

“...Biau sire saint Jacque, que j’ai requis, aidiés moy et secourrez à ce besoing”.
A medieval equestrian equipment with the emblem of Saint James the major from
Western Poland and its European significance

«...Biau sire saint jacque, que j’ai requis, aidiés moy et secourrez à ce besoing».
Un equipo ecuestre medieval con el emblema de Santiago el Mayor procedente de la Polonia
occidental y su significado europeo

Arkadiusz Michalak
Archaeological Museum of the Middle Odra Area in Zielona Góra, Poland
a.michalak@muzeum-swidnica.org
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8406-8787>

ABSTRACT - RESUMEN

This paper provides the analysis of equestrian equipment excavated from two castles and a town, Lubrza and Międzyrzecz, located in Lubuskie Voivodship in western Poland. It contains a stratigraphic context assessment and a description of the four artifacts. The second part of this work establishes the chronology of the artifacts using comparative analysis with similar items recovered in various parts of Europe. Cultural contextualization of the finds from the late medieval borderland of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Greater Poland concludes the article.

Este artículo proporciona el análisis del equipo ecuestre excavado en dos castillos y la ciudad (Lubrza y Międzyrzecz), ubicadas en el voivodato de Lubuskie, en el oeste de Polonia. Contiene una evaluación del contexto estratigráfico y una descripción de los cuatro artefactos encontrados. La segunda parte de este trabajo establece la cronología de los artefactos mediante un análisis comparativo con elementos similares recuperados en varias partes de Europa. La contextualización cultural de los hallazgos de la frontera bajomedieval de Silesia, Brandeburgo y la Gran Polonia concluye el artículo.

KEYWORDS – PALABRAS CLAVE

Equestrian equipment; Nobility; knight; Silesia; Brandenburg; Greater Poland; Middle Ages.

Equipo ecuestre; nobleza; caballero; Silesia; Brandeburgo; Gran Polonia; Edad Media.

CÓMO CITAR ESTE ARTÍCULO / CITATION: Michalak, A. (2025): «“...Biau sire saint Jacque, que j’ai requis, aidiés moy et secourrez à ce besoing”. A medieval equestrian equipment with the emblem of Saint James the major from Western Poland and its European significance». *Gladius*, 45: 368. <https://doi.org/10.3989/gladius.2025.368>.

RECIBIDO / RECEIVED: 30-04-2023

ACEPTADO / ACCEPTED: 04-11-2023

PUBLICADO / PUBLISHED: 09-09-2025

INTRODUCTION

In the deeply religious reality of the Middle Ages, the belief in the power of amulets, magical formulae or words of power was common (Martín, 2005: 5-6; Marek, 2017: 209-216). Knights often dedicated themselves to God's protection, pleaded for the help of Christ and the Mother of God and prayed to the saints, particularly those associated with chivalry: Saint Martin, Saint Christopher and above all Saint George. The decoration of objects with the images of saints, their emblems and popular prayers sought to guard against hostile intentions, actions and forces or save the owner from death.

Accordingly, it may be interesting to note that the scallop shell- the emblem of Saint James the Great, was often used to decorate European weaponry, between the 13th to 18th centuries, perhaps indicating the popularity of this holy chivalric patron (La Rocca, 2017: 29, fig. 32-3; Marek, 2017: 79, 146, 176, 189; Michalak, 2019: 220). This shell (mimicking presumably *Pecten maximus* species) also called *La Vieira* has become the traditional symbol of Santiago and is still popular among the pilgrims heading to the apostle's sanctuary at Santiago de Compostela, Galicia (Pullan, 2013: 62-63). The origins of pilgrims wearing this shell on their hats or clothing are recorded in written sources as early as the 12th century, and are evidenced by finds from pilgrim burials dating to the 11th century (Köster, 1983: 150; 1985: 88; Pullan, 2013: 63). According to tradition, when the remains of Saint James were originally discovered they were covered with scallop shells. The scallop shape was replicated in other materials and over time became a visual indicator of pilgrimage in general (Spencer, 1998: 244-246). The shell is believed to promote courage, strength and hope. Saint James, after the legendary Battle of Clavijo,¹ was declared the patron saint of the fight against the Moors during the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, and later also became the protector of those fighting against heresy (Constable, 2008: 158). Hence, pilgrim shells were found in the 13th-century Crusader graves (Johns and Pringle, 1997: 152). This is confirmed by pictorial evidence: the scallop shell of Saint James is also clearly recognisable in an altar wing of 1523, that shows Saint George dressed as a Crusader.² The dedication of armed participants of the Crusades to Saint James is also evidenced by the written sources. Before the battle with the Turks during the Seventh Crusade (1248-1254), the Seneschal of Champagne, Jean de Joinville, prayed for deliverance to St. James (*Good Lord, Saint James, help and save me in this time of need*) (Jean de Joinville, 1668: 43; Marek, 2014: 18). Another potential clue to the popularity of this patron saint among men-at-arms and those on horseback in particular is the idea of regeneration and rebirth which is reflected in one of the legends of Saint James. In this story, the mounted knight, was plunged into the sea when his horse was startled. Through miraculous intervention, the horse and rider emerged from the water alive, covered in seashells. This legend is considered to be 15th century, however its origins may have been earlier (Hohler, 1957: 59). Another legend dated to 1106 is of an Apulian knight cured from a goitre by the touch of a scallop shell (Coffey *et alii*, 1996: 77-78). These stories created a background of belief in the healing properties of this symbol. It's possible therefore that placing the shell on clothes or other items might have given the hope for potential regeneration. An encrustation of scallops became a common way of depicting Saint James (Stones, 1992) (Fig. 1).

The appearance of shells on weaponry was interpreted as evidence that the owner had made a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Santiago in Compostela (Thordeman, 1939: 229, cat. 7). Others considered them as armorial (Nickel *et alii*, 1982: 76, cat. 33). Most arms and armour scholars noted the presence of shell but paid little attention to their description or significance (e.g. Ffoulkes, 1916: 212-213, cat. 169-70; Mann, 1962: 2; Reverseau, 2004: 149, cat. 14, fig. 531). At the beginning of the 21st century Marek considered this motif as emblematic and offered a persuasive explanation of its appearance on the arms and armour (Marek, 2008: 50). According to this author emblems in the form of St. James' shells might have had an apotropaic meaning, which symbolically protected the user (Marek, 2017: 79). In the same context, these motifs were also used to embellish equestrian equipment, a crucial element of chivalric prestige and identity. This paper will discuss the medieval artefacts from this category, which were found in western Poland. Nonetheless, it will also examine in detail many more parallels, not previously noted, that confirm the popularity of this badge among European men-at-arms during the later medieval and post-medieval periods.

¹ The night before the Battle of Clavijo, King Ramiro I dreamt of St. James, who prophesied to him that God had chosen James to be the patron saint of the Spanish kingdoms. According to legend, James appeared as a warrior on a white horse with a white banner to help the Christian troops of the King of Aragon in a battle against the Moors. Christians marched with the cry: *God save Saint James!* According to sources (semi-legendary) they killed more than 5,000 Muslims, and James became known as the *Matamoros* (Moors Slayer) (Pullan, 2013: 62-3).

² Ambrogio di Stefano da Fasano, called Bergognone (1453-1523), *Saint George*, ca. 1523. Side wing from an altar *Madonna and child, Saint Christopher and Saint George*. Tempera on wood (138 x 48 cm). National Museum, Poznań. Raczyński Foundation, Acc. no. MNP FR 409.



Figure 1. Santiago Matamoros. *Codex Calixtinus o Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Scriptorium of the Cathedral Santiago de Compostela, c. 1330; Ms 2631, fol. 120r, University Library Salamanca, by permission Universidad de Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

The artefacts in question number four objects in total, including two elements of spur fittings, one T-shaped buckle and one stirrup. Three artefacts have a good archeological chronology, while the fourth can be dated based on classification.

A scallop-shaped mount, most likely from the spur leathers, was discovered in the area of the motte and bailey castle in Lubrza in the Region of Świebodzin, western Poland, together with a hook attachment for leathers. These two items, stuck together by means of iron corrosion products, were excavated during the rescue metal detector survey of the destroyed mound not far from the stone keep (Fig. 2) (Michalak, 2022b: 238-239). Written sources as well as other artefacts unearthed during the research indicate it is of late 13th to 14th centuries in date (Michalak, 2022a: 98-102). The mount is symmetrical, fan-shaped with radiating, fluted ornamentation and two equal auricles with two attachment holes (usual in pilgrim badges) (Fig. 3) cast from

multi-alloyed brass (Cu-Zn-Sn).³ It was supposed to be affixed to the strap by means of a single rivet (Michalak, 2022b: 239).⁴ This raw material produced a more ostentatious appearance to the spur, lessened the amount of potential corrosion, but also technologically allowed to make a more decorative (emblematic) form of the object. The iron hook attachment for the leathers, which was excavated with the mount, has an oval body with two extensions on opposite edges from which hooks have broken off. It is of a form that was in use from the 13th century to the post-medieval period (Ellis and Egan, 2004: 149; Michalak, 2022b: 238).



Figure 2. Photomap of Lubrza castle taken from drone imagery after the destruction of the mound. The find place of the spur mount is marked with a red dot. Photo by K. Hanus, developed by A. Michalak.

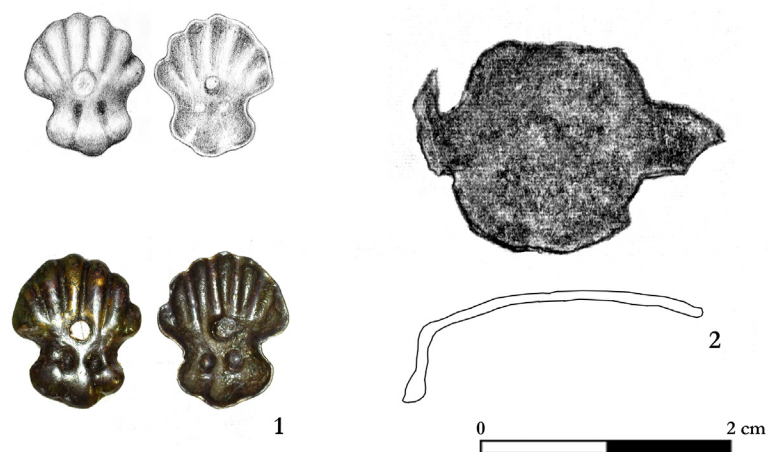


Figure 3. The spur mount and attachment from Lubrza (inv. no. 142/16 and 143/16). Drawn by A. Sabak-Stachowiak, photo by A. Michalak.

³ An XRF analysis reveals its following composition (wt%): Cu 84,09, Zn 12,19, Sn 1.52, Pb 0,38, As 0,20, Sb 0,10, Ag 0,15, Fe 0,74, Ni 0,05 (Biborski *et alii* 2022: Table 1).

⁴ Collection of the Archaeological Museum of the Mid-Odra Region in Zielona Góra, Acc. no. zw. 142/16. Brass. Measurement: length 1.3 cm, width 1.0 cm, weight 0.9 g.

A further artefact was excavated during the archaeological research of the courtyard of the castle in Międzyrzecz, Greater Poland (PL) (Fig. 4). The unearthed spur leather (25 cm in length, 3.2-2.8 cm in width) has a central roughly cut holes on both sides; at one end there is a hook attachment, decorated with a scallop motif, which is still secured in the hole. The other end of this leather was most likely for the buckle. The attachment is roughly oval with symmetric cutouts at the bottom edge and has a ring-loop for the attachment of the spur terminal. The top features a now broken protrusion for the leather. The decorative grooves were filled with tin⁵ (Fig. 5). The artefact in question was discovered during the excavation of strata III, from phase 12 of the castle, and can be dated to the mid-14th to the third quarter of the 14th century (Banach *et alii*, 2015: fig. 97:5).

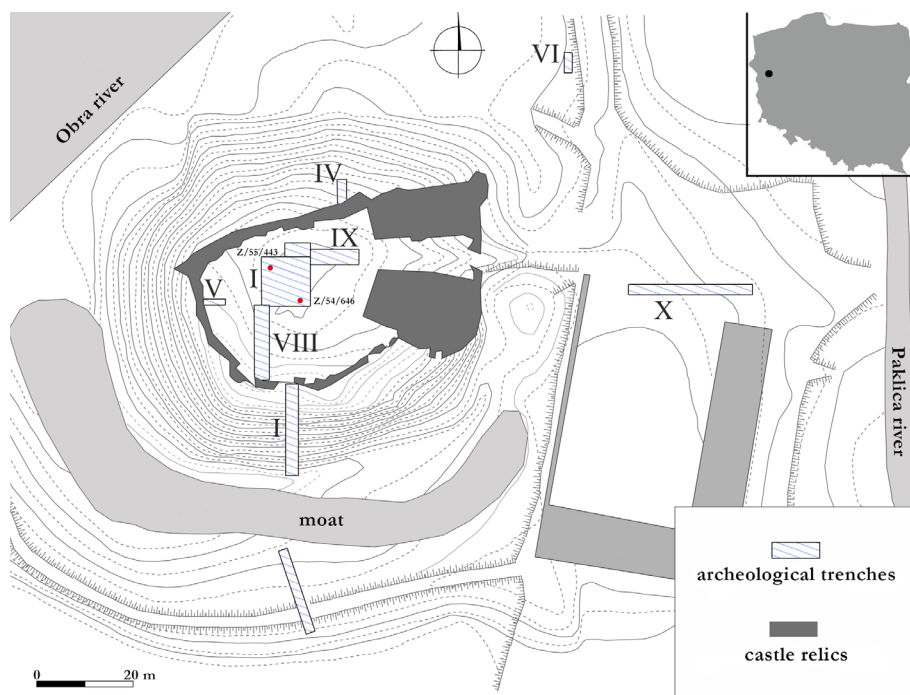


Figure 4. Contour plan of the castle in Międzyrzecz with marked find places (red dot) of the spur attachment (inv. no. Z55/443) and buckle from the girth (inv. no. Z54/646) against the plan of the archeological trenches (I-X). Drawn by J. Sawicka, developed by A. Michalak.

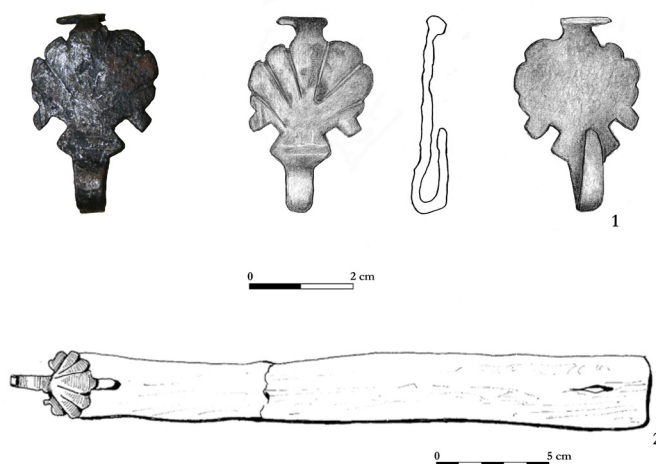


Figure 5. Spur attachment from the castle of Międzyrzecz (inv. no. Z55/443). Drawing by A. Sabak-Stachowiak and J. Sawicka, photo by A. Michalak.

⁵ Collection of the Alf Kowalski Museum of the Region of Międzyrzecz, Inv. no.: Z55/443. Iron. Measurement: length 3.8 cm, width 2.8, weight 5 g. Despite extensive research in storage facilities of both Museum in Międzyrzecz (where only small part of excavated artefacts are kept) and Institute of Archaeology Polish Academy of Science in Poznań (responsible for excavations in Międzyrzecz, where most of the finds are preserved), I have been unable to find this leather.

During the excavations of another layer (IV) of Phase 12 a large, T-shaped buckle, decorated on the frame with a scallop shell motif, was also unearthed (Banach *et alii*, 2015: fig. 97:2). The frame and tongue of this piece are of multisided-section. The engraved shell motif, repeated twice, occurs on the protrusions on the outside edge of the frame. A sheet roller was placed between the latter.⁶ Originally, the inside (the part close to the horse's body), was probably coated in tin. On the outside tin only appears in the grooves that form the shape of the scallop shell (Fig. 6).

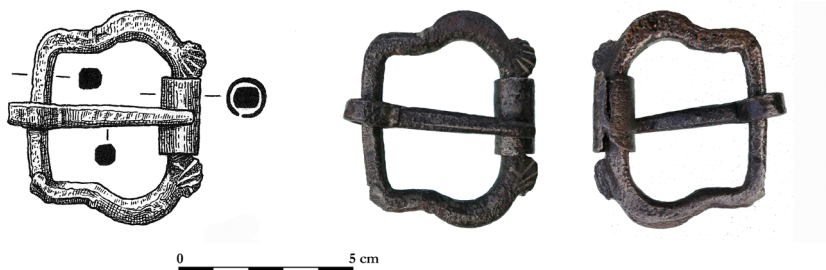


Figure 6. T-shaped buckle from the castle of Międzyrzecz (inv. no. Z54/646). Drawing from the archive of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Science, photo by A. Michalak.

Another artefact with this type of decoration was unearthed during archaeological works conducted on the Old Market in Międzyrzecz, near the north-eastern corner of the town hall, as a result of the construction of a gas network (Fig. 7). It is a heavily distorted trapezoidal stirrup which exhibits serious damage to the footrest. An engraved ornament resembling a shell can be found at the bottom part of the suspension loop⁷ (Łaszkiewicz and Michalak, 2007: cat. 81, fig. 15) (Fig. 8). According to the modern classifications this artefact can be dated to the period between the mid-14th and mid-15th centuries (Świętosławski, 1990: 58; Goßler, 2011: 37).

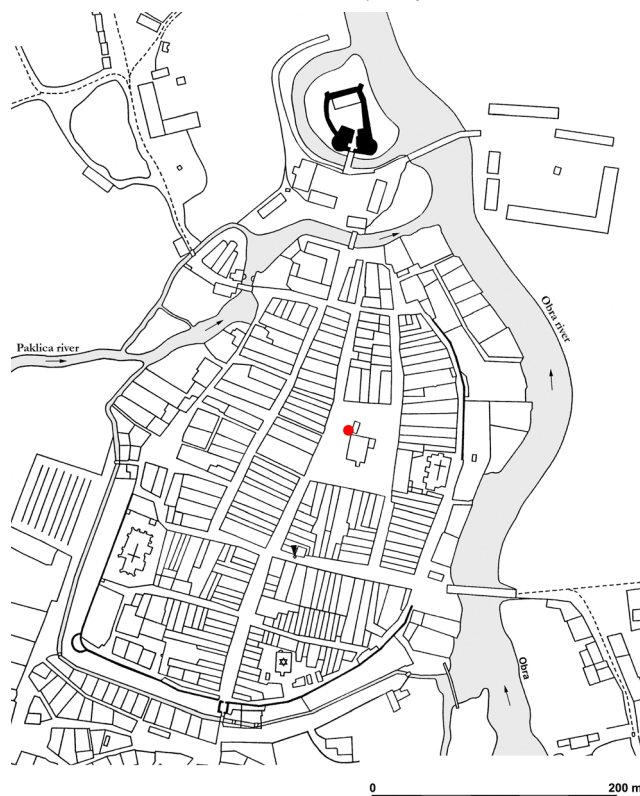


Figure 7. Plan of the town of Międzyrzecz from 1780 with marked find place of the stirrup. Developed by A. Michalak.

⁶ Collection of the Archaeological Museum of the Mid-Odra Region in Zielona Góra (Z54/646), Inv. No. 184. Cat. 11/1957. Iron, tin. Measurement: length 5.0 cm, width 6.3 cm, length of roller 5.3, thickness of frame 0.5 x 0.5 cm, weight 64 g.

⁷ Collection of the Alf Kowalski Museum of the Region of Międzyrzecz, Inv. no.: M-g 7/00. Iron. Measurement: length 3.8 cm, width of the foot rest 3.5 cm, weight 124 g. Due to the deformation of the stirrup, it is impossible to reconstruct the original measurement.

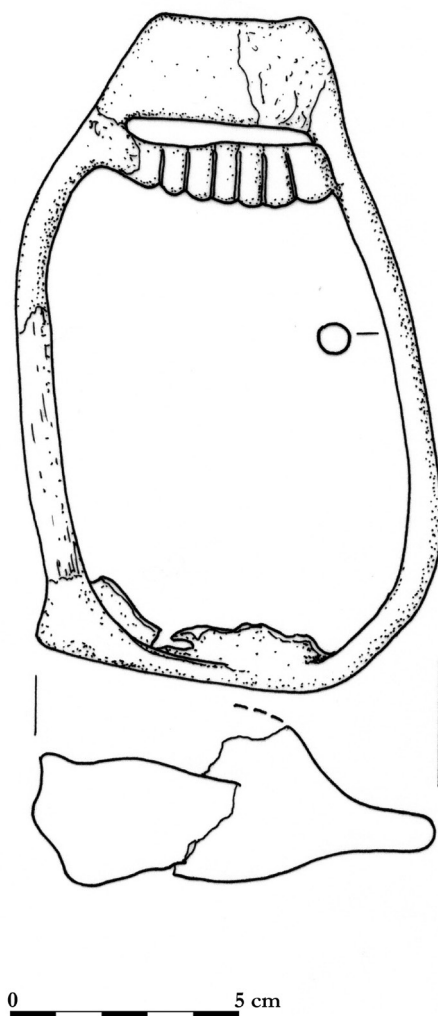


Figure 8. Stirrup from the town of Międzyrzecz (inv. no. M-g 7/00). Drawn by B. Bednarczyk.

DISCUSSION

It seems that it's not without reason that two of the elements above (and the vast majority of known European artefacts) are associated with spurs – the distinctive insignia of chivalry (Grancsay, 1941: 170). In most cases spur fittings, such as buckles and attachments, were decorated with scallop shell motifs.

Despite the evident use of mounts similar to the artefact from Lubrza in the civilian dress (Hoppe, 1991: fig. 1:d; Russow *et alii*, 2018: fig. 13:8), there is a direct proof that supports its interpretation as a spur element. A spur fragment with an extremely similar decorative fitting was excavated in the fire layer at Sukiennicza Street in Elbląg (Elbing), Eastern Prussia (PL)⁸ (Fig. 9:2). The side with the single ring terminal has two attachments: one of them is shell-shaped, the other has a small buckle with a scallop shell mount. It was unearthed from the strata dated just after the great fire of 1288 (Marcinkowski, 2003: 184–185). Lech Marek (2014: 18; 2017: 176) considered this spur to be evidence of an ideological message related to a crusade against the pagans by the Teutonic Order, which resulted in the first settlement of Elbląg and who administered this town for over two hundred years. On the other hand, based on the written evidence, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that this artefact reflects the presence of armed guests of the Teutonic Order.

⁸ Collection of the Archaeological-Historical Museum in Elbląg, Acc. no. EM.XV4345.

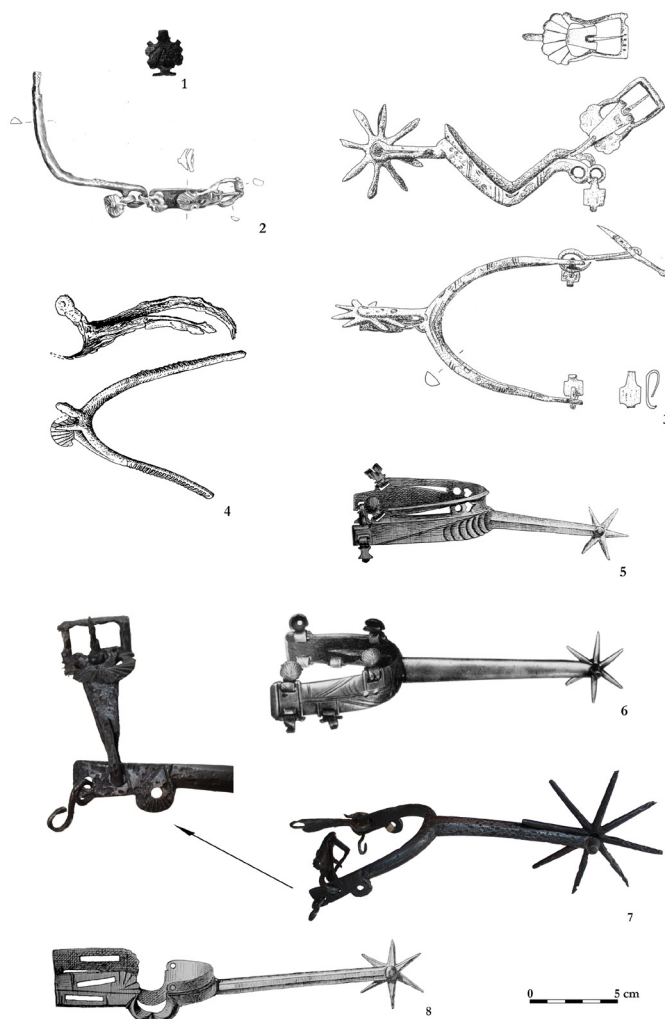


Figure 9. Spurs with scallop shell emblem: 1 stronghold Tum (Stasiak and Grygiel, 2014: fig. 213:4); 2 town of Elbląg (Marek, 2014: fig. 1); 3 Scheidegg Castle (Krauskopf, 2005: Pl. 35:5); 4 Klein Schlichtenberg Castle (Futterkamp) (Ericsson, 1981: fig. 33:1; 5, 8 former R. Zschille collection (Zschille and Forrer, 1891: Pl. XI:4, XII:3); 6 collection of the Royal Armouries (Dufty, 1968: Pl. CLXII); 7 private collection. Photo by P. Žakovský.

A very similar metal element was excavated during the research of the stronghold in Tum near Łęczycza, Central Poland (Fig. 9:1). It was unearthed in a layer from the third occupational phase, dated from 1250 to the first half of the 14th century (Stasiak and Grygiel, 2014: 349, fig. 213:4). At the time, the castle played an important role as a defensive stronghold and ducal and castellan seat. This is confirmed by the high-quality artefacts excavated during archeological research of the layers from this phase, which can be directly related to high knightly and courtly culture (Stasiak and Grygiel, 2014: fig. 217-218, 223, 225-226, 244, 248).

The scallop shell is also visible on the rowel spur buckle from Scheidegg castle, Northern Switzerland, which belonged to the wealthy family of Gelterkinden. The spur, probably for the left foot, was excavated from the strata dated to the first half of the 14th century (Ewald and Tauber, 1975: 65, F41; Krauskopf, 2005: 210, Pl. 35:5). The double buckle attached to the inner hole of the terminal has a trapezoid frame at one side and a D-shaped one on the other. The latter is engraved with a scallop shell motif (Fig. 9:3).

The next spurs featuring scallop shells differ noticeably in shape and size: they have the form of a U-shaped heel plate formed of two straight-edged branches and a long straight neck tapering slightly to the forked end. At each end of the heel plate slots were pierced for the leathers. In the upper ones, a set of strap mounts decoratively engraved on the surface in the form of a scallop shell was attached. One artefact of this form held now in the Royal Armouries in Leeds (Acc. no. VI.382) is said to have belonged to the emperor Maximilian I (Fig. 9:6) (Dufty, 1968: Pl. CLXII). Similar in general appearance is the spur from the former Richard Zschille

Collection; it differs only in decoration which takes the form of engraved, curved lines and pierced hearts and mouchettes (Fig. 9:5) (Zschille and Forrer, 1891: Pl. XII:3). Long, straight spurs of this type appear to have been used in Germany and Austria at the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th centuries (Nickel *et alii*, 1982: cat. 38). Also worth mentioning is the spur for left foot from a private collection in Brno,⁹ which should be dated to the first half of the 16th century. Its inner slot for leathers and buckle loop were decorated with the motif in question (Fig. 9:7).

The spurs excavated in the motte-type castle in Futterkamp (now Blenkendorf), Schleswig-Holstein (GER) and from the former Zschille collection are the only two artefacts decorated with scallop shells on the spur’s body. In the first case, the emblem appears on the semicircular crest drawn up from the top edges of the sides, at their junction (Fig. 9:4) (Ericsson, 1981: 166, fig. 33:1). It can be dated to the 14th century as dendrochronological dating of the wood used for the castle’s construction revealed that the trees were felled in 1356/1357; the castle was most likely abandoned by 1400 at the latest (Ericsson, 1981: 138). The other spur, from the former Zschille collection, is decorated with a scallop shell on the sides, near the pierced slots for leathers (Fig. 9:8) (Zschille and Forrer, 1891: Pl. XI:4). Its form indicates a date of manufacture to the 1530s or 1540s (Breiding, 2020: 84-85).

The illumination from the Codex Calixtinus with the depiction of Santiago Matamoros (Fig. 1) shows that scallop shells also appear on the saddle of the warrior saint. There is also other evidence which shows that these saddles, which enable them to sit on a horse with balance and improve his performance in battle, were also embellished with scallop shells, and this depiction is not merely a product of the author’s spiritual imagination. A good example of this practice is the 15th-century war saddle from the collection of the Imperial Castle of Nuremberg (Acc. No. GNM W 678) (Schlunk and Giersch, 2009: 61). At its front there is a formerly gold-plated iron fitting for hanging the reins, in the form of a Saint James scallop shell (Marek, 2017: 187, fig. 340). In terms of its appearance, it is worth noting the place where the badge in question was fastened: the high-fore section (called the pommel in the Modern period). Solidly constructed, 15th-century war saddles, were usually protected by saddle-steels. They sheathed the pommel area, which provided protection for the rider’s stomach and vital organs (Hyland, 2004: 34–5).

Saddles were fastened to the horse’s back by means of a girth, a wide strap that goes around the horse’s belly. It was, though, vulnerable to damage. At the moment of the gallop when the horse was expending maximum energy and his lungs filled with air, increasing their size, enormous strain was put on the girth’s buckle(s). Even more pressure was put on the girth during tourneys. Various methods of girthing are known from both written sources and iconography. These include cross-banding double girths, extra wide girths, overgirths and using three girths plus surcingle (Hyland, 2004: 34). Another way to secure it was to put a magic spell, or other form of spiritual protection on those areas most vulnerable to damage. Because of the difficulty of differentiating horse tack buckles from those for a range of other proposes various criteria are used by scholars: for example, size, robustness and shape of the frame (Ward Perkins, 1967: 277; Egan, 2004: 55). Remains of girths preserved with the saddles are usually over 5 cm in width (Hyland, 2004: 41). Buckles with T-shaped frames, like the one from Międzyrzecz, are connected in the literature with horse harness and according to most scholars they might have been used to link the girth (Goodal, 1990: 532–3; Egan, 2004: 59; Goßler, 2011: 41–3).

Apart from saddles, stirrups were also decorated with scallop shell emblems. There is a group of more than ten similar stirrups from various museum collections.¹⁰ In most known examples the badge appears (like in the stirrup of Międzyrzecz) on the suspension loop (Fig. 10:1). Stirrups from this group were made of steel, copper alloy and were occasionally gilded. The occurrence of these objects across Europe points to the universality and popularity of the scallop shell as a decorative motif (Boisselière and Boisselière, 2005: fig. 72). Several stirrups from this group were embellished with this emblem (however of much smaller size) and can also be found in the lower part of the footrest.¹¹ The oldest among them are dated to c. 1500, the latest to the 17th century. However, the 15th-century equestrian figure of Saint George slaying the dragon from the Church of Saint George in Ziębice, Silesia, with this type of stirrup attached to the left side of the saddle, may indicate that they appear earlier (Fig. 10:3) (Nowack, 1932: 69, cat. 303; Urban, 1973: 178, kat. 10).

⁹ Private collection in Moravia. Iron. Measurement: length 24.7 cm, weight 200 g.

¹⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Acc. no. 29.156.74a–c; 14.25.1744a, b; 14.25.1756a, b; 14.25.708cc, dd), Deutsche Historische Museum in Berlin (Acc. no. W 5013), Bayerische Armemuseum in Ingolstadt (Acc. no. 5670), Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (Acc. no. 1688) and former von Kienbusch Collection (Grancsay, 1955: 18, no. 134-135, 137; Kienbusch, 1963: 131, Pl. LXXXIII: 261; Nickel *et alii*, 1982: 76-77; Boccia and Godoy, 1985: 137, 325, cat. 383; Ritter von Kern, 1997: 65-66, III.40; Wiese, 2010: 40, fig. I.23 o).

¹¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Acc. no. 29.156.74a–c; 14.25.1756a, b; 14.25.708cc, dd). Additionally, there is a stirrup in the collection of Castle Museum of Neuenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt, with the foot rest decorated with the same motif. The image of the piece is accessible on-line: <https://www.schloss-neuenburg.de/ihr-besuch/digitale-angebote/die-neuenburg/toedlicher-zweikampf-ein-steigbuegel-aus-dem-16-jahrhundert/> (access 10.04.2023).



Figure 10. Selected stirrups with scallop shells: 1 German, c. 1520, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 55.185.3; 2 German, 16th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 29.156.74a; 3 detail of equestrian figure of Saint George slaying dragon from the Church in Ziębice, Silesia, 15th century, the Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław, acc. no. Kn 1058. Photo by L. Marek.

There is also one more stirrup with the scallop shell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (Acc. no. 55.185.3), dated c. 1520. Its form differs significantly from the above-mentioned as it is unusually wide to accommodate the “bear paw” sabaton. Two brass scallop shell appliqués were placed there on the shoulder of the stirrup arch (Fig. 10:2). Rather intriguing is the fact that the other pair of stirrups embellished with scallop shells on the shoulder is held in the Tower of London, but dated to the end of the 17th century (Ffoulkes, 1916: 212-213, cat. 169-170). H. Nickel, S. Pyhrr and L. Tarassuk (1982: 76, cat. 33) recognised this decoration as a badge or heraldic device. Fox-Davies (1909: 299-300) considered the scallop shell one of the most widely used heraldic charges. Bellew (1957: 90-96) counted shells among approximately 900 coats of arms in England and Neubecker (1992: 440-2) listed over 50 German, Austrian and Swiss coats of arms with this motif. Participants of the crusade (considered an armed pilgrimage) often adopted an attractive “pilgrim” coat of arms to commemorate this event and later many other families incorporated scallop shell emblems in an attempt to gain this recognition whether or not they had actually participated (Fox-Davies, 1909: 299-300).

Within the given frame of reference, the armorial significance of the above examples cannot be ruled out. This is also true for parts of bridles, which often feature heraldic decorations (Viallon, 2019; Webley, 2020). In this regard, a mid-16th century curb bit from the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (Acc. no. 14.25.1800) is of interest. It was most likely for the hunt (Grancsay, 1955: fig. 18; see also Fallows, 2010: 243, 246, fig. 149) and features a scallop shell used as a part of the mouthpiece (Fig. 11). Similarly, this emblem was used in the decoration of bit depicted on the representation of Santiago Matamoros, from an altarpiece in the Royal Chapel of the Alcázar of Segovia (originally in Megeces), Castilla-Leon, Spain, dated to 15th century. Shell symbol appears in this pictorial evidence also on horse furniture, being attached to a headstall, breast bridle and breeching. Pendants fasten to different straps from the horse tack, were a peculiar manifestation of belonging to a particular family or fealty (Ashley, 2002: 27). At least a dozen artefacts in form of shells are known, mainly from the British Isles, but also from France, Spain, Italy and Germany (Fig. 12). The noticeably higher occurrence of these pendants in the English material appears to be a result of the state of research and its publication. Unfortunately, a great deal of these are loose finds (Ward Perkins, 1967: 272, A2694, pl. LXX-VI:8; Ashley, 2002: 26, fig. 25; Griffiths, 1995: fig. 50:72; Goodall, 2012: 109, fig. 30:195; Webley, 2020, fig. 2). Only a few were recovered during archaeological excavations, enabling their dating (Goodall, 1980: 503, fig. 264:36). These pendants were discovered in the context of both castles and cities. The earliest in the first group is an example excavated at Castle Acre in Norfolk, from a late 12th century context (Fig. 12:8) (Coad

and Streeten, 1982: 238-239, fig. 44:36-37). Twenty or so artefacts unearthed during the research of the Castle Tannenberg, Hessen, can be dated before 1399, when the chateau was destroyed during the siege (Fig. 12:3) (Schmitt 2008: 178-180, pl. 42:1-20). The chronology of other examples excavated in the manor-house at the deserted medieval village of Thrislington, County Durham, may be determined to 13th-14th centuries (Austin, 1989: 134-135, fig. 57:11). The last stratigraphically dated pendant from Tanner street, Winchester, comes from the mid to late 13th century (Fig. 12:2) (Hinton, 1990: 1050, fig. 336:3919).



Figure 11. Curb bit with scallop shell emblem, probably Italian, mid-16th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 14.25.1800.

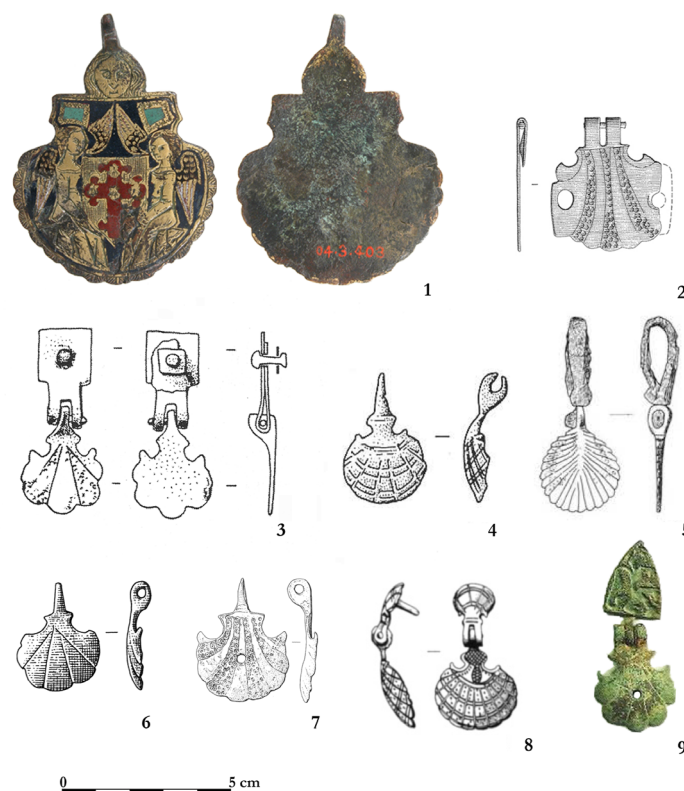


Figure 12. Selection of harness pendants with scallop shells: 1 possibly Spanish, 13th-early 15th centuries, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 043.403; 2 Winchester, mid to late 13th century (Hinton, 1990: fig. 336:3919); 3 Castle Tannenberg, before 1399 (Schmitt, 2008: pl. 42:1); 4 London, Billingsgate (Griffiths, 1995: fig. 50:72); 5 North Elmham, medieval (Goodall, 1980: fig. 264:36); 6 Old Sarum (Goodall, 2012: fig. 30:195); 7 East Rudham (Ashley, 2002: fig. 25); 8 Castle Acre, late 12th century (Coad and Streeten, 1982: fig. 44:37); 9 Seine-et-Marne (Berton, 2010: fig. 16).

In regard to this group of artefacts it is impossible to determine whether they express fealty or were related to apotropaism. It seems that in medieval chivalric culture, these spheres naturally overlapped. This is exemplified by a large, possibly Spanish harness pendant in the form of a shell, from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 04.3.403) (Fig. 12:1). It is made of enameled, copper/gold and decorated with the two female angels holding the escutcheon with the Cross of the Order of Santiago which has scallop shells in each arm. It is dated in the relevant literature to the 13th to early 15th centuries (Grancsay, 1955: no. 52). The form of the pendant may have had apotropaic significance while the enameled depiction could be armorial in nature. A similar, 15th-century example, bearing the inscription *IH. ES: AtC ICEM*,¹² is known from the collection of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid (Acc. no. 5536). It differs from the example in the Metropolitan Museum as it features a large cross-sword flanked by two animals (wolves?) facing each other (Martín Ansón, 2004: 488, cat. 469). It should be noted that artefacts associated with the Order of Santiago (founded in 1173) are not only found in the Iberian Peninsula as the Order also had possessions in England, France, Italy, Hungary, and Palestine (O'Calaghan, 2003: 54). The shells in these emblems, like in the one excavated from the 13th-century grave situated in the castle citadel of Palmeia, Portugal, were usually accompanied by a sword and a cross (Ferreira Fernandes, 2000: 315-317, cat. 46).

The list of equestrian equipment with the shell emblem is by no means exhaustive. One can expect further finds of *harnesia* decorated with this motif throughout Europe. It seems that a belief in the apotropaic powers of the scallop shell was deeply rooted in European medieval tradition. It is certainly worth considering the possibility that in some cases horse harnesses were embellished with shell motifs to protect not only the rider,

¹² It cannot be ruled out that is abbreviation or variation of the talismanic phrase *Ihesus autem transiens* (see: Marek, 2017: 56-57, 74-75, 85).

but also the horse, and provide it with strength and vigour, as was noted in other horse harness parts (Martín Ansón, 2005: 11).

The discussion of artefacts allows us to conclude that equestrian equipment with this motif was mainly used by members of the nobility and wealthy knights, who shared an understanding of the cultural and symbolic meaning of this symbol. It is also necessary to further research the context of the finds, including those from Western Poland. Contextualisation of these finds may provide an answer to the question of the origins of the popularity of Saint James’ emblem in the medieval borderland of Silesia, Greater Poland, Brandenburg and Lusatia (roughly equivalent to modern-day Lubuskie Voivodeship in Western Poland) (Fig. 13).

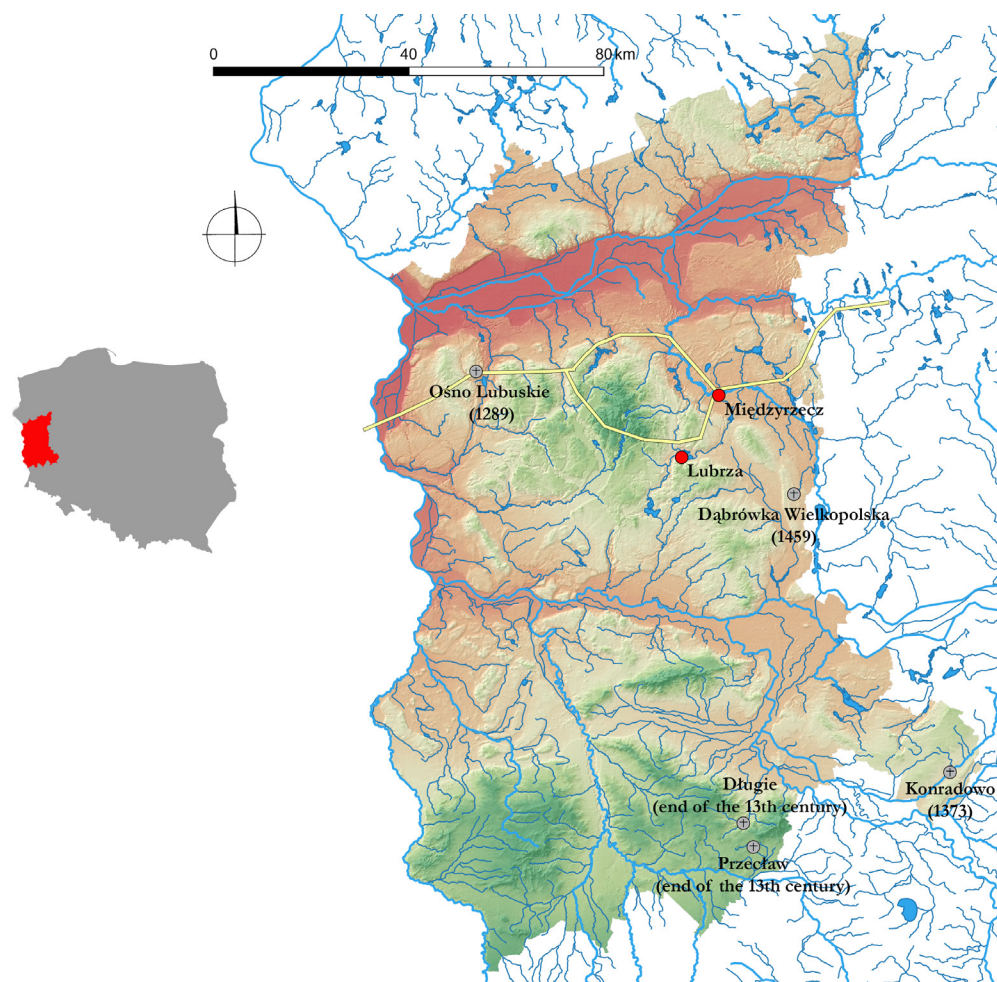


Figure 13. Map of Lubuskie voivodship with marked find places (red dots), against the course of Camino Polaco (yellow line) and location of churches dedicated to Saint James and date of their consecration (grey dots). Developed by A. Michalak.

Analysis of the written records pertaining to Lubrza indicates that this borderland village was originally the property of the Greater Poland castellan Bodzęta from the Jeleńczyk family, who later sold it to the Cistercian abbey in Gościkowo-Paradyż. Over time Lubrza was absorbed by the nearby town and later functioned under the name of Lubieniów, which was the property of the Dryja family and their primary residence. Lubieniów had already gained town status in 1276, whereas Lubrza tower castle was mentioned as a knight’s dwelling for the first time in 1304. Both properties were located administratively in the Duchy of Głogów and in 1312 was most likely one of its centres. In 1319 it again belonged to the dukes of Głogów and later in 1330 to the dukes of Żagań. Does this indicate that Lubrza was a ducal castle held as a fief by a knight? There is still no convincing and unequivocal evidence for this (Michalak, 2022c: 329). When Lubieniów, along with the tower castle, became the property of the Gościkowo-Paradyż Cistercians, they settled the local ownership disputes in 1322. Ultimately, the Lubieniów-Lubrza tower castle, as the property of the monastery, lost its original function as a stronghold and was gradually brought to ruin. In light of the analysis of the written sources, the owners of the tower castle should be identified as being from the family of the nearest circle of ducal court (Michalak, 2022a: 101). People of such a high social status very often demonstrated their social position, prestige or their identity through luxurious arms and armour or dress accessories (Michalak, 2022b).

Miedzyrzecz was undoubtedly a key point in the defence of Greater Poland's western border. During the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th centuries, the rulers of Brandenburg, Lower Silesia, Greater Poland and the Duke of Pomerania-Wolgost, fought over its control. However, in 1326 it was captured by Ladislaus the Short, the future king of Poland (Kurnatowski, 2015: 37). Until the Partitions of Poland in the 18th century it was a part of the Kingdom of Poland. In the 14th century, it was a seat of a castellan, a governor of a castle and its surrounding territory (the castellany), who ruled this area on behalf of the Kings of Poland, maintaining defences and protecting the castle's lands, combined with the legal administration of the local area. During the 14th century, due to the importance of Miedzyrzecz, the office was held by the most trusted officials of the ducal and later royal court: in 1329 Piotr Żyła of Bytyń (who was also the Chancellor of Greater Poland in 1329-31); in 1335-37 Mikołaj; in 1339 Borek of Grodzisk Wielkopolski; in 1362-68 Michał; in 1374-94 Przedpełk of Sęszew; in 1394-1400 Wojciech of Kobylin (who was also deputy cup-bearer of Kalisz in 1385-94) (Rutkowska, 1993: 150). The high artistic level of the material culture unearthed during the Miedzyrzecz' castle and town excavation indicates not only the wealth of the inhabitants, but also their awareness of current cultural trends (Banach *et alii*, 2015: fig. 76, 78-79, 91, 97-99, 101-102, 104-105, 107).

In this context the popularity of Saint James in the area, which is reflected in the dedication of churches to him. At least five churches, located in the northern and southern parts of the area in question, have been consecrated to Saint James, with three of them having been so by the end of the 13th century (Ośno Lubuskie, Długie, Przecław). It may be connected with the course of the Camino Polacco there (Tanco, 2011: 109). Miedzyrzecz was located on this route and Lubrza was not far from its southern branch (Fig. 13). Pilgrimages of Polish subjects are well evidenced in documents from the 14th century onwards (Wiesiołowski, 2002: 201-210). Unfortunately, we do not have any sources confirming the medieval pilgrimages of the inhabitants of the area in question. Interestingly, no pilgrim badges have yet been found there attesting to journeys to Compostela, nor to other shrines.

Finally, it can be assumed that the presence of objects decorated with scallop shells in this area may be connected with the recognition of St James as the patron of the crusaders and the fight against heresy. Slogans supporting the fight for the Holy Sepulchre were very popular in the late Middle Ages, including in the area in question. It is noteworthy that knights of the Order of St. John of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, who had owned the territories in the borderland of Brandenburg and Greater Poland since the 12th century, were deeply involved in collecting funds for the defence of Rhodes against the Turks. For example, one of the esteemed officials of this division – Rudolf von Werderberg – participated in the defence of the island in 1480 (Starnawska, 1992: 12). Due to the Hussite threat, symbolic motifs embodying the idea of fighting against infidels were extremely popular in Silesia in this period (Marek and Stolarczyk, 2011: 205, 207). Accordingly, since the beginning of the 14th century, the cult of Saint James the Greater was significant among the Teutonic Knights (Arnold, 2005; Rozykowski, 2011), who at the beginning of the 15th century acquired the northern parts of the region in question (the so-called Neumark).

CONCLUSIONS

At this point, before turning to the conclusion, there are several general reservations that need to be stressed. The large number, geographical dissemination and diversity point to the great popularity of the scallop shell motif among its users. However, aside from its apotropaic function, it must also have been widely used as a merely decorative design, which already appeared in ancient times (Wheeler, 1957). One also needs to remember that in Normandy, Brittany and Poitou, the shell was associated, not with Saint James, but rather with the Archangel Michael. In this context, the scallop shell is often claimed to be a badge of pilgrimage to the Norman abbey of Mont Saint-Michel (Lamy-Lassalle, 1971; Bruna and Labaune-Jean, 2011) as it even appears in its arms. Not surprisingly, families from those regions with the surname "Michel" made use of the scallop shell in their coats of arms (Galles, 1989).

In conclusion we may summarise that more scientific analysis and archival research are needed to fully understand the cultural context of its use. Striving for an understanding of any symbol must always be connected with a multidimensional assessment and the contextualisation of finds. Analysis of the artefacts mentioned above provides information on the mentality of the men-at-arms and their perception of the world, in which particular symbols are attributed with specific (protective, heraldic, aesthetic, etc.) significance. It is however possible that while these may have had Christian origins their survival into later times may have lost this meaning and instead were used due to the cultivation of a specific ancestral tradition or the artistic value of the motif.

Acknowledgement: I warmly thank Prof. Lech Marek of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław for his advice and inspiring discussion on apotropaism. I am also grateful to Petr Žákovský, Brno for bringing the spur from private collection to my attention, and for providing me with images and further information, as well as the permission to publish these here. For their help I am also indebted to Prof. Udo Arnold from Bad Münstereifel, Prof. David Gallego de Valle, University of Castilla-La Mancha, Prof. Marcin Majewski, the Archeological-Historical Museum, Stargard, Waldemar Hass, the Archeological-Historical Museum, Głogów and dr Christof Krauskopf, Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Wünsdorf. Keith Downen, Royal Armouries Leeds, deserves my cordial gratitude for correcting my English text and making in-depth comments.

Declaration of competing interest: The author of this article declares that it has no financial, professional or personal conflicts of interest that could have inappropriately influenced this work.

Authorship contribution statement: Arkadiusz Michalak: conceptualization, investigation, writing – original draft, writing – review & editing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- Coffey, T. F.; Davidson, L. K. and Dunn, M. (1996): *The Miracles of St. James: Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi*. New York, Italica Press, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t88vn5>.
- Jean de Joinville (1668): *Histoire de S. Louis, IX du nom, roi de France, écrite par Jean de Joinville: Sénéchal de Champagne: enrichie de nouvelles observations et dissertations historiques; avec les «Établissements de saint Louis», le «Conseil de Pierre de Fontaines», et plusieurs autres pièces concernant ce règne tirées des manuscrits*, par Ch. Du Fresne, sieur Du Cange, Paris.

Secondary sources

- Arnold, U. (2005): “Der Deutsche Orden und der Jakobuskult,” K. Herbers (ed.), *Die oberdeutschen Reichsstädte und ihre Heiligen kulte: Traditionen und Ausprägungen zwischen Stadt, Ritterorden und Reich*, Tübingen, Narr im Narr Francke Attempto Verlag: 171–193.
- Ashley, S. (2002): *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Report, 101. Norfolk, Norfolk Museums Service AE. Archaeology & Environment Division.
- Austin, D. (1989): *Deserted Medieval Village of Thrislington, County Durham, Excavations 1973-4*. Lincoln, Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Banach, B.; Kurnatowski, S.; Urbańska-Łosińska, A. and Zamelska-Monczak, K. (2015): “Gród i zamek późnośredniowieczny [Stronghold and the late-medieval Castle],” S. Kurnatowski (ed.), *Międzyrzecz. Gród i zamek w wiekach IX-XIV. Wyniki prac wykopaliskowych z lat 1954-1961 [Międzyrzecz. Stronghold and Castle in 9th-14th centuries. Results of excavations from 1954-1961]*. Origines Polonorum, VIII. Warszawa, Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Trio: 217–277.
- Bellew, G. (1957): “Escallops in Armoury,” I. Cox (ed.), *The Scallop, Studies of a Shell and its Influences on Human*. London, The ‘Shell’ Transport and Trading Company: 89-104.
- Berton, L. (2010): “Les verelles. Petits objets armoriés du MoyenAge, équipant les oiseaux, les chiens et les chevaux,” *Détection passion*, 90: 7-16.
- Biborski, M.; Biborski, M. and Stępiński, J. (2022): “Badania technologiczno-chemiczne oraz metaloznawcze wybranych zabytków metalowych [Technological, chemical, and metallurgical examination of selected metal artefacts],” A. Michalak (ed.), *Castrum Lubenow. Tragiczne dzieje średniowiecznej wieży w Lubrzy [Castrum Lubenow. Tragic history of the tower castle in Lubrza]*. Pękowice – Świdnica: 253-284. <https://doi.org/10.33547/Lubenov2022.13>.
- Boccia, L. G. and Godoy, J. A. (1985): *Musei e gallerie di Milano. Museo Poldi Pezzoli. Armeria I*. Milano, Electa Editrice.
- Boisselière, E. de la and Boisselière, G. de la (2005): *Éperonnerie et parure du cheval de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Bruxelles, Éditions Racine.
- Breiding, H. D. (2020): *Arms and Armor. Highlights from the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia-New Haven, Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Yale University Press.
- Bruna, D. and Labaune-Jean, F. (2011): “Images de l’archange Saint Michel dans les moules à enseignes de pèlerinage récemment découverts au Mont-Saint-Michel,” P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez and C. Vincent (eds.), *Rappresentazioni del Monte e dell’Archangelo san Michele nella letteratura e nelle arti*. Bari, Éditions Edipuglia: 183-197.
- Coad, J. G. and Streeten, A. D. F. (1982): “Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk, 1972-77: country house and castle of the Norman earls of Surrey,” *Archaeological Journal*, 139: 138-301. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1982.11078537>.

- Constable, G. (2008): *Crusaders and Crusading in Twelfth Century*. Burlington, Routledge.
- Duffy, A. R. (1968): *European Armour in the Tower of London*. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Egan, G. (2004): "Buckles, hasps and strap hooks," J. Clark (ed.), *The medieval horse and its equipment c. 1150 – c. 1450*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 5. London, The Boydell Press: 55–61.
- Ellis, B. M. A. and Egan, G. (2004): "Spurs and spur fittings," J. Clark (ed.), *The medieval horse and its equipment c. 1150 – c. 1450*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 5. London, The Boydell Press: 124–156.
- Ericsson, I. (1981): *Futterkamp: Untersuchungen mittelalterlicher befestigter Siedlungen im Kreis Plön, Holstein. I. Funde*. Offa-Bücher 47. Neumünster, Karl Wachholz Verlag.
- Ewald, J. and Tauber, J. (1975): *Die Burgruine Scheidegg bei Gelterkinden: Bericht über die Forschungen 1970–74*. Heidelberg, Propylaeum (Schweizer Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters, 2).
- Fallows, N. (2010): *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Ffoulkes, Ch. (1916): *Inventory and survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London*. London, H. M. Stationery office.
- Ferreira Fernandes, I. C. (2000): "Insignia da Ordem de Santiago," M. Jorge Barocca, I. Guveia Monteiro (eds), *Pera Guerrear: Armamento medieval no espaço português. Catálogo da exposição*. Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela: 315–317.
- Fox-Davies, A. (1909): *A complete guide to heraldry*. London-Edinburgh, T.C. & E.C. Jack.
- Galles, D. L. C. M. (1989): "Pilgrims in History and Heraldry," *The Coat of Arms* (Spring, 1989): 2–8.
- Goodal, A. (2012): "Objects of Copper Alloy," P. Saunders (ed.), *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part IV*. Salisbury, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum: 90–142.
- Goodal, I. H. (1980): "Objects of copper alloy," P. Wade-Martins, *Excavations in North Elmham Park 1967–1972*. East Anglian Archaeology 9, vol. II: 499–505.
- Goodal, I. H. (1990): "Iron buckles and belt-fittings," M. Biddle (ed.), *Artefacts of Medieval Winchester, Parts I and II: Objects of Economy in Medieval Winchester*. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 526–538.
- Göbner, N. (2011): *Reiter und Ritter. Formenkunde, Chronologie, Verwendung und gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Reitzubehörs aus Deutschland*. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns, 49. Schwerin, Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege.
- Grancsay, S. V. (1941): "A pair of spurs bearing the Bourbon motto," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXXVI: 170–172. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3256482>.
- Grancsay, S. V. (1955): *A Loan Exhibition of Equestrian Equipment from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue*. Louisville, The Speed Art Museum.
- Griffiths, N. (1995): "Harness Pendants and Associated Fittings," J. Clark (ed.), *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment, c. 1150–1450*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 5, Suffolk: The Boydell Press: 61–71.
- Hinton, D. (1990): "Harness Pendants and Swivels," M. Biddle (ed.), *Artefacts of Medieval Winchester, Parts I and II: Objects of Economy in Medieval Winchester*. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1047–1053.
- Hohler, C. (1957): "The badge of St. James," I. Cox (ed.), *The Scallop, Studies of a Shell and its Influences on Human*. London, The 'Shell' Transport and Trading Company: 49–70.
- Hoppe, K. D. (1991): "Vier mittelalterliche Gürterteile aus Wiesmarer Schwindgruben," *Ausgrabungen und Funde*, 36/3: 147–151.
- Hyland, A. (2004): "The Medieval War Saddle and its Accessories," L. Gilmour (ed.), *In the Saddle. An exploration of saddle through history*. London, Archetype Publications: 31–38.
- Johns, C. N. and Pringle, D. (1997): *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem), and Qal'atar-Rabad ('Ajlun): Three Middle Eastern Castles from the Time of Crusades*. Aldershot, Routledge.
- Kienbusch, C. O. von (1963): *The Kretschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms*. New Jersey: Princeton University Library.
- Köster, K. (1983): *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiago-Straßen: Saint-Léonard-Rocamadour-Saint-Gilles-Santiago de Compostela*. Schleswiger-Funde und Gesamtüberlieferung. Ausgrabungen in Schleswig. Berichte und Studien, 2: 43–88.
- Köster, K. (1985): "Les coquilles et enseignes de pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et des Routes de Saint-Jacques," *Crédit communal de Belgique, Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur* (ed.), *Santiago de Compostelle. 1000 ans de Pèlerinage Européen*. Gent, Centrum voor kunst en cultuur: 85–95.
- Krauskopf, Ch. (2005): *Tric-Trac, Trense, Treichel. Untersuchungen zur Sachkultur des Adels im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*. Braubach, Deutsche Burgenvereinigung.
- Kurnatowski, S. (2015): "Charakterystyka stanowiska i prowadzonych tam badań [Characteristic of the site and its excavations]," S. Kurnatowski (ed.), *Międzyrzecz. Gród i zamek w wiekach IX–XIV. Wyniki prac wykopaliskowych z lat 1954–1961 [Międzyrzecz. Stronghold and Castle in 9th–14th centuries. Results of excavations from 1954–1961]*. Origines Polonorum, VIII. Warszawa, Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Trio: 19–62.
- La Rocca, D. J. (2017): *How to Read European Armor*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Lamy-Lassalle, C. (1971): "Les enseignes de pèlerinage du Mont Saint-Michel," M. Baudot (ed.), *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel III. Culte de Saint Michel et Pèlerinages au Mont*. Paris, Bibliothèque d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Chrétiennes: 271–286.
- Łaskiewicz, T. and Michalak, A. (2007): "Broń i oporządzenie jeździeckie z badań i nadzorów archeologicznych na terenie Międzyrzecza [Weaponry and Equestrian Equipment from the archeological excavations and supervisions in the area of Międzyrzecz]," *Acta Militaria Mediaevalia*, 3: 99–176.
- Mann, J. (1962): *European Arms and Armour: Wallace Collection Catalogues*. Vol. I: Armour. London, William Cloves & Sons.

- Marcinkowski, M. (2003): “Ostrogi ze Starego Miasta w Elblągu [Spurs from the Old Town in Elbląg],” *Pomorania Antiqua*, XIX: 177-191.
- Marek, L. (2008): *Broń biała na Śląsku XIV-XVI wiek*. Wratislavia Antiqua, 10. Wrocław, Uniwersytet Wrocławski. Instytut Archeologii.
- Marek, L. (2014): *Europejski styl. Militaria z Elbląga i okolic [European style. Weaponry from Elbląg and surroundings]*. Studia Archeologiczne, XLVII, Wrocław, Uniwersytet Wrocławski. Instytut Archeologii.
- Marek, L. (2017): *Średniowieczne uzbrojenie Europy łacińskiej jako Ars Emblematica [Medieval Arms and Armour in Latin Europe as Ars Emblematica]*. Wratislavia Antiqua, 22. Wrocław, Uniwersytet Wrocławski. Instytut Archeologii. <https://doi.org/10.23734/22.17.002>.
- Marek, L. and Stolarczyk, T. (2011): “Dwa nowo odkryte pugiwały z terenu Śląska – oznaki statusu społecznego czy dowody późnośredniowiecznego egalitaryzmu [Two newly discovered daggers from Silesia - signs of social status or evidence of late medieval egalitarianism],” P. Kucypera and P. Pudło (eds), *Cum Arma Per Aeva. Uzbrojenie indywidualne na przestrzeni dziejów [Cum Arma Per Aeva. Personal armament throughout history]*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek: 201-221.
- Martín Ansón, M. L. (2004): *La Colección de Pinjantes y Placas de Arnés Medievales del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan en Madrid*. Madrid, UAM Ediciones.
- Martín Ansón, M. L. (2005): “Amuletos-talismanes para caballos, en forma de creciente, en la España medieval,” *Archivo Español de Arte*, 78 (309): 5-21. <https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2005.v78.i309.205>.
- Michalak, A. (2019): *Arma Confinii. Przemiany późnośredniowiecznej broni na rubieżach Śląska, Wielkopolski, Brandenburgii i Łużyc [Arma Confinii. Transformation of Arms and Armour in the borderland of Silesia, Greater Poland, Brandenburg and Lusatia]*. Zielona Góra, Muzeum Archeologiczne Środkowego Nadodrza.
- Michalak, A. (2022a): “Castrum Lubenov. Calamity of the Tower Castle in Lubrza”. *Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae*, 35: 93-107. <https://doi.org/10.23858/FAH35.2022.007>.
- Michalak, A. (2022b): “Militaria [Weaponry],” A. Michalak (ed.), *Castrum Lubenov. Tragiczne dzieje średniowiecznej wieży mieszkalnej w Lubrzy [Castrum Lubenov. Tragic history of the tower castle in Lubrza]*. Zielona Góra-Pekowice, Muzeum Archeologiczne Środkowego Nadodrza: 215-252. <https://doi.org/10.33547/Lubenov2022.12>.
- Michalak, A. (2022c): “Zamek typu motte w Lubrzy w świetle badań interdyscyplinarnych. Próba podsumowania [The motte-and-bailey castle in Lubrza in light of interdisciplinary research. An attempt to summarise the issue],” A. Michalak (ed.), *Castrum Lubenov. Tragiczne dzieje średniowiecznej wieży mieszkalnej w Lubrzy [Castrum Lubenov. Tragic history of the tower castle in Lubrza]*. Zielona Góra-Pekowice, Muzeum Archeologiczne Środkowego Nadodrza: 327-334. <https://doi.org/10.33547/Lubenov2022.17>.
- Neubecker, O. (1992): *Grosses Wappen - Bilder - Lexikon: der bürgerlichen Geschlechter Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz*. Augsburg, Bechtermünz.
- Nickel, H.; Pyhrr, S. and Tarassuk, L. (1982): *The Art of Chivalry. European Arms and Armour from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, The American Federation of Arts.
- Nowack, A. (1932): *Führer durch das Erzbischöfl. Diözesanmuseum in Breslau*. Breslau, Diözesanmuseum.
- Pullan, W. (2013): “Tracking the Habitual: observations on the Pilgrim’s Shell,” P. Davies; D. Howard and W. Pullan (ed.), *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-500: Southern Europe and Beyond*. London, Routledge: 59-85.
- Reverseau, J. P. (2004): “L’Armement sur les Pierres Funéraires Chypriotes,” B. Imhaus (ed.), *Lacrimae Cypriae. Les larmes de Chypre ou Recueil des inscriptions lapidaires pour la plupart funéraires de la période franque et vénitienne de l’île de Chypre*. Nicosie, Département des Antiquités: 139-157.
- Ritter von Kern, G. (1997): “Steigbügel,” R. Hofmann (ed.), *Ritter, Burgen und Dörfer: Mittelalterliches Leben in Stadt und Land: Sonderausstellung zum 650. Todestag Konrads II. von Schlüsselberg*. Forchheim, Selbstverlag.
- Rozynkowski, W. (2011): “Kult św. Jakuba Większego w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach [The cult of St James the Greater in the Teutonic Order state of Prussia],” P. Roszak (ed.), *Camino de Santiago - nie tylko Droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba [Camino de Santiago – not only Road. History and present day of the Way of Saint James]*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika: 217-250.
- Russow, E.; Randoja, K.; Bernotas, R.; Tvaari, A.; Rammo, R.; Reppo, M.; Ratas, J.; Kreem, J. and Lõugas, L. (2018): “A late medieval treasure trove of Tallinn. Salvage excavations of the 15th-century landfill between the Jahu and Väike-Patarei streets.” *Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia*, 2018: 185-218.
- Rutkowska, G. (1993): “Międzyrzecz,” A. Gąsiorowski (ed.), *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu [Historical and Geographic Dictionary of the Poznań Region in the Middle Ages]*, vol. III:1. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk: 133-160.
- Schlunk, A. and Giersch, R. (2009): *Die Ritter: Geschichte - Kultur - Alltagsleben: Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung „Die Ritter“ im Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer 30. März 2003 - 16. Oktober 2003*. Stuttgart, Theiss.
- Schmitt, A. (2008): *Burg Tannenberg bei Seeheim-Jugenheim, Lkr. Darmstadt-Dieburg. Eine spätmittelalterliche Ganerbenburg im Licht der archäologischen Funde*. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, 151. Bonn, Habelt.
- Spencer, B. (1998): *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, 7. London, Boydell Press.
- Starnawska, M. (1992): “Mnisi – rycerze – szlachta. Templariusze i Joannici na pograniczu wielkopolsko-brandenbursko-pomorskim [Monks – knights – nobility. Templars and Hospitallers in the borderland of Greater Poland, Brandenburg, Pomerania],” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 99/1: 3-31.
- Stasiak, W. and Grygiel, R. (2014): “Pozostałe materiały ruchome [Other movable artefacts],” R. Grygiel and T. Jurek

- (eds), *Początki Łęczycy [Beginnings of Łęczycza]*, vol. II: Archeologia o początkach Łęczycy [Archeology on the beginnings of Łęczycza]. Łódź, Muzeum Archeologiczne w Łodzi: 341-428.
- Stones, A. (1992): "The Decoration and Illumination of the Codex Calixtinus at Santiago de Compostela," J. Williams and A. Stones, *The Codex Calixtinus and The Shrine of St. James*. Tübingen, Gunter Narr: 137-184.
- Świętosławski, W. (1990): *Strzemiona średniowieczne z ziem polskich [Medieval stirrups from the Polish lands]*. Łódź, Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej.
- Tanco, J. (2011): "Historia pielgrzymowania do Santiago de Compostela [History of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela]," P. Roszak (ed.), *Camino de Santiago - nie tylko Droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba [Camino de Santiago - not just the Way. History and present day of the Way of St. James]*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika: 107-113;
- Thordemann, B. (1939): *Armour from the Battle of Wisby 1361*, Vol. I. Text. Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Urban, W. (1973): "Muzeum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu oraz katalog jego zbiorów [The Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław and a catalogue of its repertory]," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 27: 133-206.
- Viallon M. (2019): "New Research on a Rare Enameled Horse Bit from the Angevin Court at Naples," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 54: 125-135.
- Ward Perkins, J. B. (1967): *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*. London, H.M. Stationery Office.
- Webley, R. (2020): "Appliques en «B» : réexamen d'un objet médiéval énigmatique interprété comme une garniture de mors de bride," *Cahiers LandArc*, 38: 1-12.
- Wheeler, M. (1957): "A symbol in ancient times," I. Cox (ed.), *The Scallop, Studies of a Shell and its Influences on Human*. London, The 'Shell' Transport and Trading Company: 34-38.
- Wiese, J. (2010): "Steigbügel," R. Atzbach, S. Lüken and H. Ottomeyer (eds), *Burg und Herrschaft. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museum Berlin 25 Juni bis 24. October 2010*. Dresden, Sandstein Verlag: 40.
- Wiesiołowski, J. (2002): "Podróże Polaków do Composteli w XIV i XV wieku – stosunki dyplomatyczne i szlachecki model wykształcenia [Journeys of Poles to Compostela in the 14th- and 15th centuries – diplomatic relations and noble model of education]," R. Knapieński (ed.), *Kult świętego Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie środkowo-wschodniej [The cult of Saint James the Greater in Central- and Eastern Europe]*. Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II: 201-210.
- Zschille, R. and Forrer, R. (1891): *Der Sporn in seiner Formen-entwicklung. Ein Versuch zur Characterisirung und Datirung der Sporen unserer Kulturvölker*. Berlin, Verlag von Paul Bette.