of the use and distributions of nearly 3,500 badges has helped to establish the ways in which these objects actively communicated, shaped, created, and reinforced the identities, ideas, beliefs, and emotions of later medieval individuals and communities. This work has explored the depth of meaning behind badges addressing the social, political, and theological circumstances impacting the practices of acquiring and displaying these objects. The emphasis on contextualisation has revealed a fluidity of meanings to badges which appear to have been emotionally constructed, embedded, and intrinsic to their use and perception. This thesis has shown that by diving into the content and imagery of the badges, what is revealed is the ability of badges to communicate emotional or immaterial relationships and connections between badges, what they signify, and

⁷⁰² Spencer 2010, 136

their wearers or viewers. Applying the conception of both emotants and the notion of emotional communities to the study of later medieval badges builds upon the foundational works of previous scholars who have identified, catalogued, and interpreted the function of badges as either souvenirs of a pilgrimage, secondary relics, or objects of secular use. This study does not overturn or seek to deny these assertions, but rather set them as interpretive poles, permitting the exploration of the multitudes of possible meanings and functions which may have existed across later medieval badge use specifically in England and Wales.

Concerning the lasting reverence (or lack thereof) of badges in the later medieval environment, the roles established by modern badge researchers seem to miss the mark. Rather than risking the freezing of badges within one role or another, a degree of nuance must be afforded to the different reactions which badges could prompt for individuals and their emotional communities. Badges should be considered not as either A (a secondary relic) or B (a souvenir) but within a spectrum of understandings which were emotionally charged. In classifying badges as emotants, analysis of their function does not become mired in a notion of materiality which seeks to standardize experience. Rather, emotants present a fluid and nuanced assessment which assists in the understanding of the lived experience of badges, their users, and how they could be emotionally and devotionally potent to individuals and communities in later medieval England and Wales.

9.6.1 Further works

This study has demonstrated that there is great potential for further works concerning later medieval badges, their qualities as emotants, and their ability to identify past emotional communities. The prevalence of damage to badges, as investigated in Chapter 6, illustrates the necessity of future studies to consider intentional, medieval occurrences at a scale much broader

and with greater detail than this thesis could provide. The in-depth analysis of damage to the head and neck area of badge figures could also incorporate the numerous badges from museum collections which have uninformative or absent spatial information. While these badges fell outside of the data collection parameters of this project, with its objective to observe the distributions of badges across England and Wales, they would be able to assist in assessing whether certain cultic iconographies were more likely to be damaged. For example, focus on damage to badges of St Thomas Becket and the intentionality and implications of damage to the head or neck of his figure has the potential to be a highly informative study. Such a study could help us to understand or gain new perspectives regarding the tremendous number of badges from that cult which are coming from riverine deposits and would give further insight into the nature of badge deposition.

Furthermore, building upon the ways in which emotants can help us to identify past emotional communities and incorporating other emotant forms of dress accessories or objects to the corpus of badges presented in this thesis would be greatly beneficial to the study of later medieval devotion and society particularly at a regional scale. For example, expanding the analysis of specific Marian imagery such as the Virgin and Child or depictions of St Margaret of Antioch to other forms of dress accessories would provide insightful data concerning the distribution of similar material. This would provide further evidence to the conclusions established by this thesis and would continue to expand studies of later medieval emotional communities which I have suggested are apparent through the emotant badge material.

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Appendix 1: The catalogue of badges

Appendix 1 consists of the 3,465 badges considered in this thesis. It is organised alphabetically according to the faction or cult I have personally identified each badge with (Faction/Cult). The Source column includes either a hyperlink or a reference (in association with the bibliography) in order to show and openly share the source of each badge included in this project. Badge identifiers have not been changed and remain according to the conventions of their original authors. The dates of badges, where included, are almost entirely reflective of the dates given by the source of the data. This includes the dates provided by the PAS as well as the dates provided by the authors of excavated or catalogued badges. The columns designated Iconography, Theme, and Faction/Cult consist of my interpretations of the badge iconographies and associations.

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/288033	DEV-2FD8C3	PAS	Chance Finds			Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Old Testament Figure	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Devon	North Devon	South Molton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111214	LEIC-E37A35	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Old Testament Figure	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Leicestershire	Blaby	Kirby Muxloe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/712411	SWYOR-039EFF	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1550	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Old Testament Figure	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Laughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/990196	SWYOR-EF9558	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1550	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Old Testament Figure	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Wymondham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/48861	WMID-6FEEB1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Male and Female figures	Old Testament Figure	Adam and Eve (Temptation)	Worcestershire	Dudley	Netherton, Woodside, and St Andrews
Mitchiner 1986	928		Catalogue	1500	1540	Anchor	Tool/Object/Weapon	Anchor	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	929		Catalogue	1500	1540	Anchor bracteate	Tool/Object/Weapon	Anchor	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/655366	LVPL-98FC64	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1700	Anchor and Flag (square)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Anchor	Flintshire	Flintshire	Caerwys
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/609239	SWYOR-A80FF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Anchor	Tool/Object/Weapon	Anchor	Yorkshire	Selby	Wistow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/656158	LON-EC95CF	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Angel, Circular, openwork	Angelic Figure	Angel	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/82994	WILT-DD6D34	PAS	Chance Finds			Angel (Female)	Angelic Figure	Angel	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Durnford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1036504	LEIC-26BFC6	PAS	Chance Finds	1491	1525	Heraldry (France, Brittany)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Anne of Brittany	Leicestershire	Melton	Kirby Bellars
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/131055	NCL-F857B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Monk and Woman	Christocentric	Anti-Clerical	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Cottam
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/219730	WMID-680A61	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Monk and Woman	Christocentric	Anti-Clerical	Warwickshire	North Warwickshire	Middleton
Spencer 2010	309		Catalogue	1400	1450	Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	310		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	308c		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	308d		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig304		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig305		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig306		Catalogue			Ape physician	Mammal	Ape	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	298		Catalogue	1330	1380	Archer	Human Figure/Body Part	Archer	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	320		Catalogue	1300	1400	Archer	Human Figure/Body Part	Archer	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	297d		Catalogue			Hunter	Human Figure/Body Part	Archer	Greater London Authority		BWsp

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	298a		Catalogue			Archer	Human Figure/Body Part	Archer	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13274	NLM5727	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1540	Town (Circular)	Heraldry	Arms of Bristol	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Gayton Le Wold
Spencer 2010	270c		Catalogue				Heraldry	Arms of England (Quartered with France)	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig210		Catalogue			Shield	Heraldry	Arms of England (Quartered with France)	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/234347	SWYOR-CBD943	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1600	Heraldry	Heraldry	Arms of England (Quartered with France)	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Stamford Bridge
Mitchiner 1986	939		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	940		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	941		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	942		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Essex		Waltham Abbey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/199271	LON-F3FA22	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Cross crosslet	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/213124	LON-FE9982	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Cross crosslet	Heraldry	Arms of Jerusalem	Greater London Authority	Lambeth	Bishop's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/255887	SUSS-AACBE6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1800	Cross of St. George, sword in upper left	Heraldry	Arms of London	Sussex	Arun	Yapton
Spencer 2010	295		Catalogue			Arrow bundle	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	564		Catalogue	1400	1500	Arrows	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	565		Catalogue	1400	1500	Arrows	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	564a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Arrows	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	565a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Arrows	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig135		Catalogue			Bundle of arrows	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/707334	HESH-DFC0C4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Arrowhead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Herefordshire	County of Herefordshire	Allensmore
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/768142	NLM-1C94EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Arrow fletching	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/726979	NMS-ADC5CD	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Arrowhead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Flordon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/27665	YORYM1075	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Arrow shaped	Tool/Object/Weapon	Arrow	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/190205	LEIC-4405A7	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1485	Falcon (Fettered)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Plantagenet (illegitimate son of Edward IV)	Leicestershire	Hinckley and Bosworth	Sutton Cheney

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	293		Catalogue			Arrow bundle	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	294		Catalogue			Arrow bundle	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig248		Catalogue			Arrows	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/752694	LON-DC62D5	PAS	Chance Finds			Arrows	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/809148	SOM-F74230	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Hand holding arrow	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales	Somerset	Taunton Deane	Orchard Portman
Spencer 2010	299		Catalogue	1270	1350	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	300		Catalogue	1270	1350	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	301		Catalogue	1350	1400	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	302		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Mitchiner 1986	314		Catalogue	1300	1400	Axe	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	315		Catalogue	1300	1400	Axe	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	755		Catalogue	1400	1500	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	943		Catalogue	1500	1540	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Egan 2005	1172		Catalogue	1500	1550	Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	301a		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	301b		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	301c		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	301d		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	301e		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer 2010	301f		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	301g		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	302a		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Rotherhithe
Spencer 2010	302b		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	302c		Catalogue			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority		Dockhead

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig256		Catalogue			Axe	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/217736	HESH-085706	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Herefordshire	County of Herefordshire	Kingstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/816222	LEIC-5A4A0C	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Leicestershire	Hinckley and Bosworth	Grobby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/966883	LIN-51A0A0	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Heraldry (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Lincolnshire	Boston	Wrangle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/750267	LON-07AD41	PAS	Chance Finds			Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/892780	LON-1048B7	PAS	Chance Finds	1406	1500	Beauchamp family	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470839	LON-918EF1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Heraldry (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/586880	LON-A25381	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/537755	LON-A979F2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Heraldry (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Surrey Docks
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/843534	NLM-A01495	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1450	Weapon (Axe-Danish)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/127824	NMS-2898C1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Heraldry (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Salthouse
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/710890	PUBLIC-6B036C	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Kirk Deighton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/228185	WMID-AF5FD1	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1600	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Staffordshire	East Staffordshire	Abbots Bromley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/809458	YORYM-4AF08D	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Heraldry (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Cottam
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/806700	YORYM-BA7EA1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Yorkshire	Craven	Stirton with Thorlby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/791903	YORYM-BE36EA	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Yorkshire	Craven	Rylstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719908	YORYM-C7B2AE	PAS	Chance Finds	43	1800	Weapon (Axe)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Langtoft
Griffiths et al 2007	1873		Report			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Griffiths et al 2007	1874		Report			Axehead	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Martin and Rudling 2004			Report			Clare family	Tool/Object/Weapon	Axe	Sussex		Winchelsea
Spencer 2010	284		Catalogue			Yale	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Beaufort family	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	284a		Catalogue			Yale	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Beaufort family	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig228		Catalogue			Yale	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Beaufort family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig236		Catalogue			Elephant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Beaumont family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	20		Catalogue	1200	1300	Bird	Bird	Bird	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	21		Catalogue	1200	1300	Bird	Bird	Bird	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	22		Catalogue	1200	1300	Bird	Bird	Bird	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	742		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird in circular frame, openwork	Bird	Bird	Greater London Authority		Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/875770	SWYOR-40CA47	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Swallow	Bird	Bird	Yorkshire	Selby	Selby North
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/903792	YORYM-D75DA2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bird	Bird	Bird	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Woodmansey
Mitchiner 1986	1030		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bishop on disc	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1031		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bishop on disc	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/902097	KENT-C4B36C	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1536	Figure, mitre, lozenge	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Hundon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/915303	KENT-D825F4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bishop blessing, cross	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Kent	Canterbury	Barham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101342	NARC-E68D80	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1525	Body of Christ, bishop	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Farthingstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1008151	SUR-020896	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure, mitre	Human Figure/Body Part	Bishop	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Somerton
Mitchiner 1986	754		Catalogue	1400	1500	Winged boar	Mammal	Boar	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Spencer 2010	281h		Catalogue				Mammal	Boar	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/518547	DENO-F35022	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1485	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Wragby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/781873	ESS-8B870B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Essex	Maldon	Heybridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/268787	LEIC-A6C834	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1485	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Leicestershire	Hinckley and Bosworth	Sheepy
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/285516	LEIC-F17145	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1485	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Maulden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/586002	LON-37EC38	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/133813	NARC-C16434	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Boar (Jaws agape)	Mammal	Boar	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Grafton Regis

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158156	NARC-F57226	PAS	Chance Finds		1483	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Boughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/516651	SOM-CBC676	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1485	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Somerset	West Somerset	Withycombe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63251	SWYOR-1781B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1485	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Yorkshire	Selby	Cawood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/402553	YORYM-1716A4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Boar	Mammal	Boar	Yorkshire	Selby	Stillingfleet
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE3234&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Mammal	Boar	Leicestershire		Bosworth Field
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE20573&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Mammal	Boar	Leicestershire		Stoke Golding
Spencer 2010	292d		Catalogue			Knot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Bourchier family	Greater London Authority		Bankside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/727222	DUR-E89C8F	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bouget	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Bourchier family	Northumberland	Northumberland	Ford
Mitchiner 1986	156		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	157		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	158		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	159		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	160		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	161		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	162		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	163		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragments	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	181		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	182		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crucifixion fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	183		Catalogue			Crucifixion fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	184		Catalogue			Crucifixion fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	185		Catalogue			Crucifixion fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	186		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	187		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		TEX88

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	521		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	522		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	523		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	524		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	525		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	526		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Anchor Pub, Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	527		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	528		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood figure	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Lincolnshire		South Humberside
Spencer 2010	180b		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	180c		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	180d		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Toppings Wharf, Southwark
Spencer 2010	180e		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	180f		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/558366	CORN-225F65	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Crucifix	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Cornwall	Cornwall	North Petherwin
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/766242	LON-374369	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Crucifix	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853360	LON-859A7A	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Crucifix	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470824	LON-912381	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Crucifix figure	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/587463	LON-CCE076	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Crucifix figure	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/934040	NLM-88CDE5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Cross and Quatrefoil	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/218834	SWYOR-D89333	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Boxley Abbey Rood of Grace	Yorkshire	Selby	South Milford
Spencer 1980	133		Catalogue			Bull	Mammal	Bull	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	746		Catalogue	1400	1500	Fragment	Mammal	Bull	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer 2010	281e		Catalogue				Mammal	Bull	Greater London Authority		Bankside

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	281f		Catalogue				Mammal	Bull	Greater London Authority		BUsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/793591	PUBLIC-A75501	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Crucifix	Heraldry	Bury St. Edmunds Abbey/Bermondsey Abbey/Lucca	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Wimpole
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/399522	HESH-5631E3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Candle (openwork) See NLM-BDF6C3	Tool/Object/Weapon	Candle	Shropshire	Shropshire	Bicton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/794671	LEIC-E6F654	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1400	Text (Possible)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Candle	Leicestershire	Blaby	Glenfields
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/729142	NLM-BDF6C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Candle, openwork (See HESH-5631E3)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Candle	Yorkshire	Wakefield	Pontefract South
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/745434	LON-E0BD25	PAS	Chance Finds			Mould	Mercantile/Guild	Carpenter's Guild	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig281		Catalogue			Inscription: Here is the mouse	Mammal	Cat with mouse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig282		Catalogue			Inscription: Here is the mouse	Mammal	Cat with mouse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	288f		Catalogue			Pomegranate	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Catherine of Aragon	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	195		Catalogue	1350	1500	Celestial Body	Christocentric	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	287		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular medallion, star	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	290		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	291		Catalogue			Rays around circle	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		BC72
Mitchiner 1986	291		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	292		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	292		Catalogue	1350	1500	Disc with rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	293		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	294		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	295		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sunburst	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	296		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sunburst	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	297		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sunburst	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	298		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sunburst	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	672		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	673		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Steelyard Stairs
Mitchiner 1986	674		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	675		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	676		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	677		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	678		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	679		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in circular frame	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	733		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	735		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	736		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Swan Stairs

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	737		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	922		Catalogue	1500	1540	Star of Bethlehem	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Spencer 2010	195a		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Christocentric	Celestial Body	Cheshire		Meols
Spencer 2010	291a		Catalogue			Sun with face	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Mitchiner 1986	294a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	294b		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sun in splendour	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	679a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Star in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig104		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig105		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig106		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig107		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig216		Catalogue			Rose/Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig217		Catalogue			Sun, face	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig218		Catalogue			Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig237		Catalogue			Sun in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig238		Catalogue			Sun in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig239		Catalogue			Sun in crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/798907	BERK-A164C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Cassington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719246	BH-8A2674	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Crescent and Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Great and Little Chishill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/428138	BH-D44884	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Sun (Circular, wavy)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Astwick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/703778	BUC-A150CA	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Grafton Regis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/757849	CPAT-148862	PAS	Chance Finds			Star	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Caernarfonshire	Conwy	Betws Yn Rhos
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/569566	DENO-65C775	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Fulletby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/403634	HESH-0E0167	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Sun dog	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Herefordshire	County of Herefordshire	Dorstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/406113	IOW-CE1746	PAS	Chance Finds	1480	1550	Backplate with linear grooves	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Newport
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/100288	LIN-1618A0	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Wavy star/sun (Six rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Pickworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/501323	LIN-259591	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Flower/Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Aunsby and Dembleby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/144869	LIN-26CF15	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wavy star/sun (Six rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Osournby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/151385	LIN-573404	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wavy star/sun (Eight rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Branston and Mere
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/137039	LIN-6670E3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wavy star/sun (Six rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Newton and Haceby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/272136	LIN-754A92	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Wavy star/sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Linwood

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/79110	LON-0D5C21	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority	Lambeth	Prince's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/263895	LON-84E813	PAS	Chance Finds	1520	1520	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/424147	LON-DB9957	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Wavy Star/Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/107216	NARC-01A643	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Comet	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Welton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/99393	NARC-69D2A6	PAS	Chance Finds	1320	1500	Wavy star/sun (One ray)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Tiffield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/135418	NARC-7D1DB1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Crescent and star (Anthropomorphic)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Grafton Regis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/400727	NCL-FFEBF5	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Crescent and star (Anthropomorphic)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Northumberland	Northumberland	Thirston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/447206	NLM-0E62D4	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Wavy star/sun (Sixteen rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North East Lincolnshire	Barnoldby Le Beck
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13520	NLM5912	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Starburst (Circular)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Nottinghamshire	Rushcliffe	Thoroton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/646511	NLM-793705	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Sunburst	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Pilham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/728376	NLM-7FD0E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Wavy star/sun (Five rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/977581	NLM-97BA23	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1490	Wavy star/sun (Eight rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Kirton in Lindsey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/987959	NLM-DD45E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1461	1483	Sun	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1032517	NMS-435D62	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1539	Star (Five points)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Gayton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/38275	NMS507	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Wavy Star/Sun (Five rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/145805	NMS-E14214	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Octofoil	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Norfolk	Breckland	Cranwich
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/941240	PUBLIC-0140A2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wavy star/sun (Six rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Irnham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/841490	PUBLIC-653F16	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Star and crescent (Five points)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Leicestershire	Charnwood	Walton on the Wolds
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/767738	SWYOR-CBD4C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Flower/Sun/Star	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/460375	WILT-CFEC24	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Star, IESV	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	St. Paul Malmesbury Without
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/417394	WILT-D190B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Sun (with fleur de lis)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Latton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/492372	YORYM-6153F1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Wavy star/sun (Six rays)	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Shipton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/632225	YORYM-B7E4C7	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Crescent and star	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Reighton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/29959	YORYMM80	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Star and Crescent	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Yorkshire	York	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31407&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MEX1036919&resourceID=1001		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Essex	Uttlesford	Thaxted
Mynard et al 1991	78		Report			Star, five points	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Buckinghamshire		Great Linford
Griffiths et al 2007	1857		Report			Star with rays	Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Sherlock et al 1988			Report	1350	1540		Celestial Body	Celestial Body	Kent	Canterbury	St Augustine's Abbey
Spencer 2010	256		Catalogue			Crowned bust	Cult of Saints	Charlemagne	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	257		Catalogue			Crowned bust	Cult of Saints	Charlemagne	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	257a		Catalogue			Royal figure	Cult of Saints	Charlemagne	Greater London Authority		St Savior's Dock, Bermondsey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/734102	NMS-782F32	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Cherub (Beast)	Angelic Figure	Cherub	Norfolk	Breckland	Stanfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/786424	WAW-7ED7A4	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1600	Anthropomorphic	Angelic Figure	Cherub	Worcestershire	Wychavon	Little Comberton
Mitchiner 1986	632		Catalogue	1400	1500	Christ Child	Christocentric	Christ Child	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	633		Catalogue	1400	1500	Christ Child	Christocentric	Christ Child	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	195b		Catalogue			Christ's Manger	Christocentric	Christ Child	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1033851	NMGW-A82A97	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Christ Child Button Badge	Christocentric	Christ Child	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Calne Without
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/87224	DENO-B7F1D4	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Derbyshire	Bolsover	Whitwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/219554	LEIC-52B215	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Leicestershire	Charnwood	Barkby Thorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/537812	LVPL-ACFE56	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1400	Bust	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Egmanton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/124676	LVPL-D75692	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Bust (Circular)	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Collingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/71792	LVPL-F6D514	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1520	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Cheshire	Cheshire East	Nantwich
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/552512	NMS-2DD916	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1008436	SWYOR-5D1834	PAS	Chance Finds	1170	1550	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Yorkshire	Selby	Ryther cum Ossendyke
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/397863	WAW-4DE1A2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1525	Bust (bearded)	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Warwickshire	Stratford-on-Avon	Brailes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/618187	WMID-F483E9	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1525	Bust, bearded, tears	Christocentric	Christ Man of Sorrows	Derbyshire	South Derbyshire	Netherseal
Spencer 1980	144		Catalogue			Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	315		Catalogue	1350	1400	Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	316		Catalogue	1400	1450	Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	322		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	323		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	324		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	759		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	760		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	761		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	762		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel fragment	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Winchester Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	787		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	788		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	789		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	790		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	791		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair, fragment	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	792		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cockerel pair	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	973		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	315a		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
Spencer 2010	315b		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer 2010	316a		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	316b		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig300		Catalogue			Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig301		Catalogue			Two Cockerels	Bird	Cockerel	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/464070	LON-084865	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Cockerel mating with hen	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority	Wandsworth	St. Mary's Park
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/922442	LON-8657B1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Cockerel and wheat	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/471391	LON-BC3781	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Castle Baynard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480587	LON-C61D25	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/383455	WILT-21D951	PAS	Chance Finds			Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Wiltshire	Swindon	Wroughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/251203	YORYM-2505B3	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Cockerel	Bird	Cockerel	Yorkshire	Selby	Saxton with Scarthingwell
Spencer 2010	314c		Catalogue			coin-like	Tool/Object/Weapon	Coin	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig308		Catalogue			Coin badge	Tool/Object/Weapon	Coin	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	935		Catalogue	1500	1540	Curry comb	Tool/Object/Weapon	Comb	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	310a		Catalogue			Curry Comb	Tool/Object/Weapon	Comb	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig279		Catalogue			Curry Comb	Tool/Object/Weapon	Comb	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	213		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cross, circular frame	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	214		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cross in square	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	242		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cross, two horizontal arms	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	243		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cross, two horizontal arms	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	631		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	938		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	945		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	1010		Catalogue	1540	1600	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	610a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cross, crowned	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig86		Catalogue			Cross, medallion	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig87		Catalogue			Cross, medallion	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig88		Catalogue			Cross, medallion	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig89		Catalogue			Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/384132	BH-B5CE85	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Flower with cross	Christocentric	Cross	Essex	Uttlesford	Chrishall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/890611	BH-E983FA	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Cross with pellets (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Barley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/656763	BUC-172BF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Four petals around pellet (Cross)	Christocentric	Cross	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Wing
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/138508	CAM-08F483	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Cross and pellets with scalloped border	Christocentric	Cross	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Shudy Camps
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/898358	CAM-8B83A4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lozenge with four fleur de lis	Christocentric	Cross	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Little Eversden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/115652	CAM-DA42B3	PAS	Chance Finds	1100		Cross (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	West Wrattling
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/221405	CORN-9BE806	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Cornwall	Cornwall	Hayle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/836654	HAMP-967443	PAS	Chance Finds	1280	1340	Cross (Fleury, Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Hampshire	Winchester	Headbourne Worthy
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/603124	KENT-CA3DC7	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Cruciform, crescent top terminal	Christocentric	Cross	Kent	Maidstone	West Farleigh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/746504	LIN-548AA9	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Addlethorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/491529	LIN-E52544	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Cross (oval)	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Aby with Greenfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/211748	LIN-E87246	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Quatrefoil	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Utterby

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/114695	LON-495272	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Openwork cross	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/402997	LON-930A96	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/744805	LVPL-7CF093	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500		Christocentric	Cross	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Holme
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/124678	LVPL-D79217	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Cross (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Collingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/107266	NARC-037996	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Cross (Incised)	Christocentric	Cross	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101878	NARC-7D7AC7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Cross (pellets)	Christocentric	Cross	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/862376	NLM-005A2C	PAS	Chance Finds	1000	1500	Cross (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/854799	NLM-3CAD71	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Cruciform	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/973584	NLM-47D1EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Cross (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Barton-upon-Humber
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/41319	NLM6640	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Swinhope
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/211090	NLM-684C27	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Barton-upon-Humber
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/442193	NLM-D43A16	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Cross (Circular)	Christocentric	Cross	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Plompton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/883043	PUBLIC-8D521B	PAS	Chance Finds	1537	1600	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Addlethorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/891836	PUBLIC-92E727	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Pellets and Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Suffolk	Babergh	Lavenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/498517	SOM-D2F506	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1700	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Wembdon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/528762	SWYOR-A89986	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1450	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/788161	WAW-54491D	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Cross	Christocentric	Cross	Worcestershire	Malvern Hills	Kempsey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158908	WILT-8764D5	PAS	Chance Finds			Cross (openwork)	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Box
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/212651	WILT-93B3E1	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Four petals around pellet (Cross)	Christocentric	Cross	Wiltshire	Swindon	Chiseldon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/125734	YORYM-199CB6	PAS	Chance Finds			Cross (Voided with circular terminals)	Christocentric	Cross	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Well
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	12956		Report	1200	1399	Cross, Maltese	Christocentric	Cross	Yorkshire	York	16-22 Coppergate
Mitchiner 1986	756		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crossbow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crossbow	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig255		Catalogue			Crossbow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crossbow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	83		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 1980	84		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	85		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	86		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	202		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	203		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	204		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	586		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	587		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	588		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	589		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	596		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	597		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	598		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	599		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	600		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	671		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crown, circular frame	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	916		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	918		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crown, medallion	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	978		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1139		Catalogue	1650	1700	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	202a		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	202b		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	202c		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig141		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig142		Catalogue			Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig143		Catalogue			Crown, circular	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556358	LON-140B46	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1420	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/228479	LON-19F1D6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1400	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853359	LON-8598D9	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1420	Crown	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/27821	YORYM1221	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Crown with three stars below	Tool/Object/Weapon	Crown	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Knaresborough
Mitchiner 1986	41		Catalogue	1200	1300	Circular medallion, IESVS NAZAREN	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	94		Catalogue			Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	95		Catalogue			Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	96		Catalogue			Flowering cross	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	97		Catalogue			Flowering cross	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	98		Catalogue			Flowering cross	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	158		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	159		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	160		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	161		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	162		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	163		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	179		Catalogue	1300	1400	Quatrefoil crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	186		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular medallion, crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	188		Catalogue	1350	1400	Crucifixion group	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	189		Catalogue	1270	1350	Crucifixion group	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	190		Catalogue	1350	1400	Crucifixion group	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	206		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crucifixion fragments	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	207		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crucifixion fragments	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bank
Mitchiner 1986	582		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	583		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	584		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	585		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifix, figures	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	605		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	606		Catalogue	1400	1500	Rood fragment	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	630		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	662		Catalogue	1400	1500	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Wiltshire		Devizes
Mitchiner 1986	921		Catalogue	1500	1540	Tools of Passion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	944		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	1051		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crucifixion, medallion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Anchor Pub, Southwark
Egan 2005	1152		Catalogue	1500	1550	Crucifixion scene figure	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1153		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	187a		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	189a		Catalogue			Crucifixion group	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	190a		Catalogue			Crucifixion group	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	190b		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	190c		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	190d		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	190e		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	190f		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	190g		Catalogue			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	263a		Catalogue			Crucifixion scene	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig91		Catalogue			Crucifixion, quatrefoil	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig92		Catalogue			Rood	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/188842	ESS-302D31	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1520	Crucifixion button (John, Mary, INRI)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Essex	Tendring	Elmstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/124413	LANCUM-C1DD94	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1900	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Gloucestershire	Cotswold	Northleach with Eastington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/726604	LIN-9506E8	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Cross with two possible figures	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Burgh Le Marsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/80369	LON-384AE1	PAS	Chance Finds			Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490175	LON-514B10	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1026545	LVPL-6D568F	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Cross	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk	Breckland	Sporle with Palgrave
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/180071	NCL-838C03	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Figure, halo, robes	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	East Kirkby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/565449	NLM-1650F4	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Crucifix (John and Mary)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Lea
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/706225	NLM-73CCC6	PAS	Chance Finds	850	1500	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Northorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/987968	NLM-DD6A86	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Crucifix	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/616125	NMS-0F0E46	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Crucifixion (Incised)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Tacolneston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/37753	NMS1453	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Crucifix (John and Mary)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Tacolneston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/134409	NMS-563F40	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1600	Figure female, (Virgin Mary) robed, halo, Base of cross (Part of NMS-C36C83)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/180356	NMS-C36C83	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure robed, halo, St. John (part of NMS-563F40)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/971312	SF-1EEAE0	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Crucifixion, Mary, John	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Bury St. Edmunds
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/721215	SOM-4A3FBC	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Kingston Deverill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/515947	SWYOR-4CFE88	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Crucifixion (Mary, John)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/917127	SWYOR-642755	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1850	Mould (Crucifixion)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Yorkshire	Leeds	Arthington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/863234	WILT-D36F85	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1550	Crucifixion (Mary, John)	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Wilsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/957696	YORYM-E75F33	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Crucifixion (Mary, John), Eight petalled flower	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Harpham
Barker 1977	3		Report			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Floating Harbour
Ivens 1995	133		Report			Crucifixion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Buckinghamshire		Tattenhoe
Wilkinson and McWhirr 1998	Cat no 44		Report	1400	1550	Crucifixion and tools of Passion	Christocentric	Crucifixion	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	St Mary
Wilkinson and McWhirr 1998	Cat no 45		Report	1500	1650		Christocentric	Crucifixion	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	St Mary
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/135258	LANCUM-2CA921	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1900	Customs badge	Mercantile/Guild	Customs Badge	Lancashire	Lancaster	Halton-with-Aughton
Spencer 2010	303		Catalogue	1350	1400	Sheath	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Greater London Authority		TL74
Egan 2005	1173		Catalogue	1650	1700	Sheath	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1174		Catalogue			Dagger	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	303a		Catalogue			Lozenge, dagger	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig251		Catalogue			Sheath	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig252		Catalogue			Dagger	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig254		Catalogue			Dagger	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/646838	LON-8EE55A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Sheath (Dagger)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Dagger	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Bridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/620974	LANCUM-371FC5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	David and Goliath	Old Testament Figure	David and Goliath	Lancashire	Lancaster	Quernmore
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/775450	NMS-408FC7	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Heraldry (Shield)	Heraldry	Deanery of Hingham	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Langley with Hardley
Mitchiner 1986	767		Catalogue	1400	1500	Dog	Mammal	Dog	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Spencer 2010	282		Catalogue	1400	1450	Biting tail	Mammal	Dolphin	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	283		Catalogue			Biting tail	Mammal	Dolphin	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	1033		Catalogue	1540	1600	Dolphin	Mammal	Dolphin	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	1034		Catalogue	1540	1600	Dolphin	Mammal	Dolphin	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	325l		Catalogue			Flagon	Tool/Object/Weapon	Drinking vessel	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig278		Catalogue			Flagon	Tool/Object/Weapon	Drinking vessel	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	135		Catalogue			Ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	136		Catalogue			Ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	743		Catalogue	1400	1500	Ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	744		Catalogue	1400	1500	Ragged staff fragment	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	745		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bear head, staff fragment	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Egan 2005	1165		Catalogue	1650	1700	Crucifixion, ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	287a		Catalogue			Ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	287b		Catalogue			Bear	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Cannon Street
Spencer 2010	287c		Catalogue			Ragged staff, Eagle	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Earls of Warwick	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	758		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bowl and spoons	Tool/Object/Weapon	Eating vessel	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	325m		Catalogue			Bowl and six spoons	Tool/Object/Weapon	Eating vessel	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	266		Catalogue	1350	1400	Figure, Trinity	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	267		Catalogue	1350	1400	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	268		Catalogue	1400	1450	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	301		Catalogue	1300	1400	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	302		Catalogue	1300	1400	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	303		Catalogue	1300	1400	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	975		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ostrich feathers, 3	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	976		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ostrich feathers, 3	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1163		Catalogue			Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	266a		Catalogue			Figure, Trinity	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	cat153		Catalogue			Two ostrich feathers, Edward	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig200		Catalogue			Ostrich feathers, Edward	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Wiltshire		Old Sarum

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig201		Catalogue			Two ostrich feathers, Edward	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/794417	LEIC-E274A9	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Lincolnshire	Boston	Frampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/202092	LIN-3E6845	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1900	Feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Folkingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/548658	LIN-7308C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Ostrich feather	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Linwood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/157058	LON-0E49B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Ostrich feathers	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/138743	LON-8603D0	PAS	Chance Finds	1360	1400	Garter with crown	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101546	NARC-3E4393	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Feather/Comb	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Edward the Black Prince	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Tiffield
Mitchiner 1986	193		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular arms of Leon and Castille	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Eleanor of Castille	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	270b		Catalogue				Heraldry	England	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/548403	LANCUM-5E31B4	PAS	Chance Finds	1380	1590	Heraldry (Circular)	Heraldry	England	Lancashire	Ribble Valley	Whalley
Mitchiner 1986	766		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian, rider missing	Human Figure/Body Part	Equestrian	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/917647	BH-A29767	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Equestrian Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Equestrian	Hertfordshire	Dacorum	Grovehill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/752821	WAW-E05F80	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Equestrian Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Equestrian	Warwickshire	Solihull	Barston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/28808	YORYM347	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1485	Equestrian figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Equestrian	Yorkshire	York	Haxby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MEX1040226&resourceID=1001		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Human Figure/Body Part	Equestrian	Essex	Uttlesford	Manuden
Spencer 1980	109		Catalogue			Host, Chalice	Christocentric	Eucharistic	Norfolk		Dunston
Egan 2005	1154		Catalogue	1500	1550	Eucharistic Host, IHS, Chalice	Christocentric	Eucharistic	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	195c		Catalogue			Eucharistic Hosts, Chalice	Christocentric	Eucharistic	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	314d		Catalogue			Medallion	Old Testament Figure	Eve (Temptation)	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	314e		Catalogue			Medallion	Old Testament Figure	Eve (Temptation)	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	297b		Catalogue			Equestrian with Raptor	Human Figure/Body Part	Falconer	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig261		Catalogue			Equestrian with Raptor	Human Figure/Body Part	Falconer	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	665		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/399438	BERK-459115	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1399	Figure, rectangular, triangular skirt	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	West Hanney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/862520	BERK-53FD75	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, kneeling, robed (cowl), hands raised	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Blewbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/878483	CAM-5D9561	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Figures	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Essex	Uttlesford	Great Hallingbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/871989	DENO-1EBA3D	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure, halo, robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Newark
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/185365	DENO-8F3462	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1599	Figure (Female)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Norwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/234176	LIN-A2EB58	PAS	Chance Finds	1490	1520	Figures (Male, Female, Child)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Stixwould and Woodhall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/88545	LON-324B84	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Figure (torso)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/140057	LON-45C0B4	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Figure standing, robed	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/563340	LVPL-F39C08	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Figure, robed, staff	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Lancashire	Tameside	Mossley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/535472	NCL-9D6371	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Figure (Tudor dress, vegetation)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Northumberland	Northumberland	Warkworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/896487	SF-738604	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure standing bearded robed blessing	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Farnham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/558937	SF-8D5D64	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure standing, robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Worlington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/938381	SUR-A9A48F	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Moulsford

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/184763	SWYOR-0F3FC3	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Figure, naked	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Marr
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/528602	SWYOR-A4EC54	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, Base (boat/border) Openwork scene?	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/936573	SWYOR-B1EEB8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Figure (Torso)	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Yorkshire	Wakefield	Airedale and Ferry Fryston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/988578	WMID-1BD0FB	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, robed, staff	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Staffordshire	South Staffordshire	Acton Trussell and Bednall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015377	YORYM-928F75	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, robed	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Spofforth with Stockeld
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25271&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Female Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Hindringham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF71382&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Norfolk	Breckland	Kempstone
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6852&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1499		Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Leicestershire	Melton	Melton Mowbray
Biddle et al 2001	3		Report	1575	1625	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Figure	Sussex	Rye	Camber Castle
Spencer 1980	145		Catalogue			Fish	Christocentric	Fish	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	193		Catalogue	1330	1380	Three Fish	Christocentric	Fish	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	193a		Catalogue			Three Fish	Christocentric	Fish	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Mitchiner 1986	937		Catalogue	1500	1540	Fish on gridiron	Mercantile/Guild	Fishmonger Guild	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	289		Catalogue			Oak sprig	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	312		Catalogue	1300	1400	Acorn crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	740		Catalogue	1400	1500	Openwork frame, acorns	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	741		Catalogue	1400	1500	Acorn	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	980		Catalogue	1500	1540	Acorn	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig242		Catalogue			Horse	Dynastic/Individual Faction	FitzAlan family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	208		Catalogue	1300	1400	Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	607		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Greater London Authority		Bankside

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	927		Catalogue	1500	1540	Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig100		Catalogue			Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig101		Catalogue			Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig99		Catalogue			Cross, 5 lobes	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1057541	DUR-F183F4	PAS	Chance Finds	1301	1500	Heart with roundels	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	County Durham	County Durham	Bradbury and the Isle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/628615	LIN-D1EFDA	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Tau Cross and border	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Thornton Curtis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/79121	LON-0DC910	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Five Wounds of Christ	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Greater London Authority	Lambeth	Prince's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/754269	NLM-70043C	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	Heart with Five Wounds	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/259683	SWYOR-0E13B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Heart with border of five, five-petaled roses	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Newton-on-Ouse
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/161188	SWYOR-F02BF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Edlington
Margeson 1993	13		Report	1500	1599	Heart with Five Wounds	Christocentric	Five Wounds of Christ	Norfolk	Norwich	149N
Spencer 1980	151		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	152		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	153		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	154		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	155		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	156		Catalogue			Leaves	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	157		Catalogue			Violet, trees	Plant	Flower	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	194		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rose and pellets	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	290		Catalogue			Crowned rose	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	327		Catalogue	1400	1450	Violet, trees	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	328		Catalogue	1400	1450	Violet, trees	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	329		Catalogue	1400	1450	Violet, trees	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	330		Catalogue	1400	1450	Violet, trees. Violet in May, Lady	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	680		Catalogue	1400	1500	Petals	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	681		Catalogue	1400	1500	Petals	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	723		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	724		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	725		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	726		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	727		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	728		Catalogue	1400	1500	openwork lobes	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	729		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	730		Catalogue	1400	1500	openwork lobes	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	731		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Vintry

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	732		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pellets, openwork	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	750		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	751		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	752		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	753		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flower dimidiated with celestial rays	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	919		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower in openwork frame	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	955		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower, disk	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	956		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower frame, voided cetre	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	957		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crowned flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	958		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crowned flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	959		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower in openwork lozenge	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	960		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower in openwork lozenge	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Winchester Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	961		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower in openwork lozenge	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	962		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower in openwork lozenge	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	963		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	964		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	965		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	966		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	967		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crowned flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	977		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	979		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Egan 2005	1166		Catalogue			Rose frame, central piece missing	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	290a		Catalogue			Rose	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	290b		Catalogue			Rose	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		Thomas More Street, Tower Hamlets
Spencer 2010	327a		Catalogue			Violet, trees	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Mitchiner 1986	681a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flower in circular openwork frame	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	963a		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	963b		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig211		Catalogue			Rose	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig212		Catalogue			Rose	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig213		Catalogue			Rose, crown	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig214		Catalogue			Rose, crown	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig215		Catalogue			Rose	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig318		Catalogue			Hand holding flower	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig320		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig321		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig322		Catalogue			Flowering plant	Plant	Flower	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/416369	BUC-504795	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1530	Quatrefoil	Plant	Flower	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Stoke Bruerne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/816678	DENO-8305D8	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1850	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Derbyshire	South Derbyshire	Barton Blount
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/247659	ESS-286B04	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Pentafoil	Plant	Flower	Essex	Tendring	Little Bromley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/897995	HESH-61EF1A	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	Octofoil	Plant	Flower	Shropshire	Shropshire	Cockshutt
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/407123	HESH-8D1E06	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1700	Flower	Plant	Flower	Shropshire	Shropshire	Myddle and Broughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/80739	IOW-A3E386	PAS	Chance Finds			Trefoil	Plant	Flower	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/104149	IOW-B72041	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1550	Quatrefoil	Plant	Flower	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Arreton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/99688	LEIC-957D14	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Flower bunch and stems	Plant	Flower	Rutland	Rutland	Brooke
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143840	LIN-92B6A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Osournby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/383977	LIN-AFC915	PAS	Chance Finds	1480	1520	Pentafoil	Plant	Flower	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Great Hale
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/138757	LON-864DE5	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Openwork trefoil	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/80648	LON-9EA5F0	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Quatrefoil	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	Shadwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/403073	LON-A5BAE4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Rose (Tear-drop)	Plant	Flower	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1022119	NMGW-A5E7E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Mumbles
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/961077	NMGW-B81A3D	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Pentafoil	Plant	Flower	Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Gwehelog Fawr
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/614296	NMS-247B85	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1539	Octofoil	Plant	Flower	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Ditchingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015654	NMS-C0CA4B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Scallop Shell or White Rose	Plant	Flower	Norfolk	Breckland	Rocklands
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/22254	SOMDOR1136	PAS	Chance Finds	1540		Flower	Plant	Flower	Dorset	West Dorset	Cattistock
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/718037	SOM-F4EF37	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Flowering Plant	Plant	Flower	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Stawell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1012856	SUR-03D292	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Leckhampstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/629397	SUR-10BCA4	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Octafoil with pellets	Plant	Flower	Berkshire	West Berkshire	Stanford Dingley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/471861	SUSS-12BA13	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Sussex	Arun	Patching

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/585529	SUSS-20F6A3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Octofoil	Plant	Flower	Sussex	Lewes	Lewes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/591357	SUSS-74D475	PAS	Chance Finds			Pentafoil	Plant	Flower	Sussex	Lewes	Firle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/812611	SUSS-9EA3BB	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Rose	Plant	Flower	Sussex	Mid Sussex	Horsted Keynes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/479275	SWYOR-32D282	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719772	SWYOR-B34901	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Sexfoil	Plant	Flower	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Hampole
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/426598	WAW-180323	PAS	Chance Finds	1800	1900	Flower in border	Plant	Flower	Worcestershire	Wychavon	Inkberrow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/530120	WMID-3C16E1	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Pentafoil	Plant	Flower	Shropshire	Shropshire	Worfield
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK5318&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Plant	Flower	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
Mitchiner 1986	183		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bare foot	Human Figure/Body Part	Foot	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig98		Catalogue			Crucifixion, fountain, circular medallion	Christocentric	Fountain of Life	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	271		Catalogue	1350	1400		Heraldry	France	Greater London Authority		BWB83
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/263900	LON-84FAE4	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Heraldry (Shield)	Heraldry	France	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/257755	NMS-E5B832	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Knight bearing Arms Ancient of France	Heraldry	France	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Congham
Gaimster and Goodall 1999			Report	1525	1550	Female figure with garland	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Gainsford family	Surrey		Chelsham
Spencer 2010	304		Catalogue	1400	1450	Conjoined gauntlets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Gauntlet	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	305		Catalogue	1400	1450	Conjoined gauntlets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Gauntlet	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	306		Catalogue	1400	1450	Conjoined gauntlets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Gauntlet	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	757		Catalogue	1400	1500	Armoured gauntlet	Tool/Object/Weapon	Gauntlet	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig257		Catalogue			Gauntlets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Gauntlet	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556408	LON-1C0853	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Crucifix (John and Mary)	Christocentric	Gottsburen Rood	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	968		Catalogue	1500	1540	Dog, gorged with crown	Mammal	Greyhound	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig259		Catalogue			Greyhound	Mammal	Greyhound	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig260		Catalogue			Greyhound	Mammal	Greyhound	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	299		Catalogue	1300	1400	Griffin atop helm	Mammal	Griffin	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	300		Catalogue	1300	1400	Griffin	Mammal	Griffin	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	721		Catalogue	1400	1500	Hand holding Rose	Human Figure/Body Part	Hand	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	722		Catalogue	1400	1500	Hand holding Rose	Human Figure/Body Part	Hand	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	930		Catalogue	1500	1540	Hand reaching down from cloud	Human Figure/Body Part	Hand	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/774649	LON-FDF4F2	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1600	Hand	Human Figure/Body Part	Hand	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/618955	SWYOR-5F8DD5	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Hanging Fleece	Tool/Object/Weapon	Hanging Fleece	Yorkshire	Calderdale	Luddendenfoot
Spencer 2010	278		Catalogue			Hart, tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	279		Catalogue	1330	1380	Hart	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	280		Catalogue			Hart	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	304		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	305		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	306		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	307		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	308		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	309		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	768		Catalogue	1400	1500	Hart	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Spencer 2010	278a		Catalogue			Hart, tree	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	278b		Catalogue			Hart, park palings	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	280a		Catalogue			Hart	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	309a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Hart and tree	Mammal	Hart	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/275958	LON-948148	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Hart (Crouching)	Mammal	Hart	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Tower
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/504305	SUR-BB4017	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	Hart (Crouching)	Mammal	Hart	Surrey	Guildford	Shalford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/845539	WAW-B11303	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1399	Hart (Crown around neck)	Mammal	Hart	Warwickshire	Solihull	Barston
Griffiths et al 2007	1871		Report			Hart squatting on grass	Mammal	Hart	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Spencer 2010	325k		Catalogue			Hat with feather plume	Tool/Object/Weapon	Hat	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig263		Catalogue			Hawk's lure	Tool/Object/Weapon	Hawk's lure	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	660		Catalogue	1400	1500	Plant	Plant	Hawthorn	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	661		Catalogue	1400	1500	Plant	Plant	Hawthorn	Greater London Authority		Steelyard

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	322		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	323		Catalogue	1400	1450	Circular, Bust missing	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	324		Catalogue	1350	1400	Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	325		Catalogue	1350	1400	Female Bust, headdress	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		TL74
Mitchiner 1986	1013		Catalogue	1540	1600	Female Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1014		Catalogue	1540	1600	Female Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer 2010	323a		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	323b		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	323c		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	323d		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	323e		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	323f		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	323g		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	324a		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	324b		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	324c		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	324d		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BWsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	324e		Catalogue			Female Bust, headdress	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	325a		Catalogue			Circular frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	325b		Catalogue			Quatrefoil frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	325c		Catalogue			Quatrefoil frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	325d		Catalogue			Quatrefoil frame	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	325e		Catalogue			Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig317		Catalogue			Female bust, circular	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/550852	BERK-85DD65	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust (bearded)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Hampshire	Hart	Mattingley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/59448	BH-3C7341	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Face	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Edlesborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719323	BH-8C69FB	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1540	Head (Pellets)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Essex	Uttlesford	Chrishall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/945543	LIN-391653	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Bust (Bearded, Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Bratoft
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/146703	LIN-8A5633	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1520	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Heckington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/892779	LON-104804	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Busts (Male and Female)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/76931	LON-2A0092	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/962202	LON-6C97E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/868508	LON-8081C1	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Quatrefoil openwork with figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/51785	LVPL-608E46	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Cheshire	Cheshire West and Chester	Manley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101527	NARC-3CFAC1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust (pellets)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Little Houghton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/461024	NARC-51EAD1	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Weedon Bec
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480921	NARC-DAC931	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1550	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdonshire	Kimbolton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/203201	NARC-F36CB5	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1750	Head (Circular, Pellet border)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Milton Malsor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/11967	NLM4494	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1530	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Sudbrooke
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/749410	NLM-9DF955	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Face	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Haxey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/573803	NMS-37A335	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1550	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Outwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/255724	NMS-98B222	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Norfolk	Breckland	Beeston with Bittering
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/261366	NMS-9E6CA7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1350	Bust (Young man)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Norfolk	Breckland	Attleborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/915534	PUBLIC-448966	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust (bearded)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Kent	Thanet	St. Nicholas At Wade
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/823530	SUR-0F4CBE	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1800	Head (Heart-shaped with projecting eyes and nose)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Moulsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/635936	SUSS-06E5D8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	East Challow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/474978	SWYOR-3CA6F3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Selby	Kellington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/625757	SWYOR-40F8E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	York	Copmanthorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/631838	SWYOR-9D37B9	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Selby	South Milford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/901800	SWYOR-9F5DAD	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Rotherham	Dalton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/793834	SWYOR-BB1F09	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1550	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Spofforth with Stockeld
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/456985	SWYOR-BB3B45	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Plompton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/225548	SWYOR-CAEB85	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1200	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Ripon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/386827	WAW-1AD6A2	PAS	Chance Finds	1575	1625	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Worcestershire	Wyre Forest	Kidderminster Foreign
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111898	WAW-632026	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Warwickshire	Stratford-on-Avon	Brailes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/406835	WILT-3798C1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1499	Bust bearded with hood	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Easterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/113279	WILT-8B9B83	PAS	Chance Finds	1301	1400	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Hampshire	Test Valley	Broughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/922819	WREX-DAE5C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Powys	Powys	Llandysilio
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/988495	YORYM-1896F9	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1650	Bust (border of leaves)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bardney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/28967	YORYM501	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1485	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Knaresborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143722	YORYM-7FC646	PAS	Chance Finds			Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Brantingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1002346	YORYM-AEA27B	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	York	Acaster Malbis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/628625	YORYM-D245DA	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1550	Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	County Durham	Darlington	Piercebridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/29491	YORYMM328	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1485	Bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Knaresborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6729&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Bust, circular, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Leicestershire	Harborough	Hungarton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF29193&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Beardless Bust	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Upwell

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mynard et al 1991	77		Report			Head, unidentified, circular	Human Figure/Body Part	Head	Buckinghamshire		Great Linford
Spencer 1980	104		Catalogue			Hand holding flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	105		Catalogue			Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	106		Catalogue			Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	107		Catalogue			Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	318		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	319		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	553		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	554		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	555		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	556		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Wapping
Mitchiner 1986	557		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	558		Catalogue	1400	1500	Angel holding heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	559		Catalogue	1400	1500	Angel holding heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	560		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	561		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	562		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	563		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	628		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	954		Catalogue	1500	1540	Heart, voided centre	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	982		Catalogue	1500	1540	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	263c		Catalogue			Heart, crucifixion, Agnus Dei	Christocentric	Heart	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Mitchiner 1986	319a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	321d		Catalogue			Crowned heart, Heart be true	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	321e		Catalogue			Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	321f		Catalogue			Crowned flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	321g		Catalogue			Heart, Sacred Monogram	Christocentric	Heart	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	321h		Catalogue			Heart, Figure blessing devotee	Cult of Saints	Heart	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	321i		Catalogue			Figures holding heart. Forms letter M (A?)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Mitchiner 1986	556a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Flowering heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	628a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Heart with shield, arrows	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig314		Catalogue			Heart. Heart be true	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/600993	BH-B55FB2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Tree (with scroll and heart)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Hertfordshire	East Hertfordshire	Bishop's Stortford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/72815	DENO-4C66D7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Nottinghamshire	Rushcliffe	Thrumpton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/903774	DENO-D67737	PAS	Chance Finds	1055	1500	Heart-shaped badge	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Derbyshire	Amber Valley	Ripley

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/993736	DUR-BD0C85	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1700	Mould (Heart and Flower)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Sharow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/514074	FAKL-654800	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/830228	FAKL-DDEED7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Selby	Saxton and Ulleskelf
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/905793	LEIC-FAB2B8	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Leicestershire	Melton	Freeby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/510002	LIN-B20773	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Theddlethorpe All Saints
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/517078	LON-250682	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Heart with Inscription	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Bridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/84617	LON-3C8107	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Heart with border	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/641076	LON-520BA5	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Heart (Thistles and Hawthorn)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1037863	LON-8543EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	Heart, thistles, hawthorn	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority	City of Westminster	Vincent Square
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/475644	LON-8A2836	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Heart shape with bust of Christ and saint/angel	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/803329	NLM-28F731	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/826704	NLM-76B663	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	Heraldry (Shield)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winteringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/441318	NLM-80A7B0	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Plompton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/89326	NMGW-C2BF33	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1700	Heart with border	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Glamorgenshire	the Vale of Glamorgan	Llanfair
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/37733	NMS1176	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk	Breckland	Colkirk
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/120444	NMS-89B2E2	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Heart (Openwork)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Wacton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/255972	NMS-BD7323	PAS	Chance Finds			Heart (Transfixed by arrow)	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Kirstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/538146	NMS-D52F32	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1005163	OXON-2009B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart?	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Stanton St. John
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1011138	PUBLIC-229380	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Burton Pedwardine
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/808292	SF-79A2BB	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Heart between flowers	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	West Stow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/848412	SUR-IDBAD9	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	Heart with border	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Surrey	Elmbridge	Cobham and Downside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/943155	SWYOR-014CF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1800	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Leeds	Micklefield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/702348	SWYOR-0D5094	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/68110	SWYOR-988AA1	PAS	Chance Finds	1050	1175	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Kirk Bramwith
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/802615	SWYOR-E99BEB	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	North Cave
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/943110	SWYOR-FE68D7	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1800	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Yorkshire	Leeds	Micklefield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/888117	WMID-DBD2EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heart	Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Worcestershire	Wyre Forest	Chaddesley Corbett
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF11109&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1100	1300		Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Suffolk		Wethersett-cum-Brockford
Wilkinson and McWhirr 1998	Cat no 19		Report	1600	1650		Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	St Mary
Bradley and Gaimster 2001			Report				Human Figure/Body Part	Heart	Norfolk		West Walton
Spencer 2010	277		Catalogue				Tool/Object/Weapon	Helmet	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	277a		Catalogue				Tool/Object/Weapon	Helmet	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	283b		Catalogue			Helmet with griffin	Tool/Object/Weapon	Helmet	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Mitchiner 1986	717		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheat ear, crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	718		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheat ear, crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	719		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheat ear	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig247		Catalogue			Wheatear crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853358	LON-85959F	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1307	Bust and Cross (Token brooch)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry III/Edward I	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
Mitchiner 1986	700		Catalogue	1400	1500	Cresset	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry V	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1024225	PUBLIC-7597C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1413	1422	Cresset	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry V	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
Spencer 1980	82		Catalogue			Bust, circular frame	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	88		Catalogue			Crowned figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	91		Catalogue			Battlements	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	208		Catalogue	1520	1520	Crowned figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BC72
Mitchiner 1986	838		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, lion, purse	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	839		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, lion, purse	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	840		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, lion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	841		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	842		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	843		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	844		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	845		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	846		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	847		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure standing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	848		Catalogue	1500	1540	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	849		Catalogue	1500	1540	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Anchor Pub, Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	850		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lozenge, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	851		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lozenge, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	852		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lozenge, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	853		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lozenge, openwork, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	854		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	855		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	856		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	857		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	858		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	859		Catalogue	1500	1540	Medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	860		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ship, medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	861		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ship, medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	862		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ship, medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	863		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ship, medallion, figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Egan 2005	1146		Catalogue	1530	1550	Crowned figure, standing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1147		Catalogue			Crowned figure, standing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1148		Catalogue			Crowned figure, lozenge	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1149		Catalogue			Crowned figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		GAS88
Egan 2005	1150		Catalogue			Crowned figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		ABB87
Spencer 2010	208a		Catalogue			Crowned figure, lozenge	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	208b		Catalogue			Letters H, R	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	208c		Catalogue			Crowned figure, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	208d		Catalogue			Crowned figure, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	208e		Catalogue			Crowned equestrian	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	208f		Catalogue			Crowned figure, battlements	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	208g		Catalogue			Crowned figure, ship, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig152		Catalogue			Crowned figure, lion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig153		Catalogue			Crowned figure, antelope	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig155		Catalogue			Figure, purse; fragment	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig156		Catalogue			Figure, purse; fragment	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig157		Catalogue			Crowned figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig158		Catalogue			Crowned figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig159		Catalogue			Crowned figure, lozenge	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig160		Catalogue			Equestrian	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/395807	BH-4D5FD5	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1550	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Stagsden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/273596	BH-5B0682	PAS	Chance Finds	1484	1540	Figure, crowned	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Great and Little Chishill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/211319	BH-6E8184	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Hertfordshire	Dacorum	Markyate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/211321	BH-6EDFD6	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Buckinghamshire	Wycombe	Princes Risborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/975481	BH-82CA95	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1500	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Barkway
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/589785	BH-CC6103	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Bampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/389949	BH-E6F815	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1550	Figure standing, robed	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Hertfordshire	East Hertfordshire	Furneux Pelham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/949063	BUC-076C84	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1540	Figure (robed and crowned)	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Tyringham and Filgrave
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/769023	BUC-5F2639	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1530	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Oving
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/898716	BUC-DE6120	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1530	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Thornton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/444325	CAM-E4BC67	PAS	Chance Finds	1484	1540	Figure, crowned	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Essex	Uttlesford	Thaxted
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/459280	LEIC-25E712	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1536	Figure, robed standing on lion holding orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Nottinghamshire	Rushcliffe	Granby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/199145	LIN-EEB323	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Figure	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Heckington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/892782	LON-1049DA	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1500	Ship	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/943473	LON-242D57	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1500	Figure, crowned with orb and scepter	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/518954	LON-48E271	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1540	Figure, crowned with orb and scepter	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/610606	LON-53A440	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1500	Figure, crowned with orb and scepter	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470806	LON-90C163	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1545	Robed figure (standing on lion)	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470808	LON-90DA13	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1545	Figure standing on lion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/245086	LVPL-DCE433	PAS	Chance Finds	1461	1550	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Leicestershire	Blaby	Kilby

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE5151&resourceID=1021	Heritage Gateway		Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Rutland		Egleton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/904442	NARC-509038	PAS	Chance Finds	1466	1700	Figure standing crowned with orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Great Oxendon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/482580	NARC-7FB921	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Figure, headless, ermine, hands clasped	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Northamptonshire	Wellingborough	Isham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/192277	NLM-FACEC6	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1540	Figure crowned, robed, holding orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winteringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/157572	NMS-749FE6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure robed, blessing	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Outwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/936698	OXON-C408F7	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1530	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Lewknor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/718487	SF-101E37	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1550	Figure standing with orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Ixworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/748694	SF-37F174	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1540	Figure seated, robed, lozenge	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Hessett
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/161505	SF-461CD7	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1525	Figure standing with orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Barrow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1006453	SF-9C71D4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Bust crowned	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Essex	Braintree	Birdbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/615186	SF-A3A885	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1550	Figure, crowned with orb and scepter	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Barham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/757431	SF-EAFF4E	PAS	Chance Finds	1420	1500	Bust crowned (see LVPL-DCE433)	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Icklingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1006069	SUR-213C8E	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1530	Figure, robed, crowned	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Moulsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/924229	SUR-9B1CC8	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure holding orb?	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Shalbourne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/228684	SUSS-3C5F86	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Bust	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Sussex	Arun	Clapham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/394416	SWYOR-B4C081	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1520	Figure, crowned, cross	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Goldsborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/876591	WILT-5A4DCB	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Figure with book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Chilmark
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/447716	WILT-6305E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1520	Figure, crown, orb, scepter	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Idmiston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/575075	WILT-6F99A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Figure with book	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Cheverell Magna
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/575541	WILT-DBC381	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Shoulders? Holding crowned bust (See LIN-EEB323)	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	West Ashton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/25534	WMID286	PAS	Chance Finds	1471	1530	Figure standing crowned with orb and sceptre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Warwickshire	North Warwickshire	Coleshill

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF19513&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=c37a4488-64e3-4325-844e-09bde6b93312&resourceID=191993		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1471	1550	Ship	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Greater London Authority	Southwark	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MST15245&resourceID=1010		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Staffordshire		Tamworth
Barker 1977	4		Report			Figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Floating Harbour
Williams 1979	Pb1		Report			Crowned figure, lozenge	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Northamptonshire	Northampton	St. Peter's Street
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/746045	ESS-0F4159	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust with mitre	Cult of Saints	Henry VI	Essex	Uttlesford	High Easter
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/116250	CAM-466AB8	PAS	Chance Finds	1509	1547	Figure (Bearded with border)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry VIII	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Shudy Camps
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/231497	DENO-A47497	PAS	Chance Finds	1520	1560	Figure (Bearded with border)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry VIII	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	South Muskham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/921846	NLM-4AAADD	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1575	Bust (Circular)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Henry VIII	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Marshchapel
Mitchiner 1986	313		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield	Heraldry	Heraldry	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	316		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heraldic triptych	Heraldry	Heraldry	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	317		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heraldic triptych fragment	Heraldry	Heraldry	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	747		Catalogue	1400	1500	Shield	Heraldry	Heraldry	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/844860	CAM-31FDA4	PAS	Chance Finds			Heraldry (Motto)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Lincolnshire	South Holland	Gedney Hill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/185526	HESH-A5F7B3	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1650	Heraldry (Shield, Circular) Three shells	Heraldry	Heraldry	Shropshire	Shropshire	Oswestry Rural
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/43344	KENT4016	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1540	Heraldry (Shield)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Kent	Canterbury	Westgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/273537	LON-58BC96	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Shield with scroll and crossed objects	Heraldry	Heraldry	Greater London Authority	Wandsworth	Thamesfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/522806	LVPL-AC0F36	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Triangle	Heraldry	Heraldry	Nottinghamshire	Bassetlaw	Elkesley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/52820	NARC-C45437	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1300	Knight and Lion	Heraldry	Heraldry	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Pitsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/988691	NLM-57AEC1	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1800	Saltires	Heraldry	Heraldry	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/715371	NLM-7C5137	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Horse head with masonry collar	Heraldry	Heraldry	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Northorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/976779	NMS-1BECA6	PAS	Chance Finds	1280	1500	Chevron, Cross, Pellets	Heraldry	Heraldry	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Shelland

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/477782	NMS-8B3435	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Shield (Gothic)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Sustead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1018371	NMS-9E6D48	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Tower	Heraldry	Heraldry	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Morningthorpe and Fritton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1005700	OXON-B7D2E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Heraldry arm, armor	Heraldry	Heraldry	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Horton-cum-Studley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/52646	SF-7FFFE7	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Relief design	Heraldry	Heraldry	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Mellis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/949233	SUR-452DB9	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Animal (Circular)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Surrey	Guildford	Compton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/192784	SUSS-5B89C5	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1700	Heraldry (arm grasping object)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Sussex	Lewes	Firle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/448514	SUSS-9F80B7	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1750	Heraldry (Circular)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Hampshire	East Hampshire	Buriton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/603674	SWYOR-F11137	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Heraldry and raised cross	Heraldry	Heraldry	Yorkshire	Leeds	Walton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/189968	WILT-1C2C24	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1599	Heraldry (Shield)	Heraldry	Heraldry	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Marston Maisey
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN115539&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Human Figure/Body Part	Hercules	Northamptonshire		Pitsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/830679	SF-1F9872	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Hind (Crown around neck)	Mammal	Hind (Crown around neck)	Suffolk	Babergh	East Bergholt
Mitchiner 1986	936		Catalogue	1500	1540	leaf	Plant	Holly	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig270		Catalogue			Holly sprig	Plant	Holly	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	261		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Christocentric	Holy Blood of Hailes	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	648		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian figure holding relic, sword	Christocentric	Holy Blood of Hailes	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	649		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian figure holding relic, sword	Christocentric	Holy Blood of Hailes	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	650		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian figure holding sword	Christocentric	Holy Blood of Hailes	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	102		Catalogue			Three Hosts	Christocentric	Holy Blood, Wilsnack	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	1040		Catalogue	1540	1600	Three discs, figures	Christocentric	Holy Blood, Wilsnack	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	263b		Catalogue			Three Hosts	Christocentric	Holy Blood, Wilsnack	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 1980	108		Catalogue			IHS	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	194		Catalogue			I.H.C.	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	668		Catalogue	1400	1500	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	669		Catalogue	1400	1500	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	670		Catalogue	1400	1500	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	818		Catalogue	1400	1500	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	819		Catalogue	1400	1500	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	925		Catalogue	1500	1540	IHC in letter S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	926		Catalogue	1500	1540	IHC	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1011		Catalogue	1540	1600	IHS, John and Mary	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	155a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, IHS Nazarene	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig102		Catalogue			Trigram crowned	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig103		Catalogue			Trigram crowned	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Wiltshire		Clarendon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/912981	BUC-415FEC	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	I.H.S.	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Thornton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/519709	LANCUM-9CDF01	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	I.H.S/C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Cumbria	Eden	Morland
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986952	LIN-4901B4	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	I.H.S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Nottinghamshire	Mansfield	Warsop
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/132899	LIN-B3E623	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Withern with Stain
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/823737	LON-387A32	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/122189	LON-C95623	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	I.H.S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/6104	LVPL1566	PAS	Chance Finds	1540		I.H.S.	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Shropshire	Shropshire	Whitchurch Rural
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/796068	LVPL-8EEAAD	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	I.H.S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Cheshire	Trafford	Warburton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/434066	NCL-0AEDA2	PAS	Chance Finds	1480	1550	I.H.S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	County Durham	Stockton-on-Tees	Redmarshall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/239777	NCL-3A8828	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	I.H.S	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Yorkshire	Richmondshire	Brough with St. Giles
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/755964	NLM-1877C4	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Broughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/934232	NMS-A02342	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1540	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Norfolk	Breckland	Litcham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/258756	SF-7A5314	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	I.H.C, crown	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Icklingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/813576	SWYOR-19829B	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Yorkshire	Leeds	Adel and Wharfedale
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/975102	WAW-4C737E	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Lincolnshire	Boston	Freiston

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/780884	YORYM-09903A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	I.H.C	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Yorkshire	Craven	Rylstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/924706	YORYM-C75EB1	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1700	I.H.S, S, T, Cross	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Brandsby-cum-Stearsby
Gilchrist and Green 2015	1		Report	1300	1375	IHV, MCY, hand, circular	Christocentric	Holy Name of Jesus	Somerset	Glastonbury	Glastonbury Abbey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/815384	YORYM-EF7850	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Horse	Mammal	Horse	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Allerthorpe
Egan 2005	1164		Catalogue			Hand holding (daisies?)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Humphrey Duke of Gloucester	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	288d		Catalogue			Daisies	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Humphrey Duke of Gloucester	Greater London Authority		KATsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/939071	PUBLIC-D984AE	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Knot Hungerford/Hastings	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Hungerford/Hastings families	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Grasby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/607997	WAW-F15ED2	PAS	Chance Finds	1650	1800	Rope	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Hungerford/Hastings families	Warwickshire	Warwick	Offchurch
Mitchiner 1986	321		Catalogue	1300	1400	Huntsman	Human Figure/Body Part	Huntsman	Greater London Authority		Peach Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	764		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian figure, bow	Human Figure/Body Part	Huntsman	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	765		Catalogue	1400	1500	Equestrian, rider missing	Human Figure/Body Part	Huntsman	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	270d		Catalogue				Dynastic/Individual Faction	John of Gaunt	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Mitchiner 1986	864		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure holding long boot and devil	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	865		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure holding long boot and devil	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	866		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure, pulpit, boot, architecture	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	867		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure, pulpit, boot, architecture	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	868		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure, pulpit, boot, architecture	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		London Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	869		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure holding long boot and devil, lozenge, openwork	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	870		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure holding long boot and devil, circular frame	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Bishop's Park, N. side; Putney
Mitchiner 1986	871		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure holding long boot and devil, circular frame, openwork	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1145		Catalogue	1500	1550	Fragment, figure, academic dress	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	208h		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	208i		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	208j		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BUsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	208k		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	208l		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	208m		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig165		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig167		Catalogue			Figure, devil trap, frame	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/139569	BERK-186AD6	PAS	Chance Finds			Figure emerging from lozenge shape, altar?	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Islip
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/79130	LON-0E51B1	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1520	Bust	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/247897	LON-427331	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Robes, boot, devils wing	Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2836&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	John Schorne	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig243		Catalogue			Tree stump (Woodstock)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	John, Duke of Bedford	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470057	NCL-2AC076	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	Key	Tool/Object/Weapon	Key	County Durham	County Durham	Boldron
Mitchiner 1986	920		Catalogue	1500	1540	Crowned bust, bearded	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Greater London Authority		Old Swan Pier
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/445915	BERK-CBB1B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400	Bust, crowned	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	East Hanney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/840489	BERK-E8F169	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Bust (Bearded, Crowned, Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Aston, Cote, Shifford and Chimney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/548133	KENT-4878A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1400	Bust, crowned	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Greater London Authority	Richmond upon Thames	Barnes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/868818	LVPL-BAC118	PAS	Chance Finds			King (face) Circular border with pellets	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Northamptonshire	East Northamptonshire	Barnwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/963884	SF-7236D1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure crown and sceptre, Figure robed	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Chevington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/244189	WMID-4E0684	PAS	Chance Finds			Bust (Crowned, Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Staffordshire	East Staffordshire	Wootton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/53194	YORYM-C0C077	PAS	Chance Finds			Crowned bust	Human Figure/Body Part	King	Yorkshire	Selby	Kellington
Spencer 1980	137		Catalogue			Knight jousting	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 1980	138		Catalogue			Knight jousting	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	139		Catalogue			Knight jousting	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	296		Catalogue	1350	1400	Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	297		Catalogue	1400	1450	Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	296a		Catalogue			Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	296b		Catalogue			Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	296c		Catalogue			Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	296d		Catalogue			Tournament/Joust	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig258		Catalogue			Knight	Human Figure/Body Part	Knight	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	158		Catalogue			Man with sack	Human Figure/Body Part	Laborer	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	191		Catalogue	1350	1400	Agnus Dei	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	212		Catalogue	1300	1400	Agnus Dei	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	608		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lamb, circular frame	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	609		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lamb	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	610		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lamb, circular frame	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	191a		Catalogue			Agnus Dei	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
Spencer 2010	191b		Catalogue			Agnus Dei	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	191c		Catalogue			Agnus Dei, Annunciation on reverse	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/992821	DUR-2DBE88	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lamb of God	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Thirsk
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/253361	ESS-C8DA96	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Standing figure holding Angus Dei, kneeling figure	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Essex	Tendring	Elmstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/4524	KENT3618	PAS	Chance Finds	1200		Figure and lamb	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Kent	Tonbridge and Malling	Aylesford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/600185	LVPL-4F20F1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lamb of God, cross	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	South Cave

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/259866	NMS-2401D5	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1400	Banner (God Help), hooves	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Bodham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/871261	SUSS-DEF073	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1650	Lamb and bush	Christocentric	Lamb of God	Sussex	Wealden	Herstmonceux
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/89236	LON-890702	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	S-shaped fitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Riverside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/425951	LON-D69752	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lombardic S	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/100741	NARC-53DE95	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	S	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/821102	SOM-2C95F6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1600	S's openwork	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Dorset	North Dorset	Spetisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/731411	SUSS-D0D1C2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	S	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Sussex	Wealden	Laughton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/839000	WAW-536FCD	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Swan (Circular frame with fleur de lis)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Clanfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/873246	WMID-06023F	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1600	S (Border)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lancastrian	Worcestershire	Malvern Hills	Astley and Dunley
Mitchiner 1986	486		Catalogue	1400	1500	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	487		Catalogue	1400	1500	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	488		Catalogue	1400	1500	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Putney
Mitchiner 1986	590		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	591		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	592		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	593		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Winchester Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	594		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	595		Catalogue	1400	1500	Strawberry leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	911		Catalogue	1500	1540	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	912		Catalogue	1500	1540	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	913		Catalogue	1500	1540	Leaf	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	917		Catalogue	1500	1540	Strawberry Plant	Plant	Leaf	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig295		Catalogue			Vine leaf	Plant	Leaf	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	143		Catalogue			Letter A, corwned	Letter/Text	Letter	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	195		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	196		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	197		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	198		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter R crown decoration	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	199		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter R crown decoration	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	200		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter S crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	201		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter C crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	202		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter D crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	203		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter Y crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	204		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter V in frame	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	319		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter missing, Quatrefoil, rose trim damaged	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	320		Catalogue	1380	1380	Letter E, Hexagram	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	321		Catalogue			Letter H, crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	603		Catalogue	1400	1500	S	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	604		Catalogue	1400	1500	S	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	923		Catalogue	1500	1540	A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	924		Catalogue	1500	1540	A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	318c		Catalogue			Letter R, Quatrefoil, rose trimmed	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	319a		Catalogue			Letter R crowned	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	319b		Catalogue			Letter A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	321a		Catalogue			Letter K	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	321b		Catalogue			Letter K	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	321c		Catalogue			Letter A	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Mitchiner 1986	604a		Catalogue	1400	1500	S	Letter/Text	Letter	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/914989	LIN-ACDBF6	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Lombardic S, T	Letter/Text	Letter	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Bolingbroke
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/587382	LON-C95285	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1400	Letters Openwork	Letter/Text	Letter	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490406	NCL-644497	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lombardic A	Letter/Text	Letter	Northumberland	Northumberland	Holy Island
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/727292	NMGW-EB4B2C	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Lombardic B	Letter/Text	Letter	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Uplands
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719873	SWYOR-B84BBA	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	E. with design	Letter/Text	Letter	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Scotton
Youngs et al 1984			Report			Gothic B	Letter/Text	Letter	Powys		Dolforwyn Castle
Spencer 1980	123		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	124		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	125		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	126		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	127		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	272		Catalogue	1400	1450		Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	273		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Spencer 2010	274		Catalogue	1350	1400		Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	275		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIG82
Spencer 2010	276		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	279		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion passant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	280		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion passant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	281		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion passant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	282		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion passant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	283		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion rampant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	284		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion rampant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	285		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion rampant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	286		Catalogue	1300	1400	Lion rampant	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	689		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion head	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	690		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion head	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	691		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion fragment	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	692		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion head	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Old Swan Pier
Mitchiner 1986	693		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion fragment	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	694		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	695		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion fragment	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	696		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion fragment	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	701		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	702		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	703		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	704		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	705		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	969		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lion, crowned	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Tower Reach
Mitchiner 1986	981		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lion head	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	273a		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
Spencer 2010	273b		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	273c		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	273d		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		London Bridge
Spencer 2010	273e		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	273f		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	274a		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	274b		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	274c		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	274d		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	274e		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	276a		Catalogue				Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig219		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig220		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig221		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig223		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig224		Catalogue			Lion	Mammal	Lion	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/201887	BERK-02F1B1	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1450	Lion (Gardant)	Mammal	Lion	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Clanfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/631309	BUC-3409BD	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Lion (Face), wavy mane	Mammal	Lion	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Chetwode
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/190829	GLO-DAB1D4	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Lion (Face)	Mammal	Lion	Gloucestershire	South Gloucestershire	Tortworth

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/717694	HAMP-A18340	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lion (passant guardant)	Mammal	Lion	Hampshire	Winchester	Cheriton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/608284	IOW-169BB8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Lion (passant guardant)	Mammal	Lion	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Brighstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1029900	IOW-89F2FB	PAS	Chance Finds			Heraldry (Shield), Three Lions rampant	Mammal	Lion	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Calbourne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/777992	LANCUM-B737DE	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1750	Lion/or dog (statant regardant)	Mammal	Lion	Hampshire	Havant	Andover
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/542140	LEIC-91F276	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lion	Mammal	Lion	Leicestershire	Melton	Kirby Bellars
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/112772	LIN-08CBF6	PAS	Chance Finds	1390	1490	Lion (passant guardant, circular)	Mammal	Lion	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Branston and Mere
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/189813	LON-04F760	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1499	Lion (Rope border)	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/402941	LON-7F7007	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lion (Crowned)	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470721	LON-814626	PAS	Chance Finds	1325	1500	Lion (Face)	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority	City of Westminster	St. James's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470797	LON-908C61	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1500	Lion	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63901	LON-9410C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1499	Lion (Face,Crowned)	Mammal	Lion	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/779585	SF-74E6C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Heraldry (Shield)	Mammal	Lion	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Worlingworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/612816	SF-7DDF84	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Lion (Gardant)	Mammal	Lion	Suffolk	Babergh	Monks Eleigh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/969880	SUR-619621	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Lion (Face)	Mammal	Lion	Hampshire	Winchester	Itchen Valley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/597925	SUR-7AE802	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1750	Lion (Rampant)	Mammal	Lion	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Binfield Heath
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/981892	SUR-BA8EFA	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lion (passant, Circular)	Mammal	Lion	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Stagsden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/622574	SUR-EF4C2C	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Lion	Mammal	Lion	Dorset	West Dorset	Beaminster
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/911179	SWYOR-1A15E8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	Lion (Rampant)	Mammal	Lion	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/286674	YORYM-840603	PAS	Chance Finds	1050	1175	Lion (passant)	Mammal	Lion	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	North Ferriby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/542293	YORYM-A6C928	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1650	Lion (Face)	Mammal	Lion	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Barton-le-Street
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/737752	YORYM-B153AE	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Lion (Face)	Mammal	Lion	Yorkshire	Selby	Beal

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWY14027&resourceID=105		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Mammal	Lion	Yorkshire	Wakefield	North Elmsall
Mitchiner 1986	629		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lock	Tool/Object/Weapon	Lock	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig240		Catalogue			Hood	Tool/Object/Weapon	Lord Ferrers	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	118		Catalogue			Mill-sail	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lord Willoughby	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	292a		Catalogue			Mill-sail	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lord Willoughby	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	292b		Catalogue			Mill-sail	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lord Willoughby	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig234		Catalogue			Mill-sail	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lord Willoughby	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/496515	NMS-9B7AE3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Windmill	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Lord Willoughby	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Gayton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/151367	LON-480C84	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Lozenge with border and pellets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Lozenge	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/282508	SF-4B6D94	PAS	Chance Finds	700	1500	Lozenge (mitre?)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Lozenge	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Icklingham
Rowley et al 1996	738/99		Report			Lozenge	Tool/Object/Weapon	Lozenge	Oxfordshire	Witney	Cogges Manor Farm
Mitchiner 1986	932		Catalogue	1500	1540	Mantle	Tool/Object/Weapon	Mantle	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	933		Catalogue	1500	1540	Mantle	Tool/Object/Weapon	Mantle	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	934		Catalogue	1500	1540	Mantle	Tool/Object/Weapon	Mantle	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/32767	SF10740	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Continental type with seated crowned female figure	Cult of Saints	Margaret of Scotland (Dumfermline Abbey)	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Fordham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1010466	SF-62634C	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Continental type with seated crowned female figure	Cult of Saints	Margaret of Scotland (Dumfermline Abbey)	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Fordham
Spencer 2010	307		Catalogue			Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Milkmaid	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	306c		Catalogue			Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Milkmaid	Greater London Authority		St Katherine's Wharf
Spencer 2010	307a		Catalogue			Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Milkmaid	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig276		Catalogue			Milkmaid	Human Figure/Body Part	Milkmaid	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/503307	SWYOR-39ACF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, female, robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Milkmaid	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Scotter
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/573680	NMS-33EB96	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	Moor's head	Human Figure/Body Part	Moor's head	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Wortwell
Spencer 1980	128		Catalogue			Mulberry	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	310		Catalogue	1300	1400	Mulberry plant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	311		Catalogue	1300	1400	Mulberry plant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	738		Catalogue	1400	1500	Plant, label Mabris	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		Trig Lane
Mitchiner 1986	739		Catalogue	1400	1500	Plant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		Putney
Spencer 2010	288a		Catalogue			Mulberry	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	288b		Catalogue			Mulberry	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer 2010	288c		Catalogue			Mulberry	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig225		Catalogue			Mulberry sprig, Mowbray	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/118104	NMS-E446A6	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Leaf (Mulberry)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Mowbray family	Suffolk	Waveney	Flixton
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig299		Catalogue			Harp	Tool/Object/Weapon	Musical Instrument	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/919666	CORN-C10E8B	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Stringed Instrument	Tool/Object/Weapon	Musical Instrument	Cornwall	Cornwall	Hayle
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF13555&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Tool/Object/Weapon	Musical Instrument	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Bircham
Spencer 2010	325h		Catalogue			Organist	Human Figure/Body Part	Musician	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	325i		Catalogue			Bagpiper	Human Figure/Body Part	Musician	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Mitchiner 1986	325		Catalogue	1300	1400	Naked man	Human Figure/Body Part	Naked figure	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/436355	NLM-435CD3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1470	Heraldry (Shield) Ragged staff	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Neville family	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Faldingworth
Mitchiner 1986	28		Catalogue	1200	1300	Fleur de lis plaque	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	29		Catalogue	1200	1300	Fleur de lis frame, ring attachments	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	30		Catalogue	1200	1300	Fleur de lis frame, ring attachments	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	31		Catalogue	1200	1300	Quatrefoil in frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	32		Catalogue	1200	1300	Quatrefoil in frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	33		Catalogue	1200	1300	Frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	34		Catalogue	1200	1300	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	35		Catalogue	1200	1300	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	36		Catalogue	1200	1300	Mary monogram	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames, Putney
Mitchiner 1986	37		Catalogue	1200	1300	Ave Maria monogram	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	52		Catalogue			Virgin and Child circular, shrubs	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	53		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	54		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing, Holy Dove	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	55		Catalogue			Virgin, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	56		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	57		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	58		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	59		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	60		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	61		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	62		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	63		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	64		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	65		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	66		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	67		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	68		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	69		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	120		Catalogue			Devotional story panel	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	147		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame, Mary's rose	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	148		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame, Mary's rose	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	149		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	150		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	151		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	152		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	153		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	154		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	154		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHA89

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	155		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	160		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 1980	160		Catalogue			Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	161		Catalogue	1400	1450	Virgin and Child, Candles, frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	162		Catalogue	1350	1400	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	163		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VRY89
Spencer 2010	164		Catalogue	1350	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	165		Catalogue	1350	1400	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	166		Catalogue			Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Spencer 2010	167		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	168		Catalogue			Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	169		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter V	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	170		Catalogue	1400	1450	Letters for MARIA, interwoven	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	171		Catalogue	1400	1450	Letters for MARIA, interwoven	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	172		Catalogue	1400	1450	Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	173		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	174		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	175		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	176		Catalogue			Fleur de lis, pendant attachment	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VRY89
Spencer 2010	177		Catalogue			Winged Heart	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		TL74
Mitchiner 1986	227		Catalogue	1300	1400	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	228		Catalogue	1300	1400	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	236		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, equestrian	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	238		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M, crowned	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	239		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M, crowned	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	240		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M, crowned	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	241		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M, crowned	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	248		Catalogue			Circular Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	263		Catalogue			Continental Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	498		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular frame, M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	499		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular frame, fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	500		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular frame, fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	501		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular frame, fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	502		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular frame, fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	503		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular medallion, fleur de lis, eight armed cross	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	504		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular medallion, fleur de lis, eight armed cross	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	508		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	509		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	510		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	511		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	512		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	513		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	514		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	515		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Trig Lane
Mitchiner 1986	516		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	517		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	518		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	519		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, AVE	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	520		Catalogue	1400	1500	Pendant medallion, Annunciation. Reverse SS Peter and Paul	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Anchor Pub, Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	544		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	545		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	546		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	547		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	548		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	549		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	550		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	577		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	581		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Essex		Waltham Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	602		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	656		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child, architecture	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	900		Catalogue	1500	1540	Lozenge with Ave Gracia	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	914		Catalogue	1500	1540	Flower	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Baynard's Castle

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	915		Catalogue	1500	1540	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	1015		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bust	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1018		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1019		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1020		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, Angel	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	1027		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, circular frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1028		Catalogue	1540	1600	Female figure	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	1029		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crowned female head	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1047		Catalogue	1540	1600	Monogram Maria, crowned, medallion	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1048		Catalogue	1540	1600	Monogram Maria, crowned, medallion	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1049		Catalogue	1540	1600	Monogram Maria, crowned, medallion	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	1050		Catalogue	1540	1600	Letter, Architectural M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1138		Catalogue	1500	1550	Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1155		Catalogue	1450	1550	Crowned circle, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1156		Catalogue	1450	1550	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1157		Catalogue	1500	1550	Virgin and Child, standing on bird	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1158		Catalogue	1500	1550	Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1159		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1160		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing, medallion	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1161		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	154d		Catalogue			Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	160a		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	160b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	160c		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	162a		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	162b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	165a		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	Bermondsey	Dockhead
Spencer 2010	165b		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	166a		Catalogue			Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	167a		Catalogue			Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	167b		Catalogue			Letter M	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Vintry

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	169a		Catalogue			Letter V	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	169b		Catalogue			Letter V	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	172a		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	172b		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	173a		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BUSp
Spencer 2010	175a		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		BASp
Spencer 2010	176a		Catalogue			Fleur de lis, pendant attachment (bagpipe)	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	176b		Catalogue			Fleur de lis, pendant attachment (purse)	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	176c		Catalogue			Heart	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	176d		Catalogue			Winged Heart	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority		Southwark bridge
Mitchiner 1986	241a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Letter M, crowned	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	893a		Catalogue	1500	1540	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig284		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig285		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig286		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig287		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig288		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig289		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig290		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig291		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig292		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig293		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig294		Catalogue			Handgoogje, Quatrefoil	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig44		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, lozenge	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig45		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, medallion	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig48		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig50		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig51		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig52		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig53		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig54		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig55		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig56		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig57		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig73		Catalogue			Lily and Rose	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig74		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig75		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig76		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig77		Catalogue			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/388468	BERK-29EB55	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1599	Figure holding lamb or child, on boat?	Marian	Our Lady	Berkshire	West Berkshire	Hampstead Norreys
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/84187	BUC-D47F44	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Lombardic M (Crowned)	Marian	Our Lady	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Haddenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/599271	CORN-01E2E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure (Female)	Marian	Our Lady	Cornwall	Cornwall	St. Kew
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/136772	LON-365674	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Fleur de lis with border	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Castle Baynard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/95538	LON-473472	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1350	Fleur de lis with border	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/89240	LON-893C42	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Openwork circle with Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Riverside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/646802	LON-8E11BB	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Girdle	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/646827	LON-8EA7E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1425	Handgoogje	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/740932	LON-95E436	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1537	Virgin Mary	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/605682	LON-DE0860	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	M button	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/934799	LON-F30BCE	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1325	Handgoogje	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/747808	LON-F3F8A0	PAS	Chance Finds			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Bridge

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/573754	NMS-365ED6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	M	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	Broadland	Foulsham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/152911	NMS-578B54	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Fleur de lis (Circular with border)	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	Broadland	Aylsham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/197308	NMS-5DD095	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Figure (female) and unicorn	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Dunton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/927769	NMS-69BD01	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	Breckland	Beeston with Bittering
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/254243	NMS-708F73	PAS	Chance Finds			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	Broadland	Postwick with Witton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1005167	OXON-203A78	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, female, robed	Marian	Our Lady	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Stanton St. John
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/753090	PUBLIC-2E6AF6	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1425	Handgoogje	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	Shadwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/114928	SF-725306	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lombardic M (Crowned)	Marian	Our Lady	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Palgrave
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015593	SUR-BA331A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Fleur de lis (D.N.A inscription)	Marian	Our Lady	Greater London Authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Sands End
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/505438	SUSS-622704	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1499	V-shaped with trefoils	Marian	Our Lady	Sussex	Wealden	Little Horsted
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1008435	SWYOR-5D0D07	PAS	Chance Finds	1170	1550	Bust, crowned?	Marian	Our Lady	Yorkshire	Selby	Ryther cum Ossendyke
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/59623	WILT-8EDCB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Letter M or W	Marian	Our Lady	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Upton Scudamore
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6931&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			fleur de lys	Marian	Our Lady	Rutland		Empingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE3848&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Marian	Our Lady	Leicestershire	Melton	Hoby with Rotherby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25906&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	West Norfolk	King's Lynn
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF7293&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Marian	Our Lady	Suffolk	St Edmundsbury	Packenham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2751&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Marian	Our Lady	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Walton
Gilchrist and Green 2015	7		Report	1450	1550	Rose, Marian inscription	Marian	Our Lady	Somerset	Glastonbury	Glastonbury Abbey
Margeson 1993	18		Report	1450	1599	Virgin figure	Marian	Our Lady	Norfolk	Norwich	149N
Woodfield and Caple 2005	24		Report	1450	1550	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Warwickshire	Coventry	Whitefriars
Harbottle et al 1981	455		Report	1500	1550	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Northumberland	Newcastle upon Tyne	Castle Ditch
Nenk et al 1996			Report			Fleur de lis	Marian	Our Lady	Staffordshire	Lichfield	1 Bird Street

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Wilson and Hurst 1966			Report			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady	Somerset	Glastonbury Tor	St. Michael's on the Tor
Mitchiner 1986	237		Catalogue	1300	1400	Heart pierced by arrow, enclosed in arms	Marian	Our Lady (Crucifixion)	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/492591	DUR-73F3F2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	County Durham	Darlington	Middleton St. George
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/444123	IOW-D597E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Virgin and Child (standing)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Arreton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/479670	LIN-5CB267	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/805768	LON-4FC379	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child (Architecture)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/418395	LON-52AD58	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child (standing)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/654089	LON-576A31	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child (standing)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/868509	LON-8082A4	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Heart, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/922441	LON-865180	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Virgin and Child (Architecture)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/749733	LON-B4E381	PAS	Chance Finds			Seated figure with child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/465373	LON-DAA254	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Rotherhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/465394	LON-DB7794	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child (standing)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/476316	LON-E3D152	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child and six petalled flower	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/184128	LVPL-7FD621	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Virgin and Child, Eight petal flower	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Buttercrambe with Bossall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/187932	NMS-8A5044	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Outwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/145572	NMS-B76D74	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Virgin and Child (crowned)	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Norfolk	Broadland	Cawston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/972313	PUBLIC-9FA2F7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Kent	Maidstone	Lenham

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/796468	PUBLIC-F5ED3C	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/20855	SF6115	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Pakenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/275019	WILT-0618C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Marston Maisey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/848711	WMID-4092DC	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Worcestershire	Malvern Hills	Astley and Dunley
Rahtz et al 2004	24		Report	1066	1300	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child	Yorkshire		Wharram Percy
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/409146	DENO-C5CB07	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	Crucifixion with John, Reverse features Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady and Child/Crucifixion	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Ashby De La Launde and Bloxholm
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/135905	NCL-FD6AD1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Virgin and Child/Crucifixion	Marian	Our Lady and Child/Crucifixion	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Thwing
Spencer 1980	50		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated, Doncacia	Marian	Our Lady in the Whitefriars' church, Doncaster	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	1041		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, openwork	Marian	Our Lady of Aachen	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig42		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated	Marian	Our Lady of Aachen	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig43		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated	Marian	Our Lady of Aachen	Kent		Canterbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/652448	NMGW-C39755	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figures (hierarchical), robed, throne	Marian	Our Lady of Aachen	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Mumbles
Spencer 2010	234a		Catalogue			Virgin in boat	Marian	Our Lady of Boulogne	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Mitchiner 1986	1022		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, Continental	Marian	Our Lady of Chartres	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	239b		Catalogue			Continental plaque, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Chartres	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Margeson 1993	17		Report	1450	1599	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Chartres	Norfolk	Norwich	149N
Spencer 2010	154a		Catalogue			Virgin in mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	154b		Catalogue			Virgin in mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	154c		Catalogue			Virgin in mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig58		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig61		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig62		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig64		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/190780	ESS-D91287	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1525	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Essex	Tendring	Little Bromley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/238412	HAMP-19F241	PAS	Chance Finds	1425	1525	Figure female standing on crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Hampshire	Winchester	Wonston

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https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143738	NCL-8D9943	PAS	Chance Finds			Figure (female) robed, praying	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Cumbria	Carlisle	Stanwix Rural
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/200562	NMS-30EE65	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/487827	YORYM-3EF607	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent), sun	Marian	Our Lady of Eton	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Bempton
Spencer 1980	51		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated, frame, medallion	Marian	Our Lady of Hal	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	264b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, openwork scene	Marian	Our Lady of Hertogenbosch	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
Mitchiner 1986	1046		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin crowned, Kevelaer	Marian	Our Lady of Kevelaer	Greater London Authority		London
Spencer 2010	244		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child, Inscription	Marian	Our Lady of Le Puy	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Mitchiner 1986	877		Catalogue	1500	1540	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/495354	BH-B61A93	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Battlesden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/236634	BH-C4ED35	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1525	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Hitchin Priory
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/41996	KENT4898	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Kent	Shepway	New Romney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/489287	LON-E25B40	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1560	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Greater London Authority	City of Westminster	St. James's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101839	NARC-7A4A72	PAS	Chance Finds	1425	1525	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/12185	NLM4718	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1540	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Thimbleby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/640696	NMS-3C99D3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Norfolk	Breckland	Snetterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/86384	NMS-E48254	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/259014	SF-932A73	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1700	Pieta. Body of Christ, one arm at side other hanging	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Elveden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/131608	SUR-B57856	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Surrey	Guildford	West Horsley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158534	SWYOR-2133C1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1520	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Yorkshire	Rotherham	Hooton Levitt
Cunningham and Drury 1985	84		Report	1590	1630	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Essex	Chelmsham	Moulsham Street
Ivens 1995	134		Report			Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Buckinghamshire		Tattenhoe
Crummy 1988	3284		Report			Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Essex	Colchester	Lion Walk Church
Brown and Alexander 1982			Report	1450	1500	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Northamptonshire	Towcester	Grammar School
Woodfield 2001			Report	1400	1550	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Northamptonshire	Towcester	Pury End
Cunningham and Drury 1985			Report	1425	1475	Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Pity	Warwickshire	Warwick	St. Mary's Church, Beauchamp Chapel

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig65		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated, frame, Pul	Marian	Our Lady of Poulton	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	245		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	245a		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority		Battersea
Spencer 2010	245b		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	245c		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	245d		Catalogue			Continental oval, Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/869651	LON-0AF7CC	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Whistle (bust)	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/547143	LON-CA8654	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Whistle (bust)	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Castle Baynard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/286621	WILT-81DE97	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1450	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	West Lavington
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF7207&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1200	1550		Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Suffolk	St Edmundsbury	Ixworth
Griffiths et al 2007	1856		Report			Virgin and Child, continental sewing loops	Marian	Our Lady of Rocamadour	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig78		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig79		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig80		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig81		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig82		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig83		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig84		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig85		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, standing	Marian	Our Lady of Salisbury	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	246g		Catalogue			Continental Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of the Tables	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Mitchiner 1986	1026		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, architecture	Marian	Our Lady of Tombelaine	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	1026a		Catalogue	1540	1600	Virgin and Child, architecture	Marian	Our Lady of Tombelaine	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig41		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, seated	Marian	Our Lady of Tombelaine	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	1		Catalogue	1375	1425	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	2		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	3		Catalogue	1450	1500	Virgin and Child, square frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	4		Catalogue	1450	1500	Virgin and Child, square frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	5		Catalogue	1400	1450	Virgin and Child, circular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	6		Catalogue	1400	1450	Virgin and Child, circular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	7		Catalogue	1400	1450	Annunciation, openwork fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	8		Catalogue	1425	1475	Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	9		Catalogue	1425	1475	Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	10		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	11		Catalogue	1350	1400	Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	12		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	13		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	14		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	15		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	16		Catalogue	1350	1400	Annunciation, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	17		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	18		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	19		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	20		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	21		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 1980	22		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	23		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	24		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	25		Catalogue	1200	1300	Horn (Ave Maria)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	25		Catalogue	1450	1500	Annunciation fragment, rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	26		Catalogue	1200	1300	Horn (Ave Maria)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	26		Catalogue	1350	1400	Annunciation fragment, circular frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Thetford	St Barnabas Workhouse
Spencer 1980	27		Catalogue	1325	1375	Annunciation fragment, circular frame with projections	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	27		Catalogue	1200	1300	Horn (Ave Maria)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	28		Catalogue	1450	1550	Annunciation fragment, medallion	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	29		Catalogue	1450	1550	Annunciation fragment, hexagonal frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	30		Catalogue	1400	1500	5 Six pointed stars, annunciation. Reverse; 2 broad arrows	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Little Walsingham	Church of St Mary
Spencer 1980	31		Catalogue			Gabriel's Horn	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	32		Catalogue			Gabriel's Horn	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	33		Catalogue	1475	1525	Mary's Milk	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	35		Catalogue			Broad Arrow	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	36		Catalogue	1320	1350	The Knight's Gate	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	37		Catalogue	1400	1500	The Knight's Gate	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	38		Catalogue	1200	1300	Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Spencer 2010	138		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	139		Catalogue	1400	1450	Holy House	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		SWA81

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	140		Catalogue	1250	1350	Holy House	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VAL88
Spencer 2010	141		Catalogue			Holy House	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	142		Catalogue	1270	1350	Architectural fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	143		Catalogue	1350	1400	Annunciation figure	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	144		Catalogue	1270	1350	Annunciation figure	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	145		Catalogue	1350	1400	Architectural fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	146		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	147		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	148		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VRV89
Spencer 2010	149		Catalogue			Annunciation Lily	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	150		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	151		Catalogue	1400	1450	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	153		Catalogue			The Knight's Gate	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	222		Catalogue	1300	1400	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	223		Catalogue	1300	1400	Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	224		Catalogue	1300	1400	Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	225		Catalogue	1300	1400	Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	226		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	229		Catalogue	1300	1400	Holy House fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	231		Catalogue	1300	1400	Holy House fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	232		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	233		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	234		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	235		Catalogue	1300	1400	Knight	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	529		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	530		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	531		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Lincolnshire		South Humberside
Mitchiner 1986	532		Catalogue	1400	1500	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	533		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	534		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	535		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	536		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	537		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	538		Catalogue	1400	1500	Lily Pot	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	539		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	540		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Kennets Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	541		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	542		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	543		Catalogue	1400	1500	Virgin and Child, mandorla	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	894		Catalogue	1500	1540	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	895		Catalogue	1500	1540	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	896		Catalogue	1500	1540	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		All Hallows
Mitchiner 1986	897		Catalogue	1500	1540	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	898		Catalogue	1500	1540	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	899		Catalogue	1500	1540	Assumption	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Trig Stairs
Egan 2005	1136		Catalogue	1450	1550	Annunciation, plaque	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1137		Catalogue	1500	1550	Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	137b		Catalogue			Seated Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	138a		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
Spencer 2010	138b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	138c		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	138d		Catalogue			Holy House	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Old Swan Stairs
Spencer 2010	139a		Catalogue			Holy House	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	142a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	143a		Catalogue			Annunciation figure	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	144a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	146a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	148a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	149a		Catalogue			Annunciation Lily	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	150a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	150b		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	151a		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	151b		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	151c		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
Spencer 2010	151d		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	151e		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	151f		Catalogue			Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer 2010	153a		Catalogue			Mary's Milk	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	153b		Catalogue			Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	153c		Catalogue			Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer 2010	153d		Catalogue			Pieta	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	230a		Catalogue	1300	1400	Holy House fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	230b		Catalogue	1300	1400	Holy House fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane Stairs
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig66		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig67		Catalogue			Holy House fragments	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig69		Catalogue			Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig70		Catalogue			Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig71		Catalogue			Annunciation fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig72		Catalogue			Annunciation fragment, forming letter M	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/634383	BH-0A0557	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Essex	Uttlesford	Chrishall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/522050	BH-199D37	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Essex	Uttlesford	Manuden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/151398	ESS-57FB48	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1525	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Essex	Uttlesford	Takeley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/618904	GLO-5E944B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Gloucestershire	Forest of Dean	Westbury-on-Severn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1024496	GLO-A14B8D	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Gloucestershire	Cotswold	Maiseyhampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/793962	GLO-BD3800	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Gloucestershire	Tewkesbury	Highnam
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556405	LON-1BD9C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1530	Double V (W)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/732105	LON-3C4F47	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bag pipe	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/77442	LON-69C4E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1520	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/8875	NARC866	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Virgin and Child (Architecture)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Norton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/207363	NARC-8F9C90	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Warwickshire	Rugby	Grandborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/228088	NLM-9B1C96	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Virgin Mary (Annunciation) and Crucifixion	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	South Ferriby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/649263	NMGW-62E55B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Sketty
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/604527	NMS-5BC850	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Sedgeford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/847574	NMS-B094C9	PAS	Chance Finds	1320	1535	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Winfarthing
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/279135	SF-527947	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Suffolk	Babergh	Glemsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/487215	SOM-145085	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1535	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Wembdon

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/465098	SOM-B18D53	PAS	Chance Finds	1470	1530	Virgin Mary (Annunciation) (Rose background)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Alvediston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/178664	SOMDOR-2057A7	PAS	Chance Finds	1320	1540	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Pawlett
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/130507	SOMDOR-7514C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1320	1540	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Dorset	West Dorset	Whitcombe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556186	SUR-FFF175	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Ipsden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/278771	SUSS-2C4845	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Sussex	Lewes	Beddingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/282846	SWYOR-7707F7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1900	Virgin Mary (Annunciation) part of SWYOR-777328	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/282861	SWYOR-777328	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1900	Virgin Mary (Annunciation) part of SWYOR-7707F7	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/581578	SWYOR-FE0533	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Curvilinear lines emanating from vertical object	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/182273	WILT-5366C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1601	1900	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Market Lavington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/934305	WILT-C7E940	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Manningford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/202148	YORYM-40C255	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1450	Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Snape with Thorp
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=e989e5f5-db9e-4faa-85e0-faf69285b252&resourceID=19191		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1450	1499		Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Leicestershire	Melton	Broughton and Old Dalby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE3448&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1450	1550		Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Leicestershire	Melton	Broughton and Old Dalby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF735&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Annunciation, circular	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Norwich	Norwich
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30382&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF1092&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1350	1399		Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Breckland	Thetford

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF57429&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Breckland	Thetford
Gilchrist and Green 2015	9		Report	1450	1550	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Somerset	Glastonbury	Glastonbury Abbey
Margeson 1993	14		Report	1450	1599	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Norwich	735N
Margeson 1993	15		Report	1450	1599	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Norwich	169N
Margeson 1993	16		Report	1475	1500	Virgin and Child, fragment	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Norwich	161N
Margeson 1993	19		Report	1500	1599	Annunciation	Marian	Our Lady of Walsingham	Norfolk	Norwich	148N
Spencer 2010	155		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	156		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	157		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	158		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	159		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BC72
Mitchiner 1986	878		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	879		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	880		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	881		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	882		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	883		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	884		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	885		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	886		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	887		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	888		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	889		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	890		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	891		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	892		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	893		Catalogue	1500	1540	Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Egan 2005	1134		Catalogue	1450	1550	Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1135		Catalogue	1550	1600	Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	159a		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, Crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	159b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, circular. IHS on reverse	Christocentric	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	159c		Catalogue			Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig46		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, crescent	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/999770	LON-47E3B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin Mary, crowned	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/643637	LON-63FD34	PAS	Chance Finds	1480	1530	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/574342	LON-6FA825	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63851	LON-840972	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1599	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/715459	LON-8CBC42	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/759744	LON-A74E34	PAS	Chance Finds			Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/122025	LON-B88A97	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/743161	LON-BEC0DC	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1016913	LON-FB13A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/213130	LON-FEC2A2	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/452100	PAS-2F06E6	PAS	Chance Finds			Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	Blackwall and Cubitt Town

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1011895	PUBLIC-111EFA	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1011896	PUBLIC-114B57	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/759854	PUBLIC-AC4003	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/528395	SUR-91DA17	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Figure crowned	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/551807	SUR-F0FF05	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/510337	YORYM-DB0F36	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Virgin and Child (Crescent/boat)	Marian	Our Lady of Willesden	Yorkshire	Selby	Little Fenton
Spencer 1980	122		Catalogue			Standing Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Norfolk		King's Lynn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/583018	CAM-EB7953	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1700	Virgin Mary (Crowned)	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Bottisham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/494531	LON-7210B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lombardic M, crowned, border	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Greater London Authority	City of Westminster	Vincent Square
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/907332	LON-CD3B93	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lombardic M, crowned, border	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/424020	NLM-D7ED77	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bigby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/920765	SF-76AFCB	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Virgin Mary (Crowned)	Marian	Our Lady Queen of Heaven	Suffolk	Babergh	Tattingstone
Spencer 2010	136		Catalogue	1350	1400	Our Lady and Child in intricate architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	137		Catalogue			Seated Virgin and Child	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	136a		Catalogue			Fragment of Our Lady and Child in intricate architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	136b		Catalogue			Fragment of standing Virgin. Fragment of Our Lady and Child in intricate architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	136c		Catalogue			Fragment of Our Lady and Child in intricate architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	137a		Catalogue			Seated Virgin and Child in architectural frame	Marian	Our Lady Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
Spencer 2010	255		Catalogue			Rectangular pendant	Marian	Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1151		Catalogue	1530	1550	Rectangular frame	Marian	Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	254l		Catalogue			Garment	Marian	Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	Greater London Authority		Custom House Quay
Spencer 2010	255a		Catalogue			Rectangular pendant	Marian	Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	255b		Catalogue			Virgin and Child, garment on reverse	Marian	Our Lady's Nightgown, Aachen	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Mitchiner 1986	763		Catalogue	1400	1500	Owl	Bird	Owl	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig269		Catalogue			Owl	Bird	Owl	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/482419	SWYOR-6EA811	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Palm branch (Nine branches)	Plant	Palm	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Appleby
Spencer 2010	194a		Catalogue			Instruments of Christ's Passion	Christocentric	Passion of Christ	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	194b		Catalogue			Instruments of Christ's Passion	Christocentric	Passion of Christ	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	194c		Catalogue			Instruments of Christ's Passion	Christocentric	Passion of Christ	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	194d		Catalogue			Instruments of Christ's Passion (circular)	Christocentric	Passion of Christ	Greater London Authority		BUsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/86105	LON-8F52D2	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Instruments of Christ's Passion (circular)	Christocentric	Passion of Christ	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	748		Catalogue	1400	1500	Feathers	Bird	Peacock	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/746523	LON-5FBCBC	PAS	Chance Finds			Peacock with border	Bird	Peacock	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	192		Catalogue			Pelican	Christocentric	Pelican in her piety	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	192a		Catalogue			Pelican	Christocentric	Pelican in her piety	Greater London Authority		Thames
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/991891	SF-AEB382	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Pelican	Christocentric	Pelican in her piety	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Exning
Spencer 2010	292e		Catalogue			Shacklebolts	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Percy family	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	326		Catalogue	1300	1400	Phallus	Human Figure/Body Part	Phallus	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/183306	DENO-FEAA62	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1520	Phallus, Vulva (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Phallus	Nottinghamshire	Bassetlaw	Carlton in Lindrick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/81182	LON-1F9E84	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Phallus	Human Figure/Body Part	Phallus	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Riverside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/424013	NLM-D76CD7	PAS	Chance Finds	1395	1500	Broom plant leaf	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Plantagenet	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bigby
Spencer 2010	306b		Catalogue			Plow, Crown, God speed the plow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Plow	Greater London Authority		BOYsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig271		Catalogue			Plow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Plow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig272		Catalogue			Plow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Plow	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig274		Catalogue			Plow	Tool/Object/Weapon	Plow	Kent		Canterbury
Mitchiner 1986	44		Catalogue	1200	1300	Broom Plant	Plant	Pod	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	45		Catalogue	1200	1300	Broom Plant	Plant	Pod	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	45a		Catalogue	1200	1300	Broom Plant	Plant	Pod	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	317		Catalogue	1400	1450	Bird	Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	318		Catalogue	1350	1400	Bird	Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Egan 2005	1168		Catalogue	1530	1550		Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	318a		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	318b		Catalogue			Bird	Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig268		Catalogue			Popinjay	Bird	Popinjay	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/78115	LON-E7CF74	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Popinjay	Bird	Popinjay	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
Mitchiner 1986	972		Catalogue	1500	1540	Portcullis, flower	Tool/Object/Weapon	Portcullis	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	270		Catalogue	1350	1500	Ostrich feather, crown	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	970		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ostrich feather, crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	971		Catalogue	1500	1540	Ostrich feather, crowned	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	270a		Catalogue			Ostrich feather, crown	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Prince of Wales	Greater London Authority		BAsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/196545	NMS-B67664	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Feathers (3)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Prince of Wales	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
Spencer 1980	89		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	90		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	311		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		BOY86

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	312		Catalogue	1400	1450	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	313		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	314		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		VAL88
Mitchiner 1986	432		Catalogue	1400	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	433		Catalogue	1400	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	434		Catalogue	1400	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	435		Catalogue	1400	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Wapping
Mitchiner 1986	836		Catalogue	1500	1540	Purse fragment	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	837		Catalogue	1500	1540	Purse frame	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Spencer 2010	313a		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	313b		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	314a		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	314b		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig309		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig310		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig311		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig313		Catalogue			Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/892147	BERK-D6BE23	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Warkworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490149	LON-50BC72	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490625	LON-7697E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1275	1400	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Tower
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/107732	NARC-424E60	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Farthingstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/705987	SF-60F30A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Suffolk	Babergh	Acton
Stevenson 1993			Report	1550	1575	Purse	Tool/Object/Weapon	Purse	Greater London Authority		Southwark Street

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	308		Catalogue	1350	1400	Queen and youth, frame	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Queen Isabella	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	308a		Catalogue			Queen and youth, frame	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Queen Isabella	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	308b		Catalogue			Queen, frame	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Queen Isabella	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/179109	NMS-86F6A1	PAS	Chance Finds	1327	1330	Figure	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Queen Isabella	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	West Rudham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1002319	WAW-AD8E87	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Rabbit	Mammal	Rabbit	Worcestershire	Wychavon	Himbleton
Spencer 1980	140		Catalogue			Hawk	Bird	Raptor	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	141		Catalogue			Hawk	Bird	Raptor	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	142		Catalogue			Hawk	Bird	Raptor	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	288		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular medallion, eagle	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	289		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular medallion, eagle	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	682		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	683		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, crowned, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	684		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, crowned, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	685		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, crowned, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	686		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, crowned, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	687		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	688		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird in circular frame, openwork	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	769		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	770		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged, fragment	Bird	Raptor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	771		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	772		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird, gorged, fragment	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	773		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer 2010	297c		Catalogue			Raptor perched on glove	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	773a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bird	Bird	Raptor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig264		Catalogue			Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig265		Catalogue			Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig267		Catalogue			Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/605082	DOR-857850	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Dorset	North Dorset	Hilton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/867372	DUR-E294B4	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Falcon	Bird	Raptor	County Durham	County Durham	Kelloe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/422836	LIN-497856	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Branston and Mere
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/752688	LON-DBEED3	PAS	Chance Finds			Raptor and Branch	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/243789	LON-F3B391	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Heraldry (Shield) with border Two-headed eagle	Bird	Raptor	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/39076	NLM6929	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Hawk	Bird	Raptor	Yorkshire	Selby	Burn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/217725	SF-077973	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Suffolk	Babergh	Hadleigh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/742539	SUR-6DA5CB	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Raptor (Ave Maria inscription)	Bird	Raptor	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Clanfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/972957	SWYOR-E18430	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Raptor and Branch	Bird	Raptor	County Durham	County Durham	Wycliffe with Thorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/286250	WAW-3183A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1480	1600	Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Derbyshire	South Derbyshire	Lullington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/557918	WAW-EDE947	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Raptor	Bird	Raptor	Worcestershire	Wychavon	Wyre Piddle
Barker 1977	BCM Finds Archive		Report			Eagle	Bird	Raptor	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Narrow Quay
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/584311	SUR-8DD812	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400	Shield, three scallop shells	Heraldry	Reading Abbey	Berkshire	Reading	Purley on Thames
Spencer 1980	110		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, frame	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	111		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, frame	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	209		Catalogue	1400	1450	God the Father fragment	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	576		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame fragment	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	209a		Catalogue			God the Father fragment	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	209b		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, God the Father	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	209c		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, God the Father	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	209d		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, Letter R	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig127		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, frame, God the Father	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig128		Catalogue			God the Father fragment	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig129		Catalogue			Pulpit and figure fragment	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig130		Catalogue			Figure, pulpit, frame, Letter R	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/128506	LON-931D60	PAS	Chance Finds	1410	1500	Caister pulpet with border	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/447740	SF-640C85	PAS	Chance Finds	1420	1460	Figure at pulpit (architecture)	Cult of Saints	Richard Caister	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Blythburgh
Spencer 1980	132		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	288		Catalogue	1400	1450	Broom-pod	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Greater London Authority		SWA81

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig202		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig203		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig204		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig206		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig207		Catalogue			Hart	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/877172	NLM-C15A89	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Trefoil (Broom plant/Ivy)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Richard II/Richard Duke of York	Nottinghamshire	Bassetlaw	East Markham
Egan 2005	1133		Catalogue	1450	1550	Crowned Christ, crucified	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig93		Catalogue			Rood	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig95		Catalogue			Rood terminal fragment	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig96		Catalogue			Rood terminal fragment	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig97		Catalogue			Rood terminal fragment	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/290660	NLM-620217	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Crucifix (John and Mary)	Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Hibaldstow
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNA127904&resourceID=6		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1350	1399		Christocentric	Rood of Bermondsey	Sussex	Rother	Bodiam
Mitchiner 1986	51		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	52		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	53		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	54		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	55		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	116		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	249		Catalogue	1270	1350	Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	250		Catalogue	1350	1400	Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	248a		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	250a		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	250b		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	250c		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	250d		Catalogue			Shell, figure	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	250e		Catalogue			Shell, figure	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Custom House Quay
Spencer 2010	250f		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig111		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig112		Catalogue			Shell, head	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig113		Catalogue			Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/580912	BERK-C11095	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1450	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Kingston Bagpuize with Southmoor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/125459	BH-048794	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Hertfordshire	St. Albans	Redbourn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129553	CAM-28B7A7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Shudy Camps
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/177514	DENO-380432	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Derbyshire	Bolsover	Scarcliffe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/421049	DEV-779A72	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1650	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Devon	North Devon	South Molton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/570855	DUR-6479B6	PAS	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Bedale
	Durham SMR D.1995		Chance Finds			Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	County Durham	Barnard Castle	Harmire
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/742321	ESS-40C0DB	PAS	Chance Finds	1401	1600	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Essex	Uttlesford	Great Dunmow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/645416	GLO-0DBFB7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Ampulla-shaped badge	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Somerset	North Somerset	Wrington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/253125	GLO-88C926	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Scallop Shell (handmade)	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Somerset	South Somerset	Shepton Montague
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/582712	HAMP-A578D2	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Scallop Shell border	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Hampshire	East Hampshire	Chawton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/141425	KENT-82EAD4	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Kent	Shepway	Newchurch
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129842	LANCUM-52ECB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Cumbria	South Lakeland	Urswick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/901467	LANCUM-58CFFB	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1600	Ampulla-shaped badge	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Cumbria	South Lakeland	Skelwith
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719280	LANCUM-8B86E4	PAS	Chance Finds	1540	1900	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lancashire	Fylde	Warton and Westby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/403367	LEIC-CFB027	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Leicestershire	Charnwood	Mountsorrel
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/385355	NARC-5D1753	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Leicestershire	Hinckley and Bosworth	Witherley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/807647	NLM-3BA98C	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Mould (Scallop Shell)	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Scawby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/888858	NLM-404BB9	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Haxey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/448730	NLM-B20A92	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bigby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/650107	NLM-CA4186	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Ampulla-shaped badge	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Burwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/999185	NMS-C8363C	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1560	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk	Breckland	Weeting-with-Broomhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/808665	PUBLIC-BB3D88	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Skidbrooke with Saltfleet Haven
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/231051	SF-650CD4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Scallop shell (Two linked)	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Palgrave

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/798821	SF-9A9179	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Ampulla-shaped badge	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Orford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/64341	SF-BD55E3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Suffolk	Waveney	Covehithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/281571	SF-FAB597	PAS	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Little Wilbraham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/743843	SWYOR-27C4A6	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1800	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Kirk Deighton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/926898	SWYOR-2A0200	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1700	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Leeds	Micklefield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/919185	SWYOR-8FBD68	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Selby	Cawood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1005882	SWYOR-DF4DA1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Burton Leonard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/559938	YORYM-211290	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Bridlington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/610980	YORYM-7CE642	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Scallop Shell and Bust	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Normanby Le Wold
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/147392	YORYM-F54694	PAS	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Snape with Thorp
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32353&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF5199&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Ampulla shaped	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Horning
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6651&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Leicestershire	Blaby	Narborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2311&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF21355&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Scallop Shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Stoke Holy Cross
Soden 2018	2		Report	1050	1099	Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Oxfordshire	Wallingford	St Martin's Churchyard
Margeson 1993	20		Report	1200	1399	Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Norfolk	Norwich	159N
Gilchrist 2008			Report	1350	1450	Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Yorkshire	York	St Helen's Parish Church, Fishergate
Roffey et al 2017			Report			Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Hampshire	Winchester	St Mary Magdalen
Lubin et al 1990			Report	1450	1540	Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	Scallop Shell	Worcestershire		Worcester Cathedral

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	209		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield with cross	Tool/Object/Weapon	Shield	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	210		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield with cross	Tool/Object/Weapon	Shield	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	325j		Catalogue			Shoe	Tool/Object/Weapon	Shoes	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/84615	LON-3C1B63	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1400	Shoes (pair)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Shoes	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/461379	LIN-749B14	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure carrying cross	Cult of Saints	Simon of Cyrene	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Alford
Spencer 2010	298b		Catalogue			Foot-soldier	Human Figure/Body Part	Soldier	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	298c		Catalogue			Foot-soldier	Human Figure/Body Part	Soldier	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	298d		Catalogue			Foot-soldier	Human Figure/Body Part	Soldier	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/513757	SOM-042F78	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Judgement of Solomon	Old Testament Figure	Solomon	Somerset	Mendip	Wookey
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig250		Catalogue			Spurs	Tool/Object/Weapon	Spurs	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/739803	LIN-033E8E	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Squirrel	Mammal	Squirrel	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bullington
Spencer 2010	326		Catalogue	1400	1450	Squirrel ship	Mammal	Squirrels and Ship	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	208n		Catalogue			Figures flanking pedestal	Cult of Saints	SS John of Beverley and John of Bridlington	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer 2010	251		Catalogue	1200	1230	Continental figures, key, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		BIG82
Spencer 2010	252		Catalogue			Continental figures	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	1056		Catalogue	1540	1600	Peter and Paul, Continental rectangular plaque	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	251a		Catalogue			Continental figures, key, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	251b		Catalogue			Continental figures, key, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	252a		Catalogue			Continental figures	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/553492	CAM-C571E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Continental Figure, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Reach
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/737400	HAMP-5E8048	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Keys	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Hampshire	Winchester	Owslebury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/883756	LVPL-F19DFC	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Continental figure, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Brant Broughton and Stragglethorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/229850	NMS-5506C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Continental busts	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Warham

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/597668	NMS-66BC25	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1325	Continental figures, key, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Walpole
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/214804	NMS-B99FA5	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1350	Continental type (rectangular) with figures	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Norfolk	Breckland	Great Ellingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1005081	OXON-0C414B	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Continental figures and key	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Nuffield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/35971	SF8205	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Figures, key, sword	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Badingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/253637	SF-EED552	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Figures (sword and key)	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Ousden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/973934	SUR-7514EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Bust	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Wendover
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/535983	SUR-F32367	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Keys and Vernicle	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Whitchurch
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/975069	SWYOR-48480D	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Two figures and praying suppliant	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Brearton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/268441	WILT-7D60E8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Continental two busts	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	West Lavington
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30357&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Norfolk	Breckland	South Lopham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF19222&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1200	1399		Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Norfolk	Breckland	Thetford
Cardwell et al 1995	6		Report	1250	1399		Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Yorkshire		Brompton-on-Swale
Griffiths et al 2007	1867		Report			Two figures, rectangular, label The Apostles Peter and Paul.	Cult of Saints	SS Peter and Paul	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Mitchiner 1986	246		Catalogue	1300	1400	St. Barbara in heart. Virgin and Child reverse	Cult of Saints	St Barbara	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mackinder 2009	321		Report	1400	1500	Martyrdom panel	Cult of Saints	St Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		Upper Thames Street
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/852430	PUBLIC-EF24E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Figure, hat	Cult of Saints	St. Adrian of Grammont	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
Spencer 2010	196		Catalogue			Martydom	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	249		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom scene	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	579		Catalogue	1400	1500	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	196a		Catalogue			Martydom	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	196b		Catalogue			Martydom	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage, Upper Thames Street 1983
Mitchiner 1986	900a		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust, openwork frame	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig121		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/956614	LON-642512	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1420	Martyrdom scene	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/425959	LON-D6B298	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Figures in architecture	Cult of Saints	St. Alban	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	262		Catalogue	1300	1400	Monk, lyre	Cult of Saints	St. Aldhelm	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	265		Catalogue			Rectangular martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	266		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rectangular martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	267		Catalogue	1300	1400	Rectangular martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	265a		Catalogue			Rectangular martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	265b		Catalogue			Rectangular martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/831002	LEIC-42F8AF	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Figure (Bearded with rectangular border and pellets)	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Thurleigh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/918728	NLM-3960F3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1350	Rectangular crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Temple Bruer with Temple High Grange
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1039942	PUBLIC-6B66B9	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Martyrdom of St. Andrew	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Brompton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/17816	SF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1399	Rectangular crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Suffolk	Babergh	Polstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/36215	SF9179	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Rectangular crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Bradfield Combust with Stanningfield
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF44220&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Brancaster
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE1764&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1499		Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Leicestershire	Harborough	Kibworth Beauchamp
Ivens 1995	388		Report			Head, bearded, fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Andrew	Buckinghamshire		Westbury-by-Shenley
Mitchiner 1986	505		Catalogue	1400	1500	Two figures	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	196c		Catalogue			St. Anne, Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Greater London Authority		Sunlight Wharf
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/546132	CORN-5116C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Anne and Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Linton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/915698	DOR-550053	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Anne and Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Dorset	West Dorset	Owermoigne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/966565	NARC-290F86	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, sceptre, book	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/960665	NARC-9E9B75	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, robe, veil, sceptre	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Clipston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/10249	NLM2914	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1540	Figures with books	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Elsham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/738466	PUBLIC-341C2D	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Anne and Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Longbridge Deverill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/855255	SF-A66556	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	St. Anne, Virgin Mary, Infant	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Kedington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/22514	SOMDOR148	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Anne and Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Somerset	West Somerset	Sampford Brett
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/550853	WILT-85E7A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Anne and Virgin Mary	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Malmesbury
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK5362&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1399		Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Woughton on the Green
Mynard 1994	22		Report	1450	1499	Figure holding book	Cult of Saints	St. Anne	Buckinghamshire		Woughton Village
Spencer 2010	198b		Catalogue			Abbot bust	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig123		Catalogue			Boar with bell around neck	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	197		Catalogue			Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	198		Catalogue			Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	611		Catalogue	1400	1500	Tau crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	612		Catalogue	1400	1500	Tau crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	613		Catalogue	1400	1500	Tau crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	614		Catalogue	1400	1500	Tau crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	615		Catalogue	1400	1500	Tau crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1140		Catalogue	1550	1600	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	198a		Catalogue			Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority		BAsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/829999	BERK-C900D2	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1547	Tau Cross (Crucifixion)	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Great Faringdon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/478600	HESH-1D0A92	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1600	Tau Cross (Crucifixion)	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Shropshire	Shropshire	Pitchford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/287637	LON-043B88	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/740877	LON-943E53	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/247329	NMS-D4C6D7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Surlingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/180124	SF-8723E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Foxhall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/485465	WMID-7D5A75	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Tau Cross	Christocentric	St. Anthony's Hospital, London	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Langford
Spencer 1980	112		Catalogue			Figure, tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	198c		Catalogue			Figure, tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	198d		Catalogue			Figure, tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129292	GLO-D4BD11	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500		Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Gloucestershire	Stroud	Minchinhampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/822702	HAMP-B9815C	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Hampshire	East Hampshire	Froxfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/146035	IOW-2A0A40	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Calbourne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/416966	IOW-B00471	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Calbourne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/64241	KENT-AD8242	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1900	Bust (Female and castle)	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Kent	Canterbury	Thanington Without
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/267741	LANCUM-E85957	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Gloucestershire	Cotswold	Northleach with Eastington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490202	LON-51F502	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Greater London Authority	City of Westminster	St. James's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/216465	LON-E00C23	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	Tower within frame	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/87245	NARC-B9F6E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Northamptonshire	Wellingborough	Grendon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/997011	NMS-65DBC7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Wacton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/38182	NMS962	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1539	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853743	NMS-AABBAB	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1539	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Field Dalling
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015646	NMS-BFBED5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	Breckland	Rocklands
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015881	NMS-FE4A1A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	Breckland	Stow Bedon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/999932	OXON-6048BA	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Boarstall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/651447	SF-4949EE	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Redgrave
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/843237	SF-8B6CEF	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1600	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Geldeston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/438806	SOM-862035	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Somerset	South Somerset	West Crewkerne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/159080	SOMDOR-9E68C2	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1540	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Somerset	South Somerset	Kingsdon

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/69292	SOMDOR-FF50A2	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1540	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Dorset	West Dorset	Piddlehinton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/103737	SUR-7865B6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Surrey	Guildford	West Clandon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/528771	SWYOR-A8D690	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/396936	SWYOR-E10FB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Barbara and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Yorkshire	York	Fulford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/594010	WMID-C2E4D4	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	St. Barbara (Tudor dress) and tower	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Warwickshire	Rugby	Princethorpe
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30247&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	Breckland	Croxton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF33447&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Hethersett
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI52396&resourceID=1006		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1499		Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Lincolnshire	West Lindsay	Nettleham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF14618&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Sheringham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI99436&resourceID=1006		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1599		Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Stoke Rochford
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31837&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Upwell
Goodall 1984	M.50		Report	1475	1525	Figure, tower, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Devon	Exeter	Preston Street
Bradley and Gaimster 2001			Report			Figure, tower, palm	Cult of Saints	St. Barbara	Hampshire		Wherwell
Mitchiner 1986	637		Catalogue	1400	1500	Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	198e		Catalogue			Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	198f		Catalogue			Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Greater London Authority		BUsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/864466	BERK-6DCBD3	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Wicken
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/600165	LVPL-4E9DA4	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Nottinghamshire	Bassetlaw	Laneham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/94348	NMS-1FC390	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/218116	NMS-82C754	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Comb	Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Walsoken

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF18953&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Blaise	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Walton
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig124		Catalogue			Female figure, veil	Cult of Saints	St. Bridget	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	198g		Catalogue			Figure, canopy	Cult of Saints	St. Bridget, Syon Abbey	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	198h		Catalogue			Figure, canopy	Cult of Saints	St. Bridget, Syon Abbey	Greater London Authority		VAL88
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/131849	LON-F5F957	PAS	Chance Finds	1415	1550	Figure, female writing	Cult of Saints	St. Bridget, Syon Abbey	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	115		Catalogue			Female figure	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	215		Catalogue	1300	1400	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	616		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	617		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	618		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	619		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	620		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	621		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	622		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Gravesend
Mitchiner 1986	623		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	653		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Cambridgeshire		Huntingdon
Mitchiner 1986	654		Catalogue	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Cambridgeshire		Huntingdon
Spencer 2010	198i		Catalogue			Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	198j		Catalogue			Figure holding wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority		KATsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/800809	DENO-C68426	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Derbyshire	North East Derbyshire	Brampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/842324	DENO-E44563	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Derbyshire	High Peak	Wormhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/862959	LANCUM-817C6D	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1800	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Well
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/466602	LEIC-6DA8E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Linwood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/772588	LIN-03323A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Ranby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/626024	LIN-566EC1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/574343	LON-6FABC6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/257032	YORYM-587204	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1850	Wheel (Circular)	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Ebberston and Yedingham

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF26391&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Norfolk		Norwich
Barker 1977	6		Report			Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Floating Harbour
Griffiths et al 2007	1864		Report			Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Gerrard and Aston 2007	A83		Report				Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Somerset		Shapwick
Astill and Allen 1993	OM 91		Report	1400	1600	Wheel	Cult of Saints	St. Catherine	Worcestershire		Bordesley Abbey
Mitchiner 1986	216		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figures	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	217		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figures	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	634		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, staff, child	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Peach Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	635		Catalogue	1400	1500	figure (male), child	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Wapping
Mitchiner 1986	951		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure, staff, child	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	198k		Catalogue			St. Christopher and Christ	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	198l		Catalogue			St. Christopher and Christ	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/134878	GLO-ECFFB2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1499	Figure, child, foliage	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Gloucestershire	Tewkesbury	Minsterworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1028245	HAMP-B89823	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Figure, child, staff	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Kent	Canterbury	Wickhambreaux
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/485703	NMS-825184	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff, child	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Outwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF45965&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Outwell
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	13076		Report	1400	1550	Figure, staff, child	Cult of Saints	St. Christopher	Yorkshire	York	22 Piccadilly
Spencer 2010	263d		Catalogue			Figure, bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Cornelius, Ninove	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	263e		Catalogue			Figure, bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Cornelius, Ninove	Greater London Authority		Bankside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/494968	PUBLIC-9CD231	PAS	Chance Finds	1375	1475	Pectoral cross	Cult of Saints	St. Cuthbert	County Durham		DURHAM
Spencer 2010	239		Catalogue	1270	1350	Continental plaque, martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Denis	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	239a		Catalogue			Continental plaque, martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Denis	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
Spencer 2010	254j		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Dominic, Bologna	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Mitchiner 1986	219		Catalogue	1300	1400	Fruit in hood	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	638		Catalogue	1400	1500	Fruit basket	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Greater London Authority		Old Swan Pier
Mitchiner 1986	639		Catalogue	1400	1500	Fruit basket	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig131		Catalogue			Basket of fruit	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig226		Catalogue			Basket of fruit	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig227		Catalogue			Basket of fruit	Cult of Saints	St. Dorothy	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig132		Catalogue			Nun figure	Cult of Saints	St. Edith	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Griffiths 2004			Report	1400	1499	Nun with book	Cult of Saints	St. Edith	Wiltshire		West Knoyle
Spencer 2010	199		Catalogue	1330	1380	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	200		Catalogue	1330	1380	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	247		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom figure	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	248		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom figure	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	200a		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	200b		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	200c		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig133		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig134		Catalogue			Figure holding arrow	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/414365	BH-589BA2	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Melbourn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/250898	BH-CB9BB7	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Pavenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/495523	DUR-022964	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Sherburn
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/585263	LON-0DB361	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Garb of Arrows	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/934086	NMS-8A823C	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Congham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/38850	NMS906	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Norfolk	Breckland	Kenninghall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/974222	SF-C555E9	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Martyrdom scene, Arrows	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Reed
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/871381	YORYM-F0F226	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Martyrdom scene, Two archers	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Thorngumbald
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32254&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Norfolk	Breckland	Kenninghall
Robinson 1989			Report	1550	1650	martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Edmund	Greater London Authority		Chaucer Houce
Mitchiner 1986	40		Catalogue	1200	1300	Circular medallion, shrine and abbey	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	80		Catalogue			Crescent moon, figures	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	189		Catalogue	1300	1400	Openwork, king and beggar	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	190		Catalogue	1300	1400	Openwork, king and beggar	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	201		Catalogue	1350	1400	Crowned bust	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	205		Catalogue			Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	206		Catalogue	1350	1400	Text, Edward	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	205a		Catalogue			Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig136		Catalogue			Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig137		Catalogue			Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig138		Catalogue			Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig139		Catalogue			Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig140		Catalogue			Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig144		Catalogue			Letter E	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/474827	ESS-388171	PAS	Chance Finds			Lombardic E	Cult of Saints	St. Edward the Confessor	Essex	Uttlesford	Great Canfield
Spencer 2010	238		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figures, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Eloi	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Spencer 2010	238a		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figures, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Eloi	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	238b		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figures, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Eloi	Greater London Authority		CoL Boy's School at Trig Lane
Spencer 2010	238c		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figures, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Eloi	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	238d		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figures, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Eloi	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 1980	92		Catalogue			Abbess	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	93		Catalogue			Abbess	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	245		Catalogue	1300	1400	Abbess with book	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	206b		Catalogue			Figure, book, crosier	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Greater London Authority		Thomas More Street, Tower Hamlets
Spencer 2010	206c		Catalogue			Figure, book, crosier	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Greater London Authority		Globe Theatre, Southwark
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig145		Catalogue			Abbess	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig146		Catalogue			Abbess	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig147		Catalogue			Abbess	Cult of Saints	St. Etheldreda	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 1980	114		Catalogue			Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	207		Catalogue			Shield, Cross of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	251		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	252		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	253		Catalogue	1300	1400	Shield of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	254		Catalogue	1300	1400	Leg	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	255		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian, circular frame	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	256		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	257		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	258		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	259		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Vintry

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	260		Catalogue	1300	1400	Crowned bust, circular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	646		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure fragment with shield	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	647		Catalogue	1400	1500	Shield, straight cross	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	872		Catalogue	1500	1540	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	873		Catalogue	1500	1540	Standing figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	874		Catalogue	1500	1540	Fragment	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		London Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	875		Catalogue	1500	1540	Figure spearing dragon, medallion	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Three Cranes Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	876		Catalogue	1500	1540	Equestrian figure spearing dragon, hexagonal bracteate	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	206d		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	206e		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	206f		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	206g		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	206h		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	206i		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Tower of London
Spencer 2010	206j		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	206k		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	206l		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	207a		Catalogue			Shield, Cross of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig148		Catalogue			Figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig151		Catalogue			Figure, dragon, rectangular	Cult of Saints	St. George	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/144137	BH-B903E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1550	Figure standing on dragon, spear	Cult of Saints	St. George	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Bletsoe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/635417	BH-D9F03F	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Milton-under-Wychwood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/838723	BUC-3D43DD	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure standing on dragon, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Hertfordshire	Dacorum	Little Gaddesden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/961919	BUC-492B24	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Quainton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/837691	CAM-F8E7D1	PAS	Chance Finds			Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdonshire	Buckden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/218107	DENO-826132	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Edwinstowe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/618540	DEV-482427	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1530	Equestrian Figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Devon	Teignbridge	Dawlish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/521151	DOR-9BC000	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian Figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Dorset	North Dorset	Winterborne Kingston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/498507	DOR-D2A340	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	Equestrian Figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Dorset	West Dorset	Winterborne St. Martin
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/410858	DUR-84E7D7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Overton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/868467	DYFED-796314	PAS	Chance Finds			Figure standing on dragon, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Carmarthenshire	Carmarthenshire	Meidrim
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/980379	ESS-D3C78A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Equestrian figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Essex	Uttlesford	Aythorpe Roding
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/457058	GLO-BECDA3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Equestrian figure, sword, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Gloucestershire	South Gloucestershire	Tortworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/718605	HAMP-22270A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1900	St. George slaying dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Sussex	Chichester	Eartham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/438042	LANCUM-4501B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure standing spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cumbria	Eden	Orton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/459973	LANCUM-619B37	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1525	Equestrian figure, dragon, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cumbria	Eden	Bolton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/520829	LON-7188A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Figure standing spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/751788	LON-9E2604	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1350	Equestrian Figure, spear, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/77936	LON-D3A3E3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Equestrian figure slaying dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/426004	LON-D76D87	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/216454	LON-DFB0F8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Cross of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/950879	NARC-1859B7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure, sword, dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Wymington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/979774	NARC-97D071	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Farthingstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480896	NARC-DA5944	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdonshire	Kimbolton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/449102	NARC-EF8344	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdonshire	Kimbolton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/251164	NLM-21A914	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Holton Le Moor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1007861	NMS-82DF40	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Dragon and feet of St. George	Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk	Breckland	Shipdham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/50994	PAS-24DDF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1599	Equestrian figure spearing dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Briston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/783613	PUBLIC-48C99B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1560	Figure kneeling on dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/494020	SOM-1F9376	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1535	Figure standing, spear	Cult of Saints	St. George	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Otterhampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/830820	SOM-315A8C	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1500	Figure standing, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Othery
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/830297	SOM-F0B174	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian Figure, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Somerset	West Somerset	Dunster
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/438283	SWYOR-58F730	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Figure standing, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Yorkshire	York	Copmanthorpe

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/208075	WMID-0BD8C0	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure slaying dragon, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Shropshire	Shropshire	Tong
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/864101	WMID-29774A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure holding spear above dragon	Cult of Saints	St. George	Warwickshire	Warwick	Ashow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/970722	WMID-BBA417	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Equestrian figure, shield, lance ,figure tending horse	Cult of Saints	St. George	Staffordshire	Tamworth	Spital
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/902402	WMID-EE3569	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1600	Figure standing on dragon, sword	Cult of Saints	St. George	Shropshire	Shropshire	Llanyblodwel
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/79035	WMID-FB76D0	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Figure slaying dragon, sword, shield (St. George's cross)	Cult of Saints	St. George	Staffordshire	Staffordshire Moorlands	Ilam
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/991902	WREX-AF6F15	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1400	Equestrian figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Cheshire	Cheshire East	Nantwich
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF33440&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Briston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25086&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Equestrian Figure	Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk	Great Yarmouth	Burgh Castle
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MST15564&resourceID=1010		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1500	1600		Cult of Saints	St. George	Staffordshire		Ilam
Margeson 1993	17		Report	1450	1599		Cult of Saints	St. George	Norfolk	Norwich	149N
Spencer 2010	246		Catalogue	1171	1250	Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Mitchiner 1986	624		Catalogue	1400	1500	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	625		Catalogue	1400	1500	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	626		Catalogue	1400	1500	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	627		Catalogue	1400	1500	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	246a		Catalogue			Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	246b		Catalogue			Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	246c		Catalogue			Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	246d		Catalogue			Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	246e		Catalogue			Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/897534	DEV-279513	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Continental figure	Cult of Saints	St. Giles	Dorset	North Dorset	Hilton
Spencer 2010	246h		Catalogue			Continental Knight	Cult of Saints	St. Guilhem	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	246i		Catalogue			Continental Knight	Cult of Saints	St. Guilhem	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	246j		Catalogue			Continental Knight	Cult of Saints	St. Guilhem	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/898866	YORYM-F112E1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Continental Equestrian Knight	Cult of Saints	St. Guilhem	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Filey
Spencer 1980	117		Catalogue			Scourge	Cult of Saints	St. Guthlac, Croyland Abbey	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	655		Catalogue	1400	1500	Female figure holding cross	Cult of Saints	St. Helen	Lincolnshire		Bourne
Mitchiner 1986	1035		Catalogue	1540	1600	Stag head, crucifixion	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	1036		Catalogue	1540	1600	Stag head, fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1037		Catalogue	1540	1600	Stag head, disc	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1038		Catalogue	1540	1600	Stag head, disc	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig161		Catalogue			Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/710550	ESS-1A3010	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1525	Backplate, Chequered (lozenge) see ESS-940232	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority	Havering	Upminster
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470941	ESS-940232	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1525	Figure praying, stag with cross, horse. Backplate chequered lozenge	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Essex	Braintree	Castle Hedingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/867551	LON-228A5A	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/816737	LON-84FB80	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/888110	SOM-DB8BAE	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	stag with cross, kneeling figure	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Somerset	Taunton Deane	West Bagborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/598148	WMID-8EB286	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1525	Figure kneeling, horn, horse	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Warwickshire	North Warwickshire	Dordon
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=fb60381e-082d-4aec-826b-35ea79af32bc&resourceID=19191		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Horn	Cult of Saints	St. Hubert	Northamptonshire		Wellingborough
Mitchiner 1986	1052		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, scallop	Cult of Saints	St. James	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig114		Catalogue			Staff	Cult of Saints	St. James	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/631233	DUR-243854	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, pilgrim	Cult of Saints	St. James	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Boroughbridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/31733	HAMP2202	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Figure (Pilgrim)	Cult of Saints	St. James	Hampshire	East Hampshire	East Meon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/822779	PUBLIC-BFC937	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1530	Figure (Pilgrim)	Cult of Saints	St. James	Sussex	Lewes	Iford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/769900	SOM-DBDDFA	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Standing robed figure	Cult of Saints	St. James	Essex	Colchester	Langham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/985695	YORYM-8CF154	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1650	Figure, pilgrim	Cult of Saints	St. James	Yorkshire	York	Acaster Malbis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/515060	YORYM-BDC077	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure pilgrim	Cult of Saints	St. James	Northamptonshire	East Northamptonshire	Lowick
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX481&resourceID=1032		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. James	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Wallingford
Griffiths et al 2007	1865		Report			Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	St. James	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Griffiths et al 2007	1866		Report			Scallop shell	Cult of Saints	St. James	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	254d		Catalogue			Continental lozenge, figure	Cult of Saints	St. John Lateran	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	235		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BIG82
Spencer 2010	236		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BIG82
Spencer 2010	237		Catalogue	1270	1350	Bust, plaque, figures	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	236a		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	236b		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	236c		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	236d		Catalogue			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	237a		Catalogue			Bust, plaque, figures	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	237b		Catalogue			Bust, plaque, figures	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	237c		Catalogue			Bust, plaque, figures	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	237d		Catalogue			Figure in camel skin	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig108		Catalogue			Figure dressed in skins	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/605856	NMS-F1FEA5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1900	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Norfolk	Breckland	Scarning
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/577124	PUBLIC-A15598	PAS	Chance Finds	1270	1350	Figure holding head	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Mursley
Ivens 1995	387		Report			Head, bearded, inscription fragment	Cult of Saints	St. John of Amiens	Buckinghamshire		Westbury-by-Shenley
Mitchiner 1986	657		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, label Bridlington	Cult of Saints	St. John of Bridlington	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	208o		Catalogue			Letter B, figure	Cult of Saints	St. John of Bridlington	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/470789	LON-9040C0	PAS	Chance Finds	1404	1450	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John of Bridlington	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MPB2467&resourceID=1045		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. John of Bridlington	Cambridgeshire		Peterborough
Mitchiner 1986	180		Catalogue	1300	1400	Quatrefoil bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	181		Catalogue	1300	1400	Quatrefoil bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	182		Catalogue	1300	1400	Quatrefoil bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	211		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	240		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	241		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Mitchiner 1986	1024a		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bust in radiate frame	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/656004	BH-C45F1B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Wallington

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/458346	BUC-B7B744	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Circular (Face)	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Hanslope
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/146143	ESS-397B61	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Head (Circular, Pellet border)	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Essex	Uttlesford	Ashdon
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/854666	HAMP-3A0E3D	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Hampshire	New Forest	Ringwood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101301	KENT-E18875	PAS	Chance Finds			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Kent	Shepway	Brookland
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/233640	LEIC-215FD5	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Leicestershire	Charnwood	Swithland
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/654121	LON-586718	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500		Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/593580	LON-A918A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Continental (Salome and head)	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/837261	LON-BDFC73	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Bust, bearded	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/710994	NLM-6D4FE6	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Bust (Circular)	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Scawby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/959599	NLM-CB7717	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	North Ormsby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/411320	NLM-D4A333	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Lincolnshire	North East Lincolnshire	Brigsley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/206392	NMS-E40D22	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/436311	WMID-3585A7	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1400	Bust, bearded	Cult of Saints	St. John the Baptist	Staffordshire	Lichfield	Drayton Bassett
Mitchiner 1986	164		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	165		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	166		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	167		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	168		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	169		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	170		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	171		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	172		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	173		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	174		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	175		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	176		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + IAN COVL MASE	Cult of Saints	St. John, Charing	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	233		Catalogue			Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Jos	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 2010	234		Catalogue			Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Jos	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	1021		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, hood, rosary	Cult of Saints	St. Jos	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig162		Catalogue			Figure, monk's habit	Cult of Saints	St. Jos	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/781491	WILT-386146	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Figure, hooded, bearded	Cult of Saints	St. Jos	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Alton
Mitchiner 1986	572		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, pulpit, book, God the Father	Cult of Saints	St. Julian	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	573		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, pulpit, book, God the Father	Cult of Saints	St. Julian	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	574		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, cell, lecturn	Cult of Saints	St. Julian	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	575		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure, cell, lecturn	Cult of Saints	St. Julian	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	573a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Circular bust	Cult of Saints	St. Julian	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	220		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure, gridiron	Cult of Saints	St. Lawrence	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	566		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	567		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	568		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	569		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	570		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	571		Catalogue	1400	1500	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1023		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, prisoner, continental	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	243a		Catalogue			Continental plaque, Leonard	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	243b		Catalogue			Continental plaque, Leonard	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	243c		Catalogue			Continental plaque, Leonard	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Kent		Canterbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/623843	LON-7F46D1	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/16569	SF1834	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Continental type (rectangular) Figure with crozier, shackled figure, hand of God	Cult of Saints	St. Leonard (de-Noblat, France or Great Bricett)	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Freckenham
Mitchiner 1986	636		Catalogue	1400	1500	Ox head surmounted by nimbate head	Cult of Saints	St. Luke	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	551		Catalogue	1400	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire		Grimsby
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig163		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crowned female figure, cross, book	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/545534	LIN-240965	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Burgh Le Marsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/592726	LIN-2D4682	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	Boston	Freiston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/588397	LIN-4A9334	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Somerby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/954887	LIN-66C251	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Figure standing on dragon (See SF-91F1C3)	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Thorpe St. Peter
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/257245	LIN-6D0710	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1525	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Cumberworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/272053	LIN-73B6B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Margaret, I.H.S	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Linwood
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/561726	LIN-DF90E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Burgh Le Marsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556094	LIN-FD4722	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Hogsthorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/712270	LIN-FF8C5C	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Dragon	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Hogsthorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/207071	NCL-617555	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Figure, dragon, cross. Reverse: Crucifixion John, Virgin	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Yorkshire	Redcar and Cleveland	Guisborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/227222	NLM-02E8A7	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1450	St. Margaret, IHS	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Willoughby with Sloothby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129444	NLM-129722	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Caistor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/636154	NLM-1BD58E	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1350	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Burwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13275	NLM5728	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1530	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1031774	NLM-5B2A87	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Crucifix (John and Mary), Reverse: Figure, crescent/dragon (See NCL-617555)	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	South Ferriby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/135285	NLM-665C35	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Caistor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/851691	NLM-932292	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/991472	NLM-9387DA	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Figure, hanging object	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Winterton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1063220	NLM-BECE1A	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1057594	PUBLIC-F37079	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Hundleby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/584431	SF-91F1C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Figure (female) standing on dragon, holding cross	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Fen Ditton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/487441	SWYOR-25C3E5	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Christ, soldiers with spears. Reverse: Figure and object at bottom (See SWYOR-5C3563)	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Yorkshire	Selby	Huddleston with Newthorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/519084	SWYOR-5C3563	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Christ, soldiers with spears. Reverse: Figure and object at bottom (See SWYOR-25C3E5)	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Yorkshire	Selby	Kellington
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/708569	SWYOR-5DC01E	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Kirton in Lindsey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/502710	SWYOR-EB3223	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1450	I.H.S, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/634844	YORYM-6FB2B1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Christ, soldiers with spears. Reverse: Figure and object at bottom (See SWYOR-25C3E5)	Cult of Saints	St. Margaret of Antioch	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Pickering
Spencer 2010	254k		Catalogue			Winged Lion	Cult of Saints	St. Mark, Venice	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	239e		Catalogue			Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Martin of Tours	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/860945	SUSS-2CCCF6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	St. Martin cutting cloak	Cult of Saints	St. Martin of Tours	Sussex	Rother	Battle
Spencer 2010	246f		Catalogue			Continental plaque	Cult of Saints	St. Mary Magdalene	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Mitchiner 1986	177		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + AVE	Marian	St. Mary of Ospringe	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	178		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust + AVE	Marian	St. Mary of Ospringe	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	145		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, large architectural frame	Marian	St. Mary Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	146		Catalogue	1300	1400	Virgin and Child, large architectural frame	Marian	St. Mary Undercroft, Canterbury	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	113		Catalogue			Knight, lance	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	218		Catalogue	1300	1400	Angel wing	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer 2010	242		Catalogue			Archangel figure	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	243		Catalogue			Archangel figure	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig110		Catalogue			Archangel figure	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/856808	DEV-8C19C3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	St. Michael and devil	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Devon	Mid Devon	Burlescombe

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https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/5113	KENT680	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1530	St. Michael and devil	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Kent	Canterbury	Lower Hardres
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/893070	LON-2798E3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Angel spearing devil, crowned frame	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/250404	SWYOR-25ACE7	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1525	St. Michael weighing souls	Cult of Saints	St. Michael	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/985060	CORN-240793	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure blessing kneelers	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Cornwall	Cornwall	Cubert
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853059	NMS-3D99F3	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1539	Figure (bishop), blessing three children	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Morningthorpe and Fritton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220969	NMS-64B512	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure (bishop), blessing three children	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Norfolk	Breckland	Great Dunham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/37296	SF8047	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure (bishop), blessing three children, crescent	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Bradfield Combust with Stanningfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/546115	SWYOR-506DB6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, bishop blessing three kneeling figures	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Yorkshire	Selby	Hensall
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF14864&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Morningthorpe
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF29447&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	14454		Report	1425	1500	Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas	Yorkshire	York	Bedern
Spencer 2010	254i		Catalogue			Continental plaque, figure	Cult of Saints	St. Nicholas, Bari	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Mitchiner 1986	187		Catalogue	1300	1400	Warrior with sword and shield	Cult of Saints	St. Olaf	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1039		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, axe	Cult of Saints	St. Olaf	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	208p		Catalogue			Bishop bust, medallion	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Mitchiner 1986	658a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Mitred bust, inscription	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig1		Catalogue			Bishop, lozenge	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig10		Catalogue			Bishop, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig11		Catalogue			Bishop, medallion	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig2		Catalogue			Bishop, lozenge	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig3		Catalogue			Bishop, oval, figures	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig8		Catalogue			Bishop, hexagon	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig9		Catalogue			Bishop standing, holding church	Cult of Saints	St. Osmund	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/943230	NMS-1003F0	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	Figure, post with snake	Cult of Saints	St. Patrick	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Heacham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/231003	NMS-5519B8	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Figure, post with snake	Cult of Saints	St. Patrick	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/527738	WAW-3A3515	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Figure, cross, post with snake	Cult of Saints	St. Patrick	Worcestershire	Wychavon	Pershire
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/270243	YORYM-22A0C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Figure, post with snake	Cult of Saints	St. Patrick	Yorkshire	Ryedale	Cawton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/736543	WILT-DB9FC9	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1550	Figure, crowned, standing, staff	Cult of Saints	St. Paul	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Collingbourne Kingston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28496&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Paul	Norfolk	Breckland	Saham Toney
Spencer 2010	253		Catalogue			Figure with key	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Mitchiner 1986	601		Catalogue	1400	1500	Key	Tool/Object/Weapon	St. Peter	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer 2010	206a		Catalogue			Figure, keys	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	253a		Catalogue			Figure with key	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig115		Catalogue			Crossed keys	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig116		Catalogue			Crossed keys	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig118		Catalogue			Crossed keys, bust	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig119		Catalogue			Crossed keys, bust	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig120		Catalogue			Figure, key, crescent	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1030033	DEV-A014F3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Text (Circular)	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Devon	Torbay	Watcombe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/153842	WILT-D56C88	PAS	Chance Finds	1301	1400	Keys	Cult of Saints	St. Peter	Gloucestershire	Cotswold	Lechlade
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig164		Catalogue			Armed figure, medallion	Cult of Saints	St. Quirinus of Neuss	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/768317	BUC-21D2E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Wendover
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/884946	GLO-756B25	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Gloucestershire	Cotswold	Cirencester
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/927127	KENT-2E7E05	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1540	Figure, staff	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Kent	Ashford	Egerton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/524225	LVPL-6B1F98	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Skirpenbeck
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/842337	PUBLIC-E91FAE	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Sussex	Lewes	Iford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/737624	SF-739782	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Alderton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/23352	SOMDOR905	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1540	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Somerset	South Somerset	South Petherton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/474925	SUR-3AEB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Somerton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/206119	YORYM-CEA5E7	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1600	Figure, staff, dog	Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Lund
Bradley and Gaimster 2001			Report				Cult of Saints	St. Roche	Somerset		South Petherton
Spencer 2010	264		Catalogue			Bishop fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Servatius	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	1045		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, bishop, continental	Cult of Saints	St. Servatius	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	263f		Catalogue			Continental bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Servatius	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	263g		Catalogue			Continental bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Servatius	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
Spencer 2010	264a		Catalogue			Bishop fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Servatius	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	210		Catalogue			Female figure	Cult of Saints	St. Sitha	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	211		Catalogue			Female figure	Cult of Saints	St. Sitha	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	211b		Catalogue			Female figure	Cult of Saints	St. Sitha	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
Marsden and Caldwell 1996	Fig. 89.1		Report			Female figure	Cult of Saints	St. Sitha	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	10		Catalogue	1200	1300	Standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	11		Catalogue	1200	1300	Standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	12		Catalogue	1200	1300	Standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	13		Catalogue	1200	1300	Standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	14		Catalogue	1200	1300	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	15		Catalogue	1200	1300	Figure on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	16		Catalogue	1200	1300	Figure on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	17		Catalogue	1200	1300	Figure on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	18		Catalogue	1200	1300	Figure on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	19		Catalogue	1200	1300	Peacock and archepiscopal cross	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	25		Catalogue	1350	1400	Mitred Head. Fragment of free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	26		Catalogue	1350	1400	Lower robes. Fragment of free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	27		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket standing on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	28		Catalogue			Becket standing on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	29		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket standing on peacock. Fragment of tail feathers	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	30		Catalogue			Becket standing on peacock. Fragment of tail feathers	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	31		Catalogue	1350	1400	Peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	32		Catalogue	1250	1300	Peacock and Fox	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	34		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket returning from exile. Ship Hull	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	35		Catalogue	1350	1400	Seaman Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	36		Catalogue	1350	1400	Figure and battlements	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	37		Catalogue	1380	1380	Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	38		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	39		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Horse fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	40		Catalogue	1400	1450	Becket rides in triumph. Torso fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	41		Catalogue	1270	1350	Becket rides in triumph. Fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	42		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Torso fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	43		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	44		Catalogue	1400	1450	Becket rides in triumph. Horse fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	45		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Horse fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	46		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Horse fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	47		Catalogue	1270	1350	Becket rides in triumph. Bust fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	48		Catalogue	1350	1400	Becket rides in triumph. Bust fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	49		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Spencer 2010	50		Catalogue			Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	51		Catalogue	1350	1400	Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	52		Catalogue	1350	1400	Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	53		Catalogue	1350	1400	Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	54		Catalogue	1350	1500	Becket rides in triumph. Bust fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	55		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	56		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	57		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	58		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	59		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	60		Catalogue			Martyrdom frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	61		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	62		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Spencer 2010	63		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	64		Catalogue	1350	1400	Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	65		Catalogue	1350	1400	Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	66		Catalogue	1350	1400	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	67		Catalogue			Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	68		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TL74
Mitchiner 1986	69		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	69		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	70		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BC72
Spencer 1980	70		Catalogue	1350	1400	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	70		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	71		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Spencer 1980	71		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	71		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	72		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	72		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	72		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	73		Catalogue	1350	1400	Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BC72
Mitchiner 1986	73		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	73		Catalogue			Shoulders	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	74		Catalogue	1300	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	74		Catalogue	1350	1400	Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 1980	74		Catalogue			Mitred Bust, medallion, TO	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	75		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket's Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 1980	75		Catalogue	1400	1450	Mitred Bust, quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Suffolk		Bury St. Edmunds
Spencer 2010	75		Catalogue	1380	1380	Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TL74
Mitchiner 1986	76		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket's Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 1980	76		Catalogue	1350	1500	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	76		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	77		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket's Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	77		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary. Angel fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 1980	77		Catalogue			Martyrdom scene figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	78		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	78		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 1980	78		Catalogue			Lombardic T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	79		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	79		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	80		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	80		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	81		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	81		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	82		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	82		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	83		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	83		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	84		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	84		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	85		Catalogue	1330	1380	Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	85		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer 2010	86		Catalogue	1330	1380	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	86		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Spencer 2010	87		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	87		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	88		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	88		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	89		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	89		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	90		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	90		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	91		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	91		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary. Star fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	92		Catalogue	1300	1400	Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	92		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Star fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	93		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Star fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	93		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket in ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Spencer 2010	94		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Star fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	94		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket in ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	95		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Star fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	95		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket in ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	96		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	96		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Star	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	97		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	97		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Star	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	98		Catalogue	1300	1400	Becket standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	98		Catalogue	1270	1350	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	99		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	99		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	100		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BC72
Mitchiner 1986	100		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	101		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	101		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	102		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	102		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	103		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	103		Catalogue	1400	1450	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	104		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in celestial body	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	104		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	105		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	105		Catalogue	1350	1500	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	106		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	106		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	107		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	107		Catalogue	1380	1380	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TL74
Mitchiner 1986	108		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	108		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	109		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	109		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Mitchiner 1986	110		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	110		Catalogue	1350	1400	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	111		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		St Paul Steps (Baynards)
Spencer 2010	111		Catalogue	1350	1500	Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	112		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	112		Catalogue	1270	1350	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	113		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	113		Catalogue	1400	1450	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	114		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	114		Catalogue	1350	1400	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	115		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	115		Catalogue	1350	1400	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	116		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	116		Catalogue	1400	1450	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	117		Catalogue	1300	1400	Vestments	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	117		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	118		Catalogue	1300	1400	Vestments	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	118		Catalogue	1400	1450	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	119		Catalogue	1300	1400	Gloves	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	119		Catalogue	1350	1400	Standing Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	120		Catalogue	1350	1400	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	120		Catalogue	1300	1400	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Spencer 2010	121		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	121		Catalogue	1300	1400	Girdle strap	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	122		Catalogue	1300	1400	Girdle strap	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	122		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	123		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	123		Catalogue			Letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	124		Catalogue	1300	1400	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	124		Catalogue	1350	1400	Letter T frame, Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	125		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scabbard and buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	125		Catalogue			Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Mitchiner 1986	126		Catalogue	1300	1400	Scabbard	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	127		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure inside letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	128		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure inside letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	129		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, Thomas	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	129		Catalogue	1400	1450	Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	130		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, Thomas	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	130		Catalogue	1350	1400	Fragment of circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	131		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, Thomas	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	131		Catalogue	1400	1450	Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	132		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, Thomas	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	132		Catalogue	1350	1400	Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	133		Catalogue	1300	1400	Solid circular medallion, Thomas	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	133		Catalogue	1350	1400	Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	134		Catalogue			Circular plaque, star, invocation	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	135		Catalogue	1400	1450	Canterbury reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Mitchiner 1986	139		Catalogue	1300	1400	Head of Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	140		Catalogue	1300	1400	Head of Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	141		Catalogue	1300	1400	Head of Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	142		Catalogue	1300	1400	Head of Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	143		Catalogue	1300	1400	Head of Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	144		Catalogue	1300	1400	Bishop, architectural frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	184		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	185		Catalogue	1300	1400	Circular bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	436		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	437		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	439		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	440		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	441		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	442		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	443		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	444		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	445		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	446		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	447		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	449		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	450		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Mitchiner 1986	451		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	452		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	453		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	454		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	455		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	456		Catalogue	1400	1500	Standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	457		Catalogue	1400	1500	Standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	458		Catalogue	1400	1500	Ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	459		Catalogue	1400	1500	Ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	460		Catalogue	1400	1500	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	461		Catalogue	1400	1500	Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Swan Lane
Mitchiner 1986	462		Catalogue	1400	1500	Girdle strap	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	463		Catalogue	1400	1500	Girdle strap	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	464		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	465		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	466		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	467		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	468		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark
Mitchiner 1986	469		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	470		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	471		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	472		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	473		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	474		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	475		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust in frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	476		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	477		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	478		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	479		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	480		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	481		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Mitchiner 1986	482		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	483		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	484		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	485		Catalogue	1400	1500	Quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Wapping
Mitchiner 1986	506		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	507		Catalogue	1400	1500	Suspension badge, T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	901		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	902		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	903		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	904		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	905		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	906		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	907		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	908		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Peach Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	909		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	910		Catalogue	1500	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Egan 2005	1141		Catalogue	1500	1550	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1142		Catalogue	1530	1570	Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1143		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1144		Catalogue			Sword	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	100a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	100b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	102a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	104a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	105a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	105b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	106a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	108a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	110a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	111a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	111b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
Spencer 2010	111c		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Vintry
Spencer 2010	117a		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	118a		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Custom House Quay
Spencer 2010	118b		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	118c		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer 2010	118d		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	118e		Catalogue			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	119a		Catalogue			Standing Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	119b		Catalogue			Standing Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	119c		Catalogue			Standing Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	119d		Catalogue			Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Custom House Quay
Spencer 2010	120a		Catalogue			Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	120b		Catalogue			Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	121a		Catalogue			Letter T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	123a		Catalogue			Letter T frame, Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	124a		Catalogue			Letter T frame, Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	124b		Catalogue			Letter T frame, Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	131a		Catalogue			Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VRy89
Spencer 2010	131b		Catalogue			Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	132b		Catalogue			Circular brooch with external busts and roundels	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	134a		Catalogue			Circular plaque, star, invocation	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	134b		Catalogue			Circular plaque, star, invocation	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	135a		Catalogue			Canterbury reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	26a		Catalogue			Free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	26b		Catalogue			Free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	26c		Catalogue			Free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	26d		Catalogue			Free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	26e		Catalogue			Free-standing figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	27a		Catalogue			Becket standing on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	28a		Catalogue			Becket standing on peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	30a		Catalogue	1400	1450	Becket standing on peacock. Fragment of tail feathers	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	31a		Catalogue			Peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	31b		Catalogue			Peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	32a		Catalogue			Peacock and Fox	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	34a		Catalogue			Becket returning from exile.	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		CoL Boy's School at Trig Lane
Spencer 2010	35a		Catalogue			Ship and figures	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	35b		Catalogue			Ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	36a		Catalogue			Ship	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	37a		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Mitchiner 1986	436a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	438a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	438b		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	448a		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	448b		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	49a		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	49b		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	49c		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	49d		Catalogue			Becket rides in triumph. Equestrian fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	51a		Catalogue			Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	51b		Catalogue			Equestrian Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	54a		Catalogue			Equestrian and Groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	56a		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Dowgate
Spencer 2010	60a		Catalogue			Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VRy89
Spencer 2010	61a		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	62a		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	62b		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	62c		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VRy89
Spencer 2010	63a		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BW88
Spencer 2010	64a		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	64b		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Greenwich
Spencer 2010	64c		Catalogue			Martyrdom Scene	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	65a		Catalogue			Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	70a		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	72a		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	72b		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	72c		Catalogue			Sword and Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	73a		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Cannon Street
Spencer 2010	73b		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	73c		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer 2010	74a		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	74b		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIG85
Spencer 2010	75a		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	76a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	76b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	76c		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	85a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Steelyard, Upper Thames Street
Spencer 2010	86a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Architectural fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	88a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	88b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	90a		Catalogue			Head Reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge 1982

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	90b		Catalogue			Head Reliquary. Star	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig12		Catalogue			Bishop standing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig13		Catalogue			Bishop, lozenge	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig14		Catalogue			Bishop, Equestrian, groom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig15		Catalogue			Bishop, openwork	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig16		Catalogue			Knight, martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig17		Catalogue			Knight, martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig18		Catalogue			Sword, buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig19		Catalogue			Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig20		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig21		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig22		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig23		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig24		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig25		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig26		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig27		Catalogue			Bishop head	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig28		Catalogue			Bishop head, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig29		Catalogue			Bishop head, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig30		Catalogue			Bishop head, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig31		Catalogue			Bishop head, circular	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig33		Catalogue			Fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig34		Catalogue			Fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig35		Catalogue			Letter T, quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig36		Catalogue			Letter T, quatrefoil	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Kent		Canterbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig37		Catalogue			Shrine	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig38		Catalogue			Gloves	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/851167	BERK-67C0C2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Cholsey
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/109550	BERK-A95AE5	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure blessing kneelers	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Drayton St. Leonard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106622	BH-19C0B6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Angel (flanking Becket)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Astwick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/239792	CAM-3D1B83	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Gloves (pair)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Willingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/981384	CORN-54AD06	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1450	Bust (Quatrefoil)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Cornwall	Cornwall	St. Minver Highlands
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/861327	DENO-58AFF2	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Shoulders	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Derbyshire	North East Derbyshire	Ashover
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/795630	DENO-61D101	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Balderton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/851763	DENO-95B486	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Sword (sheathed)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Derbyshire	Bolsover	Clowne

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/867309	DENO-D16243	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Cross (Part of Shield?)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Perlethorpe cum Budby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/211655	DENO-D4E1F6	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Derbyshire	South Derbyshire	Ingleby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/745873	DENO-FB96AA	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Mitre or shoulders	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Nottinghamshire	Newark and Sherwood	Barnby in the Willows
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/856818	DUR-8C5E9A	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Bagby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/142536	ESS-80AFE7	PAS	Chance Finds			Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Essex	Chelmsford	Roxwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556645	FAKL-53A6F1	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1530	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	South Ferriby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/457679	IOW-2DEFA3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure blessing kneelers	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Brighstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143020	KENT-F04B93	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Kent	Medway	Cliffe and Cliffe Woods
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/209921	LEIC-564CD0	PAS	Chance Finds	1171	1500	Shoulders	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Leicestershire	Melton	Grimston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/435945	LIN-1BC286	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Theddlethorpe All Saints
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/627667	LIN-404108	PAS	Chance Finds	1314	1500	Shoulders and mantle	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/95667	LIN-4C4706	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1399	Ship (Hule)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Branston and Mere
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/180457	LIN-D80A35	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Holton cum Beckering
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/592227	LON-027F55	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1350	Head reliquary, frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/833096	LON-06E13E	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/750279	LON-0801CB	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/750306	LON-087127	PAS	Chance Finds			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/235937	LON-08EBD0	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/79113	LON-0D6BB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Bust (Circular) mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Lambeth	Prince's
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/892781	LON-104944	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/907596	LON-205673	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head reliquary, quatrefoil and border	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Wandsworth	Thamesfield

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/77156	LON-400806	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1450	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/909473	LON-466C77	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/278967	LON-502AE6	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1599	Figure, mitre, bare chest	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/582226	LON-7A0FC6	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/475698	LON-8D8E17	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400	Figure, standing bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/893639	LON-92F203	PAS	Chance Finds			Figure, knight	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/740970	LON-972159	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/740975	LON-973A97	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63958	LON-974287	PAS	Chance Finds			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/740976	LON-97445B	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/827076	LON-9CE13D	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/749633	LON-A31853	PAS	Chance Finds			Blade (Sword)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/122018	LON-B80577	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/92990	LON-B92301	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/266621	LON-C17D54	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Figure standing, robes	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	St. Katharine's and Wapping
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/209181	LON-C638E2	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Head reliquary, sword, frame	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/122192	LON-C98694	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust, bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986160	LON-CA802D	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Equestrian figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/137207	LON-CD2C70	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Legs and robed figure kneeling	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Newham	Royal Docks
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/78902	LON-CF5770	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Scabbard and buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Castle Baynard
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/465415	LON-DCBEE1	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Scabbard and buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/568852	LON-F96824	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Head reliquary shoulders	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/568853	LON-F96AE8	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Peacock	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/78257	LON-FF30A5	PAS	Chance Finds			Standing Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Bridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/145723	LVPL-CDC3A5	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Cheshire	Cheshire East	North Rode
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/46622	NARC1754	PAS	Chance Finds	1220	1540	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Pitsford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/634020	NARC-E3C33A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Daventry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/471268	NCL-AE4D13	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Revesby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13831	NLM667	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1485	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Thornton Curtis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/290957	NLM-6717B6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Inscription (MAS)	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bigby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/968528	NLM-690684	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Gloves	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/942175	NLM-7E796D	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Swinhope
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/849584	NLM-8006F8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Shoulders, mantle	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/631868	NLM-9E194A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Tetney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/928376	NLM-BE04B8	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Mitre and hands raised in prayer	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/273020	NLM-F3F221	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Barton-upon-Humber
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/651338	NMGW-46D749	PAS	Chance Finds			Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Sketty
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/787149	NMGW-DB8D66	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Uplands
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/707328	NMGW-DF937E	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Sketty
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/240943	NMS-1093F6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Scabbard	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	Breckland	Garboldisham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/552498	NMS-2D4373	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/439165	NMS-C541A1	PAS	Chance Finds			Reliquary châsses	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/58342	NMS-D0D287	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1530	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Corpusty
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/900909	OXON-1A5233	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1507	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Stoke Lyne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/935250	OXON-1D716A	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Jericho and Osney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/942449	OXON-A9145B	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1500	Figure, bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Lewknor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/507974	PAS-B1BD65	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Kent	Canterbury	CANTERBURY
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/805000	PUBLIC-14A4B4	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Figure, bishop blessing	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/768597	PUBLIC-364487	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Becket Martyrdom	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Bridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/456788	PUBLIC-A5C6B7	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Mumbles
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/238350	SF-14D232	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Lombardic T	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Wortham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/915693	SF-54EB64	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1530	Bust and shoulders of bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Bradfield St. George
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/915700	SF-550A95	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1530	Bust and shoulders of bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Bradfield St. George

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/127886	SOMDOR-29F941	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1499	Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Dorset	West Dorset	Frampton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/845937	SUR-CB200B	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1800	Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Crowmarsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/491497	SUR-E42C11	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/491509	SUR-E49EE8	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Greater London Authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Palace Riverside
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/770219	SUR-F36133	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Standing Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Hampshire	Test Valley	Nether Wallop
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/495367	SWYOR-B6B054	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Head reliquary	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Newchurch
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/105439	SWYOR-C9A808	PAS	Chance Finds	1320	1420	Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/553189	WMID-ADB132	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1550	Glove/hand	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Staffordshire	Lichfield	Hints
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/29386	YORYM942	PAS	Chance Finds			Mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Folkton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/719815	YORYM-B5B146	PAS	Chance Finds	1173	1400	Martyrdom of Becket	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Filey
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2928&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Bishop	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Broughton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF43218&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX9611&resourceID=1032		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Hinton Waldrist
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE8612&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Mitred Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Leicestershire	Harborough	Lowesby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6851&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Bell	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Leicestershire	Melton	Melton Mowbray
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF21079&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Norfolk	Breckland	Oxborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX2049&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1475	1500		Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Standlake
Barker 1977	2		Report			Bust, mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Floating Harbour
Woodfield and Caple 2005	23		Report	1350	1400	Glove	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Warwickshire	Coventry	Whitefriars

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Hardy et al 2003	59		Report	1300	1399	Equestrian figure, mitre	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire	Eynsham	Aelfric's Abbey
Griffiths et al 2007	1859		Report			Buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Griffiths et al 2007	1863		Report			Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Colchester 37	Notes		Report			Bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Essex		Colchester
Blair 1985			Report	1375	1400	Scabbard and buckler	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas Becket	Oxfordshire		Standlake
Spencer 2010	212		Catalogue			Figure fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		VR Y89
Spencer 2010	213		Catalogue			Figure fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		SUN86
Mitchiner 1986	263		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	264		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	265		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	212a		Catalogue			Martyrdom story	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	212b		Catalogue			Figure fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	212c		Catalogue			Figure fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	212d		Catalogue			Figure fragment	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	213a		Catalogue			Martyrdom story	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	213b		Catalogue			Martyrdom story	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BM MLA
Spencer 2010	213c		Catalogue			Circular bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	213d		Catalogue			Circular bust	Cult of Saints	St. Thomas of Lancaster	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	257e		Catalogue			Ship	Cult of Saints	St. Ursula	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/445132	LANCUM-61F133	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1530	Bust (Female)	Cult of Saints	St. Ursula	Lancashire	South Ribble	Bamber Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	651		Catalogue	1400	1500	Geese in basket	Cult of Saints	St. Werburga	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge North
Mitchiner 1986	652		Catalogue	1400	1500	Geese in basket	Cult of Saints	St. Werburga	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig168		Catalogue			Five geese, basket	Cult of Saints	St. Werburga	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig169		Catalogue			Five geese, basket	Cult of Saints	St. Werburga	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/424565	CORN-F2B186	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Geese	Cult of Saints	St. Werburga	Glamorgenshire	Swansea	Morrison
Spencer 2010	254e		Catalogue			Continental plaque, Virgin and Child	Marian	Sta Maria Rotunda	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	288e		Catalogue			Strawberry plant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Stafford family	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
Spencer 2010	292c		Catalogue			Knot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Stafford family	Greater London Authority		Bankside
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig232		Catalogue			Strawberry plant	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Stafford family	Wiltshire		Salisbury

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/661698	GLO-FD20AF	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Heraldry (Shield)	Mammal	Stag	Somerset	Mendip	Norton St. Philip
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1039920	SUR-68A557	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1900	Stag's Head Crowned	Mammal	Stag	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Sutton Veny
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/459994	SWYOR-625C53	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Stag's head	Mammal	Stag	Yorkshire	Selby	Beal
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/423593	WILT-B32834	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1700	Stag's head	Mammal	Stag	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Heytesbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/595720	LIN-9190B5	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Claw (Eagle)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Stanley family	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Addlethorpe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111382	BH-F7D8A4	PAS	Chance Finds	1475	1700	Roman numerals	Tool/Object/Weapon	Sundial	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Great and Little Chishill
Spencer 1980	134		Catalogue			Chained swan	Bird	Swan	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	281		Catalogue			Swan, collar	Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Mitchiner 1986	697		Catalogue	1400	1500	Swan	Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	698		Catalogue	1400	1500	Swan fragment	Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	699		Catalogue	1400	1500	Swan fragment	Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1167		Catalogue	1450	1500		Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	281a		Catalogue				Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Butler's Wharf
Spencer 2010	281c		Catalogue				Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Brooks Wharf sp
Spencer 2010	281d		Catalogue				Bird	Swan	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig244		Catalogue			Swan	Bird	Swan	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig246		Catalogue			Swan	Bird	Swan	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Cherry 1969			Report	1400	1539	Swan pendant on chain	Bird	Swan	Bedfordshire	Dunstable	Dominican Friary
Spencer 1980	129		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	130		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	131		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	285		Catalogue	1400	1450	Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	286		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		VHA89
Spencer 2010	287		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		BOY86
Mitchiner 1986	706		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	707		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	708		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	709		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	710		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Steelyard

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	711		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	712		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Mitchiner 1986	713		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	714		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	715		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Queenhithe
Mitchiner 1986	716		Catalogue	1400	1500	Talbot dog, sitting	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	286a		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		BWsp
Spencer 2010	286b		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	286c		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig230		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig231		Catalogue			Talbot	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/735420	HESH-4BEA4A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1650	Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Shropshire	Shropshire	Bromfield
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/723073	HESH-5905F6	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Shropshire	Shropshire	Whitchurch Urban
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/943474	LON-2432E9	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/178986	LVPL-713C94	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Dog (Sitting)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Cheshire	Cheshire East	Dodcott cum Wilkesley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/467554	SUR-ECE9F8	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1800	Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Surrey	Mole Valley	Capel
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/197129	WAW-48AAB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1425	1460	Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Shropshire	Shropshire	Tong
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/883909	WILT-F6AA87	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700	Dog/Wolf	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Melksham Without
Griffiths et al 2007	1872		Report			Dog	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Talbot family	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF22718&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Letter/Text	Text	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Wiggenhall St Mary Madgalen
Mitchiner 1986	1053		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crucifixion, continental	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	1054		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crucifixion, continental	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	254f		Catalogue			Continental crucifixion	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Greater London Authority		BIGsp

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 2010	254g		Catalogue			Continental crucifixion	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Greater London Authority		TEXsp
Spencer 2010	254h		Catalogue			Continental crucifixion	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Cardwell et al 1995	5		Report	1250	1399	Crucifixion	Christocentric	The Holy Face from Lucca	Yorkshire		Brompton-on-Swale
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig208		Catalogue			Hart and tree	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Thomas Holland	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer 2010	258		Catalogue			Crowned bust fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	259		Catalogue	1270	1350	Border fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	260		Catalogue	1360	1360	Medallion Three names	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		TL74
Spencer 2010	261		Catalogue			Medallion Three names	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	262		Catalogue			Medallion Three names	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		TEX88
Mitchiner 1986	1042		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crowned bust, openwork fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1043		Catalogue	1540	1600	Crowned bust, openwork fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	1044		Catalogue	1540	1600	Figure, fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Spencer 2010	257b		Catalogue			Continental plaque	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	257c		Catalogue			Continental plaque	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer 2010	257d		Catalogue			Medallion	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
Spencer 2010	258a		Catalogue			Three Kings travelling openwork	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage, Upper Thames Street
Spencer 2010	259a		Catalogue			Border fragment	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Greater London Authority		BWsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/27651	YORYM1934	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1540	Text	Cult of Saints	Three Magi	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Alne
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig90		Catalogue			Cross, pedestal	Christocentric	Tree of Life	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/77170	LON-408022	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1450	Trinity	Christocentric	Trinity	Greater London Authority	Wandsworth	West Putney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/813592	SOM-1A6608	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1530	Text, Laurel (Circular)	Christocentric	Trinity	Kent	Ashford	Kennington
Mitchiner 1986	974		Catalogue	1500	1540	Rose and Pomegranate	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Tudor Rose/Pomegranate of Aragorn	Greater London Authority		Bull Wharf
Spencer 2010	288g		Catalogue			Rose/Pomegranate	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Tudor Rose/Pomegranate of Aragorn	Greater London Authority		SWAsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/798096	DEV-1C5D34	PAS	Chance Finds			Rose combined with pomegranate	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Tudor Rose/Pomegranate of Aragorn	Devon	North Devon	South Molton
Spencer 1980	119		Catalogue			Girdle? Arrows?	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	121		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	146		Catalogue			Shield	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Spencer 1980	147		Catalogue			Circular, central cross	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	148		Catalogue			Circular, flower	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	149		Catalogue			Circular, cross/flower	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	150		Catalogue			Circular, cross/flower	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	159		Catalogue			Fragment, leg, ma prent	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	161		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	162		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	163		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	164		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Mitchiner 1986	205		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure on palisade	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	268		Catalogue	1300	1400	Figure	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	269		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	270		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	271		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	272		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	273		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	274		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	275		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	276		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	277		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	278		Catalogue	1300	1400	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	331		Catalogue	1400	1450	Crowned equestrian and attendant fragment	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	332		Catalogue	1350	1400	Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Mitchiner 1986	580		Catalogue	1400	1500	Field	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	640		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	641		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	642		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	643		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	644		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	645		Catalogue	1400	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	658		Catalogue	1400	1500	Robes	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Steelyard
Mitchiner 1986	659		Catalogue	1400	1500	Openwork shield, sword	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Mitchiner 1986	664		Catalogue	1400	1500	Fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Mitchiner 1986	666		Catalogue	1400	1500	Fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Mitchiner 1986	749		Catalogue	1400	1500	Uncertain	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Angel Passage
Mitchiner 1986	931		Catalogue	1500	1540	Fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Thames
Egan 2005	1169		Catalogue	1450	1500	Fragment, roses	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1170		Catalogue	1500	1550	Leaf fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Egan 2005	1171		Catalogue	1530	1550	Openwork fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		ABO92
Spencer 2010	325g		Catalogue			Uncertain openwork	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Spencer 2010	331a		Catalogue			Architectural fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority		BIGsp
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/849458	BUC-6E8E43	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust (Circular)	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Leckhampstead
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63772	BUC-823A02	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Creslow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/281774	CAM-264206	PAS	Chance Finds			Quatrefoil pellets	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Sawston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/521421	CORN-B19AB3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Cornwall	Cornwall	Camborne
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/625303	DENO-1E0D7A	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Architecture, spired towers	Uncertain	Uncertain	Nottinghamshire	Bassetlaw	Ragnall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/798541	DENO-4AFE56	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Vertical and horizontal lines. Coin-like	Uncertain	Uncertain	Derbyshire	Amber Valley	Ripley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/547946	DUR-0A49D0	PAS	Chance Finds			Ornament (Circular, Domed)	Uncertain	Uncertain	County Durham	Stockton-on-Tees	Wolviston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/509280	DUR-468A21	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Figure, robed	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Richmondshire	Melsonby
	Durham SMR N5394		Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Northumberland		Holy Island
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/925306	DYFED-2FFFAA	PAS	Chance Finds			Ornament (Circular)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Carmarthenshire	Carmarthenshire	Abergwili
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/590954	ESS-5946C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Ornament (Circular)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Essex	Tendring	Mistley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/466070	HESH-3065F7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Shropshire	Telford and Wrekin	Chetwynd Aston and Woodcote
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/456518	HESH-71CE12	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1800	Wheel?	Uncertain	Uncertain	Shropshire	Shropshire	Chelmarsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/114917	HESH-722AE4	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1700	Mould (Inscription and pellet)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Shropshire	Shropshire	Bucknell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/266853	HESH-E95635	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1550	Female figure, Child, Eagle	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Shropshire	Shropshire	Condover
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/105745	IOW-497D78	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Tubular (crosses)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	Nettlestone and Seaview
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/43004	KENT3999	PAS	Chance Finds	1540		Figure, seated with plinth and angel	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Kent	Medway	Cliffe and Cliffe Woods
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/766960	LANCUM-8C402B	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Openwork (Circular)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	Limehouse

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/425563	LEIC-84A861	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1800		Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Charnwood	Rothley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/836546	LEIC-946C47	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1400	Raised line border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Rutland	Rutland	Uppingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/544584	LEIC-A9D562	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Melton	Frisby on the Wreake
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/827830	LEIC-F6FB9E	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Knapwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/144881	LIN-271936	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Ten radiating lines terminating in pellet	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Osournby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1030502	LIN-3251AC	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Huttoft
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/416079	LIN-3A8FB1	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Bardney
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/746469	LIN-531FDA	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Chapel St. Leonards
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/541672	LIN-69FF01	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Robes, inscription, staff	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Saltfleetby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/569678	LIN-7C5401	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Drapery	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Welton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/196445	LIN-A463E2	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1499	Staff terminal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Utterby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/759687	LIN-A52145	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Openwork lattice	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Folkingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/99880	LIN-C03C53	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1700		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Pickworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480565	LIN-C5CED2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Circular frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Lea
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/757421	LIN-EAE2FB	PAS	Chance Finds	1150	1450	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	South Kesteven	Lenton Keisby and Osgodby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111451	LON-0ADE06	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Robed figure (standing)	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/77022	LON-2C5AD2	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1540		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/122700	LON-322DF6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Robed figure (standing)	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Billingsgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/705314	LON-366E73	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1400		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/128203	LON-4240A5	PAS	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/140053	LON-4581B6	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1800		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/490687	LON-7A7C97	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1550		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/94616	LON-8DAC94	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550		Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Wycombe	Hambleden
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/86108	LON-8F69E6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Hexagonal frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Queenhithe
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63942	LON-96B7D0	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/63948	LON-96D878	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1799	Text	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/64148	LON-AB0D53	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1599	Raised pellets	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480578	LON-C5EE25	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Text (Circular)	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/88155	LON-C76105	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1550	Openwork (Circular)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/767676	LON-CA88D9	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1550	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	City and County of the City of London	Dowgate
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/871114	LON-DA0479	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1450	Circular (Six panels)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/175781	LVPL-A7AA62	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Wing?	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cheshire	Cheshire West and Chester	Foulk Stapleford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/483447	LVPL-D73EC7	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Figure, robed, arms outstretched	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Cheshire	Wirral	Hoyle and Meols
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWA10094&resourceID=1018	Heritage Gateway		Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Warwickshire	Stratford-on-Avon	Birmingham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143144	NARC-0E94C6	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Sword, two stars (Circular)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Grafton Regis
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/7650	NARC1255	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1540	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	West Bletchley

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101542	NARC-3DDFF3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Two cross pattee	Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Kislingbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1036818	NARC-89D103	PAS	Chance Finds	43	1500	Incision	Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Melton	Hoby with Rotherby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/108010	NARC-91D456	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	South Northamptonshire	Little Houghton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/108021	NARC-921961	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Letter E	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/992026	NARC-C2A3B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/105386	NARC-C48E70	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Overstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/988151	NARC-F20AA8	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Handgoogle	Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire	Daventry	Norton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1013929	NLM-03E5F5	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1650		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/790499	NLM-14D9D0	PAS	Chance Finds	1550	1650	Triangular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/960047	NLM-229A2E	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1400	Figure, tunic	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Blacktoft
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/958338	NLM-265BDB	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Epworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/10237	NLM2903	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1540	Tent	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Elsham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/449770	NLM-302D65	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Openwork	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	North Somercotes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/818427	NLM-57B6A3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/870207	NLM-5CDAA6	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1900		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853207	NLM-7A795E	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Central pellet surrounded by six pellets	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Swinhope
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/916000	NLM-7B3125	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Figure, tunic, throne	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158827	NLM-8446A3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1540	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Hibaldstow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/843554	NLM-A090B2	PAS	Chance Finds	1000	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Roxby cum Risby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/729161	NLM-BE8DFB	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Ornament (Circular, Floral)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/750003	NLM-C91156	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1300	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/791986	NLM-CFCF78	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Vegetation and border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Haxey

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/819891	NLM-E6FC53	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1350	Robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Corringham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/850478	NLM-FE0989	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1500	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	Alkborough
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/988378	NMS-06D85A	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600	Figure, robed, praying	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Kempstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/614023	NMS-0EECC3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1539	Arm and robes	Uncertain	Uncertain	Bedfordshire	Bedford	Harrold
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/916881	NMS-0FA354	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1600	Ornament (Circular, Domed)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Beetley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/402561	NMS-179624	PAS	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/35622	NMS544	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Upwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106693	NMS-552096	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Robes	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Cambridgeshire	Fenland	Elm
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/116344	NMS-575F46	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Circular frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/387229	NMS-6A70F3	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1499	Openwork	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Congham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/214765	NMS-B5B524	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Beachamwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1014613	NMS-C07E78	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1550	Figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Stoke Holy Cross
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/261663	NMS-C75C02	PAS	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Emneth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/235772	NMS-F1D6E1	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	Barton Bendish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/741496	NMS-FE3C03	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Figure with staff/weapon	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Scarning
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/452101	PAS-2F1494	PAS	Chance Finds			Female dress	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Tower Hamlets	Blackwall and Cubitt Town
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/479167	PUBLIC-2C1470	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Architecture and head of figure praying	Uncertain	Uncertain	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Langford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/907010	PUBLIC-A583EC	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Openwork	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	Boston	Freiston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/939153	PUBLIC-DACB7D	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1700		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Grasby

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/780546	PUBLIC-E46829	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1600	Zoomorphic?	Uncertain	Uncertain	Herefordshire	County of Herefordshire	Linton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/969171	PUBLIC-E727AD	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Circular/Oblong	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Horncastle
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/930547	PUBLIC-E83DD2	PAS	Chance Finds	800	1400	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Melton	Gaddesby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/17024	SF2266	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Continental type (rectangular) with figure	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Freckenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/250441	SF-26E297	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Freckenham
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/495898	SF-2CD985	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Openwork, circle	Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	St. Edmundsbury	Fornham All Saints
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/121439	SF-37AA43	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Drapery	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Suffolk	Babergh	Long Melford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/275843	SF-848644	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Suffolk Coastal	Sutton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/198800	SF-873640	PAS	Chance Finds	1485	1550	Figure, crowned with scepter, Child	Human Figure/Body Part	Uncertain	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Buxhall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/547329	SF-CE8EE2	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Lozenge with border and pellets	Tool/Object/Weapon	Uncertain	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Newmarket
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/203100	SF-E7AEA0	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Text	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Yaxley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/264307	SF-ED9665	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1600		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Mid Suffolk	Stowmarket
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/703683	SOM-9D9F6D	PAS	Chance Finds	1279	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Devon	Mid Devon	Cullompton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/815093	SOM-D84DD2	PAS	Chance Finds	1000	1500	Lozenge (openwork interior)	Tool/Object/Weapon	Uncertain	Somerset	Sedgemoor	East Huntspill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1027909	SUR-4CF5A8	PAS	Chance Finds	1500	1550	Architecture	Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Sands End
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/735717	SUSS-8E7D10	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1800	Border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Sussex	Wealden	Cuckmere Valley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/959849	SWYOR-0CD0D2	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1800	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Harrogate	Denton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/927044	SWYOR-2CF22E	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1700	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Selby	Selby
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/188813	SWYOR-2D8B16	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1500	Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Barnsley	Dodworth
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/983211	SWYOR-4FDACE	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1600	Tau cross terminal?	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Wakefield	Featherstone
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/225316	SWYOR-727A73	PAS	Chance Finds			Raised Dome	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Leeds	Thornor
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/461614	SWYOR-8936D1	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1700	Triangular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Thirsk
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/66055	SWYOR-905B44	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	I.R.	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Rotherham	Harthill with Woodall
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/953370	SWYOR-97115F	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1800	Three raised lines with pellet border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Scotter

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/609253	SWYOR-A861B3	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1800		Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Selby	Wistow
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/76338	SWYOR-AEAAF5	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Openwork	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Market Weighton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1017662	SWYOR-E42E03	PAS	Chance Finds	500	1800		Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Barnsley	Hunshelf
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1023669	SWYOR-F60690	PAS	Chance Finds	43	1800	Anthropomorphic face (headdress)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Auckley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/947921	WAW-727AEE	PAS	Chance Finds	1175	1600	Border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Worcestershire	Malvern Hills	Alfrick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/947925	WAW-72B058	PAS	Chance Finds	1175	1600	Border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Worcestershire	Malvern Hills	Alfrick
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/471228	WAW-AAFA95	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Warwickshire	Warwick	Weston under Wetherley
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/427435	WILT-818237	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Border	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Sutton Benger
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158876	WILT-862301	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Rings and dots (seven)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Box
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220335	WILT-EBD7C8	PAS	Chance Finds	1000	1100	Openwork Brooch	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Hilperton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/45975	WMID4222	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1540		Uncertain	Uncertain	Warwickshire	Stratford-on-Avon	Brailes
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/45670	WMID4380	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1540	Openwork, pellets	Uncertain	Uncertain	Somerset	Sedgemoor	Burnham-on-Sea and Highbridge
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/27684	YORYM1092	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1540	Text (Openwork R,T)	Letter/Text	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/632233	YORYM-B8133E	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Circular frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Reighton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/270946	YORYM-DCE6F5	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1650	Border of pellets around square	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Bempton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX23200&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Abingdon
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN36622&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire		Aldwincle
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF20562&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Ashill
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=acb2942e-2e68-4e16-aa59-0fbe6aa58b33&resourceID=19191		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1450	Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Ashwell

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MHT2549&resourceID=1008		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Hertfordshire	North Hertfordshire	Ashwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30936&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Attleborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF7366&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	St Edmundsbury	Bardwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF17212&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Barton Bendish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF20399&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Barton Bendish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF42038&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Bawburgh
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF2635&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Beachamwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25476&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Beachamwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF19547&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Beeston with Bittering
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWA5561&resourceID=1018		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Warwickshire	Stratford-on-Avon	Bidford on Avon
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MBD518&resourceID=1014		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1499		Uncertain	Uncertain	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Biggleswade
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF29065&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Bixley

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF33820&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Blakeney
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF57836&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Bodham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28711&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Bracon Ash
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28793&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Broome
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF17552&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	St Edmundsbury	Bury St Edmunds
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF6727&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1599		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	St Edmundsbury	Bury St Edmunds
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF33825&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Buxton with Lammas
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF3307&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Castle Rising
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31344&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Catfield
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31860&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Cawston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30455&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Cawston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MBD721&resourceID=1014		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1500		Uncertain	Uncertain	Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire	Chalgrave

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF11394&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Babergh	Chelmondiston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MEX1037158&resourceID=1001		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1500	1550		Uncertain	Uncertain	Essex	Chelmsford	Chelmsford
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN4696&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1200	1499		Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire		Churchfield
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF22616&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1499		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk		Claydon
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF9332&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Colney
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25765&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Congham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF3565&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Congham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF3570&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Congham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30690&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Congham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32872&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Corpusty
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32150&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Corpusty
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF1039&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Cranwich

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32743&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Dickleburgh and Rushall
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI60120&resourceID=1006		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1499		Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	North Kesteven	Digby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF41540&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	East Walton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF662&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Babergh	Edwardstone
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31349&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Elsing
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB18517&resourceID=1000		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Ely
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB16072&resourceID=1000		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Cambridgeshire	East Cambridgeshire	Ely
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25980&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31235&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF22473&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF56559&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF44762&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF61238&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Emneth
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX23946&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Ewelme
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX23947&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Oxfordshire	South Oxfordshire	Ewelme
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF6164&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Field Dalling
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30057&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Fincham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF14610&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk		Finningham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MHU18060&resourceID=1043		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	East Riding	Flamborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF44191&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Foulsham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF40061&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Foulsham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF39861&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Foxley
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6825&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Melton	Freeby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31682&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Garboldisham

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF50341&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Great Dunham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF56216&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Great Ellingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF2123&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Great Snoring
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF49042&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Great Witchingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK3883&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Hanslope
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF41515&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Heacham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF9836&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk		Hinderclay
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF24909&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Hindringham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25671&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Hindringham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI41244&resourceID=1006		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	East Lindsay	Holton le Clay
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MHU4694&resourceID=1043		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	East Riding	Hull
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF10724&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1200	1450		Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk		Ipswich

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN29915&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire		Islip
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF6230&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Kelling
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF24883&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1300	1399		Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Kirby Bedon
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLE6830&resourceID=1021		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Leicestershire	Melton	Kirby Bellars
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32326&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Knapton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF10301&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Lakenheath
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF8347&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Lessingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN23138&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire		Little Houghton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF17589&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Little Snoring
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2422&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Little Woolstone
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSY10692&resourceID=1027		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Marr
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF22727&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Waveney	Mettingham

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK3005&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Milton Keynes
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31310&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Morley
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF29344&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Morton on the Hill
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF3932&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Narborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32309&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Narborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF64453&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Narford
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30866&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	North Creake
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF1121&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	North Elmham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF159&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		Norwich
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF840&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk		Norwich
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31994&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Old Catton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF40373&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Outwell

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF54734&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Outwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI50185&resourceID=1006		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Owersby
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF23520&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Oxborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF1021&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Oxborough
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNN161307&resourceID=1044		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1540	1749		Uncertain	Uncertain	Northamptonshire		Passenham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MST4085&resourceID=1010		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Staffordshire		Pattingham and Patshull
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF45361&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Pentney
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF38967&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Postwick with Witton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF22371&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Pulham St Mary
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF24051&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Quidenham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF38984&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Rocklands
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWI11251&resourceID=1047		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds			Pulpit	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire		Salisbury

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF42257&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Scole
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF38707&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Shelton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2317&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Brook End
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK4099&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK5299&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK5306&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Shenley Church End
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF38460&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Broadland	Shipdham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28645&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Shouldham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2149&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Simpson
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWS3972&resourceID=1032		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Sussex	Horsham	Southwater
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF43210&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Sustead
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF4250&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Swafeld

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF40409&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Tacolneston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF41015&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Tacolneston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31505&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Tacolneston
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2354&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Tattenhoe
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31589&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Tattersett
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF31295&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Tattersett
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF5913&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	Breckland	Thetford
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF46810&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Thornwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSY11207&resourceID=1026		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Tickhill
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF50211&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Upwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF67417&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Upwell
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF45980&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Upwell

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF20157&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walpole
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF21320&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walpole
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF20274&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walpole
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF21341&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walpole
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF2029&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Walsingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF2024&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Walsingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF19047&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walsoken
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF18923&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Walsoken
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF7813&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk	Forest Heath	Wangford
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX12345&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Oxfordshire	Vale of White Horse	Wantage
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF56529&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Warham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSA730&resourceID=1014		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Shropshire	North Shropshire	Wem Rural

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF32799&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Wereham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28130&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Rudham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF30441&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Rudham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28131&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Rudham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF18943&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Walton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF25853&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Walton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF18947&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Walton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF28120&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	West Winch
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF3983&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Westacre
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF35821&resourceID=1017		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Suffolk		Westhorpe
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MOX1791&resourceID=1033		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Oxfordshire	West Oxfordshire	Witney
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF43213&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Wiveton

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF33250&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	North Norfolk	Wiveton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MMK2985&resourceID=1037		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Wolverton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MST16972&resourceID=1010		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Staffordshire	East Staffordshire	Wooton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF42090&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Norfolk	West Norfolk	Wretton
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=2e70b814-c2dc-bd155b0fd151&resourceID=191993		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1350	1450		Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Bromley	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=fc72bcd8-7ca8-47e8-a655-ea707f034870&resourceID=191993		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Southwark	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=60162add-ba8a-49cf-a667-940cdf06445d&resourceID=191993		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Greater London Authority	Wandsworth	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=4755fe3e-9627-48d4-9501-3e407e4553ef&resourceID=19191		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds	1400	1499		Uncertain	Uncertain	Kent	Canterbury	
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=3517219&resourceID=304		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Uncertain	Uncertain	Wiltshire	Salisbury	
Hawkes and Fasham 1997	3		Report			Circular	Uncertain	Uncertain	Berkshire	Reading	Crane Wharf
Griffiths et al 2007	1860		Report			Round brooch with 2 heads	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Griffiths et al 2007	1861		Report			Circular badge. Author suggests Becket	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols

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Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
Griffiths et al 2007	1862		Report			Foliage (leaves) Author suggests Becket	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Griffiths et al 2007	1878		Report			Pendant Frame	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cheshire	Wirral	Meols
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	12957		Report	1500	1575	Openwork fragment	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	York	16-22 Coppergate
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	14568		Report	1300	1375	Foliage	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	York	Bedern
Ottaway and Rogers 2002	14569		Report	1350	1450	Fragment (drapery?)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	York	Bedern
Dawes and Magilton 1980	Burial 5133		Report	1100	1199	Uncertain	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	York	St Helen on the Walls, Aldwark
Youngs and Clark 1982			Report			Silver gilt	Uncertain	Uncertain	Buckinghamshire	Milton Keynes	Bradwell Abbey
Nenk et al 1994			Report			Uncertain	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yorkshire	Beverley	North Beckside
Spencer 1980	99		Catalogue			Circular bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	100		Catalogue			Circular bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 1980	101		Catalogue			Circular bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk		King's Lynn
Spencer 2010	254		Catalogue	1150	1200	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		BIG82
Mitchiner 1986	667		Catalogue	1400	1500	Bust, circular frame	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1032		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bearded bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		Thames
Mitchiner 1986	1057		Catalogue	1540	1600	Bearded bust, circular, openwork	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		Billingsgate
Spencer 2010	254a		Catalogue			Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		Thomas More Street, Tower Hamlets
Spencer 2010	254b		Catalogue			Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		BUsp
Spencer 2010	254c		Catalogue			Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority		Vintry
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/799780	BUC-309E0D	PAS	Chance Finds	1350	1499	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury Vale	Dunton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/921630	DUR-072FDC	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust, bearded, flowers	Christocentric	Veronica	Yorkshire	Hambleton	Thirsk
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/855510	LIN-CE2551	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Alford
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/480511	LON-C52131	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Veronica	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority	Greenwich	Greenwich West
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/871204	LON-DCF82F	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Greater London Authority	Southwark	Cathedrals
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/902946	NARC-43D204	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Bust, bearded (Circular)	Christocentric	Veronica	Northamptonshire	East Northamptonshire	Titchmarsh
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/455207	NLM-93AF41	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Binbrook
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/502769	NMS-0E5046	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk	Breckland	Snetterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/96856	NMS-58AE57	PAS	Chance Finds	1066	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk	Breckland	Beachamwell
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/253608	NMS-EE2DC3	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Scole
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/768939	PUBLIC-5C3912	PAS	Chance Finds	1300	1500	Bust, bearded	Christocentric	Veronica	Leicestershire	Harborough	Billesdon

Appendix 1

Source	Identifier	Chance Find Source	Category	From Date	To Date	Iconography	Theme	Faction/Cult	County	District	Parish
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/822826	SOM-CD6D22	PAS	Chance Finds	1250	1475	Bust (Circular)	Christocentric	Veronica	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Easterton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/621153	SWYOR-5B34C7	PAS	Chance Finds	1450	1525	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Yorkshire	Doncaster	Askern
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/942594	WILT-D19EA6	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1400	Bust (Circular)	Christocentric	Veronica	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Shrewton
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/912184	YORYM-9C9699	PAS	Chance Finds	1400	1500	Bust	Christocentric	Veronica	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	Brantingham
https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNF38636&resourceID=1002		Heritage Gateway	Chance Finds				Christocentric	Veronica	Norfolk	Breckland	Beachamwell
Barker 1977	5		Report			Bust, bearded, circular	Christocentric	Veronica	Gloucestershire	Bristol	Floating Harbour
Spencer 2010	247		Catalogue	1270	1350	Quadrilobe continental plaque	Marian	Virgin of the Carmelite Friars, Toulouse	Greater London Authority		SWA81
Spencer 2010	269		Catalogue	1350	1400	Figure, Text fragment	Human Figure/Body Part	Virtues	Greater London Authority		BWB83
Spencer 2010	269a		Catalogue			Figure, Text (courtliness and good manners)	Human Figure/Body Part	Virtues	Greater London Authority		Thames
Spencer 2010	310b		Catalogue			Moon, Amour	Celestial Body	Virtues	Greater London Authority		KATsp
Spencer 2010	321j		Catalogue			Truth shall be crowned. Arms clasped, crowned.	Human Figure/Body Part	Virtues	Greater London Authority		VHAsp
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig303		Catalogue			Fox preaching to geese	Mammal	Virtues	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig316		Catalogue			Truth shall be crowned. Arms clasped, crowned.	Human Figure/Body Part	Virtues	Wiltshire		Salisbury
Spencer and Griffiths 1990	fig241		Catalogue			Padlock	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Viscount Lovel	Wiltshire		Salisbury
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/741787	NMGW-15C80E	PAS	Chance Finds	1600	1700	Cockerel	Dynastic/Individual Faction	Welsh family	Cardiff	Cardiff	Pentyrch
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/975938	SWYOR-DAD791	PAS	Chance Finds	1200	1500	Horse (draught)	Dynastic/Individual Faction	William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	Yorkshire	Selby	Monk Fryston
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/65890	BH-77D737	PAS	Chance Finds	1100	1500	Heraldry (Shield)	Heraldry	York	Oxfordshire	Cherwell	Hethe
Spencer 2010	290c		Catalogue			Rose/Fetterlock	Plant	Yorkist	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	290d		Catalogue			Rose/Fetterlock	Plant	Yorkist	Greater London Authority		BAsp
Spencer 2010	290e		Catalogue			Rose/Fetterlock	Plant	Yorkist	Greater London Authority		Southwark Bridge
Soden 2018	1		Report	900	1099	Crucifixion	Christocentric		Oxfordshire	Wallingford	St Martin's Churchyard