

The enamelled baldric of Thomas Randolph, 1st Earl of Moray (c 1280–1332): Scottish or French enamelling?

John Cherry*

ABSTRACT

The baldric of Thomas Randolph, 1st Earl of Moray (died 1332), a companion in arms of King Robert I, was made in the first half of the 14th century and taken to England before 1604, since which time it has been attached to the Savernake horn, now in the British Museum. It is elaborately decorated with champlevé and translucent enamel, and bears the arms of argent three cushions gules within a royal tressure, which were adopted by Thomas Randolph after he was created Earl of Moray in 1312. The baldric shows Scottish heraldry and ownership, and so appears to be an example of Scottish enamelling. This article examines both the enamel decoration and the life of Thomas Randolph and suggests that there is a greater probability that it was made in France, possibly Paris or Avignon, rather than Scotland.

INTRODUCTION

This baldric (or strap worn over the shoulder) was used to carry a horn, usually a hunting horn. It first appears in a coloured drawing (Illus 1) at the bottom of the massive illuminated roll pedigree of the Seymour family which was produced in the year 1604. At that time the Seymour family, as hereditary wardens of Savernake Forest, in Wiltshire, possessed the horn, which was the tenure horn of Savernake Forest. The drawing (360 × 350mm) is positioned immediately above the final heraldic achievement, but slightly right of centre. The production of the Roll is dated 1601–5 by Bathe, and it is clear that officers of the College of Arms in London, such as Gilbert Dethick and William Camden, were likely to have been consulted on the making of the Roll.¹ The drawing shows that the baldric was composed of a long strap which went over the shoulder and

an H-shaped linking piece that connected the strap to the horn. Since the linking piece is not depicted accurately, the drawing may have been from memory, or a now-lost sketch, rather than from the actual object. The drawing shows that the Scottish baldric was attached to the horn by two English buckles, whereas the baldric is still attached by one of the buckles from the Scottish baldric. However, the drawing provides evidence that the baldric and horn were linked together in the early 17th century. William Camden refers to the horn in his *Britannia* published in 1610:

Not much higher is Wolfhall, which was the house of the Noble Familie of Seimor, now Earle of Hertford, or of Saint Maur, to whom by marriage accrewed a great inheritance of the Esturmies in this tract, who bare *argent three Demy-Lions Gueules*, and from the time of King Henrie the Second were by right of inheritance the Bailiffes and Guardians of the Forrest of Savenac lying hard by, which is of great name for

* Formerly Keeper of Medieval and Modern Europe, British Museum, London; Bitterley House, Bitterley, Shropshire, SY8 3HJ johncherry555@gmail.com

plentie of good game, and for a kind of ferne there that yeeldeth a most pleasing savour. In remembrance whereof, their Hunters home of a mightie bignes, and tipt with silver, the Earle of Hertford keepeth unto this day as a monument of his progenitours. (Camden 1610)

The ownership of the horn and baldric passed from the Seymour family, Earls of Hertford, to the Brudenell-Bruce family, later to become the Marquises of Ailesbury, when Elizabeth Seymour married Thomas Bruce, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, in 1676 and so, by the 18th century, it was known as the Bruce horn. The first publication of the horn and baldric is in *Archaeologia* by Jeremiah Milles, and subsequent publications have paid more attention to the horn than the baldric.²

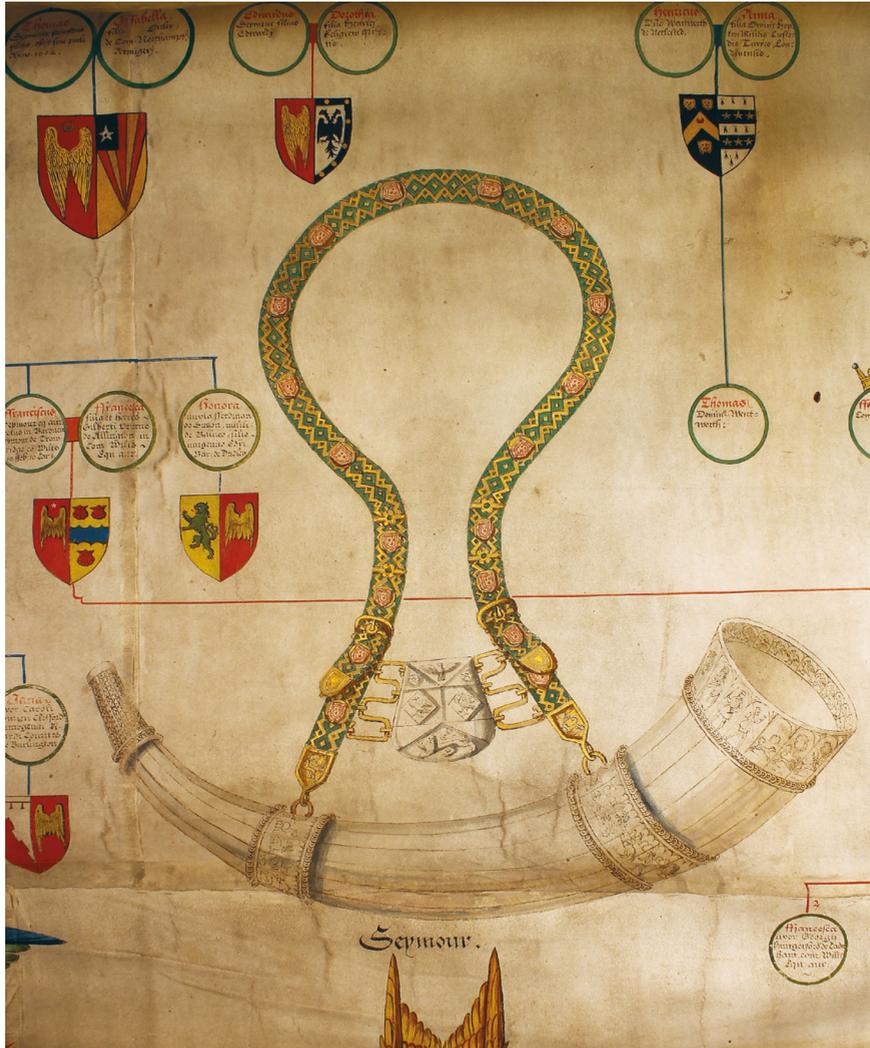
DESCRIPTION OF THE BALDRIC

The baldric (Illus 1) was constructed of a woven green and yellow textile, probably silk and gold thread, on which the enamel roundels were mounted. In 1786 the material of the baldric was described as green worsted, and the accompanying print shows that the number of roundels on the strap had been reduced to six (the present number). At some date between 1786 and 1862 the green textile was replaced by the present leather strap, since the Savernake horn (then the Bruce horn) and attached baldric appears in the exhibition of works of art at South Kensington (Robinson 1863: no. 215). It notes that the baldric is studded with enamelled plates, with the arms of the Earls of Moray, probably those of Thomas Fitz Randolph, nephew of Robert Bruce, and Regent of Scotland, who died in 1332. The 1604 drawing shows that the design of the textile was in a diamond pattern and was probably produced by tablet weaving, but the drawing is not accurate enough to determine the type of tablet weaving. Comparable belts to the baldric may be the 14th-century belt now in the National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark (formerly in Fredensborg Castle, long associated with the Danish royal family) (Illus 2) and the belt from the hoard found at Dune in Gotland, Sweden

deposited in the middle of the 14th century (now Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm). These two belts were studied by Viktoria Holmquist in 2010. She showed that they were probably woven on octagonal rather than square tablets. If so, the weave pattern could only have been produced by a highly skilled weaver.³ If this comparison is accepted, and since the parallel is between a two-dimensional later representation and two objects that can be analysed in three dimensions, the Randolph baldric may have been woven by an accomplished weaver in northern Europe. On the baldric on the 1604 drawing there are shown some 16 roundels, which combine both champlévé red and translucent green enamelling. The red enamel is used for the arms of Moray and the green enamel forms the background to the dragons at the side of the shield, and half of the surrounding circle, where red and green alternates. The predominance of the colour green both in the baldric and the enamelling is particularly appropriate to a baldric for a hunting horn. It brings to mind the symbolism of green in the English tale of Gawain and the Green Knight. Here the lady's ceinture (or belt) is of green with a golden hem, and the Knight himself is not only clothed in green, but is more 'gaudily glowing than green enamel on gold' (Stone 1974: lines 236 & 1832).

On the strap of the baldric there are now six silver roundels with enamelled heraldry, and three of the buckles of the linking piece (two buckles and one hook-plate) have enamelled heraldry (Illus 3, 4, 6 & 7). On these roundels (Illus 3) the shields and dragons at the sides of the shield are reserved in silver, against an enamelled background. It was either very dark green initially or has darkened with age. The rim has been gilded. The backs of the roundels are separate roundels of silver attached by pins. They are decorated with compass-drawn circles and hatching in the centre, in a similar manner to the circles and hatching on the back of the linking piece (Illus 5).

Since the same arms appear on the strap and the linking piece, it is clear that the two belong together, and were made at the same time for the same owner. The heraldry *argent three cushions gules* were the arms of Thomas Randolph's



ILLUS 1 Drawing of horn and baldric on Seymour Genealogy Roll WSA1300/376aL. (With permission from Wiltshire and Swindon Archives)



ILLUS 2 Tablet woven belt, formerly in Fredensborg Castle. (Courtesy of National Museum of Denmark)



ILLUS 3 Silver roundel on strap with arms of Thomas Randolph. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

father, Thomas (MacDonald 1904: no. 2250; Birch 1894: no. 16,776 (BL seal nos xlvii.1071, xlvii.1072)). The arms on the roundels and buckles are *argent three cushions gules within a royal tressure*, which are those of Thomas Randolph, who bore them from 1312 when he was created Earl of Moray, until his death (MacDonald 1904: nos 2251 & 2252; Birch 1894: no. 16777 (BL seal no. xlvii.1245)). The other hook-plate is an English addition, after the baldric came to England, with enamelling similar to that on the bands around the horn.

The back of the linking piece is carefully engraved in the same manner as the roundels on the strap. The H-shaped linking piece (Illus 4 & 5) is a complex piece of metalwork with hinged side-pieces. Both their design and their use of red and green enamel ornament are similar to the roundels on the strap. The centre of the linking piece does not show heraldry but a series of animals – a lion, birds and a moth. The lion, on a mount with flowers, was reserved against a translucent enamel field, of which a small portion remains. This attitude of the lion is reminiscent of the lion on the centre of the Bute mazer. There are two birds, possibly meant to be cranes, in diamond-shaped panels in the centre of the linking piece. They have webbed feet and wings raised,

as if about to take off. Green translucent enamel appears very clearly in the triangular sections at the four corners which cover a trefoil engraved foliage feature. The translucent enamel has darkened considerably. At the top of the linking piece is a moth, whose body is engraved for enamel but no enamel survives, so we have no idea of the colours. The thickness of the body of the moth suggests that it may have been meant to represent a hawk moth (a member of the *Spingidae* family). It is certainly not a butterfly, which does appear in the enamelling of the period. The reason for the choice of the bird and moth is not known, but it is possible that the moth might have had some heraldic connotation.⁴ The other remarkable animal portrayed is the long-eared head of an animal in the corners of the buckles of the linking piece. This is not possible to identify, but it may represent a stag.

RELATIONSHIP WITH SAVERNAKE HORN

The Scottish baldric was attached to the English Savernake horn some time between the death of Thomas Randolph in 1332 and its appearance in the Seymour genealogy of 1604 (Illus 1). It is not known when this happened, but several possibilities may be canvassed. The first is that it might have been seized in warfare between the Scots and English some time after the death of Thomas Randolph in 1332. His two sons, Thomas the 2nd Earl and John the 3rd Earl, were both killed in battles against the English, the first at Dupplin on 12 August 1332 and the second at Neville's Cross in 1346. In favour of this medieval seizure is that fact that the one of the hook-plates of the Scottish baldric was replaced by an English late 14th-century hook-plate (Illus 4 & 5). A horn with a baldric is shown on an impression from the matrix of Henry Sturmy, dated 1355, of the family which then held the wardenship of Savernake Forest. This was identified by Walter de Gray Birch as a hunting horn for the tenure of Savernake Forest, but it is on too small a scale to draw any conclusions about the baldric represented on this seal.⁵

Another possibility is that it was seized with other loot from Edinburgh in the mid-16th



ILLUS 4 Randolph baldric – front of linking piece. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)



ILLUS 5 Randolph baldric – back of linking piece. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)



ILLUS 6 Scottish buckle (front). (© The Trustees of the British Museum)



ILLUS 7 Scottish buckle (back). (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

century during the Rough Wooing of the 1540s. Edward Seymour, the owner of Savernake Forest, was a leader of the English armies in both 1544 and 1547. Another object possibly taken as booty from Scotland is the brass lectern (now known as the Dunkeld lectern) taken by Sir Richard Lee, which is owned by St Stephen's church in St Albans (Hertfordshire) and is now on display in the National Museum of Scotland (Galloway 1878–9). The only certain evidence of loot from Edinburgh at this time is in the library at Longleat House, Wiltshire, where there is a copy of Bellenden's translation of the *Chronicles of Scotland*, at the top of whose flyleaf is an inscription that it was found by John Thynne in 1544: 'Found in Edinburgh at the winninge and burninge thereof the vii of May being Wednesday the xxvi year of the regen of our soverayn Lord King Henry the eight per John Thynne.' Seizure in the mid-16th century may be less likely than the 14th century. It should also be mentioned that the legal heirs of the Randolphs were the Dunbars, a family with numerous contacts with England. Also in 1860 three ancient swords

were noted at Tottenham Park, then the seat of the Marquis of Ailesbury. One of them belonged to Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, the arms of which country are repeated six or eight times on the hilt; the other was the sword of the Black Douglas. The blade has the following couplets engraved one on each side:

This is the sword that once was worn
By the Black Douglas at Bannockburn

and

At Bannockburn I served the Bruce
Whereof the English made little use.

These were almost certainly invented items, their inscriptions later fabrications, which had come into the (originally Scottish) Brudenell-Bruce family possession (Ward 1860: 264).

To conclude this section, it is not known how the Scottish baldric and the English horn came to be attached together. Several possibilities can be suggested, but since the two objects can both be dated to the 14th century, the balance of probability suggests that the association dates from the 14th rather than the 16th century.

ENAMEL COMPARISONS

The nature of the enamelling on the Savernake horn and baldric was first considered in 1930 by Mary Chamot. She considered the enamelling on the horn to be English, but said nothing about the enamelling on the baldric. The author of the entry in the exhibition *L'Europe Gothique* in Paris in 1968 followed her opinion (Council of Europe 1968: 278–9 no. 433; Chamot 1930: 41–2 no. 25). In 1972 Richard Camber and John Cherry identified the heraldry on the baldric as that of Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, and assigned the enamel bands on the horn to an English, perhaps London, origin, but did not express any opinion on the enamelling of the baldric. In 1982 the enamels on the Savernake horn were mentioned when the horn and baldric were displayed at the exhibition *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* at the National Museum of Scotland. It was there suggested, without adducing any parallels, that the

two bands of enamelling around the Savernake horn may be of French origin. There was no comment made on the enamels on the baldric. This entry (C30) is also misleading, since there is no evidence that the Savernake horn was Scottish or was ever in Scotland. All the evidence points to its having been in England both in and since the 14th century, and the enamelling on the two bands around the horn is most probably English. The horn and baldric were also shown at the *Age of Chivalry* exhibition at the Royal Academy, London, in 1987. This entry follows the 1972 article in assigning the horn enamels to England and not making any suggestion as to the origins of those on the baldric. The enamel of the Randolph baldric was discussed by Virginia Glenn in her study of court patronage in Scotland between the 13th and 15th century. She concluded, 'The silver mounts very much resemble the heraldic decorations on early fourteenth-century horse trappings but all the surviving examples of the latter are of copper alloy ... [T]he baldric ... originally belonged to another horn, that too was silver mounted. It was the accoutrement of a courtier with aspirations to considerable grandeur' (Glenn 1998: 115, 126). This implies that she considered the enamelling more likely to be Scottish. At the same time Professor Geoffrey Barrow considered the Bannatyne or Bute mazer, which has six heraldic and translucent enamels in the print, and concluded that it probably dated to after 1314 and before 1330 and was owned by the Gilbertson family. Barrow is inclined on the heraldic associations to date the mazer to 1323–7 (Barrow 1998). In her catalogue *The Metalwork in the National Museum*, Virginia Glenn argued that 'the entire print of the mazer including the discs containing the enamels, the main plate and the lion is made of silver which is virtually identical ... even the composition of the red enamel of the lions' eyes matches that of the red on the heraldry.' She rejected the suggestion by W H Stevenson that the print was a conglomerate of different sources. The style of the metalworking certainly suggests that the print of the mazer was created in Scotland (Glenn 2003: 34–8). In the light of this, it may be concluded that despite the similarity in the use of opaque and translucent

enamelling, the Bannatyne (or Bute) mazer and the Randolph baldric have different histories. However, it may be that Scottish heraldry can be portrayed in different forms of enamelling, and the origin of the heraldry is not necessarily a reliable guide to the country of origin of the enameller. Perhaps Stevenson's suggestion that the print of the mazer is a conglomerate needs to be taken more seriously, and so the enamelling on the roundels in the print, despite their heraldry, may not be of Scottish origin.

Paris was the leading centre in Europe in the first half of the 14th century for enamelling, due to Paris being the centre of fashion in the arts since it had the patronage of the French kings. An overview of the range of enamelling has been given by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, and she has provided a more detailed study in the catalogue of the 2003 exhibition *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils*. Goldsmiths in Paris were the leading exponents of different types of enamelling in the late 13th and early 14th century. One of these was the combination of champlevé and translucent enamelling (Gaborit-Chopin 1982: 32–7). Many of these enamels owe their survival to having been gifts to churches, so most are religious in nature. The survival of secular goldsmiths' work is far less common. The combination of translucent and champlevé enamel, particularly the red, occurs on a number of enamels assigned to Paris in the period 1310–40. One of the few surviving secular examples is the silver ewer in the National Museum, Copenhagen, made in Paris in the 1340s (Illus 8). The foot of the ewer has scenes with dragons, one of which (Illus 9) shows a long-necked dragon with a figure riding facing backwards on his back (Musée du Louvre 1968: cat no. 430). A close parallel to the enamelling on the Randolph baldric is the exotic long-necked dragons on the reliquary of Philippe V, King of France (reigned 1316–22) and Jeanne de Bourgogne, his queen (now in the cathedral treasury of Seville in Spain), which is dated between 1316 and 1322.⁶ Another close parallel both to the heraldic roundels on the baldric and also the long-necked dragons may be found on the two enamelled roundels, one in the base

of the cup and the other, without dragons, in the Founder's Cup at Trinity Hall, Cambridge (Illus 10, 11 & 12). This was commissioned by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich (bishop 1328–55), who served as an ambassador for Edward III of England to the pope at Avignon, and founded Trinity Hall, Cambridge in 1350. It has the silver mark of Pope Innocent VI and so was made in Avignon between 1352 (the accession of the pope) and 1355 (the death of Bateman) (Lightbown 1978: 93 pl LXXII; Campbell 1997: 39 & fig 88; Campbell 2002: 134). The larger of the two roundels (Illus 11) inside this beaker on the base shows his arms in the centre framed by three spandrels between which is a finely wrought winged dragon or serpent, against translucent enamel. Their heads with long necks are varied in type: one is a grotesque human head and the other two are animal heads. Although 20 years later, this provides a parallel to the dragons on the Randolph baldric. So, the enamelling on the baldric fits into this French style of enamelling and the possibility may be considered that the Randolph baldric was produced in France, possibly Paris or Avignon, rather than Scotland.

THOMAS RANDOLPH, EARL OF MORAY

Thomas Randolph was the son of Sir Thomas Randolph of Stichill, Roxburghshire and a daughter of Marjory, Countess of Carrick, and her first husband, Adam of Kilconquhar. Although Thomas's mother was half-sister to King Robert I, and he was 'our dearest nephew', he had no claim to the Scottish throne. He was described in two charters by the king as 'carissimo' (most dear). He was a strong supporter of King Robert from 1309 until the king's death in 1329.⁷ Between 12 April and 29 October 1312, King Robert created him Earl of Moray, with territory stretching from the western sea to the Moray Firth and south to the border of Perthshire; his judicial privileges of 'regality' were all-encompassing, and the king's tenants and vassals now owed homage to him. The earldom of Moray contained within it the important area of Badenoch, which had been a Comyn lordship, and which was retained by



ILLUS 8 Parisian ewer (a wine or water jug) of gilded silver and semi-translucent enamel, made around 1330 in Paris. (Photograph by Lennart Larsen, courtesy of National Museum of Denmark)



ILLUS 9 Detail of the foot on the Parisian ewer. (Photograph by Lennart Larsen, courtesy of National Museum of Denmark)



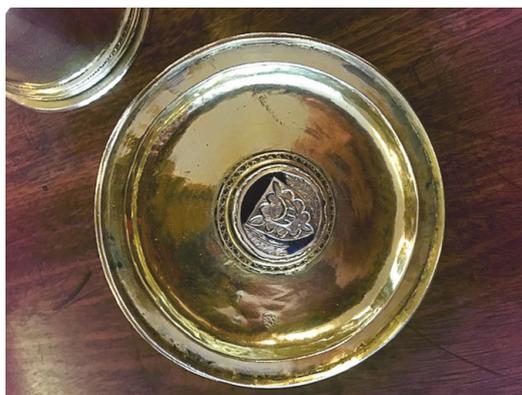
ILLUS 10 The Trinity Hall (Bateman) beaker and lid showing the interior of the lid with the smaller roundel. (Photograph by Jan Butler; by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

Bruce when he became king in 1306 (Barrow 1988: 6; *RRS* v: no. 389). Thomas Randolph was successful in securing Edinburgh Castle for the Scots in 1314, and played a major part in the battle of Bannockburn in the same year, which saw the defeat of Edward II (Penman 2018: 137–8, 140–1). He continued with Sir James Douglas to lead expeditions into England in the years after Bannockburn. He served as guardian of the realm on the death of King Robert in 1329 during the minority of the king's son, and was to die in 1332. In the 1320s he was the most important noble in Scotland after the king (Duncan 2004; Penman 2018: 278–9). As Earl of Moray, Thomas Randolph had a grant of regality and, through this, acquired forest rights including the construction of parks. His Moray earldom was confirmed in 1324 and this confirmation included the forests of Lenocho, Langmorn, Darnaway and Drumine, and the royal forest around Elgin, Forres and Inverness (Gilbert 1979: 216, and 32 for the 1324 re-grant).

He travelled on two diplomatic missions to France in the 1320s. He wrote to Pope John XXII seeking his recognition of Robert as King of Scotland. By mid-January 1324 he was at Avignon where he persuaded the pope to



ILLUS 11 The enamelled roundel at the bottom of the Trinity Hall (Bateman) beaker. Diam: 7cm. (Photograph by Jan Butler; by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge)



ILLUS 12 The small enamelled roundel in the lid of the Trinity Hall (Bateman) beaker. Diam: 3cm. (Photograph by Jan Butler; by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

write to Robert as king, if only to tell him that this did not mean he was recognised as king. The outbreak of war between England and France in 1324–5 produced a more favourable climate for Scotland at the French court. On 20 April 1325 he was given a letter of procuracy for himself and others as ambassadors and to make a treaty with Charles IV (*RRS* v: 534 no. 272). He was at the French court in June 1325. From there he went to the papal court at Avignon, where he is recorded on 1 October and where he may have stayed for some time (*RRS* v: 154). In February 1326 the pope wrote to him to return from France to Scotland. He came to Paris and in April 1326 Randolph negotiated the treaty of Corbeil, whereby each country undertook to give military aid to the other against England. This Franco-Scottish alliance became the cornerstone of Scottish foreign policy for the remainder of the 14th century. It is quite possible that Thomas Randolph could have commissioned the baldric from a Parisian goldsmith, or that it might have been given to him as a diplomatic gift by either the pope or the French king.

FRANCO-SCOTTISH CULTURAL RELATIONS

The Randolph baldric is not the only evidence of Franco-Scottish cultural relations at this period. The tomb of Robert I in Dunfermline Abbey was made in Paris and transported to Scotland in 1328–9. This was paid for in 1329, as was the carriage through Bruges to Dunfermline and also £13 6s 8d to one Richard Barber for his tomb the previous year. Thomas de Charteris was clerk of audits for King Robert and was also given responsibility for purchases in Flanders for the wedding of Prince David and Princess Joan of England. Robert's alabaster tomb was made in Paris and the first mention is for the year August 1328 to August 1329, one of which is an explicit reference to a payment in the previous year August 1327 to August 1328. It must have been commissioned some time before, perhaps even before the death of Edward II in 1327. It was in place in the choir in Dunfermline Abbey before

1330 when payment was made for rails around the tomb. Fragments from a tomb, believed to be Robert's, were discovered in 1818, and are now divided between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Fragments of white marble from Dunfermline (now in the National Museum of Scotland) may be part of this tomb, and the accounts also mention black marble, which suggests that it formed a black and white polychromatic contrast like the tombs of Philippe IV (died 1314), Louis X (died 1316) and Philip V (died 1322) in the church of St Denis in Paris. It may well be that Thomas Randolph's embassy to the French king provided a route by which knowledge of these tombs came to Scotland.⁸ Thomas Randolph was also buried at Dunfermline in 1332, and is likely to have begun preparations for his own tomb in Dunfermline at about the same time as those for King Robert.

CONCLUSION

This review of the evidence suggests that there is a possibility that Thomas Randolph may have been given or might have commissioned the baldric from a French goldsmith in France. There is a slightly later parallel for such a commission in the silver beaker in Trinity Hall, Cambridge acquired by William Bateman, bishop of Norwich. The combination of champlévé and translucent enamelling is characteristic of French enamelling, and the baldric could have been made in France. It is not impossible that a French goldsmith could have visited Scotland and made the baldric in Scotland, but there is really no need to suggest this. Whether the baldric was commissioned by Thomas Randolph while he was in France, either during his visit to the pope, or on his embassy to Charles IV, from whom he might have received it as a gift, it represents a remarkable survival of enamelling on a secular rather than a religious object. It also raises the possibility that, if the baldric came to England in the 14th century, the English goldsmith who made the bands around the Savernake horn may have been aware of the use of translucent enamel on the baldric.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have a debt to the late Michael Maclagan for his advice on the life of Thomas Randolph, to Michael Andersen of the Danish National Museum for advice on the Fredensborg belt, and to Naomi Sackett of Wiltshire and Swindon Archives for help with the illustration of the drawing from the Seymour genealogy.

NOTES

- 1 The horn and baldric are described by Bathe (2012). The Roll (now Wiltshire and Swindon Archives no. 1300/376aL) has been described by Andrew Douglas in his unpublished University of Strathclyde diploma étude of 2010. An account is in Bathe & Douglas (2012: especially 214).
- 2 The horn and baldric have the same museum registration number – BM PET 1975,0401.1. The first publication is Milles (1775). Later publications are: Waring (1858: 27–8); Robinson (1863: no. 215); Chamot (1930: 41 no. 25) (does not mention the baldric); Victoria and Albert Museum (1930: no. 115); Musée du Louvre (1968: 278 no. 433) (this entry describes the heraldry on the baldric as bearing the arms of Bruce); Cherry & Camber (1977); National Museum of Scotland (1982: no. C30); Cherry (1989); Cherry (2005).
- 3 Holmquist (2010). The registration number of Eric of Pomerania's belt is National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, no. 27 (Fingerlin 1971: 362 no. 126). The registration number of the Dune belt is Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, 6849: 68 (Fingerlin 1971: 448 no. 469).
- 4 Manley (2015: 204–7). Butterflies do occur in Parisian enamelling as a shape. An example is the enamelled jewel from Ratisbon, but here the butterfly shape refers to the Crucifixion: see Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (1998: nos 153, 233). Support for the view that the moth might have a heraldic connotation might be adduced from the occurrence of the butterfly as a badge of Sir James Audley, one of the founder knights of the Order of the Garter (died 1380). The butterfly was also used as a badge by the Girlingston family. For both of these see Siddons (2009: vol II.2, Non-Royal Badges, 18) (apparently there is a badge or brooch in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography with a butterfly), and (Siddons 2009: vol III, Ordinaries, 66). There is also a white enamelled moth/butterfly on a bronze 14th-century heraldic pendant found in Shapwick, Dorset in the 19th century (BM PET 1893,0601.273).
- 5 Birch (1894: no. 13,754) (BL seal no. xliii.189). There is an illustration of this impression, from a matrix, in Cherry & Camber (1977: 209 fig 176).
- 6 Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (1998: 228–35). The Seville reliquary (Seville, trésor de la cathédrale, collection de l'archevêque Palafox) has full page illustrations in this catalogue (no. 151).
- 7 For his allegiance to Robert in 1309 see Penman (2018: 110).
- 8 King Robert's tomb is discussed by Penman 2013: 243–6 and Penman 2018: 307. A more detailed discussion is Fraser 2005.

ABBREVIATION

RRS v: Duncan, A A M (ed) 1988 *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol v: *The Acts of Robert I, King of Scots 1306–1329*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

REFERENCES

- Barrow, G W S 1988 'Badenoch and Strathspey, 1130–1312. I: Secular and political', *Northern Scotland* 8: 1–15.
- Barrow, G 1998 'The social background to the Bute Mazer', in Fawcett, R (ed) *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, 122–32. British Archaeological Association

- Conference Transactions XXIII. Leeds: British Archaeological Association.
- Bathe, G 2012 'The Savernake Horn', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 105: 168–81.
- Bathe, G & Douglas, A 2012 'Forging alliances: the life of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and his commissioning of the Great Illuminated Roll Pedigree of the Seymours and monumental tombs in Wiltshire and Westminster', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 105: 182–218.
- Birch, W de G 1894 *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vol 3. London: British Museum.
- Camden, W 1610 *Britannia* <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/wilshireeng.html#wilts1>. Accessed 18 January 2021.
- Campbell, M 1997 'English basse-taille enamels', *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, series 4, quaderni 2: 37–46.
- Campbell, M 2002 'Medieval founders' relics: royal and episcopal patronage at Oxford and Cambridge colleges', in Coss, P & Keen, M (eds) *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, 125–42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Chamot, M 1930 *English Medieval Enamels*. London: Ernest Benn.
- Cherry, J 1989 'Symbolism and survival: medieval horns of tenure', *The Antiquaries Journal* 69(1): 110–18.
- Cherry, J 2005 'The Savernake Horn: an oliphant adorned with metal', in Bork, R (ed) *De Re Metallica: The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages*, 113–21. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Cherry, J & Camber, R 1977 'The Savernake Horn', in Camber, R (ed) *Collectors and Collections, British Museum Yearbook*, vol 2, 201–11. London: British Museum.
- Council of Europe 1968 *L'Europe Gothique: XIIe–XIVe siècles*, Paris: Ministère d'État Affaires Culturelles.
- Duncan, A A M 2004 'Randolph, Thomas, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23121>. Accessed 14 January 2020.
- Fingerlin, I 1971 *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*. Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Fraser, I 2005 'The tomb of the Hero King: the death and burial of Robert I, and the discoveries of 1818–19', in Fawcett, R (ed) *Royal Dunfermline*, 155–76. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Gaborit-Chopin, D 1982 'Les émaux translucides parisiens dans la première moitié du XIV siècle', *Archaeologia* 162: 32–7.
- Galleries Nationales du Grand Palais 1998 *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Galloway, W 1878–9 'Notice of an Ancient Scottish Lectern of brass now in the Parish Church of St Stephen's, St Albans, Hertfordshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 13: 287–302.
- Gilbert, J M 1979 *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Glenn, V 1998 'Court patronage in Scotland 1240–1340', in Fawcett, R (ed) *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, 111–21. British Archaeological Association Transactions XXIII. Leeds: British Archaeological Association.
- Glenn, V 2003 *Romanesque and Gothic: Decorative Metalwork and Carvings in the Museum of Scotland*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland.
- Holmquist, V 2010 'A study of two medieval silk girdles: Eric of Pomerania's belt and the Dune Belt', in Andersson Strand, E et al (eds) *North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles X*, 117–28. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- Lightbown, R W 1978 *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.
- MacDonald, W R 1904 *Scottish Armorial Seals*. Edinburgh: William Green and Sons.
- Manley, C 2015 *British Moths*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Milles, J 1775 'On Lord Bruce's Horn', *Archaeologia* 3: 24–9.

- Musée du Louvre 1968 *L'Europe Gothique XIIIe–XIVe siècles*. Paris: Ministère d'État Affaires Culturelles.
- National Museum of Scotland 1982 *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland*. Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.
- Penman, M 2013 'A programme for royal tombs in Scotland? A review of the evidence c.1093–c.1542', in Penman, M (ed) *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference*, 239–53. Donington: Shaun Tyas.
- Penman, M 2018 *Robert the Bruce: King of the Scots*. New Haven and London: Yale.
- Robinson, J C (ed) 1863 *Catalogue of a Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance and more recent periods*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Siddons, M P 2009 *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales II.2: Non-Royal Badges. III: Ordinaries*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London and Boydell Press.
- Stone, B (ed) 1974 *Gawain and the Green Knight*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Victoria and Albert Museum 1930 *English Medieval Art*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Ward, Rev J 1860 'Great Bedwyn Parish', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 6: 261–316.
- Waring, J B (ed) 1858 *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom: From the Art Treasures Exhibition Manchester 1857*. London: Day and Son.