

CHAPTER VII

## CHAPTER

### ARMORIAL GLASS. 1275 - 1430.

The date of the first appearance of shields of arms in windows has been the subject of a considerable amount of speculation. Drake stated with considerable emphasis that "not one single instance of heraldry in windows appears to be recorded until well <sup>into</sup> the fourteenth century."<sup>1</sup> Le Conteur, on the other hand, suggested that it was earlier: "heraldry had begun to make an appearance as a form of English window decoration about 1270."<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, he did not produce any evidence to support his view. Rackham writing somewhat later is equally vague:- "Shields of arms are not unknown in thirteenth century glass painting ... only in the fourteenth century that heraldry began to play an important part."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Woodforde, however, is more precise. He views the appearance of armorial glass as a phenomenon of the second half of the thirteenth century and states that "the earliest heraldic glass is represented by six shields in the west window of Salisbury cathedral, by three shields in the windows of the apse of Westminster Abbey and by the Royal arms in Chetwood Church, Bucks."<sup>4</sup> He dates the Salisbury shields circa 1260-1270. There is, however, quite definite proof of the existence of armorial glass of an even earlier date which seems to have escaped the attention of historians of stained glass. The Liberate Roll of 1247 contains an order sent by the King, Henry III, to the Sherref of Kent "to wainscot both chapels in Rochester castle and to make two glass windows in the north gable of the hall there with the King's shield in one and the shield of the late count of Provence in the other."<sup>5</sup> An entry in the Liberate Roll of 1251 orders the bailiff of Havering castle "to paint the four evangelists well in the King's chapel, in his lower chapel to make two glass windows with shields of the King's arms."<sup>6</sup> More armorial glass was ordered for Havering in 1268 when Henry III instructed the Keeper

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1. Drake. "History of English Glass Painting." (1912).p.106.
  2. Le Conteur "English Medieval Glass Painting (1926) p. 76.
  3. Rackham. "A Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass." (V. & A.) (1936) p. 42.
  4. Woodforde. "English Stained and Painted Glass" (1954) p.6.
  5. Calendar Liberate Rolls. Henry III, 1245-1251. p. 113.
  6. *ibid.* page 372.

of his works at Westminster "to make twenty glass windows with forty shields therein and carry them to Havering .... to place in the chamber of the King's consort Eleanor, Queen of England, as she has more fully enjoined."7.

The order of 1247 cited above is, so far as I know, the earliest documentary record of armorial glass in England. The earlier Liberate Rolls of Henry III's reign contain orders for the provision of windows of white glass, sometimes containing figures,8, but there is no specific mention of anything armorial.

There has so far been no serious attempt to discuss and analyse the extent and nature of medieval armorial glass. The genealogical background of the armorial glass in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire has been examined by Mr. E.A. Greening Lambourne.9. His account, in many ways excellent and informative, suffers from one very serious fault, in that he makes little use of the antiquarian records of armorial glass now no longer extant. For example, he identifies and discusses the twenty-six remaining shields at Dorchester, Oxon. which he notes "are all that is left of more than double that number sketched by Lee in 1574, by a Mr. Winchell in 1622 .... and recorded anew by Wood himself in 1657." He states "The large majority, if not the whole of the shields, are those of Barons with local holdings; and this applies not merely to the existing coats but to the lost shields of Lee's record."10. The missing shields are not otherwise mentioned, we are, in effect, expected to accept the theory without the proof.

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7. Tristram, English Medieval Wall Paintings. XIII.C.  
Volume, (1966) page 387-8 citing Liberate Rolls. Henry III. 1267-72. mem. 10. unpublished.
  8. Cal. Liberate Rolls, 1226-1240, p. 159 (A.D. 1229),  
p. 197 (1233). ibid. 1240-1245, p. 249. (A.D. 1244.)
  9. Greening-Lambourne. Armorial Glass of the Oxford  
Diocese, 1949.
  10. ibid. pp. 120-121.

Within the area covered by this present survey there is not a great deal of extant armorial glass. The amazing industry of a small group of early seventeenth-century antiquarians has, however, preserved some record of the enormous amount of armorial glass remaining at that time. Foremost in this respect are the collections of William Burton (1575-1645)<sup>11</sup> and Sir William Dugdale (1605-1683)<sup>12</sup>. Burton has perhaps been under-estimated as an antiquary, his notes are meticulous in their detail and he mostly takes care to record the distribution of the shields in the windows.<sup>13</sup>.

With the assistance of these and other antiquarian accounts it is possible to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of the extent of medieval armorial glass. They do not, however, solve the problems of when and why the armorial glass was erected.

An examination of these problems cannot be considered without, first of all, making a few general remarks upon the history of armorial bearings and rolls of arms. In this field the outstanding work is Dr. A.R. Wagner's 'Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages.'<sup>14</sup>. Wagner points out how true heraldry - i.e. the systematic use of hereditary devices centred on a shield, occurs as early as the second quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> and that by the end of the century the practice of employing heraldry on seals was well established.<sup>16</sup>.

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11. Heraldic Collections of William Burton. British Museum, Egerton MS. 3510. Many of the entries are dated, mostly in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Hereafter referred to as W. Burton's Church Notes. The Leicestershire portions were printed in the same author's 'Description of Leicestershire. 1622.'

12. Particularly his 'Antiquities of Warwickshire' 1666, and 'The Book of Draughts', British Museum Loan MS.38.

13. Where he does not it invariably happens that he was copying someone else's notes.

14. A.R. Wagner 'Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages'. 1939.

15. *ibid.* p. 12.

16. *ibid.* p. 14.



Glover's Roll, the earliest of the English Rolls of Arms, circa 1254, in Wagner's view suggests that the practice of heraldry by this date was both widespread and systematic.<sup>17</sup> The Roll contains two hundred and eighteen coats and there are only five instances in which one coat is borne by two individuals.<sup>18</sup> This, together with the frequency of significant similarity,<sup>19</sup> suggests that already some system governed the adoption of arms.

Wagner classifies rolls of arms into five groups according to their purpose, namely Illustrative Rolls, Occasional Rolls, General Rolls, Local Rolls and Ordinairies. Illustrative Rolls form a particular group in which arms appear as illustration or adornment to other matter as in the margins of chronicles, cartulaires or liturgical books. The earliest example of this group are the shields in the margins of Matthew Paris *Historia Anglorum*, c.1250-1259.<sup>20</sup> Occasional Rolls give the name and arms of persons present on a particular occasion such as a tournament or a military campaign, the oldest example being the Falkirk Roll of 1298.<sup>21</sup> General Rolls form the largest class. These usually begin with Prester John, King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Rome, and continue with foreign rulers, then Earls, Lords and Knights of England. There are a great deal of variations in rolls of this class and no single purpose or origin has been inferred.<sup>22</sup>

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17. *ibid.* p. 18.

18. *ibid.* p. 18, no.2. In two cases there is an explanation on grounds of connection by blood or land tenure.

19. *ibid.* p. 19 and p. 17 citing the group of similar coats used by the families of Say, Vere, Clavering and Beauchamp of Bedford, whose ancestors were all connections by marriage with Geoffray de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

20. Wagner, *op.cit.* p. 49. Wagner "Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms" 1950, p. XIV, and p. I.

21. Wagner. *Heralds.* pp. 49-50; CEMRA, p. XIV and p. 27.

22. Wagner. *Heralds.* pp. 50-51, CEMRA, p. xiv.

The Local Rolls form a small group, of particular importance as they may be the forerunners of the later Visitations.<sup>23</sup> The earliest is Dering's Roll, circa 1275, consisting mainly of Kent and Sussex arms.<sup>24</sup> The most important example of this group is the so-called Parliamentary Roll circa 1312 giving one thousand, one hundred and ten coats in blazon covering the whole of England.<sup>25</sup> Its particular importance is that twenty two copies of its original form are known and sixteen copies of a later recension.<sup>26</sup>

The last group, the Ordinaries, is peculiar to England. The Ordinary is a collection in which one type of design, for example coats with lions or chevrons, is assembled. Its chief use would be for identification. The oldest examples are Cooke's Ordinary, circa 1340, and Cotgrave's Ordinary, c. 1340.<sup>27</sup>

It is necessary to inquire if armorial glass divides into groups and to see if these groups relate in type and purpose to the divisions of the Rolls of Arms. In this instance it is of interest to note that "Edward I was the first English King known to have maintained heralds and that his age is the golden age both of occasional and of general Rolls of Arms."<sup>28</sup>

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23. Wagner. *Heralds*, p. 51-2.

24. Wagner. *C.E.M.R.A.* p. xiv and p. 14.

25. *ibid*, p. 42. ed. Nicolas. "A Roll of Arms, of the reign of Edward II, 1829."

26. Wagner, *C.E.M.R.A.* pp. 42-50.

27. *ibid*. p. xv, p. 58 and p. 60.

28. Wagner. *Heralds*, p. 50.

### CLASSIFICATION OF ARMORIAL GLASS

Armorial glass can be classified into several groups comparable in many ways to the Rolls of Arms. The lines of demarcation between some of these groups, however, are not always clear and there appears to be a certain amount of overlapping. In considering the various problems it must always be remembered that we know much of this glass only at second hand, mostly from seventeenth century sources. We know how extensive the losses have been since these antiquarian notes were made, what we can probably never know is the extent of losses after the glass was erected and before it was recorded.

Comparable in some ways to the Illustrative Rolls, and particularly to Cartularies, was a series of windows in the chapel of the Abbot of Leicester Abbey in the church of Stoughton, near Leicester. These windows no longer remain, Burton, however, noted them thus:- "In this town the Abbot and Convent of Leicester built a most fair and beautiful chapel, the windows curiously wrought with stories, expressing the benefactors arms."<sup>29</sup> He lists forty shields of arms in the chapel.<sup>30</sup> The date of such a series is conjectural without the evidence of the actual glass. The "stories, expressing the benefactors' arms" probably refers to the distribution of the shields in layers in each window, rather than narrative scenes. It seems that at Stoughton we have lost an important piece of historical evidence. The forty shields of arms of benefactors, comparable <sup>to</sup> the shields of the Knights tenants of the Abbey of Peterborough cartulary,<sup>31</sup> or the illustrated headings in the Ridware cartulary.<sup>32</sup>

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29. Burton. A Description of Leicestershire pp. 274-275.

30. See sub.cat. Stoughton. Leicestershire.

31. British Museum. Additional MS. 39758. Chronicle and Cartulary of Peterborough Abbey, circa 1321-1329. In the margins of ff. 50-53 are illustrated the arms of the abbey and of sixteen of its knights' tenants. Wagner, Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms, pp. 51-52.

32. British Museum, Egerton MS. 3041, dated 1316. f. 8 v. Grant of Free Warren from Edward II of 1311. drawing of the Great Seal attached to the original charter. Some of the other headings to various charters appear to copy the seals of the originals e.g. f. 23 R. grant by William de Ferrers to William, son of Walter de Ridware, shows Sir William de Ferrers armed holding a spear and a shield of his arms, with a tree on either side of him.

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A similar display of benefactors' arms occurred in a window of Añstrey church, Warwickshire. Dugdale recorded three shields labelled King Athelstan. Wulfric Spot and Osbert de Clinton, respectively. Wulfric Spot was the founder of Burton Abbey, founded 1002-1004, and part of his holding in Añstrey was subsequently given to the Abbey before 1086. Osbert de Clinton granted the advowson of Añstrey church to the Abbey in the reign of Edward I. These connections suggest that they were here commemorated as benefactors, the Clinton arms suggests a dating not earlier than the reign of Edward I. The inclusion of the arms of King Athelstan, ob. 940, is mysterious, particularly so as the coat 'azure three crowns or' although labelled "Le Roy: Athelstñ" is not otherwise associated with St. Edmund, King and Martyr.<sup>33</sup>

A group of windows in the Midlands is of particular interest as the families whose arms are represented were associated with each other by land tenure. The east window of Weston under Lizard church, Staffordshire, contains three shields in the tracery lights, namely the arms of the King of England, of Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and of Warenne, Earl of Surrey.

In the lower lights of the window are kneeling figures of Sir John de Weston and his wife Isabella de Bromley, together with shields of their arms. The Westons held the manor of the Earl of Arundel who held it of the King in chief. The Warenne arms were included to commemorate the marriage, in 1304, of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, ob. 1326, to Alice daughter of William de Warenne (son and heir apparant of John, Earl of Surrey). The window is probably to be dated circa 1319-1326.<sup>34</sup>

A lost window at Ratby, Leicestershire, contained the figures of Henry de Ferrers, tenant of the manor, and of his overlord and distant kinsman Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Buchan. The date of the original is somewhat conjectural, however, there are good reasons for assigning it to the period 1312-1339.<sup>35</sup>

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33. See sub.cat. Añstrey Warwickshire for a full account.

34. See sub.cat. Weston under Lizard for a full account.

35. See sub.cat. Ratby, Leics. for a full account.



P'ber Abbey

Abbot Geoffrey of Croyland 1299-1321

"A great builder -- only the great Gate-house over which was the chamber called the Knights chamber is yet standing -- about it were the pictures of knights upon the walls who held lands of the abbey, and the very rafters were adorned with coats of arms.

S. Gunton. History of the church of Peterburgh 1685.



but on a much smaller scale, can be traced, from the border figures in the centre main light of the Peter de Dene window at York, before 1306 (?),<sup>41</sup> to the similar figures originally on the brass of Lewis de Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, executed between 1318-1333,<sup>42</sup> and the probably contemporary brass of Sir Hugh de Hastings, ob. 1347 at Elsing.<sup>43</sup> In glass the figures are paralleled by the large standing figures of the eight Lords of the Honour of Gloucester in the windows of the choir clearstorey of Tewkesbury Abbey, circa 1340-1344.<sup>44</sup> and the lost figures of Edward II or Edward III and a Lord Ros formerly of Bottesford, Leicestershire.<sup>45</sup> This last may have been erected to commemorate a particular military campaign; however, as the Lord Ros held the manor of Bottesford and the nearby castle of Belvoir of the King in chief the window might commemorate the King as his overlord, either interpretation is possible. These windows commemorating feats of arms were probably quite common. It is worth recalling that in the Plea of Arms, Scrope versus Grosvenor tried before the Court of Chivalry 1385-90, both Hugh de Hastings and John de Hastings in their depositions of 1387 stated that more than sixty years previously their grandfather had placed the arms of Geoffrey Le Scrope in a window because they had been fellow soldiers together:- " & qil and oye son pier dime q son aiel & Mons Geffray Lescrop estoient en compaignie en batailliez et journiez ... e pr cause de compaignie entre lour deux son dit aiel fist mettr' mesmes lez armes (of Scrope) en un fenestr' u're passe sessantz ans."<sup>46</sup> There were possibly other coats of arms in the same window, but the nature of the enquiry did not necessitate their mention.

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41. See Winston and Walford. "On an heraldic window in the North nave aisle of York Cathedral" *Archaeological Journal* XVII. The figures represent a Knight Hospitaller and Templar, the Kings and Queens of England and France, the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Gloucester, Surrey and Warwick and the Lords Ros, Mowbray, Clifford and Percy.

42. Figures of his ancestors. See *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* 2nd Ser. XIII, p. 36.

43. A. Hartshorne. On the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings. *Archaeologia* LX. (1906) pp 25-42. Pl. v. vi. vii.

44. Rushforth. 'The Glass in the choir clearstorey of Tewkesbury Abbey *Britsol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* XLVI.

45. See sub.cat. Bottesford, Leicestershire.

46. Scrope and Grosvenor <sup>Controversy</sup> *Roll.* Vol. I, p. 51. ed. N.H. Nicolas. [1829].

A series of windows in the Midlands, considering the range of the arms depicted, can be compared with the General and Local Rolls of Arms.

The chapel of Noseley, Leicestershire, was erected by Anketin de Martival and, from the documentary evidence, appears to have been finished before 1305.<sup>47</sup> The windows contained at least twenty three coats of arms, comprising the Royal arms of England, France, Castile, Navarre and Germany and continuing with the arms of English Earls, Barons and Knights. The choice of these arms was probably made by Anketin de Martival, however, there seems to be no single over all reason relating the various families represented to each other. The less important families may have been personal friends of Martival and included for that reason alone. This is quite feasible. The Prior of Marton in his deposition in the Scrope versus Grosvenor Plea stated that Sir Alexander de Neville, an uncle of the then Lord Neville, had a surcoat embroidered with his own arms and the arms of his friends:- "Item le dit prior dit q̄ monsr. Alisaundre de Nevyll uncle a sire de Nevyl gorest la fist faire un cote darmes enbroudez de cez armez opprez & fist paire les quarters tut pleyne de petitz eschochons de lez armez de cez amys en quale cote sont trovez les armez de mons Rauf de Hastyng' lez escochons des armez de mon<sup>s</sup> William Dato<sup>n</sup> lez escochons dez auncest's de Seynt Quyntyn & lez escochons dez auncest's de Marmyon & aut's tout pleyne entr̄ queux sont lez armez de mons' Henr Lescrop ove un blanc labele."<sup>48</sup>

The east window of Dronfield church Derbyshire contained the Royal arms of England, France, Navarre, Provence-Aragon and of the Emperor of Germany together with the arms of English Earls and Barons, namely Lancaster, Surrey, Gloucester, Hereford and Percy. The side windows of the chancel seem to have contained the arms of local lords: two only survive namely Chaworth and Grey. When the original glazing was complete the heraldry would have read like a synopsis of a General Roll of Arms. The Dronfield windows were probably erected in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>49</sup>

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47. See Noseley, Leicestershire, for a full account.

48. Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, op.cit. Vol.I, pp.139/40.

49. See Dronfield, Derbyshire.

The church of Claybrook Parva, Leicestershire, formerly had fifteen shields in the windows. These, although perhaps not all of the same date, have the appearance of an abridged Local Roll. The manor of Claybrook belonged, after 1312, to the Zouche of Haringworth family, who also held lands in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire. The other families represented in the armorial glass also held lands in these counties.

It would appear, therefore, that certain collections of armorial glass can be compared in intent, if not numerical scope, with the medieval Rolls of Arms. This present inquiry has been restricted to the Midlands. It will require a detailed survey covering the whole of England before a final assessment and conclusions can be made.

### DONOR FIGURES

The donors of a window frequently had representations of themselves incorporated in the design. They are generally depicted in the lower part of the window, and are shown kneeling in prayer. Their names were often recorded in an accompanying inscription and, if they were armigerous, they are shown wearing their arms. The importance attached to this display of their armorial bearings was sometimes emphasised by depicting the donor holding up his or her shield of arms in addition to wearing their arms on their surcoats or mantels. The accuracy of arms thus depicted can hardly be doubted. In support of this view is the fact that Sir Edward Hastings in his Plea of Arms versus Grey heard before the Court of Chivalry, 1407-1417, produced in evidence to the commissioners the monumental brass and windows relating to his great grandfather Sir Hugh Hastings, ob. 1347, at Elsing:- "Item la dite partie defendant nous monstra ... les evidences faitz et oeueres en verrus de les fenistres dudit eglise, et primerement en le ve<sup>xx</sup>ur del fenestre en le day milienesse vers lorient desuis le grand Auter dudite Chauncelle, le ymage dun Chivale arme portant les ditz armes de Hastynges ouec le labelle suisdite, et le ymage dune Dame vestue en les armes des Foliotes susditz, et genulantz et supportantz entre lour maynes une Eglise, et le helme avec le crest auant nomme est fait entre les dits ymages, et deux escuchons des ditz armes des Hastynges, ouec la labelle de troys poyntz dargent sont faitz desoubz leur genoiles."50.

Le Couteur in his chapter on "Early English Glass 1200-1280" states "Portrait figures of donors had not yet made their appearance in English windows."51. More recently, however, a panel of glass representing Beatrix of Falkenburg has come to light.52. She is shown kneeling in prayer and above her head is inscribed:

"BEATRIX DE VALKENBURCH REGINA ALLEMANNIE."

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50. This evidence was heard at Elsing in 1408. A complete transcript is given in A. Wagner's and J. Mann's "A XV.C. Description of the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings" in *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 421-426.

51. Le Couteur, op.cit. p.77.

52. S.H. Steinberg. "A Portrait of Beatrix of Falkenburg" *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 142-145. The panel is now in the Burmell Collection, Glasgow Museum.



She married Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans and brother of King Henry III in 1269. She died in 1277 and was buried in the Franciscan church in Oxford. It has been suggested that the panel of glass "was given or bequeathed by her to that convent in Oxford ... At all events the date of that panel can be fixed 'about 1275'"<sup>53</sup>. It certainly cannot be earlier than 1269 when she became Queen of the Romans by her marriage to Richard.<sup>54</sup> Woodforde cites this panel and states "In the second half of the thirteenth century there appeared two subjects which were to take a very important place in stained glass windows in later generations. One was the figure of the donor of the glass and the other was the heraldic shield."<sup>55</sup>. However, the Beatrix of Falkenberg panel is not the earliest known donor figure in English glass. The Royal palace of Clarendon Wiltshire was, in 1250, furnished with a window containing a figure representing Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III. This is recorded in the Liberate Roll of that year:- "to make a glass window in the queen's chamber with a small figure of Mary with the Child and a queen at her feet with joined hands holding an Ave Maria."<sup>56</sup>. Donor figures occur considerably earlier on the continent,<sup>57</sup> and although the evidence is lacking, there seems no reason not to suppose that there were English examples of the same date.

53. *ibid.* pp. 144-145.

54. The inscription of the Burwell<sup>panel</sup> styles her 'Regina Allemainne', this is incorrect, the same title, however, is given her in contemporary documents. Steinberg, *op.cit.* p. 144.

55. Woodforde *op.cit.* p. 6.

56. *Cal.Liberate Rolls*, 1245-51, p. 324.

57. *e.g.*



A number of donor windows are found in association with the tombs of the people depicted. Even so this does not necessarily mean that the windows were a post mortem commemoration. In one case, however, this was so. A lost window at Clifton Campville, Staffordshire, contained a representation of Sir Richard de Vernon of Haddon who pre-deceased his father before 1322/3. and an incomplete inscription "Matildis de Vernon fecit hanc fenestram." This suggests that the window was erected by his widow after his death in association with his tomb.<sup>58</sup> In many cases, however, the evidence is not so precise. A lost window at Whitwick, Leicestershire, contained the figures of Sir John Talbot of Swar<sup>th</sup>ington and his wife, Alice. The tomb of Sir John Talbot is below the window.<sup>59</sup> They could both have been erected at the same time. It is equally possible, though, that the window was erected as a separate gift. The Hastings window at Elsing contained an inscription relating to the rebuilding of the church:- "Pray to yr sone made Marye, in whos wirshipp yis Chirch have rowght. Hugh the Hastynges, and Marlorie my Wyf, Lady foryete us noht."<sup>60</sup> This suggests that this particular window was erected in the lifetime of the donors. These problems are complicated by the knowledge that there are examples known of widows being erected in the lifetime of the donors yet bearing inscriptions asking for prayers for their souls, instead of their good estate. For example, the east window of Haddon Hall chapel contains the following inscription "Orate pro animabus Ricardi Vernon et Benedicte uxoris eius que (istam fenestram fieri) fecerunt, ano dni millesimo cccc mo XXVII" Sir Richard de Vernon, however, did not die until 1450.<sup>61</sup> In addition tombs were sometimes made before a persons' death, a space being left in the inscription for the insertion of the date of death.<sup>62</sup> It can, therefore, be said with some justification that, unless the evidence is absolutely precise, the association of a window and tomb, both relating to the same person or persons does not preclude the erection of either the window or the tomb, or both, within the lifetime of the donor.

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- 58. see Clifton Campville, Staffs. for a full account.
  - 59. see Whitwick, Leicestershire.
  - 60. Wagner and Mann, op.cit. p. 424.
  - 61. See sub.cat.Haddon Hall, Derbys.for a full account.
  - 62. See sub.cat. Wixford, Warwicks., brass of Thomas de Crewe, ob. 1418 and Juliana his wife, ob. 1411, erected after the latter's death and before that of her husband.

One of the most interesting characteristics of fourteenth century donor figures is the lack of conformity found in representations of the armorial bearings of ladies. These fall into three main groups:-

- A. Ladies bearing their own family arms.
- B. Ladies bearing their husbands' arms.
- C. Ladies bearing their family arms quartered or impaled with their husbands' arms.

In each case these figures each have a companion figure of the husband.

An early example of the first group is the figure of Dame Isabella de Bromley, ob. 1317, wearing a gown embroidered with the Bromley arms, wife of Sir John de Weston, in the east window of Weston under Lizard Church, Staffordshire.63. Other important examples are known from secondary sources, for example, the Hastings window at Elsing already mentioned.64. and the figure of Christine de Bermingham, wife of Sir Roger de Okeover, formerly in the east window of Okeover church, Staffordshire.65. both of the first half of the century.

There is only one surviving example from the Midlands of the second group. This is the panel now at Melbourne, Australia, of Sir John de Hardreshill and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir James Stafford of Sandon. She is depicted wearing a gown of her husband's arms, argent semy of martlets (gules) a chevron sable. This panel probably came from Merevale Abbey Warwickshire, it is assigned to the second quarter of the century.66. Again, other examples are known from secondary sources. In the Talbot window at Whitwick, already mentioned, Dame Alice Talbot wears a gown of her husband's arms and also holds his shield. The arms of her own family of Moton of Peckleton were represented above her, balancing a shield of Talbot on the other side of the window.67. A later example, dated 1393, existed in the east window of the chancel at Wanlip, Leicestershire, where Dame Katherine Welsh

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63. The actual figure was replaced by a copy in the 19th century, see sub.cat. Weston under Lizard, Staffs.

64. See above.

65. see sub.cat. Okeover, Staffordshire.

66. see sub.cat. Merevale, Warwicks.

67. see sub.cat. Whitwick, Leicestershire.

was depicted kneeling in prayer with her husband, Sir Thomas Welch, and wearing his arms on her gown.<sup>68</sup>

The most important example in the Midlands of the third group was formerly found at the church of Broughton Astley Warwickshire. In this window were depicted Thomas, Lord Astley and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. She was depicted holding up a shield of arms of Beauchamp quartering Astley, the Beauchamp arms being given preference as a more important family than her husbands'. The original window is datable c.1325-c.1370.<sup>69</sup>

Two other examples of wives bearing their own and their husbands' arms are of particular interest as they are the only proof we have of the arms concerned. A window at Church Leigh, Staffordshire, contained the figures of Philip de Draycot. Agnes de Draycot and Thomas Pichard. Draycot wears a surcoat of his arms fretty a fess ermine, Pichard's surcoat bears or three leopards heads erased sable. Agnes de Draycot wears a mantel of the Pichard arms and a dress of the Draycot arms. It seems possible that Pichard may have been either the father of Agnes de Draycot or her first husband. However, nothing is known of the Picharts and their arms are otherwise unrecorded.<sup>70</sup>

The second example was at Barwell, Leicestershire. This window contained two kneeling figures of knights both identified by an inscription as "Rilby" (Kilby?) but wearing different arms on their surcoats. One labelled "Rilby" bore "Vert a chevron ermine between three cinquefoils ermine"; the other, labelled "Robertus Rilby" bore, "Argent two bars and a quarter sable." Between these two knights was the figure of a lady, labelled "..... la uxor eius" whose gown bears the first coat dimidiating the second. This rather suggests that the

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68. see sub.cat. Wanlip, Leicestershire.

69. see sub.cat. Broughton Astley, Leics.

70. see sub.cat. Church Leigh Staffs. If Pichart was her father the arms on her clothes can be read as Draycot impaling Pichart.

proper arms of Rilby or Kilby were the chevron and cinqfoils and that the second coat represents her paternal arms which were assumed by Robert Rilby who, presumably, was her son and heir.<sup>71</sup> A not dissimilar case, for example, is that of Sir Roger Somerville, ob.1336, son of Sir Robert Somerville of Wichmore, Staffordshire, by Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Roger de Merley, who assumed his mother's arms in preference to his own.<sup>72</sup> The particular interest of the Barwell window, is that neither of the two coats appear in any of the medieval rolls of arms.

In all the above examples the donors are represented kneeling in prayer. This seems to have been the most common manner of representation. A complete contrast was formerly to be seen in the east window of Drayton Bassett church Staffordshire. On the north side of the window was depicted a full-length standing figure of Ralph, Lord Bassett, ob. 1342, and behind him his esquire holding his horse, while on the south side of the window was his wife Joan, ob. 1353, holding her husband's helmet, her dress embroidered with her husband's arms impaling her own, Grey of Wilton.<sup>73</sup> The contents of the other main lights of the window are not known. The closest comparison to this window is the equestrian figure of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell attended by his wife Agnes and Beatrice his daughter-in-law contained in the Luttrell Psalter.<sup>74</sup>

The above three groups rather suggest that in the fourteenth century there was no established convention governing the display of a wife's arms. The seemingly arbitrary fashion of wearing either their own arms or their husband's or a combination of both may have been simply a question of personal preference. A similar variety is found on the seals of Ladies. For example, the seal of Alianora, Countess of Leicester, ob.1264, widow of Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester,

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71. see sub.cat. Barwell. Leicestershire for a full account.

72. see H.S. London and H. D'Elboux "The lost brass of Sir Roger Somerville of Burton Agnes." Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society, Vol. VIII.

73. see sub.cat. Drayton Bassett, Staffordshire,

74. British Museum. Add.MS. 41230 p. 202b. Facsimile edition by E.G. Millar 'The Luttrell Psalter' 1932. frontispiece and plate 152.



and a daughter of King John depicts her standing beside a tree from which hangs a shield of the Montfort arms.<sup>75</sup> The slightly later seal, 1265-1275, of Joan de Stuteville, widow of Hugh Wake and Hugh Le Bigod respectively, depicts her on horseback holding a shield of her paternal arms.<sup>76</sup> Agnes de Vescy, daughter of William Ferrers and second wife of Mustace de Vescy is shown on her seal holding a shield of her husband's arms with her paternal arms to the left of her.<sup>77</sup>

A complete survey of this class of arms in seals, glass and manuscripts seems to be called for.

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75. Birch. Catalogue of Seals, 6686. LXXX. 18.

76. *ibid.* 6719.

77. *ibid.* 6726 LXXXI. 16, 17.



### HERALDIC BORDERS

The display of heraldic charges in the borders of the main lights of windows is a common feature throughout the fourteenth century. Their distribution is extremely widespread and they are often found in association with non-heraldic motifs, such as grotesques or decorative flowers. Their primary function is decorative and they cannot be regarded as proper evidence for dating the glass.

The most frequent charges used as border pieces are lions, fleur-de-lis, castles and covered cups. These are found in a variety of combinations. At Eggington (Derbyshire) and Bushbury (Staffordshire) castles alternate with fleur-de-lis in each light; castles alternating with covered cups occur at Sandiacre (Derbyshire) and Noth Luffenham (Rutland) and at Thornton (Leicestershire) they alternate with white escallops. Fleur-de-lis occur alone at Wroxall (Warwickshire) and ~~alternating~~ with decorative rosettes at Merevale (Warwickshire) and alternating with lions statant at Aldwinkle St. Peters (Northants). Identical lions alternating with plain coloured glass occur at Stanford-on-Avon (Northants), lions rampant are found at Broughton Astley (Leicestershire) alternating with covered cups, and at Southwell (Notts) and Kirby Bellers (Leics.)

A not dissimilar use of heraldic charges independent of the shield is found on seals. Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, is depicted on her seal with a lion and a castle on either side of her.<sup>78</sup> in allusion to the arms of her father Ferdinand III.<sup>79</sup> The reverse of the seal of Margaret of France, second wife of Edward I, has a shield of England surrounded by fleur-de-lis in allusion to her paternal arms.<sup>80</sup> Similar instances can be cited, for example the seal of Alan la Zouche affixed to the Barons' Letter of 1301 shows his shield surrounded by a cordon of lioncels passant in allusion to the arms of his mother Ella,

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78. Birch. Catalogue of Seals. 796. A.D.1296.

79. Quarterly gules a castle or and or a lion rampant purpure. (Walford's Roll, No. 6 etc.) Also represented on her monument in Westminster Abbey.

daughter and heiress of Stephen de Longspée,<sup>81</sup>. On the first seal of Edward II a castle is represented on either side of the figure of the King.<sup>82</sup> The same matrix, with the addition of a fleur-de-lis above the castle, was used by Edward III,<sup>83</sup> but the fleur-de-lis only was retained on his second seal.<sup>84</sup>

9 The use of heraldic charges in the borders of windows should not be regarded as having reference to a particular person unless there is absolute proof that this is the case. For example, the castle and covered cup have been associated with Queen Eleanor of Castile:- "Almost as popular are the castles of Castile and the covered cups of Galicia, first used in reference to Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I."<sup>85</sup> The earliest examples of castles used as border motifs are certainly contemporary with the reign of Edward I,<sup>86</sup> and a deliberate association might be implied. However, the castle as an heraldic charge is not confined to the arms of Castile. A triple-towered castle, for instance, occurs on the twelfth century seal of Bridgnorth, Shropshire,<sup>87</sup> and on the fourteenth century seal of Canterbury.<sup>88</sup> It may well be that the display of the arms of Castile on the crosses erected by Edward I, in memory of Queen Eleanor, and the fact that her son and grandson both displayed a castle on their seals, in allusion to her, may have popularised the use of the castle as a border motif. The evidence does not suggest anything more.

80. Birch. 798 A.D. 1299-1317.

81. See *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals* (De Walden Library, 1904) p. 106.

82. Wyon. *Great Seals of England*, No. 49.

83. *ibid.* No. 51, in use 1327.

84. *ibid.* No. 53, in use 1327-1340.

85. Woodforde. *'English Stained and Painted Glass.'* p. 15.

86. e.g. Merton College Chapel, Oxford.

87. Birch. 4664.

88. First ~~edition~~ corporation seal of 1318. Birch, 4732, attached to a charter of 1357.

The case of the covered cup is somewhat mysterious. The arms of the Kingdom of Galicia were "azure crusily a covered chalice or." I know of no reason for associating these arms with Eleanor of Castile. They do not appear on her seal or tomb.<sup>89</sup>, or on the crosses erected after her death.<sup>90</sup>. Covered cups are found as part of the arms of a number of English families, the Butlers for example.<sup>91</sup>. However, it is not a common charge. There seems no reason for not supposing that the so-called "covered cup of Galicia" is anything more than a decorative motif. It might be more proper to call it a 'covered chalice', if so, its use as a border decoration in a church window can hardly give rise to speculation.

There is one case in glass of an heraldic charge, independent of the shield, used both as decoration and in reference to a particular person. The figure of Beatrix of Falkenberg Queen of the Romans is set against a blue ground powdered with eleven yellow roundels each bearing an eagle displayed sable in allusion to the arms of her husband Richard, Earl of Cornwall as King of the Romans.<sup>92</sup>.

The use of true heraldry in the borders of windows seems to have been rare. An important example formerly existed in the east window of Cotesbach Church, Leicestershire.<sup>93</sup>. This was a three light window. The borders of the centre light contained the Royal arms of England "gules three lions passant guardant in pale or" alternating with the Royal arms of France "azure semy of fleur-de-lis or". The left hand light had the arms of Warene, "chequy or and azure" alternating with the Royal arms of England. In the right hand light were the arms of the lords of the manor, the Vernons "or fretty gules", alternating with "gules three crosses crosslets or", probably for Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who bore 'Gules a fess between six crosses

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- 89. The arms on her tomb are England, Castile and Leon and Ponthieu.
  - 90. The same shields as on her tomb appear on the crosses.
  - 91. See for example the tomb of Sir John Le Botiler, St. Brides Church, Glamorganshire. Arch.Camb. 1890. p.145.
  - 92. See Steinberg, Antiquaries Journal XVIII, op.cit.
  - 93. Recorded in Burton's church notes, see sub.cat. Cotesbach Leicestershire for a full account.

crosslets or'. In each of these cases the coat is shown as an oblong, comparable to a miniature banner of arms. Similar oblong fields bearing the arms of Corbett of Caus and of Ludlow formerly existed in the borders of a window at Westbury, Salop.<sup>94</sup>.

The decorative use of heraldic charges found in stained glass is paralleled in works in other media. The window splays of the Painted chamber at Westminster were painted with a series of Virtues and Vices, probably executed circa 1262-1272.<sup>95</sup> Stothard's copy of Meekness trampling upon Anger shows a plaster strip down the right hand side decorated with the coats of arms of England, St. Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund, King and Martyr. The charges are on oblong fields.<sup>96</sup> The figure of Bounty trampling on Avarice had a similar border of the arms of England alternating with the arms of Germany.<sup>97</sup>.

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94. Recorded in Soc. of Antiq. (formerly) MS. 477 and also by Burton. See sub.cat. Westbury, Salop.

95. This dating is convincingly suggested by Dr. P. Tudor Craig "The Painted Chamber at Westminster" Archaeological Journal, CXIV. 1957. pp. 92-105. see p. 99. Tristram. English Medieval Wall Painting. xiii c. p. 106 suggested the borders were part of the renovations or either 1294 or 1307.

96. Original water colour copy of in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, engraving published in Vetusta Monumenta VI. 1835, plate XXXVIII.

97. *ibid.*\* Dr. Tudor-Craig, *op.cit.* p. 99. incorrectly calls the arms badges. The arms of Germany 'Or an eagle displayed sable' may commemorate either the Emperor of Germany or the King of the Romans.

\* Vet. Monum. plate XXXVIII.



That the primary function of these arms was decorative is indicated by the fact that in the left hand side border of the latter the royal lions of England are shown as passant guardant in pale to the sinister.<sup>98</sup>

The full page crucifixion of Christ in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, early fourteenth century, has a diaper background of fleur-de-lis and lions passant guardant.<sup>99</sup> The stamped gesso grounds of the Thomham Parva Retable, also of the early fourteenth century, bear lions rampant, fleur-de-lis, the Agnus Dei and pairs of addorsed birds.<sup>100</sup> Lions rampant and griffins are a common decorative feature in opus anglicanum.<sup>101</sup> The frames of the crucifixion pages in the Gorleston psalter, circa 1325, and the Donai Psalter, circa 1322-25, <sup>102</sup>, are each divided into oblong fields bearing the Royal arms of France and England alternately, similar to the window border formerly at Cotesbach.

In conclusion, mention might be made of a border motif which has been given an erroneous heraldic interpretation. A window at Aldwinkle, St. Peter's, Northants, has a border design of hounds chasing hares. The hound, in heraldic terms a lovell, has been interpreted as the crest of the Lovel family. This is highly improbable, not only is the Lovel crest quite different, but similar scenes of the chase abound in the margins of thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts.<sup>103</sup>

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98. The right hand border to this figure was lost, the right hand border of the figure of Meekness, however, had the proper arms of England.
99. B.M. Arundel MS.83. Part II. Illustrated in Millar, English Manuscripts of the XIVth and XV.C. Plate.
100. See Lillie in the Burlington Magazine LXIII.p.99seg.
101. e.g. XIII.C. chasuble, Vict.& Albert Mus. 673-1864 illustrated in Christie, English Med.Embroidery Plate.LXXXVI.
102. Millar op.cit. Pl.4 and Plate.
103. <sup>See</sup> The Aldwinkle St. Peter's Northants for a full account with references.



THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF ARMORIAL DECORATION WITHIN THE CHURCH

We have examined some of the more important aspects of the part played by armorial bearings in the design of stained glass windows. It is perhaps not generally realised that a very wide range of ecclesiastical objects were often adorned with coats of arms. Very few of these objects remain but the evidence of various inventories and wills shows how the decoration of vestments, altar frontals and furnishings, cushions, carpets and even statues of saints often included shields of arms as part of their designs.

The earliest example that I know of this class of objects was a cope given to Westminster Abbey in 1238 by Abbot Richard of Barking which was embroidered "cum armis antiquis comitis Cornubie et nodis intermixis"(104). The inventory of St. Paul's taken in 1295 describes the vestments of Henry of Wingham, Bishop of London 1259-1262, which were embroidered with his own arms:- "Item Vestimentum Henrici de Wingham breudatum de auro et argento, cum armis H. de Wingham, cum amictu stola et manipulo eiusdem operis, cum lanivello"(105). He also possessed a more elaborate set of vestments also displaying shields of arms:- "Item Vestimentum Henrici de Wingham Episcopi habet paruras de Indico sameto, breudatas cum ymaginibus Salvatoris et sex Apostolis in orbilone una parte, et in alia parte ymago beatae Virginis cum aliis sex Apostolis super humerale de opere plumario, cum XV scutis auri et argenti et serico. Cum avibus et rosis in limbo"(106).

The inventories of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey both record a number of royal gifts, some of which had heraldic decoration. Edward I gave a cope to St. Paul's, although it appears that this did not contain any armorial embroidery:- "Item capa quam dedit Edwardus filius Regis Henrici, breudata cum regibus, angelis, episcopis et rosis"(107). Edward III, after 1340, gave to Westminster six carpets embroidered with the arms of France and England quarterly and the arms of Hainault:- "Tapeta sunt sex murrie coloris contexta cum novis armis Regis anglie et armis ... comitis hanonie ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii"(108), and also a frontal used at his funeral: "Quartum vero de

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- 104. J. Wickham Legg. "An Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey taken in 1388." Archaeologia LII (pp.195-286). p.260.
  - 105. W. Dugdale. The History of St. Paul's Cathedral, with a continuation and additions by H. Ellis. (1818). p.320.
  - 106. *ibid.* p.320.

armis Anglie et Francie in Rubio blodio velvet receptum de sepultura regis Edwardi tercii"(109).

Richard II gave to Westminster a set of red vestments to be used on the feast day of St. Edward the Confessor. The chasuble was embroidered with figures and the arms of SS. Edward and Edmund and of the King and his Consort, Anne of Bohemia:- "Casulam rubeam de panno aurio de cipres contextam cum quercubus aureis ex una parte scilicet cum magestate sancte Trinitatis et ymaginibus beate Marie sancti Edwardi Regis et confessoris santi Edmundi Regis et Martyris cum armis santi Edwardi et nostris ac Anne Regine Anglie Consortis nostre carissime et ex alia parte aurifragii cum ymaginibus beate Marie santi Johannis Baptiste cuiusdam abbatisse cum armis santi Edwardi ac nostris et prefate Consortis nostre"(110).

Both Westminster and St. Paul's had sets of vestments embroidered with the arms of England and Spain given in memory of Queen Eleanor (ob. 1290) and worn at her obit. The St. Paul's set had a chasuble with an amice "de armis Regum Francie et Aragonie, de dono Willelmi cissoris Alionorae Reginae junioris, et assignatur per ipsam ad Missam Beatae Virginis, pro anima dictae Reginae." The donor of the Westminster set is unknown; the albs are simply mentioned as "albe vividis coloris auro non brudate sunt septem cum armis anglie et hyspannye pro regina Alianora assignatis"(111).

The royal arms were also embroidered on other gifts donated by various people. For example, Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, wife of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, gave Westminster a set of vestments comprising three albs, two stoles, and three fanons of cloth of gold, two copes, a chasuble, and two tunicles, all of the same suit and worked with the arms of France and England; the larger vestments being also worked with her own arms (112).

107. *ibid.* p. 317.

108. *Legg. op.cit.* p. 267.

109. *ibid.* p. 230.

110. *Legg. op.cit.* p.280.

111. *Dugdale. op.cit.* p. 323. *Legg. op.cit.* p. 255.

112. *Legg. op.cit.* pp.254 and 261.

John de Grandison, Bishop of Exeter 1328-1369, gave a frontal "cum armis Anglie et Francie"(113). Nicholas Lytlington, Abbot of Westminster 1362-1386, gave two cushions embroidered with the arms of Lancaster(114).

Westminster had several albs embroidered with an unusual selection of shields. One had "arma regis anglie Francie et Comitum Warwiche in una parte contexta. Et in altera de consimile opere arma Sancti Edwardi comitis lancastrie et sancti edmundi"(115). Another one had the "armis Ieroslyme et scutis petri et edwardi cum corvis cornubie"(116).

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113. *ibid.* p.228-9.

114. *ibid.* p.240.

115. *ibid.* p.242.

116. *ibid.* p.248.

Precious objects also bore the arms of their donors. In 1387 Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, gave to Westminster two candlesticks, in the form of angels, bearing the arms of himself and his wife:- "Item duos angelos argenteos ad tenendos cereos cum scutis armorum dictorum Ducis et consortis sue et armis integris de Herford et de Essex nobiliter operatis"117. At St. Pauls there was an image of the Patron saint bearing the arms of Sir Thomas Fog" Item una ymago S. Pauli argenteus, deauratus; super cuius basin ammaylantur scuti domini Thomae Fog militis."118.

The evidence relating to similar objects in parish churches in more scanty and our knowledge is largely dependent upon various bequests listed in wills.119. In 1369 Joan Lady Cobham bequeathed a white and purple altar frontal, embroidered with the arms of Berkeley and Cobham, to the church of Lyngefeld.120. Philippa de Mortimer, Countess of March bequeathed two basins of silver enamelled with the arms of Mortimer and Montagu to the altar of St. Anne in the church of Bustelesham Montagu in 1378.121.

William D'Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, in his will dated 1381 provided for two silver images "of a horse and a man armed with my arms", are one to be offered at the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham and the other at Bromeholme.122. Hearse cloths were often embroidered with the arms of the deceased.123. Of particular interest in this respect are the instructions contained in the will of Sir Bartholomew de Burgherst, dated 1369. He ordered his body to be buried at Walsingham, it was to be taken there with all speed and "the chariot in which it be carried shall be covered with red cendall, with the lion of my arms thereon and my helmet at the head and to every church where it may rest the night the like cloth of candall with my arms thereon to be left."124

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117. Wickham Legg, op.cit. p.235. 118. Dugdale op.cit. p. 337.

119. Nicolas. Testamenta Vetusta, II Vols. 1826.

120. ibid. Vol.I, p. 81. Widow of Reginald Lord Cobham and daughter of Sir Thomas de Berkley. She died in 1369.

121. ibid. Vol. I, p. 101. Daughter of Wlm. de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury & wife of Regner de Mortimer, Earl of March. She died in 1381.

122. ibid. p. 114.

123. ibid. e.g. p. 146. Will of Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester. Dated 1399:- "my body to be covered with a black cloth with a white cross and an escutcheon on my arms in the middle of the same cross." However, Maud de Say, will dated 1369, ordered a linen cloth with a red cross, ibid. p. 83.

124. ibid. pp. 76-77.



Banners of the deceased's arms were often displayed at the funeral. William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury in 1397 provided for "nine wax lights and three morters of wax about my corpse and upon every pillar in the church a banner of my arms.<sup>125</sup> This display of banners at funerals, other examples are also known, <sup>126</sup>, is interesting because of the long tradition of presenting banners of arms or standards to churches. The dragon standard of the English is said to have been used as the ensign of Cuthred of Wessex at the Battle of Bunford in 752. He had two made, one for carrying in his army, the other he offered at the Cathedral of Winchester.<sup>127</sup> The dragon ensign reappears at the Battle of Hastings, it is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry,<sup>128</sup> and was used in the campaigns of Richard I,<sup>129</sup>. In 1244 Henry III ordered "*unam draconem in modo unius vexilli*" which he presented to Westminster Abbey and which, in the following year was displayed in his Welsh campaign.<sup>130</sup> In 1388 Westminster Abbey had sixteen banners, two with the old arms of England, i.e. the three lions, four bore the quarterly arms of France and England and two had the same with the arms of Hainault, one bore the image of the emperor "*Sextem rubeam continens in se ymaginem cuiusdam imperatoris*"<sup>131</sup>. Richard II subsequently presented three banners "*domini imperatoris Romani sancti Edwardi et sancti Edmundi*" and fourty three others "*diversorum Regum, Ducum atque comitum.*"<sup>132</sup>. The latest example in the medieval period of such a gift appears to have occurred after the battle of Bosworth, 1485. when Henry VII "rode through the cytie to the cathedrale church of S. Paul wher he offred his iij standards."<sup>133</sup>.

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126. *ibid.* p. 124. Will of Sir John Montagu. 1388.

127. see 'The Legendary History of Britain, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*' by J. Tatlock, 1950. pp.37-38 and pp. 329-330, see the same author's 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales' *Speculum* VIII. 223-35. Geoffrey of Monmouth's remarks are to be treated with caution. The first allusion to the standard apparently appears in *Nennius Historia Britonum*. c.viii.c. ed. J. Stevenson. Eng;Hist.Soc. p. 33.

128. see Tatlock 'Dragons' p. 225. 129. *ibid.* p. 226.

130. Bentley "Excepta Historica" 1830. p. 404. Tatlock 'Dragons' p. 226.

131. Wickham Legg. *op.cit.* p.127-8. 132. *ibid.*

133. Halls Chronicle cited in an anomorous article "Banners used in the English army" in *Retrospective Review*, N.S.i. pp.90-117. p. 91. Banners of the arms of saints were also carried in battle e.g. a Wardrobe account of 1299 mentions the banners of SS. George, Edmund and Edward used in the wars in Scotland. *Ret.Rev.op.cit.* p. 100. The practice was probably of considerable antiquity. *Nennius* mentions that Arthur "*portavit imaginem Sanctae Mariae, perpetuae Virginis super suos*" at the battle of Guinon. ed. Stevenson *op.cit.* p.48.