

Third Series Vol. II part 1.

No. 211

Spring 2006

ISSN 0010-003X

Price £12.00

THE COAT OF ARMS

an heraldic journal published twice yearly by The Heraldry Society



THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society



Third series

Volume II

2006

Part 1

Number 211 in the original series started in 1952

The Coat of Arms is published twice a year by The Heraldry Society, whose registered office is 53 High Street, Burnham, Slough SL1 7JX. The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

Founding Editor

†John Brooke-Little, C.V.O., M.A., F.H.S.

Honorary Editors

C. E. A. Cheesman, M.A., PH.D., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant

M. P. D. O'Donoghue, M.A., Bluemantle Pursuivant

Editorial Committee

Adrian Ailes, B.A., F.S.A., F.H.S.

Andrew Hanham, B.A., PH.D.

Advertising Manager

John Tunesi of Liongam

THE ENGLISH IN THE GOLDEN FLEECE GROUP OF ARMORIALS

Steen Clemmensen

It is astonishing that a sheaf of loose paper sheets should keep their order through five and a half centuries, even if they have spent some of that time within the protective binding of a British Library manuscript. The leaves in question are fos. 94r-106r at the end of Add Ms 11542, an odd collection of pieces relating to the English occupation of Normandy and the House of Orleans. The various pieces are written on different types of paper and in several hands. The last thirteen leaves each contain sixteen shields, painted four by four on coarse paper with name legends in a fifteenth-century hand. The individual sheets, approximately 210 by 290 mm, are smaller than the folio volume, and are bound in five sections alternately offset.

That this small and largely unknown armorial must have preserved its original order nearly intact is relatively easy to verify. The middle three sections list participants at the Peace of Arras in 1435 (hence *Armorial of the Peace of Arras*, or APA), naming the Burgundians first, then the mediators, and finally the French. This congress and those who attended it are discussed in detail by Joycelyne Dickinson,¹ and the content and sequence of the list in Add Ms 11542, correspond well with that of a later manuscript. We will leave the continentals at that and turn our attention to the English of the first and last sections – men who cannot in fact have been at Arras at that time. We shall retain the misleading designation APA-en for these sections, which contain 64 and 104 entries respectively.

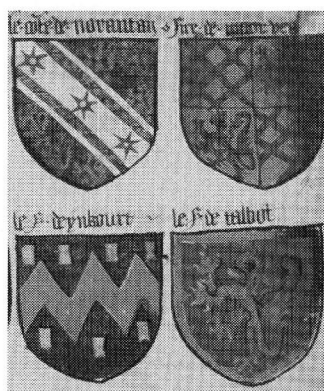


Figure 1: two examples of the work of the Toison d'or scribe-painter.

Left (a), BL Add Ms 11542, fo. 95r: APA 35, 36, 39, 40 (Northampton, Maorves, Deincourt, Talbot).

Right (b), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms 4790, fo. 79r: ETO 27, 28, 32, 33 (Neville, Oxford, Northampton, Maorves).



¹ The proceedings of the tripartite conference are reviewed with notes on participants and many references in J. G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435. A study in medieval diplomacy* (Oxford 1955). APA/b is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms Fr 8199 fos. 12r-46v; it includes those English who really did participate in the conference. An edition of both mss by the present writer is forthcoming as *Armorial de la Paix d'Arras. A roll of arms of the participants of the Peace Conference at Arras 1435* (Societas Heraldica Scandinavica, Heraldiske Studier 4, Copenhagen 2006).

If they were not present at the Peace of Arras, could the men listed in APA-en be a selection of contemporary nobles and gentry? Since Philip ‘the Good’, Duke of Burgundy, had a large following of his nobles at the Peace and listed in the armorial, the compiler might have provided a similar selection of his English allies. This appears to have been one reason that Pastoureau and Popoff proposed that this is a ‘lost’ fragment of the ‘Armorial Equestre de la Toison d’or et de l’Europe’ or Golden Fleece roll (ETO).² The other reason is the unusual similarity of style and hand, which has been remarked on before, but never documented (**Figure 1**).

A superficial comparison of the two manuscripts demonstrates that the ‘lost fragment’ explanation is unlikely to be true. There are simply too many repetitions for such a hypothesis to be viable. But it is still a notable piece of luck to have two manuscripts by one set of scribe-painters. The sense of satisfaction could be enhanced if we could demonstrate any relation between the two – the one is not a simple copy of the other. Since the English segment of the Bergshammar armorial (BHM-en) is a copy of that in the Golden Fleece (ETO-en),³ this might well have been the case for the APA-en. This presents us with two distinct tasks: firstly to establish the concordance and if possible the path of inheritance; and secondly to document the contents and the date(s) of compilation. Previous attempts at the latter have been unsatisfactory. Identification is not in any case necessary for the establishment of a concordance.

A favoured source

The first and easiest task is to compare names and blazons, and establish how many entries are identical or variations. For this we need an ordinary and a comparison of names. Fortunately, the overlap between the English sections of ETO and APA is nearly complete, with only a few gaps and additions. The next task is slightly more complicated. From **Table 1** (a partial alignment), one can spot a conjunction of rhythm and periodicity between ETO and APA, which is less distinct than any between ETO and BHM. We need just to explain it.

² Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms 4790. L. Larchey, *Le grand armorial de la Toison d’or et de l’Europe* (Paris 1890); illustrations reproduced by R. Pinches and T. Wood, *A European Armorial* (London 1971); M. Pastoureau and M. Popoff, *Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d’or* (two vols., Saint-Jorioz 2001). The core of my work on identifications was presented at the 24th International Congress of Genealogy and Heraldry in Besançon May 2000, as ‘Reminiscences from a Wedding?’, since printed in *La Vie Généalogique* 29 (2002), pp. 77-84 [henceforth Clemmensen, RW], and the concordances at the 26th Congress in Bruges, September 2004, as ‘Armorial - a living heritage’ [henceforth Clemmensen, ‘Armorial’]. The English section opens with an equestrian figure of the king of England on fo. 78r, followed by 167 shields (5 x 5 per page) on fos. 78v-81v, numbered 1-167 (= RW nos. 692-858; Pastoureau and Popoff nos. 707-873). Colour facsimiles appear in Pastoureau and Popoff; the shields are redrawn in colour in Larchey plates XCIII – XCIX, and partly in colour in Pinches and Wood, pp. 128-42 with fo. 79r on p. 135 and fo. 79v on p. 133.

³ Stockholm, Svenska Riksarkivet, Codex Bergshammar (c. 1450). The concordance between ETO-en and BHM-en is given in Clemmensen RW and may be deduced from J. Raneke, *Bergshammarvapenboken – en medeltidsheraldisk studie* (Lund 1975), pp. 49f.

	APA	ETO	BHM	LYN	NLU	CLE	ARS
Moleyns	101	93	88	100	89	89	93
Calverley	102	95	90	87	91	91	95
Greaves	103	96	96	88	92	92	96
Bourchier	104	97	97	89	101	101	97
Cherlton	105	102	102	96	94	94	
Stanley	106	103	103	104	95	95	
Harington	107	104	104		96	96	
Umfraville	108	105	105	111	105	105	
Grey	109	16	31	30	32	80	26
Grey	110			113	110	110	
Ros	111	128	108	114	111	111	64
FitzAlan	112	129	109	117	112	112	98
Courtenay	113	130	110	105	121	121	100
Culpeper	114	106	111	123	122	122	116
Soleni	115	107	112	137	123	123	102
Loring	116	110	115	138	124	124	103
Everingham	117	133	118	139	125	125	119
Constable	118	161	161	140	126	126	121
FitzWarin	119	134	119	141	127	127	106
Clavering	120			127	128	128	120
Basset	121	115	125	144	129	129	125
Eure	122	136	126		130	130	110
Fastolf	123	135	120	136			111
Hoo	124	137	127	135	132	132	109
Kyriel	125	119	134	120	146	146	129
Barre	126	120	135	153	147	147	130
Touchet	127	141	136	154	148	148	131
Vernon	128	142	137	155	137	137	132
Furnival	129	108	113	132	113	113	117
Clavering	130	109	114	124	114	114	105
FitzNicol	131	131	116	125	115	115	104
Widrington	132	132	117	126	116	116	118
Metham	133	111	121	133	117	117	107
Ogle	134	112	122	134	118	118	108

Table 1: Partial alignment of the entries relating to English armigers in the Toison d'or group of armorials. Figures refer to individual entries in each armorial by serial number; the order given is the order in which they appear in APA. Sigla as follows:

APA: Paix d'Arras, BL Add Ms 11542.

ARS: Bibl. de l'Ars. Ms 5256.

BHM: Stockholm, Codex Bergshammar.

CLE: Clémery, Bibl. nat. Ms Fr 23076.

ETO: Armorial equestre de la Toison d'Or, Bibl. de l'Ars. Ms 4790.

LYN: Lyncenich or Gymnich, Brussels Ms II.6567.

NLU: Lutzelbourg, Nancy Ms 1727.

1-16			94r
0	1	2	5
4	3	6	-
7	8	9	13
12	11	10	14

65-80			103r
54	55	56	57
61	62	63	64
69	70	71	72
77	78	79	80

94v	17-32			33-48	95r		
15	26	27	29	30	31	32	33
34	38	18	-	36	39	40	35
21	17	20	19	22	23	24	25
41	42	43	44	46	37	47	48

103v	81-96			97-112	104r		
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
89	90	91	92	93	95	96	97
98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105
-	126	127	94	16	+	128	129

95v	49-64		
49	51	52	53
50	58	59	60
65	66	67	68
73	74	75	76

104v	113-128			129-144	105r		
130	106	107	110	108	109	131	132
133	161	134	+	111	112	113	114
115	136	135	137	162	163	116	117
119	120	141	142	143	144	145	121

105v	145-156			157-168	106r		
122	123	124	125	146	147	148	149
150	-	-	152	154	153	155	157
158	159	160	164	165	166	167	-

Table 2: Reading-frame analysis of the relationship between the English sequences in ETO and APA, created by placing the serial numbers of the ETO entries in the frames provided by each opening in APA. As explained in the text, the English sequence of APA runs at 16 shields to a page from fo 94r to 95v (shown above) and then from 103r to 106r (shown right). In ETO the sequence runs at 25 shields per page from fo 78v to fo 81v. The table clearly shows that the creator of ETO copied each row of shields across the opening in APA.

Crosses indicate a doublet in APA not copied into ETO. Dashes indicate other APA entries not present in ETO. crosses.

A modern editor or copyist would always reproduce a manuscript as he reads it, page by page, starting at the upper left corner and proceeding row by row. This is not so for a medieval copyist. He might well read across the displayed pages, a fact that makes the identification of copies so difficult. Examination of late medieval continental armorials shows that they are typically made up of segments taken from a variety of sources. Most will have the segments copied in the regular way, but differences in layout and the direction of copying are bound to break up any superficial likeness. One method that might be used to disclose relationships otherwise hidden by this mode of copying is known as 'reading-frame analysis'.⁴ If the putative copies are thought to be closely related, we can superimpose the pages of one armorial fragment (the object) on the other (the frame or base) as in **Table 2**. The base reading-frame ought to have the longer and more ordered and elaborate sequence. In this example APA is the base frame and the serial numbers of its items are noted above the 4 x 4 grids of the APA pages. ETO is the object with its serial numbers noted on the grid together with the page limits. Each square contains one common item: thus APA 33 and ETO 30 have identical blazons and represent the Earl of Pembroke. Such a visual presentation makes a pleasant view of the alignment, and the irregularities are easy to spot. Whether they are as easy to explain is another matter. If one does not find the results satisfactory or illuminating it is permissible to modify the board and make a new analysis – as long as one can justify the modifications.

Let us apply the principle of keeping our explanatory account as simple as possible. Medieval copyists frequently misread blazons and figures or misplaced an item. This basic observation might well explain most changes (in blazon or name) and interchanges of entries. They also often left gaps or added extraneous material to the source. The latter is difficult to eliminate if one is working on a late copy of a copy, so common sense must be applied. In this case there is little need for manipulations and explications. Apart from a few repetitions there are only a few entries in ETO missing in APA, and they may be explained as additions made by the creator of the later manuscript. A reversal of the reading frame will demonstrate that APA cannot have derived from ETO; APA is thus closely related to, and prior to, ETO. So without any discussion of the actual content, we know that the scribe-painter made the loose sheets of APA-en before the bound volume of ETO – and that he preserved their original sequence, though the rest of the APA was inserted at some later point.

The reader will have noticed the additional columns in Table 1. These reflect the fact that at least seven copies of this fragment of English arms have survived in different continental armorials. In addition to the three already discussed, we have two armorials of the early sixteenth century, originating in Lorraine and probably made in one studio: the Nicolas de Lutzelbourg armorial (NLU)⁵ and the Clémery armorial-

⁴ The terminology is borrowed and slightly modified from computational molecular biology.

⁵ Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 1727 'Armorial de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg'. In part available from ARTEM and by J.-C. Blanchard on line at <http://www.nancy2.u-nancy.fr/RECHERCHE/MOYENAGE/lutzsom.htm>, who kindly made available a transcript of the sequence. It is a fine manuscript on parchment with gold, probably made around 1540.

al (CLE).⁶ They have several segments in common and may have used a similar set of sources. The differences between them and the APA-ETO-BHM subgroup suggest that NLU and CLE were developed from a predecessor of both subgroups with one or more lost versions in between.

The last subgroup noted in Table 2 consists of the painted Lyncenich armorial (LYN)⁷ and a blazoned armorial in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, here designated by the siglum ARS.⁸ When the irrelevant tail of ARS and the entries relating to relatives of Henry V, common to both LYN and ARS, are eliminated, a pair of interrelated but different versions appears, each different from ETO-en in similar ways. The archetype of this fragment must have been one of the most used sources for English sections in late medieval French armorials (Table 3). One common element is the connection to the Burgundian court of Duke Philip the Good.⁹ A search among the better known French armorials gives no indication that it was used by her-

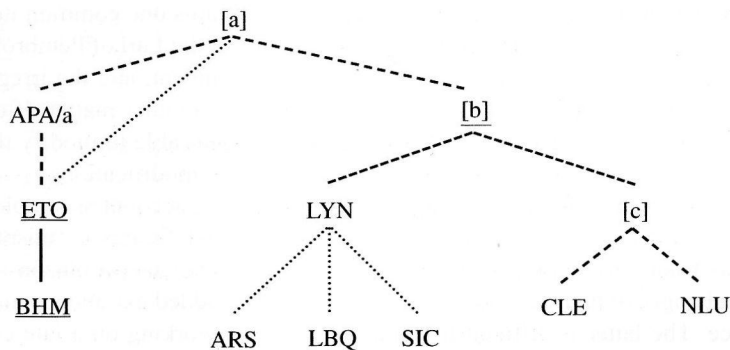


Table 3: Conjectural stemma showing the relationship of manuscripts in the ETO-en group. Dashed and dotted lines indicate degrees of hypothesis. For sigla, see Table 1. In addition, LBQ: Bibl. nat. Ms Fr 5232, Le Blanq roll; SIC: Bibl. de l'Ars. Ms 4910, 'Armorial dit du héraut Sicile'; [a], [b] and [c] represent lost or presently unidentified archetypes. Underlined sigla indicate mss copied across the double-page openings of their archetypes.

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Fr 23076 fo. 28r-141v. The paper and aquatint manuscript contains several armorials on different paper and in different hands. In the opinion of J.-C. Blanchard (pers. comm.) it is the product of a single studio.

⁷ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms II. 6567; mistakenly named Gymnich from a misreading. A full edition of this mid-fifteenth-century paper and aquatint manuscript is in preparation by E. de Boos and S. Clemmensen.

⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 5256 fos. 83v-93v, an English armorial of 447 items in a seventeenth-century copy, cited as JL by Pastoureau and Popoff, op. cit., from a thesis by J. Launé. Entries 2-9 are royals *temp.* Henry IV/V; 10-137 similar to ETO-en; 138-190 ETO-en and inserts; 191-299 a fragment of an English ordinary; 300-447 fragment of an older English roll. It is difficult to ascertain whether the editor of ARS has emended the legends, but they are very like those of the Willement Roll (BL Ms Egerton 3713).

⁹ Pastoureau and Popoff, op. cit.; Raneke, op. cit.; Boos and Clemmensen, op. cit. APA is in the same hand as ETO; CLE and NLU are from Lorraine and have segments in common with LYN. Du Cange probably copied ARS from a Picardian manuscript.

alds connected to the royal court, though there are a few items in the Berry armorial (BER) which suggest that Gilles de Bouvier, the principal French royal herald, may have known it.¹⁰

The establishment of the path of inheritance of this English segment (**Table 3**) is just one element required in the elucidation of how this group of 'Burgundian' armorials was composed. Another is analysis of the number and nature of common segments. The Austrian segment has a similar pattern of inheritance. BHM is largely made up of segments present in ETO, LYN and the Gelre armorial.¹¹ A number of non-ETO segments are common to LYN, CLE and NLU.¹² Large armorials, such as those with 30 to 80 identifiable segments, ought to be categorized as *composite* rather than *general* or *universal*. A third requirement would be to establish the way each armorial was kept. We know that many have been cut and rebound several times, but rarely do we know when this took place. Pastoureaux recently proposed that many armorials were kept as sets of loose leaves¹³ – as was APA/a. I have elsewhere expanded on this proposal for the long editing period of ETO,¹⁴ though the mode of copying the English from ETO to BHM shows that ETO was bound by 1450.

A competent compilation

None of the manuscript fragments that we have represents the original compilation or archetype, and though we could make a fair attempt at reconstructing that archetype, it is hardly worthwhile. Its length and sequence cannot be very different from that of APA, presently in the British Library. The higher nobility is well covered, and the whole appears to be ordered by precedence and wealth. Almost all coats in this manuscript are substantially correct with reasonably comprehensible legends consisting of surname only, which apart from five cases correspond with the arms. The long tail of the blazoned 447-entry ARS must be discarded. It has all the appearance of a later supplement, and the manuscript itself is the latest yet identified as part of the group.

¹⁰ Entries for *Touchet* [ETO:141, BER:1721], *Dutton* and *Guillaume Hocton* [ETO:94, BER:1736]; cf. Emmanuel de Boos, *Armorial de Gilles le Bouvier, héraut Berry, d'après le manuscrit conservé à la bibliothèque nationale de France (Ms fr 4985)* (Paris 1995).

¹¹ Clemmensen, 'Armorial'. An unsatisfactory, though essentially correct, analysis of the editing process from ETO, LYN and GEL can be found in Raneke, op. cit. See C. Van den Bergens-Pantens, *Gelre. BR Ms 15652-56* (Leuven 1992); Paul Adam-Even, *L'armorial universel du héraut Gelre (1370-1395) Claes Heinen, roi d'armes des Ruyers* (Neuchâtel 1971, previously printed in *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, 1961-8), with introduction, black-and-white facsimile, and commentary.

¹² See above, notes 7 and 11.

¹³ ETO is dated 1433-35 in M. Pastoureaux and C. de Merindol, *Chevaliers de la Toison d'or. Portraits équestres du XV^e siècle* (Paris 1986); 1435-38 in Pastoureaux and Popoff, op. cit., vol. 2 p. 22, based on the selection of knights of the Order and comparisons of the artwork. The editing process is discussed in M. Pastoureaux & M. Popoff, *L'armorial Bellenville* (two vols., Lathuile 2004), vol. 1 pp. 1-30.

¹⁴ S. Clemmensen, 'Pragtfuld udgave af et ufuldendt pragtstykke' (review of Pastoureaux and Popoff, *Toison d'Or*), *Heraldisk Tidsskrift* 9 (2002), no. 86, pp. 276-81.

The two oldest manuscripts in the group, APA and ETO, may well have been prepared under the supervision of the principal Burgundian herald Jean le Fevre, Sire de Saint Remy and Toison d'Or king of arms. He would have had a good knowledge of English heraldry, having been present at Agincourt on the English side, being widely travelled and in correspondence with William Bruges, Garter king of arms.¹⁵ Burgundy and England by 1435 had been allies for nearly twenty years, and one would expect the compilation to be nearly contemporary, as do Pastoureau and Popoff.¹⁶ The opening sequence of relatives of the Lancastrian kings Henry IV, V and VI in CLE and NLU would support this notion, leaving aside only the repetition of the entry for the Duke of Gloucester.

However, the composition of the sequence of the higher nobility does not tally with this dating. Instead it suggests a date nearly two generations earlier, which we will use as a working hypothesis in relation to ETO, the only published variant. The repetition of the Gloucester entry is telling. On one hand we have Thomas of Woodstock, the murdered uncle of Richard II, and the tumultuous years of the late 1390s with dethronement and usurpation. On the other, Humphrey, the uncle of the child king Henry VI and adversary of Philip the Good – a minor influence in the latter's defection to France in 1435. Of course, with a time-span of half a century and many versions, some revision of the original compilation is likely.

The higher nobility

Disregarding for the present the subsegment of the Lancastrian relatives in CLE and NLU, let us recall the salient points in politics at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ A group of disaffected nobles, the Lords Appellant, purged the court of the favourites of the young Richard II in 1388. During the following decade he gradually built up a power base and recruited a strong personal guard of archers from his personal palatinate of Cheshire. These he used to intimidate the two parliaments summoned in January and September 1397. At the latter Richard revenged himself on the Appellants and elevated several of his noble supporters to dukedoms or earldoms.

¹⁵ C. E. Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1973), pp. 16f.; F. Koller, *Au service de la Toison d'or* (Dijon 1971), pp. 137-9.

¹⁶ Pastoureau and Popoff ascribe most of the English coats of arms to persons living 1420-30 (*Toison d'Or* vol. 2, p. 24), with reference to the Rouen roll. From J. Greenstreet, 'The Rouen Roll of Arms', *N & Q* 6th ser. 1 (1880) pp. 462-4, 3 (1881) pp. 62-4, *CEMRA* pp. 78f., and unpublished work by myself it is clear that the Rouen roll cannot relate to the siege of 1418, but dates from c. 1410.

¹⁷ M. Bennet, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud 1999); C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity. Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (London and New Haven 1986); A. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy. The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London 1971); J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London 1970); J. J. N. Palmer, 'The authorship, date and historical value of the French chronicles on the Lancastrian Revolution', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 61 (1978-9), pp. 145-81, 398-421; A. Rodgers, *The Household of Henry IV* (unpubl. thesis, Univ. of Nottingham, 1976); A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London 1973); J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (London 1893).

Among the victims of this, the 'Counter-appeal', in which the most prominent Appellants were executed or banished, was his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, the future King Henry IV, newly created Duke of Hereford and by courtesy Earl of Derby. Henry went to into exile in France, expecting the banishment to be reversed shortly. But when his father John of Gaunt died, the king confiscated his patrimony, the richest inheritance in the realm. Henry was left with few choices and returned to England, deposing Richard and usurping the Crown. During this 'Lancastrian Revolution' and the insurrections of the next few years, the dignities of the minor dukes were rescinded and all but two of the counter-appeal earls were attainted.

To support our working hypothesis, we must search for the appearance and disappearance of selected titled nobles and pay attention to creations by Henry V and VI. One Duke of Gloucester [1]¹⁸ was murdered in August 1397; the other, Humphrey, lived until 1441. The arms, *Quarterly France modern and England within a bordure argent*, were used by Humphrey, but in the roll they may well be an adaptation by the herald-painter of the arms of Thomas of Woodstock. The Willement Roll¹⁹ ascribes him similar arms, but with Bohun (for his wife) in the fourth quarter and *France ancient* as used before 1403 [Willement roll no 28]. So the first entry does not determine the question in favour of one hypothesis or the other. The next is a little easier to interpret. Roger Mortimer, Earl of March [2], might be seen as heir presumptive to the throne, the king being childless. Roger was thought by many to have a superior claim to that of the king's uncles or cousins; his male line became extinct in 1425, when his son Edmund died after having spent most of his life in confinement. The painter has the Mortimer arms totally wrong, but in this he is one among many on both sides of the Channel.

Three entries now stand out. The first is for Henry Bolingbroke [6], the last to use the title Earl of Derby before the Stanleys. In contemporary English rolls of arms he has the quartered arms of France and England with a personalised label. The arms depicted here, England with a bend azure, go back to the thirteenth century, to Edmund, son of Henry III, the first royal Earl of Derby – and Earl of Lancaster as well. In modern terms, Bolingbroke used the Derby title by courtesy as a subsidiary dignity of his father, John of Gaunt, Duke and Earl of Lancaster, Earl of Leicester and Derby. Still, some people might prefer to see in this entry the arms of the earldom rather than the personal arms. The second entry of note is for John Montagu, created Earl of Salisbury in June 1397, and the first to use the Montagu-Monthermer arms [7] in this capacity.²⁰ The third is for John Neville, Lord of Raby [9], who

¹⁸ Numbers in square brackets are serial numbers in ETO-en; see note 2.

¹⁹ BL Ms Egerton 3713: 'Willement Roll' or 'Surrey Roll', designated S in *CEMRA*, a parchment roll with 601 painted arms in rows of five. Thomas Willement, *A Roll of Arms of Richard II* (London 1834). A new edition is being prepared by the present writer. For a transcript, as well as corresponding items from other armorials, see S. Clemmensen, *An Ordinary of Medieval Armorials* (CD-ROM, Copenhagen 2006).

²⁰ For peers and their presumed precedence my sources are GEC; N. H. Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London 1834); Sir B. Burke, *Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages* (London 1883); Burke, *PB*

became Earl of Westmorland in September 1397. His was one of the few creations of that year to survive the turbulent turn of the century.

From the above it seems that the *terminus post quem* for the armorial must be close to 1397. If so, are any titled peers missing? Yes, three: Gloucester's two elder brothers, John of Gaunt and Edmund, Duke of York, both of whom would have led the precedence; and the latter's only son, Edward, Earl of Rutland, who ought to follow Bolingbroke. Admittedly these three might easily have been left out of an edited collation, since they all used France and England quarterly with a label. On the other hand, if the date were around 1430, entries for the Dukes of Bedford and Somerset and a Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury would be appropriate, the first two of whom appear as additions in CLE and NLU.

The barons – and an exception

The peers of the next sequence are rather unexciting, but a few merit consideration. To deal first with the six shields of titled peers placed among the untitled: de la Pole [26] resumed the title of Earl of Suffolk, Neville [27] and Oxford [28] are notable repetitions, and Angus [30], which it is impossible to account for.²¹ The abeyant Pembroke [29] might have been included because of the standing litigation between Grey of Ruthin and a cadet line of the Hastings. Grey had won the cause by 1410 and adopted the arms as a quarter – but did not get the dignity. The last Northampton [32] died in 1372 and his inclusion could be ascribed to reverence for one of the most famous commanders of the preceding generation; it is also significant that the lands of the aggregated Bohun earldoms of Hereford, Essex and Northampton were divided between Gloucester and Bolingbroke, royal sons-in-law to the last earl.

The arms *Quarterly or and azure on a bend gules three cross crosslets argent*, ascribed to Sir John Fastolf [38], belong to the 1430s. Of East Anglian merchant stock Fastolf first came into high command as the Regent's Lieutenant in Normandy in 1422. He defeated a French army at Verneuil two years later and kept his prominence until he retired in 1439 with a considerable fortune. Rich enough to build himself a castle at Caister, he lived on, a somewhat bilious figure, for a further 20 years.²² His presence can only be accounted for as having been inserted during a revision not earlier than 1425 – and possibly as late as the actual writing of this manuscript.

The quarterings of the *S(ieu)r de Maorves* [33] cannot be found in the standard handbooks under this or any other name. We may regard such a coat of arms as a *marker coat* and strong evidence that any armorial containing it belongs to the group under examination.

[note 20 continues]

1970; A. Collins, *Peerage of England* (5th edn., eight vols., London 1777-79 with a supplement vol. 1784); J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London 1971); *Report from the Lord's Committee on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm* (five vols., London 1823-9).

²¹ The arms are those of Atholl, *Paly sable and or*.

²² K. B. McFarlane, 'The investment of Sir John Fastolf's profits of war', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 7 (1957), pp. 91-116.

Thomas Neville, here called *S(ieu)r de Forneval* [56], provides a specific interval for dating since he held the lordship of Furnival in right of his wife from 1383 to 1407. The same page also provides two of the counter-appellant earls. The first is William Scrope [68], already Lord of the Isle of Man and from 1397 to his execution in 1399 Earl of Wiltshire. His elder brother is placed last on the page. The second counter-appellant on the page is a Percy. The period of 1375 to 1403 is almost alone in offering more than one Percy of national stature. In fact, we have three: the Earl of Northumberland, his son Henry 'Hotspur' – of Shakespearean fame – and the Earl's brother Thomas [52], Earl of Worcester from 1397 to his execution on the field of Shrewsbury in 1403. The fleur-de-lis on the Lion's shoulder here indicates that this Percy is Thomas, the King's Chamberlain and a Garter knight since 1375, of sufficient personal stature to be included among the lesser peerage.²³

And a few men of substance

The gentry are by far the largest group of armigerous men in the armorial. Just three pages are dedicated to the nobility of England, but there must have been several thousand gentry families and branches at any one time; with just ninety shields this armorial presents a very small selection indeed. The question to ask is whether there is any guiding principle in the selection, be it county affiliation, political faction or the affinity of a magnate. The answer is that this is a loose collection of mid-level landed gentry, men of particular influence in their respective counties, who served as sheriffs, members of parliament and justices of the peace. But several of them also served as stewards of the lands of the titled peers. To this we may add a sprinkling of courtiers, professional soldiers and younger sons of the peerage.²⁴

It is not possible to reduce matters to a simple picture. Too many counties and too many affinities are present. It would not help to move it fifty years in either direction. And as a whole the subsegment fits our dating hypothesis. For conventional reasons and by means of the quartered coat of arms, we may follow some cadet lines coming into being while others become extinct.

Five of these made it into the peerage within a generation: Thomas West [89] poses no problem, while Thomas Hungerford [100] might be a doublet of [45], unless we have a father-and-son pair. The two sets of Bouchier arms are of particular interest. William Bouchier [97] headed a line of gentry rank and was created Comte d'Eu (in Normandy) by Henry V. But Hugh Stafford [99] was Lord Bouchier (in right of his wife) only between 1411 and 1420, when he died childless. The Touchets might have used the unfinished arms of Touchet-Audley [141] as early as the 1370s, but they only acquired the barony in 1405.

²³ *DBA* 1, p. 155 (T. de Percy, 'frere a count'), p. 209 (Henry Percy, 'le Fiz' or 'fitz Count'). My identifications and attributions are mainly based on *DBA*; Burke, *GA*; Papworth; J. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* (Oxford and London 1902; repr. as *The Dictionary of Heraldry. Feudal Coats of Arms and Pedigrees*, London 1989).

²⁴ Information on the gentry has been collated from *Hist. Parl. The Commons 1386-1421*; *CPR 1396-99*; *CCR 1392-96*; *CIPM 1391-99*; G. J. Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (Aspilogia 3: two vols., London 1997); and several county gentry monographs.

A few more of the gentry may illustrate the method of analysis. Henry Hussey of Harting [101], 38 years old in 1397, was a wealthy landowner with an income of over £100. He was retained by the Earl of Huntingdon as well as by the Earl of Arundel – i.e. by both of the two major political factions. He was also a senior official of the Constable's Court²⁵ and as such a man any trainee herald would like to meet. The next is Edward Cherlton [102], dead by 1421, last of the line of the principal Welsh peers, brother and successor of John Cherlton, Lord of Powis [19] – fourth in the present ranking of non-titled nobility. Robert Umfraville [105], grandson of the last English Earl of Angus and later a Garter knight, was well known at Richard's court, but unlikely to have been at that of Henry V.

John Stanley's arms [103] have confused some editors. He married the heiress of Lord Lathom, whose arms appear in the second and third quarters, served as chief official in Ireland and was a retainer of Richard. In 1397 he became Controller or chief financial officer of the King's Household, at a time when Richard II spent a fortune on creating a military and political force loyal to his own person. However, his family arms, *Three stag's heads on a bend*, are absent. Instead we find the triskeles of the Isle of Man – and with it a complication. Stanley acquired the Lordship of Man only in 1406 after the execution of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester [52]. One interpretation is that one editor of the fragment – or possibly the collator – adjusted the original coat of arms to reflect the new dignity of the Stanleys, but without moving it physically. After all, by this time the Stanleys owned half the North West and eventually became Earls of Derby.

The only impalement in the section may be the most peculiar item (**Figure 2**). There is no obvious explanation why anybody should put young John Harington [104] into the first third of a small selection of gentry – unless it were, perhaps, to commemorate a personal friend, who had just married the daughter of the Earl of Devon.²⁶ The coat of arms must be Harington impaling his wife's Courtenay arms. The second quarter illustrates how difficult it can be to read a coat of arms. The prop-

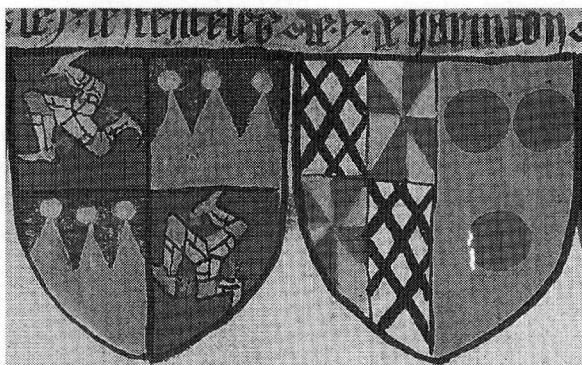


Figure 2: The arms of John Stanley (Man quartering Lathom) [ETO 103] and John Harington (Harington quartering Loring, all impaling Courtenay) [ETO 104]. By courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

²⁵ *Hist. Parl. cit.*, vol. 3 pp. 462-4.

²⁶ GEC, vol. 6 p. 317f., s.v. Harington. *DBA* 1, p. 335, gives Harington quartering Loring from Writhe's Book II 49.12, Peter Le Neve's Book 104, 146 (*Qtly ar. a bend gu. and plain gu.*; wrongly blazoned in J. Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (London 1904), pp. 136, 138); Creswick's Roll 193.

er quarter cannot be *Gyronny of eight or and gules*, but must be a confused version of his mother's arms: *Quarterly or and gules surmounted by a bend gules*. She was coheir of the famous soldier Sir Nigel Loring, Knight of the Garter.

An almost occasional roll of arms

In summary, we can offer the following observations about the archetype of the English sequence preserved in the various armorials in the Toison d'Or group:

1. The fragment contains an almost complete register by rank of the peerage of the period up to the autumn of 1397.
2. This register includes one dignity, the Earldom of Salisbury [7], that shifted from one family branch to another in the early summer of that year, and one, the Earldom of Suffolk [26], restored during the autumn counter-appeal Parliament – and placed where we would expect the baron, Michael de la Pole – outside the subsection of titled peers.
3. The only new creation of that year to get into the section is the earldom of Westmorland for Ralph Neville [9, 27], a baron present in the roll twice, among both the titled and the untitled peers.
4. There are two entries representing the glory of a former epoch, namely Bohun [32] and Pembroke [29], the inheritance of the latter still being hotly contested in the courts.
5. Among the lesser peerage and the gentry we have a small number of lines that did not survive long into the fifteenth century, and also several who were elevated to the peerage by the mid-fifteenth century. We have no means to decide whether the selection of gentry has been reduced or edited before incorporation into the source of ETO.

This indicates that the collation must have been finished during the summer of 1397. We also have some evidence of a later revision: There would be no reason to insert John Fastolf [38] before 1424. Similarly, Westmorland [9, 27], Suffolk [26], Hugh Stafford [99] and Stanley [103] may well have been revised at any point between 1410 and 1436.

The compiler?

The fragment is anonymous, without any internal clues to the compiler's identity. In fact, there are only two fragile foundations on which we might build our guesswork. One is the distinct northern Burgundian affinity of the surviving manuscripts. All, except two, appear to have been created in the area between Lille and Brussels. The late sixteenth-century copies, NLU and CLE, were painted in Lorraine and probably in one and the same studio. It is highly likely that their source was an early copy brought to Nancy by a herald of Duke Philip the Good, when the Burgundians ruled the duchy of Lorraine in the late 1430s. The second is the presumed period of compilation, which corresponds to the marriage of Richard II and the child princess Isabel of France. She arrived in England with a French governess and retinue as a part of the conditions for the truce between England and France negotiated in 1396. In fact, however, the princess' retinue was not 'French' in virtue of representing the

royal government of France. Rather it had been appointed by the faction controlling the French royal council during one of the bouts of madness of King Charles VI, just as the negotiators of the truce themselves had been. The controlling magnate was the Valois duke of Burgundy, Philip 'le hardi'; and since the truce was very much in the interests of the Low Countries merchants, people loyal to Philip dominated the retinue.

To this we might add that the French were in a position to know quite a lot of the persons and politics of the deposition of Richard II and accession of Henry IV through two chronicles, the *Traïson et Mort* and the metrical chronicle of Jean Creton.²⁷ Later merged into one, these chronicles told the tale that later inspired Shakespeare to write his Lancastrian trilogy. Though it is by itself interesting reading to follow this process, we will only pick on one item and use that as the main prop for building a conjecture.

The outstanding feature of the *Traïson et Mort* is that it is really not about politics. The core story is the pageantry of the court and its members, especially Richard's maternal relatives, the Holland earls of Kent and Huntingdon. J. J. N. Palmer argued that the author could be a trainee herald, who lived with the Hollands in early 1397 and stayed in England during the 'Lancastrian Revolution'. With one foot in the queen's court and another in the household of two of the principal courtiers of the king, he would have been in a perfect position to collate the coats of arms of English nobles and gentry. Just for the record, Jean Creton is an unlikely candidate, a courtier-diplomat and not a herald. And the obvious second choice, Saint Remy, Toison d'Or king of arms, was far too young. An intriguing third possibility, Jean Courtois dit Sicile, was of the right age and a heraldic writer, but probably did not travel to England.²⁸

No definitive evidence has been found that the selection of gentry refers to the affinity of the Hollands or to the regions in which they had property. Indeed, we miss quite a number of their principal servants and retainers. However, there is a preponderance of men from the north, near the lands of Thomas of Kent, and the south-west, near those of John of Huntingdon.²⁹ In addition, a considerable number are retainers of the King's uncle, John of Gaunt, Steward of England, or come from the North West recruiting grounds for Richard's archer guardsmen. Finally we have several of the east-coast gentry, who doubled as merchants with excellent connections to the London tradesmen.

So there is little evidence that the collator was a Burgundian from the Low Countries, and none that it was the trainee herald who wrote the passionate *Traïson*

²⁷ Palmer, 'French chronicles on the Lancastrian Revolution'; B. Williams (ed.), *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart deux Roy Dengleterre* (London 1846); Jean Creton 'Histoire du roy d'Anngleterre Richard', ed. J. Webb, *Archaeologia* 20 (1824), pp. 13-242, 243-92, 295-423.

²⁸ Entry on Jean Courtois dit Sicile, *Biographie nationale Belge* (Brussels 1914-20), vol. 22 pp. 381-5.

²⁹ *CIMisc 1399-1422*, s.v. Earls of Kent and Huntingdon; Given-Wilson, op. cit. (n. 17); Palmer, 'French chronicles'.

et Mort. That part of the reconstruction will remain purely hypothetical; but it is reasonable to conclude that whoever collated the roll, it was done during the spring and early summer of 1397.

An easy way out?

Saint Remy had not only been in English service, but had also for years been a senior Burgundian herald (Charolais), so he might have obtained a collection of English arms himself. Or if he really was interested in the arms of the English, why did he not acquire a contemporary roll from William Bruges or another London colleague, or compile one himself – headed by his master's son-in-law, the Regent Bedford? The answer is probably very simple. He had no interest in it. Though we have little information of how he got the tools of his trade, we know that he travelled a fair amount, was an accomplished herald and historian, and had very good and influential connections. It may well be that a large number of heralds gravitated to the Burgundian court at Brussels when the dukes conquered or made marriage alliances with the regions of the Low Countries, and established a co-operative circle;³⁰ in such circumstances the availability of near-contemporary reference material would be a minor issue to the senior heraldic official.

So when the need arose to prepare a grand armorial of the recently founded chivalric order of the Golden Fleece and include all Catholic Christendom, the question was not how to get the data, but simply to decide the priorities and choose between the sources. And the important sections would be those on the subjects of the duke and his overlord, the King of France. In this matter England would be peripheral.

Contemporary collations of arms were still being made, but no large contemporary armorials – if they ever had been. As has been demonstrated, an English sequence originating in 1397 was incorporated into at least seven armorials manufactured between 1435 and 1550. To this we may add that a further six segments in ETO, ranging in coverage from Austria to Flanders, are common to most of the group. Furthermore, that the Le Blancq roll, which is mainly copied from the French Urfé group and from the Bellenville armorial, has drawn on the English and Austrian sequences of ETO.³¹ Another clone of Urfé, the Sicile roll, of which we only have two copies dating to c. 1640, is unlikely to have anything to do with that eminent heraldic writer. His name in the introduction and its depleted English segment may well come from yet another ETO clone.³²

³⁰ There were four kings of arms with regional names in addition to Toison d'or in the service of Philip the Good. At Arras there were at least eighty heralds and pursuivants present, including eighteen of the duke's own: Dickinson, *Congress of Arras*, pp. 105f.; P. Adam-Even, 'Les fonctions militaires des hérauts d'armes', *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 71 (1957), pp. 2-33.

³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Fr 5232, fos. 5r-572r, 'Un provincial d'armoyries ... Le Blancq' [LBQ]; *ibid.*, Ms Fr 32753, 'Armorial Urfé' [URF].

³² Clemmensen, 'Armorials'; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms fr 4366 + Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 4910, 'Armorial dit du héraut Sicile' [SIC].

THE COAT OF ARMS

When armorists get round to looking more carefully into late medieval and renaissance armorials, we should expect to find that large armorials are not collations, but editions of mixed ancient and contemporary sources. That is certainly the case for a number of German armorials³³ and – to judge from entries in the *Dictionary of British Arms* – probably also for a number of Tudor armorials.

³³ For instance the Grunenberg and Miltenberg rolls, as discussed in Clemmensen, 'Armorial'.

Appendix: the English sequence in ETO

This appendix gives the blazons in the principal manuscript of the Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'or, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms 4790 (ETO). The other manuscripts cited are as follows.

APA: BL Add Ms 11542, an English sequence preserved with but distinct from the Armorial of the Peace of Arras (APA/a). Sometimes called APA-en above for specificity.

APA/b: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Fr 8199, Armorial of the Peace of Arras.

ARS: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 5256.

BHM: Stockholm Svenska Riksarkivet, Codex Bergshammar.

CLE: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Fr 23076, Armorial Clemery.

GEL: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er, Ms 15652-56, Armorial Gelre.

LYN: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er, Ms II. 6567, Lyncenich or Gymnich armorial.

NLU: Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 1727, Nicholas de Lutzelbourg armorial.

URF: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Fr 32753, Armoial Urfè.

An asterisk indicates differences in blazon.

Secondary references are heavily abbreviated. Page references are only given where entries are not easily found alphabetically or by way of an index. G-W is for Given-Wilson (see note 17 above). English rolls of arms are indicated by their CEMRA sigla (PLN; S; T; TJ; WB). Seals are referred to in *BM Seals*, *PRO Seals* and in the following collections:

Sceaux Clairambault: G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Collection Clairambault à la Bibliothèque nationale* (two vols., Paris 1885-8).

D. d'A. *Sceaux*: L. C. Douët d'Arcq, *Inventaires et documents publiés par ordre de l'Empereur. Collections de sceaux* (three vols., Paris 1863-8).

Sceaux BN: J. Roman, *Inventaire des sceaux de la collection des pièces originales du Cabinet des titres à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (two vols., Paris 1909).

Additional references are made in short form to secondary works cited above in notes 17, 20, 23 and 24.

In ETO few creatures are armed and langued in distinct tinctures. If they are, the colouring depends on the colour of the body: thus lions *gules* are armed *or* & langued *azure*; *azure* armed *or* langued *gules*; *sable* a. & l. *gules*; vert a. *argent* l. *gules*, *or* or *argent* a. & l. *gules*. Eagles *sable* are armed *or*; vert armed *gules*; *argent* armed *azure*. Where these colours are the same as the field the beast or bird is armed (and langued) *argent* or *sable*.

78r le roy de angleterre

Quarterly 1 and 4 France ancient, 2 and 3 England borne on the surcoat and caparisons of a horseman and his mount.

ETO:706, BHM:1903, LYN:108, APA:1

The Kingdom of England, ruled by four kings during the period of compilation: Richard II (b. 1367, d. 1400), grandson of Edward III, king as a minor 1377, deposed

Oct. 1399 by his cousin Henry Bolingbroke [6] (b. 1366, d. 1413), crowned 1399 as Henry IV. His son Henry V (b. 1387, d. 1422), married Catherine of France and became heir to France; their son, Henry VI, (b. 1421, d. 1471), reigned with a Regency Council when ETO was painted. The quarters represent the kingdoms of France and England as traditionally ranked.

78v 1 [le duc de glosester]

Quarterly 1 and 4 France modern, 2 and 3 England, all within a border argent.

ETO:707, BHM:1904, LYN:111, NLU:60, CLE:293, APA:2

Thomas of Woodstock, D. of Gloucester, Constable of England; 7th son of Edward III, murdered at Calais 1397. Also arms and title of Humphrey, brother of Henry V. Arms in qtrs 1 & 4 changed to post-1405 version. *DBA*; G-W.

2 [le cō]te de march

Quarterly 1 and 4 [barry and a chief paly the corners gyronny or and azure over all an escutcheon argent], 2 and 3 or a cross gules.

ETO:708, BHM:1905, LYN:115*, NLU:64, CLE:294*, APA:3*, ARS:11

Roger Mortimer (1374-98), E. of March and Ulster, considered by some to be heir to the throne as representative of Lionel, D. of Clarence, 3rd son of Edward III. His son Edmund d. *s.p.* 1425 having spent most of his life in confinement. Mistaken rendering of the Mortimer arms qtg Ulster in ETO and BHM. *DBA* 1, pp. 101-6; *BM Seals* 11969.

3 le côte de [kente]

England [within a border argent].

ETO:709, BHM:1906, LYN:117, NLU:69, CLE:295, APA:6, ARS:13

Thomas Holland (d. Apr. 1397), E. of Kent, half-brother of Richard II; or his son Thomas (d. 1400), E. of Kent and D. of Surrey 1397-99. The bordure is absent in both ETO and BHM. *DBA*; G-W.

4 le côte de hontiton

England within a border argent flory or.

ETO:710, BHM:1907, NLU:66, CLE:296, APA:5, ARS:14

John Holland, E. of Huntington 1388 and D. of Exeter 1397-99, Chamberlain of England 1390, Keeper of the West Marches of Scotland 1396; executed Jan. 1400; half-brother of Richard II. The border should be 'of France'. *DBA*; GEC 9, p. 604; *PRO Seals* 400; *Sceaux BN* 5849; *BM Seals* 1046, 10763f.

5 le côte de marscha..

England with a label argent.

ETO:711, BHM:1908, LYN:116, NLU:65*,

CLE:299, APA:4, ARS:10

Thomas Mowbray (d. 1399), EM, E. of Nottingham 1383, D. of Norfolk 1397; attainted and exiled 1398. The arms were inherited from his maternal great-grandfather Thomas of Brotherton, a son of Edward I, the first prince to hold the office of EM. By 1400 these were regarded as the arms of the office. *DBA*; GEC.

6 [le cō]te darby

England surmounted by a bend azure.

ETO:712, BHM:1909, LYN:127*, NLU:89, CLE:367, APA:7

Henry Bolingbroke (1366-1413), E. of Derby 1387?, D. of Hereford 1397; son of John of Gaunt, D. of Lancaster, 4th son of Edward III; crowned King of England as Henry IV 1399. In English armorials Bolingbroke has *Qtly France and England* with a label (S:29). England with a bend was borne by Henry of Grosmont until 1345, when he inherited Lancaster, Leicester and Lincoln. Name only in LYN. *DBA* 1, p. 304; *BM Seals* 11211; *PRO Seals* 1530f.

7 le côte de salsbry

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent three fusils conjoined in fess gules, 2 and 3 or an eagle vert.

ETO:713, BHM:1910, NLU:67, CLE:297, APA:9*, ARS:15*

John Montagu, Baron Monthermer 1390, E. of Salisbury June 1397, executed Jan. 1400. Attainder lifted 1401 and earldom restored 1409 to his son Thomas (d. *s.p.m.* 1428). It was inherited 1419 by his son-in-law Richard Neville. APA has the qtrs reversed, with sable lozenges. GEC.

8 le côte darondel

Quarterly 1 and 4 chequy azure and or, 2 and 3 or a lion rampant gules.

ETO:714, BHM:1911*, NLU:68, CLE:298, APA:10, ARS:12

Richard FitzAlan, E. of Arundel & Surrey, attainted and executed Sep. 1397. Earldom restored to his son Thomas (d. *s.p.* 1415). Inherited by the Arundels (FitzAlan-Maltravers) in 1426 or 1433 [129]. Warrenne quarters FitzAlan. Warrenne *chequy azure and argent* in BHM. *DBA*; GEC; G-W.

9 le côte de westmerlāt

Gules a saltire argent.

ETO:715, BHM:1917, LYN:585, NLU:70, CLE:300, APA:11, ARS:23

Ralph Neville (d. 1425), Baron Neville of Raby 1388, Earl of Westmorland 1397, retained for life by Richard II in 1395. This entry a doublet of [27]. GEC; G-W; *BM Seals* 12138, *PRO Seals* 573.

10 côte de baidolf

Azure three roses or.

ETO:716, BHM:1918, LYN:586, NLU:71, CLE:301, APA:15, ARS:24

Thomas Bardolf (1369-1408), Baron Bardolf of Wormegay; mistakenly called an earl. ETO (like BHM) mistakes his cinquefoils for roses. *CIPM*; *PRO Seals* 977.

11 [le cō]te de waerwyck

Gules a fess between six crosses or.

ETO:717, BHM:1924, LYN:119, NLU:73, CLE:303, APA:14, ARS:17

Thomas Beauchamp (d. 1401), E. of Warwick; attainted and exiled 1397-9.

DBA; *BM Seals* 7248-53; *PRO Seals* 53.

12 le cōte de northammerlāt

Quarterly 1 and 4 or a lion azure, 2 and 3 gules three lucies hauriant argent.

ETO:718, BHM:1925, LYN:118, NLU:72, CLE:302, APA:13, ARS:16

Henry Percy (1342-1409), E. of Northumberland 1377; married the Lucy heiress and adopted the quartered arms of Percy and Lucy. GEC; *BM Seals* 12562.

13 le cōte de deueneshis

Or three roundels gules.

ETO:719, BHM:1926, LYN:120, NLU:74, CLE:304, APA:12, ARS:19

Edward Courtenay (1357-1419), 'the blind' E. of Devon 1377. GEC.

14 le cōte de staffort

Or a chevron gules.

ETO:720, BHM:1927, LYN:121, NLU:75, CLE:353, APA:16, ARS:20

Edmund Stafford (1378-1403), E. of Stafford 1395; a minor in the King's ward 1395-99. *DBA*; G-W; *BM Seals* 13632; *PRO Seals* 739.

15 <conthe oxyet>

Quarterly gules and or in the first quarter a mullet argent.

ETO:721, BHM:1928, LYN:122, NLU:76, CLE:354, APA:17, ARS:21

The arms of de Vere, possibly a doublet of [28]. Legend is in a later hand in ETO.

16 .. de grey

Barry argent and azure.

ETO:722, BHM:1934, LYN:589*, NLU:94, CLE:372, APA:313*, ARS:26

Richard Grey (d. 1418), Baron Grey of Codnor. *DBA*; G-W; *BM Seals* 10277.

17 le sr de gryffin

Barry argent and azure in chief three roundels gules.

ETO:723, BHM:1935, LYN:595, NLU:96, CLE:374, APA:26, ARS:32

Reginald Grey (1372-1440), Baron Grey of Ruthin; in 1409 he won the Hastings-Grey dispute over the right to use the Pembroke arms [29]. GEC.

18 le sr de berkle

Gules crusilly a chevron all argent.

ETO:724, BHM:1936, LYN:588, NLU:93, CLE:371, APA:23, ARS:25

Thomas Berkeley (c. 1352-1417), Baron Berkeley, member of the Regency Council 1416. *DBA* 1, p. 327; G-W; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 7398.

19 le sr de charleton

Argent a lion rampant gules.

ETO:725, BHM:1937, LYN:597, NLU:98, CLE:376, APA:28, ARS:34

John Cherlton (d. s.p. 1400), Baron Cherlton of Powis. Field should be *or* as in his brother Edward's arms [102]. *DBA*; GEC; G-W.

20 le sr de lerbinnet

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a lion rampant sable within a bordure azure, 2 and 3 argent a saltire engrailed azure.

ETO:726, BHM:1938, LYN:596, NLU:97*, CLE:375, APA:27, ARS:33

Hugh Burnell (d. 1420), Baron Burnell. Burnell quartering Botetout (for his wife); variations in tincture are common. Descended from Nicholas Handlo *alias* Burnell, the 1st baron 1350. *DBA*; G-W.

21 ..e morlay

Argent a lion rampant sable crowned or armed gules.

ETO:727, BHM:1944, LYN:954, NLU:95,

THE COAT OF ARMS

- CLE:373, APA:25, ARS:31
 Thomas Morley (d. 1416), Baron Morley. *DBA*; G-W; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 11937.
- 22 le sr de santonge**
Gules two lions passant argent.
 ETO:728, BHM:1945, LYN:615, NLU:99, CLE:305, APA:41, ARS:36
 John le Strange (d. 1397), Baron Strange of Knockin; or his son Richard (1381-1449). The tinctures are commonly reversed [78]. *DBA*; G-W.
- 23 le sr de cliffort**
Checky or and azure a fess gules.
 ETO:729, BHM:1946, LYN:616, NLU:100, CLE:306, APA:42, ARS:48
 John Clifford (1387-1422), Baron Clifford; son-in-law of Henry 'Hotspur' Percy. *CIPM*.
- 24 le sr de scalles**
Gules six escallops argent.
 ETO:730, BHM:1947, LYN:598, NLU:101, CLE:307, APA:43, ARS:49
 Robert Scales (1372-1402), Baron Scales. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, p. 176; *BM Seals* 13322.
- 25 le sr de deswet.**
Or a lion rampant sable.
 ETO:731, BHM:1948, LYN:599, NLU:102, CLE:308, APA:44, ARS:50
 John Welles (d. 1421), Baron Welles, of Grabby Hall; in Parliament 1376. *DBA*; Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances*; *BM Seals* 14338-40.
- 79r 26 [le c]ôte de sufolk**
Quarterly 1 and 4 azure a fess between three lions faces or; 2 and 3 argent on a bend gules three pairs of wings conjoined in lure argent.
 ETO:732, BHM:1912, LYN:123, NLU:77, CLE:355, APA:18, ARS:22
 Michael de la Pole (1368-1415), E. of Suffolk; earldom forfeited 1389, restored Sep. 1397. Pole quarters maternal arms of Wingfield. *DBA*; G-W; *BM Seals* 12755-8.
- 27 le conte de neville**
Gules a saltire argent.
 ETO:733, BHM:1913, LYN:126*, NLU:88, CLE:366, APA:105, ARS:19
 This dignity, E. of Neville, was never used. Doublet of the earlier Neville entry [9], probably placed here for Baron Neville of Raby before he was created E. of Westmorland.
- 28 le côte de docsenbore**
Quarterly gules and or in the first quarter a mullet argent.
 ETO:734, BHM:1914, LYN:128*, NLU:90, CLE:368
 Aubrey de Vere (d. 1400), E. of Oxford, chamberlain to Richard II. Its doublet is [15]. GEC; G-W; *BM Seals* 14132.
- 29 le côte de pemim**
Quarterly 1 and 4 barry argent and azure an orle of eight martlets gules, 2 and 3 or a maunch gules.
 ETO:735, BHM:1915*, LYN:582, NLU:80*, CLE:358, APA:20
 Valence quartering Hastings. The last E. of Pembroke died a minor in 1389. The dispute between the heirs ended in 1410, see Grey of Ruthin [17]. The entry might just refer to William Beauchamp, designated heir in 1375 who inherited the barony of Bergavenny (G-W). Quarters reversed in BHM and NLU.
- 30 le côte de anger**
Paly sable and or.
 ETO:736, BHM:1916, LYN:583, NLU:81, CLE:359, APA:33
 The arms of Atholl with an incompatible legend. The explanation might just be that Henry Percy of Atholl (d. 1433) was filial grandson of David Strathbogie, late E. of Atholl, and that his grandfather Henry Percy, E. of Northumberland was married to Maud Lucy (d. 1398), widow of Gilbert Umfraville, late E. of Angus. Burke *PB* 1970; SIC:1721 has *Paly or and azure*.
- 31 ..te de beumont**
Azure semy-de-lys a lion rampant or.
 ETO:737, BHM:1919, LYN:587, NLU:82, CLE:360, APA:34, ARS:35
 John Beaumont (d. 1396), Baron Beaumont, KG, Constable of Dover, one of the ambassadors during the truce and marriage negotiations. Wrongly described as an earl. *DBA*; G-W; *BM Seals* 7292.
- 32 le côte de norantã**
Azure on a bend argent cotised or between six lioncels argent three pierced mullets of six points gules.
 ETO:738, BHM:1920, LYN:584, NLU:83,

CLE:361, APA:35

The last Bohun E. of Northampton died 1372, the inheritance being divided between Thomas D. of Gloucester [1] and Henry Bolingbroke E. of Derby [6]. This entry may perhaps refer to the former's son-in-law Edmund Stafford (d. 1403). *DBA* 2, p. 103; G-W; GEC.

33 le sr de maorves

Quarterly 1 and 4 or fretty gules, 2 and 3 or a lion rampant gules.

ETO:739, BHM:1921, LYN:124, NLU:78*, CLE:356, APA:36

Unidentified (*DBA*, Papworth). Also found as Marunes at SIC:12. A similar coat of *Argent a lion gules impaling Lozengy gules and or* is found unnamed at GEL:625. The second quarter was borne by the Felbridges, a Norfolk family high up in Richard II's affinity, and by Richard Mawarden of Marden in Herefordshire, king's esquire and sheriff. *Gules fretty or* was borne by Mauffers (in Sussex?). NLU:78 has the quarters reversed.

34 le sr de fehus

Quarterly 1 and 4 azure fretty and a chief or, 2 and 3 azure a fess or between two bars nebuly argent.

ETO:740, BHM:1922, LYN:125, NLU:79, CLE:357, APA:21

Henry FitzHugh (d. 1424), Baron FitzHugh. He quarters Marmion for a maternal ancestor. *DBA*; G-W; GEC.

35 le sr de talbot

Gules a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed or.

ETO:741, BHM:1923, LYN:593, NLU:87, CLE:365, APA:40, ARS:30

Richard Talbot (d. 1396), Baron Talbot; or his son Gilbert (d. 1419), summoned to Parliament from 1404. *DBA*; G-W.

36 ..de fywater

Or a fess between two chevrons gules

ETO:742, BHM:1929, LYN:590, NLU:84, CLE:362, APA:37, ARS:27

Walter FitzWalter (1368-1406), Baron FitzWalter 1386. Papworth; G-W; J. Alexander and P. Binski, *The Art of Chivalry* (London 1987), p. 397; *BM Seals* 9784.

37 le sr de lyle

Or a fess between two chevrons sable.

ETO:743, BHM:1930, LYN:602, NLU:104, CLE:310, APA:46, ARS:52

Robert de Lisle (d. 1399), Baron de Lisle of Rougemont; in Parliament 1357-60. Less likely his illegitimate son William de Lisle of Waterperry (d. 1442), a chamber knight of Richard II, summoned to the Great Council for Oxfordshire 1401-3 (Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances; Hist. Parl.*) or his yr brother William (d. c. 1415), a king's knight, who served as his proxy in several lawsuits.

38 sire jeh fastol

Quarterly or and azure on a bend sable three cross crosslets argent.

ETO:744, BHM:1931, LYN:631, NLU:92, CLE:370, APA:22

John Fastolf (c. 1380-1459), KG 1426; the Regent's lieutenant in Normandy from 1423, victor at Verneuil 1424, retired 1439 and built Caister Castle. Probably added during the preparation of the manuscript; cf. the arms of the senior line [135], an important merchant family at the turn of the century. *DBA* 2, p. 21; *CPR*; Wylie, *England under Henry IV*; *Sceaux Clairambault* 3494, 3496; *Sceaux BN* 4409.

39 le sr de la ware

Gules crusilly fitchy a lion rampant argent.

ETO:745, BHM:1932, LYN:591, NLU:85, CLE:363, APA:38, ARS:28

John de la Warre (d. 1398), Baron de la Warre; summoned to Parliament 1370-97. *DBA*; GEC; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 14287; *PRO Seals* 848.

40 le sr de deinkou

Azure a fess dancetty between seven billets or.

ETO:746, BHM:1933, LYN:592, NLU:86, CLE:364, APA:39, ARS:29

John Deincourt (1382-1405), Baron Deincourt. GEC; *CIPM*.

41 ..cobbem

Gules on a chevron or three lioncels sable.

ETO:747, BHM:1939, LYN:600, NLU:111, CLE:317, APA:29, ARS:51

John Cobham (d. *s.p.m.* 1408), Baron Cobham; member of the regency council in

1386, impeached Sep. 1397. *DBA* 2, p. 424; Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility*.

42 le sr de spenzyr

Quarterly argent and gules fretty or a bend sable.

ETO:748, BHM:1940, LYN:617, NLU:112, CLE:318, APA:30, ARS:37

Thomas le Despencer (1373-1400), Lord Despencer of Glamorgan; created E. of Gloucester Sep. 1397, attainted and executed Jan. 1400. *GEC*; *DBA*; G-W.

43 le sr de sontse

Gules semy of roundels or a canton ermine.

ETO:749, BHM:1941, LYN:618, NLU:113, CLE:319, APA:31, ARS:38

William de la Zouche (1372-1415), Baron Zouche of Haringworth. *DBA* 1, p. 230; *GEC* 12, p. 930; *BM Seals* 14701.

44 le sr de wylby

Quarterly 1 and 4 sable a cross engrailed or; 2 and 3 gules a cross moline argent.

ETO:750, BHM:1942, LYN:619, NLU:114, CLE:320, APA:32, ARS:39

William Willoughby (1366-1409), Baron Willoughby d'Eresby. Ufford quarters Willoughby. *GEC*; *BM Seals* 14514, 14625.

45 le sr de hōgerf[ord]

Sable two bars and in chief three roundels argent.

ETO:751, BHM:1943

Thomas Hungerford (d. Dec. 1397), Kt., MP and Speaker, father of Walter [100]. *DBA*; G-W; *BM Seals* 10915; *Sceaux BN* 5903.

46 ..dersy

Quarterly 1 and 4 azure crusilly fitchy three cinquefoils argent, 2 and 3 azure three bars gemel and a chief or.

ETO:752, BHM:1949, LYN:601, NLU:103*, CLE:309, APA:45, ARS:40

Philip Darcy (d. 1399), Baron Darcy of Knaith and Baron Meinill. Darcy quarters Meinill. *DBA* 1, p. 83; *GEC*; *PRO Seals* 11279.

47 le sr de graby

Gules six mascles argent.

ETO:753, BHM:1950, LYN:607, NLU:105, CLE:311, APA:47, ARS:53

William Ferrers (1371-1445), Baron Ferrers of Groby; summoned to Parliament 1396-

1445. Arms of Quincy adopted at the end of the 13th century. *GEC*; *BM Seals* 9687.

48 le sr de rochevelde

Barry argent and azure over all a bend gules.

ETO:754, BHM:1951, LYN:620, NLU:106, CLE:312, APA:48, ARS:54

Possibly Richard Grey of Elton in Warws. (d. *s.p.* 1399), 3rd son of John, Baron Grey of Rotherfield (d. 1375). The baron in 1397 was John Deincourt [40] in right of his wife Joan, only dau. of Robert (d. *s.p.m.* 1388 as baron and 2nd son). *DBA*; *CIPM*; *GEC*; *BM Seals* 10263.

49 le sr de s johā

Argent on a chief gules two six-pointed mullets pierced argent.

ETO:755, BHM:1952, LYN:621, NLU:115, CLE:321, APA:49, ARS:55

Possibly Thomas Poynings (d. 1429), Baron St John of Basing; his mother inherited the barony 1337 (*GEC*). Several St John cadet lines bore the arms undifferenced. Legend added below in principal hand.

50 le sr de hilton

Argent two bars azure.

ETO:756, BHM:1953, LYN:603, NLU:119, CLE:325, APA:53, ARS:46

William Hilton (1355-1435), Baron Hilton; a king's knight 1386, in Parliament 1399 and in Great Council 1401; tenure by barony, or in abeyance since 1336. The incumbent was seldom summoned.

51 ..sr de pemnes

Barry vert and or a bend gules.

ETO:757, BHM:1954, LYN:622, NLU:116, CLE:322, APA:50, ARS:336

Robert Poynings (1382-1449), Baron Poynings. *DBA*; *GEC*; *BM Seals* 12826.

52 le sr de persy

Or a lion rampant vert on the shoulder a fleur-de-lys argent.

ETO:758, BHM:1955, LYN:610*, NLU:117, CLE:323, APA:51*, ARS:41

Thomas Percy (1343-1403), KG 1375, Chamberlain 1390, E. of Worcester Oct. 1397 to 1399, brother of the E. of Northumberland [12], executed at Shrewsbury 1403 (*DBA* 1, pp. 155, 162; *GEC* 12.2, p. 838). The son of the E. of

Northumberland, Henry 'Hotspur', killed in battle 1403, used *Or a lion azure* with a label gules (DBA). LYN:610 and APA:51 omit the fleur-de-lis and ARS:41 also has the lion azure.

53 robert canole

Gules on a chevron argent three roses gules barbed and seeded azure.

ETO:759, BHM:1956, LYN:609, NLU:118, CLE:324, APA:52, ARS:56

Robert Knolles (c. 1315-1407), KG, of Sconethorp in Norfolk; married Catherine of Pontefract; Seigneur de Derval (in France), a senior commander during the French wars. Burke *PB* 1970, p. 307; *DBA* 1, p. 436; *DNB*; *CIPM*; D. d'A. *Sceaux* 10154; *PRO Seals* 436.

54 le sr de kamers

Or on a chief gules three roundels argent.

ETO:760, BHM:1957, LYN:624, NLU:107, CLE:313, APA:269, ARS:58

Thomas de Camois (d. 1419), Baron Camois 1384, a senior commander during the French Wars, KG 1416. GEC; *BM Seals* 8295.

55 le sr de grestoc

Barry of 14 argent and azure on each of three chaplets or four roses gules.

ETO:761, BHM:1958, LYN:623, NLU:108, CLE:314, APA:270, ARS:59

Ralph Greystoke (d. 1418), Baron Grey-stoke. *DBA*; GEC; *CIPM*.

56 le sr de forneual

Gules on a saltire argent a martlet gules.

ETO:762, BHM:1964, LYN:625, NLU:109, CLE:315, APA:271, ARS:44

Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (d. 1407), Baron Furnival 1383 in right of wife; brother of Ralph Neville of Raby, E. of Westmorland [9]. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 12157.

57 le sr de lunel

Quarterly 1 and 4 barry nebuly gules and or, 2 and 3 azure semy-de-lys a lion rampant or. ETO:763, BHM:1965, LYN:611, NLU:110, CLE:316, APA:272, ARS:45

John Lovel of Tickmarsh (d. 1408), Baron Lovel and Holland; brother-in-law of the Holland Earls [3, 4]. Lovel quarters Holland; the lion should be argent. GEC; *DBA* 1, pp.

93, 96, Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 11401.

58 le sr de dacre

Gules three escallops argent.

ETO:764, BHM:1966, LYN:604, NLU:120, CLE:326, APA:54, ARS:47

William Dacre (d. 1399), Baron Dacre and Multon. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*.

59 le sr de harington

Gules fretty or.

ETO:765, BHM:1967, LYN:626, NLU:121, CLE:327, APA:55, ARS:60

The legend and the tinctures are incompatible. These arms show the Audley fret as in [59]. The barony of Audley was in abeyance between 1391 and 1405 (GEC). The legend could be for Robert Harington (d. 1406), Baron Harington (*CIPM*; Kirby, *Henry IV*). The usual Harington arms are *Sable fretty argent* as in [104].

60 le sr de crombwel

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a chief gules over all a bend azure, 2 and 3 chequy gules and or a chief ermine.

ETO:766, BHM:1968, LYN:627, NLU:122, CLE:328, APA:56, ARS:61

Ralph Cromwell (d. 1398), Baron Cromwell and Tattershall, married the heiress of Tattershall. Cromwell quarters Tattershall. *DBA*; Burke *PB* 1970; GEC; *BM Seals* 9112.

61 ..de clinton

Argent on a chief azure two mullets argent pierced gules.

ETO:767, BHM:1974, LYN:628, NLU:123, CLE:329, APA:273*, ARS:62

John Clinton (d. 1398), Baron Clinton of Maxstoke in Warws. APA:273 has no mullets. ARS:62 has John Clinton. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 8682.

62 le sr de fersse (corrected to ferres)

Vairy or and gules.

ETO:768, BHM:1975, LYN:605, NLU:124, CLE:330, APA:274, ARS:63

Robert Ferrers (d. 1412), Baron Ferrers of Chartley (GEC). Contemporary correction of legend in ETO. ARS:63 has Robert Ferrers.

63 le sr de s hamât

Or fretty sable on a chief sable three roundels or.

ETO:769, BHM:1976, LYN:606, NLU:125, CLE:331, APA:275, ARS:65

Aylmar de St Amand (d. *s.p.m.* 1402), Baron St Amand. The barony was in abeyance 1402-49. GEC; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 13217.

64 le sr de cobam

Gules on a chevron or three estoiles sable.

ETO:770, BHM:1977, LYN:629, NLU:126, CLE:332, APA:276, ARS:66

Reginald Cobham (d. 1403), Baron Cobham of Sterborough. *DBA* 2, p. 433; GEC.

65 le sr de somerset

Vair plain.

ETO:771, BHM:1978, LYN:613, NLU:135, CLE:341, APA:57, ARS:67

Beauchamp of Hacche, a Somerset peerage extinct 1361; or their kindred, the Beauchamps of Ryme in Dorset, extinct *c.* 1400. Another branch was the Beauchamps of Lillesdon. ARS:67 has Beauchamp of Somerset. C. M. Hansen and N. D. Thompson, *CoA* 2nd ser. 9 (1991-2), no 157, pp. 178-87.

66 ..de bonseres

Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable.

ETO:772, BHM:1984, LYN:630, NLU:136, CLE:342, APA:58, ARS:79

John Bouchier (d. 1400), Baron Bouchier, or his son Bartholomew (1368-1409, d. *s.p.*). GEC; *CIPM*.

67 le sr de wan wilton

Barry argent and azure a label gules.

ETO:773, BHM:1985, LYN:612, NLU:137, CLE:343, APA:59, ARS:80

Henry Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton 1370-96. *DBA*; GEC; *BM Seals* 10275.

68 le scrop

Azure a bend or [trace of a label].

ETO:774, BHM:1986*, LYN:665, NLU:138, CLE:344, APA:60, ARS:82

William Scrope, Lord of Man 1393, E. of Wiltshire Sep. 1397, a favourite of Ricard II, executed 1399 (G-W), son of Richard Scrope of Bolton [75]. Less likely: Stephen, Baron Scrope of Masham (d. 1406) (*DBA*, *CIPM*). The Lordship of Man was later granted to John Stanley [103]. No label in BHM and trace only in ETO. ARS:82 has Stephen

Scrope. GEC; *DBA*; *BM Seals* 13367.

69 le sr de souce

Gules 16 roundels or (4:4:4:3:1).

ETO:775, BHM:1987, LYN:632, NLU:127, CLE:333, APA:277, ARS:68

Hugh la Zouche (1318-99), Baron Zouche of Mortimer (of Ashby-de-la-Zouche), d. *s.p.* Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*.

70 le sr de camughe

Gules a lion rampant vair.

ETO:776, BHM:1988, LYN:633, NLU:128, CLE:334, APA:278, ARS:70

Reginald Everingham (1358-98), son of Adam, Baron Everingham of Laxton, d. *s.p.m.* ARS:70 has Reginald Everingham. *DBA*; *CIPM*; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*.

71 .. de lile

Gules a lion passant argent.

ETO:777, BHM:1994, LYN:634, NLU:129, CLE:335, APA:279, ARS:83

Possibly an unidentified descendant of one of the junior branches in Rutland or Northants, or one of the Lisles of Kingston l'Isle, Hants. The heiress of the last Baron Lisle married Lord Berkeley [18]. ARS:83 has Gerard de Lisle. *DBA*; GEC.

72 le sr dastelle

Azure a cinquefoil ermine pierced azure.

ETO:778, BHM:1995, LYN:635, NLU:130, CLE:336, APA:280, ARS:84

William de Astley (d. *s.p.* by 1422), Baron Astley. GEC.

73 le sr de maule

Or a bend gules.

ETO:779, BHM:1996, LYN:636, NLU:139, CLE:345, APA:61, ARS:85

Peter Mauley (1377-1415), Baron Mauley, KB 1399, d. *s.p.*; his sister Constance inherited the barony and married John Bigot. The bend is usually sable. *DBA*; GEC.

74 le sr de pulimly

Argent a fess gules between three parrots vert beaked and legged gules.

ETO:780, BHM:1997, LYN:637, NLU:140, CLE:346, APA:62, ARS:86

Ralph Lumley, Baron Lumley 1384, attainted and executed 1400. The arms are those of his maternal ancestor Thweng. ARS:86 has Ralph Lumley. GEC; *BM Seals* 11453.

75 le sr de le scrop

Azure a bend or.

ETO:781, BHM:1998, LYN:614, NLU:141, CLE:347, APA:63, ARS:71

Richard Scrope (1327-1403), Baron Scrope of Bolton; father of William [68]. ARS:71 has Richard Scrope. *DBA*; G-W.

80r 76 ..sr de say

Quarterly or and gules.

ETO:782, BHM:1959, LYN:666, NLU:142, CLE:348, APA:64, ARS:72

William Heron of Eppleton in Durham (d. 1404), Baron Say c. 1388 in right of wife; Chamberlain 1402-4. These arms are for Say; his paternal arms, used 1402, were *Gules a chevron engrailed between three herons argent*. G-W; GEC; *DBA* 2, p. 308.

77 le sr de d[udle]

Or two lions passant azure.

ETO:783, BHM:1960, LYN:638, NLU:131, CLE:337, APA:281, ARS:74

John de Sutton (d. 1406), Baron Dudley of Sutton. Arms of Somerie adopted by Sutton. *DBA*; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *CIPM*.

78 le sr de [blakmer]

Argent two lions passant gules.

ETO:784, BHM:1961, LYN:639, NLU:132, CLE:338, APA:282, ARS:87

Perhaps Roger Strange, a king's knight 1391. *Gules* on *argent* are the most common tinctures in rolls of arms for Strange of Blackmere, whose male line became extinct 1375 and the barony passed to Talbot [35]. *Argent* on *gules* was more common for Strange of Knockin [22]. Members of several cadet lines were prominent in the period (*DBA*, Burke *Extinct Peerages*, G-W). Legend badly damaged. ARS:87 has Strange of Blackmere.

79 le sr de [hasting]

Argent a maunch sable.

ETO:785, BHM:1962, LYN:640, NLU:133, CLE:339, APA:283, ARS:88

Ralph Hastings of Kirby and Burton Hastings (d. 1398), grandfather of William 1st Lord Hastings of Hastings KG (1430-85). ARS:88 has Ralph Hastings. Collins, *Peerage*.

80 s de [corne..]

Argent a lion rampant gules armed azure within a bordure engrailed sable [semy of roundels or].

ETO:786, BHM:1963, NLU:134, CLE:340, APA:284*

John 'the Greene' Cornwall, a renowned jousting knight for life 1395, Baron Fanhope 1432, JP Cornwall 1396; married Elizabeth of Lancaster, dowager duchess of Exeter. *Bordure* usually *bezanty*. APA:284 has the field *ermine* and the lion *or*. *DBA*; G-W; GEC 5, p. 253.

81 .. de ginney

Paly or and azure.

ETO:787, BHM:1969, LYN:668, NLU:143, CLE:349, APA:285

Matthew Gurnay (c. 1310-1406); notable soldier, governor of Bayonne 1378 and important councillor in both reigns, brother-in-law to the E. of Warwick; d. *s.p.* G-W; Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances*; *DNB*; *CIPM*; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*; S:104.

82 le sr de wayn

Quarterly per fess indented argent and gules.

ETO:788, BHM:1970, LYN:641, NLU:144, CLE:350, APA:286, ARS:76

Fulk (VIII) FitzWarin (1389-1406), Baron FitzWarin of Whittington and Wantage; a minor in the king's ward (GEC, *CIPM*). BHM gives *Barry argent and gules* for the 1st and 4th quarter, but this might be from the shield on the reverse of the vellum folio. ARS appears to confuse the two FitzWarins [134].

83 le sr de montagu

Argent three lozenges conjoined in fess gules within a bordure azure.

ETO:789, BHM:1971, LYN:667, NLU:147, CLE:351, APA:287, ARS:73

Possibly Richard Montagu, a king's knight 1386, who acquired the manor of Dymock, Gloucs., (G-W, *CIPM*) or Robert Montagu of Stowe and Sutton Montagu, Somerset. Both were brothers of John, E. of Salisbury (d. 1400) [7]. The later Dukes of Montagu and Manchester used a *sable* *bordure* and claimed descent from a fourth brother, Simon, who married the heiress Elizabeth

THE COAT OF ARMS

Boughton (Burke, *Extinct Peerages*). ARS: 73 has John Montagu. *BM Seals* 11848.

84 le sr de buhn

Azure billey a lion rampant or.

ETO:790, BHM:1972, NLU:146*, CLE:91*, APA:288, ARS:77*

Ambiguous item. Main version has the field azure as for William Brune (TJ:180; S:146) and might be for John of Willingham in Cambs., d. c. 1405, MP, JP (*BM Seals* 7886). CLE and ARS have the field gules for Ralph Bulmer of Bulmer, Yorks, *fl.* 1365-1406 (TJ:81; S:105). The entry is not in LYN. *DBA* 1, pp. 110, 128, 145, 153, 166 (Brune); Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* pp. 33f.; Papworth p. 72. *DBA* 1, pp. 145f. (Bulmer).

85 le sr de symo..

Or a chief gules.

ETO:791, BHM:1973, LYN:642, NLU:147, CLE:414, APA:301, ARS:78

Possibly Thomas FitzSimon (*fl.* 1395) as at ARS:78. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*; S:123.

86 ..de boune

Or a cross azure.

ETO:792, BHM:1979, LYN:651, NLU:148, CLE:415, APA:302, ARS:89

John Bohun (*fl.* 1384-1400), Baron Bohun of Midhurst. ARS:89 has Robert Bohun. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; PLN:16v9; *BM Seals* 7551.

87 le sr de hugem

Azure fretty a chief or.

ETO:793, BHM:1980, LYN:652, NLU:149, CLE:416, APA:303

A doublet of [34], giving the first quarter only; or, less likely, for Henry, the son of Baron FitzHugh (he d. *vp.*).

88 le sr de redman

Gules a chevron argent between three cushions ermine tasseled or.

ETO:794, BHM:1981, LYN:653, NLU:150, CLE:417, APA:304

Richard Redman (d. 1426), Kt. c. 1376, influential member of northern gentry, high in the favour of Richard II, closely allied to Greystoke and FitzHugh. Several times sheriff of Cumberland. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*

89 le sr de west

Azure three lion's faces jessant-de-lys reversed or.

ETO:795, BHM:1982, LYN:645, NLU:159*, CLE:426, APA:289

Thomas West (1365-1405), Baron West 1402; giving the arms of his grandmother Eleanor Cantelupe. CLE:174 shows the charges very like the simple fleurs-de-lys in NLU:159. *CIPM*; GEC 12, p. 517.

90 le sr de harch..

Or two bars gules.

ETO:796, BHM:1983, LYN:643, NLU:160, CLE:427, APA:290, ARS:90

Thomas Harcourt (d. 1417), of Stanton Harcourt, Kt, MP. Tinctures are commonly reversed. D. Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln* neue Folge 10, p. 139; *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*; *BM Seals* 10479.

91 ..e erpingem

Vert an escutcheon argent within an orle of eight martlets argent

ETO:797, BHM:1989, LYN:644, NLU:161, CLE:428, APA:291, ARS:91*

Thomas Erpingham (1357-1428), KG 1401; important retainer of John of Gaunt and Henry IV; Warden of the Cinque Ports 1399-1409. ARS has the field azure. *DBA* 2, p. 198; G-W; *BM Seals* 9503.

92 le de blont

Quarterly 1 and 4 or a triple-towered castle azure, 2 and 3 vairy or and sable.

ETO:798, BHM:1990, LYN:654, NLU:162, CLE:429, APA:292, ARS:92

Walter Blount (d. 1403), of Barton Blount, JP Staffs. and Derbs. 1380-89, chamberlain of the household to John of Gaunt. Mountjoy quarters Blount. ARS:92 has John Blount. *Hist. Parl.*; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 24; *DBA* 1, pp. 93, 95f., 99; 2, pp. 244, 246; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; *Sceaux BN* 1612; *Sceaux Clairambault* 1102.

93 le sr de mōdiht

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules three palets wavy argent, 2 and 3 bendy argent and gules within a bordure semy of roundels azure.

ETO:799, BHM:1991, LYN:659, NLU:151, CLE:418, APA:305, ARS:93

William Moleyns (1378-1425), a very rich ward of Thomas, D. of Gloucester; his mar-

riage to Margery Whalesborough was bought back from Thomas Despencer, E. of Gloucester, for 700 marks. Moleyns (usually *Paly wavy or and gules*, adopted arms of Mauduit) quartering Whalesborough. *DBA* 2, p. 121; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 753; GEC 9, pp. 36-43.

94 le sr de buton

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a bend sable, 2 and 3 gules a pile argent.

ETO:800, BHM:1992, LYN:660, NLU:152, CLE:419, APA:300, ARS:94

Possibly Lawrence Dutton (*fl.* 1385; if so, distorted from *Qtly 1 & 4 argent a bend sable, 2 & 3 gules fretty argent*), an important Cheshire commander and sheriff, or his son (?) Hugh (*DBA*; Bennett, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399*). The quarters are reversed at BER:1736 ('Guillaume Hocton') and ARS:94. The Cheshire Hoctons bore *Argent on a bend sable three martlets or*.

95 le sr de calue..

Argent a fess between three calves sable.

ETO:801, BHM:1993, LYN:646, NLU:152, CLE:420, APA:306, ARS:95

John Calverley of Stapleford, Leics., and Teigh, Rutland (d. 1403), a king's knight 1394, MP 1383 and Sep. 1397, steward of the lands of the E. of Rutland 1390-99, nephew of the illustrious commander Hugh Calverley of Bunbury, Cheshire (d. 1394), who bore the fess gules (Papworth; *Hist. Parl.*; *PRO Seals* 1149; TJ:1481; S:84; GEL:620; URF:200).

96 ..e grif

Argent a fess dancetty sable and in chief three lion's faces azure.

ETO:802, BHM:1999, LYN:647, NLU:154, CLE:421, APA:307, ARS:96*

These arms (heads sable) borne by a Richard Green c. 1385 (Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 98; Burke, *GA* p. 425; TJ:420; URF:296). ARS:96 has escallops in chief; LYN:161 is difficult to interpret. Henry Greene of Drayton, the councillor of Richard II, bore *Chequy or and azure a bordure gules* (*DBA*, *Hist. Parl.*).

97 le sr de bourchyr

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable, 2

and 3 gules a fess or between eight billets or. ETO:803, BHM:2000, LYN:648, NLU:163, CLE:430, APA:308, ARS:97

William Bouchier (c. 1374-1420), Comte d'Eu c. 1418, retained by Thomas, D. of Gloucester, 1392; married his daughter Anne 1403. Bouchier quarters Louvain, for his mother. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*; Wylie, *England under Henry IV*; *BM Seals* 7657.

98 le sr de hastink

Or a maunch gules.

ETO:804, BHM:2001, LYN:661, NLU:164, CLE:431, APA:293, ARS:321

Edward Hastings (1381-1437), of Elsing; loser in the Grey-Hastings dispute over the Pembroke inheritance. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*.

99 le sr de bouzyr

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable, 2 and 3 or a chevron gules.

ETO:805, BHM:2002, LYN:662, NLU:165, CLE:432, APA:294

Hugh Stafford, d. *s.p.* 1420, chamberlain 1410-13, KB 1399, KG 1419; a Baron 1411 in right of his wife, dau. and heir of Bartholomew, Baron Bouchier (d. *s.p.m.* 1409) [66]. The barony went to his widow's second husband Lewis Robesart in 1424. Bouchier quarters Stafford. GEC.

100 le sr de wateton

Quarterly 1 and 4 per pale dancetty gules and vert a chevron or, 2 and 3 barry sable and argent in chief three roundels argent.

ETO:806, BHM:2003, LYN:669, NLU:166, CLE:433, APA:295, ARS:317

Legend and arms are incompatible. Arms of Walter Hungerford (1378-1449), Baron Hungerford and Heytesbury 1421, Speaker and Treasurer, son of Thomas [45]; Hungerford quarters Heytesbury (*DBA* 1, p. 48; 2, p. 270). Hugh Waterton (d. 1409) was a prominent Lancastrian in Yorkshire, chamberlain to the E. of Derby and executor of John of Gaunt. His arms were *Barry argent and gules over all three crescents sable* (*DBA*; T:62; Wylie, *England under Henry IV*; Rodgers, *Household of Henry IV* p. 797; ARS:312). LYN and ARS have Hungerford.

80v 101 ..sr de hertinc

Ermine three bars gules.

ETO:807, BHM:2004, LYN:649, NLU:155*, CLE:422, APA:296

Henry Hussey (1361-1409) of Harting, Kt., retained by the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, each from different political parties. *DBA*; G-W; *CIPM*; *Hist. Parl.* 3:462.

102 le sr de pawes

Or a lion rampant gules.

ETO:808, BHM:2005, LYN:655, NLU:156, CLE:423, APA:309

Edward Cherlton (d. *s.p.* 1421), KG 1407, son-in-law to the E. of Kent [3], succeeded his elder brother John [19] as Baron Cherlton of Powis 1401. *DBA*; GEC.

103 le sr de stenteles

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a triskeles argent, 2 and 3 argent on a chief dancetty azure three roundels or.

ETO:809, BHM:2006, LYN:663, NLU:157, CLE:424, APA:310

John Stanley (d. 1414), Lord of Man 1406; KG 1405; Lord Deputy in Ireland and king's knight 1389; Controllor of the Household 1397; Steward 1405-07. Man quarters Lathom, which is unusual; his paternal arms were *Argent on a bend azure three stag's heads caboshed or.* *DBA*; G-W; GEC.

104 le sr de harinton

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent fretty sable, 2 and 3 gyronny or and gules; impaling Or three roundels gules.

ETO:810, BHM:2007, NLU:158, CLE:425, APA:311

John Harington (c. 1383-1417), 4th Baron 1406, married Elizabeth Courtenay, daughter of the 3rd E. of Devon. Harington impaling Courtenay. The subsidiary quarter must be a confused version of *Quarterly or and gules over all a bend gules*, as his mother Isabel was coheir of Sir Nigel Loring KG [cf. 110]. Loring qtg Harington may be found at WB II 49 and PLN:104, 146, and other early 16th-century compilations. GEC; *DBA* 1, p. 335.

105 le sr de canserville

Gules crusily a cinquefoil or.

ETO:811, BHM:2008, LYN:670, NLU:167, CLE:434, APA:312

Robert Umfraville (d. 1413), KG 1409; grandson of the 3rd E. of Angus, a senior commander on the Scottish marches. *DBA*; *CIPM*.

106 ..onpep

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a chevron azure between six martlets gules, 2 and 3 argent a bend engrailed gules.

ETO:812, BHM:2014, LYN:682, NLU:184, CLE:451, APA:318, ARS:116

Thomas Culpeper (d. 1429) of Hardysull. Hardysull quarters Culpepper. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*; *BM Seals* 8874; *PRO Seals* 1260.

107 zully

Quarterly argent and gules.

ETO:813, BHM:2015, LYN:696, NLU:185, CLE:452, APA:319, ARS:102

Avery de Soleni (Avery Sulney), Worcs. & Derbs. (*fl.* 1372-85), retained by the D. of Lancaster. Papworth; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 179; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*.

108 varlets

Quarterly 1 and 4 or a bend between six martlets gules, 2 and 3 argent on a fess azure three fleurs-de-lys or.

ETO:814, BHM:2016, LYN:691, NLU:175, CLE:442, APA:333, ARS:117

Gerard Ufflet (*fl.* 1395-1417), Kt. Furnival of Munden quarters Ufflet. Burke *PB* 1970, 1057; *DBA* 1, p. 375, 377; 2, p. 70; Brault, *Aspilogia* 3.

109 clavering

Quarterly or and gules over all a bend sable.

ETO:815, BHM:2017, LYN:683, NLU:176, CLE:443, APA:324, ARS:105

John Clavering (1363-1425), Kt.; Archbp. of York's bailiff in Hexhamshire 1382-1405; of a branch disinherited by the 2nd Baron 1332; related to Neville of Raby [9] and close to John Widrington [132]. ARS:105 has Robert Clavering, possibly referring to John's father, who died in 1393. *DBA*; *CIPM*; *Hist. Parl.*

110 lougen

Quarterly argent and gules over all a bend gules

ETO:816, BHM:2018, LYN:697, NLU:186, CLE:453, APA:320, ARS:103

Probably William Loring of Chalgrove,

Beds. (fl. 1392-1410), nephew of Nigel Loring, KG (d. s.p. 1386). ARS:103 has Nigel Loring. *DBA* 1, pp. 335, 363.

111 metan

Quarterly azure and argent in the 1st and 4th a fleur-de-lys or.

ETO:817, BHM:2024, LYN:692*, NLU:179*, CLE:446*, APA:337, ARS:107

Thomas Metham (d. 1403), Kt. LYN:692 and S:121 have one fleur-de-lys; CLE:186 and NLU:179 have none. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 150; *CIPM*.

112 ogle

Quarterly 1 and 4 or an escutcheon argent fimbriated azure, 2 and 3 argent a fess between three crescents gules.

ETO:818, BHM:2025, LYN:693, NLU:180, CLE:447, APA:339, ARS:108

Rogert Ogle (1353-1410), grandson of Roger Bertram, Lord Bothal. Bertram quarters Ogle. Burke, *Extinct Peerages*; GEC; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 839; *BM Seals* 12293.

113 flede

Chequy or and gules a canton argent.

ETO:819, BHM:2026, LYN:701, NLU:181, CLE:448, APA:339, ARS:122

Several Fleets or Fletes were prominent during the 1390s, notably the Lincolnshire and London merchants related to Sir William Flete, a wealthy landowner retained by John of Gaunt; another William was a highly remunerated king's clerk and a John was keeper of the king's beds at Westminster (*CPR*, *CCR*, *Hist. Parl.*). Sir William was probably related to Lawrence Flete of Wisbech (*Argent a lion rampant gules overall a bend sable*: *DBA* 2, pp. 224, 229), but there has perhaps been confusion with the Fletes in Kent (who bore a sinister canton) and the following item, Reynes [114]. ARS:122 has William Fleet.

114 reines

Chequy or and gules a canton ermine.

ETO:820, BHM:2027, LYN:702, NLU:182, CLE:449, APA:340, ARS:123

Thomas Reynes (d. 1416) of Upton Scudamore, Wilts., and Clifton Reynes, Bucks. *DBA*; *CPR*; Kirby, *Henry IV*; *CIPM*.

115 basset

Paly of 8 or and gules on a canton argent three bars nebuly azure.

ETO:821, BHM:2028, LYN:703, NLU:191, CLE:458, APA:325, ARS:125

Unidentified Basset, probably of one of the Devon or Staffs. branches. ARS:125 has Nicholas Basset.

116 ..sset

Or three piles conjoined in base gules on a canton argent a griffin sable.

ETO:822, BHM:2034, LYN:711, NLU:197, CLE:488, APA:343, ARS:126

John Basset (fl. 1393-1403) of Blore and Grindon. The field is sometimes drawn paly. ARS:126 and S:178 have 'm. john basset'. *DBA*; *CIPM*; Burke *GA*; Papworth, p. 1016.

117 coustal

Barry gules and or a canton ermine.

ETO:823, BHM:2035, LYN:677, NLU:198, CLE:489, APA:344, ARS:127

Robert Goushill of Hoveringham (d. s.p.m. 1403), sheriff of Warws. and Leics., esquire to Richard II. He married the dowager Duchess of Norfolk. His younger brother Nicholas was MP Derbs. 1393 and served on commissions in 1396. ARS:127 reads 'm. nicol tunstall'. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*; *Hist. Parl.*; *CIPM*; *CPR*.

118 zhurluey

Paly or and azure a canton ermine.

ETO:824, BHM:2036, LYN:678, NLU:207, CLE:498, ARS:128

Hugh Shirley (c. 1362-1403), Kt; chamber knight to John of Gaunt; Grand Falconer 1400; succeeded his uncle Ralph Basset of Drayton and took his arms.

119 kyryel

Argent two chevrons and a canton gules.

ETO:825, BHM:2037, LYN:679, NLU:208, CLE:499, APA:329*, ARS:129

William Kyriel (or Criol) of Eynsford and Stockburn (1380-1413), or Nicholas (fl. 1380), grandfather of Thomas, KG 1460. Field is usually *or*. *DBA*; *CIPM*; *BM Seals* 11064; *Sceaux BN* 6124.

120 bare

Quarterly 1 and 4 barry gules and compony argent and sable, 2 and 3 or three bars gemel azure.

ETO:826, BHM:2038, LYN:712, NLU:209, CLE:500, APA:330, ARS:130

Thomas Barre of Rotherwas (c. 1349-1419), king's knight 1384 and for life 1396; sheriff and JP Herefs. Barre quarters Penbrugge. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 10; *DBA* 1, p. 62, 328; *CIPM*; *Hist. Parl.*

121 ..chington

Or fretty sable a canton gules

ETO:827, BHM:2044, LYN:715, NLU:211, CLE:502, APA:348, ARS:148

Thomas Marchington (fl.1395), Kt. *CCR*; *CPR*; *DBA* 2, p. 224f.

122 warbylton

Argent two chevrons and a canton gules thereon a mullet or.

ETO:828, BHM:2045, LYN:721, NLU:212, CLE:503, APA:349, ARS:149

Geoffrey Warburton or his son John, Kt.; ancestors of Egerton-Warburton of Grafton Hall. *DBA*.

123 blount

Quarterly argent and gules on a bend sable three eagles displayed or.

ETO:829, BHM:2046, LYN:722, NLU:213, CLE:504, APA:350, ARS:134

Thomas Blount (c. 1348-1400), of Laverstock, Wilts., in right of his second wife Joan Wodepel; family estates in Essex belonged mainly to his younger brother Hugh. Thomas became a king's knight of the chamber 1385, executed after the Epiphany Rising. ARS: 134 reads 'Joh Blount'. *DBA* 2, p. 58; G-W; *CIPM*; *Hist. Parl.*; *PRO Seals* 1052.

124 rouchelif

Quarterly or and gules a bordure sable charged with fourteen roundels or.

ETO:830, BHM:2047, LYN:688, NLU:214, CLE:505, APA:351, ARS:135

John Rochford (d. 1410), Kt. 1393, JP Kesteven 1382-1407 and alderman of Boston; his family were important retainers of the D. of Lancaster and he was trustee of Simon Felbrigge, standard bearer to Richard II, 1397. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*; *PRO Seals* 662.

125 beverlee

Argent a rose quarterly argent and gules.

ETO:831, BHM:2048, LYN:689, NLU:203, CLE:494, APA:352, ARS:137

Richard Beverley, Kt., JP Beverley 1397. Usually the field is qtd and the rose counter-changed (S:296). Papworth p. 859; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* p. 20; *CPR*.

126 de karn

Or three lions rampant sable.

ETO:832, BHM:2009, LYN:657, NLU:169, CLE:436, APA:298

Probably Nicholas Carew of Bedington (fl. 1360 - c.1430), JP Surrey and Sussex, commissioner of array in Middlesex 1397 (*DBA*, *CIPM*), or Thomas Carew of Pembs. (fl. 1400-1425; *DBA*; Kirby, *Henry IV*). The lions are usually passant in pale.

127 le sr de coron

Azure a bend or.

ETO:833, BHM:2010, LYN:658, NLU:170, CLE:437, APA:299

Probably William Carminow of Ashwater (1365-1405); *DBA*, *CIPM*. The Carminows retained the right to wear their arms in parallel to Scrope in the Grosvenor case.

128 le sr de rous

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent three water bougets sable, 2 and 3 gules two bars gemel argent.

ETO:834, BHM:2011, LYN:673, NLU:173, CLE:440, APA:315, ARS:64

Possibly William Roos of Hamlake and Badlesmere. If so, the fess in Badlesmere has been omitted and the tinctures of Roos changed from gules and argent. It has not been possible to document any match between a Roos and an heiress of Barry of Penally in Pembs. *DBA* 2, pp. 210-12; *BM Seals* 13101.

129 jeh darondel

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a lion rampant or, 2 and 3 sable fretty or.

ETO:835, BHM:2012, LYN:676, NLU:174, CLE:441, APA:316, ARS:98

John (Fitz)Alan de Arundel (1365-1415), Baron Maltravers; or possibly his father (d. 1397), who married Eleanor Maltravers. FitzAlan quarters Maltravers. *GEC*; *DNB*; *BM Seals* 6931, *Sceaux BN* 530.

130 le sr de courtney

Or three roundels gules a label azure.

ETO:836, BHM:2013, LYN:664, NLU:183,

81r

CLE:450, APA:317, ARS:100

Probably Philip Courtenay (d. 1406), KG 1388; uncle of 3rd E. of Devon [13], Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1383; ancestor of the Powderham line. Burke *PB* 1970; G-W.

131 nycol

Quarterly gules and or over all a bend argent.

ETO:837, BHM:2019, LYN:684, NLU:177, CLE:444, APA:335, ARS:104

Thomas FitzNicol (c. 1354-1418; d. *s.p.m.*), of Hill near Berkeley, MP 15 times, extensive properties in London, steward of the lands of the E. of Stafford in Glos, retained by the E. of Arundel 1388. ARS:104 has Thomas FitzNicol. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 80.

132 wythomgtot

Quarterly argent and gules over all a bend sable.

ETO:838, BHM:2020, LYN:685, NLU:178, CLE:445, APA:336, ARS:118

John Widrington (1371-1444), king's esquire of the body 1394, formerly a ward of the E. of Northumberland. ARS:118 has Gerard Widrington. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*

133 eningham

Quarterly argent and sable over all a bend gules.

ETO:839, BHM:2021, LYN:698, NLU:187, CLE:454, APA:321, ARS:119

John Everingham of Rockley, king's knight 1405. ARS:119 has Adam Everingham. *DBA*; G-W.

134 waryn

Quarterly per fess dancetty ermine and gules.

ETO:840, BHM:2022, LYN:700, NLU:189, CLE:456, APA:323, ARS:106

Ivo FitzWarin (d. *s.p.m.* 1414), Baron FitzWarin, MP Somerset Sep. 1397; his wife inherited several manors in Dorset and Somerset. ARS has Fulk here and Ivo in [82] and appears to confuse the two. Papworth; *Hist. Parl.*; *CIPM*.

135 fastolfen

Quarterly or and azure over all on a bend sable six escallops or.

ETO:841, BHM:2023, LYN:695, NLU:193*, CLE:460*, APA:327, ARS:111*

John Fastolf, of a senior line at Playford (d. 1405). Cousin of John of Caister [38]. CLE:460 is ambiguous. *DBA* 2, p. 27; *CIPM*.

136 denyr

Quarterly or and gules over all a bend sable.

ETO:842, BHM:2029, NLU:192, CLE:459, APA:326, ARS:110

Ralph de Eure (c. 1350-1422), king's knight 1399, JP Northumberland and Yorks. c. 1390-7, MP Jan. 1397, councillor 1401, among the richest of the northern gentry. Usually with 3 escallops on bend. GEC; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 38; *DBA* 1, p. 337.

137 hou

Quarterly argent and sable.

ETO:843, BHM:2030, LYN:694, NLU:194, CLE:461, APA:328, ARS:109

William Hoo (fl. 1387-1407), a king's knight 1389. Papworth; G-W; *BM Seals* 10807-10.

138 ratclief

Argent on a bend within a bordure engrailed sable a crescent argent.

ETO:844, BHM:2031

Legend and arms appear incompatible. If the bend was intended to be engrailed it might refer to Ralph Ratcliffe of Lances., a king's knight for life 1397 (G-W, *DBA*). The arms, as shown, are for Knyvet, but also found as Radcliffe c. 1520 (*DBA* 2, p. 80). They might refer to John Knyvet (1358-1418), of Mendlesham, Suffolk, & Weldon, Northants., JP Hunts. 1393-7 and MP Sep. 1397. ARS:310 has bend engrailed. APA/b:15r no 5 has 'jehan ratclif' with the bend engrailed.

139 clifton

Chequy or and gules a bend ermine.

ETO:845, BHM:2032

Probably refers to John Clifton (1394-1447), son of Constantine, 2nd Baron Clifton of Bokenham (1371-95), who was the last Clifton to be summoned to Parliament. *DBA*; GEC.

140 stauwel

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a cross engrailed argent, 2 and 3 azure three bends argent.

ETO:846, BHM:2033

Thomas Stawell of Cothelstone (c. 1369-1439), son of Matthew Stawell and Eleanor Merton; on commissions from 1395, MP

THE COAT OF ARMS

1420, in the affinity of the bishop of Bath & Wells and lords Berkeley, Poynings and FitzWarin. Stawell quarters Merton. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*; *CIPM*. The trio of Ratcliffe, Clifton and Stawell might be a spill-over from APA 15r nos 5-7, possible participants in the Peace of Arras, which took place when this armorial was being painted.

141 tochet

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules [fretty or], 2 and 3 ermine a chevron gules.

ETO:847, BHM:2039, LYN:713, NLU:210, CLE:501, APA:331, ARS:131

John Touchet (1371-1408); succeeded Nicolas Audley (d. 1391) [59] as 4th Baron Audley 1405 after a long dispute. His son James (1398-1459) was a senior commander in France (*DBA*, *GEC*). Audley quarters Touchet; the *fretty* is missing in most of this group. ARS:131 has Ralph.

142 vernon

Quarterly 1 and 4 or on a fess azure three garbs or, 2 and 3 argent fretty sable.

ETO:848, BHM:2040, LYN:714, NLU:199, CLE:490, APA:332, ARS:132

Richard Vernon (1370-1401), of Haddon and Harlaston. Vernon of Sheepbrook quarters Vernon. Burke *PB* 1970.

143 hamelyn

Quarterly 1 and 4 chequy argent and sable, 2 and 3 argent six annulets gules (3 and 3).

ETO:849, BHM:2041, LYN:680, NLU:200, CLE:491, APA:345, ARS:133

John Hamelyn (d. *s.p.m.* 1398); married Joan Plescy. Hamelin quarters Plescy. *DBA* 1, pp. 7, 160; 2, p. 256; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 276.

144 irby

Argent fretty sable a canton sable.

ETO:850, BHM:2042, LYN:681, NLU:201, CLE:492, APA:346, ARS:143

John de Irby (d. *s.p.m.* 1399), JP Cumberland 1385-98, sheriff 1396, MP Jan. 1397. ARS:143 has Thomas. *DBA* 2, p. 225; *Hist. Parl.* 3, p. 480; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*.

145 vernon

Argent fretty sable a canton gules.

ETO:851, BHM:2043, LYN:687, NLU:202, CLE:493, APA:347, ARS:147

Richard Vernon (d. 1403); attainted following the first Percy rebellion. *DBA* 2, p. 225; Wylie, *England under Henry IV*.

146 corbes

Argent two bars and a canton gules.

ETO:852, BHM:2049, LYN:690, NLU:204, CLE:495, APA:361, ARS:150

Robert Corbet the elder (*fl.* 1330-1404), Lord of Hadley, Salop., Ebrington, Glos., and Assington, Suffolk. ARS:150 has John. *CIPM*; *DBA* 1, pp. 27f.; *Hist. Parl.*

147 fyles

Argent two bars and a canton gules a label azure.

ETO:853, BHM:2050, LYN:723, NLU:205, CLE:496, APA:362, ARS:151

Robert Corbet the younger (1354-1417; d. *s.p.m.*) of Hadley 1404, son of Robert the elder [146]; MP Wilts Jan. 1397; a king's knight 1399, chamber knight for the Prince of Wales (Henry V), summoned to Great Council 1401 for Oxon instead of Shrops. *DBA*; Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances*; *Hist. Parl.*

148 boys

Argent two bars and a canton gules over all a bend sable charged with an annulet argent in chief.

ETO:854, BHM:2051, LYN:724, NLU:206, CLE:497, APA:363, ARS:152

Possibly John Boys of Felmingham, Norfolk (*fl.* 1396); *DBA*. There were several prominent Boys branches in East Anglia, including John Boys of Tolleshunt, Essex, d. 1419, steward of D. of Gloucester; he bore the 2 bars & canton. ARS:152 has Robert Boys. *DBA* 1, pp. 27f.; *BM Seals* 7706.

149 wentwater

Argent two bars and a canton gules thereon a cinquefoil argent.

ETO:855, BHM:2052, LYN:725, NLU:215, CLE:506, APA:364, ARS:153

John Derwentwater (*fl.* 1400), Lord of Keswick. *DBA* 1, pp. 30f.; *Hist. Parl.*

150 zyrkiby

Argent two bars and a canton gules thereon a cross moline or.

ETO:856, BHM:2053, LYN:706, NLU:216, CLE:507, APA:353, ARS:138

Richard Kirkby in Lancs, a king's knight
1398. G-W; *DBA* 1, p. 30; *Sceaux BN* 6116.
81v 151 [nevil]

*Gules on a saltire argent two annulets
intwined gules and azure*

ETO:857, BHM:2054

John Neville (d. *s.p.* 1430), Lord Latimer of
Danby 1395; brother of Ralph, Baron Neville
of Raby & E. of Westmorland [9]. APA/b:
15v no 2 has Walter Neville among the
participants at Arras 1435.

152 [ridfor]

Argent fretty and a chief sable.

ETO:858, BHM:2055, LYN:710, NLU:219,
CLE:510, APA:356, ARS:157

Henry Retford of Castletorpe (c. 1354-
1409), a king's knight 1394, sheriff of Lincs.
1393 and 1397, ambassador to Avignon and
Rome 1397. ARS:157 has Henry Retford.
Papworth; *Hist. Parl.*; G-W; *CPR*.

153 [k.yztluig ?]

Azure fretty argent a chief or.

ETO:859, BHM:2056, LYN:717, NLU:221,
CLE:512, APA:366, ARS:158

Possibly Thomas St Leger, sheriff of Kent
1397. The legend in BHM:140v1 repeats that
of [152]. Most entries might refer to Ralph as
explicitly at ARS:158. Papworth; *CPR*;
Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*.

154 [vintin]

Or a chevron gules and chief vair.

ETO:860, BHM:2057, LYN:718, NLU:220,
CLE:511, APA:365, ARS:160

John St Quentin of Harpham (c. 1347-98), JP
Yorks. 1382-89, MP Sep. 1397, keeper of
Scarborough Castle 1382-92. ARS:160 has a
William. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*

155 basset

Ermine a canton gules.

ETO:861, BHM:2058, LYN:719, NLU:222,
CLE:513, APA:367, ARS:162

Unidentified Basset in Somerset (Papworth),
possibly the Edmond Basset living 1394
(*CIPM*) who succeeded his kinsman Simon
Basset (*fl.* 1330-50); *DBA* 2, pp. 224, 241,
differenced by a mullet or on the canton.
ARS:162 has William.

156 ..yuel du roy

Gules a chevron between three (rose or

holly?) leaves or.

ETO:862, BHM:2059

Possibly John de Lisle, Lord of Laybourn,
Salop. A similar coat of arms is at APA/b:15v
no 6, captioned 'le evesqui de de roux'; but it
may be *riad de quoy* [= *rien de quoi*] or 'not
noted'. *DBA* 2, p. 381; Burke, *Extinct
Peerages*.

157 rouché

*Gules thirteen roundels or (4:4:3:2) and a
chief ermine.*

ETO:863, BHM:2060, LYN:731, NLU:223*,
CLE:514*, APA:368, ARS:173.

Richard la Zouche (d. *s.p.* May 1397), of
Zouche manor in Norfolk, which then revert-
ed to the main line [69]. APA has an unfini-
shed sketch; at CLE:254 the chief is argent.
Burke, *GA*; *CIPM*.

158 harington

Argent a chief gules over all a bend azure.

ETO:864, BHM:2061, LYN:726, NLU:224,
CLE:515, APA:357, ARS:181

Unidentified Harington of the Notts. family.
ARS:181 has a John. *DBA* 1, p. 366.

159 zarbygen

Or two bars and a canton azure.

ETO:865, BHM:2062, LYN:727, NLU:225,
CLE:516, APA:358, ARS:166

Probably John Scarborough (d. 1414),
chancery clerk 1373-1413, clerk of the
Commons 1385-1414, underbutler of
England 1385-94, commissioner of oyer and
terminer Cum-berland 1398. *CPR*; *DBA* 1, p.
27; *Hist. Parl.*

160 colehul

Chequy argent and sable a chief or.

ETO:866, BHM:2063, LYN:736, NLU:226,
CLE:517, APA:359, ARS:190*

John Colshill (d. 1413), MP, sheriff, JP and
king's steward in Cornwall 1391-97; king's
esquire 1391; former London merchant and
purveyor to the royal household. ARS:190
has a Thomas with a crescent in chief, as if
for Thomas in Devon, who died before 1410.
Papworth; *Hist. Parl.*; *CIPM*.

161 ..isable

Quarterly gules and vair over all a bend or.

ETO:867, BHM:2064, LYN:699, NLU:188,
CLE:455, APA:322, ARS:121

THE COAT OF ARMS

Robert Constable (b. 1355) of Flamborough.
ARS:121 has his father Marmaduke (d. 1377). *DBA*; *CIPM*; *CCR*.

162 cay

Quarterly argent and sable over all a bend gules.

ETO:868, BHM:2065, LYN:704*, NLU:195*, CLE:486*, APA:341*, ARS:112*

Apart from ETO, BHM and S:297 (William), ARS:112 (also William) and most of the group have three mullets argent on the bend. *DBA* 2, pp. 51, 59.

163 dakinler

Quarterly gules and or over all a bend barry nebuly argent and azure (or vair).

ETO:869, BHM:2066, LYN:705, NLU:196, CLE:487, APA:342, ARS:113

Thomas Sackville of Buckhurst, Sussex (d. 1432), Kt., MP 1394, 1395, 1397. *DBA*; *Hist. Parl.*

164 zelekobde

Argent fretty gules and a chief gules.

ETO:870, BHM:2067, LYN:709, NLU:227, CLE:518, APA:360, ARS:156

Probably Hugh Salkeld, JP Westmorland 1397 and MP 1398, commissioner in Cumberland 1415 (*CPR*, *CCR*). Arms of Salkeld of Baslington in Northumberland

and Yorks. Papworth.

165 hosome

Or a chief azure.

ETO:871, BHM:2068, LYN:728, NLU:228, CLE:519, APA:369, ARS:184

Possibly Fulk Lysoures (Lisours in Lincs.), *fl.* 1396-1413, Kt., a retainer of the Baron Beaumont [31]. Papworth p. 555; *CIPM*.

166 ..yk

Argent a chief gules over all a bend engrailed azure.

ETO:872, BHM:2069, LYN:732, NLU:229, CLE:520, APA:370, ARS:186

Unidentified Leake or Leek (*DBA* 2, p. 59), possibly John (*fl.* 1380-1405), JP Notts. (*CPR*, *CIPM*), or an Andrew (ARS:186; AK:79; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*).

167 zepbene

Argent [on] a chief azure [three lions or]

ETO:873, BHM:2070, LYN:733*, NLU:230, CLE:521*, APA:371*, ARS:188*

John Depden (*fl.* 1397), JP Yorks., an associate of Robert Hilton [50]. The arms are unfinished in ETO and BHM, but are correctly given in the other members of this group. Papworth; Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* 69; *CPR*; *CSL*.