

## **Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral**

### **An Exploration of Context, Copying, and the Recovery of Lost Stained Glass\***

*Sarah Blick*

The similarity is striking. A pair of medieval pilgrim ampullae closely resemble stained glass windows from Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral in their composition, iconography, and even their inscription.<sup>1</sup> This paper will examine the reasons for this similarity from three points of view, showing how deeply linked these objects were. First, uniting monumental and miniature art, these objects were both created to promote the cult of St. Thomas Becket and his power of miraculous healing via blood-tinged water. Second, their likeness helped pilgrims, who saw the stained glass window and purchased the ampullae, remember their visit to the Cathedral. The pilgrim souvenirs sparked their memories by copying the sites they experienced. These replications reveal much about the nature of copying in the Middle Ages. Third, the close copy of the windows by the ampullae allows art historians to glimpse a medieval window that was shattered centuries ago.

#### ***Pilgrim Souvenirs and Canterbury Stained Glass Windows***

The story begins with two tin pilgrim ampullae<sup>2</sup> made before 1220 in Canterbury, England, that were found centuries later, one in France (now in the Cluny Museum) and one in Norway (now in the Historical Museum in Bergen, Norway).<sup>3</sup> Of the two, the Cluny ampulla (Fig. 1) is in better condition, retaining much of its neck and the stabilizing outer band, whereas the neck of the Bergen ampulla (Fig. 2 and 3) has been torn off, possibly by a pilgrim eager for the Canterbury Water inside.

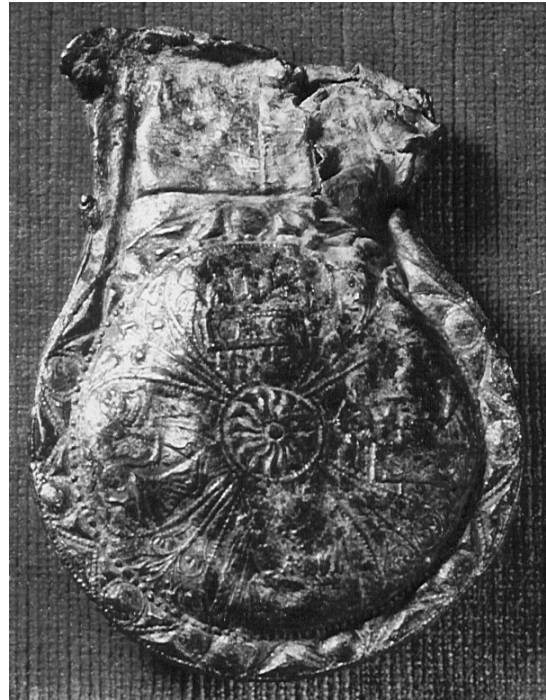
Depicted on one side of these ampullae is a healing miracle of Becket and on the other are scenes of Becket's life and death. The miracle iconography on one side is remarkable. For apart from these two vials, no scenes of Becket's miracles have survived in any other form, except in the Trinity Chapel stained glass windows.<sup>4</sup> This appears to suggest a connection between the windows and the ampullae, but it may be only of an accidental nature, as many pieces of artwork have been destroyed.

The affinity of the ampullae to the stained-glass program at Canterbury Cathedral is immediately evident in their composition and subject matter. In comparing the first side of the ampullae to a portion of the surviving window North (or n) III — dated 1213—1216<sup>5</sup> — in the Trinity Chapel ambulatory (Fig. 4), one is struck by their remarkable similarity. The window is composed of four roundels which are in turn divided into a four-petaled composition. The ampullae imitate the composition of one of these roundels.<sup>6</sup> A circular border of tight beads surrounds

the quadripartite composition on both the ampulla and the window roundel. Each petal is then divided by leafy vines which scroll in toward one another.<sup>7</sup>



*Figure 1. Canterbury Pilgrim Ampulla, thirteenth century, Musée de Cluny, Paris, France.*



*Figure 2. Canterbury Pilgrim Ampulla, early thirteenth century, Historical Museum, University of Bergen.*



*Figure 3. Canterbury Pilgrim Ampulla from Bergen (Fig. 2), drawing after A. E. Herteig, Kongers havn og handels sete: arkeologiske undersøkelser på Bryggen i Bergen 1955—68 (Oslo, 1969).*

More specifically, the composition displays the same kind of iconography seen in Window n:III,<sup>8</sup> the healing miracles of St. Thomas Becket. The petals of the ampullae (like the window panels throughout n:III) repeatedly illustrate Becket's low-lying rectangular tomb with two holes which allowed pilgrims closer access to the relics.<sup>9</sup> Yet, despite these similarities, the two ampullae do not copy any surviving scenes from window n:III.

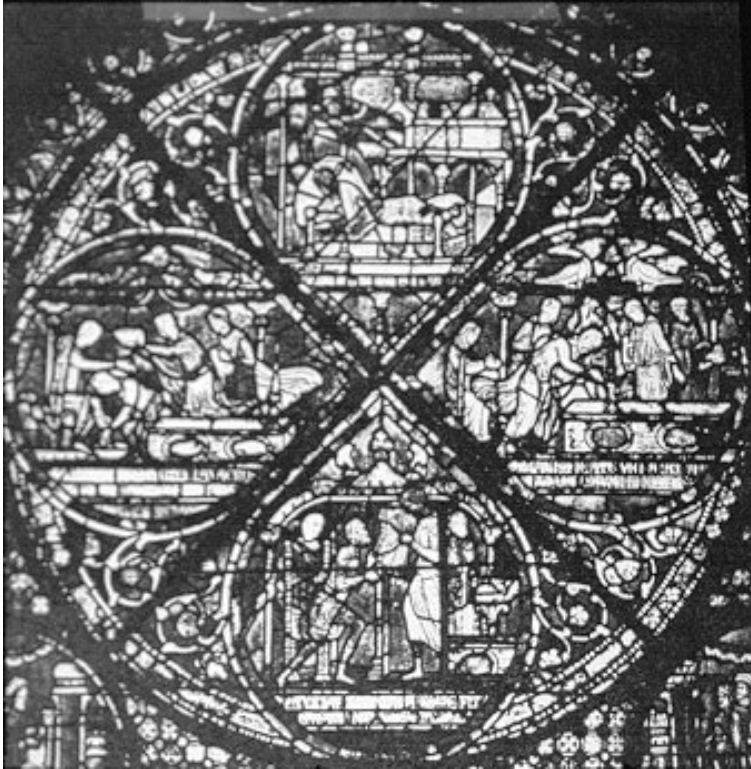


Figure 4. Window n:III, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury, England, 1213/15—1220. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

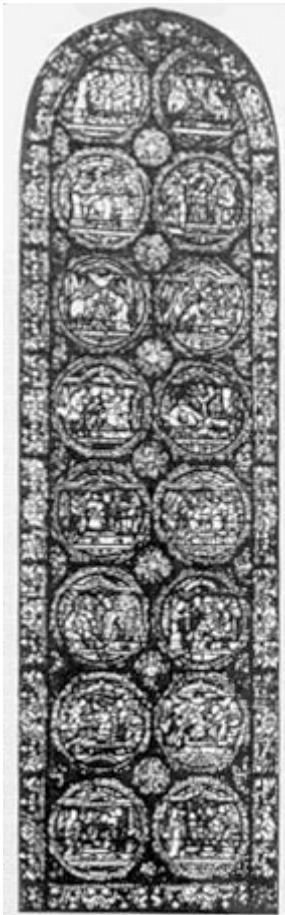
Rather, in terms of specific iconography, the ampullae follow the window next to n:III in Trinity Chapel, window n:IV (dated 1190—1207), which pictures Becket's miraculous cures of lameness (Fig. 5). The image in this window that most closely resembles the ampullae is the scene of Robert of Cricklade approaching Becket's tomb (Fig. 6). Holding a crutch, he initially falls from the grasp of his assistants, but after the cure, he leaves as *ex-votos* his staff, boots, and cloak. He then gives thanks, kneeling nimbly, without help, before the tomb.

The images on the ampullae are remarkably similar to those in window n:IV. In the left petal the crippled man lays in bed, over which a vision of the mitred archbishop looms promising recovery (as seen in a similar rendering at the top of Window n:III). The man's infirmity is revealed in the opposite petal as he struggles forward, lamely bent over his cane. Then, as in window n:IV, he starts to fall from the grip of the man behind him (who holds him around the waist). Another man to their left, holds aloft an object that appears to be a boot or perhaps a wax model of a leg to be left as an *ex-voto*.<sup>10</sup>

The remaining scenes correspond more generally than specifically to window images, as their iconography is more enigmatic. In the top petal, two monks stand

behind the tomb — one holds up a large book as the other points to it and reads aloud. A third looks on, perhaps kneeling at the tomb. In the lower petal, the three monks surround the tomb upon which is placed a three-legged candlestick. One figure holds a book, while another kneels in reverence. Details shown on the ampullae, such as the three-legged candlestick and the tomb, can be found throughout the Miracle Windows in Trinity Chapel.

The correlation between ampullae and windows can be explained by their original context. They were created to promote the power of St. Thomas Becket to miraculously heal the sick and the manner in which this was done, that is, through the blood-tinctured water contained in pilgrim ampullae sold at Canterbury Cathedral. The stained glass windows helped form the pilgrim's experience at Canterbury and the ampullae enabled them partake in and remember the experience.



*Figure 6. The Cure of Robert of Cricklade, Prior of St. Frideswide, Oxford from window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, 1190—1207. Photo: Author.*

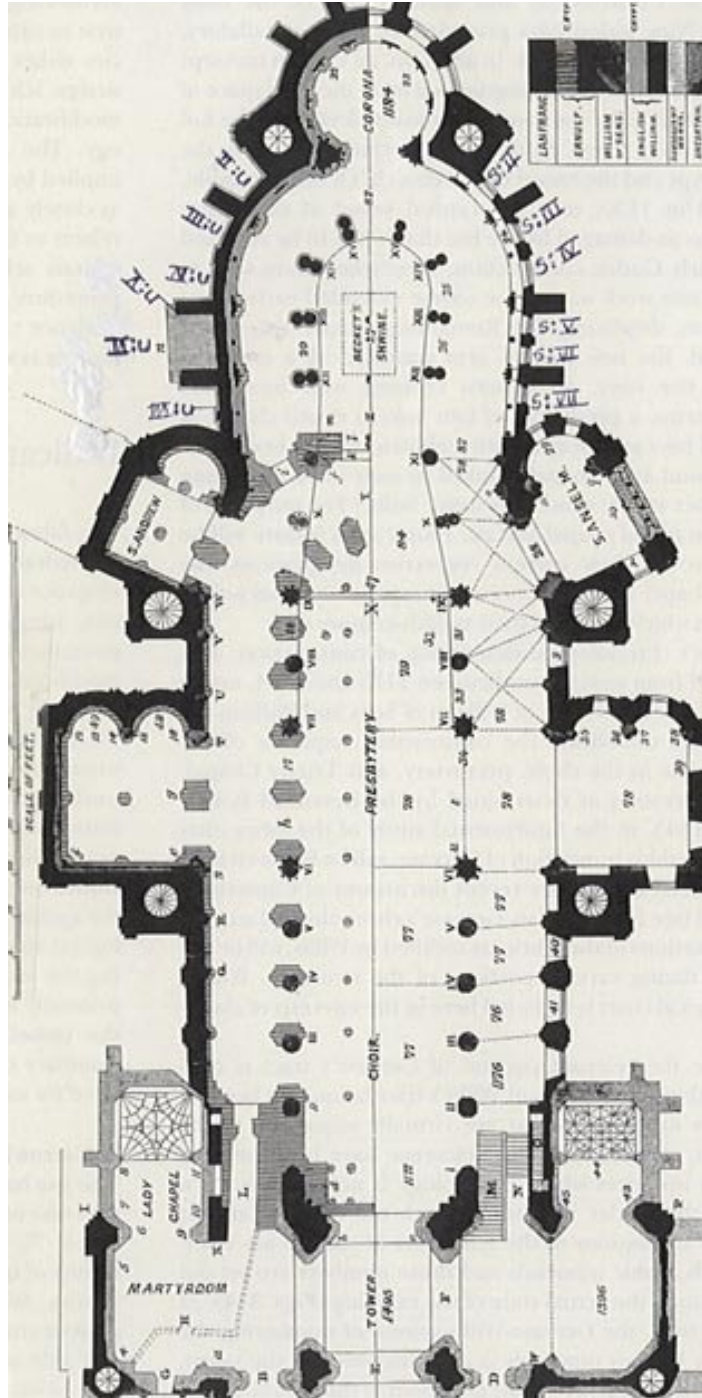
*Figure 5. Window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, 1190—1207. Photo: Author.*



## *The Canterbury Experience*

When pilgrims arrived at Canterbury Cathedral, they were greeted by monks who prepared them for their visit to the holy sites by reading aloud stories of Becket's life and miracles.<sup>11</sup> Freshly primed, the pilgrims then processed through stations within Canterbury Cathedral, beginning at an altar in the North Transept where Thomas Becket was martyred in 1170. From there, they went into the crypt to contemplate the tomb of Becket.<sup>12</sup> Finally, they were led up to the light-filled choir (Trinity Chapel) which from 1220 onward was graced by a shrine.<sup>13</sup>

Encircling the ambulatory of Trinity Chapel<sup>14</sup> were twelve windows (*c.* 1175/80—1220) (Fig. 7 and 8). Two windows illustrated Becket's life,<sup>15</sup> and ten<sup>16</sup> showed miracles attributed to him, said to have occurred between 1171—1173.<sup>17</sup> These images were selected from accounts of Becket's life and miracles recorded by the monks, Benedict<sup>18</sup> and William of Canterbury.<sup>19</sup> Of the many types of miracles recorded, healing miracles were chosen to be illuminated in the Trinity Chapel windows.



*Figure 7. Plan of Canterbury Cathedral with numbered north and south aisle windows in Trinity Chapel. Photo: After R. Willis, The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral (London, 1845).*

This iconographic choice indicates the participation of the monastic community in facilitating the primary purpose of the pilgrimage to Canterbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: arousing the hope of a miraculous cure by St. Thomas.<sup>20</sup>



*Figure 8. Interior of Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. Photo: Author.*

The windows emphasized the importance of faith in St. Thomas, the necessity of visiting his tomb, the need to avoid useless medical (non-spiritual) treatments,<sup>21</sup> and the desirability of offering thanks, gifts, and *ex-votos* at the tomb of the saint.<sup>22</sup> Becket was the spiritual doctor whose cures deserved such recognition, as inscribed in one window, "to the physician prayers and gifts" (Fig. 9 and 10).<sup>23</sup> As the Miracle Windows are set rather low and their images (at least at their base) were large enough for pilgrims to see, the portrayal of miraculous events relating pilgrims (like themselves) no doubt deeply impressed them. These windows showed events within

memory of some early pilgrims, and, more importantly, pictured objects from the Cathedral itself (such as Becket's tomb) reminding the pilgrims that the events shown had actually occurred in the very place they were now standing. The stories and images related directly to the often-desperate hopes of the pilgrims and reassured them that miraculous healing through the intermediary of St. Thomas was possible for all. But the cult did not just promise that the pilgrims might be healed through contemplation of images and stories, it made available to pilgrims the agent through which this healing was made manifest: the blood of St. Thomas Becket.



*Figure 9. Pilgrims giving thanks at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket. The scene depicts the Cure of Richard of Sunieve, window n:II, Trinity Chapel, 1213—1215/20. Note the pilgrims kneeling at the tomb and leaving coins and wax votives. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*



*Figure 10. The Cure of Henry of Fordwich, who kneels at the tomb leaving his bounds as ex votos, window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, 1190—1207. Photo: Author.*

Within a week of Becket's martyrdom<sup>24</sup> in 1170, the first blood miracle occurred. A man dipped his garment in the martyr's blood, diluted it in water<sup>25</sup> and gave it to his paralyzed wife to drink, curing her instantly.<sup>26</sup> Accounts of this extraordinary healing power spread very quickly, and soon sick people were "lying in pain all about the church".<sup>27</sup> The monks of Canterbury were initially reluctant to allow access to the blood,<sup>28</sup> as hitherto, the only blood associated with church practice was the eucharistic wine/blood of Christ.<sup>29</sup> The monks' objections were quickly overcome as a mob broke into the church demanding access to the blood and its healing powers.<sup>30</sup> The monks yielded and provided in a small vial or pilgrim ampulla the first Canterbury Water, water tinged with the blood of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>31</sup>

Canterbury Water and its role in facilitating healing miracles is illustrated throughout the Miracle Windows. To pilgrims in great pain, the monks doled out the Canterbury Water in a bowl or cup, or daubed them with a sponge, smearing the liquid over the pilgrim's limbs (Fig. 11 and 12).<sup>32</sup> Even the windows's inscriptions emphasize the healing agent, *SANGVIS...N AQVA* ("Blood...water").<sup>33</sup>



*Figure 11. Monks mix Canterbury water poured from an ampulla into a bowl and then wash the diseased limb of Petronella with the water. Window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, 1190–1207. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*



*Figure 12. William, priest from London, is cured by drinking the blood mixed with water at the tomb. Window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, 1190–1207. The inscription refers directly to the blood and water. Photo: Author.*

Pilgrims who did not need immediate care themselves could purchase the water in pilgrim vials or ampullae to take home for themselves or for ailing friends and relatives, as seen in window n:II, which shows the miracle of William (son of Jordan Fitz-Eisulf) who was revived by Canterbury Water. William's parents enter the scene wearing outsized ampullae on their necks (Fig. 13),<sup>34</sup> and then raise an ampulla to enable the boy to drink and be cured.<sup>35</sup>

Visiting pilgrims who beheld such windows (and their depiction of ampullae with Canterbury Water) must have sensed the implicit promise of healing facilitated by these pilgrim vials — the ampullae (and their power) that would soon be theirs to own. At an altar near the tomb, pilgrims paid a farthing for the ampullae,<sup>36</sup> whereupon an attendant monk or sacristan would fill the vials from a jug or bowl.<sup>37</sup> As the windows depicted the ampullae, so too did the ampullae correspond to the windows, by imitating their iconography, composition, and inscription. On the reverse side, the picture of Becket, preaching, his martyrdom, and burial completed the stories the pilgrims were told at the holy site. The decoration of the ampullae with images from the stained glass windows reminded pilgrims that they held in their



hands a container filled with a miraculous liquid relic from the martyr Becket. The question arises, why didn't the artisans just illustrate the stories of Becket's miracles? Why did they choose to copy those stories within the context of stained glass? The answer lies in the function of the ampullae as pilgrim souvenirs.



*Figure 13. A father tips up an ampulla filled with Canterbury water for his son to drink. Miracle of William, son of Jordan Fitz-Eisulf, Window n:II, Trinity Chapel, 1213—1215/20. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*

### ***Pilgrim Souvenirs, Power, and Copying***

The ampullae did not just hold the precious liquid, they were decorated very specifically. Their function as souvenirs necessitated that they help the pilgrim recall something of what they had witnessed at the Cathedral. Pilgrim souvenirs were inexpensive mementoes that became sought after objects by the faithful in the Middle Ages. Although, they were composed of base materials such as lead and tin, pilgrims elevated them in popular belief from the mundane to the magical. Miraculous stories transformed these mere mementoes into relics that could cure illness, ensure salvation, and repel evil. They were regarded as endowed with the force of a relic, either because they contained a fragment of holy material or because pilgrims touched their tokens to the reliquaries or shrines, thereby absorbing their curative powers.

At Canterbury during the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, pilgrim ampullae such as those discussed above quickly became *the* popular symbol of a Canterbury pilgrim.<sup>38</sup> Many examples have been found not only in England,<sup>39</sup> but in Ireland,<sup>40</sup> France,<sup>41</sup> the Low Countries, and Scandinavia.<sup>42</sup> Their popularity was derived not only from what they contained, but from how they were decorated.

The earliest pilgrim souvenirs<sup>43</sup> produced for Canterbury Cathedral<sup>44</sup> took their

inspiration from the scallop shell badge from Europe's most popular pilgrimage destination, Santiago de Compostela,<sup>45</sup> creating a scallop shell-shaped ampullae (Fig. 14).<sup>46</sup> By adopting the universal symbol of pilgrimage, even though the shell had nothing to do with Becket, it served as an advertisement of sorts, proclaiming that *this is a pilgrim souvenir*.<sup>47</sup>

By 1200, these early scallop shell vials were superseded by ampullae with openwork penannular frames produced from the late twelfth century through the end of the thirteenth (Fig. 15). It is into this category that the ampullae from the Cluny and Bergen Museums fall. The flat sides were large enough to depict complex episodes from Becket's life, and ampullae have survived with a wide variety of scenes, recalling the life and cult of Becket. The penannular frames were cast with inscriptions such as *OPTIMVS EFRORVM MEDICVS FIT TOMA BONORVM* ("Thomas is the best doctor for the worthy sick").<sup>48</sup> What was chosen to be depicted and inscribed on the wide variety of souvenirs and why was in part determined by their souvenir status.

Souvenirs are generally divided into two types, but the pilgrim ampullae mix them together. One type is a "metonymic sign",<sup>49</sup> where the souvenir is actually part of, or representative of, the whole. By owning a small portion, one symbolically appropriates the whole. For example, a small case of ash from Mount St. Helens, a vial of water from the River Jordan, or, in this case, actual blood from the martyr St. Thomas Becket are all metonymic signs.

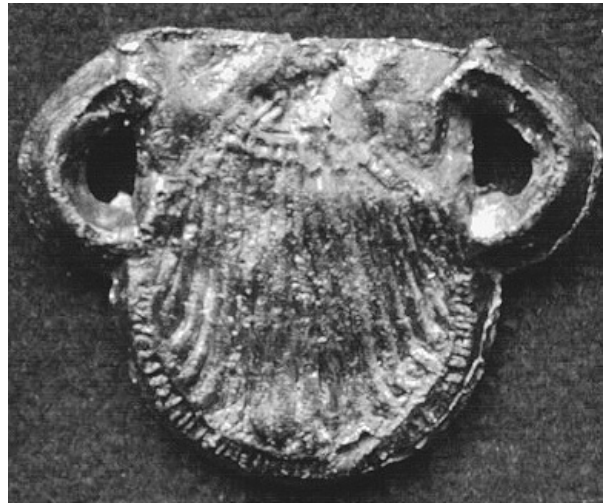


Figure 14. Scallop shell ampulla from Canterbury Cathedral, late twelfth century, Collection of Brian North Lee. Photo: Courtesy of Brian North Lee.



Figure 15. Penannular ampulla from Canterbury Cathedral, thirteenth century, Museum of London. Photo: Courtesy of Museum of London.

The other type of souvenir represented in the pilgrim ampullae is that of a pictorial image, such as a picture postcard or a small image of the Eiffel Tower.<sup>50</sup> This category of souvenir offers a likeness of what the pilgrim witnessed. In some way it must capture the essence of what has been seen and experienced, otherwise it cannot stir memory. An effective pictorial souvenir (such as a souvenir of the Statue of Liberty) must have a passing resemblance to the original.

The Cluny and Bergen ampullae as pilgrim souvenirs copied imagery of part of a stained glass window of Trinity Chapel that pilgrims had actually seen. As mentioned earlier, the visual similarities between these examples are uncanny. However, a quick glance at the ampullae reveals that their makers did not remotely attain the high quality realized by the artisans of stained glass. Despite the obvious differences in their media, molds for metal casting can be carved with precision, but the pilgrim souvenir artisans either did not have the skill to create high quality images, or they did not believe it worth their while as the souvenirs were to be sold inexpensively. On both ampullae, the sketchy figures are schematic; their profiles are composed of triangular noses that emerge from perfectly oval heads, complementing stiff, tubular bodies covered by very simple linear robes. There could be no greater contrast to the willowy figures in twisting poses covered with fluttering drapery featured in the stained glass windows. The saturated colors of the windows also offer a sharp contrast to the plain gray tin of the ampullae, although there is some evidence that many pilgrim souvenirs were originally painted, and that these two ampullae might have once been daubed with bright color, thereby more closely approximating the original windows.<sup>51</sup>

The low quality of the ampullae did not hamper their popularity. Because the pilgrim buyer was already familiar with the original there was no need for these mementoes to be rendered with precision. The images acted in a mnemonic sense, jogging the memory, rather than portraying realistic action.<sup>52</sup> Sketchy representations satisfied the needs of medieval pilgrims, for the memories spurred by the souvenirs completed the inadequate picture of the stained glass given by the ampullae.

Indeed, the reading of images (even for the illiterate) was seen as instructive when the viewers were being reminded of what they already knew. That is, the low quality rendition of the artwork associated with the cult (due to their inexpensive nature) was enough to prompt memory of the context in which the image was originally seen.<sup>53</sup> The pilgrims had heard the stories, seen the stories in glass, and then were reminded once again whenever they looked at their pilgrim souvenir.<sup>54</sup>

The two principal reasons for the similarity between the ampullae and the Trinity Chapel windows, the connection through the cult of Becket and the imitative nature of pilgrim souvenirs, were effective for medieval pilgrims. But the correspondence allows the modern art historian to use them for a very different purpose, to catch a glimpse of a long lost roundel of stained glass from Trinity Chapel.

### *Recalling lost painted glass from the ampullae*

As mentioned earlier, the ampullae appear to borrow the composition of n:III and some of the iconography of n:IV. This strange combination could be because the ampullae makers invented the specific image themselves rather than copying a window, but these are extremely complicated images that would appear to have required a good deal of labor to produce without some kind of profitable reason. The mixture could have originated in the minds of the artisans. Yet, the visual similarity of these images to existing windows is too strong to overlook. Not only are the images close to the windows, the fact that the artisans borrowed stories from the stained glass windows for these ampullae is clear from the inscription which runs around the stabilizing band on the Cluny ampulla.<sup>55</sup> It reads + *EXILITAS OMNIS: OFFERT DOLOR EXCIDIT MONIS: SANA BIBIT \* COMEDIT\* MALVM CV MORTE RECEDIT* ("All weakness and pain is removed, the healed man eats and drinks and evil and death pass away")<sup>56</sup> which is very close to the inscription of the *tituli* seen in window n:IV, that is, *EXILIT A SOMNIS OFFERT DOLOR EXCIDIT OMN[ITV]*.<sup>57</sup> The panel pictures the miraculous cure of Juliana Puintel who suffered from stomach pains (Fig. 16).<sup>58</sup> As was true in Juliana Puintel's story, the inscription on the ampulla has nothing specifically to do with a cure for lameness or stomach pains, but it has everything to do with the general healing power of the saint.



*Figure 16. Cure of Juliana of Puintel, window n:IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, 1190—1207. The inscription above the arch matches the first part of the inscription on the Cluny ampulla (Fig. 1). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*

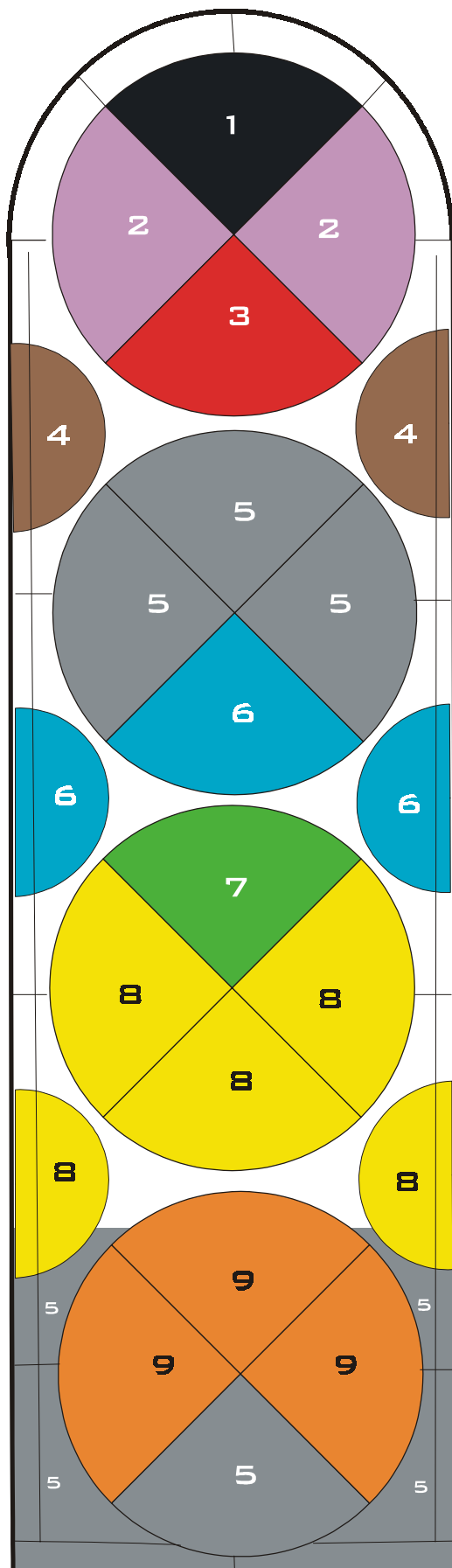
Whatever the relationship of the two ampullae to the Miracle Windows, it is obvious that they are copying *SOMETHING* independent of themselves. At first glance, the ampullae appear identical, but they are not. Upon close examination, it is evident that the ampullae were cast from two different molds, and the differences in their



details are distinct.<sup>59</sup> This suggests that at least two production lines of ampullae were created and sold, but in essence they picture the same image — a portion of a stained glass window. But which window? The complication lies in that this comparison is to windows that have survived through accidents of time.

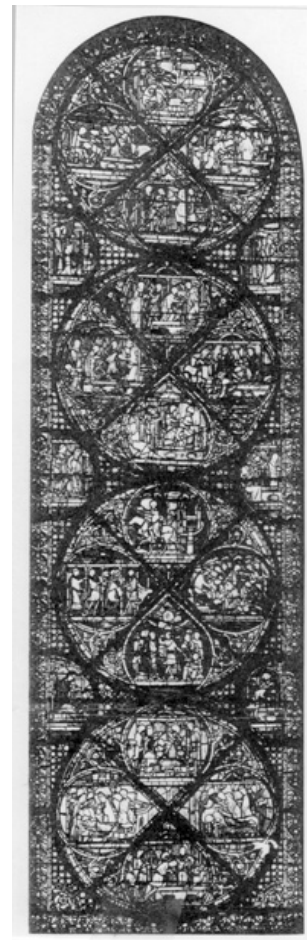
Over the centuries, many stained glass windows at Canterbury Cathedral were haphazardly destroyed. In the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Canterbury and the cult of Becket was an especially hated target of King Henry VIII,<sup>60</sup> who ordered the destruction of all images and mention of Becket.<sup>61</sup> In 1538 worship of Becket at Canterbury Cathedral ended abruptly when the shrine and various works of art associated with Becket were destroyed. Although the shrines and reliquaries were systematically destroyed, the stained glass windows celebrating Becket were more haphazardly dealt with, only some windows being smashed, although later iconoclasts, such as Puritan preacher Richard Culmer, targeted stained glass images of Becket in full pontificals.<sup>62</sup> Of the original twelve miracle windows in Trinity Chapel, only seven remain, and many of these are in a fragmentary state. The ten Miracle Windows originally contained over two hundred different scenes, but only forty-two survive. The lowest panels in every window in Trinity chapel were destroyed.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, it is quite likely that the pilgrim ampullae reflect a portion of a window that no longer survives.

I believe the missing window shown in the ampullae once graced window n:III. Yet, there is no gaping hole in the present day window; every pane of window n:III today is filled with colorful images. However, an examination of a number of nineteenth-century watercolors and lithographs reveals that the lowest roundel of this window was filled with clear glass before the twentieth century.<sup>64</sup> Today's window n:III is made up of  $\frac{3}{4}$  ancient glass and  $\frac{1}{4}$  modern replacements. The original placement of the ancient glass within the armature is not certain, because the window has undergone numerous reconstructions over the years.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, by examining each pane of the remaining glass, it is evident that four major figurative panels (equaling one roundel) and a number of border decoration panels of n:III are not medieval (Fig. 17).<sup>66</sup> The modern panes (following the numbering of the Corpus Vitrearum) are: number 4 which forms the bottom petal of the lowest circle, and 30, 31, and 33 which compose the top three-quarters of the circle second from the top. Thus, one roundel was completely destroyed and has been replaced by modern glass. It is probable that this roundel composed the bottom quarter of the window, as shown in the nineteenth century images — indeed its low placement would have made it most accessible to iconoclasts. I suggest that this missing roundel from window n:III is mirrored in the two pilgrim ampullae.

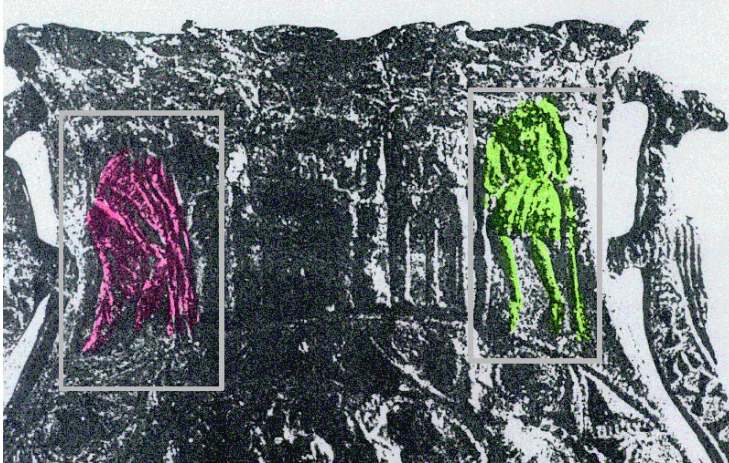


- |          |                             |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| <b>1</b> | <b>BECKET AT THE SHRINE</b> |
| <b>2</b> | <b>ROGER OF VALOGNES</b>    |
| <b>3</b> | <b>GODWIN OF BOXGROVE</b>   |
| <b>4</b> | <b>CURE OF DROPSY</b>       |
| <b>5</b> | <b>MODERN REPLACEMENTS</b>  |
| <b>6</b> | <b>GODBOLD OF BOXLEY</b>    |
| <b>7</b> | <b>CURE OF LEPROSY</b>      |
| <b>8</b> | <b>EILWARD OF WESTONING</b> |
| <b>9</b> | <b>HUGH OF JERVAUX</b>      |

*Picture 17. Window n:III, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, and a diagram of it showing modern and medieval glass. Note that the modern glass fills an entire roundel.*



The visual connection of the ampullae to the missing roundel is strengthened by the images on the vials' necks. While the neck is too damaged for reconstruction on the Bergen example, the Cluny example retains some recognizable pictures. On top of the roundel, two crippled pilgrims (one on either side) approach an architectural structure (Fig. 18). They are bent over and lean on canes for support. Judging by their clothing, a woman approaches on the left, while a man steps in on the right.



*Figure 18. Detail of the top the Canterbury ampulla from Cluny. Crippled pilgrims approach the Cathedral. Photo: Author.*

The placement of these figures corresponds to the composition of window n:III, where two-half circles (above each roundel) illustrate culminating cures or introduce new healing stories (Fig. 19 and 20). The two half circles whose imagery most closely resembles that of the ampullae (with figures approaching central architectural structures) show a cure for dropsy and the healing of the daughters of Godbold of Boxley. The architecture in both the windows and the ampullae are ambiguous pillared structures that could refer either to Canterbury or to Becket's new shrine dedicated in 1220.<sup>67</sup>



*Figure 19. Daughters of Godbold of Boxley. Detail of window n:III, Trinity Chapel, 1213–1215/20. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*



*Figure 20. Cure for Dropsy. Detail of window n:III, Trinity Chapel, 1213–1215/20. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.*

Despite the similarity of the neck of the ampullae to the glass half-circles, they are not copies of any surviving glass panels and, unlike the roundel sections, there are no known missing sections of this type from window n:III. The small space at the top of the ampulla may have necessitated such an abbreviated scene. As the miracle shown concerned lameness, two universal images (one of each gender) could have promised healing to whoever purchased the ampulla. Another possibility is that this imagery was chosen from a different window than n:III, perhaps another destroyed panel.

Determining which story of the saint's healing power the ampullae depict is difficult.<sup>68</sup> As it is, seventeen of the stories pictured on the surviving windows have not been identified because they delineate common ailments, such as lameness or scenes of pilgrims giving thanks at Becket's tomb, accounts of which occur repeatedly throughout the miracle stories.<sup>69</sup> Originally all the window panes were labeled in Latin, but as some labels have been carelessly moved, and others lost, they cannot always be used as reliable identifiers. And, as the inscription on the ampullae is used in another window, that, too, is of little help.

Undisputed identification of the scenes depicted is attempted with some trepidation, for it is not certain whether the entire roundel illustrates one single story or whether each petal shows a separate miracle. Brian Spencer proposes that the top petal where Becket appears to a man lying on a bed, shows the tale of Robert of Lilford who was attacked and wounded by bandits. A vision of St. Thomas appeared before him in white vestments saying: "Pour my water onto your wounds". A Canterbury pilgrim then stepped forward and placed a drop of Canterbury Water on the wounds which began to heal immediately. If the petals indeed show separate stories, Spencer's suggestion may be a possible interpretation, as it is similar to the panel 57 from window n:IV, identified as showing the story of Robert of Lilford by Madeline Caviness, but it is not an exact copy.<sup>70</sup> However, it is difficult to tell because the image of Becket appearing over an ill figure in bed appears often in the miracle windows.

If the images from the entire roundel are taken as a whole, as many of the roundels in n:III are  $\frac{3}{4}$  filled with a single story, the tale that fits most closely is that of Griffin, a Welshman, whose right leg was afflicted. In seeking a cure, he first visited a shrine at Whitechurch. There he witnessed a vision of Becket, who directed him to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury. Upon visiting Canterbury, his cure was complete and he gave thanks.<sup>71</sup> Yet, as complete as this story is, it does not account for all of the elements illustrated on the ampullae, such as the monks holding up a book.

### ***Problems of Reconstruction***

One must consider if this is a fool's errand. Is it possible to recreate a portion of a large stained glass window from a pair of small metal souvenirs? Using copies to divine the nature of originals is a long-standing art historical tradition. For example, the development of ancient Greek sculptural style is often defined through Roman



copies, and lost paintings are customarily viewed through reproductive prints. While a good souvenir needs to look something like its original, artisans often embellished or changed their version of the original for a variety of reasons. Often, the pictorial depictions which remain are quite contradictory in what they purport to show. Like written descriptions, pictorial depictions need to be examined as to who made them and why, and cannot be viewed as untouched photographs from the past. The purposes for which they were created caused the artisans to change certain images to fit within the smaller space, the different media, or to make their point. Still, one cannot dismiss them as wholly unreliable, for the artisans were trying to convey something of the original — and often these pictorial copies are all that remain of major artistic monuments. By examining a whole array of materials, visual and textual, a reasonable likeness of a lost object may be realized.

Yet, imitation and copying in the earlier Middle Ages seem to have been done on a less precise basis than modern-day viewers expect. That is, while we look for a circle in a precise copy of a circle, during the medieval period an octagonal shape did the job just as well.<sup>72</sup> What is emphasized in medieval discussions of imitation is not shape, but the number of elements making up the shape's parts and their measurements.<sup>73</sup> Richard Krautheimer points out that in architecture, medieval symbolism was composed of structures which were connected by vague connotations to symbolic ideas, thus allowing a variety of interpretations from one copyist to another.<sup>74</sup> The symbolic connotations (whether in shape or number) were believed by some to be ever-present, and their physical manifestations spoke to inner feelings and convictions. Therefore, modern researchers should not apply the same strict modern standards of imitation to medieval copies. Architectural imitations never copied the model *in toto*, rather they reproduced select elements.<sup>75</sup> Even the elements copied are casually rearranged, so that the direct relationship of the model to the original is often difficult to divine. One could also add new elements to one's "copy".<sup>76</sup> Thus, in the duplication, the original is broken into single elements and redone. A few conspicuous features were all it took to identify the original. Other than those, the artisans were free to add any other element they chose.<sup>77</sup> Then, the pilgrim souvenirs may not be absolutely reliable copies in modern-day terms, but they would have easily sufficed in the early thirteenth century because the artisans captured the distinguishing characteristics of the windows even if they did not faithfully record every detail.

Moreover, the souvenir is a very special kind of object produced to recall and confirm a special moment. In medieval times, leaving home and traveling great distances where strangers and strange sights abounded, represented an extraordinary experience. Recognizing that this liminal state could not last, many pilgrims wanted to retain some tangible reminder of that phenomenal adventure.<sup>78</sup> A shell, rock, sketch, or purchased souvenir could serve that purpose. These souvenirs represented the memory of a rite of passage or of a heightened experience.<sup>79</sup> They allowed people to momentarily grasp and, perhaps, re-live the now-past event, a reminder that they had indeed seen and experienced the *real* thing. The souvenirs prompted memories which could be summoned again and again, recalling to mind both what one envisioned as occurring and what one actually saw.

By taking the image of a portion of a large-scale stained glass window out of its usual context and reproducing it on a pilgrim souvenir, the artisan slightly changed the image's original meaning and function. The effect is that the power of the cult of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral has been cut down to size — a very manageable and useful size. By taking the image away from the Cathedral, one could turn to it for personal inspiration through prayer or for succor wherever one lived or traveled. Sometimes pilgrims would share the bounty found inside and outside the pilgrim ampullae with their community, giving others who had not yet journeyed to Canterbury a glimpse of what they would find,<sup>80</sup> for the copy promised the same intercession of St. Thomas Becket as the original at Canterbury Cathedral. As the original fine object is gone, so the art historian must turn to objects that were not worth destroying, objects preserved by their intrinsic worthlessness, to reveal many centuries later the awe and hope experienced by the Canterbury pilgrim.

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### Notes

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<sup>1</sup> This similarity has been noted briefly by both scholars of pilgrim souvenirs and stained glass windows. Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London: The Stationery Office, 1998), p. 51, writes that the images are comparable to pictures at the top of the Canterbury Window north:III (c. 1190—1207), especially the depictions of the tomb with its oval openings.

Madeline Caviness, "Beyond the *Corpus Vitrearum*: Stained Glass at the Crossroads", *Soixante-douzième session annuelle du Comité, Bruxelles, du 21 au 27 juin 1998, Union Académique Internationale* (Bruxelle: Palais des Académies, 1998), pp. 20—21, notes that the inscription used in thirteenth century Canterbury windows appears on a pilgrim ampulla, "cementing the relationship between miniature and monumental shrine". The inscription found on the ampulla copies half of the Trinity Chapel inscription. It is a memento of the Becket windows, as evidenced by the tiny scenes of miracles at the tomb set into a composition used by a window set near the shrine.

The visual resemblance of the ampullae to window n:III and the close match of the inscription of window n:IV was also noted by me in my dissertation, Sarah Blick, *A Canterbury Keepsake: English Medieval Pilgrim Souvenirs and Popular Culture* (University of Kansas, 1994), pp. 166—169.

<sup>2</sup> For a general overview of pilgrim souvenirs see: Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London: The Stationery Office, 1998); Brian Spencer, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges", in (ed.) J.G.N. Renaud, *Rotterdam Papers: A Contribution to Medieval Archaeology* (Rotterdam, 1968), pp. 137—153; Kurt Köster, "Pilgrim Souvenirs", in Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and G. Möhler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen: Themen zu einer Ausstellung*

*des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins* (Munich, 1984); H.J.E. Van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij, *Heilig En Profaan: 1000 Laat-Middeleeuwse Insignes uit de Collectie H.J.E. Van Beuningen* (Rotterdam: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profane Insignes, 1993); Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes, Musée du Moyen Age Thermes de Cluny* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996); and my dissertation, Sarah Blick, *A Canterbury Keepsake: English Medieval Pilgrim Souvenirs and Popular Culture* (University of Kansas, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> The dating of the ampullae was proposed by Brian Spencer, "The Ampullae from Cuckoo Lane", in Colin Platt & H. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969*, vol. II (Leicester, 1975), p. 245; Brian Spencer, "Pilgrim Souvenirs", in (eds.) Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, (London: Royal Academy of the Arts, 1987), pp. 219—220.

The ampulla in the Musée de Cluny, Paris (no. 13063), given in 1909, was originally in the Victor Gay Collection. It measures 9.7 x 8 cm. Victor Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique du Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, Vol. I (Paris: Librairie de la Société Bibliographique, 1887), pp. 30—31; Brian Spencer (1975), pp. 245—246; Brian Spencer, "Pilgrim Souvenirs" in J. Alexander & P. Binski (eds.), *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200—1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), p. 219, fig. 43; Alain Erlande-Brandenberg and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, Davy Sandron, *Musée nationale au Moyen Age* (Paris: Thermes de Cluny, 1993), p. 43; Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes* (Paris: Musée National du Moyen Âge, Musée de Cluny, 1996), pp. 209—211.

The ampulla in the Historical Museum in Bergen, Norway (Inventory number 95070) was discovered in excavations of the Hanseatic Wharf. It measures H 9.5 cm W 6.7 cm. A.E. Herteig, *Kongers havn og handels sete: fra de arkeologiske undersøkelser på Bryggen i Bergen 1955—68* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 208-209; *Handbook to Bryggens Museum Bergen* (Bergen, 1978), fig. 27; Spencer (1987), p. 219, fig. 43; *Die Hanse: Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos* (Hamburg: Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1989), vol. 2, p. 154, catalogue no. 8.30; Bruna (1996), pp. 209—211.

Second only to St. Olaf in veneration in Norwegian churches, St. Thomas Becket was celebrated through literature and artwork. See Lillie Gjerløw, *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi* II, (Oslo, 1968), pp. 162—163, 166, 168—171; A. Duggan, "The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century", in M. Jancey (ed.), *St. Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Hereford, 1982), pp. 24—25; Tancred Borenius, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1932), p. 20, 76. A pilgrim bringing back an ampulla from the actual site of Becket's tomb must have been held in high esteem.

<sup>4</sup> Madeline Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral c. 1175—1220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> The ampullae probably date to a few years after the completion of these windows. The windows in this discussion, n:III and n:IV, were both designed by the Fitz-Eisulf Master, whose style consisted of flat symmetrical architecture and wiry, active figures. Caviness (1977), p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> Other Canterbury ampullae were also decorated with four roundels interspersed with curling "stamens". One example, now in the Museum of London (VRY89 [V666]), illustrates a half figure of Becket surmounting the roundels, giving his blessing. Brian Spencer (1998), pp. 50—51, catalogue 7a.

<sup>7</sup> William D. Wixom, "In quinto scrinio de Cupro, A Copper Reliquary Chest Attributed to Canterbury: Style, Iconography, and Patronage", from (ed.) Elizabeth C. Parker, *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 200-202, discusses the vine tendrils and palmettes as characteristic of a Canterbury style as seen in metalwork, seal bags, sculpture, and stained glass such as window n:III.

<sup>8</sup> Scenes in window n:III juxtaposed images of the futility of secular medicine with the effective intervention through the blood of Becket. Caviness (1977), p. 149, notes that this creates a typological arrangement. It would have made the choice of this scene for the ampullae even more effective.

<sup>9</sup> Medieval tomb shrines characteristically contained a metal reliquary which in turn was encased in a stone sepulcher. This was surrounded with a hollow stone shell which was pierced with holes. This allowed the pilgrims to touch the stone surrounding the reliquary without actually damaging the reliquary or the relics it contained. A surviving example of this tomb type is the base of a shrine to St. Osmund in Salisbury Cathedral. Daphne Stroud, "The Cult and Tombs of St. Osmund at Salisbury", *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 50—54. The tomb in these windows is consistently portrayed as a rectangular slab with two elliptical holes on its side.

<sup>10</sup> A similar iconographic image can be found in a later stained glass image of a pilgrim offering a large wax leg ex-voto at the shrine of St. William in the St. William window in York Minster (window n:7), c. 1422—1425. Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London: Scala Publishers, Ltd. in association with the Dean and Chapter of York, 1999), p. 76, figure 82.

<sup>11</sup> Benedict, *Materials* vol. I, p. xxviii; E. Walberg, *La Hagiographie de Saint Thomas Becket avant la fin du XII siècle* (Paris, 1929), pp. 59—60.

<sup>12</sup> By the thirteenth century each of these sites had an altar which received pilgrim offerings. Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 147—154; C. Eveleigh Woodruff, "The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury as Revealed by a Study of the Monastic Records", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 44 (1932), pp. 13—32; Nicola Coldstream, "English Decorated Shrine Bases", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, XXXIX (1976), p. 28, fn. 99; J. Morris, *The Relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1888), pp. 7—10; Stanley (1904), pp. 259—272. A contemporary description of some of these shrines can be found in J.G. Nichol's, *Erasmus' Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury* (London, 1875).

<sup>13</sup> A short contemporary account the translation of the relics to the shrine was recorded by Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, vol. ii, p. 112 and by Matthew Paris, in (ed.) Frederic Madden, *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum, Sive, ut Volgo Dicitur, Historia Minor. Item Rjusdem Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliae*, vol. ii (London: Longmans, Rolls Series, vol. 44, 1866), pp. 241—242. For further information on the path the pilgrims took, see M.F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket", *Art Bulletin* 76, pp. 44—45, fig. 38.

<sup>14</sup> Trinity Chapel was originally called the Chapel of St. Thomas, but was renamed after the destruction of the shrine by the order of King Henry VIII. Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, pp. 51—52. The window program, including Trinity Chapel, at Canterbury Cathedral was paramount, for unlike other major cathedrals, it lacked a prominent sculptural program on the west façade.

<sup>15</sup> Caviness, (1977), p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> Only seven of these survive, and they are in fragmentary condition. These are Windows n:II, III, IV, V, s:VI and VII. The top two panels of Window s:II may also be original. See Caviness (1977), p. 105; Madeline Caviness, "A Panel of Thirteenth Century Stained Glass from Canterbury in America", *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. XIV (1965), pp. 192—199.

<sup>17</sup> These windows emphasized the central role of St. Thomas Becket in the impressive encyclopedia of Biblical and ecclesiastical history that comprised Canterbury Cathedral's stained glass program.

<sup>18</sup> He was later appointed prior of Peterborough.

<sup>19</sup> Of the surviving windows, more of Benedict's stories are shown, for his writings were read aloud to pilgrims in the chapter house. See James Craigie Robinson (ed.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, Longmans & Co., Rolls Series No. 67, 1875), vol. I, pp. xxvii—xxviii, 137—138; Caviness, (1977), p. 146.

<sup>20</sup> R.C. Finucane discusses the medieval recognition of the states of health and illness in "The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles", *History* vol. 60, no. 198 (February, 1975), pp. 1—10.

<sup>21</sup> While physicians of all types practiced at the time, their effectiveness was extremely limited. Carole Rawcliffe, "Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Medieval London", *Guildhall Studies in London History*, vol. 5 (1981), pp. 12—25; Robert S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).



<sup>22</sup> Caviness, (1977), p. 144. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and L. Hansmann, *Ex-Voto: Zeichen Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich: Freiburg: Atlantis-Verlag, 1972) and Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1988). Medieval ex-votos were discovered in Exeter Cathedral in 1943, U.M. Radford, "The Wax Images Found in Exeter Cathedral", *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. XXIX, Nos. 3—4 (July—October 1949), pp. 164—168.

The active involvement of the monastery at Canterbury with this aspect of worship is illustrated in a miracle of a pilgrim named Cecilia who bought a pound of wax near the martyr's tomb. Taking the wax, she fashioned seven candles, one each for her, her husband and five of their six sick animals. Seeing her lay them out on the bed, her husband lamented that there was not enough for another candle so that all could be covered by Thomas' blessing. They left and upon their return they found an eighth! William of Canterbury, *Materials*, I, p. 311.

Both Benedict and William also mention *ex-votos* hung around the tomb. See Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, p. 105, 141, 201 and William, *Materials*, vol. I, p. 424. In addition, there is a Wax Chamber that was built between 1179 and 1181 at the east end of the presbytery concomitant with the raised floor level of William the Englishman's Trinity Chapel which was probably used to house the enormous number of candles (and perhaps *ex-votos*) used to light the shrine. Hearn, pp. 31—33.

<sup>23</sup> *MEDICE PRECES ET MUNERA* in Window s:II, translated by Caviness (1977), p. 149.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered in 1170 by four knights trying to please King Henry II. He aroused the King's ire by supporting the Church's power over that of the Crown in judicial and other matters. Becket was canonized on February 21, 1173, at Segni, a little over two years after his murder and the pilgrimage cult devoted to him became the most important in England during the Middle Ages. Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> The miracle stories are unclear as to how the blood was accessible after Becket had been buried and his remains had been cleaned off the pavement. The monks probably tried to save as much as they could in the belief that they might become relics. A later story of Becket's martyrdom relates that the marble flagstones grew soft and formed cups to hold the blood so that it could be more easily preserved. (ed.) Erikr Magnússon, *Thómas Saga Erikibyskups: A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Icelandic* (London: Longmans & Co., 1883), vol. I, p. 551; Paul Alonzo Brown, *The Development of the Legend of St. Thomas Becket* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> William Fitzstephen, *Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris, auctor Willelmo Filio Stephani* printed in (ed.) James Craigie Robertson, *Materials for the Study of Thomas Becket* (London: Longmans & Co., 1875—1885), Rolls Series, vol iii, passage 147, p. 146. He notes that this incident was the beginning of cures wrought by Becket's blood.

<sup>27</sup> "...per totam ecclesiam laborantibus" according to Benedict, the keeper of the tomb, in Robertson, *Materials*, no. 67, vol. ii, p. 47. Edwin Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury: His Death and Miracles* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898), p. 260, fn. 6.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the monks' concerns see Barlow, pp. 264—267. Leviticus 3:17 prohibits people from imbibing blood. There was also a proclamation issued by the royal officials, stating that Becket should not be honored as a martyr and that anyone coming as a pilgrim should be punished immediately or led away to prison in chains. Barlow, p. 265.

<sup>29</sup> To be able to partake of any holy blood would have greatly affected many pilgrims, who, at that time, were normally forbidden to partake in the eucharistic ceremony. Caviness (1977), p. 149, figs. 159, 208, notes the relationship of the blood to the eucharist in stained glass windows where the monks stand behind the tomb on which candles are placed. The laity approach, fall on their knees, and are given a cup to drink from.

Window n:IV pictures Ethelreda of Canterbury and Window n:II shows Juliana of Rochester being presented the Canterbury Water in a bowl-like cup. However, there are also instances where the Canterbury Water is used in a manner very different from the eucharist, such as when the monks dip sponges in a bowl and daub the feet of Petronella (Window n:IV).

<sup>30</sup> Barlow, p. 266.

<sup>31</sup> Benedict in *Materials*, vol. ii, Book I, p. 42. Gervase of Canterbury also commented on the dilution of the blood with water "so that it might last longer and not be given too freely to the unworthy", *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I or Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica* (ed.) Williams Stubbs, Rolls Series (London: Longmans & Co., vol. 73, 1879). Translation by Brian Spencer (1975), p. 242.

There existed a self-awareness of the role the ampullae played in propagating the blood cult of Becket. Fitz Stephen, a biographer of Becket, mentions seeing several pewter ampullae with the inscription *FERTUR IN AMPULLIS AQUA THOMAE SANGUINE MIXTA* ("The water mixed with Thomas' blood is taken away in ampullae" or "The blood of Thomas mixed with water is contained within this ampulla"). See *Materials*, vol. iii, p. 150 and Spencer (1975), p. 245.

<sup>32</sup> As seen in Window n:IV. The sponge and bowl manner of dispensing Canterbury Water is seen in two of the miracle scenes in two windows. Window n:IV shows Ethelreda of Canterbury receiving the Canterbury water from a bowl held by a monk at the tomb of St. Thomas. Window n:II shows Juliana of Rochester being cured at the tomb by a monk who holds a bowl of Canterbury water in his left hand and sponges Juliana's face with his right hand. The Cure of Petronella (n:IV) pictures the contents of an ampulla first poured into a bowl and then sponged on the feet of Petronella. Caviness (1981), p. 182, fig. 257.

<sup>33</sup> Other examples of monks mixing the Canterbury water with a bowl and spoon and using sponges can be seen in: window n:III showing the Cure of Roger Valognes (William, *Materials*, vol. I, Book VI, p.538) who was crippled and was cured by bathing his limbs in Canterbury water. The young man has his foot immersed, while attendants behind the tomb bring more water. The inscription accompanying the scene reads *+DETVMET IN VOTO LAVACRO ... SANGVIN ...* (as A.J. Mason has reconstructed *detumet in voto lavacro, [prece], sanguine [poto]*) "As he makes his vow, washes, prays, and drinks blood, the swelling goes down". A.J. Mason, *Guide to the Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury, 1925); Caviness (1981), p. 187.

Another example is window n:II, where in the Cure of Juliana of Rochester, (Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, Book IV, chapter xxx, p. 204) her face is sponged with the blood from a bowl held by a monk, and the Cure of Richard Sunieve (Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, Book IV, chap. lxxvi, pp. 245—247) where the monk stirs a bowl of Canterbury Water with a spoon.

<sup>34</sup> These vessels are called flasks in Caviness (1981), p. 198, plate 142, fig. 313—313a. The flasks can be identified as ampullae because they hang on a cord (characteristic of ampullae rather than table vessels) around the parents' necks. Their inflated size was probably designed to suggest the importance of the vials which held Canterbury water and to make them easily visible.

<sup>35</sup> Ampullae and their role in healing miracles can be seen in stained glass windows n. III, 9 where in the Cure of Hugh of Jervaux (Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, Book III, chapter lx, pp. 159—160). Here, Hugh sits up in bed and drinks from an ampulla and the inscription reads *SPES DESPERANTI SVPEREST IN SANGVINE SANCTI [IME]* ("Hope remains for the hopeless in the blood of the saint"); in window n:IV, in the Cure of Petronella, monks pour Canterbury water from ampulla into bowl with an inscription over the scene referring to the water *NT AQUA M.I COP D.P ... N*; also in n:IV, 8 in the Cure of Ethelreda we see a monk raise an ampulla, while another mixes the Canterbury water in a bowl, and the inscription in a different medallion (n:IV, 7) of the same miracle states *ARVITE X AN GV S. REDIT HVAST O SANGVINE SANGVIS* ("Supplying [s]angu[i]s in the first part: she was dried up, bloodless; when the blood [of the saint] had been imbibed, her blood came back"). All translations are by Caviness (1981).

There are two other images of ampulla, but both were extensively restored in the nineteenth century. The first, in window n:IV, 1, shows a man pouring Canterbury water from an ampulla into a bowl. The second in window n:V, 14, illustrates pilgrims lining up at a well to receive ampulla filled with the sacred water. The latter window is illustrated in Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury: Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1949), p. 1, 33b.

<sup>36</sup> It is a matter of conjecture where the pilgrims received their ampullae — whether it was inside or outside of the cathedral, and if it was inside, exactly where it would occur. The Well of St. Thomas

where the remains of Becket were supposedly swept is not mentioned in accounts until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it became a popular site for pilgrim visits.

<sup>37</sup> Barlow, p. 267. There is some consensus in both primary and secondary sources that the pilgrims received the Canterbury Water somewhere near the tomb. For example, a woman stricken with ague (malaria) begged the sacristan for a drop of blood, which he mixed with water for her to drink, causing her to be cured. See Magnusson, *Saga*, volume II, pp. 72—73. J. Charles Wall, *The Four Shrines of St. Thomas at Canterbury* (London: Talbot & Company, 1932), p. 14, states that "[f]rom the Tomb of St. Thomas the pilgrims went further eastwards to the Well of St. Thomas, the water from which was tinged with his blood [...] Of this water the ailing drank and pilgrims departed with ampulla filled with the precious liquid." Barlow, p. 267, agrees with this, noting that the attendant monk or sacristan would fill the ampullae purchased from an altar near the tomb.

<sup>38</sup> Geraldus de Cambrensis, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, printed in J.S. Brewer (ed.) (London: Longmans & Co., Rolls Series, vol. 21, 1861), vol. I, p. 53.

*Episcopus autem videns ipsum intrantem, cujus notitiam satis habuerat, et socios suos cum signaculis B. Thomae a collo suspensis...*

*But the bishop, seeing him entering, of whom he had sufficient knowledge, and with his companions having the signs of Becket Thomas hanging from around their necks ...*

Pilgrim souvenirs were sold at Canterbury for over three hundred years, from 1171 until the 1530's. No other shrine in England or Europe matched Canterbury's production of pilgrim souvenirs in terms of variety, quantity, and quality.

<sup>39</sup> From 1975 to 1985 more than 83 Canterbury ampullae were recovered from England and other countries. Brian Spencer, "Pilgrim Souvenirs", in (ed.) P.F. Wallace, *Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962—81: Miscellanea I* (Fascicle 5, 1988), p. 36. Even in the nineteenth century it was recognized that "the greatest number of signs that have been found from any one shrine are of St. Thomas". J. Charles Wall, "Pilgrims' Signs", *The Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. I (1893), p. 239.

Most of the pilgrim souvenirs were made of tin or pewter which were mined commercially in Britain. Ronald F. Homer, "Tin, Lead and Pewter" (chapter four) in (eds.) John Blair and Nigel Ramsey, *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> Spencer (1988), pp. 35—40.

<sup>41</sup> Bruna (1996), pp. 209—211; Erlande-Brandenberg *et al*, p. 43; Arthur Forgeais, *Collection de Plombs Historiés Trouvés dans la Seine: Enseignes de Pelerinages*, (Paris: Imprimé Chez Boucquin, 1862), pp. 100-105.

<sup>42</sup> H.J.E. Van Beuningen and A.M. Koldewij (1993), pp. 198—199; Monica Rydbeck, "Thomas Becket's Ampuller", *Fornvännen*, vol. V—VI (1964), pp. 236—248.

<sup>43</sup> Records of the earliest souvenirs at Canterbury indicate they were ampullae made of wood and clay; of these, none survive. Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, p. 52, 131. Prone to breakage, these vessels were replaced by tin vials.

*... the Saint [Thomas Becket] played so many freaks [tricks] with his devotees by causing all manner of strange cracks, leaks, and breakings in these pots that a young plumber of Canterbury conceived the bold design of checking the inconvenience by making leaden or tin bottles instead.*

Benedict, *Materials*, vol. ii, p. 131. Translation by James Craigie Robinson, *Materials*, vol. ii, p. xxxi.

<sup>44</sup> Unlike many European shrines, primary documents concerning Canterbury pilgrim souvenir production and public reception are rare. This is, perhaps, because their production was not under the control of the church in Canterbury, where the majority of documents survive. Only brief statements occur in documents such as miracle stories and rent rolls connected with the Cathedral. One artisan was referred to as an "ampoller" (maker of ampullae?). William Urry, *Canterbury Under the Avengin Kings* (University of London: The Athelone Press, 1967), p. 123; Spencer (1974), p. 114, both of whom cite Rental Survey D compiled c. 1200, Register H, Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Archives, D 144, 155.

<sup>45</sup> Much has been written on the scallop shell pilgrim badge at Santiago de Compostela. The most important scholarly study is Kurt Köster's, *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiago-Strassen: Saint Léonard - Rocamadour - Saint Gilles - Santiago de Compostela. Schleswiger Funde und Gesamtüberlieferung* (Neumünster: Ausgrabungen in Schleswig, Berichte und Studien 2, 1983) which has an extensive bibliography. George Bellew, *The Scallop. Studies of a Shell and its Influences on Humankind* (London: Shell Petroleum, 1957), pp. 89—104. A.M. Koldeweij, "Pilgrim Badges Painted in Manuscripts: A North Netherlandish Example", in eds. Koert van der Horst and Johann-Christian Klamt, *Masters and Miniatures* (Utrecht: Davaco Publishers, 1991), pp. 211—218; Spencer (1998), pp. 244—248.

<sup>46</sup> For information on the adoption of the scallop shell image on pilgrim souvenirs from Canterbury, see Brian Spencer (1998), pp. 40—41, 43; Brian Spencer, "The Lead Ampulla", *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. 25 (1974), pp. 113—115; and by the same author, "A Scallop-Shell Ampulla from Caistor and Comparable Pilgrim Souvenirs", *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, vol. I, no. 6 (1971), pp. 62—65; and Spencer (1998), pp. 40—41, 43; Susan Barker, "A Collection of Pilgrim Signs and Other Badges in the Bristol City Museum", *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, vol. XCV (1977), pp. 47—50.

Canterbury was not the only pilgrimage shrine to copy the shell form. Mont-St. Michel adopted it for its pilgrim badges in the thirteenth century. Ampulla in the shape of a shell became a widespread form in England and in Europe, but Canterbury was one of the first to adopt it. Colette Lamy-Lassalle, "Les Enseignes de Pèlerinage du Mont Saint-Michel", *Maligner Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, volume III, (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1971) pp. 271—286, plates XXIV—XXXI; Kurt Köster, "Les Coquilles et Enseignes de Pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et des Routes de Saint-Jacques en Occident", and Brian Spencer catalogue entries in *Santiago de Compostela: 1000 Ans de Pèlerinage Européen* (Gand: Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur, 1985), pp. 85—95 and 291—319.

<sup>47</sup> By the end of 1171 production of Canterbury ampullae began. By 1177, the souvenirs were so common that "old" ampullae were being melted down. William, *Materials*, volume I, pp. 464—465, tells of Austin of London who tried (in vain) to melt an ampulla which once held Canterbury Water. Its miraculous properties resisted such melting.

*Fundebat Augustinus quidam, civis Londoniensis, artis fusoriae peritus, veteres ampulla, ut ex confusis novas effigiaret...*

*An [interesting] thing was discovered by Austin, a citizen of London, experienced in the molten arts, using old ampullas, so that from mixing he makes new ones...*

Translation by Brian Spencer, "The Lead Ampulla from Toppings Wharf, Southwark", *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, volume 25 (1974), p. 113. The copying of the Santiago scallop shell by Canterbury artisans could also have been chosen for its ease of reproduction.

<sup>48</sup> Spencer, (1975), p. 246, note 27, writes that this inscription occurs on a number of other, later ampullae (sometimes in an abbreviated form). He notes that slogans of this type survived beyond the thirteenth century, appearing in a window depicting sick pilgrims at St. Thomas's shrine in a fifteenth-century window at Nettlestead Church, Kent. See also "On a Fragment of Glass in Nettlestead Church", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 6 (1866), pp. 128—134.

<sup>49</sup> Gordon, p. 139; Edmund R. Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by Which Symbols are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Gordon, p. 140.

<sup>51</sup> This assumption is based on the occasional find of pilgrim souvenirs with remains of pigment. For example, traces of vermilion color were discovered on a large, ornate fourteenth century pilgrim badge of the Our Lady of Undercroft Shrine at Canterbury, when the tightly balled-up object was carefully unfolded. Geoff Egan "Finds Recovery on Riverside Sites in the City of London", *Popular Archaeology*, vol. 6, no. 14 (1986), pp. 47—48. Most souvenirs, though, retain no color, as they are for the most part discovered in rivers, which have washed away their pigments.



Other Canterbury ampullae also make reference to stained glass windows, but because the panels of their window-like armatures, presumably once-painted are blank, it is difficult to tell whether they really were meant to copy a specific window. Spencer (1998) p. 50, fig. 7a shows the same four-petaled composition divided by curling vegetation and p. 68, fig. 20h illustrates a rose window armature, which does not correspond to any in Canterbury.

<sup>52</sup> R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215—c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 162.

<sup>53</sup> High quality pilgrim souvenirs were produced in finer metals, but almost none have survived. Philip the Good gave out a rich assortment of pilgrim souvenirs made from gold, gilded silver, and pewter, grading them according to the rank of his retainers and servants. Köster, (1984), p. 206.

<sup>54</sup> Lawrence Duggan, "Was Art really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?", *Word and Image* 5 (1989), pp. 227—251; Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition* (Aldershot: Scholars Press, 1987), pp. 17—18.

<sup>55</sup> The stabilizing band no longer remains on the Bergen ampulla.

<sup>56</sup> Translation by Spencer (1987), p. 219. Another possible translation could turn the phrase into a narrative: "Weakness appears to all; sadness departs from all; the cured man drinks, eats, and evil along with death has fallen away".

<sup>57</sup> Caviness (1981) translates it as (Reading *omn* for *omnis*) "She leaps up from her sleep and makes an offering, all the pain falls away". Caviness (1999), p. 21, also notes that "[t]he verse could be recited like a spell over the sick person who was to receive the blood of Thomas; even if he/she could not understand Latin, the inscribed letters carried the mystique of literacy that was associated with the church".

*Tituli* or verses were written to accompany the images of miracles in the stained glass windows. It is possible that Benedict, who wrote of the miracles of Becket also provided the *tituli*, all dating after 1179 and before 1220. Caviness (1977), p. 106.

<sup>58</sup> Juliana suffered from stomach pains after eating fish. Her priest suggested that she make a vow of pilgrimage, which she did. Immediately she recovered. Benedict, *Materials* vol. ii, pp. 92—93.

<sup>59</sup> Beginning with the front (miracle) side, the most obvious distinction is that of the central boss. On the Bergen example it is decorated with a sun motif composed of swirling lines emanating from a small central dot. (This could be the "marigold" motif seen in other objects from Canterbury such as reliquaries, pall pins, and stained glass — for example, the border of window n:XV, North Choir; see Wixom (1992), p. 202, 218. In contrast, the boss in the center of the Cluny ampulla is blank. In the bottom petal of the composition only one man stands to the left of the tomb on the Cluny example, while two can be seen in the Bergen ampulla. Although much is obscured on the neck of the Bergen ampulla, one can still detect a variance from the Cluny example. The architectural structure in the middle right is composed of two arches on the Cluny ampulla and four arches on the Bergen ampulla.

On the reverse side, differences are also evident. The arcade dividing the scenes of preaching, martyrdom, and burial are made up of four large arches on the Bergen vial and eight small, uneven arches on the Cluny example (including one arch which moves upward to accommodate Edward Grim's episcopal cross). The central column dividing the preaching and martyrdom has a different capital in each ampulla. While the mail armor of the assassins is the same in each ampulla, in the Bergen ampulla, the knights wear pointed helmets. The burial scene in each differs rather significantly. The head of the archbishop is placed on the left in the Bergen example and on the right in the Cluny ampulla. The tomb in the Bergen ampulla is rectangular with a repetitive border design consisting of short vertical lines. The tomb in the Cluny ampulla is covered with a lozenge-decorated cloth with fringe. The archbishop's head also extends out past the coffin and is supported on a ledge.

<sup>60</sup> In a sarcastic manner, John Husee noted in a letter to Lord Lisle that "Mr. Pollard [Cromwell's agent who ransacked Becket's shrine] has been so busy night and day in prayer with offering unto St. Thomas's shrine and hearse ... that he could have no idle worldly time" for other business. Gardiner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. XIII, ii, p. 303 (September 8).

<sup>61</sup> In 1538, the saint was deemed a traitor and the following proclamation was issued,  
*His [Becket's] images and pictures through the whole realm shall be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name shall not be observed, nor the service office, antiphons, collects and prayers read in his name read, but rased and put out of all the books . . . upon pain of his majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.*

Cotton Library, Titus B. I, [folio 519] printed in Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, ed. by Nicholas Pocock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), p. 220; Gasquet, (1889), p. 406.

This edict reflected an earlier fifteenth century questioning of Becket's sanctity, especially among the Lollards. J.F. Davis, "Lollards, Reformers and St. Thomas of Canterbury", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* vol. 9, no. 1 (1963), pp. 1—15.

<sup>62</sup> Culmer, after climbing up a ladder and prying out the stained glass with a pike, bragged of "rattling down proud Becket's glassy bones". Richard Culmer, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* (London, 1644), p. 21—22. Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images*, Volume I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> Caviness (1977), p. 33.

<sup>64</sup> Window n.III has undergone at least two restorations, the first in 1855 by George Austin, Jr. and the second in 1947 by Samuel Caldwell, Jr., with many panels composed of modern replacements. Caviness (1981), p. 186.

<sup>65</sup> Caviness (1981), p. 186, notes that in lithographs and watercolors from the nineteenth century of this window all show the lowest circle as blank. These illustrations are in the British Library in London, Add. MS 32, 356, f. 134.

<sup>66</sup> Rackham (1949), pp. 83—85; Caviness (1981), pp. 186, 188—189, 191.

<sup>67</sup> Spencer (1975), p. 245 identifies these structures at Canterbury Cathedral.

<sup>68</sup> As is the case with many of the surviving miracle windows, it is difficult to determine the precise story that these ampullae depict. Both William and Benedict recorded numerous cures of lame pilgrims. William, *Materials*, Vol. I, p. 168, 178, 179, 289, 498—499 (cures of a diseased foot); p. 188, 357 (cure of a distorted foot); p. 519 (cure of a miraculously pierced foot); p. 189, 238, 241, 306, 309, 501, 518 (general cures for lameness). Benedict's tales appear in *Materials*, Vol. ii, p. 60—62, 79, 80, 84, 85, 88, 89, 116, 124, 127, 138, 141, 145—146, 148, 151, 170, 225, and many more.

Other miracle stories involving visions of St. Thomas Becket include: William, *Materials*, Vol. I, p. 161, 182, 348, 425, 373, 375, 402, 446, 509, 510 and Benedict, *Materials*, Vol. ii, p. 92, 112, 115, 263.

<sup>69</sup> Caviness, (1977), p. 147.

<sup>70</sup> Spencer (1998), p. 51 and Caviness (1981), pp. 181—182.

<sup>71</sup> Benedict, *Materials*, Vol. ii, pp. 145—146.

<sup>72</sup> Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, volume V (1942), p. 199.

<sup>73</sup> Krautheimer, p. 120, 124.

<sup>74</sup> Krautheimer, p. 122.

<sup>75</sup> Krautheimer, p. 125.

<sup>76</sup> Krautheimer, p. 125. "The common element between a church which shared with its prototype only the name or the particular manner of its dedication and an architectural copy proper was evidently the fact that both were mementoes of a venerated site. The difference is rather between a more or less elaborate reproduction [...] the more elaborate ones only add some visual elements to the 'immaterial' features...." p. 127.

<sup>77</sup> Krautheimer, p. 126.

<sup>78</sup> Beverly Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary", *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Winter 1986), p. 136.

For general information on pilgrimage see: Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Simon Coleman & John Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*; Patrick Geary, *Futra Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Jonathon Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (1975).

<sup>79</sup> Gordon, p. 137.

<sup>80</sup> William Durant Cooper, "The Bonvilles of Halnaker", *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. XV (1863), p. 65. Pilgrim souvenirs from the shrines of Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury were given to the bridge chapel at Bridgenorth. Brian Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim", in J. Bird *et al* (eds.) *Collectanea Londiniensia*, (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper 2, 1978), p.248. Sometimes Canterbury ampullae were re-used at different shrines. An Oxford pilgrim to the shrine of St. Frideswide took away her blessed water in a Canterbury ampulla. Brian Spencer (1990), p. 61.