

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

**LIVERY COLLARS ON LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLISH CHURCH  
MONUMENTS: A SURVEY OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES AND  
SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.**

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Master of Philosophy

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The objectives of the thesis are threefold. First, to propose a classification of livery collars based on archaeological evidence. Second, to analyse the evidence, both archaeological and documentary, in order to improve our understanding of the nature of the livery collar. And, third, to consider the significance of the armorial devices depicted on livery collars.

In order to achieve the first objective, it was necessary to compile a provisional catalogue of collars on monuments throughout England, Ireland and Wales (Appendix B). In the event, these were found to be so numerous that detailed study was confined to the 44 examples in the south-western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire. These have been visited, measured, sketched, photographed and catalogued (in Appendix A).

The thesis is in four chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction in which the livery collar is defined and the scope and format of the study set out. Chapter 2 deals with the development of armorial badges, the practice of livery and maintenance, the nature of the livery collar, and the various Lancastrian and Yorkist devices of which the majority of collars are formed. Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the collars in the study area and the sample is placed in a national context. Chapter 4 sets out a series of conclusions and suggestions for further research.

Far from suggesting a precise, thematic or chronological classification of livery collars on late Medieval and Tudor effigies, the study has revealed only two categories of collar. The first, those collars composed of Lancastrian or Yorkist devices, is self-evident. The second, those Lancastrian collars which date from the pre-1461 period and are characterised by toret clasps and annulet pendants, requires further research beyond the study area. The available evidence suggests that collars in effigial figures which are neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist are personal collars and not the livery collars of other affinities. It also suggests that, while the nobility only occasionally incorporated a collar on their effigies, those who held less exalted positions in the medieval establishment almost invariably commemorated their success by the inclusion of a collar. No evidence has been found which might assist in determining whether collars as depicted on effigies were copied from real life, from drawings or from templates. It is suggested that it may be possible to trace, by reference to a wider sample and to documentary evidence, a stylistic transition from collars which were distributed in the fifteenth century as livery to those which were granted as insignia of office in the Tudor period.

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It soon became apparent that my original objective, to propose a classification of collars based on a survey of church monuments throughout England, Ireland and Wales, would not be practicable. Nevertheless, the provisional catalogue (Appendix B) will, I hope, be of use to those who come after me, and for this I am indebted to C.E.J. Smith whose work on livery collars provided the inspiration for this study and who has supplied me with numerous papers and references. I am also indebted to members of the Heraldry Society for their support and encouragement during the initial survey of churches. In particular, I wish to thank John Adnams, John Allen, Bill and Reta Burgess, John Campbell-Kease, Cathy Constant, Peggy Foster, Peter Greenhill, Dr Bernard Juby, Les Peirson, Michael Messer, Margaret and David Sibley, Stephen Slater, Pete Taylor, and John and Vera Wortledge.

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I am most grateful to the many members of staff at the Public Record Office and at various county and diocesan record offices and county libraries who, without exception, responded to my frequent enquiries with patience and considerable expertise. In particular, I wish to thank the staff at the Dorset County Record Office, the Reference Library, Dorchester and the Hartley Library at the University of Southampton. I am also greatly indebted to Mary Stubbington, the Postgraduate Faculty Officer at Southampton University, for her kind words of wisdom and infinite patience.

Finally, I am obliged to confirm that this thesis is the result of work done wholly or mainly while in registered postgraduate candidature.

Stephen Friar  
March, 2000

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## Abbreviations

BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
Boutell	Boutell, C., <i>Manual of Heraldry</i> (1863), revised Brooke-Little (ed.) <i>Boutell's Heraldry</i> (London, 1983).
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
DNHAS	Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society
Fox-Davies	Fox-Davies, C., <i>Heraldic Badges</i> (London, 1907).
Myers	Myers, A.R. (ed.), <i>The Household of Edward IV</i> (Oxford, 1901).
RCHM	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
<i>Rot.Parl.</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> , 6 vols (London, 1783).
Smith	Smith, C.E.J., <i>The Livery Collar</i> an unpublished, paper, catalogue and notes (1992 with subsequent revisions and additions) deposited with the Society of Antiquaries.
Statutes	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i> , 11 vols (Record Commission, 1810-28).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>
Walker	Walker, S., <i>The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399</i> (Oxford, 1990).

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Many late-medieval church monuments serve as a vivid, though apparently paradoxical, comment on the social mores of the period. On the one hand, effigial cadavers, shroud brasses and *Disce Mori* inscriptions proclaimed an egalitarian message of Death's contempt for rank and wealth.<sup>1</sup> While, on the other hand, flamboyant armorial display, 'shimmering in gilt and brilliant with colour', provided a permanent reminder of the lineage, power and status of the deceased.<sup>2</sup> As Nigel Saul suggests, 'growing interest has been shown in what heraldry, livery badges and inscriptions can tell about the self-image of the commemorated'.<sup>3</sup> That is the rationale for this study.

### **The livery collar: a definition**

The late-medieval livery collar was a decorative neckband, extending from the shoulders to the chest, composed of a series of armorial devices, crafted in gold, silver, silver-gilt or coloured enamels, each device linked to the next to form a chain or set individually upon a strap of velvet or some other material. In many cases, from the ends of the collar (the chapes) depended a further armorial device (the pendant), which was either enamelled or fashioned in a precious

<sup>1</sup> Colin Platt, *King Death* (London, 1996), p.vii.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Gwynn-Jones, *The Art of Heraldry* (London, 1998), p.186.

<sup>3</sup> Nigel Saul in his preface to Jerome Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), p.xx.

metal and attached by means of a decorative clasp (commonly, though not invariably, a trefoil-shaped toret) to the chapes.<sup>4</sup>

It was common practice in fifteenth-century England for the nobility to distribute livery badges among the members of their affinities. ‘While the arms and crest were personal to the individual, the badge might be worn by a nobleman’s retainers - the outward sign of the pernicious custom known as livery and maintenance’.<sup>5</sup> Walker describes the practice more succinctly as ‘a shared symbol, proclaiming a shared loyalty’.<sup>6</sup>

Of the many badges adopted for this purpose, the livery collar was a hybrid. It represented, in a splendidly tangible form, the apogee of bastard feudalism. The ability to bestow such a superb gift reflected the magnificence and pervasive authority of the benefactor; while to receive a livery collar was a singular honour for the recipient, indicative of the esteem in which he was held, and of his proximity to power.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that livery collars should have been depicted on so many of the effigial monuments of the late-medieval and Tudor aristocracy. What is surprising is that many magnates (or their executors) chose *not* to depict on their monuments the livery collars to which they were undoubtedly entitled.

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<sup>4</sup> The word *terret*, a corruption of *toret*, is still used by harness-makers and signifies the rings through which the bridle-reins pass.

<sup>5</sup> C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London, 1929), p.111.

<sup>6</sup> Walker, p.94.

## The Scope of the Study

The objectives of the study are threefold:

First, to propose a classification of collars based on archaeological evidence. Second, to analyse the evidence, both archaeological and documentary, in order to improve our understanding of the nature of the livery collar, and in particular to test the validity of the assertion that livery collars were given and received within affinities other than those of Lancaster and York.<sup>7</sup> And, third, to consider the significance of the armorial devices depicted on livery collars.

An invaluable source of archaeological evidence is available on the collars depicted on late-medieval and Tudor monuments. In 1882, the antiquarian Albert Hartshorne wrote: 'A list of the effigies and brasses throughout the kingdom, on which the [Lancastrian] SS collar is represented, together with notes upon the pendants, and the social positions of the wearers, would be a valuable contribution to the history of decoration.'<sup>8</sup> It has taken over a century for such a project to materialize, though (as will be demonstrated) it is not always possible to ascertain with precision the 'social position of the wearers'.

In practice, the compilation of a catalogue of livery collars as depicted on late-medieval and Tudor monuments in England, Wales and Ireland has been a comparatively straightforward exercise. C.E.J. Smith's catalogue, the product of

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<sup>7</sup> An assertion contained in a number of well-known works including my own *A New Dictionary of Heraldry* (Sherborne and London, 1987), p.100 in which I follow eminent armorists such as A.C. Fox-Davies and Charles Boutell.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Hartshorne, 'Notes on Collars of SS', *Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), p.127 (footnote).

many years' research, provided the ground-work for the survey and this has been supplemented with information collected at my request and submitted by a band of knowledgeable enthusiasts (mostly members of the Heraldry Society) who systematically visited the churches in their allotted areas and recorded any collars found there.<sup>9</sup> As a result of this work, a *Provisional Catalogue of Livery Collars on Late-Medieval and Tudor Monuments in England and Wales* is provided at APPENDIX B.

The primary objective - to propose a scheme of classification for collars - has proved more problematic. Thus far, 391 collars on effigies, brasses and incised slabs have been identified in 277 churches throughout England, Wales and Ireland (see APPENDIX B). The number of collars to be photographed, measured and sketched, and the recording of the sculptural, armorial and genealogical detail associated with each of the examples, was clearly beyond the scope of the present study. It was therefore considered more realistic to concentrate on the 44 examples in the south-western counties of England (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire).<sup>10</sup> All but one of the examples in the sample area have been visited and recorded in detail, the exception being a monument at Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire (GLO7), which is inaccessible but for which documentary evidence is available.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *The Livery Collar*, an unpublished paper and catalogue (1992 with subsequent revisions).

<sup>10</sup> All counties referred to are the pre-1974 counties.

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire* (1779, reprinted Stroud 1985), p.177. The Blount monument at Mangotsfield Church, Gloucestershire, is located in 'the small chancel on the north side of the great one' (Rudder). Access to the side chapel is rendered impossible by the organ case which fills the entrance. While it is reasonable to assume that access must

The sample represents 11 per cent of all known collars on late-medieval monuments in England, Ireland and Wales. It includes only four brasses (and one for which there remains only documentary evidence): 4 per cent of the total, though distribution is distorted nationally by significant clusters of brasses in the south-eastern counties (41) and East Anglia (19). Of the three (possibly four) examples in England and Wales of collars on incised slabs, none is in the sample area. Three post-Tudor judicial collars have been recorded separately in the Appendix as DEV3, HAM5 and WIL5.

The earliest recorded example in Britain of a livery collar is that depicted on the effigy of Sir Hugh Swinford, at Spratton, Northamptonshire, who died in 1371. Livery collars continued to be distributed into the sixteenth century, increasingly as insignia of office indicative not of political affiliation but of seniority within the judiciary or government administration. The scope of the study has therefore been confined to the late-medieval period, which, for these purposes, is deemed to extend from the introduction of the Lancastrian collar by John of Gaunt in the third quarter of the fourteenth century to the abolition of livery and maintenance in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Affinities sympathetic to the Lancastrian cause predominated in the south-western region during the civil wars of the fifteenth century, though there were also significant pockets of Yorkist support. Consequently, the sample area provides sufficient examples of Lancastrian and Yorkist collars for valid

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occasionally be required for maintenance purposes, the incumbent was unwilling to discuss the matter.

<sup>12</sup> The collar on the effigy of Sir Richard Lyster (d.1553), at St. Michael's Church, Southampton, on a monument erected in 1567, is the latest example in the study area.

comparisons to be made.<sup>13</sup>

## Study Format

The study is in three parts. Chapter 2 deals first with the development of armorial badges, of which the livery collar is a hybrid, and the application of livery badges and livery colours in (for example) the uniforms of retainers and mustering flags. This is then followed by a section which traces the development of the practice of livery and maintenance and its relevance to the disbursement of livery collars. The nature of the livery collar is then considered, from its introduction in the last quarter of the fourteenth century to its use as insignia of office in the sixteenth. The final section discusses the various Lancastrian and Yorkist devices of which the majority of collars are formed, including consideration of the enigmatic Lancastrian esses device. Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the 44 collars in the study area. First, their distribution is considered and identifiable clusters noted. This is followed by a preliminary classification of collars based on their components: the strap or chain, the clasp and the pendant. Entitlement, defined by status or relationship, is considered, and the depiction of collars on the effigies of females. The sample is then placed in a national context, by reference to the provisional catalogue (Appendix B). Reference is made throughout the analysis to a series of tables and maps which will be found at the end of the chapter. Chapter 4 sets out a series of conclusions and suggestions for further research. These address the three questions which were posed at the outset, together with consideration of a number of queries which

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<sup>13</sup> It will be shown that the ratio of Lancastrian to Yorkist collars in the study area is compatible with the ratio nationally.

have been raised concerning specific monuments or groups of monuments. A summary of these conclusions and suggestions is provided at the end of the chapter.

## Available Sources

Other than the monuments themselves, there is very little primary material available. No intricate collars have survived from this period. The three that are known are very simple and, of these, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London has two from the early sixteenth century: one of silver and the other of silver gilt.<sup>14</sup> The third is at the Museum of London. It is a finely wrought chain, 60cm long and comprising forty-one silver filigree esses linked with small rings, the twenty-first letter having a small hook by which the wearer could fasten the collar at the back of the neck. The collar was found in the Thames near Kennet Wharf, London, in 1983, and is believed to date from c.1490.<sup>15</sup>

Lancastrian collars of esses and Yorkist collars of suns and roses are to be found in contemporary window glass and in a number of fifteenth-century paintings and manuscript illustrations. Henry Beachamp, Earl of Warwick, is depicted in the Rous Roll with a collar of esses over his arm, for example, while a portrait of Henry VI in the National Gallery shows him wearing a collar of alternate esses and square-cut jewels.<sup>16</sup> Mid-fifteenth-century glass in the east window of the south aisle of St Michael's Church, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, includes a depiction of Sir Thomas Ashton in full armour and

<sup>14</sup> Room 92, case 12.

<sup>15</sup> Brian Spencer, 'Fifteenth-century collar of SS and hoard of false dice with their container from the Museum of London', *Antiquaries Journal*, 65 (1985), pp.96-104.

<sup>16</sup> c.1450, after Rogier van der Weyden.

wearing a collar of esses with a toret clasp. A further example is in the hall of Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, where window glass includes a number of Yorkist devices, including falcon and fetterlock and sunburst badges, the royal arms of Edward IV with white lion and black bull supporters, and a collar of nine white roses and nine golden suns from which depends a white lion.<sup>17</sup> There are other examples, but collectively the collars depicted on church monuments are unequalled in the variety of style and detail. Allowing for the destruction of memorials during the Reformation, at the time of the Commonwealth and during Victorian restorations, these must be the survivors of at least twice the number recorded.

There is a paucity of references to livery collars in contemporary documents, though there are numerous references to 'chains' which, as will be shown, are not synonymous with livery collars.<sup>18</sup> Two documents which are quoted extensively, particularly when considering the disbursement of Yorkist collars, are *The Black Book*, which was completed between June 1471 and September 1472, and the *Ordinance* of 1478 in its draft and final forms. For both I rely on A.R. Myers's *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959), which includes also a 'List of the principal officials of the Royal Household during the reigns of the Yorkist kings of England.' For this purpose I also consulted R.L. Storey's *English Officers of State 1399-1485* (London, 1977), though this work lists only stewards and treasurers. That *The Black Book* should contain no specific reference to livery collars is surprising. Intended as a management handbook for

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<sup>17</sup> 1461, glass almost certainly by Thomas Willement.

<sup>18</sup> See section on collars and chains in Chapter 4.

the royal household it sets out, among other administrative and financial matters, rules for the wearing of robes and 'other apparyl'.<sup>19</sup> Rule 16 of the draft *Ordinance* and rule 28 of the final *Ordinance* of 1487 are, however, of singular importance when considering both the nature and the disbursement of livery collars in the household of the Yorkist kings.

The Paston letters are quoted on several occasions, and for this purpose I referred to *The Pastons and their England* by H.S. Bennett (Cambridge, canto edition 1995) and *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Norman Davis (2 volumes, Oxford, 1971-1976). Similarly, for the Froissart *Chronicles*, I have referred to *The Tudor Translations*, edited by W.E. Henley (London, 1903). References to painted calendars and other materials such as the *Kalandars of Inventories*, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem* and the *Duchy of Lancaster Records* have been obtained from secondary sources, but also from *English Historical Documents IV (1327-1485)*, edited by A.R. Myers (London, 1969).

The College of Arms proved to be a disappointing source of relevant material. *Ballards Book* (2<sup>nd</sup>.M.S.), *Prince Arthur's Book* (Vincent M.S.152) and a manuscript painting of medieval badges (2<sup>nd</sup>. M16) are well documented in several of the works on heraldry referred to below, as are British Library manuscripts on badges (MS. ADD – 40742) and the Wriothesley Heraldic Collections (M.S. ADD – 45132).

Encouraged by the considerable detail contained in some medieval

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<sup>19</sup> The rules required, for example, that 'if this steward be but a squier' his robes should be of inferior material.

wills,<sup>20</sup> a search was made of Somerset wills and testaments, and seven of the fifteen persons who are commemorated in effigies with collars were identified.<sup>21</sup> But in no case was any instruction given with regard to the design of a collar or, indeed, to that of an effigy. The wills of Richard Bruton (1417) and John Stourton (1438), neither of whom features in the survey, include instructions regarding the design of their monuments, but neither makes mention of a collar. As one would expect, most wills include detailed instructions for the disbursement of possessions, including a number of chains: ‘to John my sonne and heir to whom I bequeith also my cheynes of gold, to be delivered him as sone as he shall be married, or els come to his full age.’<sup>22</sup> But, as has already been stated, in the fifteenth century ‘chains’ were not synonymous with livery collars. This was taken to be a sufficiently convincing sample of wills and testaments in the study area and no further searches were made.

The secondary literature on the livery collar is sparse and often contradictory. There is no general book on the subject and only passing references in works dealing with (for example) heraldry, church monuments and bastard feudalism. References to livery badges (of which the livery collar is a hybrid) first appeared in Gerard Leigh’s *Accendence of Armorie* (1562, with editions up to 1612) and John Ferne’s *Blazon of Gentrie* (1586). None of the eighteenth-century works on heraldry mention livery collars: *A Display of Heraldrie* by John Guillam

<sup>20</sup> Notably in the will of John Baret of Bury (1463). See Samuel Tymms (ed.), *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society, 49 (1850), pp.15-44.

<sup>21</sup> *Somerset Wills 1383-1500*, Somerset Record Society, 16 (1901).

<sup>22</sup> The will of Henry Burnell (1490) in *Somerset Wills 1383-1500*, p. 45 citing 27 Milles. Fo.216.

(1611) ran to six editions by 1724, when it was much augmented by its editor, James Coats; A. Nisbet's *A System of Heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1722) became the standard work of its day and ran through several editions to 1816.<sup>23</sup> In 1780 another classic, *A Complete Body of Heraldry*, by Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, was published in two fine folio volumes, the second of which contains an extensive alphabet of arms. Thomas Moule's *Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnae Britanniae* (1822), essentially a bibliography of works on heraldry and associated subjects, makes no mention of livery collars; neither does W. Berry in his *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* (1828), or Richard Sims in his *A Manual for the Genealogist, Topographer and Antiquarian* (1888). The same writer's *Index to the Pedigrees and Arms Contained in the Heralds' Visitations* (London, 1849) has been consulted but makes no direct reference to collars.

The Industrial Revolution created a new elite, anxious to acquire the trappings of gentility and with a voracious appetite for matters genealogical and armorial. This is reflected in the plethora of heraldic 'manuals' of the period, and a quite extraordinary level of genealogical activity exemplified by the works of the ubiquitous Sir Bernard Burke (1814-92). Armorists became preoccupied with the minutiae of their subject; 'research' was often mere compilation - uncritical and often inaccurate. And yet the later nineteenth century not only produced a number of reference works which today are still considered to be indispensable, it also bred a group of armorists from whose scholarship our present perception of heraldry is largely derived.

Sir Bernard Burke's *General Armory* (London, 1842); C.N. Elvin's *A Dictionary of Heraldry* (London, 1889); J. Fairbairn's *Book of Crests of the*

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<sup>23</sup> Nisbet was reprinted as recently as 1984.

*Families of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1859); J.W. Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorials* (London, 1874); A.H. Parker's *A Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry* (London, 1894); and J.R. Planche's *The Pursuivant of Arms* (third edition, London, 1874) are all currently available in facsimile or reprinted form.<sup>24</sup> The *Manual of Heraldry* by the Reverend Charles Boutell, first published in 1863, has long been considered to be a standard work on the subject and has continued in print to the present day in a variety of forms, most recently as *Boutell's Heraldry* (London, 1983), edited by John Brooke-Little, formerly Norroy and Ulster King of Arms. Both Boutell and Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, in his *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909), refer to collars only in passing, though (as will be shown) their comments have informed the debate concerning the nature of the livery collar. Although written in the twentieth century, Fox-Davies's book, and his *The Art of Heraldry* (London, 1904), have their roots firmly in the nineteenth. The *Complete Guide to Heraldry* remains in print, also edited by John Brooke-Little (most recent edition, London & New York, 1985). Unusually, John. E. Cussans devotes four pages to collars in his *Handbook of Heraldry* (London, 1893), though most of the material is to be found elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> C. Wilfred Scott-Giles, in his *The Romance of Heraldry* (London, 1921), was the first armorist to 'popularize' his subject. This book and his later work *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (London, 1950) are a reliable source of information concerning royal armory, and both remain in print.

<sup>24</sup> It is generally acknowledged that Fairbairn and Papworth are not entirely reliable: both are heavily dependent on Burke.

<sup>25</sup> pp.254-8.

Undoubtedly the best work (indeed, the *only* work) on badges is A.C. Fox-Davies's *Heraldic Badges* (London, 1907). This excellent book includes a scholarly introduction in which the author considers the development of the badge, in contradistinction to the shield of arms and crest, and a list (with sources) of badges used by medieval and Tudor magnates. Of the books devoted to the art of heraldry, none refers specifically to collars, though several have been quoted in this study. Of these, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (London, 1913) by W. St. John Hope, and George E. Eve's *Heraldry as Art* (London, 1907) are the best known from this period. Another of St. John Hope's works, *Stall Plates of the Knights of the Garter* (London, 1901), is an invaluable source of information for armorists but of little relevance to the present study.

For many antiquarians, writing in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, the question of the origin and significance of the enigmatic Lancastrian esses device was little short of an obsession. Of the numerous papers consulted, many simply re-visit previously published material and add little to the debate. However, A.P. Purey-Cust's *The Collar of Esses: A History and a Conjecture* (Leeds, 1910) provides a useful summary of the various theories current at the beginning of the twentieth century, though his sources are not always given; while the Rev. Canon J.M.J. Fletcher's 'The SS Collar in Dorset and Elsewhere' in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* (Dorchester, 1924), provides details of collars which, in some cases, have since been damaged. The following works are also instructive and are quoted when considering the significance of the esses device in Chapter 2: Albert Hartshorne's 'Notes on Collars of SS' in *The Archaeological Journal*, 34 (1882); H.K.S. Sanderson's 'The SS Collar and others' in *Transactions of the*

*Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors*, 7 (1890); G.F. Beltz, ‘Notices relating to the ancient “Collars of the King’s Livery”’ in *The Retrospective Review*, Second Series (1891); Edward Foss, ‘The Collar of SS’, *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1911); C.M. Jenkins, ‘Collars of SS: a Quest’ in *Apollo* (March, 1949); W.W. Skeat, ‘Souvent me Souvient’ in *Christ’s College Magazine* (Michaelmas, 1905); and, more recently, L. James’s ‘York and Lancaster: a study of collars’ in *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, part 6 (1968-70); and Doris Fletcher’s ‘The Lancastrian Collar of Esses’ in James Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997).

Reference will be made to a number of works dating from the second half of the twentieth century when, under the scholarly influence of Sir Anthony Wagner, heraldry enjoyed something of a renaissance. Wagner was appointed to the College of Arms as Portcullis Pursuivant in 1931 and became Garter King of Arms in 1961. He retired in 1978. I have consulted his *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1939), *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (Oxford, 1939), *Heraldry in England* (London, 1946) and *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London, 1952). Robert Gayre’s *Heraldic Standards and Other Ensigns* (Edinburgh, 1959) is a comprehensive work on heraldic flags, though when describing armorial practice it has a clear Scottish bias and is very prescriptive. Works such as H.C.B. Rogers’s *The Pageant of Heraldry* (London, 1950), Christopher and Adrian Lynch-Robinson *Intelligible Heraldry* (London, 1948) and Julian Franklyn’s enjoyable but idiosyncratic *Shield and Crest* (London 1961) are worthy ‘manuals’ but make no reference to collars. Of the most recent crop of books, my own *A New Dictionary of Heraldry* (London, 1987) is the only work in which the livery collar is considered at length. Of my other books,

*Heraldry for the Local Historian and Genealogist* (Stroud, 1992), *Basic Heraldry* (London, 1993) and *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (Stroud, 1996), all include sections on livery collars and are all referred to in this study, principally to illustrate how my understanding of livery collars has developed. Rodney Dennys, in his splendid *The Heraldic Imagination* (London and New York, 1975), considers badges at length, but not collars. A section of Henry Bedingfeld and Peter Gwynn-Jones's *Heraldry* (Leicester, 1993) is devoted to royal armory, but (surprisingly) there is no mention of the Lancastrian esses device or livery collars. Similarly, David Williamson's *Debrett's Guide to Heraldry and Regalia* (London, 1992) makes no mention of collars, not even in a chapter on 'Heralds and the College of Arms'. Neither is there any reference to collars in *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* by Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson (Oxford, 1988) or in *The Art of Heraldry* by Peter Gwynn Jones (London, 1998).<sup>26</sup> For orders of chivalry and other related matters, reference is made to Elias Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter* (1672); Maurice Keen's *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984); *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*, edited by Nigel Saul (London, 1992); and *Medieval Knighthood IV*, papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990, edited by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992).

Searches were made of several academic web sites, including those of the

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<sup>26</sup> Bedingfeld, Woodcock and Robinson are heralds. Gwynn-Jones is Garter King of Arms, the senior English officer of arms. The English kings of arms and heralds continue to wear collars of esses, though the pursuivants do not.

Institute of Historical Research, the Society of Antiquaries and various universities. In each case the only references to current or recent research were to my own! It is clear that there has been very little published research since C.E.J. Smith's paper 'The Livery Collar' appeared in the Heraldry Society's quarterly journal *The Coat of Arms* in 1990.<sup>27</sup> A recent paper by J.P. Morewood, *Livery Collars – some observations on their history, style and significance to the historian and student of church monuments*, was obtained through the good offices of a friend, but the date and details of publication have eluded us. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the research which includes a useful survey of collars in the Midlands and Cumbria. Doris Fletcher's recent paper, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: its origins and transformations down the centuries', has already been referred to. As the title suggests, it considers the development of the collar of esses and is a useful summary, though the author relies heavily on Smith.<sup>28</sup>

Among numerous topographical and architectural works, the volumes of Nikolaus Pevsner's series *The Buildings of England* have been constant companions when visiting churches. The various volumes of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* were consulted, as were several county histories, notably: Samuel Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire* (1779, reprinted in one volume 1985); Sir Robert Atkyn's *The Ancient and Present of Gloucestershire* (1712, reprinted in two volumes 1974); D. Collinson's *History of Somerset* (1791); John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of*

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<sup>27</sup> C.E.J. Smith, 'The Livery Collar', *Coat of Arms*, 151 (1990), p.239-53. It is extraordinary that Smith's paper (together with two related items of correspondence) is the only reference to livery collars in *The Coat of Arms* since it was first published in January 1950.

<sup>28</sup> In James Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp.191-204.

*Dorset* (in four volumes, 1861 – 1870); H. Lake’s *Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (in four volumes, 1872); and Richard Colt Hoare’s *History of Modern Wiltshire* (in seven volumes, 1820 -1840). Works dealing specifically with church monuments include W. Rogers’s *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies of Devon* (1877) and B. Cresswell’s *Churches in the Deanery of Kenn* (1920), which is the only published element of a larger survey of Devon churches otherwise available for inspection only in manuscript form. I have approached these works with a degree of circumspection, though they have proved particularly helpful when describing or illustrating monuments which have subsequently been defaced, damaged or removed. Information on the Bridges effigies in Gloucester Cathedral was obtained from David Welander’s splendid *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991).

Inevitably, there are numerous papers on specific monuments. These are found mostly in the *Transactions* and *Proceedings* of the various county historical, archaeological and record societies. Mary Bagnall-Oakeley’s paper ‘On the Monumental Effigies of the Family of Berkeley’, in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* (1890-1), was of particular value when considering the inaccessible Berkeley monument at Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, as was J.R. Brambles’s ‘Two Effigies at Mangotsfield’ in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarians’ Club* (1898). Without these papers, and the illustrations contained therein, I should have been obliged to exclude the Mangotsfield effigy from the sample. Similarly, a number of church guidebooks have been consulted, though with caution: I have always attempted to confirm information in the absence of reliable sources.

For the practice of livery and maintenance I have consulted

Michael Hicks's *Bastard Feudalism* (London and New York, 1995); *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* by Chris Given-Wilson (London, 1986), K.B. McFarlane's *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973) and *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981); 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges' by Nigel Saul in *Parliamentary History* (1990); M.C. Carpenter's *Locality and Polity* (Cambridge, 1992); and Simon Walker's *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990). For references to source material I am particularly indebted to C.E.J. Smith whose unpublished paper (already referred to) contains a chronological list of references to livery collars, including several in contemporary documents. Colin Platt's *King Death* (London, 1996) and Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1992) have provided me with fresh insights into the nature and significance of church monuments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the wearing of collars and chains I referred to *A History of Jewellery 1100-1870* by J. Evans (London, 1970). For parish churches and their monuments, I referred to *Church Furnishings and Decoration in England and Wales* by G. Rendall (London, 1980); Colin Platt's *The Parish Churches of Medieval England* (London, 1981) and *The Architecture of Medieval Britain: A Social History* (New Haven and London, 1990); and Eric Mercer's *English Art 1553-1625* (London, 1962).

General books which I have consulted include *The Transformation of Medieval England*, by John A.F. Thomson (Harlow, 1983); *Medieval Britain* (Volume 2 of *The Cambridge Cultural History* series), edited by Boris Ford (Cambridge, 1988); *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* by S.H. Rigby (Basingstoke, 1995); *England in the Fourteenth Century*, edited by W.M.

Ormrod (London, 1986); *The Age of Richard II*, edited by James Gillespie (Stroud, 1997); Jonathan Sumption's two-volume series *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1992 and 1999); C. Allmand's *Henry V* (London, 1992); *Edward IV* and *The Wars of the Roses: a Concise History* by Charles Ross (London, 1974 and 1976 respectively); K.B. McFarlane's 'The Wars of the Roses' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1964); *The Closing of the Middle Ages?* by Richard Britnell (Oxford, 1997); *Faction in Tudor England* by E.W. Ives (London, 1979); and *The Life of Thomas More* by Peter Ackroyd (London, 1998). On brasses, the principal sources are *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, edited by Fr. Jerome Bertram (Stroud, 1996), *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs* (Victoria and Albert Museum) by Michael Clayton (London, 1979); A.C. Bouquet's *Church Brasses* (London, 1956); *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* by H. Druitt (London, 1906 – reprinted, 1970); H.W. Macklin's *Monumental Brasses* (London, 1969, revised John Page-Phillips), M.W. Norris's *Monumental Brasses: the Memorials* (London, 1977), and various *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*. For recumbent effigies, Charles Alfred Stothard's *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1876); Arthur Gardner's *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England* (Cambridge, 1940) and *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* by T. and H. Hollis (London, 1840) have proved invaluable, as have a number of papers published by the British Archaeological Association, the Camden Society, the Monumental Brass Society, the Church Monuments Society and the Harleian Society.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIVERY COLLAR

#### Armorial Badges and Liveries

An armorial badge is a discrete emblematic device, used to facilitate identification. It is not part of a coat of arms and is therefore not displayed in a shield.<sup>1</sup> In England, armorial badges came into general use during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, though the adoption of single (often allusive) devices on flags and in seals was a characteristic of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance during which a European system of armory began to evolve.<sup>2</sup>

The livery collar was a species of armorial badge of which, in the late-medieval period, there were four types: (i) personal devices used for the adornment of clothing, jewellery, fabrics, furnishings, artefacts and architectural features; (ii) insignia issued to members of bodies corporate, such as guilds and livery companies, and to members of the chivalric orders; (iii) badges of office associated with specific household or corporate offices, including those of the Crown, government and judiciary; and (iv) livery badges (also known as household badges) which were issued in conjunction with liveries to indentured retainers and armed retinues to be worn on uniforms and borne on mustering and battle flags.

One of the earliest personal devices was the *planta genista* (broom plant)

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Friar, *A New Dictionary of Heraldry* (Sherborne and London, 1987), p.41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25. Many of these early devices were later adopted as badges or translated into charges, crests and supporters by armigerous ancestors.

adopted by Geoffrey of Anjou in the early twelfth century, which (according to tradition) provided the Plantagenet dynasty with its name. The importance attached to personal badges and rebuses in the late-medieval period may be observed in the effigies at Westminster Abbey of Richard II, whose robes are pounced with white harts, sunbursts, *planta genista* pods and flowers, and those of his queen, Anne of Bohemia, which are scattered with ostrich, horseshoe nails, knots, sprigs of rosemary and crowned *A* cyphers. Ashmole wrote of the fourteenth century, ‘This age did exceedingly abound with impresses, mottoes and devices, and particularly King Edward III was so excessively given up to them that his apparel, plate, bed, household furniture, shields and even the harness of his horses and the like, were not without them.’<sup>3</sup> The use of *impressa* or personal emblems was widespread in the late medieval and renaissance courts of Europe, notably in pageants and tournaments. Devices were often intended as symbols of a political or philosophical position, ‘...something to be thought about and interpreted (and thus, to begin with, to be looked at and read) ... an existential message, a philosophical argument, to be unravelled.’<sup>4</sup>

In England, personal badges were often adopted for their hidden meaning: the enigmatic cranket device of the de Vere earls of Oxford, for example, which may have alluded to that family’s strategy for increasing its power and influence (Fig. 1); or in allusion to a name or title: a bottle with a blue cord was another de Vere badge, *de verre* being ‘of glass’.<sup>5</sup> It is likely that Edward, the Black Prince,

<sup>3</sup> Fox-Davies, p.19 (citing Elias Ashmole, *The Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672)).

<sup>4</sup> A.L. Furlong, correspondence in *The Heraldry Gazette*, NS.73 (1999), p.7.

<sup>5</sup> Fox-Davies writes (p.36) that ‘The earls of Oxford also used a bottle argent, suspended by a cord azure, in right of their hereditary office of Lord High Chamberlain; or possibly this badge was only a rebus and was intended to represent *verre* a glass bottle.’

derived his nickname from the sable liveries of his retainers and his black tournament ‘shield for peace’ on which he bore the ostrich feather device adopted by his mother, Philippa of Hainault, as a punning allusion to Ostrevans which was held by the Counts of Hainault. Such devices were sometimes combinations of badges obtained through marriage and seigniorial alliances. An example of the former is the falcon and fetterlock badge of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (Fig. 1). Political verses of the time suggested that this badge symbolized York’s aspirations by showing the fetterlock (or manacle) open, so that the falcon was no longer confined as Edmund of Langley had borne it: ‘The Fawkon flyeth and hath no rest / Tille he witte wher to bigge his nest.’<sup>6</sup>

Livery badges were worn on uniforms of the livery colours by domestic and military retainers: the men of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, wore (in 1458) ‘Rede jakettys with whyte raggyd staves upon them,’<sup>7</sup> while those of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (d. 1476), wore their ‘whytt lyon’ badges on liveries of ‘Blewe and tawny, blew on the lefft syde and both dark colors.’<sup>8</sup> Retinues of the house of Lancaster wore liveries of white and blue and those of York, blue and murrey (mulberry). It is interesting to note that the livery colours did not necessarily correspond with the tinctures of an armiger’s shield of arms: the Mowbray arms were red and white (*Gules a Lion rampant Argent*), while the liveries were ‘blewe and tawny’. Similarly, Lord Hasting’s liveries were purple and blue, but his arms were white and black (*Argent a Maunch Sable*).

Often there were different quantities and qualities of cloth according to different ranks of retainer. All these groups feature in 130 names in the

<sup>6</sup> Boutell, p. 94 (citing a political poem of 1449 from *Excerpta Historica*).

<sup>7</sup> Fox-Davies, p.156 (citing Fabian, *Chronicle* without further reference).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.128 (citing *Paston Letters II*, p.355 without further reference).

Courtenay livery roll of the Earl of Devon in 1384-85 and the 143 of that of the lady of Clare a generation earlier. The careful budgeting, bulk purchases, and precise accounting needed to cater for 130 or 143 regular recipients did not leave stocks of spares for casual distributions. Lords did give liveries casually - to one another, as a compliment, for example – but not very many. It was not so much the livery that created relationship, but the livery that recognized a tie that already existed. The number of liveried retainers could be easily extended in time of crisis to include those with few or no ties on a temporary basis, perhaps more commonly through distribution of badges than of gowns; thus in 1454 Humphrey Duke of Buckingham was reported to have made 2,000 Stafford knots ‘for what end your wit will construe’.<sup>9</sup>

The widespread use of uniforms for domestic and military purposes is reflected in accounts of the medieval textile industry. In 1409, for example, the Castle Combe estate in Wiltshire passed to the medieval entrepreneur Sir John Fastolf whose patronage helped to establish an impressive textile industry along the banks of the local stream. Fastolf succeeded in securing substantial orders for the local red and white cloth for, among others, ‘the great livery of the lord beyond the sea’ (the Duke of Clarence), and these continued from the invasion of France in 1415 until his retirement from military service in 1440. ‘For the space of 22 years or more,’ William of Worcester records, ‘Sir John bought every year to the value of more than £100 of red and white cloth of his tenants in Castle Combe. In this manner, he divided the rents and profits of his manors...among his tenants and clothiers of Castle Combe, and his doing so was one of the principal causes of the augmentation of the common wealth and store

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<sup>9</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995), pp. 64-5.  
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of the said town and of the new buildings raised in it.<sup>10</sup>

Of course, it is unreasonable to assume that all those who used livery badges for domestic or military purposes were able to provide every member of their retinues with uniforms of individual design and specially commissioned cloth. The provision of clothing (*livery*) was a contractual obligation for those whose households included indentured retainers, but for those of lesser degree a cloth or tin badge, affixed to a jack or sleeve, had to suffice.

From the inception of armory until 1747, personal flags (banners and pennons), on which were displayed the same devices as those in the shield of arms, accompanied armigerous commanders in battle.<sup>11</sup> But, by the fifteenth century, mustering and rallying functions were performed by livery flags: notably the standard and guidon. The standard bore, on a background of the livery colours, the various badges familiar to retinues from a magnate's estates, together with a motto and the national device: in England, the red cross of Saint George.<sup>12</sup> The medieval English standard was usually eight feet (2.4 m) long and about two feet (0.6m) wide, though in the sixteenth century the Tudor heralds determined that flags of specific lengths should be prescribed to different ranks of the nobility.<sup>13</sup> Also known as the ancient, maintenance of the standard was the responsibility of an officer of that name. The guidon was a small version of the standard, carried before a troop of retained men and essential as a rallying point in battle. It too was composed of the livery colours and bore one (or

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Friar, *Heraldry for the Local Historian and Genealogist* (Stroud, 1992), p.217.

<sup>11</sup> Army regulations of 1747: 'No colonel to put his arms, crest, devices or livery on any parts of the appointments of the regiment under his command.'

<sup>12</sup> It has been inferred from this that the origin of the motto was the 'cri de guerre'. In a few cases this may be so, but in the majority of examples the motto is so senseless and purposeless that its inclusion in the standard may have been a post-medieval innovation.

<sup>13</sup> Fox-Davies, pp. 62-4 (citing Harl. MS. 2358) provides details of these dimensions.

sometimes two) badges but no motto.<sup>14</sup>

The significance of livery badges is evident in the tradition which tells how the Earl of Warwick, on the mist-shrouded field of Barnet (1471), mistook the Earl of Oxford's badge, a silver star, for the Yorkist silver rose *en soleil*, and ordered his men to charge at Oxford's contingent, believing them to be royal troops:

The envious mist so much deceived the sight,  
That where eight hundred men, which valiant Oxford brought,  
Wore comets on their coats, great Warwick's force, which thought  
They had King Edward's been, which so with suns were drest,  
First made their shot at them, who, by their friends distrest,  
Constrained were to fly, being scatter'd here and there.<sup>15</sup>

As a consequence, Warwick was slain, Oxford fled the field '...and thereafter befall Tewkesbury, the murder of Henry VI, and the destruction of the House of Lancaster'.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the best known historical reference to livery badges is in the prophetic rhyme imprudently circulated by William Collingbourn, sometime sheriff of Wiltshire and Dorset, prior to 1483:

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our Dog  
Doe rule all England, under the Hog.  
The crooke backt bore the way hath found  
To root our roses from the ground;  
Both flower and bud will he confound.  
Till king of beasts the same be crown'd:  
And then the dog, the cat, and rat,  
Shall in his trough feed and be fat.'

The hog was Richard of Gloucester, later Richard III, whose badge was a white

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<sup>14</sup> Gayre, R., *Heraldic Standards and Other Ensigns* (Edinburgh, 1959), p.43.

<sup>15</sup> Fox-Davies, p.44 (citing Michael Drayton, *The Polyalbion* (1613) without further reference).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.40.

boar (Gloucester's Pursuivant was called *Blanc Sanglier*); the cat was Sir William Catesby, whose badge was a white cat spotted with black and wearing a gold collar; the rat was Sir Richard Ratcliff; and the dog was Francis Lord Lovel, whose device was a silver wolf-dog (*lupellus* - an allusion to his name).

The roses were, of course, the members of the royal house whom Gloucester was alleged to have eliminated. Collingbourn was arrested and executed.

A number of magnates used several badges (three de Vere badges have already been referred to). For example, Fox-Davies<sup>17</sup> lists the following badges for Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (d. 1460):

'(1) a falcon argent; (2) a feterlock or; (3) a rose argent; (4) a lion argent; (5) a dragon sable; (6) a black bolle, rough, his horns and his legs and his members of gold; (7) an ostrich feather erect, having a chain laid along the quill, which has a small scroll across it near the lower end.'<sup>18</sup>

Fox-Davies states that 'though [badges] were worn by retainers they were the property of the head of the family rather than the whole family. The likelihood is that cadets would render feudal service and wear the badge as retainers of the man whose standard they followed.' There is some uncertainty concerning the way in which badges devolved, though it is probable that where arms were inherited as a quartering, so was the badge associated with those arms. It is clear from the following (again from Fox-Davies) that several of the badges used by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland (d. 1527), were acquired through marriage to heraldic heiresses in the previous century, suggesting that this was common practice:

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161 (citing Gregory, *Chronicle*, p. 208 without other reference).

‘(1) the blue lion passant (Percy); (2) a silver key crowned (Poynings); (3) a blue bugle horn sans strings, garnished gold (Bryan); (4) a falchion hilted or and sheathed sable (Fitzpayne); (5) the silver crescent (Percy); (6) the gold “locket” [manacles] (Percy); (7) a unicorn passant argent, ducally gorged and lined or (Poynings); (8) a boar statant argent, ducally gorged and lined or; (9) a leopard statant argent, seme of torteaux and hurts, crowned or (Percy).’<sup>19</sup>

Many badges were translated into crests by those of ‘tournament rank’. Sir Walter de Hungerford, for example, combined his livery badge of a sickle with the *garb* (wheatsheaf) badge of the Peverels when he married the co-heiress of Thomas Peverel (see Fig. 1). Hungerford’s seal of 1432 shows both devices combined and borne as a crest: *A Garb between two Sickles*. The green wyvern crest of the Herbert earls of Pembroke (still in use today) derives from the medieval livery badge which is described as ‘a dragon grene’ in the records of the College of Arms.<sup>20</sup>

From the fifteenth century, badges also began to be introduced into coats of arms as supporters, though their use was capricious and was not systemized until the sixteenth century. It is likely that the notion of armorial supporters, which at that time were invariably beasts, originated in the early practice of filling the interstices of seals with decorative creatures which appeared to ‘support’ the shield of arms. By the end of the fifteenth century, many magnate families had accumulated a number of beast badges and, wishing to display them, placed them in coats of arms where they appear to be ‘supporting’ the shield.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129 (citing *The Book of Standards* (c.1530), Coll. Arms. I.2.).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134 (citing MS. Ashmole, 840).

## Livery and Maintenance

Livery was distributed at Christmas and Midsummer, its purpose being to impose a group identity on the members of an affinity and to focus their loyalties on the lord by whom they were retained. ‘For the upwardly mobile there can be little doubt that [livery] was a status symbol which legitimized aspirations of respectability. Acceptance of livery placed donor and recipient under obligation to each other. The latter was expected to serve his lord faithfully in peace and war, while the former was expected to stand by his man and to support him in all causes and disputes.’<sup>21</sup> The wearing of livery defined status and was a visible expression of the bond which was created between lord and man. It enabled the retainers of one affinity to be distinguished from those of another. It located the wearer both politically and in terms of social standing.

Analysis of the legislation relating to liveries in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has identified distinctive types of livery and the classes of retainer to whom they were granted.<sup>22</sup> There were three types: livery of hats or hoods (*chaperons*), livery of cloth or suits (*pannorum*), and livery of signs or badges (*signes*). Contemporaries distinguished clearly between them, and the rules governing their distribution were significantly different. Saul suggests that the relationship created by the badge was ‘the least permanent and the least

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<sup>21</sup> N. Saul, ‘The Commons and the Abolition of Badges’, *Parliamentary History*, Vol. 9 (1990), p.306.

<sup>22</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986), pp. 234-45.

solemn of those contracted within the structure of “bastard feudalism”. Above it came the hat, and above that the suit or robe, the reward of a lifetime retainer. Then, at the very top was the collar... which was reserved for recipients of the highest rank.<sup>23</sup>

The practice of livery and maintenance (though not of retaining) was the subject of numerous complaints to Parliament during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. When describing the statute of 1399, Adam of Usk reported that ‘it was ordained that the lords of the kingdom should not give their livery or suit of cloth, or badges, or more especially of hoods, to anyone, except their familiars (*familiaribus*) dwelling constantly with them, on account of several seditions in the kingdom caused by this.’<sup>24</sup> In 1377 the Commons complained that men of lesser estate were giving liveries to men from whom they then demanded money in return for a promise to maintain any ‘reasonable or unreasonable quarrel’. This seems to refer to livery of hoods, for the statute of 1377 forbade ‘people of small revenue’ from ‘giving caps for the maintenance of quarrels’.<sup>25</sup> Livery of cloth, or suits (*secta*) of livery, was first mentioned in a Commons petition to the 1390 Parliament. This requested that distribution should be granted only to household servants, relatives and kinsmen, and officers such as stewards, councilors and bailiffs.<sup>26</sup> But it was not until a statute of 1399 that liveries of cloth were restricted to the household servants, officers and councillors of a lord. The same formula was agreed in 1401, 1406 and 1411 and it is apparent from these statutes that liveries of cloth were to be used only for

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<sup>23</sup> Saul, pp. 309-10.

<sup>24</sup> *Chronicon Adœa de Usk*, ed. E.M. Thompson (1904), p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> *Rot. Parl.* III, p.233.

<sup>26</sup> *Westminster Chronicle*, p.357.

those who actually served the donor in a specific capacity, not for those who were merely retained by him.

By far the most contentious form was livery of badges – also described as ‘liveries of company’ or ‘marks of fellowship’. In the Parliament of 1384 the Commons complained that these were being distributed by lords in their localities in order to ‘establish petty tyrannies over their neighbours’.<sup>27</sup> Typically, the retainers of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, believed that ‘their badges would give them the earth and sky’ and there arose numerous complaints concerning the perversion of justice when ‘...the magnates influenced and corrupted in their favour the whole working of the legal system’.<sup>28</sup> In the February parliament of 1388 the five Appellees were accused of encouraging the king to distribute livery badges to numerous people ‘in order to have power to perform their false treasons’.<sup>29</sup> In the same year, at the Cambridge Parliament, the Commons attacked royal and baronial livery and requested that ‘all liveries called badges [*signes*], as well of our lord the king as of other lords... should be abolished’.<sup>30</sup> The lords rejected this request, though it was later acknowledged that the king and lords had provided a provisional remedy by means of an ordinance which specified the general rules which were to govern the distribution of livery badges for the next decade. The result was the Ordinance of 1390, which restricted the right to grant ‘liveries of company’ to dukes, earls, barons and bannerets, while only knights and esquires, retained for life by

<sup>27</sup> Saul, p.302.

<sup>28</sup> P.R. Coss, ‘Bastard feudalism revised’, *Past and Present*, 125 (1989), p.125.

<sup>29</sup> *Rot. Parl.* III, p.323.

<sup>30</sup> Given-Wilson, p.238.

indenture, and domestic servants in residence were permitted to receive them.<sup>31</sup>

It is evident that the legislation was not entirely effective. Petitions of 1393 and 1397 complained that yeomen and others below the estate of esquire were wearing 'livery of signs'.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the practice of maintenance was spreading down the social scale and so too was livery - to those who were not concerned with permanent obligations and gave livery with only criminal intent.

It is clear that, from 1397, the king himself was abusing his authority by developing large retinues of liveried lesser servants, notably the Cheshire *vigilia*, in contravention of the Ordinance of 1390. Consequently, in 1399, at the first parliament of the new reign, an amending statute was enacted which prohibited lords of any degree from giving badges. Only the king was excepted: he was permitted to give his badge to any lord, or to any knight or esquire who was a member of his household or one of his life retainers, but the knights and esquires were only to wear them in the king's presence, and in particular they were not to wear them in their own localities. A further exception permitted the Constable and Marshal to distribute livery badges to knights and esquires serving with them on the borders in times of war. In the parliament of 1401, the Commons once again demanded that all livery badges should be prohibited, excepting that of the king (described as the 'Coler'), which was to be subject to the same rules as in 1399.<sup>33</sup> In fact, this was something of a victory for the king, for he gained two concessions when compared with the 1399 statute. First, he insisted that his knights and esquires should be permitted to wear his livery badge not only in his presence, but also when they were travelling to and from his household; and

<sup>31</sup> *Statutes*, 11, pp. 74-5 in A.R. Myers (ed.), *English Historical Documents IV, 1327-1485* (London, 1969), no.655.

<sup>32</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, III, p.307.

secondly, he insisted that Prince Henry should be permitted to use his livery of the swan as a pendant to the Lancastrian collar.

So far as I am able to ascertain, the 1401 statute is the first legislative document in which there is a specific reference to the livery collar. That it should be specified as the only exception to the prohibition is indicative of the prestige attached to the collar of esses which, as has been noted elsewhere, completed its transition from a purely Lancastrian device to that of the sovereign with the accession of Henry IV in 1399. And, because it is prescriptive, the 1401 legislation also provides us with an indication of entitlement to livery collars at that time.

A Statute of Livery of 1429 marked a significant shift in policy. Lords, knights and esquires were permitted to give livery *'in times of war'* (my italics). This was later confirmed in 1461 when the new Yorkist regime reinforced the prohibition on the giving of liveries for other purposes: 'The king...charges and commands that no lord, spiritual or temporal, shall from henceforth give any livery or cognizance, mark or token of company, except at such times as he has a special command from the king to raise people for the king's aid, to resist his enemies and to repress riots within his land.'<sup>34</sup>

The Statute of Livery of 1468 explicitly outlawed retaining for life, including indentured retaining by the peerage. It would appear that the act was necessary because of the misuse of legal retainers for violent feuding and private war in the North Midlands in 1468. It was aimed at the peerage and was immediately used to prosecute the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and their

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<sup>33</sup> *Rot. Parl.* III, pp. 477-8.

<sup>34</sup> *Rot. Parl.* III, pp. 487-8.

private armies for offences committed in East Anglia. Indeed, throughout the second half of the fifteenth century problems arose because of the difficulty of distinguishing between legal and illegal retaining. Maintenance and private war could result from livery that was entirely legal: very large retinues could be mustered by legal means, and the legitimate categories of household officials and councillors could accommodate large numbers of men.

While the abuse of 'livery of signs' remained a cause for concern, a further statute of 1472 ordained that Edward, Prince of Wales, could '...give his honourable livery and sign at his pleasure'.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Rule 16 of the draft Ordinance of 1478 required:

Item. That every lord and knight within the household dayly weare a coller of the kinges liuery about his necke as to him apperteyneth, and that euery squire, as well squires for the bodie as other of the household, likewise weare collers of the kinges liuerie daylie about their neckes as to them apperteyneth, and that none of the said squires faile, vpon paine of loosing a monthes wages.

From this it is clear that, by the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the sovereign's livery collar was perceived to be a sign of considerable distinction, entirely divorced from the livery badges which, in the early years of the century, had been the cause of so much abuse, complaint and control.

Ultimately, it was the Tudors who were successful in suppressing livery and maintenance, though by that time the practice encompassed several distinct offences and it is unlikely that any one act actually solved all the problems.

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<sup>35</sup> *Statutes*, 12 Edward I (cited by Smith, p.83).

## Muster Rolls

Muster rolls and writs of array provide many examples of livery badges which are often roughly sketched in the margins alongside details of the troops pledged by a magnate to fight in a campaign (see Fig. 1). Typical fifteenth-century badges are the mill-sail device of the lords Willoughby, the black bull's head of Hastings, the fire beacon and chained panther of Baron Sudeley, and the gold 'drag', or sledge, of the lords Stourton (see Fig. 1). Contingents from different estates would sometimes wear different badges, and these would appear on the flags beneath which they mustered and which led them into battle. The unpopular William de La Pole, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1450), whose livery badge was an 'ape clogge, was referred to contemptuously as 'Jack Napes' in broadsheets of the time. Hence 'jackanapes'.

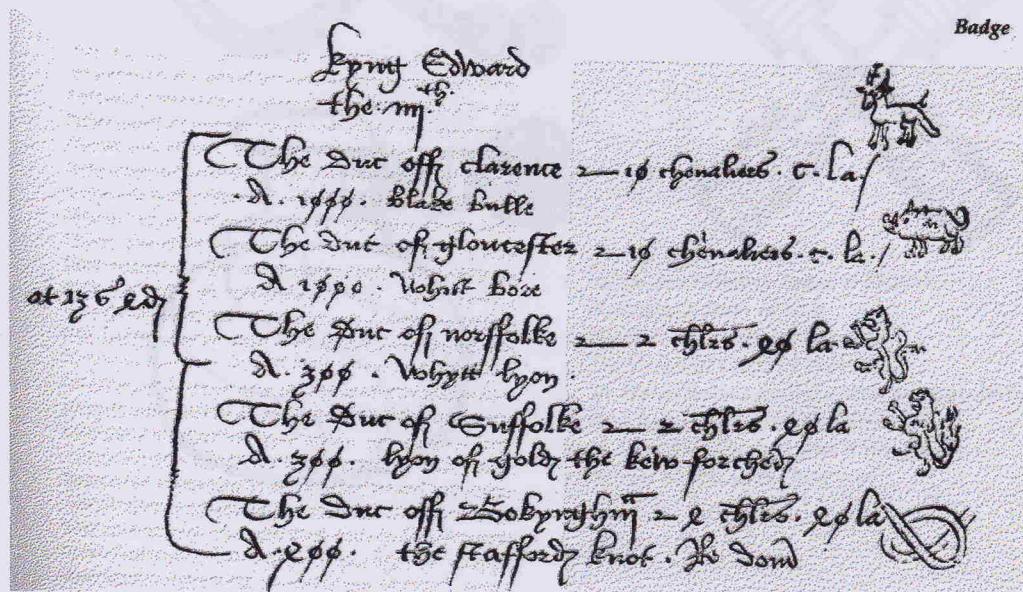
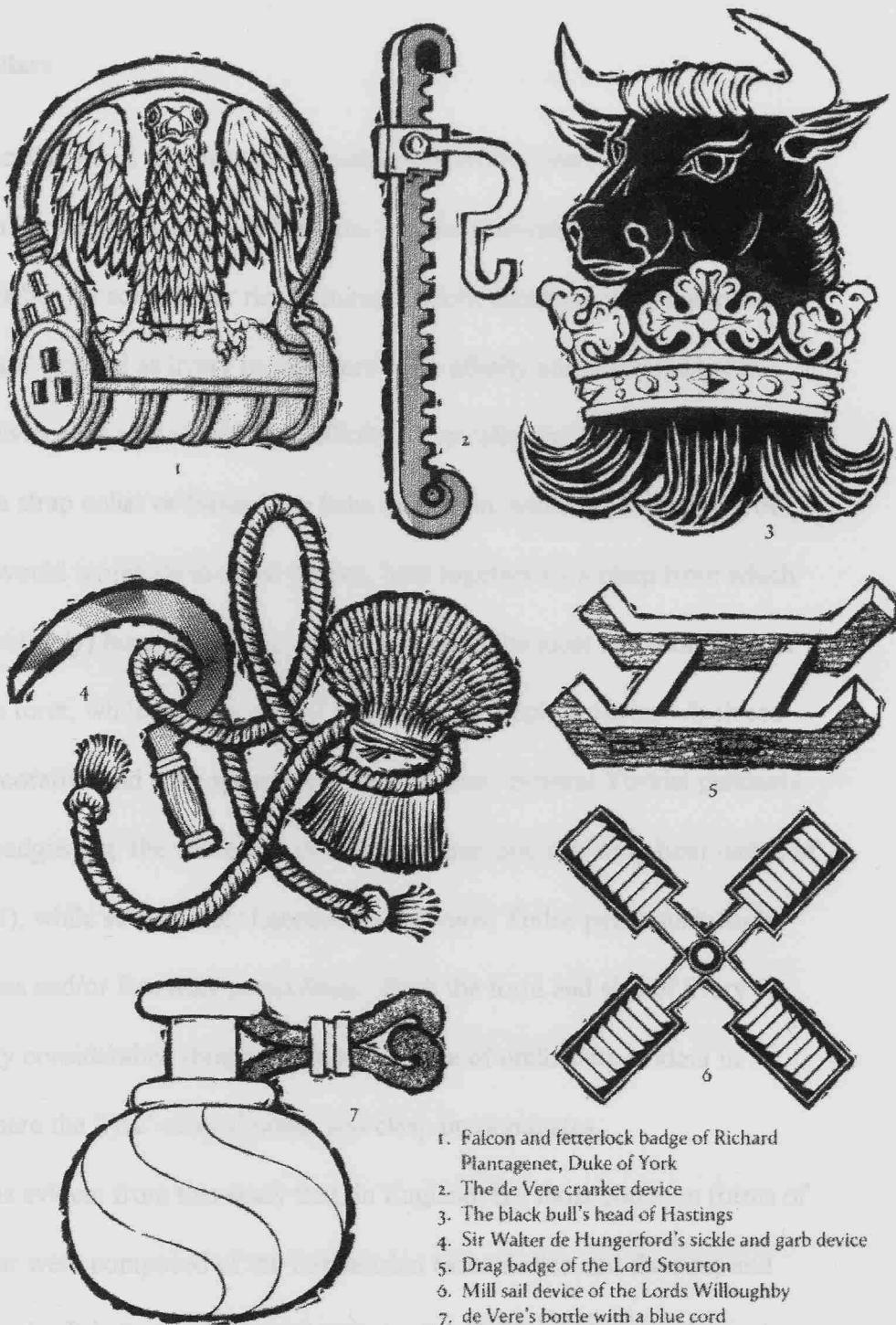


Fig. 1: Extract from a muster roll of Edward IV's French campaign of 1475.



1. Falcon and fetterlock badge of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York
2. The de Vere cranket device
3. The black bull's head of Hastings
4. Sir Walter de Hungerford's sickle and garb device
5. Drag badge of the Lord Stourton
6. Mill sail device of the Lords Willoughby
7. de Vere's bottle with a blue cord

**Figure 2: Livery Badges<sup>36</sup>**

<sup>36</sup> From Stephen Friar and John Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry* (London, 1993), p.59.

## Livery Collars

The livery collar was a sophisticated development of the livery badge. It consisted of a decorative chain of precious or semi-precious metal or a strap-like collar of leather, or some other rich material,<sup>37</sup> worn about the neck and pendent on the breast, granted as livery to members of an affinity and composed of the armorial devices associated with that affinity. Typically, the devices were either affixed to a strap collar or formed the links of a chain, while the lower ends of the collar would terminate in metal chapes, held together by a clasp from which (almost invariably) hung a pendant. On monuments, the most common form of clasp is the toret, while the majority of pendants are simple annulets which are entirely decorative and have no armorial significance. Several Yorkist pendants are beast badges (eg. the white lion of Mortimer and one surviving boar badge of Richard III), while several later Lancastrian and most Tudor pendants include double roses and/or Beaufort portcullises. Both the form and size of livery collars vary considerably, though there is a degree of uniformity evident in brasses where the 'lyre'-shaped collar and clasp predominates.

It is evident from this study that, in England, the most common forms of livery collar were composed of the Lancastrian esses device and the suns and roses of York. It is these which predominate on effigies and brasses: however, there were other forms. An entry in the *Patent Rolls* records Henry IV receiving of Thomas FitzNichol 'A collar of the livery of the Duke of Norfolk and another

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<sup>37</sup> Smith, p.24 citing *CPR* for 1405-8, p.182 in which there is an entry: 'Pardon William Hunter of Pembroke...he confesses...that he stole a collar of Edmund Buge of black silk dotted [stipatum] with silver letter S to the value of 6s.'

of broomcods', though (tantilisingly) a description of the Norfolk livery collar is not given.<sup>38</sup> Henry IV adopted a collar of greyhounds, while collars of falcons and fetterlocks (a Yorkist device), red roses and white pansies were made for Henry VI. Queen Anne of Bohemia (temp. Richard II) wore collars of ostriches and sprigs of rosemarie, and 'a Collar of golde wrought wt paunsis and roosis white and redde wayinge xviii.oz. qart.'<sup>39</sup> It is apparent that not all items described as collars in the medieval inventories were livery collars: many were intended for personal adornment. Indeed, it will be argued that while the Lancastrian and Yorkist collars were issued as a livery, they were also used for a variety of other purposes.

The granting and receiving of livery collars should be considered in the context of late-medieval society, a world of faction and patronage, 'affinity' and 'worship', where competing groups intrigued in order to gain access to the king and where offices could be bought and sold. As E.W. Ives observed, "Affinity" is a word that has now lost its force, but it helps to define that intricate network of association and relationship which characterises [fifteenth century] English society. Advancement in all worlds is obtained by mediation and remembrance of noble friends.<sup>40</sup> A man's 'worship' was in a literal sense his honour and repute, but it included the visible tokens of renown; the retinue of a nobleman, the servants of a lord, the sumptuousness of dress, even the gold and silver plate displayed in a household, all contributed to this 'worship'. As Ackroyd observed, when writing of the early sixteenth century, 'It is related to that sense of life as drama which is so much part of late medieval Catholic sensibility, and is

<sup>38</sup> Smith, p. 24, citing *CPR 1405-8*, p.277.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16 (citing *Kalandars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, iii:322).

<sup>40</sup> Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*, p.213.

also intimately associated with the rituals and devices of the court itself.<sup>41</sup> Selden refers to a pamphlet in which is described the bestowing of a livery collar by Edward IV: ‘A coller! a coller! our King gan cry / Lo here I make thee the best Esquire / That is in the North Countrie!’,<sup>42</sup> John Gower, in his metric chronicle appended to his poem *Vox Clamantis*, compared the livery collar to a gift from heaven: a mark of faithfulness and true nobility.<sup>43</sup> Describing the cohesion and loyalty of the Duke of Lancaster’s affinity in the fourteenth century, Simon Walker writes:

The importance of the Lancastrian livery collar does not lie in the possible significance to be attributed to the choice of letters, but in the incorporation of the letters into a collar and the adoption of this collar as a livery device. Most livery signs took the form of badges... so that the use of a collar was both unusual and distinctive, serving to set the Duke’s retainers apart from the servants of other magnates. This invested the collar of SS with a significance that other livery badges lacked.<sup>44</sup>

From the magnate’s point of view, the importance of the collar lay in the *public* statement of allegiance to which it committed the wearer – a man might take several fees but he could wear only one livery badge. In some cases, the statement was a muted one: of mutual good will rather than strict obligation. Richard II, when asked why he wore his uncle’s collar, explained that it was *en signe de bon amour d’entier coer entre eux*.<sup>45</sup> Edward IV was equally explicit: ‘hit hath euer byn in speciall charge to squires in this court to were the kinges lyuerey custumably, for the more glory and in worship this honorable

<sup>41</sup> P. Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (London, 1998), p.194.

<sup>42</sup> P. Seldøn, *Titles of Honour (Part II)* (London, 1951), p.691.

<sup>43</sup> Albert Hartshorne, ‘Notes on Collars of SS,’ *Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), p.377.

<sup>44</sup> Walker, p.95.

<sup>45</sup> Myers, p.94.

household.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, as Stenton observed of an earlier period, 'The administration of a great honour, of the kingdom of England itself, depended on officers who must themselves be powerful if they were to uphold their lord's authority.'<sup>47</sup> As in the Tudor period, the king's livery collar was undoubtedly perceived to be a badge of office, bestowing royal authority on the recipient.

Livery collars may well have been 'outward symbols of a man's honour and repute', but they were also used for less chivalric purposes - as in 1402 when Richard Whittington mislaid a collar which had been retained by him as a pledge for a loan to the Exchequer, and agreed to pay £8 for it,<sup>48</sup> and in 1415 when Henry V was forced to pawn his 'great coller'.

It is clear from the will of John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds (d.1463) that livery collars could be bought and sold:

'I wil bothe my colers of silvir, the Kyng's lyfre, be sold, and the money disposed in almesse for Edmund Tabowr soule and his frendys, to recompese broke silvir I had of his to oon of the colerys and other things with other stuff be side wiche I took to my owne vse.'<sup>49</sup>

This suggests that an individual might receive more than one collar and that collars were gifts which could be disposed of at will – though, presumably, not worn by purchasers who were not themselves recipients. One of John Baret's two Lancastrian collars is depicted on his monument at the church of St. Mary,

<sup>46</sup> Rule 50 of the Ordinance of 1478.

<sup>47</sup> F.M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford, 1961), p.83.

<sup>48</sup> A.B. Steel, *Receipts of the Exchequer 1377-1485* (Cambridge, 1954), p.87.

Bury St. Edmund's, as are several other references to the Lancastrian esses device in the panels of the chantry chapel ceiling.

It has been claimed that '...the earliest known livery collar is the French collar of broompods, *cosses de genesta*, which was in use as early as 1378 when Charles V of France granted his chamberlain, Geoffrey de Belleville the right to bear "in all feasts and in all companies the collar of the Cosse de Geneste."'<sup>50</sup> However, Colette Beaune has shown that livery badges and collars were introduced into France from England in the reign of Jean II, who died in 1364.<sup>51</sup> Certainly the Lancastrian collar on the effigy of Sir John Swinford (d.1371) at Spratton, Northamptonshire (the earliest known effigy in Britain in which a collar is depicted), pre-dates 1378, while the *Chronicon Adae de Usk* refers to Henry IV's collar of greyhounds and the white hart badge of Richard II, inherited from his mother, Joan of Kent:

'This duke Henry, according to the prophecy of Merlin, was the eaglet, as being the son of John. But, following Bridlington, he was rightfully the dog, on account of his badge of a linked collar of greyhounds, and because he came in the dog-days; and because he utterly drove out from the kingdom the faithless harts, that is, the livery of King Richard, which is the hart.'<sup>52</sup>

Female members of aristocratic households also wore livery collars: in c1399, Blanche, the seven-year-old daughter of Henry, Earl of Derby, and Mary de Bohun, '...now emerged from nursery surveillance and mingled in the courtly

<sup>50</sup> 'Livery', *Chambers Encyclopaedia*, 8 (New Edition 1959), p.618.

<sup>51</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *pers. comm.* (October, 1999) cites Colette Beaune, 'Insignia Royal', *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 183 (1981), pp. 125-146.

<sup>52</sup> C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London, 1929), p.122.

circles attired in a robe of damask cloth of gold and wearing a gold chaplet and a collar of S.S. of gold.<sup>53</sup> According to the wardrobe accounts, the collar was wrought of thirteen gold esses.<sup>54</sup> There are seventy examples in British medieval and Tudor monuments of women wearing collars, including six in the study area. It is clear that in some cases women were entitled to wear a collar in their own right. Nevertheless, it seems likely that most women were so depicted as a consequence of their husbands' status - this is particularly true of those in 'double' effigies.

It is perhaps significant that, in 1384, Richard, Earl of Arundel, felt obliged to complain in parliament that Richard II had chosen to wear the livery of his uncle, John of Gaunt. Presumably, Arundel was offended by the implication that the young king was in some way subservient to his mighty uncle. It also confirms that, at the close of the fourteenth century, the Lancastrian esses device (which was first adopted by Gaunt in c1367) was used within the Duchy but was not adopted for use specifically by the Crown until 1401.<sup>55</sup> In the accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster we find a number of references to the dispensing of livery collars. In 1399, Henry of Derby's receiver-general issued 192 gilt collars to members of the affinity,<sup>56</sup> while in 1387/8 Derby gave collars to Sir William Bagot, steward of the household; to Philip, Lord Darcy, a Yorkshire baron with little discernible political affiliation; and to Sir John Stanley, a rising star of the royal household who had just emerged from a bitter territorial dispute with Derby's father.<sup>57</sup> The earliest account of a sovereign conferring livery collars

<sup>53</sup> Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England* (London, 1851), p.313.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.314 (citing Wardrobe accounts for Henry Earl of Derby, 20-21 February, 1383).

<sup>55</sup> Smith, p.20 (citing *Statutes, II*, pp.129-30).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14 (citing Duchy of Lancaster Records, 28/4/1 f.18v.).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14 (citing Duchy of Lancaster Records, 28/1/2 f.14v.).

refers to a magnificent joust at Smithfield, held on 12 October 1390, when Richard II distributed his ‘cognizance’ of the white hart, pendant from collars composed of golden broomcods.<sup>58</sup> In 1426, the Earl of Salisbury sent one Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, on behalf of John, Duke of Bedford, two small collars of the Duke’s device, one for Paolo himself, the other for his son, Ladislao.<sup>59</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that, as the third son of Henry IV, the ‘Duke’s device’ was a collar of esses.

With a statute of 1401, control of the collar of esses formally passed to the Crown. It would appear that authority to distribute collars could be exercised through the king’s council. In 1454, for example, the Duke of York, intent on increasing his influence, was required to ‘...procure the *authority of the Council* [my italics] to give the King’s livery of Collars to eighty gentlemen who he might select, all of whom were to swear not to be retained by any person except with the King’s special licence.’<sup>60</sup>

The giving and exchanging of livery collars was an accepted element of diplomacy, both national and international. In 1396, for example, at the wedding of Richard II and the daughter of Charles VI, Charles wore a collar of broompods and presented similar collars to the duchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester, to the Countess of Huntingdon, and to Joan, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster.<sup>61</sup> Among the forfeitures of the Earl of Huntingdon (in January 1400) were ‘...liveries [collars] of the King of France, Richard II and Henry

<sup>58</sup> Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, p.47.

<sup>59</sup> R.W. Lightbown, *European Medieval Jewellery* (London, 1929), p. 231 (citing S. Borgi, ‘Di Paolo Guinigi e delle sue richezze, Lucca’ (1871), pp.22 and 26).

<sup>60</sup> Smith, p.65 (citing *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. VI, Preface p. lxii.).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12 (citing Duchy of Lancaster Records, 28/4/1 f.18v.).

IV.<sup>62</sup> In 1429, Henry VI gave three collars to the Duke of Mantua, a gold collar to Nicholas Menthon, a knight of the Duke of Savoy, and 61 collars to various knights and gentlemen.<sup>63</sup> In 1434, the same king sent six gold collars, 24 of silver gilt and 60 of silver 'of the king's livery' to the Emperor Sigismund to distribute among the senior inhabitants of Basle and to '...such other knights and esquires as the Emperor and the King's ambassadors there might select.'<sup>64</sup> It is interesting to note that the collars were strictly classified according to the materials of which they were made - in order to reflect the status of the recipient. In 1452/3 Queen Margaret (of Anjou) presented New Year gifts of a gold collar of esses to John Wode and a silver collar to the son of Robert Harcourt.<sup>65</sup> In a letter from Henry VI to Pope Eugenius IV, reference is made to Angelo Gattola, a gentleman of the Pope's household, who had come to England as bearer of a cardinal's hat to Archbishop Kemp in 1440 and who returned to Rome with the decoration of the collar.<sup>66</sup>

Both the French collar of *cosses de genesta* and the Lancastrian collar of esses are occasionally referred to as though they were the insignia of chivalric orders. In 1400, for example, Henry IV granted an annuity of ten marks to one of his esquires, better to maintain the dignity of the *order* of the collar: '...purtant que nous avons ordenez le predit Johan destre de nostre liveree de la coler...afin qil purra maintenir nostre dit ordre'.<sup>67</sup> Clearly, Henry considered the

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67.

<sup>63</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *pers. comm.* (September, 1999), citing *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. IV, Preface p. cxviii.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, p.51 (citing *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. IV, Preface p. cxvii).

<sup>65</sup> A.R. Myers, *The Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou* (London, 1959), pp.127-8.

<sup>66</sup> Smith, p. 69 (citing *Memorials of the Reign of King Henry VI*, Rolls Series 56. Official correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, I, letter XXX, pp.38-9).

<sup>67</sup> Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), p.183.

Lancastrian device to be closer in status to the insignia of a continental chivalric order, such as the Burgundian *Toison d'Or*, than to the livery badges of other English magnates. That there appear to have been no formal statutes, no chapter meetings, and no limitation on the number of recipients at any one time suggests that, in England, those who received such a collar might reasonably consider themselves to be members of a privileged and favoured élite (not necessarily an affinity in the strict sense of the word), but not of a formally constituted chivalric order, the size of which would have been restricted and the membership subject to strict rules of conduct, both personal and ceremonial. Indeed, Henry IV is known to have been in the habit of physically removing a collar from one man in order to bestow it on another. The Duchy of Lancaster accounts include a charge of 56s 8d for a silver collar for John Payne, butler, 'because my lord had given his collar to another esquire beyond the sea,' while, in a bundle of miscellaneous documents, reference is made to 'Livrez a Richard Lancaster pour un Coler a luy done par monseigneur le Conte de Darby par cause d'une autre Coler done par mondit seigneur a un Esquier John Gower, vynt et sys soldz oyt deniers. 26s. 8d.'<sup>68</sup>

I believe that Maurice Keen is correct when he writes:

Special badges and collars, as also livery colours, became very popular in the later middle ages, and as such collars as the *camail* of Orleans actually were on occasion loosely referred to as orders. The practice of certain princes encouraged such looseness of usage. The Kings of Cyprus gave their Order of the Sword very freely to foreigners who seem thereby to have been given something like an honorary association with the Order, but who certainly were not bound by statutes, and who would not have come to chapters; and the Kings of Aragon did likewise with their Order of the Stole and Jar, bestowing its badge as a mark of honour and favour on visitors to their court without limit of numbers. The basic

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<sup>68</sup> G.C. Macaulay, *John Gower* (London, 1935), p.223 (citing *Duchy of Lancaster Household Accounts*, 17 Richard II and *Duchy of Lancaster Miscellanea*, Bundle X, no. 42 (undated)).

significance of the two kinds of insignia really was different, however. The collar of SS that John of Gaunt gave his retainers and the *camail* that the Duke of Orleans gave to his men were signs of clientage, with chivalrous overtones indeed, but essentially emblems of alliance and allegiance. The Sword of Cypress and the Stole and Jar have quite another meaning. This is testimony, not to clientage, but to a career of martial errantry and of pilgrimage. It is a proud record of chivalrous achievement.<sup>69</sup>

Keen quotes Olivier de La Marche who instructed Philip the Handsome on the use of chivalric insignia and other devices:

For example, the Kings of England have their Order of the Garter...but besides this order they have a device which they give to knights, and to ladies, damsels and esquires, and this device...is given without limit of numbers to many persons...and should be called a *devise*...Charles Duke of Orleans had a device, *le camail*, from which hung a porcupine, and this was borne by many worthy men, knights and esquires, but there was no limit on their number nor did they hold chapters, and so I say it was a *devise*, not an order.<sup>70</sup>

While it is apparent that Lancastrian and Yorkist livery collars were not the insignia of orders of chivalry, it is certainly true that the distribution of collars was seen as 'a spectacular but hopeful means of collecting members of an affinity.'<sup>71</sup> Lancastrian and Yorkist retainers and supporters were the natural recipients of collars; but in times of crisis, they would be distributed to large numbers of people in order to gain their support. It has also been shown that collars were often given to foreign notables and to those from whom little more than neutrality might be expected.

The suggestion that livery collars were the 'badges of court factions' is untenable if it is intended to imply that different collars, Lancastrian and Yorkist, would have been worn at court at the same time! But if one accepts that

<sup>69</sup> Keen, *Chivalry*, p.183.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.183 (citing H. Beaune and J. D'Arbaumont (eds), *Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche* (Paris, 1888), pp.161-2).

<sup>71</sup> P.S.Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism in later medieval France', *BIHR*, 37 (1964), p.175.

‘factions are understood to be *long-standing alignments of political interest* [my italics] rather than temporary groupings on single issues,’<sup>72</sup> then it is certainly true that the devices adopted by the rival houses of Lancaster and York, and incorporated into their respective collars, were indeed ‘badges of faction’.

Some collars were very elaborate, especially those which were specially commissioned. On 3 November, 1407, Henry IV took delivery, from one Christopher Tildesley, a citizen and goldsmith of London,

‘...a collar of gold, worked with the motto “soveignez” and the letter S, and ten amulets garnished with nine large pearls, twelve large diamonds, eight rubies, eight sapphires together with a great clasp in shape of a triangle, with a great ruby set in the same and garnished with four great pearls, which said collar, with the whole garnished aforesaid, was delivered to the said Lord the King at Winchelsea, for the said sum, then proved to be of reasonable price and merchandise by those who, at that time, had a good knowledge of the value of the said collar.’<sup>73</sup>

An extract from the *Liber Memorandum Camerariorum Receptae Scaccarii* of 1439 describes a collar pledged by Henry VI to Cardinal Beaufort:

‘First, a Pusan of gold called ye riche coler, conteynnyng xvi culpons or peces, upon whiche beth viij antelopes, garnysshed wt xx grete ples; and upon ye same coler beth v baleys, wheroft iiiij are of entaille, square and ye v. ys vi quartered; and also upon ye same coler beth ij greet perles joinyng unto the baleys and viij crownes of gold eche of hem enameled wt a reson of un saunz pluis and upon ye crones beth ij grete dymandes square and poynted...’<sup>74</sup>

That the gift of a collar was both reciprocal and highly symbolic is demonstrated at the coronation in 1399 of ‘...kyng Henry duke of Lancastre [who] ...after dyner...departed fro the towne to Westmynster, and rode all the way

<sup>72</sup> R. Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?* (Oxford, 1997), pp.81-2.

<sup>73</sup> F.Devon., *Issues of the Exchequer*, p.305 (citing *Issue Roll*, 305. Michaelmas 9 Henry IV).

<sup>74</sup> C.E.J. Smith, ‘The Livery Collar’, *Coat of Arms* 151 (1990), p.249, citing *CPR.*, 1436-41, pp.277-8.

bareheaded, and about his neck the lyvery of France.<sup>75</sup>

Livery collars also served as a means of authentication and identification.

In the Paston Letters, John Pampynge concludes his letter to John Paston the elder by informing him that 'Wymondham is here...and the king's livery about his neck.'<sup>76</sup> In 1408, Henry IV gave '...protection, for two years, for the king's esquire Richard Maghlyn of Scotland, who has become the king's liege man and done homage to the king, by which the king has retained him as one of his esquires and has given him the livery of his collar.'<sup>77</sup>

At Court, the wearing of a livery collar would have facilitated access and egress - just as ID badges and security switch cards do in complex organisations today:

Item, that every lord and knight within the household weare a collar of the kinges livery about his necke as to him apperteyneth, and that every squire, as well squiers for the bodie as other of the household, likewise weare collars of the kinges liverie daylie about their neckes as to them apperteyneth, and that none of the said squiers faile, upon paine of loosing a monethes wages.<sup>78</sup>

Again, it would appear that collars of different metals (gold, silver gilt and silver) were granted to the various degrees of retainer within the royal household: 'as to him apperteyneth.' It is also significant that detailed instructions for the wearing of livery collars should be set out in the Ordinance of 1478, a document which was concerned entirely with the financial arrangements and administration of the royal household. Not only did the Ordinance seek to reduce the number of

<sup>75</sup> Sir John Bourchier (trans.), 'The Chronicle of Froissart', in W.E. Henley (ed.), *The Tudor Translations* (London, 1903), p.223.

<sup>76</sup> H.S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, second edition 1932), p.29.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, p.26 (citing *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 454).

<sup>78</sup> Rule 28 of the Ordinance of 1478.

persons who qualified for livery (and, therefore, access to the court), but insistence on the phrase ‘as to him apperteyneth’ may also indicate that some individuals were claiming collars of a quality of design or materials to which their rank within the household did not entitle them. Myers suggests that ‘in those days of affinities, it was fitting that all men of rank in the king’s household should wear the Yorkist badge... just as Lancastrian adherents had worn the collar of SS.’<sup>79</sup> In fact, it was not merely ‘fitting’ but essential that the numerous members of the royal household should wear some form of identification while on duty. Myers, citing J.E. Morris, suggests that ‘squires serving in the king’s household had probably worn his livery since at least Edward I’s days.’ This may well be so, but there is no record of a *collar* being used for this purpose until 1401.<sup>80</sup>

It is apparent that, from the late fifteenth century, the Lancastrian collar of esses was increasingly perceived to be the insignia of office held of the Crown, worn by senior members of the household, government and judiciary. Indeed, the collar on the effigy of Sir Richard Newton at Yatton (SOM14) is believed by some to be the earliest representation of a judicial collar in Britain. Although Sir Richard died in 1449, the style and detail of the monument suggest that it was erected retrospectively, post-1485. Even so, it pre-dates the next earliest example (at St. Andrew, Wroxeter, dated 1555) by seventy years. Sir Richard Newton was Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. All three post-Tudor collars in the study area are of this judicial type (see DEV3, HAM5 and WIL5). Fletcher suggests that ‘SS collars were never the insignia of any order,

<sup>79</sup> Myers, footnote p. 24.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, footnote p. 207 (citing J.E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901)).

nor do they appear to have been bestowed, excepting in the case of certain of the judges, or of other civilians, later than the days of Henry VIII.<sup>81</sup>

Lancastrian collars of esses continue to be worn today, as insignia of office, by certain officers of the Crown: the kings of arms (collars of silver gilt), the heralds<sup>82</sup> and the serjeants at arms (collars of silver). The Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Baron of the Exchequer and the lords mayor of London, Dublin and Nottingham also, wear versions of the Lancastrian collar, as do the mayors of Cork, Derby<sup>83</sup> and Stamford, Lincolnshire.<sup>84</sup>

### **Lancastrian and Yorkist Devices**

According to Shakespeare, Somerset and Plantagenet, while disputing the succession in the Temple garden, appealed to their companions:

Plantagenet: Let him that is a true-born gentleman,  
And stands upon the honour of his birth,  
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,  
From off this briar pluck a white rose with me.

Somerset: Let him that is no coward and no flatterer,  
But dare maintain the party of the truth,  
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.'

Whereupon, their followers plucked the flowers on the understanding that the disputant who received the lesser support should yield. Three white roses were gathered, and only one red.

<sup>81</sup> J.M.J. Fletcher, 'The SS Collar in Dorset and Elsewhere', DNHAS *Proceedings*, 45 (1924), p.82.

<sup>82</sup> The pursuivants - the three junior officers of arms - do not wear collars.

<sup>83</sup> In 1850 the Corporation of Derby paid £100 for Lord Chief Justice Denham's collar of esses and it has been worn by the mayors of Derby ever since.

<sup>84</sup> A.S. Ireson, *The Story of Stamford: The Mayor's Chain of Office and Stamford Civic Regalia* (Stamford, 1968).

Plantagenet: 'Now, Somerset, where is your argument?

Somerset: Here, in my scabbard, meditating that  
Shall dye your white rose to a bloody red.<sup>85</sup>

There is no suggestion here that this incident (if it ever occurred) gave rise to the rival emblems; in fact the red and white roses were in use as badges long before the famous quarrel. Somerset plucked the red rose and Plantagenet the white *because* these roses were already the badges of their respective houses.

It was Eleanor of Provence (d.1291), queen to Henry III, who introduced the golden rose device of Provence into England's royal insignia. Its use was continued by Eleanor's eldest son, Edward I (1239-1307), while Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (1245-96) used the same badge, but changed its colour to red to distinguish it from that of his brother. The golden rose was used as a badge by the three kings Edward and appears on the canopy of the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury. Richard II inherited from his father a blue vestment embroidered with ostrich feathers and golden roses, while his standard included both the white hart and golden rose devices. For no apparent reason, its use seems to have been discontinued after Richard's death in 1399. Meanwhile, the red rose clung to the Lancaster title and was eventually transferred through marriage to John of Gaunt (1340-99) by the Lancastrian heiress, Blanche. It became the distinctive badge of Gaunt's descendants - the Lancastrian kings and the Beauforts - and was later combined with the white rose of York to form the Tudor Rose which is frequently found on Tudor collars, either as a pendant or on the collars themselves, alternating with esses

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<sup>85</sup> William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part 1*, Act 2, Scene 4.

and sometimes with knots. Without colour, a Lancastrian rose would be depicted in an effigial collar as a single flower with five petals (unlike the Tudor Rose which has a double flower). There are no examples of single roses in Lancastrian collars in the study area, except perhaps for a Tudor collar on the effigy of Sir John de Lisle (d.1520) at Thruxton in Hampshire (HAM4) in which single roses alternate with single esses and simple knots, and there are single roses on each arm of a Latin cross pendant. The effigy was broken into six pieces and badly mutilated by parliamentary forces. It was recovered and heavily restored in 1836, the carving being of a particularly high standard. However, I have been unable to ascertain whether the detail of the restored collar is precisely that of the original and it may be that the single roses are a nineteenth-century interpretation of (double) Tudor Roses.

The white rose was a badge of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (c.1286-1330), grandfather of Roger Mortimer, heir apparent to Richard II. It was through his mother, Anne Mortimer, that Richard Plantagenet (1411-60) could claim the throne. It therefore seems most probable that he selected the white rose from among his various badges because it seemed to be the most appropriate device with which to oppose the Lancastrian red rose. Indeed, in the light of history, we may assign political significance to the two roses: retrospectively, the red rose appears to us as the symbol of Parliamentary sanction by which the Lancastrians held the crown, while we may regard the white rose as the emblem of strict legitimism.

White roses are depicted on all known Yorkist livery collars, alternating

with another Yorkist badge - 'the sun in splendour'.<sup>86</sup> Holinshead tells that before the battle of Mortimer's Cross (1461), Edward Earl of March saw the sun 'like three sunnes, and suddenlie joined altogether in one; at which sight he took such courage that he, fiercelie setting on his enimies, put them to flight; and for this cause men imagined that he gave the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance.'<sup>87</sup> The phenomenon is well documented, as is the story. But it is more likely that the sun device was inherited. A combination of the two principal Yorkist badges, the sun and the white rose, is the *rose en soleil*, in which a white rose is placed on top of a sun, producing a quite beautiful device. This does not appear on any of the Yorkist collars in the study area, however.

The white lion is by far the most common Yorkist pendant and was another of the badges associated with the earldom of March. Examples in the study area are badly eroded so that little detail remains. There are other Yorkist beast pendants (though none in the study area), most notably a silver boar on the effigy (1483) of Sir Ralph Fitzherbert at Norbury in Derbyshire.<sup>88</sup> This was the livery badge of Richard III, both as king and as Duke of Gloucester, the derivation of which continues to elude us. Planché tentatively suggests that it was intended as a pun on the name 'Ebor', though Richard never held the honour of York while those who did, did not use a boar device.<sup>89</sup> Woodcock and Robinson, following John de Bado Aureo's treatise *Tractatus de Armis* of c.1394, suggest that the boar 'signifies the valiant, wily and envious warrior', a

<sup>86</sup> There are no examples of this device on collars in the study area.

<sup>87</sup> Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, p.136.

<sup>88</sup> This is the only extant example – another, on a Neville effigy at Brancepeth, Co. Durham, was destroyed by fire in 1998.

<sup>89</sup> Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, p.140.

description which would have appealed to the youthful Richard.<sup>90</sup> Following his bloody death at Bosworth, the white boar was everywhere ‘rased and plucked doun’ - including where it was found on effigial collars.<sup>91</sup>

The badges of the house of Lancaster included a white swan with a gold collar about its neck from which depended a gold chain. The ‘Dunstable Swan’ brooch at the British Museum is the finest example of this device and was undoubtedly a gift (not necessarily livery as suggested by Hicks<sup>92</sup>) to an eminent member of the Lancastrian affinity. In 1391 Henry of Derby commissioned a collar of gold with 17 letters S ‘in the manner of feathers’ and with a swan in the toret.<sup>93</sup> A similar collar was presented by Henry to Gower in 1393.

Numerous antiquarians have addressed in detail the question of the origin and significance of the enigmatic Lancastrian esses. One of the earliest explanations, followed by Camden, was that the SS was the device of an order founded by Henry V in honour of the martyrs of Soissons, St Crispin and St Crispinian. In the early seventeenth century, Manestrier in *De la Chevalrie* introduced a more worldly note by suggesting the initial of the Countess of Salisbury – she of the garter. In the early eighteenth century, John Anstis, Garter King of Arms, favoured *Souveign vous de moy* and this has been followed by G.F. Beltz, W.W. Skeat, and H.B. McCall. C.W. Scott-Giles also opts for *Soveignez* or *Souverain*, which, he argues persuasively, ‘signify either loyalty or remembrance’.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> T. Woodcock and J.M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), p.63.

<sup>91</sup> In 1483, Richard ordered 13,000 costume badges of the white boar for the investiture at York of Edward as Prince of Wales. At the ceremony, Richard knighted the Spanish ambassador and placed a gold collar about his neck.

<sup>92</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, jacket illustration and note.

<sup>93</sup> Smith, ‘The Livery Collar’, p.243.

<sup>94</sup> Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, p.116.

Willement offers the word *Soverayne*, the king's motto pounced on the tester of the Canterbury tomb, suggesting an association with John of Gaunt's claim to the thrones of Castile and Leon. C.H. Blair has suggested that the motto was *Ma Sovereyne*, the feminine, a reference to some preferred lady, or even to the Virgin Mary. John Nichols argues for *Seneschallus*, as Gaunt was High Steward; while Albert Hartshorne opted for *Sanctus*, an idea promoted by Daniel Rock in his book *The Church of Our Fathers*. Dr R.B. Hepple suggested that SS were the initial and final letters of *Serviens*, a Latin echo of the Black Prince's *Ich Dien*. A.P. Purey-Crust linked the idea of *Seigneur/Seneschallus* with *Soveraine*, the former the ostensible, the latter the real meaning. Others suggest *Silentium*, *Societas*, *Sanctus Spiritus*, *Signum* and *Swinford*, while reference has been made to the S-shaped lever of a horse's bit and the natural disposition of chain links. More recently, C.M. Jenkins made an intriguing case for the resemblance of the letter S to the swan (*signo*), though not one which, in my view, can be sustained.<sup>95</sup>

Simon Walker suggests that the badge was 'an adaptation of a common ornamental pattern as a personal insignia that was to become the standard Lancastrian badge in the fifteenth century'.<sup>96</sup> However, there is no evidence that this was the only device used by Gaunt; his son was certainly using

<sup>95</sup> Summaries of the arguments, together with references, may be found in A.P. Purey-Cust's *The Collar of Esses: A History and a Conjecture* (Leeds, 1910). See also John Nichols, 'The Collar of SS', *The Gentleman's Magazine* (May, 1842), pp.481-5. Other references are found in Canon J.M.J. Fletcher's 'The SS Collar in Dorset and Elsewhere', *DNHAS Proceedings* (Dorchester, 1924), pp.81-100; Albert Hartshorne's 'Notes on Collars of SS', *Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), pp.376-83; G.F. Beltz, 'Notices relating to the ancient "Collars of the King's Livery"', *The Retrospective Review*, Second Series, II (1939), pp.500-10; Edward Foss, 'The Livery Collar', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1905), pp.73-93; C.M. Jenkins, 'Collars of SS: a Quest', *Apollo* (March 1949), pp.60-2; W.W. Skeat, 'Souvent me Souvient', *Christ's College Magazine* (Michaelmas, 1905), pp.1-5.

<sup>96</sup> Walker, p.94 (citing T.F. Kirby (ed.), *Wykeham's Register* (Hampshire Record Society, 11, 1896-9), ii, p.289).

another form of collar – the *ad modum de snagge* – in the previous decade. Although it would appear that the duke was using the device by the 1370s, references to other collars used as livery badges seem non-existent before the 1390s and they are, even then, confined to members of the royal family.<sup>97</sup> By a statute of 1401, the collar of esses was officially recognised as royal livery, the terms of the statute permitting the king's sons, dukes, earls, barons and lesser barons of the realm to wear the collar both in the presence and in the absence of the king, while knights and squires were to wear it only in the royal presence.<sup>98</sup>

The statute does not refer to women, though there are many examples throughout Britain of effigies in which females are depicted wearing collars.

It is tempting to suggest that the letter S stands for *Souvene* meaning 'remember.' Indeed, I recently explored the possibility of the double esses device having originated in the motto *Souvene me souvene* which, I suggested, may have been adopted by Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, as a consequence of his descent from Edward III through Thomas of Woodstock. Unfortunately, it was not possible to demonstrate that others of the same line had used the same motto.<sup>99</sup>

The majority of armorists, including Doris Fletcher in her recent paper,<sup>100</sup> now accept that the letter S stands for *Sovereine*, though (inevitably) it is to be found with a variety of spellings.<sup>101</sup> *Sovereigne* was the personal motto of Henry IV who, on the day of his wedding in 1402, gave his bride, Joan of

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5. The earliest example of a collar of esses depicted on an effigy is that of Sir John Swynford, a member of the Lancastrian affinity who died in 1371.

<sup>98</sup> A.P. Purey-Cust, *The Collar of SS. A History and Conjecture* (Leeds, 1910), pp. 17-18.

<sup>99</sup> At a Heraldry Society seminar, July 1995. The motto means 'Remember me often'.

<sup>100</sup> Doris Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', in James Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud 1997), pp. 191-204.

Navarre, a collar inscribed with the motto *soveinez* and with esses set in gold with pearls, sapphires, rubies and diamonds, one of which weighed eight ounces. The recent discovery at Middleham Castle, Yorkshire of a gold ring decorated with esses on the outer edge and inscribed on the inside with the motto *Sovereynly* confirms that view: the association of the device and the motto could hardly be closer.<sup>102</sup>

In this context, the etymology of the word ‘sovereign’, meaning ‘one who has supremacy or rank above, or authority over, others; a superior; a ruler, governor, lord or master (of persons etc.)’, is of interest.<sup>103</sup> The word was first noted in the thirteenth century, the Middle English *souverin* and Old French *so(u)verain* or *so(u)verein* having the equivalent meaning. From this came the word ‘sovereignty’, first noted in the fourteenth century, the Old French equivalent being *so(u)vereinete*.<sup>104</sup> The foregoing definition would seem to be singularly appropriate to the character and aspirations of John of Gaunt who, together with Henry of Derby, is known to have been distributing collars of esses by the 1390s. But, as early as 1348, Gaunt’s mother, Queen Philippa, possessed a set of wall hangings of red Sindon stamped with the letter S. Moreover, in Edward III’s accounts for 1350-2 there is an entry for a cloak for the queen ‘powdered with gold roses of eight petals and bordered with white pearls, in the middle of each rose an S of large pearls.’<sup>105</sup> This strongly suggests that Gaunt was not the first to adopt the S device, but that it was already some sort of royal

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<sup>101</sup> For the variety of spellings used in the late Middle Ages, see *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>102</sup> The Middleham ring is now in York Museum.

<sup>103</sup> *OED*.

<sup>104</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of Etymology* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>105</sup> Smith, p.245

emblem when he was still a child.

Daniel Rock, in an essay on the Golden Frontal at Milan, refers to SS collars in an effigy of Stefano Visconti in St. Eustorgio and a Della Croce effigy at St. Ambrose. Stefano died in 1327, though his tomb was made by Giovanni de Balduccio who was working in Milan in 1340s and 1350s and possibly later.<sup>106</sup> There is a further Visconti-Lancastrian connection in that Lionel, Duke of Clarence married Violante Visconti (d.1386) in 1368. Could the SS have been a Visconti device? This question is worthy of further investigation but is beyond the scope of the present study.

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<sup>106</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *pers. comm.* (September, 1999).

## CHAPTER 3

### ANALYSIS OF WEST COUNTRY COLLARS

#### Distribution

There is no discernible significance in the pattern of distribution relating specifically to the pre-1974 county boundaries (*see Map1 and Table1*). Of the seven south-western counties, Somerset has the largest number of surviving collars (15), followed by Dorset (10), Gloucestershire (8), Hampshire and Wiltshire (4 each), Devon (2) and Cornwall (1). The survival figure for collars in the region appears to reflect similar figures for the survival of late-medieval effigial monuments nationally.<sup>1</sup>

There is one collar in Cornwall: at Duloe (COR1) in the east of the county. The two collars in Devon are located in the extreme south-west, within ten miles of Plymouth: at Modbury (DEV1) and Tamerton Foliot (DEV2). There are ten collars in Dorset: two each at Melbury Sampford (DOR2/3), Puddletown (DOR5/6), Thorncombe (DOR7/8) and Wimborne Minster (DOR9/10) and single examples at Marnhull (DOR1) and Netherbury (DOR4). Of the eight Gloucestershire collars, there are two each at Berkeley (GLO1/2) and Gloucester Cathedral (GLO4/5) and single collars at the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol (GLO3), Mangotsfield (GLO7), Wotton-under-Edge (GLO8) and (on the eastern border of the County) at Icomb (GLO6). There are only four collars in Hampshire and these are widely dispersed: at Christchurch Priory (HAM1), Godshill on the Isle of Wight (HAM2), St. Michael's Church,

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<sup>1</sup> A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England* (Cambridge, 1940), Appendix II.

Southampton (HAM3), and Thruxton on the northern border of the county (HAM4). Of the south-western counties, Somerset has the greatest number of collars. Fifteen in all, they are widely dispersed, though clusters are clearly discernible (*see below*). There are nine in the north of the county: at Backwell (SOM1), Chew Magna (two collars SOM2/3), Hutton (SOM6), Long Ashton (SOM8), Rodney Stoke (SOM12) and Yatton (three collars SOM13/14/15). On the Exmoor coast there are collars at Dunster (SOM4) and Porlock (SOM11), while Henstridge (SOM5), Ilton (SOM7), North Cadbury (SOM9) and Nunney (SOM10) are located at some distance from each other on the eastern and southern borders of the county. Two of Wiltshire's four collars are located at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL2/3) where there is a record of a further collar which has not survived (WIL4). The only other collar in the county is at Bromham (WIL1).

Lancastrian collars are to be found in all seven counties but Yorkist collars are confined to Dorset, Gloucestershire and Somerset. There are examples of collars which are defined as being neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist in Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Somerset.

There are discernible clusters of collars in the sample area (*see Map 2 and Table 2*), though (with only two exceptions) the constituent collars have very little in common except for proximity. The first exception, and the most significant cluster, is in north Somerset and south Gloucestershire. It comprises ten collars in seven churches at Backwell (SOM1), Bristol (GLO3), Chew Magna (SOM2/3), Hutton (SOM6), Long Ashton (SOM8), Mangotsfield (GLO7) and Yatton (SOM13/14/15). All but Chew Magna are located on an alignment from

Mangotsfield in the north-east to Hutton in the south-west. Each church is approximately four miles from the next and all are contained within an area of ten miles radius. Within the cluster, all but three are stone effigies: two of the three Yatton effigies are of alabaster and the Hutton monument is a brass. It could be that the use of local stone in seven of the nine effigies (and the paucity of alabaster monuments in the area) suggests the existence in the late-medieval period of a Somerset workshop. But there is no evidence of common characteristics in the detail or execution of the stone monuments, and there are both Lancastrian and Yorkist collars dating from throughout the fifteenth century. The survival rate for such a compact area is well above the national average.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is not remote, as one might expect. Indeed the churches where these monuments have survived were particularly accessible, aligned as they are to an axis which corresponds with primary medieval routeways radiating from Bristol. Three (Backwell, Bristol and Long Ashton) are Yorkist collars, though the Yorkist attribution of the Bristol collar is a questionable. Of the other six, five are Lancastrian collars of SS while on the Hutton brass only the portcullis pendant remains, the collar having been erased. The two Lancastrian collars at Chew Magna date from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The Yorkist collars at Backwell, Bristol and Long Ashton date from 1464, 1467 and 1483 respectively. The remaining Lancastrian collars (and the Hutton pendant) are from the post-Bosworth period, excepting the collar at Mangotsfield which is dated c1475 by some sources, though both the attribution and date are justifiably disputed.<sup>3</sup> The collars in the cluster are notable for the variety of their style and

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, *loc.cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See J.R. Brambles, 'Two Effigies at Mangotsfield', *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 16 (1898), pp. 154-7, and Gardner, *loc. cit.*

execution: there is nothing to suggest a common pattern of design or workmanship, though the high proportion of stone effigies may be of significance.

The second exception is the Exmoor cluster which consists of just two collars at Dunster and Porlock in Somerset. The churches containing the collars (SOM4 and SOM11) are located six miles apart on the north Devon coast. There are no other collars within thirty miles of Dunster or Porlock. The two effigial figures are superbly carved in alabaster and both recline beneath ornate, lofty canopies. Both have Lancastrian collars composed of 'folded-linen' esses, that at Dunster being wider than the Porlock example. Both have chapes, toret and annulet pendant; the Porlock pendant encircles a square pyramidal motif.

The Dunster effigy is badly mutilated, while that at Porlock is in a fine state of preservation - except for the collar which has been abraded. The Dunster figure dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, while that Porlock can be more precisely dated to *c1440*. Common characteristics in the treatment of the armour, lacings etc. suggest that the two effigies may have originated in the same workshop, possibly '...the successors of the Prentys and Sutton workshop at Chellaston'.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of the two Berkeley collars, there is nothing to suggest that the five collars which comprise the Severn Vale cluster have any common or unifying characteristics. One (GLO8) is a brass, two are Lancastrian (GLO4/GLO5), and two are Yorkist (GLO1/GLO2). The two Berkeley collars (GLO1/GLO2) are Yorkist and

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<sup>4</sup> *Dunster Church Guidebook* (1988). The anonymous author does not provide a reference for this quotation.

almost identical, except in scale. James Berkeley (d.1451) predeceased his father (d.1464) and it is likely that the two effigies were commissioned at the same time.<sup>5</sup> The pair of effigies at Gloucester Cathedral (GLO4/GLO5) is of particular interest for, although both are dated 1410, that of Thomas Bridges is in alabaster while that of his wife is in local limestone.

There is a cluster of three collars, each within 12 miles of the Tamar: one, at Duloe, is in Cornwall (COR1) and the other two, at Modbury (DEV1) and Tamerton Foliot (DEV2), are in Devon. There are no other collars in either county. The effigies at Duloe and Tamerton Foliot are of stone while that at Modbury is of alabaster. Both the Duloe and Tamerton Foliot collars are Lancastrian, crudely carved and badly eroded. Both collars are embellished with sideways esses, but the Duloe collar is significantly wider than that at Tamerton Foliot. The Modbury collar is of flowers, each with four petals, set on a wide strap. Chapes, clasps and pendants are absent from all three collars but there is nothing to suggest a common pattern of design or workmanship.

There is a cluster of three collars in the eastern Blackmore Vale in south-east Somerset and north Dorset. Although in close proximity, there is nothing to suggest that these collars have any common or unifying characteristics other than a fraternal relationship between William Carrent at Henstridge (SOM5) and John Carrent at Marnhull (DOR1). The Henstridge and North Cadbury effigies are of stone while that at Marnhull is of alabaster and is possessed of the most exquisitely carved collar in the study area. The Marnhull collar is Yorkist, that at North Cadbury is composed of sideways Lancastrian esses, while that at Henstridge is plain and of sufficient depth to suggest that it was never

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<sup>5</sup> Samuel Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire* (1779, reprinted Stroud 1985), p.143.

incised. The Henstridge and Marnhull collars have torets (that at Marnhull is particularly decorative), while the Henstridge and North Cadbury collars have well-formed chapes. Only the Marnhull collar has a pendant: a somewhat misshapen passant beast secured by a waistband. All are in good condition, including the North Cadbury collar which dates from the late fourteenth century.

There is a cluster of six collars in four churches in west Dorset and south Somerset. Each church is approximately eight miles from its neighbour. Although in comparatively close proximity, there is nothing to suggest that these collars have any common or unifying characteristics, with the obvious exceptions of the Melbury Sampford effigies, which are almost identical, and the pair of brasses at Thorncombe, in which the collars are different only in scale and the detailing of the clasp. All four recumbent effigies are of alabaster and date from 1467-80. The two brasses are earlier (1437). The Netherbury collar has unusual decorative chapes which terminate in the moulding of the hands. Both Melbury Sampford collars have beast pendants (probably Mortimer lions) attached by means of lozenge-shaped clasps. The Ilton collar has a rose motif pendant attached directly to the underside of the strap on which there are further roses.

## **Classification**

Of the 44 livery collars in the south-western counties, 22 (50%) are on alabaster effigies (*see Map 3 and Table 3*), 17 (39%) on stone effigies (*see Map 3 and Table 4*), five (11%) in brasses (one of which survives in documentary form only) (*see Map 3 and Table 5*), and none on mural slabs. These figures are set in a national context at the end of this chapter.

The quality of Dorset effigies is of particular note: eight of the ten monuments are of alabaster, while the other two are brasses. E.T. Long writes:

'The alabaster work found in Dorset was doubtless carved in the Midlands, and probably at Nottingham, and then sent down ready to be erected in its intended place. The finest of the Martyn tombs at Puddletown is most obviously a product of the Midland alabaster men, and closely resembles the many noble examples to be found in that part of the country, eg. at Tong, Shropshire; Norbury, Derbyshire and Lowick, Northamptonshire. There are also tombs of the same type in South Wales at Abergavenny and Llandaff Cathedral. Owing to the great distance of this county [Dorset] from the alabaster district, it was custom to employ this material simply for the effigies, using Purbeck marble or freestone for the altar tombs and canopies as at Melbury Sampford and Wimborne Minster and, in one instance, at Puddletown. On the other hand, one of the Puddletown monuments is completely of alabaster. The tombs, or at least the effigies, were richly coloured ...traces remain at Marnhull and Puddletown.'<sup>6</sup>

By contrast, all but three of the nine monuments in the North Somerset cluster (see above) are of stone, and in the county of Somerset as a whole, only five are of alabaster.

There are five brasses in the study area, one of which (WIL 4) has been identified through documentary evidence. Of the four surviving brasses, there is a pair of London D series brasses at Thorncombe, Dorset, one London F series brass at Hutton, Somerset, and one at Wotton-under Edge, Gloucestershire, which is either London B series or London D series. In the south-western counties, there are no mural slabs on which collars are depicted.

All the monuments in the study area are of the fifteenth century, excepting that at Tamerton Foliot in Devon (which is from the late fourteenth century) and five early sixteenth-century monuments, three of them in Hampshire, one at Salisbury Cathedral (Wiltshire) and one at the Lord Mayor's

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<sup>6</sup> E.T. Long, 'Pre-Reformation Church Monuments', DNHAS *Proceedings*, 46 (1923), p.40.

Chapel, Bristol. (For chronology see Table 6).

There are 28 Lancastrian collars in the study area (see Map 4 and Table 7), fifteen of them from the pre-1461 period and the remainder post-1485. These represent 64% of the 44 collars in the south-western counties. There are nine Yorkist collars (21%) (see Map 4 and Table 8) and seven which appear to belong to neither category (16%) (see Map 4 and Table 9), though that at Bristol may be a thinly-disguised Yorkist collar.

### *Lancastrian Collars*

All the Lancastrian collars are composed of esses in a variety of forms, sizes and disposition or, in one case (SOM6), of an abraded collar from which depends a Beaufort portcullis (see below). The two sixteenth-century collars at ThruXTon (HAM4) and St. Michael's, Southampton (HAM3) are more elaborate: that at ThruXTon has alternating esses, roses and knots, while the Southampton collar comprises reversed esses in threes, each group of three separated by a stylised knot. The collar in the Hutton brass (SOM6) has been abraded in its entirety and no evidence remains of its original design: only the Beaufort portcullis pendant survives to suggest its Lancastrian derivation.

The majority of Lancastrian collars of both periods consist of a strap to which the letters SS are affixed. The collars in the two Dorset brasses (DOR7/8) conform to this pattern and are typical of the 'lyre'-shaped collars in fifteenth-century brasses elsewhere in the country. The esses are widely spaced within narrow borders and both collars have buckle chapes, complex swivel links and simple, annulet pendants. It is likely that the Hungerford brass at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL4), for which there is only documentary evidence, was also of

this type.<sup>7</sup>

Of the remaining nineteen Lancastrian collars which are clearly of the 'strap' type, two have narrow, raised edges (HAM2 and SOM2), while five have raised cable-edge borders (DOR4, HAM1, SOM14, WIL2 and WIL3). Ten have no borders, the esses filling the full width of the strap (DEV2, DOR9, DOR10, GLO4, GLO5, SOM4, SOM9, SOM10 and SOM11) or, at Duloe (COR1), where the letters are placed centrally with a 5mm gap on either side. The Porlock collar (SOM11) is badly damaged but the surviving esses at the back of the neck are identical to the 'folded linen'-type letters at neighbouring Dunster (SOM4), though less widely spaced. It has been suggested (*see* above) that the Dunster and Porlock effigies may have come from the same workshop. There are four collars on which the letters themselves are linked to form a chain and on which no strap is evident (HAM4, SOM13, SOM15 and WIL1).

The Lancastrian collars vary considerably in width: from the delicate (8mm) lady's collar at Chew Magna (SOM3) to the impressively weighty, sixteenth-century collars in the effigies of Sir Richard Lyster at St. Michael's, Southampton (HAM3) and Sir John Cheney at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL2), both of which exceed 38mm in width. Similarly, the style and dimensions of the letters themselves vary considerably, as does the disposition of the esses in relation to the strap or (in the case of linked letters) to one another. In fifteen collars the esses are correctly disposed on both the right and left sides (DOR 7, DOR8, DOR9, DOR10, GLO4, GLO5, HAM1, HAM4, SOM2, SOM4, SOM11, SOM14, SOM15, WIL1, WIL2 and WIL3). On three collars (DOR4, SOM10

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<sup>7</sup> H. de S. Shortt, *The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chantry Chapels* (Salisbury, 1970), includes an illustration (by Schnebbelie) of the Hungerford brass.

and SOM13) the letters are correctly disposed but those on the left side are reversed. On the lady's collar at Chew Magna (SOM3) and the sixteenth-century collar at Southampton (HAM3) the letters are correctly disposed but all are reversed. On three collars the esses are placed lengthways and upright along the collar (COR1, DEV2 and SOM9). On one (HAM2), the letters are lengthways and upright but those on the right side are reversed.

The two Lancastrian collars in Dorset brasses (DOR7/DOR8) have square-ended buckle chapes and complex swivel links from which depend simple, annulet pendants. These details are typical of Lancastrian collars in brasses throughout Britain. By far the most common chapes/clasp/pendant configuration in stone and alabaster effigies is a pair of elongated, 'mounded' chapes to which is attached a simple toret and plain annulet pendant. In the sample area, collars DOR3, GLO5, SOM3, SOM4, SOM10, WIL3 take this form, though the relative sizes of the components vary. Collars at Wimborne Minster (DOR10), Christchurch Priory (HAM1) and Porlock (SOM11) have a similar arrangement of chapes and toret but have different pendants: an inverse toret at Wimborne, a (badly eroded) beast at Christchurch, and an annulet containing a square pyramid and with a further moulded device (eroded) pendant from it at Porlock. The lady's collar at Chew Magna (SOM2) is similar, but with square-ended chapes. That at Gloucester Cathedral (GLO4) also has square-ended chapes and an annulet pendant, but the pendant is suspended from a larger annulet instead of a toret. The collar at North Cadbury (SOM9) has large, mounded chapes and rectangular clasp but no pendant. That at Netherbury (DOR4) has well-formed, triangular chapes connected by a single, horizontal bar. The clasp is badly abraded and the pendant hidden by the

figure's clasped hands. The collar of alternating esses, knots and roses at Thruxton (HAM4) has no chapes and is linked directly with a small toret from which depends a decorative Latin cross. Collars at Yatton (SOM13), Bromham (WIL1) and Salisbury Cathedral (WIL3) have neither chapes nor clasp, the pendant in each case being attached directly to the collar. The collar at Yatton has as a pendant a cross bottony, that at Bromham a complex triple rose device, while the magnificent collar of Sir John Cheney at Salisbury has a large (though badly damaged) portcullis and rose pendant. Another (rather crudely engraved) Beaufort portcullis pendant is all that remains of an abraided collar on a brass at Hutton (SOM6). At Duloe (COR1) and Godshill (HAM2) the chapes, clasps and pendants are concealed beneath the figure's hands. The collar at Tamerton Foliot has been so clumsily repaired that there is no remaining evidence of chapes, clasp or pendant. The Tudor collar at Southampton is continuous and has no chapes, clasp or pendant while that at Yatton (SOM14) comprises only a short length, visible through a parting in the material of the sleeve.

Clearly, other than in the esses themselves, the Lancastrian collars in the sample area have no common characteristics. Unlike the Yorkist collars, they are distributed throughout the seven counties and within the various clusters identified above. Of the 28 Lancastrian collars in the study area, 23 are of the strap type, including those in the three brasses (DOR7, DOR8 and WIL4). Of the remaining collars, that at Hutton (SOM6) has been abraded so that only the (Beaufort portcullis) pendant remains, while those at Thruxton (HAM4), Yatton (SOM13 & SOM15) and Bromham (WIL1) are chains of linked esses or (at Thruxton) of linked esses, roses and knots. While it would appear that, because

of its ubiquity, the strap-type collar is a common feature of Lancastrian collars in the sample area, the style, dimensions and disposition of the esses, and of the straps upon which the letters are set, are so varied as to suggest otherwise: no two strap-type collars are the same.

Eight Lancastrian collars have torets with simple annulet pendants, while the surviving (but badly eroded) mouldings on four collars (COR1, DEV2, HAM1 and SOM10) suggest that they may also have taken this form. The collar at Wimborne Minster (DOR10) has a toret to which is attached a reversed toret pendant, while the clasps and pendants at Netherbury (DOR4) and Godshill (HAM2) are concealed by the hands of the effigies. It would appear, therefore, that the toret with a simple annulet pendant is a characteristic of the majority of Lancastrian collars. However, in no two examples are there identical chapes.

The two collars in brasses at Thornccombe (DOR7/8) have chapes, clasps and annulet pendants which appear to conform to a pattern which is to be found throughout England and Wales in brasses of the London D series.

Of the three remaining Lancastrian collars, that at North Cadbury (SOM9) has an unusual rectangular clasp and no pendant, while the collars at Southampton (HAM3) and Salisbury (WIL2) are of the heavy, elaborate type associated with later Tudor judicial collars.

### *Yorkist Collars*

There are nine Yorkist collars in the study area (*see Map 4 and Table 8*), all of which are from the period 1463-1485. At first sight, the Berkeley effigy at Bristol (GLO3) has the appearance of a Yorkist collar. But it is dated 1501 and sufficient doubt exists for it to be listed below under 'Other Collars.' There are

no Yorkist brasses in the study area. All the Yorkist collars comprise alternate suns and roses, again in a variety of forms. Of the nine Yorkist collars in the study area, one (DOR1) consists of a chain of linked suns and roses while the others are intended to represent a strap or band of material to which the devices are attached. Of the eight strap collars, all but one are between 22mm-24mm in width, the exception being GLO1 which is 40mm wide and very much more ornate.

Four collars (DOR2, DOR3, DOR5 and SOM12) have widely-spaced suns and roses (25mm-30mm centres) on plain straps without decorative borders. In each case the carving is crude: the devices being formed from semi-spherical 'mounds'. On three others (GLO1, SOM1 and SOM8) the suns and roses are linked at the edges while those on a fourth (GLO2) are separated by spaces of no more than 4mm. In seven cases, the devices occupy the full width of the strap, the exceptions being DOR2 and SOM12 in which the diameter of the suns and roses are 19mm and 14mm respectively. On only two is there any suggestion of a raised border (GLO2 and SOM12) and on only one (GLO1) is there any attempt at decoration within the interstices. A characteristic of several of these Yorkist collars is the treatment of the sun which has the appearance of a crudely-formed circular 'Union flag' with 'spokes' radiating from a central hollow (DOR2, DOR3, GLO1, GLO2, SOM12). In all cases, the roses are of the conventional heraldic variety, each with five petals depicted to varying degrees of artistic sophistication.

The single example in the study area of a Yorkist chain is at Marnhull (DOR1). It comprises links of alternate suns and roses, skilfully carved and deeply incised with intricate detailing. Each link is 200mm wide with 30mm

centres. Both suns and roses are set within raised circular borders, each linked with two small discs with hollowed centres. There are no chapes: single links attach the collar to the toret with a slightly raised rose motif at the centre and a fleur-de-lis within each outer angle. The white lion pendant (damaged) is attached by a plain link to the lower section of the toret.

The collar at Long Ashton (SOM8) has neither chapes nor clasp. A decorative, lozenge-shaped pendant (which appears to have no heraldic or other symbolic significance) is attached by its upper point to the collar at its lower extremity. The chapes, clasp and pendant of the collar at Blackwell (SOM1) are concealed beneath the figure's hands, as is the pendant on the collar at Rodney Stoke (SOM12) where only the (badly eroded) chapes remain. These appear to have been square at the upper ends, tapering to a clasp. Four Yorkist collars have torets (DOR1, DOR5, GLO1 and GLO2). That at Puddletown (DOR5) is unusual in that it is attached to a pair of buckle-type chapes by means of two additional circular catches which are themselves attached to the lower section of the toret. This has the effect of raising the toret above its usual position and depriving it of its function as a clasp. The torets in the collars at Marnhull (DOR1) and Berkeley (GLO1/GLO2) have no chapes and are attached to suns. The two collars at Melbury Sampford (DOR2/DOR3) are almost identical: they are distinguished only in the treatment of the chapes. Both have lozenge-shaped clasps and white lion pendants but the chapes in DOR3 are square, deeply incised and contain a four-petal flower motif. The chapes in DOR2 are simple tapering strap-ends, without decoration.

Six of the nine Yorkist collars have beast pendants (DOR1, DOR2, DOR3, DOR5, GLO1 and GLO2). None is sufficiently well preserved to provide

a positive identification but it is likely that all are Mortimer lions. In two cases (SOM1 and SOM12) the pendant is concealed by the figure's hands and in a third (SOM8) there is a lozenge-shaped pendant for which there is no apparent rationale.

Other than the alternating Yorkist devices of suns and roses, the Yorkist collars in the sample area have no common characteristics, though there is a high incidence (66%) of beast pendants. Unlike the Lancastrian collars, Yorkist examples are to be found in only three of the seven counties (Dorset, Gloucestershire and Somerset) reflecting, perhaps, more localized territorial allegiances. Of the nine collars, eight are of the strap variety and one (DOR1) is a chain of interlinked suns and roses. All but one (GLO1) of the Yorkist strap collars are of uniform width and comprise evenly spaced suns and roses carved in a variety of (mostly vernacular) forms. In only two collars is there evidence of a raised border (GLO2 and SOM12). There appears to be no common treatment of chapes or clasps: four Yorkist collars have toret clasps (DOR1, DOR5, GLO1 and GLO2) but the treatment of each is singular. Six of the nine collars have (eroded) beast pendants. Two collars have both the clasp and pendant concealed beneath the figures' hands (SOM1 and SOM12), and in only one case (SOM8) is there a different type of pendant (a decorative lozenge).

### *Other Collars*

Seven (16%) of the 44 collars in the study area appear not to belong to either of the above categories (*see Map 4 and Table 9*). Two (GLO6 and SOM5) consist of plain straps (24mm and 28mm wide respectively) on which there are no signs of carving, paint or, indeed, abrasion. The depth of these straps (6mm in each

case) suggests that they were intended to be carved but were never completed. Both have large torets (55mm and 70mm wide respectively) without pendants, that at Henstridge (SOM5) having square buckle chapes, and that at Icomb (GLO6) chapes which taper from square terminations.

Two collars are composed of flowers. Those on the Champerknowne collar at Modbury (DEV1) have only four petals while at Ilton (SOM7), a lady of the Wadham family wears a collar of roses with a rose pendant. There are no roses or other flowers in Champerknowne heraldry but the Wadham arms are *Gules a Chevron between three Roses Argent*. The Modbury collar (DEV1) consists of a 28mm wide strap with indications of cross-hatching in the instertices. The roses are set at 37mm centres. The Ilton collar is very much more delicate. It comprises a 16mm wide strap with 13mm diameter roses set within parallel mouldings at 24mm centres. Neither collar has chapes or clasp: the circular rose pendant on the Ilton example is attached directly to the lower edge of the collar while the lower extremities of the Modbury collar are concealed beneath the clasped hands of the figure.

The (unidentified) Martyn effigy at Puddletown (DOR6) has a chain of square links, each approximately 15mm x 20mm, with an elaborately carved clasp and very large but badly eroded pendant (131mm long and 69mm wide). The guidebook suggests that the pendant is a lion but there is no such beast in Martyn heraldry and the collar is not Yorkist.<sup>8</sup> There are no chapes and the clasp appears to be attached to the lower links of the chain.

The collar in the brass of Lord Berkeley at Wotton-under-Edge (GLO8)

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<sup>8</sup> Canon A. Helps, *Puddletown Church* (Dorchester, 1938, revised 1955 and 1972), p.12.

is one of the most celebrated collars in England and certainly the most quoted example of a personal livery collar. Lord Berkeley is depicted wearing a 29mm-wide 'collar', deeply incised at the outer edges and engraved with four mermaids (each 29mm high, 30mm from tail to elbow and with 55mm centres, that to the sinister being 40mm from the edge and that to the dexter 25mm). The mermaid was a personal device used by the Berkeleys on seals and as supporters. It has been suggested that the badge originated in the family's adherence to the Black Prince who included 'mermaids of the sea' among his various devices.<sup>9</sup> But its use on a Berkeley seal of 1327 pre-dates the birth of the Black Prince in 1330.<sup>10</sup> Most authorities cite the Berkeley brass at Wotton-under-Edge as one of only two on which are engraved personal collars, the other being a Markenfield brass at Ripon, Yorkshire.<sup>11</sup> However, the narrow, curving panel within the camail of the Berkeley figure is unlike any other effigial depiction of a collar. There are no chapes, clasp or pendant and it has the appearance of a decorative band set *within* the camail, through which the plate is riveted to its base. A typical collar would appear to surmount the camail: this does not.

The collar at The Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol (GLO3) is invariably listed as Yorkist. However, the monument was erected in 1501 when Yorkist emblems were anathema, the 'suns' have the appearance of eight-spoked cartwheels and the 'roses' have only four petals and are set within narrow, square borders. Nevertheless, there are examples of (somewhat earlier) post-1485 collars: as at Youlgreave, Derbyshire (Sir Thomas Cockayne, 1488),

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<sup>9</sup> Boutell, p.192.

<sup>10</sup> Fox-Davies, p.78.

<sup>11</sup> The Markenfield collar is composed of park pales confining a couchant stag and may be the only surviving example of a Neville livery collar. See P. Sheppard Routh and R. Knowles, 'The Markenfield Collar', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1990), pp.133-140.

Holbrooke, Suffolk (Sir Gilbert Debenham, 1493), Millom, Cumberland (Sir John Huddleston, 1494) and Macclesfield, Cheshire (Sir John Savage, 1495). The collar itself is composed of pairs of interlocking rectangular links, while the pendant is a plain oblong suspended from a circular clasp which enfolds the lower links of the collar. It may be that an earlier (1464) effigy included a Yorkist collar and that this was 'translated' in the 1501 refurbishment into something which, on close inspection, was not overtly Yorkist.

With the possible exception of the Bristol collar, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the above examples can accurately be described as livery collars: that is, that they commemorate collars which were granted as livery as a consequence of membership of an affinity and that they were composed of the armorial devices associated with that affinity. It is possible that the unfinished collars at Icomb (GLO6) and Henstridge (SOM5) were intended for that purpose, but in neither case is there evidence of provision having been made for a pendant or to suggest that they were decorated in any way. The large pendant on the Puddletown collar (DOR6) may have been a Yorkist lion, though the form of the collar and clasp is unlike any other known Yorkist collar and the moulding of the beast pendant is now so badly eroded that it defies identification. That it was a Martyn ape is a possibility, in which case it was a purely personal device and should not be accounted a livery collar. The Ilton example (SOM7) is a charming lady's collar composed of roses which appear in her arms: almost certainly intended for decorative purposes and not a livery collar. The collar of flowers at Modbury (DEV1) is unlikely to be a livery collar. The flowers have only four petals (unlike heraldic roses which have five) and there are no

(Yorkist) suns or pendant. It has been suggested (above) that, contrary to the received wisdom of numerous armorists, the Berkeley ‘collar’ at Wotton-under-Edge is in fact a decorative insert in the brass effigy.

### **Status and relationships**

Of the 44 examples of collars in the study area, 30 are to be found in the effigies of commoners: those described as knights, esquires, gentlemen or (in one case) the wife of a knight. Of these, 18 are Lancastrian, six are Yorkist and six are decorative or personal. On the effigies of peers, six have Lancastrian collars and two have Yorkist collars. Of the female figures with collars, four are wives of Lancastrian commoners, one is the wife of a Yorkist commoner, one is the wife of a Lancastrian peer and one (SOM7) has a personal collar. Of the pairs of effigies in which both figures are depicted wearing collars, no female would appear to be entitled to livery in her own right (see below); though, in the early Tudor period (when the monument was commissioned), the Duchess of Somerset (DOR10) would have been expected to wear a collar of esses when dressed in robes of state. Only in the double effigies of Sir Richard Choke (d.1483) and his wife, Lady Margaret (d.1470), at Long Ashton, Somerset, is the male figure depicted without a collar while his wife wears a delicate Yorkist collar of suns and roses (SOM8) which, according to the church guidebook, was ‘bestowed on her in Edward IV’s reign’, though no reference is given.

Of the 37 persons who are depicted wearing Lancastrian or Yorkist collars, and whose identity it is possible to confirm, only eighteen can be said with any degree of certainty to have enjoyed an entitlement to livery (*see Table 13*). Unusually, of these, one (SOM8) was a woman. There are five double

monuments on which a wife wears a collar by virtue of her husband's status (see below). It has not been possible to ascertain precisely the status of the remaining 15 persons within the Lancastrian or Yorkist affinities.

Other than the marital relationships already referred to, other relationships are evident in several of the monuments in the study area. At Melbury Sampford (DOR2/3) the two military effigies (both with Yorkist collars) were commissioned in 1467 by Alice, third wife of William Browning (d.1472): one for her husband, herself and his former wife, Katherine Dru, the other for William's father, John Browning (d.1416) and his wife Eleanor, who may already have been buried there with a simple memorial.<sup>12</sup> The latter memorial was appropriated by Giles Strangways in 1547 at which time the inscriptions (recorded by Leland in 1542) to John Browning and his wife were removed and his own substituted. Both the military effigies at Puddletown (DOR5/6) are of members of the Martyn family, though neither has been accurately identified. The effigy (DOR5), thought to be of Thomas Martyn (d.1470), has a Yorkist collar, toret and lion pendant; while the other figure (DOR6) is depicted wearing a chain of square links to which an (unidentified) beast pendant is attached by a complex clasp. The military effigy at Marnhull (DOR1) is of John Carent (senior) of Silton (d.1478) while that at nearby Henstridge (SOM5) is of his brother, William Carent (d.1476). The former is depicted in a magnificent Yorkist livery chain while the latter wears a heavy strap collar which appears to have been neither carved nor painted. Hutchins suggests that the Marnhull effigy is of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon

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<sup>12</sup> Dr Gerald Harriss, *pers. comm.*, March 1998.

(d.1582) but, as his continuators point out, ‘the style of this monument, and the dress of the figures, agree better with the reigns of Edward II, Richard II or Henry IV.’<sup>13</sup> A pair of military effigies at Berkeley (GLO1/2) commemorates James, eleventh Lord Berkeley (d.1463) and his second son, James Berkeley who predeceased his father in 1452. The effigy of Lord Berkeley and his son are 194 cm and 146 cm long respectively. In nearly all respects, other than scale, the effigies are identical: including the Yorkist collars. There are other Berkeley monuments: a brass to Thomas, fourth Lord Berkeley (d.1417) at Wotton-under-Edge (GLO8) and an early Tudor monument to Sir Maurice Berkeley (d.1464, monument 1501) at the Lord Mayor’s Chapel, Bristol (GLO3). The Berkeley mermaid devices in the Wotton-under-Edge brass are engraved on a 29mm wide band, set into the camail, which has none of the characteristics of a collar. The Bristol effigy has what, at first site, appears to be a Yorkist collar but which, on closer inspection, comprises a series of interlocking links set with alternating eight-pointed ‘suns’ and flower heads of four petals. There is a further Berkeley connection at Gloucester where Alice Bridges (GLO5), wife of Thomas Bridges (GLO4), was daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Berkeley of Cubberly. There are two Newton monuments at Yatton, one to Sir John Newton (d.1488) and his wife, Isabel (SOM13) and the other to Sir Richard Newton (alias Cradock) (d.1449) and his second wife, Emmota (SOM14/15). Both men are depicted wearing Lancastrian collars: that on Sir Richard Newton’s effigy being the earliest example of a judicial collar of esses. Great care was taken to include the short length of collar on the effigy (which is clearly post-1485), together with all the other trappings of chivalry and

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<sup>13</sup> J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, iii (1861-70), p.322.

judicial status. Two monuments in Salisbury Cathedral are to members of the Hungerford family, though the brass (WIL4) to Walter Lord Hungerford (d.1449) is no longer extant. The alabaster effigy of Robert, Lord Hungerford (d.1459, tomb 1461) has a deeply incised Lancastrian collar, very similar in dimensions and style to that in the effigy of Sir John Chideock (d.1449) at Christchurch Priory (HAM1). Other similarities of detail suggest that these effigies originated in the same workshop, though none has been identified.

Several of the effigies in the study area are likely to have originated in the same workshop. Those at Dunster (SOM4) and Porlock (SOM11) have distinctive Lancastrian collars with the esses carved like folded linen and may have been commissioned from a Derbyshire workshop at Chellaston. The two Browning effigies at Melbury Sampford (DOR2/3) are almost identical and were clearly made in the same workshop. Erected in 1467, each has a distinctive pointed sallet, similar to that in the Martyn effigy at Puddletown (DOR5), Neville (1484) at Brancepeth, Durham (wooden effigy destroyed by fire, 1998), an unidentified stone figure at Meriden, Warwickshire and Hungerford at Salisbury (WIL3). More frequently found in German monuments, this type of sallet is also a feature of brasses to Edmund Clere (1488) at Stokesay, Norfolk and Robert Staunton (1485) at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire. The similarity of detail in the Melbury Sampford and Puddletown collars, together with the unusual sallet helm on all three effigies, suggest that they may have originated in the same workshop. The Thorncombe brasses (DOR7/8) are both designated London D series, while the effigies of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset at Wimborne Minster (DOR9/10) were clearly commissioned as a pair, as were the Berkeley effigies (GLO1/2) of James Lord Berkeley, and his second son. The

effigies of Thomas Bridges and his wife in Gloucester Cathedral (GLO4/5) are more problematic. Although believed to be contemporaneous, the male figure is of alabaster and the female of limestone. The lettering, chapes, clasp and annulet pendant are of almost identical design, though the collar in the female figure is of a smaller scale. The effigial monument at Godshill (HAM2) shares a number of Italianate characteristics with those at Thruxton (HAM4) and Sherborne St. John (also in Hampshire) and may have originated in the same workshop, though the style and detailing of the Lancastrian collars are very different. There is some doubt concerning the identity of the female figure in a pair of St. Loe effigies at Chew Magna (SOM2/3). Similarities, both in the detailing of the Lancastrian collars and elsewhere, suggest that they were installed as a pair in the 1440s and that they originated in the same workshop.

### **Female figures**

Seven of the 44 collars in the subject area are depicted on female figures (see Table 14). Of these, five are on double monuments (to husband and wife) in which the male figures also have collars (DOR8, DOR10, GLO5, SOM3 & SOM15), and one is on a double monument in which the male figure does not have a collar (SOM8). The sixth example is on a single effigy of a female of the Wadham family (SOM7).

That at Thorncombe (DOR8) is a stylised Lancastrian collar of a style associated with brasses of the London D Series and almost identical to that in the male partner brass (DOR7). The only significant difference is in the detailing of the complex swivel clasp. There is no evidence to suggest that Lady Brooke

was granted the livery of a collar in her own right.

The alabaster effigy of Margaret, Duchess of Somerset at Wimborne Minster (DOR10) was commissioned, together with that of her husband John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by their daughter, Lady Margaret Tudor, in c.1498, fifty-four years after the Duke's death. Both collars comprise deeply incised esses on broad straps with pronounced chapes and torets. The style and execution of the two figures are consistent with their originating in the same workshop towards the end of the fifteenth century. On the collars, only the pendants are different: that on the Duke's effigy being a simple annulet while that which depends from the Duchess's collar is a reversed toret. Both figures are depicted in robes of state which, in the early Tudor period, would have included a livery collar.

The detail of the Lancastrian collar on the effigy of Alice, wife of Thomas Bridges, at Gloucester Cathedral (GLO5) is identical to that of her husband (GLO4) in all but scale, though it is of lower relief. The two figures are believed to be contemporaneous, though in addition to being of different materials, the carving of the former is far more heavily incised and crude in execution. There is no evidence to suggest that Lady Bridges was granted the livery of a collar in her own right.

According to the church guidebook, the identity of the female figure on a double monument at Chew Magna (SOM3) is uncertain because '...experts seem to think that these two figures were not made as a pair.' But no evidence is given to support this assertion and the two collars on the effigies of Sir John St.Loe (d.1443) and Agnes, Lady St. Loe are similar in most respects other than scale: each has finely carved letters on a simple strap with plain, rectangular

chapes, toret and annulet pendant. Unusually, the esses on the female's collar are reversed. Again, there is no evidence to suggest that Lady St. Loe was granted the livery of a collar in her own right.

The effigy of Emmota de Sherborne (d.1475), at Yatton, Somerset (SOM15), second wife of Sir Richard Newton of Court de Wyck, Claverham rests with that of her husband (SOM14) on an ornate free-standing alabaster tomb chest in the north transept (formerly the De Wyck chapel). Although badly damaged, the monument is of a very high quality with much original colour (mostly red) having survived. Lady Emmota wears a delicate necklace of interlinked esses, 13mm wide and without clasp or pendant.

At Long Ashton (SOM8), Lady Margaret Choke is depicted wearing a tight-fitting Yorkist collar: a continuous 25mm band of connected (double) roses (3) and suns (3) with convex mouldings and 20mm centres. The figure is one of a pair, the other being of Sir Richard Choke (d.1483) who is depicted in judicial robes but without a collar. Lady Margaret's collar has an unusual lozenge-shaped pendant which is attached to the central (second) sun of the collar. According to the church guidebook, the collar '...was bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign' though no reference is given and no confirmation has been found.

In the study area, the only individual female effigy on which a collar is depicted is that of an unidentified member of the Wadham family at Ilton (SOM7). Formerly in the south transept (prior to 1791), but now set against the north wall of the 'Wadham Aisle' (north aisle), the original tomb chest (of c.1470) was replaced by a finely moulded Portland stone plinth in 1901. The effigy was lifted and inspected in 1895 when traces of paint were discovered

beneath the cushion (red with gilt edging) and angels (badly mutilated) which support the head. Near the left foot, where the corner of the mantle is lifted by a tiny (11 cm) dog, the border of the mantle was found to be of 'a Vandyke pattern in blue, white and gold as fresh as when painted.'<sup>14</sup> Significantly (in the present context) traces of gold were found on the collar. The collar is 1.75 cm wide with pronounced raised edges and widely-spaced roses with 15mm centres. From the collar depends a 15mm diameter rose motif set in a 25 mm diameter circular pendant. The clasp area and collar are badly damaged on the sinister side but do not appear to have been braided. The presence of roses in the Wadham arms (*Gules a Chevron between three Roses Argent*) and the absence of (Yorkist) suns strongly suggest that this is a personal collar; nor has any Yorkist connection been established.

### **The Sample in a National Context (see Table 15)**

When compared with the number of surviving medieval and Tudor church monuments, the depiction of collars on those monuments is comparatively rare. As will be seen, the majority of those which have been identified are either Lancastrian collars, composed of esses in a variety of forms, or Yorkist collars of alternating suns and roses. The most common form is the strap collar with chapes and toret clasp. Chains of linked devices are less common but are usually of high quality craftsmanship. There is evidence to suggest that the majority of collars on effigial monuments were originally coloured and sometimes gilded

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<sup>14</sup> A. Mee (ed.), *Somerset* (London 1950), p.121.

while those in brasses and incised slabs were often inlaid with enamel.<sup>15</sup>

Thus far, 391 collars on recumbent effigies, brasses, incised slabs and carved figures have been identified in 277 churches throughout England, Wales and Ireland (see APPENDIX B). This figure includes eleven for which only documentary evidence remains. There are seventy-one examples in British medieval and Tudor monuments of women wearing collars (18%), including seven in the study area (16 % of the sample) of which only one (SOM8) would appear to have been granted the collar in her own right, the others being the wives of recipients.<sup>16</sup> The earliest recorded example of a livery collar in Britain is a Lancastrian collar on the effigy of Sir John Swinford (d.1371) at Spratton, Northamptonshire, while the most recent is a mayoral collar of esses in a brass to Sir George Nottage (dated 1885) at St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

The sample of 44 collars represents 11% of all known collars in medieval and Tudor monuments in England, Ireland and Wales.<sup>17</sup> The examples in the study area include only five brasses (including one for which only documentary evidence remains): 12% of the sample total. The majority of collars in the sample area (39) are found on recumbent effigies: 89% of the sample total. Of these, 22 are of alabaster and 17 of (usually local) stone. Of the four (possibly five) examples in England and Wales of collars on incised slabs, none is in the sample area; neither are any collars to be found on other carved figures such as

<sup>15</sup> A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (London, 1956), pp.22-3, 134.

<sup>16</sup> According to the church guidebook the collar worn by Lady Margaret Choke was 'bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign', though no authority is given for this.

<sup>17</sup> Three post-Tudor judicial collars have been recorded separately as DEV3, HAM5 and WIL5. They have not been included in the tables at the end of this chapter.

weepers.<sup>18</sup>

Nationally, 96 collars are found in brasses (25%), 283 on recumbent effigies (72%), five collars are depicted in incised slabs (1%) and seven on carved figures (2%). At first sight it would appear that the number of collars in monumental brasses in the south-western counties is significantly below the national average. However, distribution is distorted by significant clusters of brasses in the south-eastern counties (41) and East Anglia (19): nearly two-thirds of the national total and indicative of thriving workshops accessible to those areas.

Affinities sympathetic to the Lancastrian cause predominated in the south-western region during the civil wars of the fifteenth century, though there were also significant pockets of Yorkist support. Consequently, the sample area provides sufficient examples of Lancastrian, Yorkist and other collars for valid comparisons to be made.

Of the 44 late medieval and Tudor collars, 28 (64%) are Lancastrian, nine (20%) are Yorkist and seven (16%) are of neither category. These include two unfinished strap collars with conventional chapes and torets but no pendants, and a questionable Yorkist collar at Bristol. Nationally, of the 391 collars recorded to date (and including those for which only documentary evidence remains), 277 (71%) are Lancastrian, 69 (17%) are Yorkist and 45 (12%) are described as braided or personal. That the percentages of surviving Yorkist collars should be higher than the national average in a predominantly Lancastrian area may be of significance. In the south-western counties, there are four Yorkist collars in

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<sup>18</sup> A dog at the foot of the civilian brass at Thorncome, Dorset (DOR7) has a collar formed in all respects like that of its master but without the SS letters on the strap.

Dorset, three in Somerset and two in Gloucestershire.

Nationally, the county of Derbyshire has ten Yorkist collars: no other county has more than five (Essex) or four (Dorset, Warwickshire and Yorkshire). In the south-western counties there are ten Lancastrian collars in Somerset, five in Dorset, four each in Hampshire and Wiltshire, three in Gloucestershire and one each in Cornwall and Devon.

Nationally, there are 31 Lancastrian collars in Yorkshire, 17 in Northamptonshire, 16 in Cheshire, 13 each in Derbyshire and Sussex, eleven in Staffordshire, ten each in Lincolnshire and Warwickshire and nine each in Kent, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire and Suffolk.<sup>19</sup> Of the remaining English counties, only Middlesex and Westmorland have no Lancastrian collars. Of the eight Welsh collars, six are Lancastrian, one is Yorkist and one is described as personal; while in Ireland there are only two collars, both Yorkist.

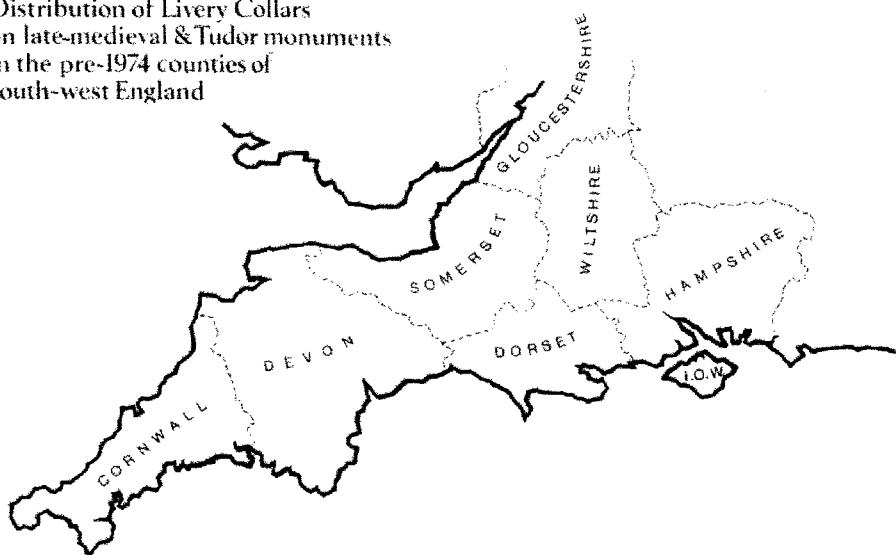
In the study area, Somerset has twelve churches in which collars are located. Dorset and Somerset have six each, Hampshire has four while Devon and Wiltshire have two and Cornwall one. Nationally, Yorkshire has 26 such churches, followed by Derbyshire (17) and Northamptonshire (13). Surprisingly, Middlesex and Northumberland have only one each. In the study area, Somerset has 14 recumbent effigies with collars, Dorset eight, Gloucestershire seven, Hampshire four, Wiltshire three, Devon two and Cornwall one. Nationally, Yorkshire has 29, Cheshire and Derbyshire 18 each, Northamptonshire 14, Staffordshire and Warwickshire 11 each and Nottingham 10: distribution which reflects, perhaps, proximity to the alabaster workshops of Nottingham and

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<sup>19</sup> The predominance of Lancastrian collars in the northern counties is hardly surprising: see Walker, p.31.

Chellaston. In contrast, collars in brasses are very much more common in the south-east of England and East Anglia: Essex, Norfolk and Sussex each have eight, Hertfordshire and Suffolk seven, Kent six, Oxfordshire and Surrey five. Of the counties of northern England, Wales and Ireland, only Yorkshire can compete with seven. There are only five collars in monumental brasses in the seven counties of the study area: two (man and wife) in Dorset and one each in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire. The last has survived only as documentary evidence, while it is argued in the following chapter that the 'collar' in the Gloucestershire brass (GLO8) is not a livery collar but decoration (albeit an armorial badge) cut into the camail of the military figure.

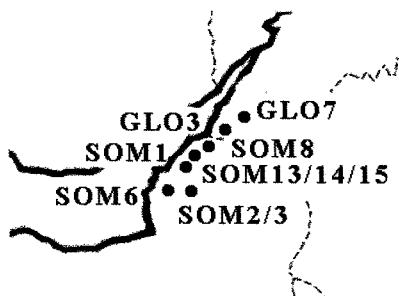
Distribution of Livery Collars  
on late-medieval & Tudor monuments  
in the pre-1974 counties of  
south-west England



**Map 1:** Distribution by County (churches)

**Table 1 Distribution by County**

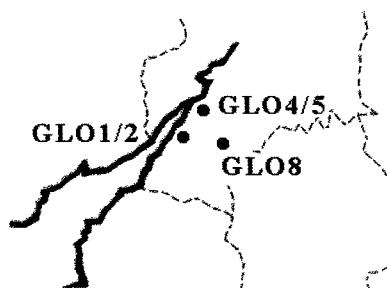
Cornwall	COR1	Duloe
Devon	DEV1 DEV2	Modbury Tamerton Foliot
Dorset	DOR1	Marnhull
	DOR2	Melbury Sampford
	DOR3	Melbury Sampford
	DOR4	Netherbury
	DOR5	Puddletown
	DOR6	Puddletown
	DOR7	Thorncombe
	DOR8	Thorncombe
	DOR9	Wimborne Minster
	DOR10	Wimborne Minster
Gloucestershire	GLO1	Berkeley
	GLO2	Berkeley
	GLO3	Bristol, Lord Mayor's Chapel
	GLO4	Gloucester Cathedral
	GLO5	Gloucester Cathedral
	GLO6	Icomb
	GLO7	Mangotsfield
	GLO8	Wotton-under-Edge
Hampshire	HAM1	Christchurch Priory
	HAM2	Godshill, Isle of Wight
	HAM3	Southampton, St. Michael
	HAM4	ThruXTon
Somerset	SOM1	Backwell
	SOM2	Chew Magna
	SOM3	Chew Magna
	SOM4	Dunster
	SOM5	Henstridge
	SOM6	Hutton
	SOM7	Ilton
	SOM8	Long Ashton
	SOM9	North Cadbury
	SOM10	Nunney
	SOM11	Porlock
	SOM12	Rodney Stoke
	SOM13	Yatton
	SOM14	Yatton
	SOM15	Yatton
Wiltshire	WIL1	Bromham
	WIL2	Salisbury Cathedral
	WIL3	Salisbury Cathedral
	WIL4	Salisbury Cathedral (documentary)



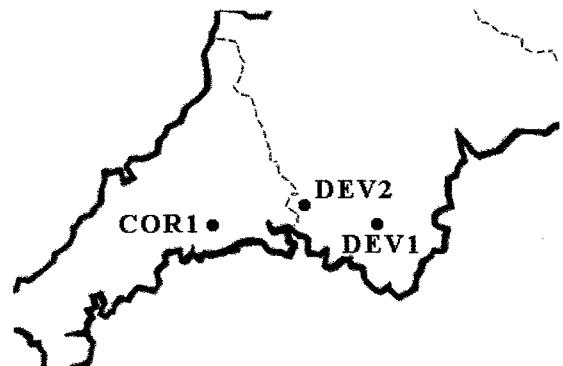
North Somerset



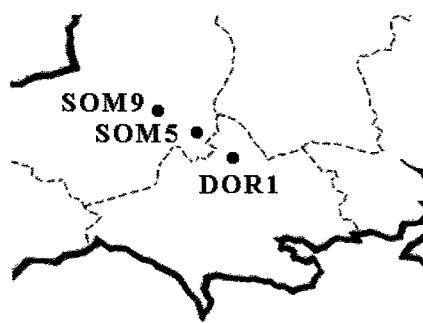
Exmoor



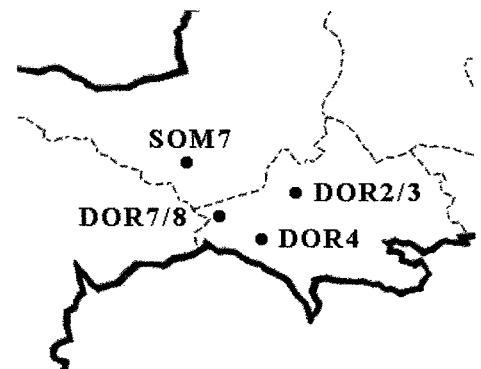
Severn Vale



Tamar



Blackmore

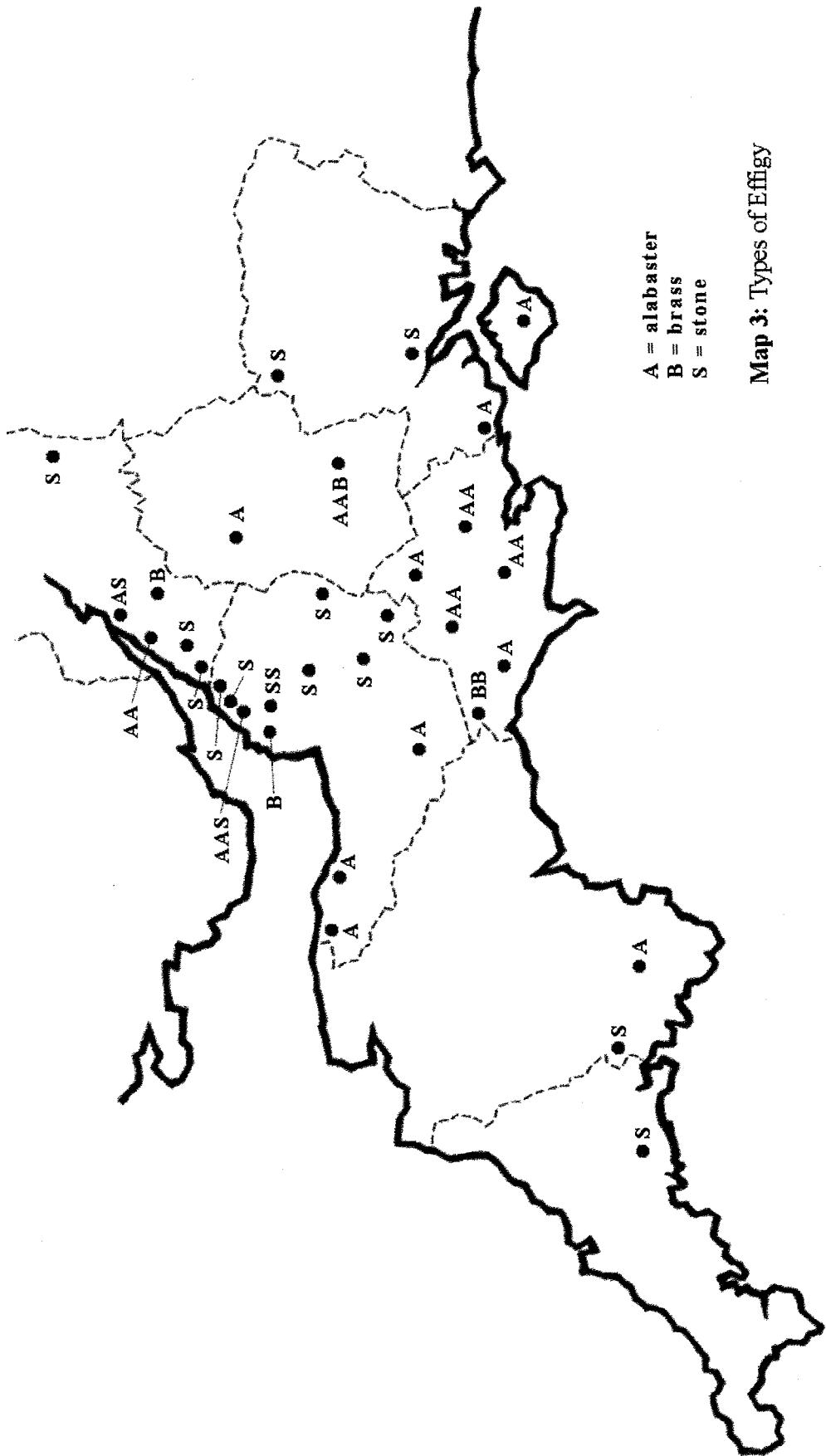


West Dorset / South Somerset

**Map 2:** Distribution by Cluster

**Table 2 Distribution by Cluster**

North Somerset Cluster				
SOM1	Backwell	stone effigy	Yorkist	1467
GLO3	Bristol	stone effigy	Yorkist (?)	1501
SOM2	Chew Magna	stone effigy	Lancastrian	1443
SOM3	Chew Magna	stone effigy	Lancastrian	1443 female
SOM6	Hutton	brass	Lancastrian	1496
SOM8	Long Ashton	stone effigy	Yorkist	1483
GLO7	Mangotsfield	stone effigy	Lancastrian	late-C15
SOM13	Yatton	stone effigy	Lancastrian	1488
SOM14	Yatton	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	late-C15
SOM15	Yatton	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	late-C15
Exmoor Cluster				
SOM4	Dunster	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	early-C15
SOM11	Porlock	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	<i>c</i> 1440
Severn Vale Cluster				
GLO1	Berkeley	alabaster effigy	Yorkist	1463
GLO2	Berkeley	alabaster effigy	Yorkist	1463?
GLO4	Gloucester	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	1410
GLO5	Gloucester	stone effigy	Lancastrian	1410 female
GLO8	Wotton-u-Edge	brass	decorative	1417
Tamar Cluster				
COR1	Duloe	stone effigy	Lancastrian	late-C15
DEV1	Modbury	alabaster effigy	decorative	mid-C15
DEV2	Tamerton Foliot	stone effigy	Lancastrian	late-C14
Blackmore Cluster				
DOR1	Marnhull	alabaster effigy	Yorkist	1478
SOM5	Henstridge	stone effigy	plain	1463
SOM9	North Cadbury	stone effigy	Lancastrian	1391
West Dorset/South Somerset Cluster				
DOR2	Melbury Sampford	alabaster effigy	Yorkist	1467
DOR3	Melbury Sampford	alabaster effigy	Yorkist	1467
DOR4	Netherbury	alabaster effigy	Lancastrian	<i>c</i> 1480
DOR7	Thorncombe	brass	Lancastrian	1437
DOR8	Thorncombe	brass (female)	Lancastrian	1437
SOM7	Ilton	alabaster effigy	decorative	<i>c</i> 1470 female



Map 3: Types of Effigy

**Table 3 Recumbent alabaster effigies**

DEV1	Modbury, Devon
DOR1	Marnhull, Dorset
DOR2	Melbury Sampford, Dorset
DOR3	Melbury Sampford, Dorset
DOR4	Netherbury, Dorset
DOR5	Puddletown, Dorset
DOR6	Puddletown, Dorset
DOR9	Wimborne Minster, Dorset
DOR10	Wimborne Minster, Dorset
GLO1	Berkeley, Gloucestershire
GLO2	Berkeley, Gloucestershire
GLO4	Gloucester Cathedral
HAM1	Christchurch Priory, Hampshire
HAM2	Godshill, Isle of Wight
SOM4	Dunster, Somerset
SOM7	Ilton, Somerset
SOM11	Porlock, Somerset
SOM14	Yatton, Somerset
SOM15	Yatton, Somerset
WIL1	Bromham, Wiltshire
WIL2	Salisbury Cathedral
WIL3	Salisbury Cathedral

**Table 4 Recumbent stone effigies**

COR1	Duloe, Cornwall
DEV2	Tamerton Foliot, Devon
GLO3	Bristol, The Lord Mayor's Chapel
GLO5	Gloucester Cathedral
GLO6	Icomb, Gloucestershire
GLO7	Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire
HAM3	Southampton, St. Michael's, Hampshire
HAM4	Thruxton, Hampshire
SOM1	Backwell, Somerset
SOM2	Chew Magna, Somerset
SOM3	Chew Magna, Somerset
SOM5	Henstridge, Somerset
SOM8	Long Ashton, Somerset
SOM9	North Cadbury, Somerset
SOM10	Nunney, Somerset
SOM12	Rodney Stoke, Somerset
SOM13	Yatton, Somerset

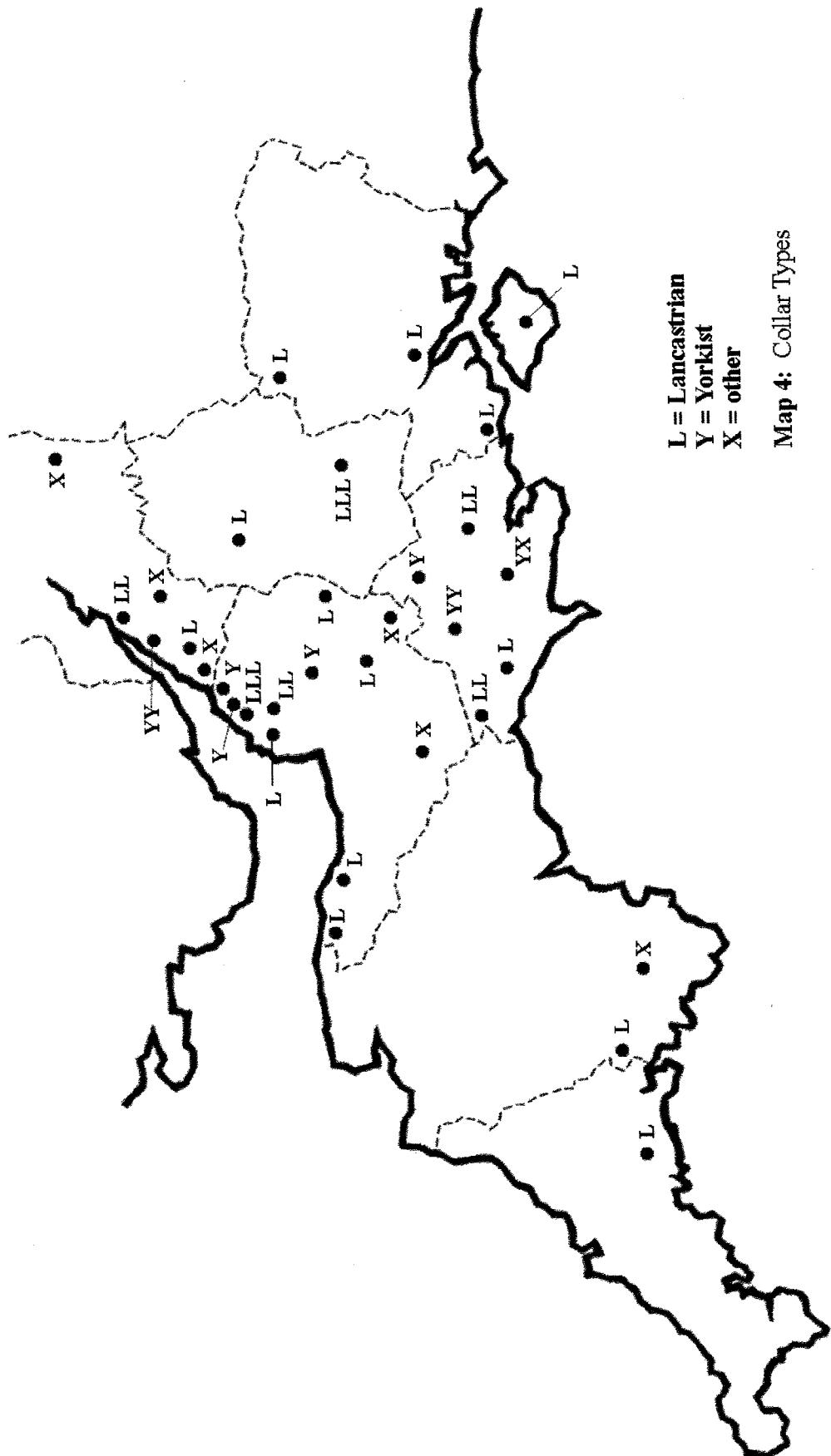
**Table 5 Monumental brasses**

DOR7	Thorncombe, Dorset (London D series)
DOR8	Thorncombe, Dorset (London D series)
GLO8	Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire (London B or D series)
SOM6	Hutton, Somerset (London F series)
WIL4	Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire (documentary evidence)

**Table 6 Chronology of collars**

Dates of erection are given where known. In other cases, dates of death are used. Where precision is not possible, or where the detail and style of an effigy suggest a date other than that of death, the collar is listed at the end of the appropriate period. The table does not include the post-Tudor collars listed in Appendix \*\*.

DEV2	Tamerton Foliot	post-1376
GLO4	Gloucester Cathedral	1410
GLO5	Gloucester Cathedral	1410
GLO8	Wotton-under-Edge	1417
SOM4	Dunster	1428
GLO6	Icomb	pre-1431
SOM9	North Cadbury	1433
SOM10	Nunney	1436
DOR7	Thorncombe	1437
DOR8	Thorncombe	1437
SOM11	Porlock	1440
SOM2	Chew Magna	1443 or 1447
SOM3	Chew Magna	1443 or 1447
HAM1	Christchurch Priory	1446
GLO7	Mangotsfield	pre-1461
WIL4	Salisbury Cathedral	mid-C15 (documentary)
DEV1	Modbury	mid-C15
WIL3	Salisbury Cathedral	1461
SOM5	Henstridge	1463
GLO1	Berkeley	1463
GLO2	Berkeley	1463
SOM1	Backwell	1467
DOR2	Melbury Sampford	1467
DOR3	Melbury Sampford	1467
SOM7	Ilton	c1470
SOM12	Rodney Stoke	1470
DOR5	Puddletown	1470
DOR1	Marnhull	1478
DOR4	Netherbury	c1480
DOR6	Puddletown	1480
SOM8	Long Ashton	1483
COR1	Duloe	post-1485
SOM14	Yatton	post-1485
SOM15	Yatton	post-1485
WIL1	Bromham	1492
SOM6	Hutton	1496
DOR9	Wimborne Minster	1498
DOR10	Wimborne Minster	1498
SOM13	Yatton	1488-98
GLO3	Bristol	1501
WIL2	Salisbury Cathedral	1509
HAM4	Thruxtion	1520
HAM2	Godshill	1529
HAM3	Southampton	1567



Map 4: Collar Types

**Table 7 Lancastrian Collars**

**Pre-1461**

DEV2	Tamerton Foliot	a Gorges	post-1372
DOR7	Thorncombe	Sir Thomas Brooke	1437
DOR8	Thorncombe	Lady Brooke	1437
GLO4	Gloucester Cathedral	Thomas Bridges	1410
GLO5	Gloucester Cathedral	wife of the above	1410
GLO7	Mangotsfield	John Blount (?)	pre-1461
HAM1	Christchurch Priory	Sir John Chidecock	1449
SOM2	Chew Magna	Sir John St Loe	1443 or 1447
SOM3	Chew Magna	Agnes, Lady St Loe	1443 or 1447
SOM4	Dunster	Sir Hugh Luttrell	1428
SOM9	North Cadbury	Baron Botreaux	1433
SOM10	Nunney	Sir John Poulet	1436
SOM11	Porlock	Sir John Harington	1440
WIL3	Salisbury Cathedral	Lord Hungerford	1461
WIL4	Salisbury Cathedral	Lord Hungerford	mid-C15

There are no Lancastrian collars dating from the readeption of October 1470 to May 1471.

**Post-1485**

COR1	Duloe	Sir John Colshull	post-1485
DOR4	Netherbury	a More	c1480
DOR9	Wimborne Minster	John Beaufort	1498
DOR10	Wimborne Minster	Margaret Beaufort	1498
HAM2	Godshill	Sir John Leigh	1529
HAM3	Southampton	Sir Richard Lyster	1567
HAM4	Thruxton	Sir John de Lisle	1520
SOM6	Hutton	John Payne	1496
SOM13	Yatton	Sir John Newton	1488-98
SOM14	Yatton	Sir Richard Newton	post-1485
SOM15	Yatton	Lady Newton	post-1485
WIL1	Bromham	Sir Roger Tocotes(?)	1492
WIL2	Salisbury Cathedral	Sir John Cheney	1509

**Table 8 Yorkist Collars**

DOR1	Marnhull	John Carent	1478
DOR2	Melbury Sampford	William Browning	1467
DOR3	Melbury Sampford	John Browning	1467
DOR5	Puddletown	Thomas Martyn(?)	1470
GLO1	Berkeley	Lord Berkeley	1463
GLO2	Berkeley	James Berkeley	1463
SOM1	Backwell	Sir Walter Rodney	1467
SOM8	Long Ashton	Lady Margaret Choke	1483
SOM12	Rodney Stoke	Sir Thomas Rodney	1470

**Table 9 Other Collars**

Flowers of four petals on strap, no pendant: DEV1	Modbury	Sir John Champerknowne	mid-C15
Roses on strap, rose motif pendant: SOM7	Ilton	a Wadham female	c1470
Alternating, wheel motifs of eight spokes, each set within an annulet, and flower heads, each of four petals, connected by pairs of interlocking rectangular links. Circular clasp and plain rectangular pendant: GLO3	Bristol	Sir Maurice Berkeley	1501
Chain of square links with beast pendant: DOR6	Puddletown	a Martyn	c1480
Unfinished strap: GLO6	Icomb	Sir John Blaket	pre-1431
SOM5	Henstridge	William Carent	1463
Engraved mermaid motif on narrow panel within camail: GLO8	Wotton-under-Edge	Lord Berkeley	1417

**Table 10 Types of Collar**

Chain	DOR1, DOR5, DOR6, GLO3, HAM4, SOM13, SOM15, WIL1
Strap	COR1, DEV2, DOR2, DOR3, DOR9, DOR10, GLO4, GLO5, GLO6, SOM1, SOM3, SOM4, SOM5, SOM8, SOM9, SOM10,
Strap with border	DEV1, DOR4, DOR7, DOR8, GLO1, GLO2, HAM1, HAM2, HAM3, SOM2, SOM7, SOM11, SOM12, SOM14, WIL2, WIL3
Decorative insert in brass	GLO8
Abraded	SOM6

**Table 11      Types of Clasp**

Mounded chapes and toret	
	DOR9, DOR10, GLO6, HAM1, SOM3, SOM4, SOM10, SOM11, WIL3
Square-ended buckle chapes and toret	
	DOR5, GLO4, GLO5, SOM2, SOM5
Tapering chapes and lozenge clasp	
	DOR2
Square chapes and lozenge clasp	
	DOR3
Tapering chapes and rectangular clasp	
	SOM9
Toret enfiling chain links	
	DOR1, HAM4
Toret but no chapes	
	GLO1, GLO2
Triangular chapes and no clasp	
	DOR4
Clasp enfiling chain links	
	DOR6, GLO3, WIL1
Chapes but no clasp	
	SOM12
No chapes or clasp	
	DEV2, GLO8, HAM3, SOM6, SOM7, SOM8, SOM13, SOM15, WIL2
Detail concealed by hands	
	COR1, DEV1, HAM2, SOM1, SOM14
Buckle ends and swivel clasp (brasses)	
	DOR7, DOR8

**Table 12      Types of Pendant**

Annulet	DOR7, DOR8, DOR9, GLO4, GLO5, SOM2, SOM3, SOM4, WIL3
Decorated annulet	SOM11
Cross	HAM4, SOM13
Portcullis	SOM6
Portcullis and rose	WIL2
Beast (lion)	DOR1, DOR2, DOR3, DOR5, GLO1, GLO2
Beast (other)	DOR6
Rose	SOM7, WIL1
Reversed toret	DOR10
Plain oblong	GLO3
Decorative lozenge	SOM8
Concealed by hands	DEV1, DOR4, HAM2, SOM1, SOM12
Eroded/abraded	COR1, HAM1, SOM10
None	DEV2, GLO6, GLO8, HAM3, SOM5, SOM9, SOM14, SOM15

**Table 13: Status**

COR1	Sir John Colshull d.1483 Served under Henry V.
DOR2	William Browning d.1472 Receiver of the Dorset lands of Richard, Duke of York 1436-52 / 1459-60.
DOR3	John Browning d.1416 Fought with Edward, Duke of York in Gascony 1412 and at Agincourt in 1415.
DOR7	Sir Thomas Brooke d.1415 Sheriff of Somerset 1389 and of Devon 1394. Knight of the Shire for Somerset under Richard II.
DOR9	John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset d.1444 Grandson of John of Gaunt. Grandfather of Henry VII. Lieutenant of Aquitaine and Captain-General of France and Normandy.
GLO6	Sir John Blaket d.1431 Fought in France (was present at Agincourt).
HAM3	Sir Richard Lyster d.1553 Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.
HAM4	Sir John de Lisle d.1520 Sheriff of Hampshire 1506-7/1517-18. Attended Henry VIII in 1520 when he met King Charles of Spain.
SOM2	Sir John St. Loe d.1443 Squire of the Body 1428-48 Constable of Bristol 1439-48.
SOM4	Sir Hugh Luttrell d.1428 Grand Seneschal of Normandy, Lieutenant of Calais (1401-2). Ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy (1403), Member of the Privy Council. Steward of the Household to Queen Joan of Navarre, Mayor of Bordeaux, Governor of Harfleur. Constable of Bristol Castle, Member of Parliament for Somerset and (later) for Devon.
SOM8	Lady Margaret Choke d.c.1477 According to the church guide, the collar was '....bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign' though no source is given.
SOM9	William, Baron Botreaux d.1391 Summoned to Parliament as a baron 1377      Expeditions to Saxony, Portugal and Spain.
SOM11	Sir John Harrington, Baron de Aldingham d.1417 Accompanied Henry V on French expedition.
SOM13	Sir John Newton d.1488 Knight of the Shire 1453 Sheriff of Gloucester 1466-7.
SOM14	Sir Richard Newton d.1449 Lord Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.
WIL1	Sir Roger Tocotes d.1492 Constable of Devizes Castle, Knight of the Body to Henry VIII and Comptroller of the Household.
WIL2	Sir John Cheney d.1509 Esquire of the Body (1472), Master of the Henchmen and Master of the Horse. He joined the King's French expedition and remained (with Lord Howard) as a hostage with Louis XI. Constable of Barnard Castle and Member of Parliament in 1487.
WIL3	Robert, Lord Hungerford d.1459 Served in France under the Duke of Bedford. Attended Parliament 1450-54.

**Table 14      Female Figures**

DOR8	Thorncombe	Joan, Lady Brooke	SS	d.1437
DOR10	Wimborne	Margaret, Duchess of Somerset	SS	mon.1498
GLO5	Gloucester	Alice, wife of Thomas Bridges	SS	d.1410
SOM3	Chew Magna	Agnes, Lady St. Loe	SS	mon. 1447?
SOM7	Ilton	unidentified female of Wadham family	roses	mon. c. 1470
SOM8	Long Ashton	Lady Margaret Drew	Yorkist	d.c.1470
SOM15	Yatton	Lady Emmota Newton	SS	post-1485

Table 15 National Distribution

	Brasses	Effigies	Lancastrian	Yorkist	Other
Bedfordshire	2	2	3	0	1
Berkshire	1	4	3	1	1
Buckinghamshire	3	2	2	2	1
Cambridgeshire	1	4	5	0	0
Cheshire	0	18	16	1	1
<b>Cornwall</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Cumberland	0	7 + fig.	5	1	2
Derbyshire	2	18 + inc.sl & 2 fig.	13	10	1
<b>Devon</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Dorset</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
Durham	0	6	4	2	0
Essex	8	5	5	5	3
<b>Gloucestershire</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Hampshire</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Herefordshire	3	7	8	1	1
Kent	6	7	9	2	2
Lancashire	1	5	2	2	2
Leicestershire	0	8 + inc.sl	9	0	0
Lincolnshire	2	6 + fig. & inc.sl	10	0	0
London	3	6	6	3	0
Middlesex	1	0	0	0	1
Monmouthshire	0	4	4	0	0
Norfolk	8	2 + fig.	7	2	2
Northamptonshire	2	14 + inc.sl	17	0	0
Northumberland	0	1	1	0	0
Nottinghamshire	0	10	7	2	1
Oxfordshire	5	8	9	2	2
Rutland	1	3	2	2	0
Shropshire	0	9 + inc.sl	8	2	0
<b>Somerset</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>
Staffordshire	1	11	11	0	1
Suffolk	7	6 + fig.	9	2	3
Surrey	5	1	3	1	2
Sussex	8	8	13	1	2
Warwickshire	3	11	10	4	0
Westmorland	0	2	0	0	2
<b>Wiltshire</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Worcestershire	4	5	7	1	1
Yorkshire	7	29 + fig.	31	4	2
Wales	0	9	6	2	1
Ireland	0	2	0	2	0

KEY: fig. = sculpted figure, eg. weeper      inc.sl = incised slab      bold type = counties in study area

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The questions raised by this study are threefold. First, to what extent is it possible to propose a classification of collars based on the archaeological evidence? Second, what does the evidence tell us about the nature of the livery collar? And, third, what does the evidence add to our understanding of the significance of the armorial devices depicted on livery collars?

#### **Livery Collars as Archaeological Evidence**

A notable development in recent decades has been the classification of brasses by 'style' - in other words, by workshop origin. Identification of the main series (London series 'A', 'B', Suffolk 1 and 2, and so on) has opened perspectives on the organization of the trade and has facilitated analysis of the growth of the market in different parts of Britain.<sup>1</sup> Regrettably, there has been no equivalent systematic analysis of three-dimensional recumbent effigies, while attempts at a workshop- or style-based classification have been sporadic and often less than rigorous.

One of the principal objectives of this study is to propose a classification of livery collars by reference to design and style, leading to a possible classification by workshop origin. However, it has been demonstrated in Chapter 3 that the collars depicted on late medieval and Tudor monuments in the study area vary considerably in their size and design, and in the elements of

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<sup>1</sup> Nigel Saul in his foreword to Fr. Jerome Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), pp.xix-x.

which they are composed. Far from suggesting a precise, thematic or chronological classification, the study has revealed only two categories of collar: those which, by reference to the devices of which they are composed, are either Lancastrian or Yorkist; and Lancastrian collars on recumbent effigies which date from the pre-1461 period and are characterized by toret clasps and simple annulet pendants. With only these exceptions, it is apparent that there is no standard design, and that in only a small number of instances are there similarities of design, and then only in the components of a collar (toret, chapes, pendant etc.). Reference to photographs and illustrations of collars elsewhere in the country reinforces the perception that there is a quite extraordinary variety of styles and dimensions which (with the exceptions already referred to) would appear to defy classification.<sup>2</sup>

### *Lancastrian and Yorkist Collars*

It is immediately apparent that the majority of collars may readily be categorized as either Lancastrian or Yorkist. Essentially, Lancastrian collars are composed of esses in a variety of stylistic forms, sizes and disposition; while Yorkist collars are composed of alternate stylized suns and roses, again in a variety of forms.<sup>3</sup> There are fifteen Lancastrian collars in the study area dating from 1372 to 1461, and a further twelve from the Tudor period.<sup>4</sup> There are nine Yorkist collars

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<sup>2</sup> Chiefly those which have been collected during compilation of the Provisional Catalogue (Appendix B).

<sup>3</sup> There are rare examples of Yorkist collars of *roses en soleil*, as on the effigy of Sir Ralph Neville (1482) at Brancepeth, Co. Durham. Regrettably, Brancepeth Church and its fittings were destroyed by fire in 1998.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 3 for analysis. See also Tables 7,8 & 9 at the end of Chapter 3.

dating from 1463 to 1483, and seven collars which belong to neither category.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond this, a precise classification is not possible. The significance of the devices of which these collars are composed, and the various stylistic variations evident in the sample, are discussed below.

### *Toret Clasps with Annulet Pendants*

It cannot be without significance that eighteen (42%) of the collars in the study area have toret clasps. Of these, eleven are Lancastrian (DOR9, DOR10, GLO4, GLO5, HAM1, HAM4, SOM2, SOM3, SOM4, SOM11 & WIL3), four are Yorkist (DOR1, DOR5, GLO1 and GLO2), and two are plain (GLO6 & SOM5). A further Lancastrian collar, which cannot positively be identified as having a toret clasp, is depicted on the effigy of Sir John Poutlet (d.1436) at the church of All Saints at Nunney, Somerset (SOM10). A badly eroded, roughly triangular moulding appears to correspond, both in size and shape, to the chapes and toret clasp configuration of other collars in this group.

With the exception of those which also have plain annulet pendants (see *below*, pp 4-7), collars with toret clasps have no other common characteristics, neither do they characterize a particular period.<sup>6</sup> It is not unreasonable to suggest, therefore, that throughout the fifteenth century the toret was perceived to be an attractive and convenient method of linking the chapes of a collar and, in some cases, a pendant. The toret was used in both Lancastrian and Yorkist collars and was of no emblematic significance - except, perhaps, that it is similar

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<sup>5</sup> This number includes the Bristol example (GLO3) which is discussed later as a possible Yorkist collar

<sup>6</sup> In the sample, torets are evident on monuments dating from 1410 to 1520.

in form to the *triquetra*, a symbol of the Holy Trinity.<sup>7</sup> It is not proposed, therefore, that collars with toret clasps should be defined as a specific category of collar.

There is, nevertheless, a readily identifiable category of collars within this group which have *both* a toret clasp and a simple annulet pendant. Significantly, all eight examples in the study area are Lancastrian: at Wimborne Minster, Dorset (DOR9), Gloucester Cathedral (GLO4 & GLO5) and Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire (GLO7), Chew Magna (SOM2 & SOM3), Dunster (SOM4) and Porlock (SOM11), Somerset, and Salisbury Cathedral (WIL3).<sup>8</sup> Of these, all but one (DOR9) are pre-1461, suggesting that the combination of a toret and a plain annulet pendant was a characteristic of Lancastrian collars on recumbent effigies of the pre-Yorkist period.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, of the remaining Lancastrian collars from the pre-1461 period, it seems likely that the collar at Nunney, Somerset (SOM10) is also of this type: the configuration of the moulding would appear to correspond with the outline of a toret and annulet, though it is badly eroded. Similarly, the splendid collar on the effigy to Sir John Chideock (d.1449, monument 1446) at Christchurch Priory (HAM1) has a toret with a single link attached to an ill-defined area of moulding which is concealed by the figure's hands in prayer. Again, the eroded moulding may have been an annulet pendant, though it has not been possible to confirm this by means of documentary evidence.

<sup>7</sup> John Brooke-Little, *An Heraldic Alphabet* (Guildford, 1985), p.209. This is supported by evidence from other sources such as contemporary portraits and stained glass.

<sup>8</sup> The Lancastrian brasses at Thorncombe (DOR7 & DOR8) also have annulet pendants but with swivel links in place of torets.

<sup>9</sup> The Tudors introduced a variety of pendants including the portcullis and the Tudor Rose.

Of the remaining pre-1461 Lancastrian collars in the study area, the late-fourteenth-century collar on the Gorges effigy at Tamerton Foliot, Devon (DEV2) is so badly damaged at its lower edge that it is impossible to ascertain whether it had chapes, clasp or pendant. This is by far the earliest collar in the sample and the crude plaster ‘restoration’ of the damaged section is most regrettable, especially in the absence of any documentary evidence as to its original form. The two Brooke collars in brasses at Thorncombe, Dorset (DOR7 & DOR8) have annulet pendants but swivel links instead of torets;<sup>10</sup> while the lower termination of the Colshull collar at Duloe, Cornwall (COR1) is concealed by the figure’s clasped hands. The Botreaux effigy at North Cadbury, Somerset (SOM9) has a Lancastrian collar with a simple, almost rectangular clasp and no pendant.

In sum, of the fifteen pre-1461 Lancastrian collars in the study area, eight (53%) conform to the toret clasp / annulet pendant configuration, while a further two may have done so. Of the remaining five, two are in brasses; one is badly eroded; one has the clasp/pendant area concealed by effigial hands; and one has a clasp of a different design and no pendant.

Testing the hypothesis against the evidence of the other collars in the study area, none of the nine Yorkist collars (dating from 1463 to 1483) has this type of clasp and pendant, neither do any of the seven which are neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist. On only one of the twelve Lancastrian collars which date from post-1485 is there a toret clasp and annulet pendant: that on the effigy of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset at Wimborne Minster, Dorset (DOR9). At

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<sup>10</sup> This is a common configuration in brasses, though examples will be found elsewhere with both torets and annulet pendants.

first sight, the collar would appear to belong to the earlier Lancastrian period: Beaufort died in 1444. But the double effigies of the Duke and Duchess were commissioned by their daughter, Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and erected at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup> It seems strange that, at a time when the Tudor administration was well established, neither the Duke's collar nor that of his wife should include either a Tudor Rose pendant or, more especially, the portcullis device of the Beauforts which was by then a royal badge.<sup>12</sup> Both are to be found on other early Tudor collars in the sample: a portcullis pendant in a brass to John Payne (d.1496) at Hutton, Somerset (SOM6); a Tudor Rose on the military effigy of Sir Roger Tocotes (d.1492) at Bromham, Wiltshire (WIL1); and an unusual combination of portcullis and Tudor Rose on the splendid effigy of Sir John Cheney (1509) at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL2). Whether the Beaufort collar is an anachronism is a question which may only be resolved by research beyond the study area. It may be that the sculptor deliberately adopted the convention of his predecessors, or that the clasp and pendant were copied either from the original collar or from an accurate drawing. It is known that the families of recipients often retained collars posthumously.<sup>13</sup>

This raises the question of whether collars, as depicted on monuments, are copies of originals, taken from drawings of originals, or 'off the peg' vernacular interpretations. The two plain collars at Henstridge, Somerset (SOM5) and Icomb, Gloucestershire (GLO6), each dating from a different

<sup>11</sup> W. J. Fletcher suggests 1498 in *DNAHS Proceedings*, 28 (1907), p.220 – 54 years after her father's death.

<sup>12</sup> The pendant on Lady Margaret's collar (DOR10) is unique in the sample and consists of a reversed toret attached by a single link to a toret clasp.

<sup>13</sup> P. Ackroyde, *The Life of Thomas More* (London, 1998), p.194.

political period, would seem to suggest that workshops produced standard, stylised collars into which details were engraved. But, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 3, the collars depicted on late-medieval and Tudor monuments in the study area vary considerably in their size and design, and in the elements of which they are composed. If the workshops did produce 'off the peg' collars, then there is little evidence of this in the sample. Even on those effigies where a common workshop and date of execution may reasonably be assumed, at Melbury Sampford, Dorset (DOR2 & DOR3), for example, there are significant variations of detail in the collars. Consequently, it is not possible to associate particular effigies with specific workshop by reference to collars, and it would be necessary to refer to other design elements (the treatment of armour, facial features etc.) before drawing any conclusions with regard to this. Neither has any documentary evidence come to light which might assist in determining whether collars, as depicted on monuments, were copied from real life. A search was made of Somerset wills and five of those persons who are depicted on effigies with collars were identified.<sup>14</sup> But in no case was any instruction given with regard to the design of the collar or, indeed, of the effigy. Nevertheless, further investigation of wills and commissions may prove instructive.

It is proposed that the evidence of the sample supports the hypothesis that a combination of a toret clasp and annulet pendant is a characteristic of pre-1461 Lancastrian collars. This is supported by evidence from a survey of collars in Cumbria and the Midlands conducted by J.P. Morewood who states that 'I have

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<sup>14</sup> *Somerset Wills 1383-1500*, Somerset Record Society, 16 (1901).

not found any examples of pendants [other than annulets] hanging from SS collars prior to the Tudor period.<sup>15</sup> Anecdotal and photographic evidence from the national survey would also appear to confirm this, though in a recent paper Doris Fletcher states that 'In the Lancastrian period the collar of esses and the swan badge usually went together, the swan being the emblem of Mary de Bohun, Henry's first wife who died in 1394 when he was still earl of Derby.'<sup>16</sup> Certainly, the wardrobe accounts of the earl of Derby for the year 14 May 1391 to 14 May 1392 show that he paid the sum of £23 10s 10d for a collar of seventeen esses with a swan set within the toret. There is also pictorial evidence: the initial letter of a charter granted to the city of Gloucester in 1399 contains a crown encircled by a collar of esses with a swan pendant, for example. There is no evidence of a swan pendant on any of the Lancastrian collars in the study area, but the matter would benefit from further investigation. Furthermore, Fletcher also suggests that 'the owner of an SS collar could attach to the ring [annulet] a royal or family emblem, a fashionable pendant or a religious image.'<sup>17</sup> That a recipient should 'personalize' his collar in this way makes sense: perhaps this would explain the ill-defined areas of moulding beneath the annulets in early Lancastrian collars at Christchurch (HAM1) and Porlock (SOM11)? Further research, especially of documentary evidence relating to these monuments, is recommended.

<sup>15</sup> J.P. Morewood, *Livery collars – some observations on their history, style and significance to the historian and student of church monuments* (unpublished and undated paper), p.7.

<sup>16</sup> Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', p.193.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.195-6.

### *Assertions regarding the classification of collars*

While no formal classification of collars has been attempted until now, a number of assertions are commonly found in the literature, notably in late-nineteenth-century heraldry textbooks by armorists such as Fox-Davies and Boutell.<sup>18</sup> To a considerable degree, it is the work of these Victorian and Edwardian armorists which has been followed by later writers such as A.C. Bouquet who, in 1956, inferred that *all* collars were the insignia of affinities, including the Berkeley ‘collar’ at Wotton-under-Edge (GLO8) which I contend is not a collar but decoration.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, it is now commonly held (for example) that straps are a characteristic feature of early collars, while chains are found only on collars dating from the late-fifteenth and subsequent centuries; that Yorkist collars invariably have beast pendants, usually the Mortimer lion; and that affinities, other than those of Lancaster and York, also distributed collars, several of which are depicted on monuments. I intend to test these assertions against the evidence in the sample.

### *Straps and Chains*

Not all chains depicted in brasses and on recumbent effigies have armorial significance. As will be demonstrated, only those composed of Lancastrian or Yorkist devices can correctly be described as livery collars. Mention of ‘chains’ in wills almost invariably refers to jewellery or decorative items, not to collars which would normally be described as ‘livery’. Conversely, the term ‘collar’ was usually intended for ‘chain’ (French = *collier*) and, inevitably, spellings of all

<sup>18</sup> Charles Boutell, *Boutell's Heraldry* (first published as *The Manual of Heraldry* [1863]), revised John Brooke-Little (London, 1983) and A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (first published 1909), revised J.P. Brooke-Little (London, 1985).

these items vary considerably.<sup>20</sup> In a petition to Parliament of 1423, Bishop John Stafford, Treasurer of England, prayed to be discharged of the custody of the royal jewels. The prayer included an inventory and many descriptions of more than one hundred 'colers' and 'cheynes' of gold and jewels and silver-gilt, some doubtless being collars of esses. In a letter dated 1455, Margaret wife of John Paston, required of him 'sommethyng for my nekke' since, when Margaret of Anjou visited Norwich, Mistress Paston had to borrow her 'coseyn Elizabeth Clere's devys'. Thirteen years later, she lent her son John both her great and small chains, from which it would appear that men's and women's chains were sufficiently similar for them to be interchangeable. Throughout the late Middle Ages, sumptuary legislation attempted to control the wearing of certain types of adornment including chains and collars.<sup>21</sup> In the context of this study, chains are defined as livery collars composed of Lancastrian or Yorkist devices linked to form a chain, in contradistinction to collars formed of straps to which the devices are affixed.

The earliest chain in the study area is at Marnhull, Dorset (DOR1), where the effigy of John Carent (d.1478) includes an exquisite Yorkist collar of alternate suns and roses, skillfully carved and deeply incised with intricate detailing. All the other chains post-date the Marnhull collar, though that at Puddletown (DOR6) is more likely to be a personal collar than a livery collar, and the Bristol collar (GLO2), which is frequently defined as Yorkist, is of

<sup>19</sup> A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (London, 1956), p.134.

<sup>20</sup> A. Hartshorne, 'The gold chains, the pendants the paternosters and the zones of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and later times', *Archaeological Journal*, 66 (1909), pp. 77-102.

<sup>21</sup> For example, an edict of 1363 forbade the wearing of gold or silver chains by 'the lower orders' - presumably, those below the rank of esquire.

questionable attribution.<sup>22</sup> In chronological order they are: Marnhull, 1478 (DOR1); Puddletown, c.1480 (DOR6); Bromham, 1492 (WIL1); Yatton, 1498 (SOM13) and post-1485 (SOM15); Bristol, 1501 (GLO3); Thruxtion, 1520 (HAM4); and Southampton, 1567 (HAM3). The chains appear to have no common characteristics: one (or possibly two) is Yorkist (DOR1 & GLO3?); five are Lancastrian (HAM3, HAM4, SOM13, SOM15 & WIL1); and one is personal (DOR6). All but two (HAM3 & SOM15) have pendants; indeed, if one feature characterizes this transitional period between the late-medieval livery collar and the Tudor judicial or household chain of office, it is the diversity of pendants. In this respect, the examples in the study area provide ample evidence of diversity: the Yorkist collar at Marnhull (DOR1) has a white lion pendant attached by a toret; the Puddletown chain (DOR6) has a large, badly eroded irregular moulding which may have been a beast; the Bristol collar (GLO3) has what is described as a 'locket' suspended from a circular link;<sup>23</sup> the Thruxtion collar (HAM4) has a Latin Cross attached by a toret; the abraded Hutton collar (SOM6) has a portcullis; the Yatton collar (SOM13) has a cross bottony affixed to the letters of the collar; and the Bromham collar (WIL1) has a triple rose suspended by means of a single link from the lowest letter of the chain. The remaining 36 collars in the study area all have straps and, of these, the majority (27) pre-date the Marnhull collar, while a significant number (9) post-date it.

There is clear evidence in the sample of an increasing tendency towards the depiction of full-width, heavily incised letters and broad, heavy straps or chains on Lancastrian collars dating from the early Tudor period. By the second

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Bagnall-Oakeley, 'On the monumental effigies of the family of Berkeley', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 15 (1890-1), p.98.



half of the sixteenth century, these had developed into the full-blown judicial and governmental collar of esses with Tudor Rose or portcullis pendant - no longer worn as an indication of allegiance to the Lancastrian affinity but as insignia of office held directly of the Crown. It is interesting to note that the average width of pre-1461 Lancastrian collars in the study area is 20mm, while the average width of those from the early Tudor period is 31mm.<sup>24</sup> Of these post-1485 collars, three are chains (HAM2, SOM13 & WIL1), one is abraded (SOM6), and the remainder are straps (COR1, DOR9, DOR10, HAM2, HAM3, SOM14 & WIL2). The collars at Wimborne, Dorset (DOR9 & DOR10) and at Yatton, Somerset (SOM14) have already been described in detail, as has the abraded collar at Hutton (SOM6), of which only a portcullis pendant survives.

It has been suggested that the ornate Lancastrian collar in the heavily restored De Lisle monument (*c.*1520) at Thruxtion, Hampshire (HAM4) represents a stylistic transition from the medieval Lancastrian and Yorkist livery collars to the heavy judicial collars of the late Tudor period. However, no documentary evidence has been found which would confirm that the collar in its restored form is identical to, or similar to, the original.

Of greater significance is the collar (WIL2) on the effigy of Sir John Cheney (1509), located in the tenth bay of the north arcade in Salisbury Cathedral.<sup>25</sup> The broad (38mm) collar comprises deeply incised, upright, linked esses set within clearly-defined cable borders and with six letters visible on each side, including a pair of letters below the figure's arms where the collar is attached to the pendant. Unusually, each letter is wider than it is long: 37mm

<sup>24</sup> Including women's collars which are almost invariably narrower.

<sup>25</sup> This monument was originally in the Beauchamp Chapel but was moved to its present position when the chapel was destroyed during the Wyatt restoration of 1789.

wide and 28mm long. Beneath the lower pair of letters (one of which is not positioned symmetrically) the lower border of the collar opens out to form a link with the pendant. Within this link is a raised, formless area of alabaster for which there is no apparent rationale. The ornate pendant comprises a portcullis (62 mm wide and 41 mm deep) and a rose of 36mm diameter, half of which partially covers the lower third of the portcullis and extends beyond its lower edge. The lower edge of the portcullis and the lower, sinister edge of the rose are badly damaged.

While the heavy, deeply incised strap collar is particularly fine, exceeding in workmanship and detail even that on the Somerset effigy at Wimborne Minster (DOR9), it is the pendant which is of particular significance. The combination of a Tudor rose overlapping a Beaufort portcullis is believed to be unique and is clearly an unequivocal declaration of loyalty, both to the house of Lancaster and to the Tudor regime. Double roses and portcullis devices are ubiquitous as pendants on sixteenth-century collars, but they are rarely (if ever) seen together in this form. Furthermore, the excessively heavy collar, with its broad, deeply incised letters, and overtly Tudor pendant is entirely in keeping with the scale, detail and fine craftsmanship of the effigy itself. Both the man and his monument represent the transition from the medieval to the modern age. And of all the collars in the study area, it is the Cheney collar at Salisbury which best exemplifies the transition from livery collar to insignia of office.

The perception (and, until now, it has been no more) that in the final quarter of the fifteenth century chains were increasingly used as an alternative to the

traditional strap collar is supported by the evidence. The evidence also suggests that there was a similar tendency at that time to depict in Lancastrian effigies a variety of clasps and pendants other than the conventional toret and annulet of the pre-1461 period. It is also apparent that in the early Tudor period there was increasingly a tendency towards the depiction of full-width, heavily incised letters and broad, heavy straps or chains.

### *Yorkist Pendants*

Of the nine Yorkist collars in the study area, two (SOM1 & SOM12) have the pendants concealed by the clasped hands of the effigy while six have passant beasts suspended by torets or triangular clasps from a variety of chapes.

Hutchins describes all four Dorset examples as 'white lions': at Marnhull (DOR1), Melbury Sampford (DOR2 & DOR3), and Puddletown (DOR5).<sup>26</sup>

Today, while they are evidently passant beasts of some sort, one would be hard pressed to identify them as lions without the benefit of documentary evidence and an appreciation of Yorkist armory. The two Berkeley effigies at Berkeley, Gloucestershire (GLO1 & GLO2) have collars with eroded beast pendants attached to toret clasps which, according to Gardner, are also lions.<sup>27</sup> The only exception in the study area is a delicate Yorkist collar worn high on the neck in what became the Victorian choker fashion by Lady Margaret Choke (d.c.1470) on her effigy at Long Ashton, Somerset (SOM8). This collar has a lozenge-shaped pendant with a raised centre and is attached directly to the lowest point of the strap. Significantly, there is no collar on the adjacent effigy of Sir Richard

<sup>26</sup> Hutchins, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (4 vols, 1861-70).

<sup>27</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of Pre-Reformation England*, p.65.

Choke (d.1483) and the church guidebook informs us that the collar 'was bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign', though no source is given. It is possible, therefore, that this collar was copied from life.

The nine Yorkist collars in the study area represent 13% of all known Yorkist collars in England, Wales and Ireland, and therefore constitute a reasonable sample. On this basis, it would appear that the majority of Yorkist pendants are indeed white lions, though it is known that other beasts were also adopted for this purpose.<sup>28</sup> The significance of these Yorkist devices is discussed below.<sup>29</sup> The collar at Bristol (GLO3), which is generally designated as a Yorkist collar, has what is described as a 'locket' suspended from a circular link. But there is no such device in Yorkist armory and its presence in this early sixteenth-century effigy casts further doubt on the collar's Yorkist attribution.<sup>30</sup> Lion pendants are not exclusively found on Yorkist collars: for no apparent reason, there is just such a pendant on a Lancastrian collar of esses on the effigy of Sir John Anne (1490) at North Aston, Oxfordshire, for example.<sup>31</sup>

### *Livery Collars Re-assessed*

Writing in 1987, I stated that 'during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, collars composed of armorial devices were worn as an indication of adherence to a royal or noble house, or to a political cause. They were, in effect, a superior form of livery badge, and some were later adopted as insignia of office'.<sup>32</sup> In

<sup>28</sup> Richard of Gloucester's white boar device was extensively used as a pendant during his brief reign, though only one effigial example has survived: that on the monument to Ralph Fitzherbert (d.1483) at Norbury, Derbyshire.

<sup>29</sup> For the beast pendant on the Martyn collar at Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6) see Chapter 3.

<sup>30</sup> M. Bagnall-Oakeley, 'On the monumental effigies of the family of Berkeley', p.98.

<sup>31</sup> There are no lions in the armory of the Anne family.

<sup>32</sup> Friar, *A New Dictionary of Heraldry*, p.100.

this, and in subsequent writing,<sup>33</sup> I was following a number of eminent armorists, notably the Reverend Charles Boutell who stated that: 'Collars composed of various heraldic devices were in use late in the 14th and during the 15th century. These were not insignia of any order, but rather decorations of honour, usually denoting political partizanship.'<sup>34</sup> More recent works on heraldry have tended to ignore the subject, though an influential paper by C.E.G. Smith suggests that several collars depicted on late-medieval monuments are indeed the livery collars of affinities other than those of Lancaster and York.<sup>35</sup> By 1996, I was beginning to doubt the accuracy of the original statement, and I modified my conclusion accordingly: 'It seems likely that magnates had their own collars and pendants, but very few of these have survived on effigies or brasses.'<sup>36</sup> One of the objectives of this study has been to test this hypothesis.

Of the 44 late-medieval and Tudor collars in the study area, 28 (64%) are Lancastrian, nine (20%) are Yorkist and seven (16%) are of neither category. If it is true that magnates, other than members of the royal houses of York and Lancaster, also distributed livery collars to their affinities, then one might reasonably expect to find some evidence of these collars among the seven examples which are clearly neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian. These are at Modbury, Devon (DEV1); Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6); the Lord Mayor's

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<sup>33</sup> Friar, *Heraldry for the Local Historian and Genealogist*, pp.126-9, and Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p.62.

<sup>34</sup> Boutell, p.192.

<sup>35</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *The Livery Collar* (1992 with later revisions); unpublished in its present form and deposited with the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (Stroud, 1996), p.132.

Chapel, Bristol (GLO3); Icomb (GLO6) and Wotton-under-Edge (GLO8), Gloucestershire; and Henstridge (SOM5) and Ilton (SOM7), Somerset.

But the evidence of these collars is far from conclusive. There are too few examples to provide a reliable sample and, of the seven, those at Icomb (GLO6) and Henstridge (SOM5) appear never to have been carved or painted and as such can add little to the debate.

The Icomb collar (GLO6) is heavy, comprising a 6mm deep strap, 26mm wide at the neck and tapering to 22mm at the chapes with a deeply incised toret clasp (45mm x 45mm) but no pendant. The lines separating the strap and chapes are just visible but the surface of the strap is otherwise uniformly smooth and there is no evidence to suggest that the collar was otherwise embellished. Neither is there any evidence of abrasion or erosion. That at Henstridge is a crudely carved 22mm-wide collar with a heavy toret-type clasp attached to buckle chapes by rings. The lower extremity of the toret is mis-shapen and eroded, possibly as a result of abrading on the pendant of which no evidence remains. There is no indication of abrasion or paint on the strap, though there are traces of paint elsewhere on the effigy.

The collars on the Berkeley monument on the Lord Mayor's Chapel at Bristol (GLO3) and the Berkeley effigy at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire (GLO8) have been considered in detail in Chapter 3. There it was concluded that the Bristol collar may be a deliberate misrepresentation of an earlier Yorkist collar, while the 'collar of mermaids' in the brass at Wotton-under Edge is not a collar, but armorial decoration. This leaves three further collars in the study area which are neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist: at Modbury, Devon (DEV1),

Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6) and Ilton, Somerset (SOM7).

The Modbury collar (DEV1), which dates from the mid-fifteenth century, consists of flowers, each with four petals. The medieval convention was to depict forget-me-nots with four petals, but these may be a vernacular interpretation of roses. There are eight flowers visible on each side (several badly eroded) with 6mm spacing and 30mm centres, set on a 23mm wide strap with plain, narrow borders and cross-hatched background. There are no chapes, clasp or pendant: all are 'concealed' beneath the figure's clasped hands. The carving of the effigy is generally crude and it may be that the flowers on the collar are a vernacular interpretation of what was specified. There are no roses or other flowers in the armory of the Champerknowne family and it may be that, at a time of political uncertainty, the family hedged its bets and commissioned a collar the design of which would cause offence to neither York nor Lancaster. I have found no documentary evidence to suggest that the Champerknowne family either issued or received livery collars, or that they were members of the Lancastrian or Yorkist affinities. If it has no armorial or other significance, why then did they include a collar of any description on the effigy? Perhaps, like the Icomb and Henstridge collars, it was an 'off the peg' accessory, which, in this case, was completed with an inoffensive, neutral design.

The (unidentified) Martyn effigy (*c.1480*) at Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6) wears a chain of eroded square links (each approximately 15mm x 20mm), with four visible on each side and an elaborately carved, but badly eroded, clasp and pendant over the arming buckle. The guidebook states that it is a lion pendant (Hutchins is silent on the subject), but this would normally

depend from a Yorkist collar.<sup>37</sup> Looking elsewhere for an explanation, there are no lions in Martyn heraldry but there are apes. The pendant is so badly eroded that identification is impossible. It could be a personal pendant, possibly an ape holding a mirror, which was a Martyn device.<sup>38</sup> There is an ape at the feet of the effigy and at the feet of another Martyn figure in the same chapel (DOR5). It is not known whether the ape badge was distributed as livery, though it is reasonable to assume that the chain and pendant on this effigy have no significance other than as personal devices.

The final collar in this group is on an alabaster effigy to an unidentified member of the Wadham family (c.1470) at Ilton, Somerset (SOM7). The collar is 1.75 cm wide with pronounced raised edges and widely-spaced roses with 1.5 cm centres. A rose motif (1.5 cm diameter) is set in a circular pendant (2.5 cm diameter). The clasp area and strap are badly damaged on the sinister side but the collar does not appear to have been abraded. The presence of roses in the Wadham arms (*Gules a Chevron between three Roses Argent*) and the absence of Yorkist suns strongly suggest that this is a personal collar. Furthermore, no Yorkist connection has been established.

It would appear that there is nothing in any of the seven examples in the study area to suggest that those collars which are neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian were intended to represent the livery collars of other affinities. In two cases (GLO6 & SOM5) the collars were never completed; one (GLO8) is not a collar but decoration; one (GLO3) is possibly a 'Yorkist' contrivance; and three (DV1, DOR6 and SOM7) are personal collars. But it must be emphasised

<sup>37</sup> Canon Arthur Helps, *Puddletown Church* (1938, revised 1972), p.12.

<sup>38</sup> The Martyn motto was 'He who looks on Martyn's ape - so Martyn's ape shall look on him'.

that the sample is small and may not be representative. Nevertheless, the proposition would appear to be supported by the findings of the Morewood study and by photographic and anecdotal evidence accumulated during the national survey. This suggests that, with a very small number of possible exceptions which were identified in the national survey, the collars depicted on late medieval and Tudor monuments are either Lancastrian, Yorkist, or personal (ie. decorative). The apparent exceptions should now be considered.

Other than the spurious ‘collar of mermaids’ at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire (GLO8), the most notable exception is the Markenfield Collar at Ripon, Yorkshire which comprises a broad chain of stylised park palings confining (beneath the figure’s chin) a couchant stag. Depicted on the early-fifteenth-century stone effigy of Sir Thomas Markenfield in Ripon Cathedral, it is often quoted as a rare example of a magnatial livery collar.<sup>39</sup> In discussing this collar, Sheppard Routh and Knowles acknowledge that ‘as far as surviving effigies are concerned, the collar is unique in design.’<sup>40</sup> It is easy to assume that it is somehow associated with Richard II whose favourite device was a white hart.<sup>41</sup> However, it has been shown that the hart badge never appeared on a livery collar, other than as a pendant.<sup>42</sup> Writing in 1864, Planche suggested that ‘the stag imparked appears to have been a badge of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Hereford and Derby, (sic) afterwards King Henry IV.’<sup>43</sup> A very similar *hart*

<sup>39</sup> Smith, p.18 gives ‘late fourteenth century’ for the Markenfield effigy.

<sup>40</sup> Pauline Sheppard Routh and Richard Knowles, ‘The Markenfield Collar’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1990), p.133.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Richard’s effigy at Westminster Abbey and the Wilton Diptych at the National Gallery in which the device is worn not only by the king but also by the Virgin and attendant angels.

<sup>42</sup> J.G. Nichols, ‘On Collars of the Royal Livery’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 17 (1842), pp.159-61.

<sup>43</sup> J.R. Planche, ‘On an effigy of one of the Merkenfield family in Ripon Cathedral’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 30 (1864), p.286.

*lodged within park palings* device has been used ‘from time immemorial’ by the County Borough of Derby and was granted as a coat of arms in 1939.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Sheppard Routh and Knowles suggest that ‘it would seem likely that the town of Derby, partisan to the House of Lancaster, adopted Henry’s cognisance sometime in the first decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>45</sup> It therefore remains to establish a link between Sir Thomas Markenfield and the first Lancastrian king. In 1408 there was a ‘Grant for life to Thomas de Merkynfeld of 40 marks yearly at the Exchequer for the good service to the king...especially in resisting the malice of Henry Percy late earl of Northumberland, and other traitors ...so that he be not retained with anyone else’ (my italics).<sup>46</sup> Markenfield’s membership of the Lancastrian affinity is thereby confirmed, and his entitlement to wear a Lancastrian livery collar. That the pales and hart device was indeed an early Lancastrian badge is further confirmed by its depiction in a paving stone, together with the English royal arms and various Lancastrian badges, which was discovered in the terrace of the Doge’s Palace in Venice.<sup>47</sup> Further evidence is provided by an illustration in a Book of Hours in which are depicted the kneeling figures of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland,<sup>48</sup> and Joan Beaufort his second wife, together with members of their families.<sup>49</sup> The ladies in the painting wear short collars or necklaces of

<sup>44</sup> C.W. Scott-Giles, *Civic Heraldry* (London, 1953), p.98. The buck first appeared on the common seal of the town, recorded in Chaloner’s MS of the herald’s visitation of 1569 as first being used in 1446.

<sup>45</sup> Sheppard Routh and Knowles, p.138.

<sup>46</sup> Smith, p.18 (citing *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1405-1408*, p.437).

<sup>47</sup> C.E.J. Smith, *pers. comm.*, October, 1999.

<sup>48</sup> Neville supported the Lancastrian usurpation and continued to serve until his death in 1425.

<sup>49</sup> Now in the *Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris (MS lat.1158. ff.34V, 27v.). This book of hours was originally intended for someone else before it came into the possession of the Countess. It was she who commissioned the paintings, probably after Ralph Neville’s death, as the countess

Lancastrian esses, but the Earl and his sons (except Bishop Robert) all have collars of palings and harts. The similarity of these collars to that of Sir Thomas Markenfield strongly suggests a coincidence of allegiance - initially to Henry of Lancaster as Earl of Derby, then as Duke of Hereford and finally as Henry IV - thereafter to the Lancastrian royal house. Thus, while the Markenfield collar would appear to be a livery collar, it is not a 'unique example of a Neville livery collar' nor, indeed, of any affinity other than Lancaster.<sup>50</sup>

There are three other collars of individual character which have (thus far) been revealed by the national survey and which may provide evidence of magnatial collars.

In the church at Tolleshunt Knights, in Essex, is the effigy of a knight with a 'collar' comprising a number of small plates, each engraved with a crescent. This effigy is attributed to Sir Walter de Pateshull (d.1330), though the armour is of the second half of the fourteenth century and Pevsner gives the date as 1380. Both the Percy family and Henry IV used the crescent as a badge, but as the Pateshull arms are *Argent a Fess wavy Sable between three Crescents Gules*, it seems more than likely that this 'collar' is no more than armorial decoration on lappets attached to the camail.

The freestone effigy of Sir John Sewell (who was alive in 1433) at Houghton Regis, Buckinghamshire, includes a collar composed of cord, so arranged that a Stafford knot appears at the front, to left and right. However, there is no evidence that Sir John Sewell belonged to the Stafford affinity and

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is depicted as a widow, and after 1427, as their son Robert became Bishop of Salisbury in that year.

<sup>50</sup> Stephen Friar, unpublished paper to Sherborne Heraldry Society (1990).

there are no other known examples of the Stafford knot in similar collars. It would appear that the use of the knot in this instance is for decoration and that the device is not a livery collar.

Finally, a collar of ragged staffs in a brass (now lost) at Mildenhall, Suffolk (c.1410) has a clasp composed of a large crown within which is depicted a wolf-like animal. It is suggested by C.E.J. Smith that the animal may be an ermine, providing a link with the device used by John IV, Duke of Brittany (d.1399).<sup>51</sup> Another theory is that the device is that of Joan of Navarre: *an Ermine collared and under a Crown*. This is found in the decoration of the tester above the effigies of Henry IV and his queen at Canterbury. Alternative terms for the ermine are 'sable' and 'gennet' and, as Planche pointed out, the gennet was yet another Lancastrian badge, believed by Willement to be 'an old device of an English king, in allusion to the name Plantagenet'.<sup>52</sup> It is also known that when Henry IV was Earl of Derby he distributed silver-gilt collars to (among others) Sir William Bagot and Sir John Stanley. These were described as *ad modum de snagge*: with the links made of snags, a snag being defined as 'a stump from a stout branch after cutting or pruning' - in other words, a ragged staff.<sup>53</sup> Once again, this confirms that the ragged staff collar with a gennet pendant was a Lancastrian device, possibly distributed as livery. If this is so, then the Mildenhall collar is the only known example in Britain.

From this it would appear that the livery collars depicted on late-

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<sup>51</sup> Smith, 'The Livery Collar', p. 240 and *pers. comm.* (October, 1999). The Order of the Ermene was created by the Duke in c.1381. English members included William Rigmaiden and two esquires of Lord Seales in 1431 and one of Lord Talbot in 1433.

<sup>52</sup> J.R. Planche, *The Pursuivant of Arms* (London, 1866), p.116.

<sup>53</sup> *OED* (1998).

medieval and Tudor church monuments are exclusively those which were distributed to the affinities of York and Lancaster and that there is no evidence of collars of other affinities. Furthermore, the constraints imposed on the use of collars by sumptuary legislation, together with legislation aimed at suppressing the practice of livery and maintenance (already referred to in Chapter 2), would render unlawful the distribution of livery collars by magnates other than those members of the royal family who were specified in the legislation.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, there is mention in the Exchequer records for 1406 of 'Thomas FitzNichols [who] delivered to the King a golden collar of the livery of the Duke of Norfolk and another collar of broomcods.'<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, there is no description of Norfolk's collar. Fox-Davies lists the Mowbray badges as a white lion, a mulberry leaf, and a *pennis coronata* - a crowned ostrich feather, of which an example in lead may be seen at the British Museum.<sup>56</sup> It may be that the Norfolk collar was composed of one or more of these devices. Furthermore, we know that Henry IV adopted a collar of greyhounds, while a Yorkist collar of six white falcons and seven fetterlocks is recorded in an inventory made for Henry IV in October, 1399, as are collars of ostriches and sprigs of rosemary for Queen Anne of Bohemia (temp. Richard II).<sup>57</sup> None of these collars is depicted on effigies and it is unlikely that they were distributed as livery.

<sup>54</sup> For example, an edict of 1363 forbade the wearing of gold or silver chains by 'the lower orders' – presumably, those below the rank of esquire.

<sup>55</sup> Smith, p.24. Collars of broomcods, with white hart pendants, were distributed by Richard II to competitors at the Smithfield jousts in 1390. In this context, the collars were intended as personal gifts or rewards, not as livery.

<sup>56</sup> Fox-Davies, p.128.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, p.16 (citing *Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, iii:322).

## The Nature of the Livery Collar

To what degree was the livery collar considered to be a ‘symbol of authority and power’? As S.H. Rigby writes, ‘the social structure of late medieval England can be seen in terms of a variety of specific forms of social exclusion, such as class, order, gender and status-group.’<sup>58</sup> The evidence of the sample confirms that recipients of livery collars were essentially members of an exclusive and influential status group.

At the church of St. Margaret at Yatton, Somerset, the effigies of Sir Richard Newton (alias Cradock) of Court de Wyck, Claverham and his widow, Emmota de Sherborne, lie on an ornate, free-standing alabaster tomb chest in the De Wyck chapel. Although badly damaged, the monument is of exceptional quality with much original colour having survived. Niches in the sides and ends of the tomb chest contain fourteen alabaster weepers: each an angel supporting a (blank) shield. Sir Richard (d.1449), who was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, is depicted wearing a serjeant’s coif, a seal wallet and fur-lined red gown turned back at the right shoulder to reveal a short length of a Lancastrian collar of esses (SOM14).<sup>59</sup> Unusually for a civilian figure, his head rests on a helm with a crest coronet, wreath and *garb* crest.<sup>60</sup> The collar is correctly described in the church guidebook as the ‘earliest example of a collar of SS worn by a judge’, and the anonymous writer suggests that the monument may have been erected on Lady Newton’s death in 1475. This seems unlikely: a pre-1461 or post-1485 date is suggested by the inclusion of a Lancastrian collar,

<sup>58</sup> S.H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1995), p.303.

<sup>59</sup> 4.5cm at the upper edge and 11cm at the lower.

<sup>60</sup> The Newton/Cradock arms are *Argent on a Chevron Azure three Garbs Or.*

while the style of the collar (and of other features of the effigies and tomb chest) suggests a post-Bosworth date. Even so, this judicial collar would appear to pre-date the next earliest example by seventy years, though it might be more accurate to describe it as ‘a Lancastrian livery collar worn by a judge’, rather than a judicial collar in the late Tudor sense.<sup>61</sup> Of particular significance in the present context is the extraordinary care which was taken by the executors to include the short length of collar on the effigy, together with all the other trappings of chivalry and status. From this monument alone, it is possible to appreciate the importance to a recipient of a livery collar. Sir Richard (and, one assumes, his executors) may indeed have accepted with humility the inevitability of death, but he was equally determined that his achievements, his ‘worship’ and his ‘repute’ would survive in a tangible form.<sup>62</sup>

One might reasonably assume from this that the majority of late-medieval effigial figures and brasses would include livery collars. For the most part, these monuments commemorate the upper echelons of society - a world of faction and patronage, ‘affinity’ and ‘worship’, where the giving and receiving of livery was commonplace.<sup>63</sup> I have suggested elsewhere that ‘the livery collar represented, in a splendidly tangible form, the apotheosis of bastard feudalism: a manifestation of reciprocal loyalty at the most refined level of worship. The ability to bestow such a superb gift reflected the magnificence and pervasive authority of the benefactor, while to receive a livery collar was a singular honour for the recipient, indicative of the esteem in which he was held and of his

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<sup>61</sup> At St. Andrew’s, Wroxeter, dated 1555.

<sup>62</sup> It is significant that, from the mid-sixteenth century, the word ‘achievement’ was commonly used to describe a coat of arms.

<sup>63</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity. A study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p.214.

proximity to power.<sup>64</sup> And yet, in the majority of monuments to the most prominent members of the fifteenth-century nobility, there is no livery collar.<sup>65</sup>

The sample would therefore appear to be atypical in that, of the forty-four examples in the study area, as many as eight are peers (DOR7, GLO1, GLO8, HAM1, SOM9, SOM11, WIL3 & WIL4). While it could be argued that this is a reasonable ratio of peers to commoners, the available evidence from the national survey suggests that it was the lower and middle ranks of the medieval establishment for whom receipt of a livery collar (and, therefore, membership of an affinity) represented the height of ambition.<sup>66</sup> And, for the most part, it was these men (and, occasionally, women) who chose to have them depicted on their monuments.<sup>67</sup> This dependence on men of middle rank, and recognition of that dependence, is clearly paralleled among the nobility. Michael Hicks writes 'Among all Margaret Lady Hungerford's feoffees, including an archbishop, Warwick the Kingmaker, bishops and earls, it was the relatively obscure John Mervyn and Gregory Westby on whom she relied; likewise it was William Berkeswell, dean of Warwick, and Thomas Hungerford and Nicholas Rodey, mere esquires, who for forty years fulfilled the terms of an Earl of Warwick's will.'<sup>68</sup>

This appears to be confirmed by reference to the 'Lists of Principal Officials of the Royal Household during the reigns of the Yorkist kings of

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<sup>64</sup> Friar, *Heraldry for the Local Historian and Genealogist*, p.127.

<sup>65</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England*, p.33.

<sup>66</sup> See Provisional Catalogue (Appendix B)

<sup>67</sup> Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?*, p. 78. Of the 88 councillors appointed by Edward IV between 1471 and 1483, only 21 were noblemen.

<sup>68</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p.66.

England' in A.R. Myers's *The Household of Edward IV*.<sup>69</sup> Of the 61 officials named, only two have effigies extant on which livery collars are depicted: Sir Robert Wingfield (d.1481) at East Harling, Norfolk and Sir John Say (d.1478) at Broxbourne, Hertfordshire. Of course, not all memorials have survived and several of the officials named are known to have been executed or attainted. Others were clerics or men who died after 1485 when it would have been imprudent to commemorate Yorkist loyalties.<sup>70</sup> From this, and from similar evidence in R.L. Storey's *English Officers of State 1399-1485*,<sup>71</sup> it would appear that there is no correlation between the holding of office in the royal household and the depiction of collars on monuments of men who, according to the criteria set out in Rule 28 of the Ordinance of 1478, would have been granted livery collars by the Yorkist kings.<sup>72</sup>

Of course, there are exceptions. In the study area, for example, there is the magnificent late-fifteenth-century tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset at Wimborne Minster (DOR9 & DOR10), on which both effigies are depicted wearing ornate Lancastrian collars of esses. But, as in many other effigies of eminent members of the medieval aristocracy, Somerset is also depicted wearing robes of state and the insignia of the Order of the Garter, suggesting that the Lancastrian collar was but one of the symbols by which he wished to be commemorated. It may also be of significance that by far the most carefully crafted collar in the sample is that on the effigy of the comparatively lowly John Carent at Marnhull, Dorset (DOR1). It is quite clear that this

<sup>69</sup> Myers, Appendix 1. Myers admits that some of his sources (e.g. *The History of Parliament 1439-1509*) are unreliable and that the list is therefore incomplete.

<sup>70</sup> Two have plain collars which may have been abraded after 1485.

<sup>71</sup> R.L. Storey, *English Officers of State 1399-1485* (London, 1977), Appendix 1.

<sup>72</sup> Myers, p.78 (citing *Draft of the Ordinance of 1478*, Rule 28).

beautiful Yorkist collar was the subject of considerable deliberation as to its design and that it was sculpted by a master craftsman. Hutchins, writing in the nineteenth century, says that 'the gilding on part of the man's collar [is] still very fresh and gold'.<sup>73</sup> Little is known of the recipient: not even his status, which appears to have been that of esquire. And yet the quality of the collar is clearly intended to be a perpetual declaration of pride in his membership of the Yorkist affinity - no expense was spared. It may be that, while the nobility and senior members of the administration sometimes incorporated a collar on their effigies, almost as a footnote to all the other trappings of their rank and power, those who held less exalted positions in the establishment were more likely to commemorate their success by the inclusion of a collar. Of course, this is conjecture. A detailed analysis of the recipients of collars, and of those who chose to depict collars on their monuments, would be of considerable value but is beyond the scope of the present study.<sup>74</sup>

There are seventy examples, in British medieval and Tudor monuments, of women wearing collars, including seven in the study area - an unusually high proportion. It is clear that, in some cases, women were entitled to wear a collar in their own right. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the majority of the collars which are depicted on female effigies are there as a consequence of a husband's status: certainly, most are found on 'double' effigies. Of the female figures with collars in the study area, four are wives of Lancastrian commoners (DOR8, GLO5, SOM3 & SOM15), one is the wife of a Yorkist commoner (SOM8), one

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<sup>73</sup> J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, iii (1861-70), p.322.

<sup>74</sup> See 'Entitlement, status and relationships' section of Chapter 3.

is the wife of a Lancastrian peer (DOR10) and one has a personal collar (SOM7). Of the pairs of effigies on which *both* figures are depicted wearing collars, no woman would appear to be entitled to livery in her own right. Only on the double effigies of Sir Richard Choke (d.1483) and his wife, Lady Margaret (d.1470), at Long Ashton, Somerset, is the male figure depicted without a collar while his wife wears a delicate Yorkist collar of suns and roses (SOM8) which, according to the church guidebook, was 'bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign', though no reference is given.<sup>75</sup> While it seems likely that the Lancastrian collar of esses depicted on the effigy of Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, at Wimborne Minster, Dorset ((DOR10) was intended to match that of her husband (DOR9), in the early Tudor period (when the monument was commissioned), the Duchess would have been expected to wear a collar of esses when dressed in robes of state – as she is depicted on the monument. The rationale for the collars depicted on female effigies is worthy of further research.

### **The significance of the devices found on livery collars**

The origins and symbolism of the most common Lancastrian and Yorkist devices have already been discussed.<sup>76</sup> To this, the collars in the sample area can add very little. What *is* evident is the extraordinary diversity of artistic interpretation. While several of the collars share common characteristics (the 'folded paper' esses on the Lancastrian collars at Dunster (SOM4) and Porlock (SOM11), for example, which are sufficiently distinctive to suggest that the two

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<sup>75</sup> It is surprising that, as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir Richard Choke was not granted a livery collar. It suggests that, as previously noted, there were significant differences in the disbursement of Yorkist and Lancastrian collars.

<sup>76</sup> In Chapter 2.

effigies originated in the same workshop), elsewhere there is little indication of uniformity.

### *Lancastrian Devices*

It has sometimes been implied that the Lancastrian esses device consisted of a *pair* of esses, rather than a series of linked letters.<sup>77</sup> There is no evidence for this in the sample collars, indeed in the majority of examples the letters are not linked but evenly spaced, some with intervening devices such as knots and roses, as at Thruxton, Hampshire (HAM4). The late (1553) collar at St. Michael's Church, Southampton, has reversed esses in threes, each set of three separated by a knot (HAM3).

It has been demonstrated<sup>78</sup> that the letters themselves may be found in a variety of forms and disposition: those at Duloe (COR1), Tamerton Foliot (DEV2), Godshill (HAM2) and North Cadbury (SPM9), for example, are depicted lengthways on the strap, while those at Nunney and Yatton (SOM10 and SOM13) are reversed. Neither does the sample give any clue as to the colours in which Lancastrian (or, indeed, Yorkist) collars were painted and gilded. The Lancastrian livery colours were white and blue but, referring to a collar in the effigy of Robert Lord Hungerford at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL3), Stothard suggests that the letters were gilded on a green strap and that the pendant was depicted as a circlet of nine 'pearls', attached to the collar by a simple clasp and chapes.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, no trace of colour remains on the

<sup>77</sup> Cyril Davenport, *British Heraldry* (London, 1921), p.71 is but one example.

<sup>78</sup> In Chapter 3.

<sup>79</sup> Charles Alfred Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1876), plates 129 and 130.

effigy to support Stothard's colour plates, and no sources are given. Of the remaining collars in the sample, none has retained any vestige of colour - with the exception of the Beaufort collar at Wimborne Minster (DOR9) where traces of red are discernible inside the letters. I have, as yet, been unable to investigate collars outside the study area in order to ascertain whether there is evidence of the systematic use of colour, particularly on strap collars. From the available information it would appear that a variety of colours were used, but whether there is any significance (eg. rank) in the choice of colour is unclear. Henry IV is known to have worn a collar of black silk dotted with esses which was reported missing from his wardrobe in 1406.<sup>80</sup> In *The Lovell Lectionary* there is an illumination of a blue and red silk collar of esses encircling the Lovell-Holland coat of arms. In glass at old St. Paul's, a black collar with gold esses was depicted encircling John of Gaunt's arms with those of his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster.<sup>81</sup> A window in the chapter house at Wells Cathedral has a white and blue collar of esses and the Mortimer arms; while in Elford church, Staffordshire, the effigies of Sir Thomas Arderne and his wife Matilda both wear Lancastrian collars which were originally green with gold lettering.<sup>82</sup> At Ashwelthorpe, Norfolk, the effigies of Sir Edmund de Thorpe and his wife include collars, that in the male figure being composed of gold esses on a blue ground while that on the female figure is gilded. Of course, many of these medieval monuments have suffered from the over-zealous hands of Victorian antiquarians and it is not necessarily the original colouring which has survived. Nevertheless, this is

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<sup>80</sup> W. St. John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (London, 1913), p.302.

<sup>81</sup> W. S. Simpson, *Gleanings from Old St. Paul's* (London, 1889), p.67.

<sup>82</sup> Edward Richardson, *The Monumental Effigies and Tombs, Elford Church, Staffordshire* (London, 1852), pp.11-14.

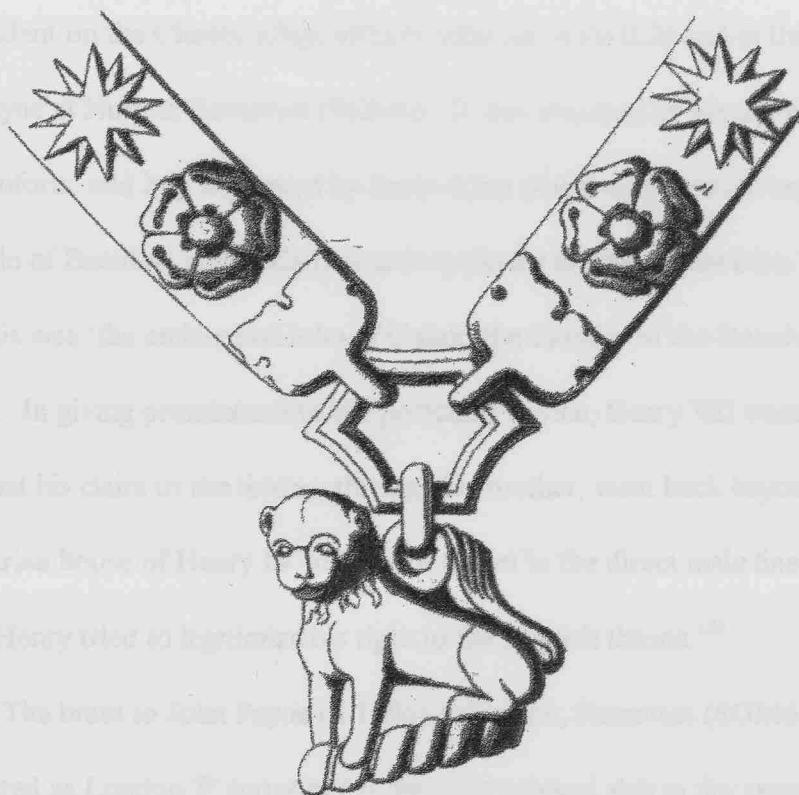
undoubtedly an area for further study.

### *Yorkist Devices*

All the Yorkist collars in the sample comprise alternating suns and roses, though artistic interpretation varies considerably. The two Berkeley collars at Berkeley, Gloucestershire (GLO1 & GLO2) comprise large, rounded and conjoined 'mounds' into which the detail has been engraved. Similarly, the two Browning collars at Melbury Sampford, Dorset (DOR2 & DOR3) are almost identical and are similar, in matters of detail, to the Martyn collar at Puddletown, Dorset (DOR5). Indeed, the presence of the unusual sallet-type helm on all three effigies suggests that they may have originated in the same workshop. The exquisite Carent collar at Marnhull, Dorset (DOR1) is believed to be unique, while the delicate collar on the female Choke effigy at Long Ashton, Somerset (SOM8) has an unusual lozenge-shaped pendant which is decorative and has no armorial significance.

The white lion is by far the most common Yorkist pendant and was another of the badges associated with the earldom of March. The six examples in the study area (DOR1, DOR2, DOR3, GLO1 and GLO2) are all badly eroded so that little detail remains, but it is interesting to note that a well-preserved white lion pendant on a collar at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire is depicted on a wreath, as though it were a crest (see Figure 2). This is a quite extraordinary interpretation, for there is no evidence to suggest that a white lion was ever used for this purpose by the Mortimer earls of March whose crest was a *panache* of blue feathers rising from a coronet. Armorists would be obliged to re-evaluate their current understanding of Mortimer armory were any of the examples in the study area found to be of a similar type. This matter would undoubtedly benefit

from further investigation.



**Figure 3:** Yorkist collar with a white lion pendant (1471) collar has been found at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire.

The Tudors continued to use the SS device and adopted numerous other badges of which two are found as pendants to collars in the sample area.<sup>83</sup> The double or Tudor Rose has already been referred to and is to be found on effigies at Bromham (WIL1) and Salisbury Cathedral (WIL2). As has already been noted

<sup>83</sup> For other Tudor badges see Friar, *A New Dictionary of Heraldry*, pp.359-360.

in the latter case, the rose is partly superimposed on a portcullis, a unique combination which suggests some uncertainty in 1509 of precisely how the Tudor devices should be depicted. The portcullis is another Tudor badge, found as a pendant on the Cheney effigy already referred to (WIL2) and in the brass to John Payne at Hutton, Somerset (SOM6). It was acquired by Henry VII from the Beauforts, and it is suggested by Scott-Giles that it was taken to represent the castle of Beaufort where Catherine Swynford's children were born.<sup>84</sup> The portcullis was 'the emblem of John of Gaunt, the founder of the Beaufort family... In giving prominence to the portcullis device, Henry VII wanted to show that his claim to the throne, through his mother, went back beyond the Lancastrian house of Henry IV to John of Gaunt in the direct male line. By so doing, Henry tried to legitimize his right to the English throne.'<sup>85</sup>

The brass to John Payne (d.1496) at Hutton, Somerset (SOM6) has been designated as London 'F' series and is set in its original slab in the sanctuary floor. The male figure is depicted wearing a narrow (16mm) collar with a crudely engraved portcullis pendant 20mm wide and 24mm deep. The recessed collar has been abraded in its entirety; no trace of the inlay remains and the sides of the matrix have been cleanly gouged. The work of abrasion was clearly deliberate and undertaken with considerable care. A Beaufort portcullis pendant would invariably have been affixed to a Lancastrian collar of esses, this being a common combination in the post-Bosworth period (as on the similar collar and pendant in the Kniverton brass at Muggington, Derbyshire). It is extraordinary, therefore, that the Lancastrian esses should have been abraded so carefully while

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<sup>84</sup> Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, p.118.

<sup>85</sup> Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', p.196.

the portcullis was left intact. It is the only element of the figure which has suffered in this way: why, then, was the collar thus singled out for such painstaking treatment? Thus far, no pictorial or documentary record of the pre-abrasion collar has been found. It is the earliest example in the study area of what was to become a common late Tudor pendant. This matter would undoubtedly benefit from further investigation.

The finely carved and deeply incised collar at Bromham, Wiltshire (WIL1) is 23mm wide and composed of linked esses forming a chain, with ten visible on each side and a further letter forming the clasp. A rather clumsily carved 'triple' rose pendant (55mm diameter) is suspended by means of a tapered link from the 'hook' of the lowest letter S. The lower edge of the pendant is obscured by the thumbs of the knight's hands in prayer. Like the collar in the Hutton brass (SOM6), the Bromham collar is of significance in that it incorporates the earliest example in the study area of what was to become one of two standard pendants of later Tudor collars, the other being the Beaufort portcullis. Although a triple rose, it is clearly intended to be a Tudor rose which, at this date, was in an early stage of adoption.<sup>86</sup>

The stone effigy to Sir Richard Lyster, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (d.1553), in the north-west corner of the north aisle at the church of St. Michael, Southampton serves to illustrate the type of judicial collar which developed during the Elizabethan period. Described by Eric Mercer as '...an early example of the architectural tomb which was to become so fashionable in Elizabethan and Jacobean times', the monument was erected in 1567 by Lyster's

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<sup>86</sup> A triple rose comprises three roses of different diameters superimposed on each other.

widow, and second wife, Elizabeth Stoke.<sup>87</sup> Once believed to be the earliest example of a judicial collar, the broad (36mm - 41mm) collar (HAM3) is a chain composed of esses and knots, the letters in groups of three, each group separated by a stylised knot, the whole set on a central (5mm) thread and within narrow borders. The semi-circular collar is continuous and there are, therefore, no chapes, no clasp and (in this instance) no pendant. The collar is eroded, especially at the front.<sup>88</sup>

### *Other Devices*

Devices, other than those which are normally associated with Lancaster and York, include a strange 'locket' pendant on the Bristol collar (GLO3), for which there is no apparent rationale, and a beast pendant on a chain collar at Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6) which is so badly eroded that its original form is no longer recognizable. The Puddletown guidebook<sup>89</sup> suggests that this was a lion, but this would normally depend from a Yorkist collar. Looking elsewhere for an explanation, there are no lions in Martyn heraldry – but there are apes. Hutchins is silent on the subject, but other sources may provide an answer.

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<sup>87</sup> Eric Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (London, 1962), p.235.

<sup>88</sup> The Newton collar at Yatton, Somerset (SOM14) is now acknowledged to be the earliest judicial collar. The monument is believed to have been erected at the end of the fifteenth century.

<sup>89</sup> Arthur Helps, *Puddletown Church* (Dorchester, 1938, revised 1972).

## **Summary**

### *Classification*

One of the principal objectives of this study has been to propose a classification of livery collars on late Medieval and Tudor effigies. But, far from suggesting a precise, thematic or chronological classification, the study has revealed only two categories of collar, the second of which requires further research beyond the study area before it may be confirmed.

Those collars which, by reference to the devices of which they are composed, are intended to indicate allegiance to either the Lancastrian or Yorkist affinity.

Those Lancastrian collars on recumbent effigies which date from the pre-1461 period and are characterized by toret clasps and simple annulet pendants.

A number of generalisations have emerged from the study, all of which need to be tested in a larger sample. It would appear that, in the final quarter of the fifteenth century, chains were increasingly used as an alternative to the conventional strap collar. It is also apparent that in the early Tudor period there was increasingly a tendency towards the depiction of full-width, heavily incised letters and broad, heavy straps or chains. The evidence suggests that there was a tendency in the final quarter of the fifteenth century to depict, in Lancastrian effigies, a variety of clasps and pendants other than the conventional toret and annulet of the pre-1461 period.

### *The nature of the livery collar*

The available evidence confirms that, after 1401, the right to distribute livery collars was exercised exclusively by the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings and (on occasion) by royal dukes. It is likely that the majority of those effigial collars on which are depicted neither esses nor suns and roses are, nevertheless, Lancastrian or Yorkist collars which have either been abraded or were originally painted or enamelled and from which all colouring has since been eroded. There is also evidence of effigies which were provided with collars, the detailed carving of which was never completed. This leaves a comparatively small number of monuments on which are depicted chains with pendants, or collars composed of personal devices, to which the designation 'livery collar' should not be applied.

An analysis of the recipients of collars, and of those who chose to depict collars on their monuments, would be of considerable value. The evidence of this study suggests that, while the nobility only occasionally incorporated a collar on their effigies, those who held less exalted positions in the medieval establishment almost invariably commemorated their success by the inclusion of a collar.

No evidence has been found which might assist in determining whether collars, as depicted on monuments, were copied from real life, from drawings, or from templates. The variety of design and workmanship suggests that, while some of the more expensive collars may have been copies of originals, the majority were stylized or vernacular interpretations of conventional designs. Further investigation, particularly of wills and commissions, may prove

instructive in this regard.

It would appear that, of the seven collars in the study area which are depicted on female effigies, only one was granted to a woman in her own right. The status of collars depicted on female effigies is worthy of further research.

#### *The significance of the devices depicted on livery collars*

The evidence of the collars in the study area adds little to what is already known of the devices depicted on Lancastrian and Yorkist collars.

Fletcher suggests that 'In the Lancastrian period the collar of esses and the swan badge usually went together.' There is no evidence of this in the study area and the assertion needs to be tested in a wider sample.<sup>90</sup>

The majority of Yorkist collars in the sample have eroded beast pendants. These are likely to have been Mortimer lions, but further research is required in order to confirm this, and to determine whether the Stanton Harcourt pendant is an aberration.

The most interesting examples are those collars which were fashioned in the decades immediately following the Tudor usurpation of 1485 (SOM6, WIL1 & WIL2). Of these, the Cheney collar at Salisbury Cathedral (WIL2) is the most valuable in that its composition suggests an early (and unsuccessful) attempt to establish a Tudor model, particularly in the pendant.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, it may be possible to trace, by reference to a wider sample and to documentary evidence, a stylistic transition from collars which were distributed in the fifteenth century as livery, or for diplomatic or political purposes, to those which were granted as insignia

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<sup>90</sup> Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', pp.194.

of office in the Tudor period. I have suggested that the Cheney collar may exemplify this transition in its earliest form.

*Queries raised with regard to specific monuments, or groups of monuments, in the study area:*

Christchurch, Hampshire (HAM1) and Porlock, Somerset (SOM11)

Fletcher suggests that 'the owner of an SS collar could attach to the ring [annulet] a royal or family emblem, a fashionable pendant or a religious image.'<sup>92</sup>

Further investigation of documentary sources may establish whether the ill-defined areas of moulding beneath the annulets in the early Lancastrian collars at Christchurch (HAM1) and Porlock (SOM11) were pendants and, if so, provide some indication of their design.

Hutton, Somerset (SOM6)

Precisely why the strap of Lancastrian esses should have been abraded so carefully while the portcullis pendant was left intact, and why the collar was thus singled out for such painstaking treatment, is a subject worthy of further study.

Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire (GLO8)

Contrary to the popular view, I am convinced that this is not a livery collar. The narrow, curving panel within the camail of the Berkeley figure is unlike any other effigial depiction of a collar. There are no chapes, clasp or pendant and it has the appearance of a decorative band set *within* the camail, through which the

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<sup>91</sup> I believe the design of the Cheney pendant to be unique.

<sup>92</sup> Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', p.195.

plate is riveted to its base. A typical collar would appear to surmount the camail: this does not.

#### The Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol (GLO3)

I have suggested that an earlier (1464) effigy may have included a Yorkist collar and that this was 'translated' in the 1501 refurbishment into something which, on close inspection, was not overtly Yorkist. The refurbishment is well documented and further research may provide confirmation of this.

#### Melbury Sampford (DOR2 & DOR3) and Puddletown, Dorset (DOR5)

The two Browning collars are almost identical and are similar, in matters of detail, to the Martyn collar at Puddletown. The presence of an unusual, sallet-type helm on all three figures suggests that the effigies may have originated in the same workshop. Further research is recommended, particularly of documentary evidence.

#### Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6)

Further research is required in order to identify a beast pendant on a chain collar, at Puddletown, Dorset (DOR6), which is so badly eroded that its original form is no longer recognizable. This would add significantly to our understanding of Martyn armorial practice, particularly with regard to the unique ape and mirror device which appears on Martyn monuments at Puddletown church and in glass and artefacts at nearby Athelhampton House.

#### Icomb, Gloucestershire (GLO6) and Henstridge, Somerset (SOM5)

The plain collars on the Blaket and Carent effigies should be investigated further in order to establish whether they were originally painted or were 'off the peg' collars which were never completed by engraving.

The North Somerset Cluster (GLO1, GLO7, SOM1, SOM2, SOM3, SOM6, SOM8, SOM13, SOM14 & SOM15.)

All but Chew Magna (SOM2 & SOM3) are located on an alignment from Mangotsfield in the north-east to Hutton in the south-west. Each church is approximately four miles from the next, and all are contained within an area of ten miles radius. Further research is needed in order to establish why such a pronounced cluster of collars should have survived. Furthermore, the use of local stone in seven of the nine effigies (and the paucity of alabaster monuments in the area) suggests the existence in the late-medieval period of a Somerset workshop. However, there is nothing to suggest a common pattern of design or workmanship.

## **A APPENDIX**

### **CATALOGUE OF LIVERY COLLARS ON LATE-MEDIEVAL AND TUDOR CHURCH MONUMENTS IN THE SOUTH WEST COUNTIES OF ENGLAND**

#### **Notes:**

All line drawings are 50% of actual size.

With the exception of SOM6, line drawings show only a collar and no extraneous detail. In those examples where detail is concealed by clasped hands, the outline of the hands is usually shown.

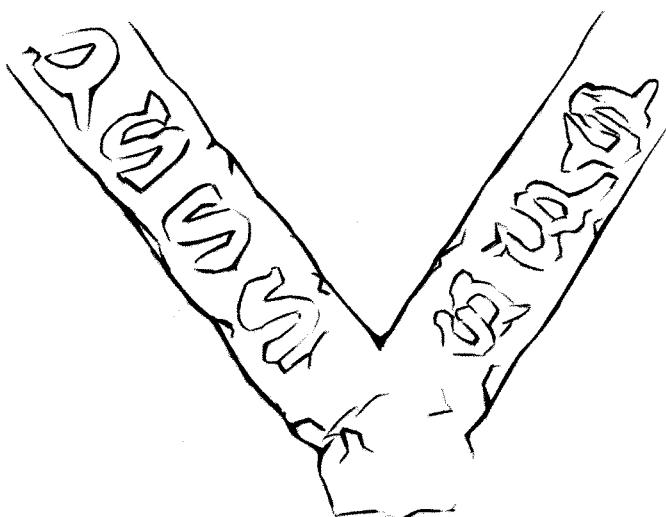
Photographs are selected to illustrate that section of a collar which is best preserved. Photographs of GLO1 and GLO2 were taken through glass. Photography was not possible for DOR7, DOR8, GLO7 and SOM8.

## CORNWALL

### COR1

Duloe, St. Cuby and St. Leonard.

Stone effigy of Sir John Colshull (d. 1483<sup>1</sup>) in the Coleshull Chapel, a finely ornamented late-fifteenth-century chantry chapel, added to the east end of the north aisle. The free-standing monument was moved 2m west of its original position. The effigy is of inferior quality to the Elvan slab and stone tomb chest on which it rests. There are three large quatrefoils, each containing a (blank) shield, on either side of the tomb chest. Depiction of Crucifixion in a single panel at the west end and a single quatrefoil and shield at the east. Slight traces of colour remain. The military figure is depicted in late-fifteenth-century armour. The effigy is in reasonable condition the sword is broken, gauntlets and feet are damaged and only a remnant of a beast remains at the feet. There is an unusually large closed helm with mantling, wreath and extraordinary domed 'crest' which has defied identification.



**Crudely carved collar with widely-spaced letters S set sideways on a broad (30mm), deeply incised strap. Six letters remain on the dexter side: reducing in size from the neck (35mm) to the front (20mm). Eight letters remain on the sinister side. Traces of gilding inside some letters. Detail of clasp eroded. No pendant: originally 'concealed' by clasped hands which are now missing. (Shallow incised shield-shape on breast is clearly later graffiti.)**

<sup>1</sup> Date on inscription: 18 March, 1483.



Sir John Colshull, Lord of the Manor of Tremadart and '...the second richest man in Cornwall', was the son of a young knight who died at Agincourt, serving under Henry V.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the effigy was commissioned shortly after the accession of Henry VII when loyalty to the House of Lancaster (and, therefore, a Lancastrian collar) would have been deemed more appropriate than in 1483!

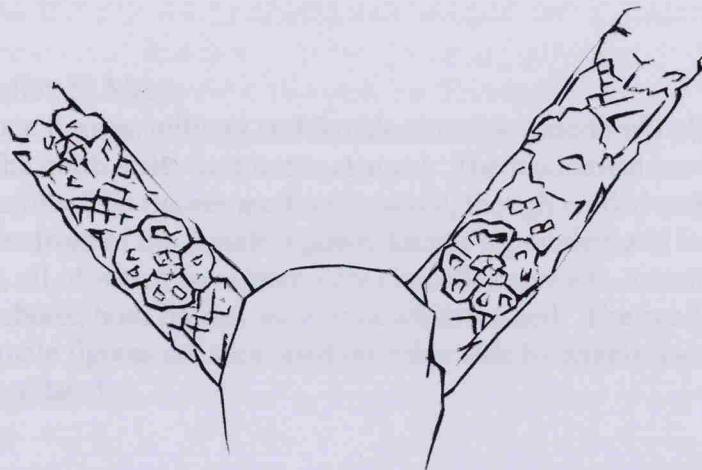
## DEVON

### DEV1

Modbury, St. George.

Alabaster Effigy of Sir John Champerknowne. The effigy is characteristic of the mid-fifteenth century, but the date of erection is unknown. The monument is clearly not in its original position: the effigy now occupies one of two arched recesses in the south wall of the transept. There is no tomb chest. This, and other effigies, were ejected from the church by parliamentarian troops and later recovered. Consequently, the condition is only fair and the feet, sword and helm are badly damaged. There is no crest or other heraldry in evidence. For an alabaster effigy, the carving is crudely executed.

<sup>2</sup> Church guidebook, Duloe Church, Cornwall. No author or date of publication given.

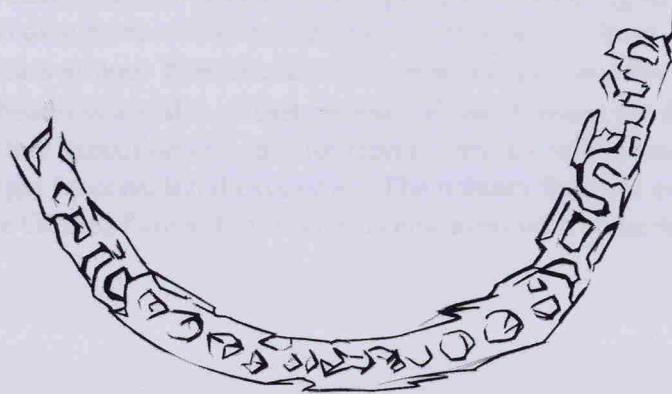


**Collar of flowers, each with only four petals: the medieval convention was to depict forget-me-nots with four petals but these may be a vernacular interpretation of roses. Eight flowers are visible on each side (several are badly eroded) with 6mm spacing and 30mm centres, set on a 23mm wide strap with plain, narrow borders and cross-hatched background. There are no chapes, clasp or pendant: all are 'concealed' beneath the figure's clasped hands. The carving of the effigy is generally crude and it may be that the flowers in the collar are a vernacular interpretation of what was specified. There are no roses or other flowers in the heraldry of the Champerknowne family and it may be that, at a time of political uncertainty, the family hedged its bets and commissioned a collar, the design of which would cause offence to neither York nor Lancaster.**

## DEV2

Tamerton Foliot, St Mary.

A pair of stone figures, military and female, on a low (modern?) plinth at the east end of the north aisle, next to the chancel. The monument has been moved on two occasions. The figures are finely carved, though eroded and with some damage to the front of the female's gown, knight's gauntlets and lower section of the collar, all of which have been very clumsily restored. According to the church guidebook, both figures were once whitewashed. The heads of both male and female figures are supported on either side by angels, two of which have been mutilated.



The collar itself is very badly eroded and was previously recorded as a collar of 'roundels or flowers'.<sup>3</sup> In fact, several letters S are visible on close inspection, placed lengthways on a shallow 15mm-wide strap. Only two of these letters are complete. The remodelled lower section is semi-circular and is potted with irregular indentations. There is no evidence of chapes, clasps or pendant. However, an earlier drawing suggests that the collar was of a more conventional form and once extended beneath the clasped hands of the figure.<sup>4</sup> The depiction of a Lancastrian collar places the figure in the post-1376 period, casting further doubt on the current attribution.<sup>5</sup>

Once believed to be Sir Ralph de Gorges and his wife Ellen, it is now suggested that the stone effigies are of William de Gorges and his wife Agnes.<sup>6</sup> The figures are believed to date from c.1346 and the first written record from 1350, but the male figure wears armour from the late-fourteenth century and his wife's costume and headress are also of that period.<sup>7</sup> Even allowing for the possibility of a retrospective execution of a mid-fourteenth-century will, a delay of some forty years might be considered excessive. The military figure is certainly a member of the Gorges family: the surcoat is engraved with an heraldic Gorge or whirlpool.

## DORSET

### DOR1

#### Marnhull, St. Gregory

A very finely carved Nottingham alabaster effigy of John Carent (senior) of Silton (d.1478) on a Ham stone tomb chest (an 1898 copy incorporating a fragment of the original alabaster chest) to the north of the chancel arch between the figures (identical) of his two wives: Alice (?) and Isabel Rempton of Godringston. The tomb was originally in the south transept among other Carent burials. Elaborate, fluted armour. There are remnants of colour (red) on the women's sleeves and head cushions (red and green). There is no surviving heraldry: possible Carent and Stourton colouring evident in canopy shields. The helm and wreath are intact but the crest is broken off.

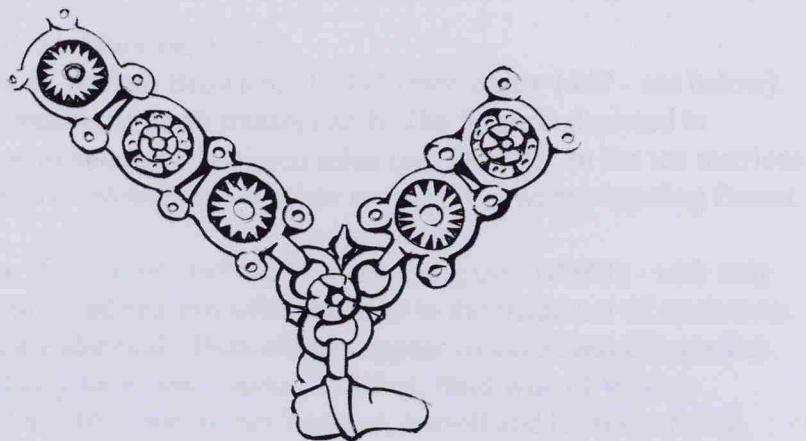
<sup>3</sup> W. Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies of Devon* (London, 1877), p.122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.123.

<sup>5</sup> Walker, p.95.

<sup>6</sup> P.S. Bebbington, *Saint Mary's Church, Tamerton Foliot* (Exeter, 1981), p.14.

<sup>7</sup> Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, p.122.



An exquisite Yorkist collar of alternate suns and roses, skilfully carved and deeply incised with intricate detailing. No strap evident. Links 200mm wide. Both suns and roses carved within raised circular borders, each linked with two small discs with hollowed centres. No chapes: single links attach collar to toret with a rose motif (slightly raised) at the centre and fleur-de-lis within each outer angle. A white lion pendant (damaged) is attached by a link to the lower section of toret.

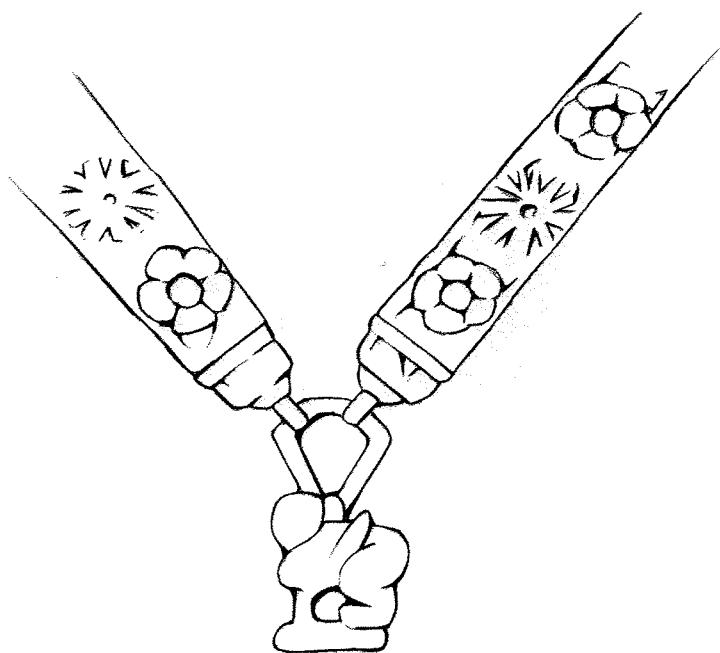
John Carent was the elder brother of William Carent of Toomer (see SOM5) whose effigy at nearby Henstridge (Somerset) includes a representation of a plain collar, somewhat crudely carved, with a heavy toret. There is a reference in a will of William Carent of Montacute, Somerset (proved 1406) to '...the chantry of Marnhull.'

## DOR2

Melbury Sampford, St. Mary the Virgin.

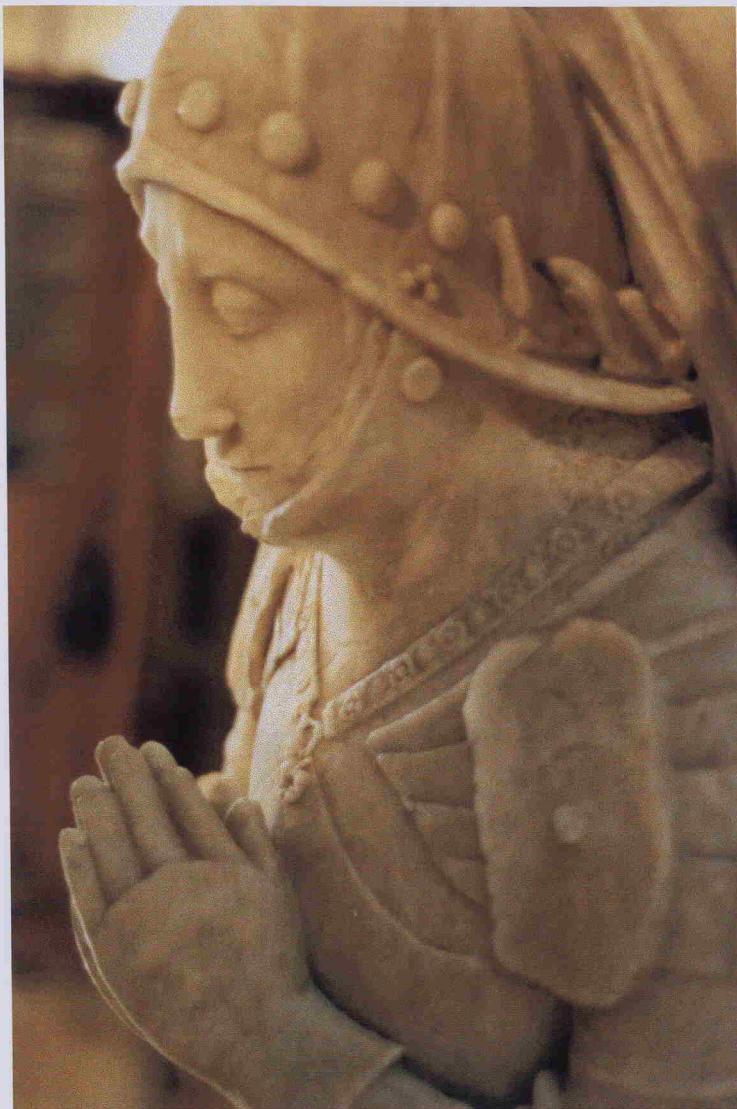
An alabaster effigy of William Browning d.1472 (monument 1467 - *see below*). on a tomb chest beneath the north transept arch. The figure is depicted in elaborate armour with an unusual pointed sallet (*see DOR5*). In the ten matrices in the canopy only one coloured brass shield remains: Browning impaling Basset.

Very similar to the effigy attributed to John Browning (*see DOR3*) - with only minor differences of detail and execution, notably in the treatment of rerebraces. The carved crests are identical. Both effigies appear to have been executed at the same time and may have been erected by Alice, third wife of William Browning (senior) in 1467: one for her husband, herself and his former wife, Katherine Dru; the other for William's father, John Browning and his wife Eleanor who may already have been buried there with a simple memorial, possibly a brass.<sup>8</sup>



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<sup>8</sup> Dr Gerald Harriss, *pers. comm.*, March 1998.



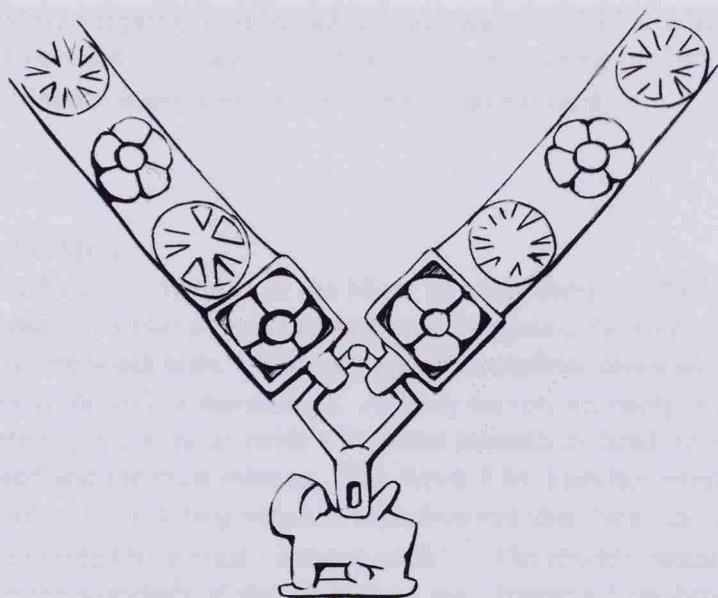
**A shallow relief Yorkist strap collar, 21mm wide strap with separate, raised suns and roses. A six-sided clasp is attached by elaborate ('metal') chapes and a swivel-link to a (damaged) white lion pendant.**

William Browning (d. 1472) was MP for Dorset 1439, 1450 and 1455. He was Receiver of the Dorset lands of Richard, Duke of York between 1436 and 1452 and thereafter to 1459-60 when he continued as Receiver when York's lands were briefly confiscated by the Lancastrian government. Wedgwood, in his *History of Parliament*, is quite wrong in suggesting that William Browning was '...obviously a good Lancastrian'.

### **DOR3**

Melbury Sampford, St. Mary the Virgin

An alabaster effigy of John Browning (d.1416, monument 1467)on a tomb chest beneath the south transept arch. Very similar to the effigy of William Browning (see DOR2).



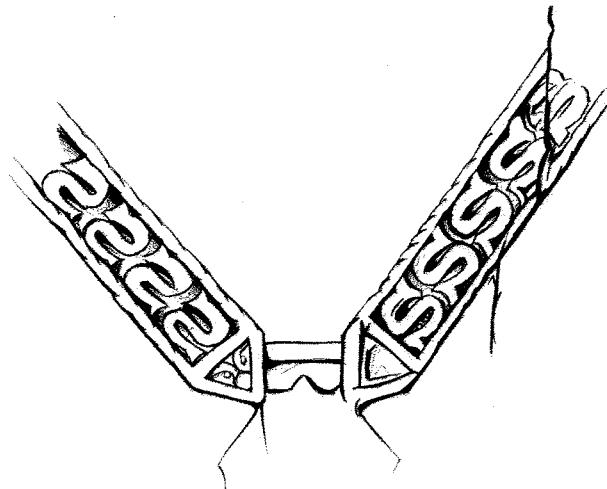
A rather crudely carved strap collar with alternate Yorkist suns and roses, 20mm wide at the front increasing to 22mm behind the head. Separate, raised suns and roses, the suns similar in appearance to a Union Flag within a roundel, that at each termination of the collar being contained within a rectangular border. Diamond-shaped clasp with simple attachments to chapes and a plain link to a white lion pendant. (Note: the white lion pendant is anachronistic since the Mortimer inheritance only came to Richard, Duke of York on the death of Edmund, Earl of March on 1425. John Browning died in 1416. )

The memorial was appropriated by Giles Strangways in 1547 at which time the inscriptions (recorded by Leland in 1542) to John Browning (d. 1416) and his second wife Eleanor were removed and his own substituted.<sup>9</sup>

#### DOR4

Netherbury, St. Mary.

An alabaster effigy of a member of the Moor or More family of Melplash c.1480 on a table tomb set within a (later) arched canopy against the south wall at the eastern end of the south aisle. Front: six angels in shallow canopied niches, each holding a shield (no colour remaining). A finely carved but badly mutilated military figure in plate armour with a Bascinet beneath its head, though this is badly damaged and the crest missing. The Revd. J.M. Fletcher refers to a visit on 12 September, 1918 during which it was observed that 'Near the monument is a helmet surmounted by a crest - a moor-cock'.<sup>10</sup> The shields contained within quatrefoils in the spandrels of the tomb chest are: *Argent a Fess between three Moor-cocks Sable* (Moor of Melplash) and plain red (original paint?) with no charges. [Again, Fletcher observed that both shields were painted with the Moor arms.]



<sup>9</sup> Dr Gerald Harriss, *pers. comm.*, March 1998.

<sup>10</sup> J.M. Fletcher, 'The SS Collar in Dorset and Elsewhere', DNHAS *Proceedings*, 45 (1924), p.92.



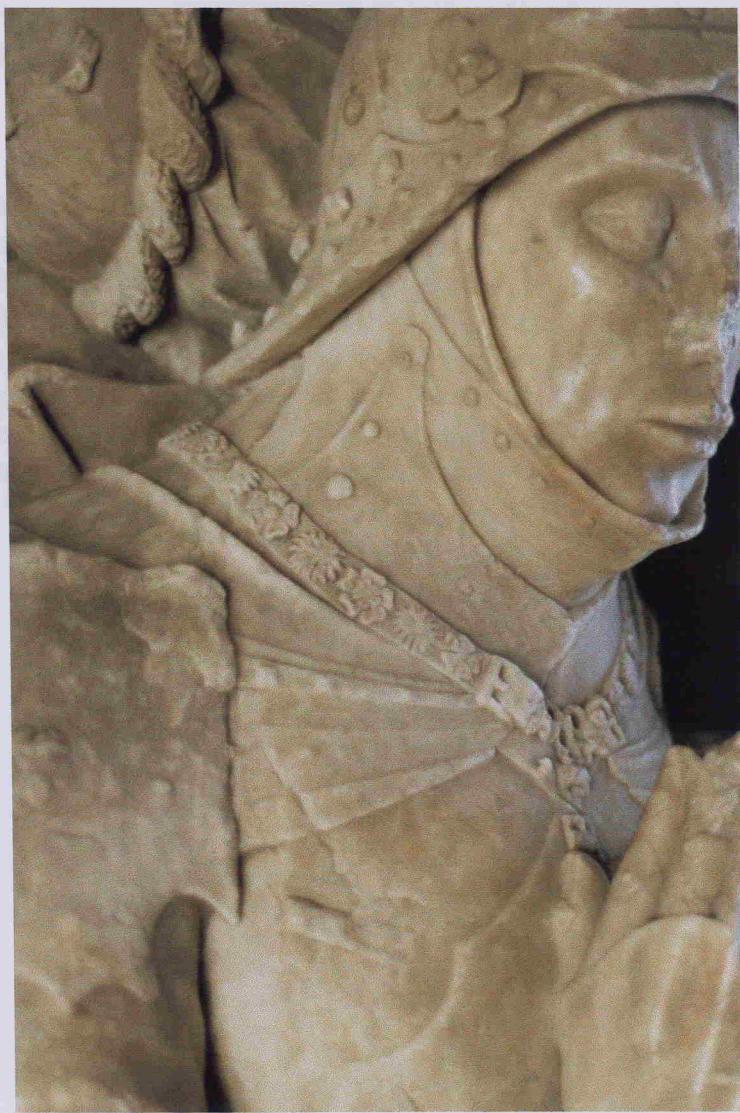
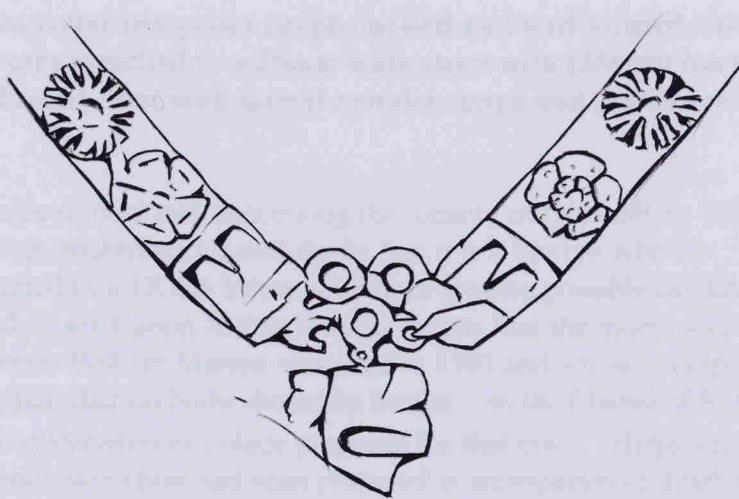
A 25mm wide strap collar of SS finely carved with deeply-incised letters set within cable edges. The letters are reversed on the dexter side. Decorated chapes are joined by a narrow (metal?) band. The clasp is badly abraded and the pendant is concealed beneath the effigy's hands (in prayer) which have been mutilated beyond recognition.

## DOR5

Puddletown, St. Mary.

An alabaster effigy on a Purbeck marble table tomb beneath 'an elaborate canopy of local manufacture' separating the south chapel (the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene or the 'Athelhampton Chantry') from the nave.<sup>11</sup> The figure wears plate armour with an unusual ogee-shaped sallet, similar to those in effigies at Melbury Osmond (see DOR2 & DOR3), Neville (1484) at Brancepeth, Durham (wooden effigy destroyed by fire, 1998), an unidentified stone figure at Meriden, Warwickshire and Hungerford at Salisbury (see WIL3). This type of sallet is more frequently found in German monuments and is also a feature of brasses to Edmund Clere (1488) at Stokesay, Norfolk and Robert Staunton (1485) at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire. A singular feature (for this date) is the elongated, fluted and ribbed shield born on left arm which suggests the same workshop as Harcourt (1471) at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, Crosby (1475) at Bishopsgate, London and Erdington (1433) at Aston, Warwickshire.

<sup>11</sup> A. Helps, *Puddletown Church* (Dorchester, 1938, revised 1972), p.14.



**The Yorkist collar comprises deeply incised and well-formed alternating suns and roses attached to a 25mm wide strap with (35mm) buckle chapes, unusual (24mm) toret with lateral annulet clasps and (badly eroded) lion pendant.**

There remains some doubt concerning the identity of this military effigy. The ape at the feet establishes beyond doubt that it is a Martyn who is commemorated (see DOR6 below) but there are two possible candidates. In the church guide book Canon Arthur Helps suggests that the monument commemorates William Martyn who died in 1503 and whose will (proved in 1503) specified that his body should be buried '...in the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene at Pydelton in a place prepared for that end.'<sup>12</sup> Helps suggests that the effigy and tomb chest had been prepared in anticipation of death some thirty years earlier. The armour is of the period 1470-75 (though the unusual helmet is somewhat later - *see* above). However, the practice by 1503 was to abrade Yorkist collars when new interments took place and it seems more likely that it is a memorial to Thomas Martyn who is known to have been a Yorkist supporter and who died in 1470.

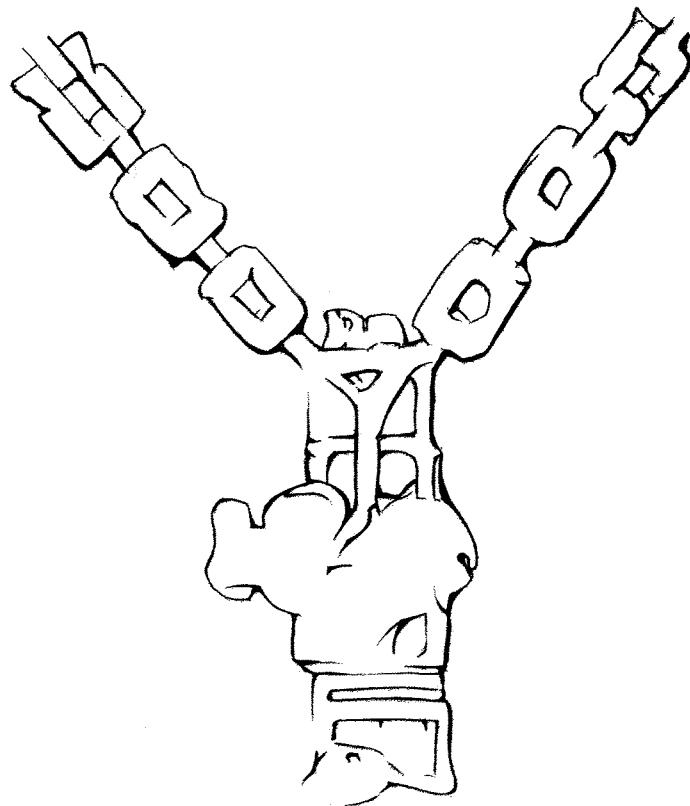
## **DOR6**

Puddletown, St. Mary.

Alabaster effigies of an unidentified male of the Martyn family, together with that of a female, on a superb (though badly eroded) table tomb in the SW corner of the south chapel (the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene or the 'Athelhampton Chantry') c.1480. Canopied niches in the sides of the tomb chest retain evidence of blue paint and contain weepers holding shields, but the (painted) heraldry has not survived. It would appear that the concealed panels were also carved and that the monument is not in its original position.

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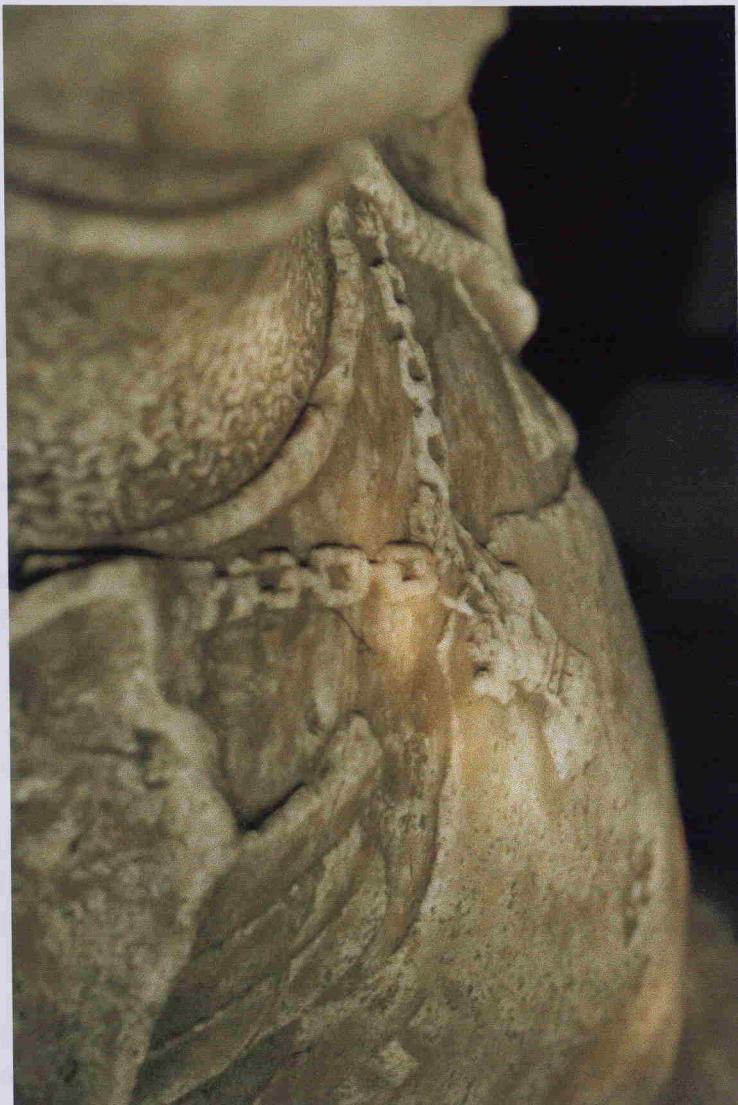
<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.



The military effigy wears a chain of (eroded) square links (each approximately 15mm x 20mm), four visible on each side, with an elaborately carved (but badly eroded) clasp and pendant over the arming buckle. The guide book states that it is a lion pendant (Hutchins is silent on the subject) but this would normally depend from a Yorkist collar.<sup>13</sup> Looking elsewhere for an explanation, there are no lions in Martyn heraldry but there are apes. The pendant is so badly eroded that identification is impossible. It could be a personal pendant, possibly an ape holding a mirror which was a Martyn device. (The family's motto was 'He who looks on Marytn's Ape, so Martyn's Ape shall look on him'.) There is an ape at the feet of the effigy and at the feet of the figure referred to above at DOR5.

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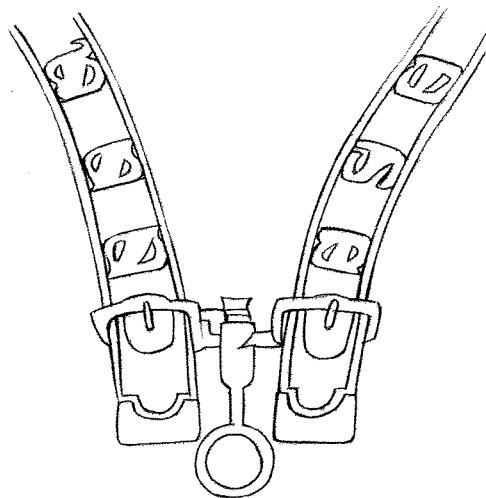
<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10



## DOR7

Thorcombe (formerly in Devon), church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. High quality brasses of civilian male and female (see DOR8), the figures set within a rectangular inscription located at the east end of the north aisle (Hutchins '...not in original position.'). The brass was re-laid and the inscriptions and shields restored, in 1867. Designated London 'D' series. Four brass shields (two above and two below) are neither coloured nor engraved and are almost certainly replacements.<sup>14</sup> The male figure wears long, fur-lined tunic (houppelande?) with a belt and loose-hanging sleeves. No weapon or spurs. The brass is set on a low 'tomb chest' partially of brick and part stone. A padlocked glass cover and inaccessible location make photography impossible.

<sup>14</sup> J.H.B. Andrews, 'Broke family brasses at Thorcombe', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 94 (1962), pp.255-6.



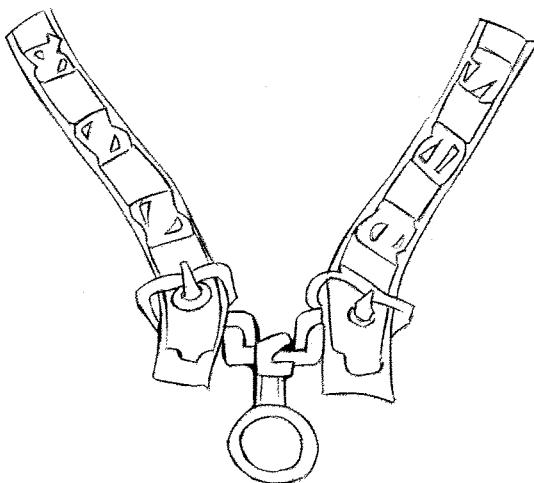
**A reversed lyre pattern, 20mm wide collar of SS with buckle chapes, distinctive and complex swivel link with annulet clasp, and simple annulet pendant. The letters are widely spaced.**

[NB. The dog at the foot of the civilian figure has a collar formed in all respects like those of his master and mistress but without the SS letters on the strap.]

Sir Thomas Brooke (Broke) of Holditch Court. d. 1415.<sup>15</sup> Brass 1437 (see DOR8). Sir Thomas was Sheriff of Somerset in 1389, of Devon 1394 and Knight of the Shire for Somerset 10, 11, 15, 20 and 21 Richard II.

#### **DOR8**

Thorcombe, church of Blessed Virgin Mary (formerly in Devon).  
Brass to Joan (Johan), Lady Brooke.



<sup>15</sup> W. de C. Prideaux, in 'Two Brasses at Thorcombe', DNHAS *Proceedings* 29 (1908), p.278 gives d.1417-18.

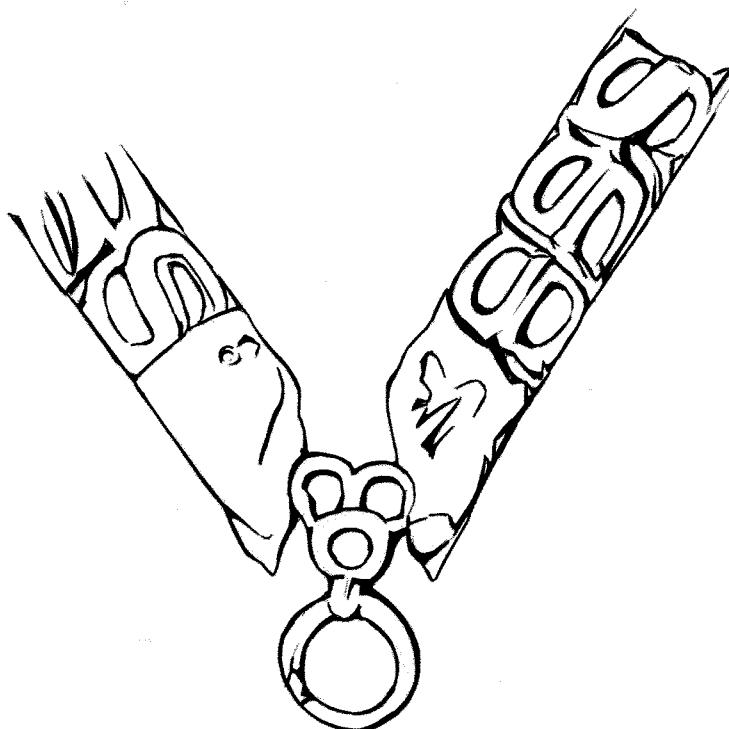
**A reversed lyre pattern, 15mm wide collar of SS with buckle chapes, distinctive swivel link with annulet clasp, and annulet pendant.**

Lady Joan was the wife of Sir Thomas Brooke (*see DOR7*), daughter of Simon Hanape of Gloucestershire and widow of Robert Cheddar of Bristol (d.1437).

## **DOR9**

Wimborne, Minster Church of St. Cuthberga.

A magnificent alabaster effigy to John Beaufort, Earl of Kendal and Duke of Somerset K.G. (d.1444) on a Purbeck marble tomb chest within the south-eastern arch of the presbytery arcade (with DOR10). The monument is of exceptionally high quality workmanship and materials. The figure is depicted wearing robes of state over plate armour with bascinet, orle and gorget and the Garter below the left knee.





**A broad collar with large, deeply incised linked letters S on a heavy 34mm-wide strap (traces of red colouring are discernible inside the letters): 9 letters are visible on each side. A toret clasp is attached to badly eroded, formless but pronounced chapes (10mm deep) and a simple, 28mm diameter annulet pendant which is partly eroded on the lower edge.**

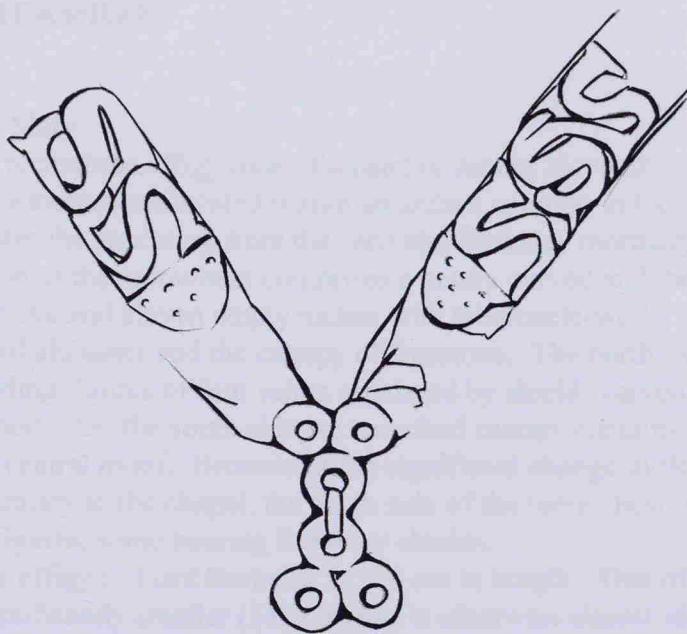
Somerset was a grandson of John of Gaunt and the grandfather of Henry VII. He was Lieutenant of Aquitaine and Captain-general of France and Normandy. The double effigies were commissioned by his daughter, Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and erected at the end of the fifteenth century. W.J. Fletcher suggests 1498 - fifty-four years after her father's death.<sup>16</sup>

## **DOR10**

Wimborne, Minster Church of St. Cuthberga.

An alabaster effigy to Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletsoe (1444). Lady Margaret is depicted in robes of state on a Purbeck marble tomb chest within the south-eastern arch of the presbytery arcade (with DOR9). The monument is of exceptionally high quality workmanship and materials.

<sup>16</sup> Fletcher, 'The SS Collar in Dorset and elsewhere', p.220.



**A broad (25mm) collar of linked, deeply incised letters S, with five visible on each side. Elaborate (but eroded) chapes with a toret clasp and inverted toret pendant.**

The Duchess was grandmother of Henry VII. The double effigies were commissioned by her daughter, Lady Margaret Tudor (*see above*).

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

### GLO1

#### Berkeley, St. Mary

An alabaster recumbent effigy (one of a pair) of James, eleventh Lord Berkeley (1417-63) in a monument located within an arched opening in the south wall which separates the sanctuary from the (private) Berkeley mortuary chapel. The north elevation of the monument comprises a gently curved arch beneath a flat-topped architrave and eleven empty niches with tabernacle-work. The tomb chest is also of alabaster and the canopy of freestone. The north side is carved with the standing figures of four saints separated by shields carved with Berkeley armory. On the south side, an enarched canopy contains twelve empty niches and a central motif. Because of the significant change in floor levels from the sanctuary to the chapel, the south side of the tomb chest consists of two tiers of figures, some bearing Berkeley shields.

The alabaster effigy of Lord Berkeley is 194 cm in length. That of his son (*see* GLO2) is significantly smaller (146 cm) but is otherwise almost identical - except for the addition of a label in the Berkeley arms which are carved on both tabards (the label is that of an elder son though James junior was, in fact, a second son). Both figures are depicted in mid-fifteenth-century armour, each has its head resting on a helm, to which is affixed the Berkeley crest of a Mitre, and both figures are in an excellent state of preservation due, in part at least, to their being enclosed in glass panelling.



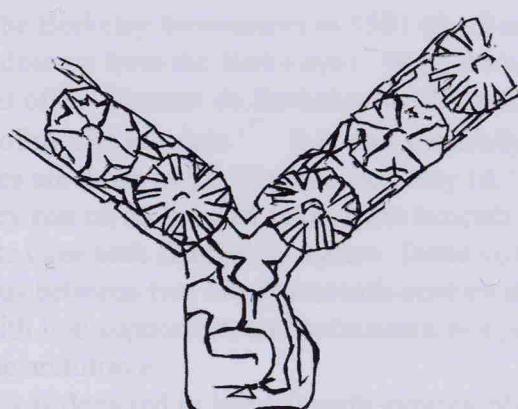


**The Yorkist collar worn by the larger figure is 37mm wide and consists of alternating suns and roses, both of 36mm diameter with 40mm centres. The suns and roses are very well preserved: three and a half suns and three roses being visible on each side of the (eroded) swivel white lion pendant (40mm deep by 48mm wide). There are no chapes or toret. The suns and roses appear to be carved from raised 'mounds' in the collar which has cable edges and small, semi-spherical motifs in the interstices.**

## **GLO2**

Berkeley, St. Mary

An alabaster effigy (one of a pair) of James Berkeley (d.1452), second son of Lord Berkeley (see GLOS1), in a monument located within an arched opening in the south wall which separates the sanctuary from the (private) Berkeley mortuary chapel.





**The Yorkist collar is identical to that in GLO1 except that it is only 24mm wide, the suns and roses have 20mm centres and the pendant is attached by means of a (20 mm long) toret set within the strap: there are no chapes. The lion pendant (25mm deep by 30mm wide) is better preserved than that in the larger figure.**

James, the eleventh Lord Berkeley's second son, was slain in France in July 1452 aged about 20 and unmarried. His place of burial is unknown.

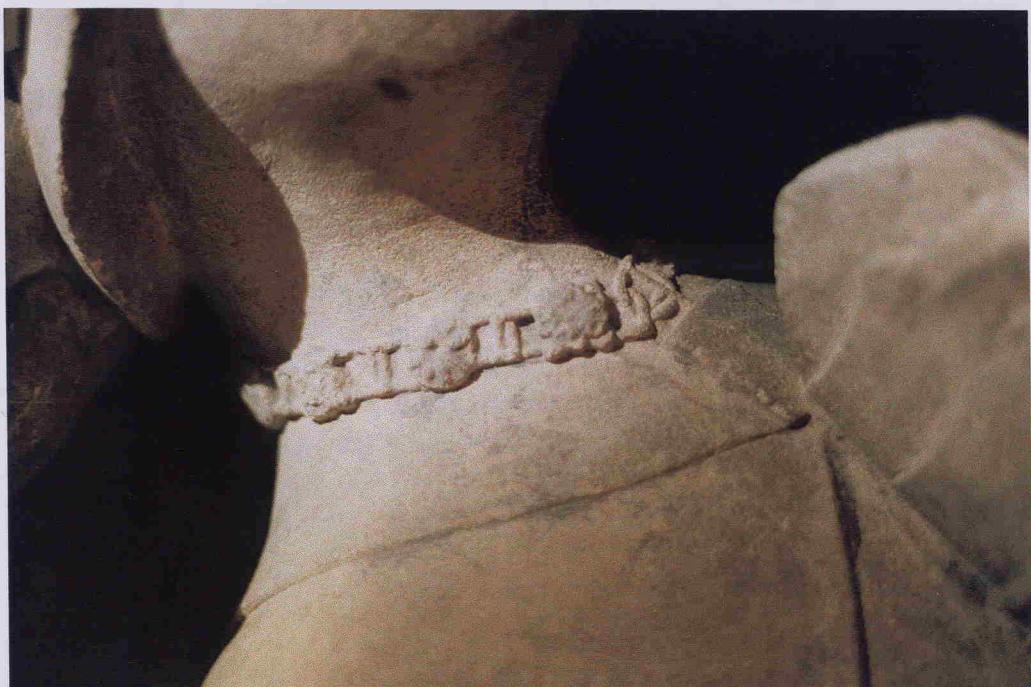
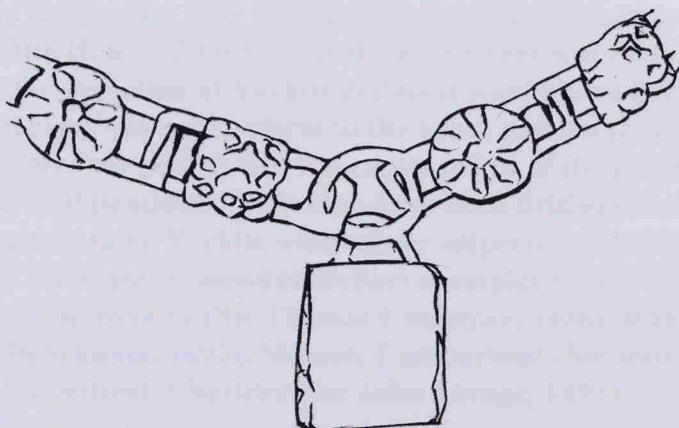
### **GLO3**

Bristol, Lord Mayor's Chapel (formerly the chapel of St. Mark's Hospital, Billeswick).

An ornate limestone monument erected on the north side of the sanctuary during a refurbishment of the Berkeley monuments in 1501 (the Bishop responsible for the project claimed descent from the Berkeleys). W.R. Barker suggests that the military effigy is that of Sir Thomas de Berkeley (d.1361), though he concedes that the effigy is '...of much later date.'<sup>17</sup> It is now generally acknowledged that the limestone effigies are those of Sir Maurice Berkeley (d.1464) and Lady Ellen, his wife. They rest on an integral tomb chest beneath an elaborate canopy comprising an ornate ogee arch flanked by square, fluted columns. The ogee arch extends upwards between two late-fourteenth-century shields of Berkeley quarterings, each with lion supporters, and culminates in a pronounced poppy-head finial above the architrave.

Sir Maurice Berkeley is depicted in late-fifteenth-century plate armour and visored salade with his head resting on a helm with wreath, mantling and mitre crest. Both effigies are finely carved and in a good state of preservation.

<sup>17</sup> W.R. Barker, *St. Marks or the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol* (Bristol, 1892), p.44.



The 21mm-wide collar consists of alternating, eight-pointed 'suns', each set on a disc, and flower heads, each of four petals. There are three flower-heads and two suns to the dexter and three suns and two flower-heads to the sinister, all with 44mm centres and connected by means of pairs of interlocking rectangular links. The oblong pendant (32mm wide by 45mm long) is attached by means of a simple circular link which enfiles the lower pair of rectangular links in the collar. The pendant has been described as a 'locket'.<sup>18</sup> While the pendant and links have survived in reasonable condition, the 'suns and roses' have not: much of the detail is missing, though there is an accurate drawing (of 1892) which shows how the collar appeared at that time.<sup>19</sup> This is usually listed as a Yorkist collar of suns

<sup>18</sup> Mary Bagnall-Oakeley, 'On the Monumental Effigies of the Family of Berkeley', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 15 (1890-1), p.98.

<sup>19</sup> Barker, *St. Marks or the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol*, p.47.

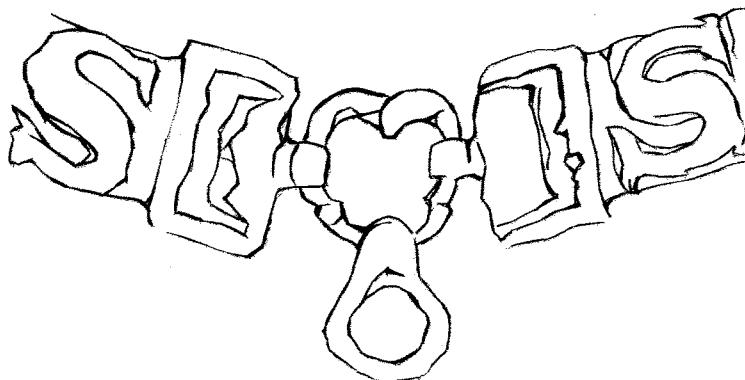
appeared at that time.<sup>19</sup> This is usually listed as a Yorkist collar of suns and roses and it is known that Sir Maurice Berkeley was an active supporter of the House of York. But the monument was erected in 1501 at a time when the depiction of Yorkist emblems would have been anathema. The 'suns and roses' do not conform to the usual pattern (notably the 'roses' have only four petals) and the construction of the collar is unique, as is the clasp and pendant. This may have been deliberate: at first glance, the collar appears to be Yorkist while closer inspection reveals that it is not. Nevertheless, there are (somewhat earlier) examples of post-1485 collars: as at Youlgreave, Derbyshire (Sir Thomas Cockayne, 1488), Holbrooke, Suffolk (Sir Gilbert Debenham, 1493), Millom, Cumberland (Sir John Huddleston, 1494) and Macclesfield, Cheshire (Sir John Savage, 1495).

Lady Berkeley wears a plain collar of similar interlocking rectangular links.

#### GLO4

##### Gloucester Cathedral

An alabaster effigy of Thomas Bridges (or Brydges) of Coberley, Gloucestershire (d.1410), together with that of his wife (see GLO5), in a monument set into the wall of the south aisle, adjacent to the transept. The monument consists of a broad ogee arch, flanked by empty niches and an integral tomb chest, the front of which is divided into seven bays without ornamentation. The figure in the military effigy is rather crudely carved and depicted in early fourteenth-century armour with camail and surcoat and the head resting on a tilting helm with wreath, mantling and moor's head crest.



<sup>19</sup> Barker, *St. Marks or the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol*, p.47.

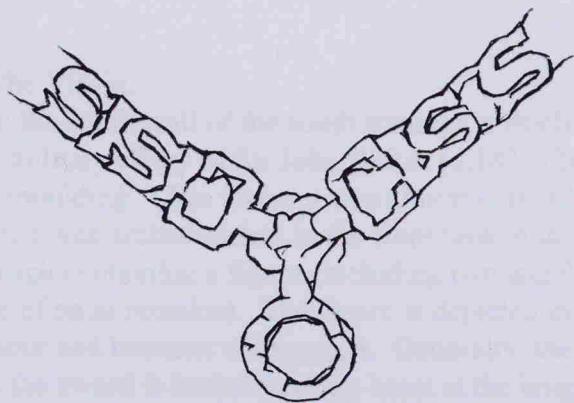


**The heavily incised Lancastrian collar of esses comprises a wide (41mm) circlet with four, crudely-carved full-width letters (36mm wide) on either side of an (30mm) annulet pendant which is suspended, by means of a swivel joint, from a toret (45mm x 40mm) between strong, rectangular chapes (each 30mm x 48mm). The collar is in good condition.**

## **GLO5**

Gloucester Cathedral

Effigy of Alice, wife of Thomas Bridges (or Brydges) of Coberley, Gloucestershire (d.1410), together with that of her husband (see GLO4), in a monument set into the wall of the south aisle, adjacent to the transept. The effigies are believed to be contemporaneous, though they are of different materials (the male figure is of alabaster and the female of limestone) and the carving on the former is far more heavily incised and crude in execution.



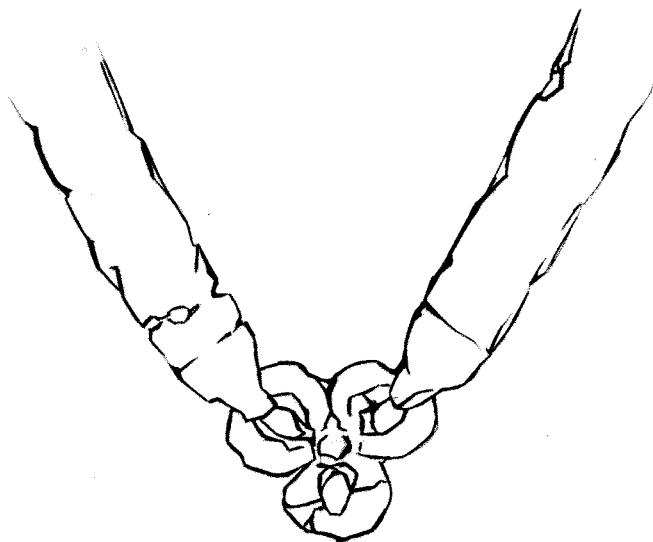
**The Lancastrian collar of esques is of a similar design to that on the male figure, though it is in lower relief and very much narrower (17mm). It too has distinctive rectangular chapes, a simple toret and annulet pendant: all in a good state of preservation.**

Lady Alice was daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Berkeley of Cubberley.

## GLO6

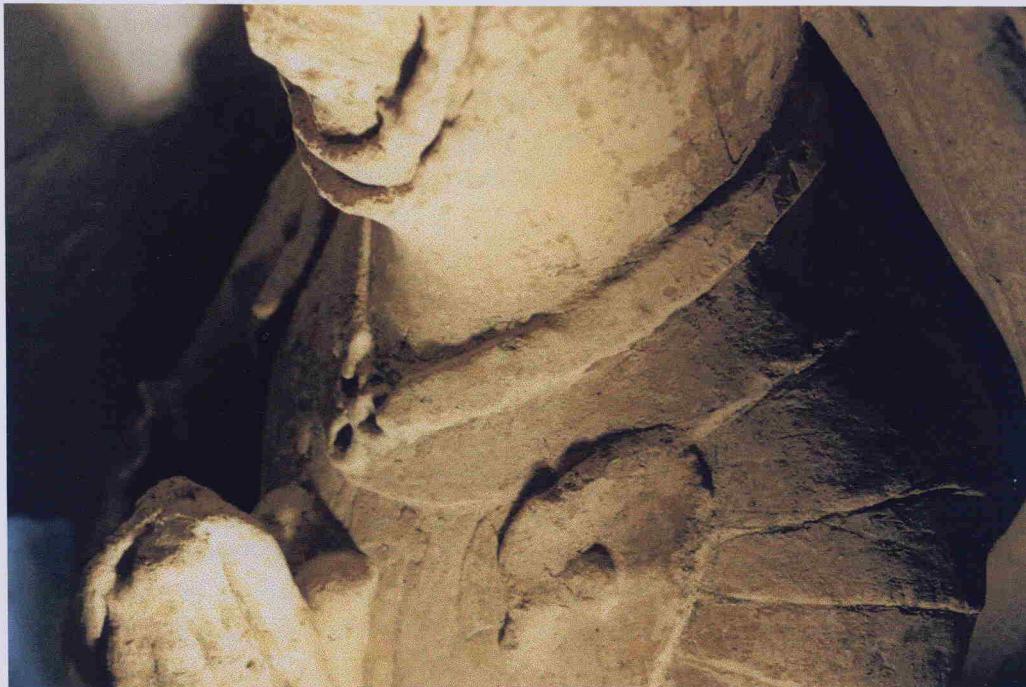
Icomb, St. Mary the Virgin.

Within a recess in the south wall of the south transept, a finely carved but eroded limestone military effigy of Sir John Blaket (d.1431) beneath a triangular arch with cusped moulding. (The transept was almost certainly a chantry chapel.) There are seven arched niches in the front face of the tomb chest and one at each end, each containing a figure (including two angels bearing shields on which no trace of paint remains). The figure is depicted in late-fourteenth-century plate armour and bascinet with gorget. Generally, the figure is in good condition though the sword is broken and the beast at the knight's feet has been decapitated. The head rests on a tilting helm with wreath and mantling, surmounted by a chapeau and an ass's head crest. The jupon is lightly engraved with the arms (Quarterly 1 & 4 *Azure a Bend between six Trefoils fitchy Or* for Blaket and 2 & 3 *Gules three Batle Axes Or* for Hackluyt).



**The collar is heavy, comprising a 6mm deep strap, 26mm wide at the neck tapering to 22mm at the chapes with a deeply incised toret clasp (45mm x 45mm) but no pendant. The lines separating the strap and chapes are just visible but the surface of the strap is otherwise uniformly smooth and there is no evidence to suggest that the collar was otherwise embellished. Neither is there any evidence of abrasion or erosion.**

Sir John fought in the French wars (he was present at Agincourt) so it is likely that the collar was intended to represent that of the Lancastrian affinity.



## GLO7

Mangotsfield, St. James.

The monument was originally located in a 'small chancel on the north side of the great one' but is now concealed by the organ case and is, therefore, **inaccessible**.<sup>20</sup> Rudder informs us that the monument includes a coarsely executed pair of effigies in oolitic limestone (Bath stone?). The military effigy is truncated below the hips as well as the whole of the right arm and the left arm from above the elbow. The armour is from the second quarter of the fifteenth century and includes a pointed bascinet and wreath. The head rests on a tilting helm with the sea-lion crest of Blount.

**A Lancastrian collar of SS. Inaccessibility makes it impossible to ascertain detail or dimensions. Rudder and Brambles<sup>21</sup> are silent on the subject (other than a brief reference to '...a collar of SS') and neither book contains an illustration of sufficient clarity to provide details of the collar - though it would appear to be of the 'strap' type with a simple toret closure and annulet pendant.**<sup>22</sup>

The effigy is generally attributed to John Blount (d.1444) though documentary evidence records that formerly attached to the monument was a shield bearing

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire* (1779, reprinted Stroud 1985), p.133.

<sup>21</sup> J.R. Brambles, 'Two effigies at Mangotsfield', *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club* 21 (1898), p.543.

<sup>22</sup> E. Jones, *Mangotsfield* (Stroud, 1981), p.89.

Blount quartering Seymour.<sup>23</sup> Edmund Blount, who married Margaret Seymour, died in 1468 aged 62 and the effigy could, therefore, be his. However the arms could have been painted at any time (they should properly be impaled, not quartered), the bascinet does not appear in effigies later than 1445 and it seems unlikely that a Lancastrian collar would have been incorporated in a monument in 1468!

## GLO8

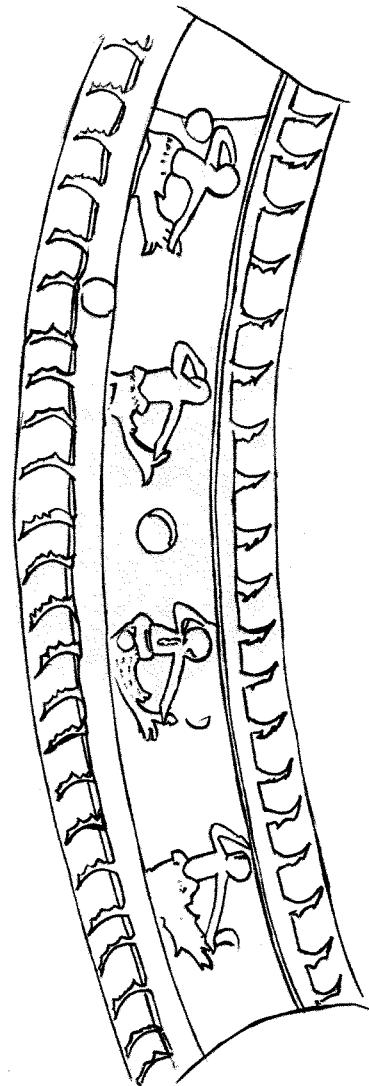
Wotton-under-Edge, St. Mary the Virgin.

Military figure of Thomas, fourth Lord Berkeley (d.1417) next to that of his wife, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Gerard Warren, Lord Lisle, on a massive but plain Purbeck marble tomb chest (107cm high x 130cm wide x 244cm long) at the eastern end of the north aisle (not its original position). The brass is designated London 'B' Series / M.S.1 (but London 'D' series by others<sup>24</sup>) and is in a good state of preservation. Both figures are upright and full-face. No trace of enamel remains and the surrounding inscription had been removed by 1608. The sword, dagger, heaume, spur rowels and shields (if any) have all been removed.

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<sup>23</sup> Brambles, 'Two effigies at Mangotsfield', p.46.

<sup>24</sup> Martin Stutchfield of the Monumental Brass Society, *pers. comm.* dated October 1997.



**Lord Berkeley is depicted wearing a 29mm-wide 'collar', deeply incised at the outer edges and engraved with four mermaids (each 29mm high, 30mm from tail to elbow and with 55mm centres, that to the sinister being 40mm from the edge and that to the dexter 25mm). The mermaid was a personal device used by the Berkeleys on seals and as supporters.**



Thomas, eldest son of Maurice, ninth Lord Berkeley, was born at Berkeley Castle on 5th January, 1353. In 1367, at the age of 14, he married Margaret, daughter of Gerrard Warren, Lord de Lisle (she was 7). He became the tenth Lord Berkeley in 1368. Margaret died in 1392 aged 31 leaving one child, Elizabeth. Thomas did not remarry and died without heirs male and intestate in 1417 aged 64. Berkeley was Admiral over the Western Seas from 1403 and a member of the Privy Council. Under Henry IV he was appointed chief commander in the Welsh Wars and was at Agincourt in 1415.

## HAMPSHIRE

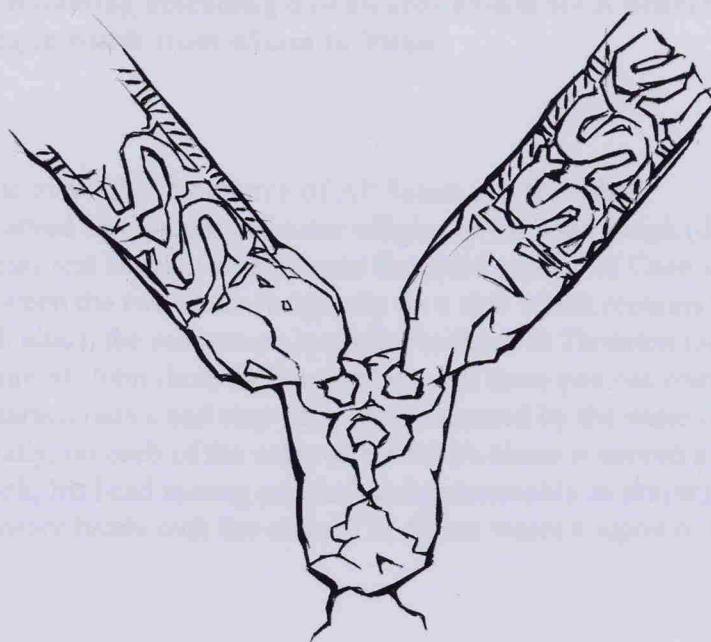
### HAM1

Christchurch, Priory Church of the Holy Trinity.

A finely executed pair of alabaster effigies of Sir John Chideock (or Chidiock) (d.1449: monument 1446) and his wife, Katherine (d.1461) at the eastern termination of the north aisle (moved in 1791 from beneath the great window in the north transept). The figures rest on a Purbeck marble plinth (with holes for a hearse) from which the banded inscription and enamelled (?) shields disappeared in c.1791. The massive stone tomb chest is entirely devoid of decoration. Both effigies are badly defaced, especially the faces, hands and feet: '...the result of superstitious belief that scrapings from the tomb of 'King Chydicke' were a sovereign cure for sundry ills...especially when mixed with water from the Pure Well near Stanpit.'<sup>25</sup> The male figure is unusually large: 220 cm in length. He wears late fifteenth-century plate armour, while his head

<sup>25</sup> From the Priory guidebook: no source or other details given.

rests on a closed helm with a wreath, mantling and martlet crest (damaged) beneath which are remnants of red colouring.



A Lancastrian collar of SS similar to that on the effigy of Robert, Lord Hungerford at Salisbury Cathedral (see WIL3). A deeply incised (9mm deep) strap (36mm wide) is embellished with finely crafted and deeply cut letters (22mm wide) and cable edging. There are twelve letters on the dexter and seven remaining on the sinister (the remainder are badly damaged, some recently so). There is a pair of heavy, formless chapes (43mm long) and an unusually small toret (35mm) from the lower edge of which depends a small tapering link. This may once have supported a

**pendant but the figure is so badly damaged in this area that it is almost impossible to distinguish the remains of the clasped hands (gauntlets?) from those of a possible pendant. Unusually, there is also a slightly raised, flat area of moulding extending downwards 65mm from beneath the toret and tapering in width from 45mm to 30mm.**

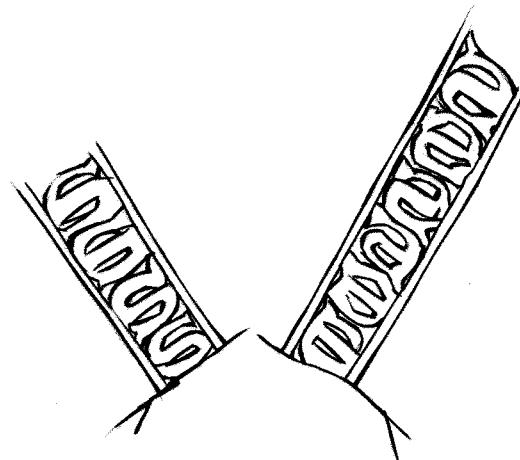
## **HAM2**

Godshill, Isle of Wight, the church of All Saints and St. Alban.

The finely carved Derbyshire alabaster effigies of Sir John Leigh (d.1529) and his wife Agnes rest beneath an elaborate floreated canopy of Caen stone.

Located between the two altars (originally on a slab which remains before what was the high altar), the monument is similar to those at Thruxtion (*see HAM4*) and Sherborne St. John (both in Hampshire). All three possess common Italianate characteristics and may have been executed by the same craftsman.

Most unusually, on each of the soles of Sir John's shoes is carved a bedesman: a bearded monk, his head resting on one hand (presumably in prayer) while telling his rosary beads with the other. The figure wears a jupon of the Leigh arms.





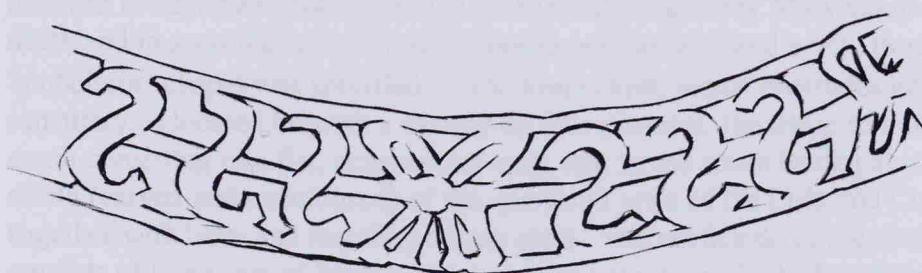
**The military figure wears an unusually long collar of SS, 23mm wide, with finely carved letters set sideways within narrow, raised borders, those to the sinister facing inward. There are fourteen letters visible on each side but the clasp and pendant are concealed by the gauntlets (in prayer).**

### HAM3

Southampton, St. Michael.

A single stone effigy of Sir Richard Lyster, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (d.1553), in the north-west corner of the north aisle. Erected in 1567 (probably in the south chapel) the 'tester tomb' was removed to its present position (and thereby damaged) in 1872 and cleaned in 1998. An open-top, rectangular canopy is set against the north and west walls and is supported on three fluted Doric columns. Of the two visible sides of the tomb chest that to the south contains two panels of (unpainted) shields and that to the east a lozenge between two (unpainted) shields. A deeply incised stone panel on the north wall is carved with the quartered arms of Lyster and the date 1567. Described by Eric Mercer as '...an early example of the architectural tomb which was to become so fashionable in Elizabethan and Jacobean times', the monument was erected in 1567 by Lyster's widow and second wife Elizabeth Stoke.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625*, p.161.



**Broad (36mm - 41mm) collar of reversed SS and knots, once believed to be the earliest example of a judicial collar (but see SOM14). Letters in groups of three, each group separated by a stylised knot, the whole set on a central (5mm) thread and within narrow borders. The semi-circular collar is continuous and there are, therefore, no chapes, no clasp and (in this instance) no pendant. The collar is eroded, especially at the front.**

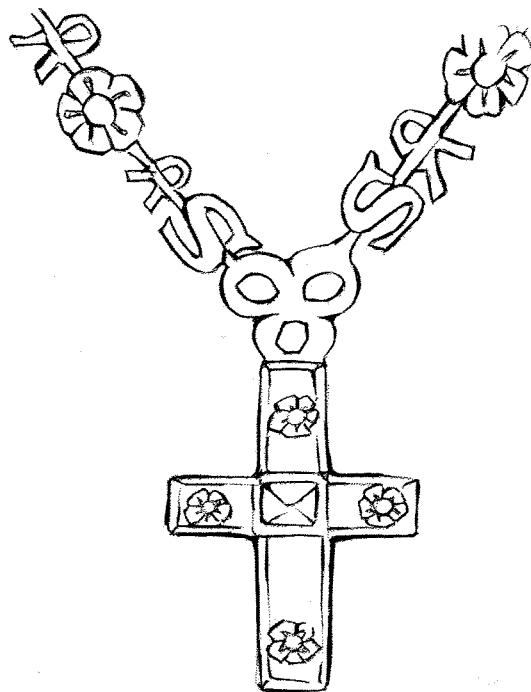
#### **HAM4**

Thruxtion, St. Peter and St. Paul.

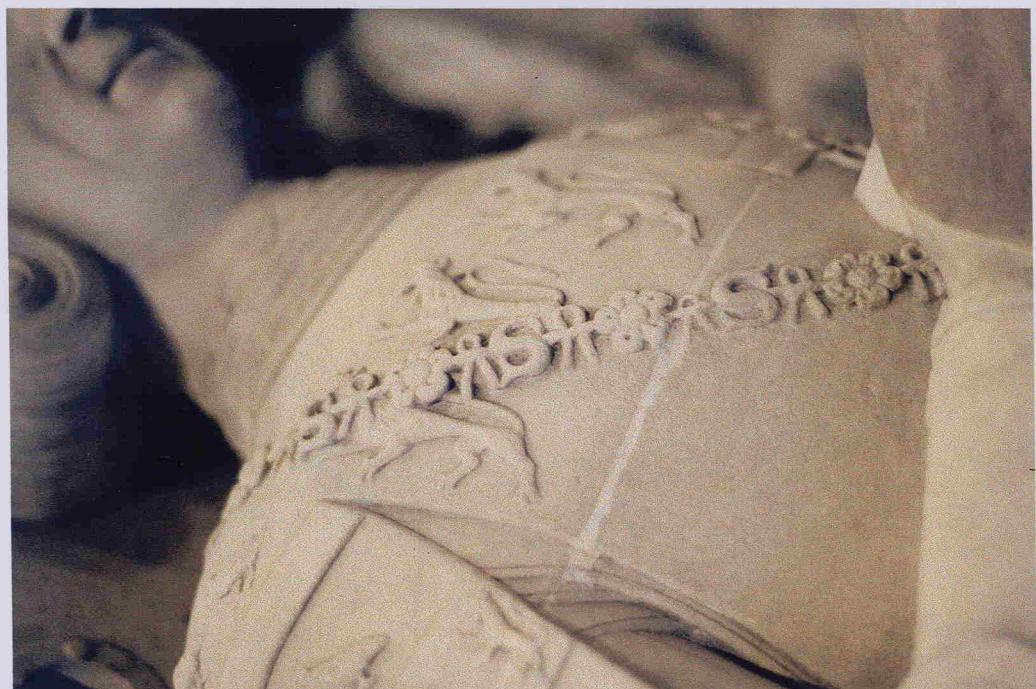
A superbly carved (restored) stone effigy of Sir John De Lisle (d.1520) on the north side of the sanctuary. An incongruous monument: the accompanying female figure (of Mary Courtenay d.1524) is of inferior craftsmanship and condition, while both figures occupy a double-width Purbeck marble tomb chest which has been inserted by cutting into the columns of the canopy. The entrance to the former chantry chapel (adjacent to the north wall of the sanctuary) remains as a pair of arched recesses, that to the east forming a canopy above the present monument. The chapel, dedicated to the Blessed

believed to have been constructed in c.1525 following Lady Mary Courtenay's death and in accordance with instructions in her late-husband's will, though an 'ambulator' chapel was specified.<sup>27</sup> The tomb chest, which protrudes into the sanctuary, is located beneath a canopy on four pilasters, the frieze to north and south consisting of a flat, ornamented arch, that to the south having at its apex a shield (carved and uncoloured) of the quartered arms of De Lisle and Cormeilles together with helm and mantling but no crest. The north side of the chest consists of three carved limestone panels, the outer two of which contain shields of arms (Courtney and De Lisle) and probably came from one of the original de Lisle tomb chests in the earlier chapel. The south panels are very similar to those in the Courtenay monument in the chancel of Wimborne Minster, Dorset.

The military figure wears a tabard of the quartered De Lisle arms and the head lies (unusually) on an almost flat, a bouche shield. The style of armour and other characteristics are of a mid sixteenth-century date. The effigy was broken into six pieces and badly mutilated by parliamentary forces. It was recovered and heavily restored in 1836, the carving being of a very high standard. This, and the similar effigial monument at Godshill (see HAM2) possess common italicate characteristics and may have been executed by the same craftsman, though the collars are very different.



<sup>27</sup> D. Collison (ed.), 'Notes on the De Lisle family tree from c1260 to 1664', in *The History of Wootton Church, Isle of Wight* (1997), p.18.



**An unusual collar of alternating, equally spaced letters S (15mm wide) and single roses (23-25mm diameter) with simple ribbon motifs (knots?) of varying lengths (10-21mm) between, all set on a single 'thread' with reversed toret and heavy cross pendant. Length 45cm from shoulder to pendant: 19 devices visible on each side (10 knots, 5 roses and 4 letters S). The pendant (visible below the wrists of the clasped hands) is a deeply incised (10mm) Latin Cross with a raised square motif at the centre and a single rose (12mm diameter) engraved on each termination. Each arm of the cross is 15mm wide, the overall length being 85mm and the width**

## 72mm.

Sir John de Lisle was knighted in 1503 as John Lisle of Throkston, Wiltshire when Henry VIII was still Prince of Wales. Sheriff of Hampshire 1506-07 and 1517-18. In 1520 he attended Henry VIII when he met King Charles of Spain.

## SOMERSET

### SOM1

Backwell, St. Andrew

A single limestone effigy of Sir Walter Rodney (d.1467) rests on an elaborate canopied tomb chest which separates the chancel from a side chapel to the north. The canopy, with crocketed pinnacles, extends beyond the tomb chest to incorporate the doorway of the adjacent chapel. Finely carved angels, each holding an engraved shield of Rodney quarterings and impalements (no colour remaining), occupy canopied niches in the sides and one end of the tomb chest. The carving of the effigy is of inferior quality: the figure is depicted in plain, mid fifteenth-century armour, the misericorde is broken as is the head of the lion at the figure's feet. The figure is bare-headed with the head resting on a closed helm with mantling, wreath and a beast (?) crest.



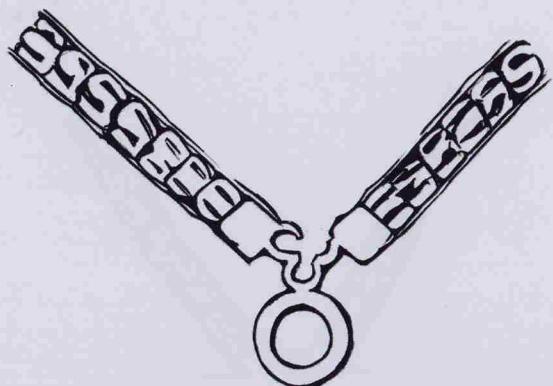


**A Yorkist collar of alternating suns and roses with 22mm centres on a 22mm wide strap. The collar is eroded but there is no evidence of abrasion. The suns are crudely carved in shallow relief in the form of 'stars' some with eight points, some with seven and others with six. Similarly, the roses are crudely formed, some having four petals and others five. There are no chapes, toret, clasp or pendant: all are 'concealed' by the figure's clasped hands.**

## **SOM2**

Chew Magna, St. Andrew.

Twin stone effigies of Sir John St. Loe (d.1443) and Agnes, Lady St. Loe (see SOM3) on a tomb chest set against the north wall of the Strachey chapel (formerly the St. Loe chapel) at the east end of the north aisle, adjacent to the chancel. (One suspects that the monument was moved from its original position to accommodate the later Strachey tombs.) Each of four panels in the sides of the tomb chest contains a quatrefoil and a shield carved with the arms of St. Loe (*On a Bend three Annulets over all a Label of three points*). The head rests on a closed helm with mantling but (unusually) there is no wreath or crest. The detail of the figures is finely carved and there has been little damage. The exceptionally large military figure (210cm in length) is depicted in plate armour and a jupon of the St. Loe arms.



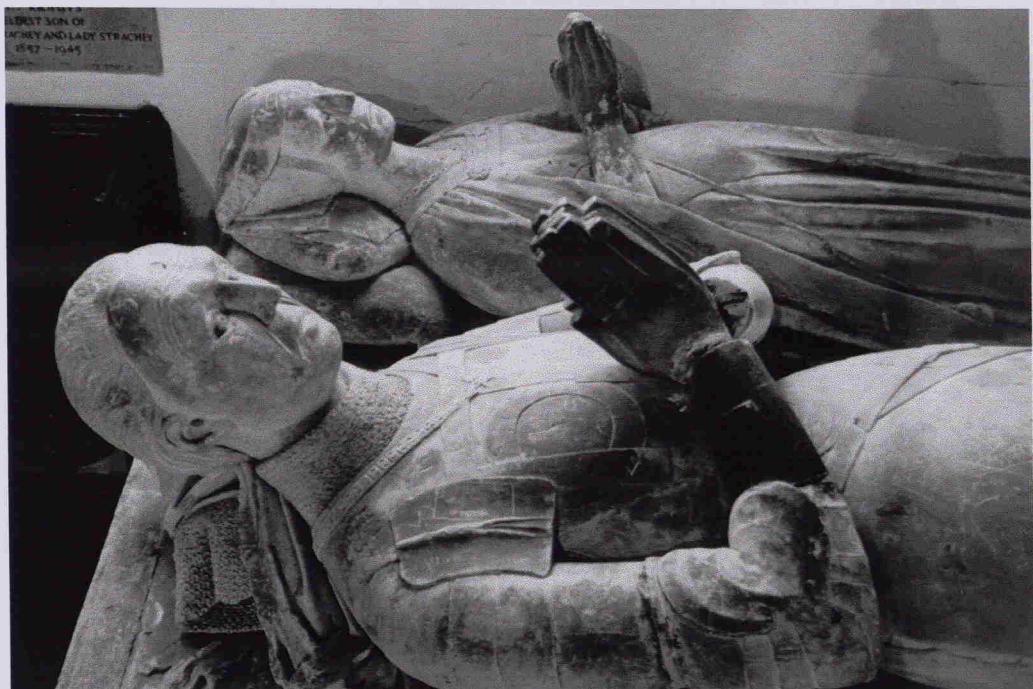
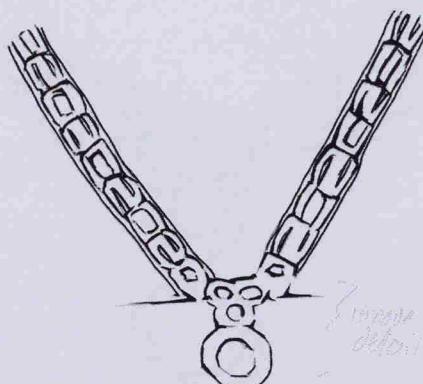
**A Lancastrian collar composed of linked, narrow (12mm) SS on a simple 15mm-wide strap. The letters, although shallow, are finely carved. There are 25 letters visible on the dexter side and 20 on the sinister. The simple, rectangular chapes are linked directly to a (partly eroded) toret (18mm wide) from which is suspended an annulet pendant (21mm diam.).**

Local tradition has it that the effigy is an accurate representation of Sir John St. Loe of Sutton Court (d.1443 - some sources give 1447), Squire of the Body 1428-48, Constable of Bristol 1439-48 and MP for Wiltshire in 1447.

### **SOM 3**

Chew Magna, St. Andrew. Twin stone effigies (*see SOM2*). There is general agreement that the female figure represents '...a lady of the St. Loe family' - and the stylistic similarities of the two collars would suggest that

they are contemporary.<sup>28</sup>



**The figure wears a delicate collar of reversed and linked SS, each 8mm wide, on a narrow (11mm) strap. The chapes and annulet pendant are eroded but there is some evidence of a toret.**

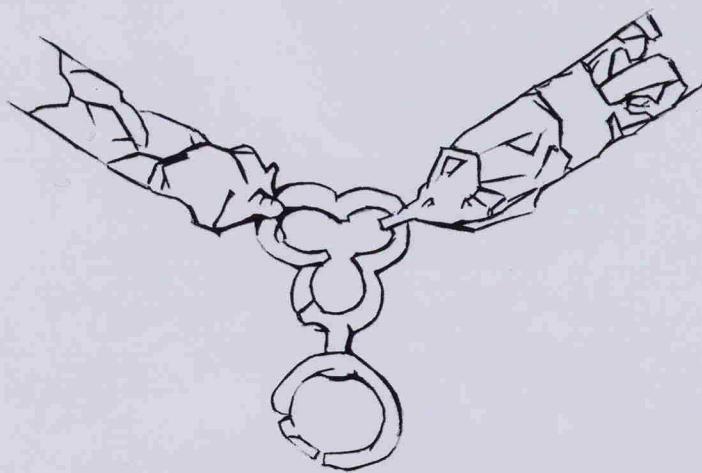
#### **SOM 4**

Dunster, St. George.

A pair of alabaster effigies rest on a heavily-restored canopied tomb chest between the chancel and the (north) chapel of St. Lawrence. The military figure is of Sir Hugh Luttrell (d.1428). It is badly mutilated: both legs and the lower arms are missing. The head rests on the remains of a helm, but the crest is missing. A beast (formerly at the feet) has survived but is badly mutilated.

<sup>28</sup>

Unattributed quotation from church guidebook, Chew Magna, Somerset.



the first century and the beginning of the second, the date of the inscription. The date of the pedestal is not known. It is not known if the pedestal was part of the original structure or if it was added later. The date of the inscription is not known.



**A Lancastrian collar of SS with well-separated, deeply incised 'folded-paper' letters fastened to a narrow band (20mm wide behind the neck and 24mm on the sinister side) and with eroded chapes, toret (40mm) and a well-preserved annulet pendant (30mm diam.). The distinctive, 'folded paper' letters are eroded (abraded?) on the chest but slightly better preserved behind the head. The style of the lettering is very similar to that in a Lancastrian collar at Porlock (SOM11).**

A church plan, showing '...the church as it was in 1875 before restoration', suggests that the monument is '...the tomb of John de Mohun the second and his lady' while a 'Luttrell monument' is shown on the south side of the sanctuary where there is now a fenestella. I have been unable to discover the origin of this assertion. All the evidence suggests that it is a monument to Sir Hugh Luttrell d.1428. The armour is of the first half of the fifteenth century, with a bascinet and orle.

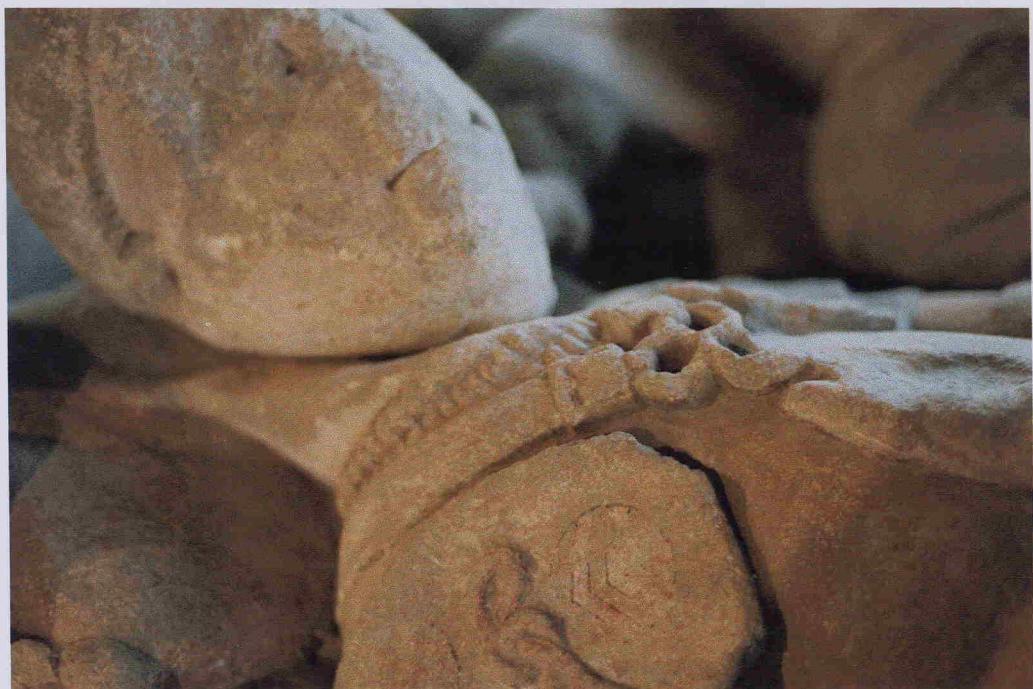
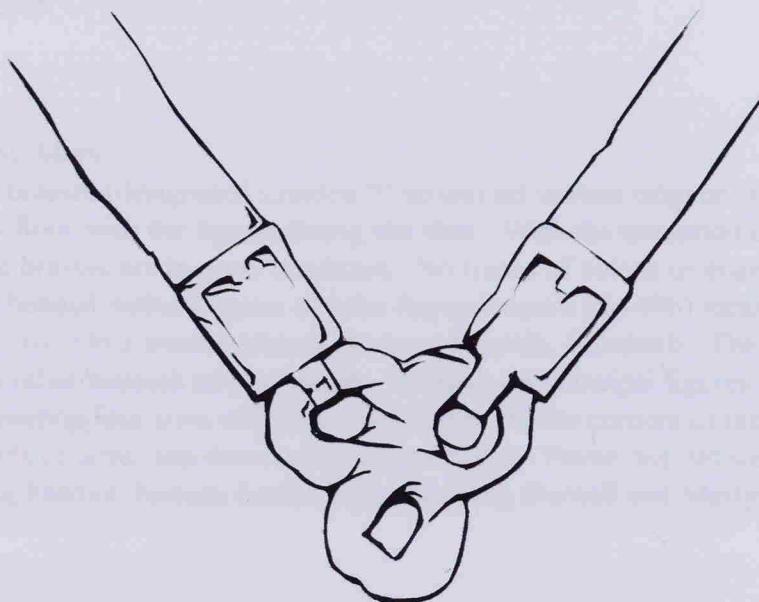
Sir Hugh Luttrell was Grand Seneschal of Normandy, Lieutenant of Calais (1401-2), Ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy (1403), Member of the Privy Council, Steward of the Household to Queen Joan of Navarre, Mayor of Bordeaux, Governor of Harfleur, Constable of Bristol Castle, MP for Somerset and (later) for Devon.

#### **SOM5**

**Henstridge, St. Nicholas.**

A Doulting freestone effigy of William Carent (d. c.1476), together with that of his wife Margaret, on the north side of the chancel. There is a carved stone shield and helm (but no crest) on an adjacent arch, and painted shields of arms (Carent, Toomer and Stourton) on the canopy. There is neither a helm nor a

crest in the effigy. The figure is depicted in late fifteenth-century armour. The faces of both figures are badly mutilated. Roses are carved into the underside of canopy in which there are traces of red paint. There are carved angels in the spandrels and beneath heads of effigial figures. Each of the fifteen niches in the sides and ends of the tomb chest contains a weeper.



**A plain, crudely-carved 22mm-wide collar with a heavy toret-type clasp attached to buckle chapes by rings. The lower extremity of the toret is misshapen and eroded: possibly as a result of abrading the pendant of which**

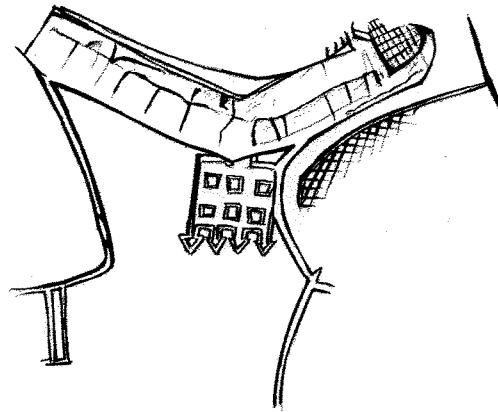
**no evidence remains. There is no indication of abrasion or paint on strap, though there are traces of paint elsewhere on effigy.**

Carent's will was proved in 1496 but the tomb was erected in 1463 by Carent for his wife Margaret and himself.<sup>29</sup> It was later refurbished and re-erected during a restoration of 1873. Carent was High Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset and MP for Somerset.

## SOM6

Hutton, St. Mary.

A pair of brasses (designated London 'F' series) set in their original slab in the sanctuary floor with the figures facing the altar. With the exception of the collar, the brasses are in good condition. No traces of colour or enamel remain. The bare-headed military figure of John Payne Esquire (d.1496) measures 76.5 cm by 23 cm. On a second plate is depicted his wife, Elizabeth. The two figures face each other beneath an inscription. Beneath the principal figures are separate plates depicting four sons and seven daughters. At the corners of the slab are four shields of arms: top dexter and bottom sinister Payne; top sinister Stowell quartering Martyn; bottom dexter Payne impaling Stowell and Martyn quartered.



<sup>29</sup> *Somerset Wills, 16 (1383-1500)*, Somerset Record Society (1901), p.63.  
A-46



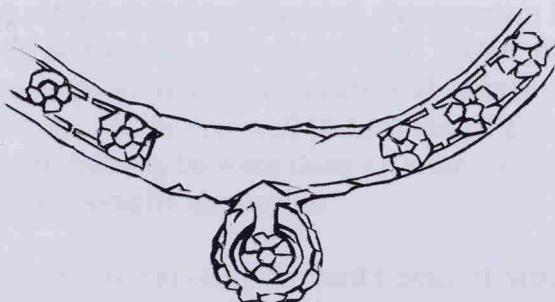
**A narrow (16mm) collar has a crudely engraved portcullis pendant 20mm wide and 24mm deep. The recessed collar has been abraded in its entirety: no trace of the inlay remains and the sides of the matrix have been cleanly gouged. The work of abrasion was clearly deliberate and undertaken with considerable care. No evidence of chapes or toret remain.**

#### **SOM7**

Ilton, St. Peter

An alabaster effigy of an unidentified female of the Wadham family (c.1470) formerly in the south transept (prior to 1791) but now set against the north wall of the 'Wadham Aisle' (north aisle). The original tomb chest was replaced by a finely moulded Portland stone plinth in 1901. The effigy was lifted and inspected in 1895 when traces of paint were discovered beneath the cushion (red with gilt edging) and angels (badly mutilated) which support the head. Near the left foot, where the corner of the mantle is lifted by a tiny (11 cm) dog,

the border of the mantle was found to be '...a Vandyke pattern in blue, white and gold as fresh as when painted.'<sup>30</sup> Significantly (in the present context) traces of gold were found on the collar.



A collar, 1.75 cm wide with pronounced raised edges and widely-spaced roses (1.5 cm centres). A rose motif (1.5 cm diameter) is set in a (2.5 cm diameter) circular pendant. The clasp area and collar are badly damaged on the sinister side, but do not appear to have been abraided. There is no evidence of chapes. The presence of roses in the Wadham arms (*Gules a Chevron between three Roses Argent*) and the absence of (Yorkist) suns strongly suggest that this is a personal collar. Furthermore, no Yorkist connection has been established.

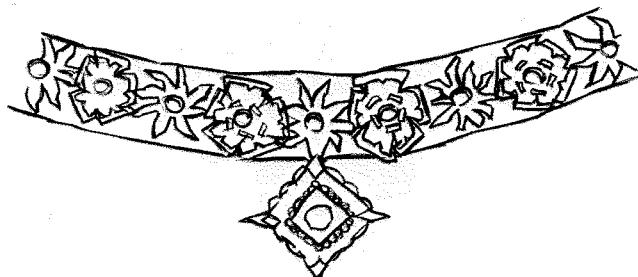
<sup>30</sup> A. Mee, *Somerset* (London, 1950), p.189.

## SOM8

Long Ashton, All Saints.

An ornate gilded and painted canopied monument set against the north wall of the Choke chantry chapel, adjacent to the chancel at the east end of the north aisle. Panels in the sides and front of the tomb chest contain large (54cm. diameter) quatrefoils and shields of Choke armory. Fluted pillars with empty niches support the canopy in which four angels hold painted shields of the Symbols of the Passion. On the rear wall (behind the effigies) is a painted relief of two crowned angels holding between them a Choke impalement. The effigy is inaccessible and photography impossible.

Twin effigies (in Dundry stone) of Sir Richard Choke of Stanton Drew (d.1483) and Lady Margaret (d.c.1470). Sir Richard was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1461 to 1483 and he is depicted wearing the robes of his office but no collar. According to the church guidebook, the effigies '...are believed to be a good likeness.'

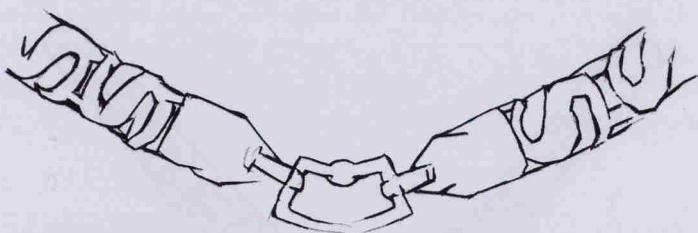


**Lady Margaret Choke wears a choker-type Yorkist collar: a continuous 25mm.-wide band of connected (double) roses (3) and suns (3) with convex mouldings and 20mm. centres. The third sun (at the back of the neck) is crudely carved and has hardly any form. A lozenge-shaped pendant with a raised centre is attached to the central (second) sun. According to the guidebook, the collar was '...bestowed on her in Edward IV's reign', though no reference is given.**

## SOM9

North Cadbury, St. Michael the Archangel.

Doubling freestone effigies of William, (first) Baron Botreaux (d.1391) and his wife Elizabeth (d.1433) on a canopied table tomb (1433) set against the wall on the south side of the tower chamber (originally in the chancel). There are slight traces of paint in the canopy and tomb chest. The military figure is depicted in early fifteenth-century plate armour with a pointed bascinet and orle. The head rests on a tilting helm with the Botreaux crest (*a Griffin segreant*). Niches in the tomb chest contain angels holding shields but no armory survives except traces of colour in three of the shields.



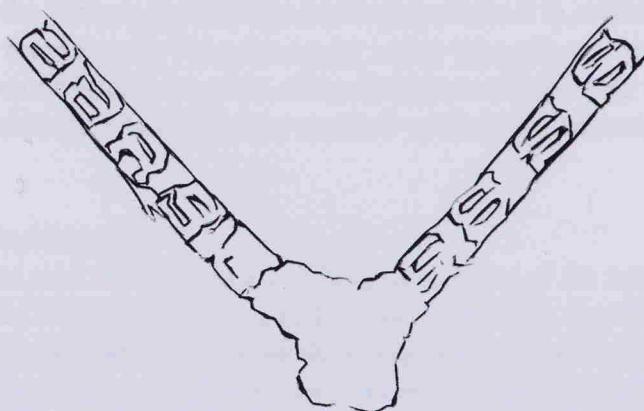
**A Lancastrian collar of SS, the letters deeply incised and set lengthways on a 17mm wide strap, those to the dexter being reversed. The collar is precisely carved but eroded. A clasp with swivel attachments to the chapes is also eroded. There is no evidence of a pendant.**

Botreaux was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1377. He was a member of expeditions to Saxony, Portugal and Spain.

#### **SOM10**

Nunney, All Saints.

A finely executed Beer stone three quarter-size effigy (together with a female effigy) in the north transept (known as St. Katherine's Chapel). The plate armour is from the first half of the fifteenth century, as is the tabard. There is a helm with a damaged crest. Each of the five panels at the front of the tomb chest contains a painted shield within a quatrefoil: I Delamere; II Poulet quartering Delamere; III Welle impaling Roos; IV Welle impaling Mowbray; and V Poynings quartering St. John impaling Le Strange.



**A badly eroded Lancastrian collar of raised and reversed esses on a 14mm wide strap. Pendant, clasp and chapes are all badly eroded: there is no indication remaining of a pendant device.**

The identity of the effigies has been disputed. The armory on the tabard ([Gules] two Lions passant guardant [Argent]) is clearly Delamere and it was therefore assumed that the monument commemorates John Delamere (d.1440).<sup>31</sup> The table tomb once stood in the body of the church and was moved at some date a little later than 1791, when Collinson published his *History of Somerset*, no doubt to increase seating and pew rents. In order to force it into its present position one end of the chest was mutilated, the other placed against another monument and the remaining side set against the church wall - leaving only one side exposed and concealing a large number of carved shields. Before the monument was moved the 'hidden' armory was recorded by Collinson before

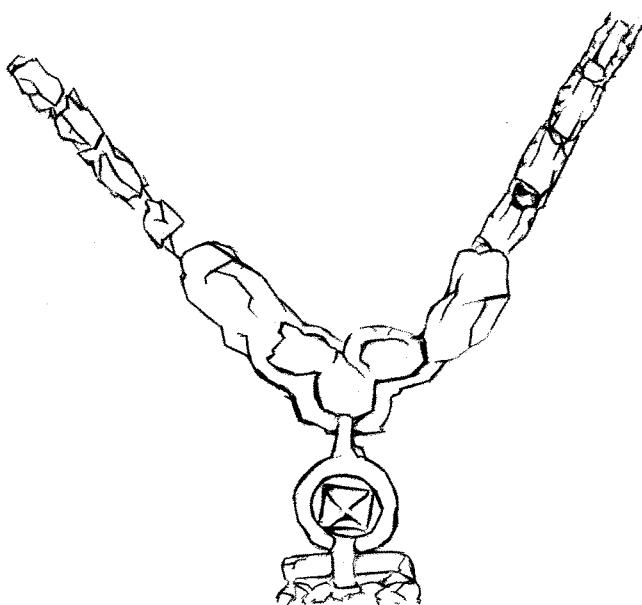
<sup>31</sup> Church guidebook: no authority given.

1791.<sup>32</sup> From the various quarterings and impalements it is evident that the military figure represent Sir John Poulet (d.1436) who adopted the Delamere arms when he came into possession of the Delamere estates. He was, through his mother Eleanor (d.1413), nephew and heir of Sir Ellis Delamere.

## SOM11

Porlock, St. Drubicius.

Superbly carved mid fifteenth-century alabaster effigies of Sir John Harington, fourth Baron de Aldingham of County Lancaster (d.1417), and his wife, Elizabeth Courtenay, set on stone plinths (originally Purbeck marble) beneath a lofty canopy within the most easterly bay of the south arcade (formerly the Harington Chantry). There is very little damage: some graffiti and two of the four angels' heads are missing. The detail of the torse, crest, mantling (with tassels) etc. is wonderfully preserved. The only sign of possible abrasion (other than the angels' heads) is in the collar and the upper surface of the sword belt. The canopy is possibly of a later date than the effigies and there is evidence of recent restoration. The entire monument was once richly ornamented with colour and gilding and traces of colour remain in the heads of the (north) side panels and soffit. There is a very distinctive figure of a Courtenay boar beneath the female's feet.<sup>33</sup> The military figure is depicted in plate armour, the head resting on a tilting helm bearing the Harington crest (*a Lion's Head erased*) and a wreath of roses and leaves. Unusually in a military figure, the head is supported by angels.



<sup>32</sup> D. Collinson, *The History of Somerset* (London 1791), p. 220.

<sup>33</sup> She was the daughter of Edward Courtenay, third earl of Devon.



Sir John wears a narrow collar of eses, the letters carved like flutings of paper, as at neighbouring Dunster (SOM4), with elongated chapes and a simple annulet pendant attached by a toret. The collar is badly eroded: only one letter has survived in its complete form, the other 'mounds' having 20mm centres. Consequently, it is difficult to assess the width of the collar which, at its widest point, is approximately 9mm. The chapes survive as kidney-shaped mounds without detail. The toret is badly eroded at its upper edges but the pendant is better preserved (having been protected by the hands of the figure) and comprises a square pyramidal motif within a 20mm diameter annulet. Beneath the annulet, and attached to it, is a narrow rectangular moulding the detail of which is concealed by the figure's thumbs.

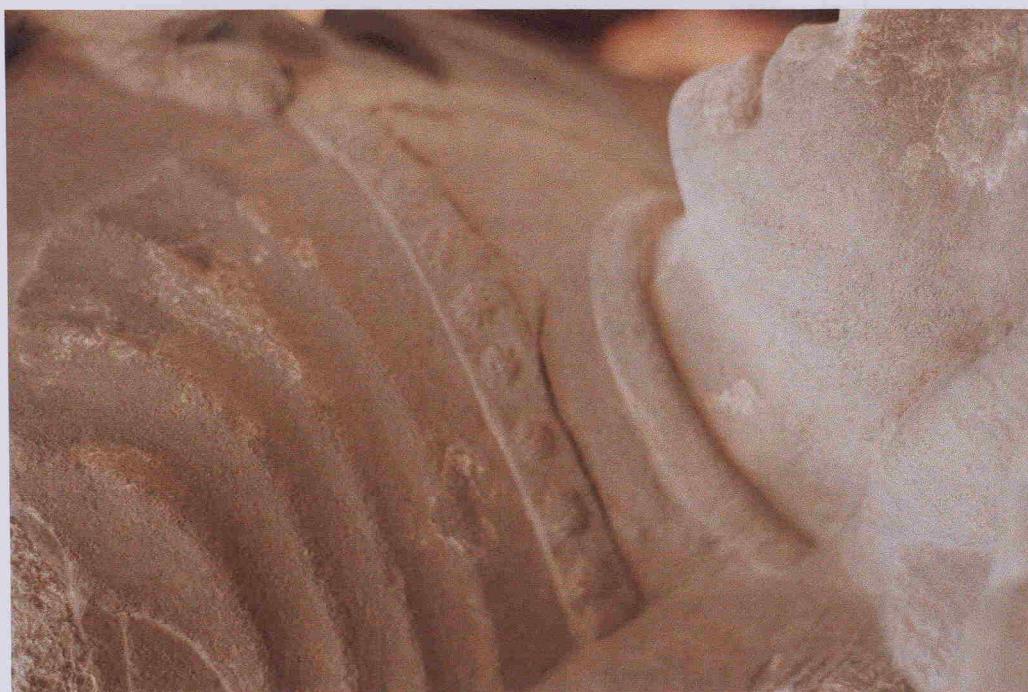
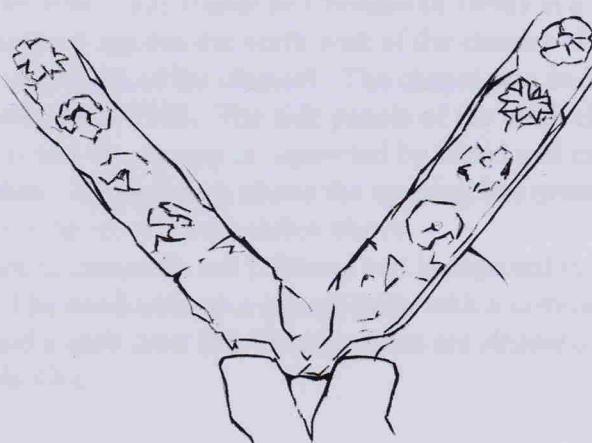
Sir John Harington accompanied Henry V on his second French expedition taking with him a 'goodly company' of 86 archers and 29 lances. He may have been one of 48 knighted at the beginning of the campaign: he did not return. His will (proved in 1418) gave directions for the foundation and maintenance of a chantry but no steps appear to have been taken to implement these instructions until some three years after his widow's death when a licence for the foundation of a chantry was granted by Henry VI. The effigies appear to have been executed at some time during the 1440s, though the chantry was not completed until 1474, the first priests being appointed in the following year.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> F.C. Eeles, *The Church of St. Dubricius, Porlock* (Exeter 1935), p. 9.  
A-53

## SOM12

Rodney Stoke, St. Leonard.

The stone effigy of Sir Thomas Rodney (d.1470), set on a tomb chest with an open canopy of cusped arches, is located between the chancel and the north chapel (the Rodney Chapel). On the north side of the tomb chest, shields in rectangular niches depict the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne and St. Leonard. On the south (chancel) side there are five niches containing weepers and, on the attic, five late fifteenth-century fluted shields of the arms of Hungerford, Rodney and Vowell together with impalements. The monument was formerly known as 'the painted tomb' when some vestiges of colour remained. The figure is depicted in fine fifteenth-century armour. The head rests on a closed helm with mantling and crest coronet from which emerges a *demi-eagle with wings displayed*.



**While the stone effigy is for the most part undamaged, the Yorkist collar of suns and roses is very badly eroded. Only vague (approx.12mm diam.) 'mounds' remain at approx. 22mm. centres on a 15mm-wide strap. The chapes are entirely eroded while the clasp and pendant are 'concealed' by the hands in prayer.**

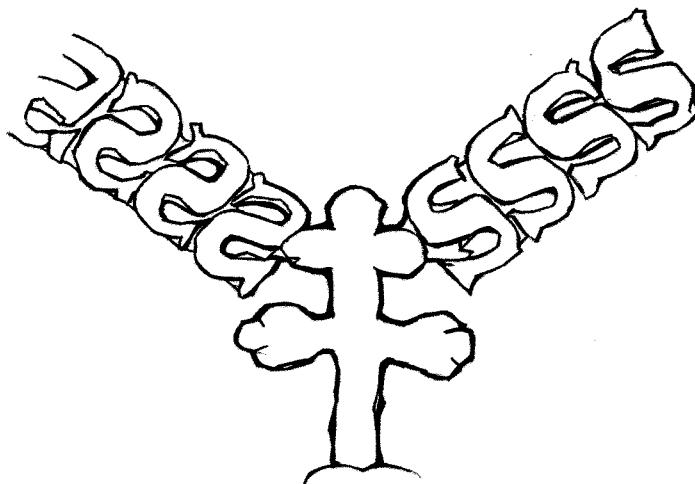
Sir Thomas Rodney died in 1470 at the age of 34, having married (i) Joan Moore and (ii) Isabel Vowell. He was the son of Sir Walter Rodney and Margaret, daughter of Lord Hungerford.

### **SOM13**

Yatton, St. Margaret.

Finely carved stone effigies of Sir John Newton of Court de Wyke and of Ubley (d.1488) and of his wife, Lady Isabel de Cheddre (d.1498) in a highly ornate canopied monument set against the north wall of the chantry chapel of St. John the Evangelist, to the north of the chancel. The chapel was endowed by Lady Isabel and was restored in 1906. The side panels of the tomb chest contain pierced quatrefoils and the canopy is supported by fluted and crocketted pillars with (empty) niches. A broad arch above the opening has ornately pierced spandrels and supports ten (empty) niches above.

The military figure is unusually tall (188cm) and is depicted in late fifteenth-century armour. The head rests on a closed helm with a combined crest coronet/wreath and a garb crest (the Newton arms are *Argent on a Chevron Azure three Garbs Or*).





**A deeply incised collar (5mm) of linked esses (no strap evident), 10 letters on each side, each 33mm long by 20mm wide. Those to the dexter are reversed. The pendant (again, deeply incised) consists of a cross bottony (76mm high and 62mm wide), the elongated lower limb being concealed in part by the thumbs. The pendant is affixed to the letters of the collar at its lowest point on the chest: there are no chapes, toret or clasp. Lady Isabel wears a necklace of interlocking lozenges.**

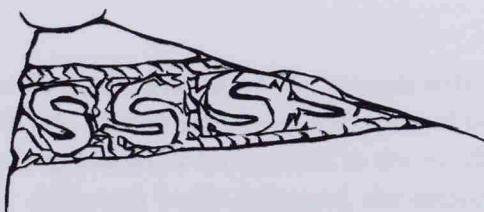
Sir John Newton was MP for Somerset 1453-4, Knight of the Shire 1453 and Sheriff of Gloucester 1466-67. He was knighted 1471 and restored to the Bench by Henry VII.

#### **SOM14**

Yatton, St. Margaret.

Magnificent alabaster effigies of Sir Richard Newton (alias Cradock) (d.1449) of Court de Wyck, Claverham and his second wife Emmota de Sherborne on an ornate free-standing alabaster tomb chest in the north transept (formerly the De Wyck chapel). Although badly damaged, the monument is of a very high quality with much original colour (mostly red) having survived. Niches in the sides and ends of the tomb chest contain fourteen alabaster weepers: angels supporting (blank) shields.

Sir Richard is depicted wearing a serjeant's coif, a seal wallet and a red gown turned back at the right shoulder to reveal a short length of a collar of esses. Unusually for a civilian figure, his head rests on a helm (mostly lost) with a crest coronet/wreath and garb crest (the Newton/Cradock arms are *Argent on a Chevron Azure three Garbs Or impaling Sable a Chevron Ermine between three Escallops Argent*).



**The collar of SS is correctly described in the church guidebook as the '...earliest example of a collar of SS worn by a judge.'** Indeed, even allowing for a post-1485 date of erection (*see below*), this judicial collar pre-dates the next earliest example (at St. Andrew's, Wroxeter, dated 1555) by seventy years. Great care was taken to include the short length of collar in the effigy, together with all the other trappings of chivalry and status. It was therefore considered by the executors to be of the utmost significance. Just 4.5cm. of the collar is visible at its upper edge and 11cm. at the lower edge. It is 2.5cm. wide and comprises 5 letters (or parts of letters) within cable edges, each letter separated from the next by a cable motif.

Sir Richard Newton (alias Cradock) (d.1449) of Court de Wyck, Claverham was Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. It is suggested (in the church guidebook) that the monument may have been erected on Lady Newton's death in 1475. This seems unlikely: a pre-1461 or post-1485 date is suggested by the inclusion of a Lancastrian collar. The style of the collar (and of other features of the effigies and tomb chest) suggest a post-Bosworth date.

## **SOM15**

Yatton, St. Margaret.

The effigy of Emmota de Sherborne (d.1475), second wife of Sir Richard Newton of Court de Wyck, Claverham, rests with that of her husband (SOM14) on an ornate free-standing alabaster tomb chest in the north transept (formerly the De Wyck chapel). Although badly damaged, the monument is of a very high quality with much original colour (mostly red) having survived.

**A delicate necklace of interlinked esses, 13mm wide and without clasp or pendant.**

## **WILTSHIRE**

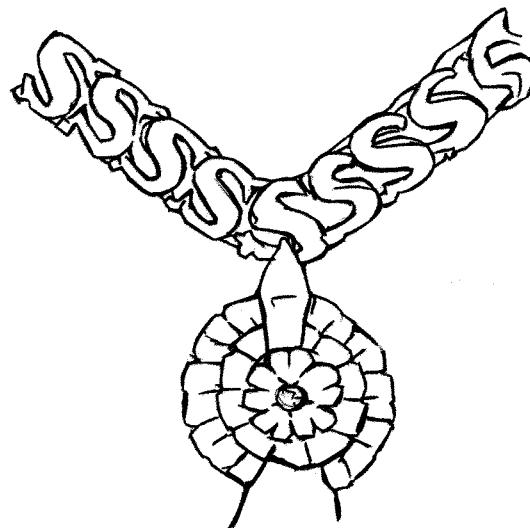
### **WIL1**

Bromham, St. Nicholas.

An alabaster military effigy located at the centre of the chantry chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas erected in the second half of the fifteenth century by Richard Beauchamp Lord St. Amand and Sir Roger Tocotes, second husband of Beauchamp's mother, Lady Elizabeth.

A free-standing stone tomb chest (clearly not the original and believed to be from Salisbury Cathedral) with a Purbeck marble top, three quatrefoil panels with (plain) shields on each side and one at each end. The effigy (the only full-length alabaster effigy in Wiltshire, other than at Salisbury Cathedral) is believed to be that of Sir Roger Tocotes (d.1492) who specified in his will that he should be buried at the centre of the chapel.

The figure is larger than life and has long hair and a cap, typical of the early Tudor period. Armour is of the late fifteenth-century, the (damaged) helm having been clumsily re-positioned in the recent past. Despite extensive graffiti, the effigy is in good condition and is finely executed.





**A finely carved and deeply incised collar, 23mm wide, composed of linked letters S (10 visible on each side and further letter forming the clasp) with a rather clumsily carved 'triple' rose pendant (55mm diameter) suspended by means of a tapered link from the 'hook' of the lowest letter S. The lower edge of the pendant is obscured by the thumbs of the knight's hands in prayer.**

Sir Roger Tocotes (knighted at Tewkesbury) was Constable of Devizes Castle, a Knight of the Body to Henry VII (he may have been with him in France), Comptroller of the Household, MP for Wiltshire 1467-8 and 1470-8 and Lord of the Manor of Bromham Roches.

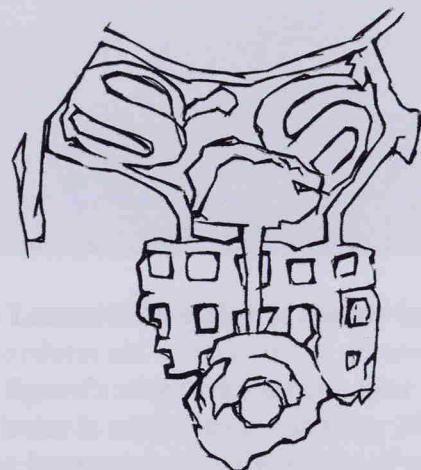
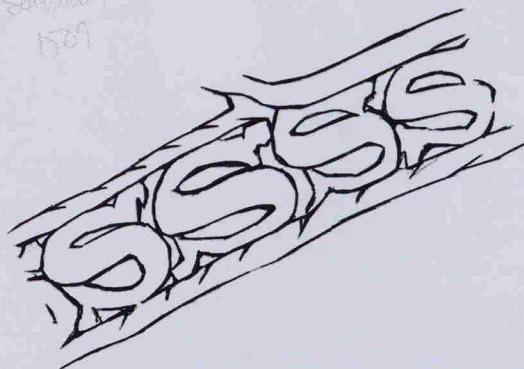
## **WIL2**

Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

An alabaster effigy of Sir John Cheney (1509), now in the tenth bay of the north arcade, was originally in the Beauchamp Chapel but was moved to its present position when the chapel was destroyed during the Wyatt restoration of 1789. The effigy rests on a base composed of ornamental mouldings from the Beauchamp Chapel: three panels on each side, one in the west side and twin elongated panels in the east, each carved with a fretty engrailed pattern and with provision for a central brass shield (the rivet holes remain).

The figure is large (214 cm in length) and is depicted in early sixteenth-century armour and with a Garter mantle tied on the chest by means of a cord, the lower ends of which protrude from beneath the collar. Bare-headed, and with shoulder-length hair, the head rests on a cushion supported on either side by an angel, one of which is damaged.

2) SURFACE  
509



A broad Palmetto Leaf motif is carved on the left side of the panel. The leaf is deeply lobed, the lobes being a plain surface. The leaf is attached to the panel by a thick stem which is decorated with a band of small squares and a band of small circles.



An elaborate relief sculpture of a figure, possibly a deity, is shown. The figure has a large, rounded head with a prominent nose and mouth. The body is covered in intricate carvings, including a band of small squares and a band of small circles. The figure is weathered and shows signs of age and wear.



**A broad (38mm) Lancastrian collar of deeply incised, linked eses within clearly-defined borders: six letters visible on each side, including a pair of letters below the figure's arms where the collar is attached to the pendant. Unusually, each letter is wider than it is long: 37 mm wide and 28 mm long. Beneath the lower pair of letters (one of which is not positioned symmetrically) the lower border of the collar opens out to form a link with the pendant. Within this link is a raised, formless area of alabaster for which there is no apparent rationale. The ornate pendant comprises a portcullis, 62 mm wide and 41 mm deep, and a rose of 36mm diameter, half of which partially covers the lower third of the portcullis and extends beyond its lower edge. The lower edge of the protcullis and the lower, sinister edge of the rose are badly damaged.**

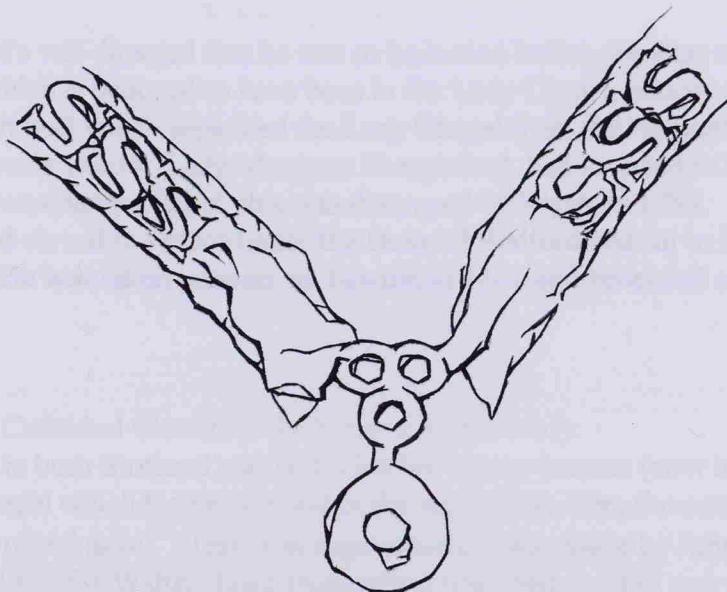
Sir John Cheney of Falstone-Cheyne in Wiltshire and Compton and Enborne, Berkshire (d.1509) was Esquire of the Body (1472), Master of the Henchmen and Master of the Horse. He joined the King's French expedition with seven men-at-arms and 18 archers and remained (with Lord Howard) as a hostage with Louis XI. One of the leaders of the revolt in the Autumn of 1483, he escaped to Henry Tudor in Britanny. He returned with Henry VII in 1485 and was knighted on landing at Milford Haven. Despite his considerable stature, he was unhorsed by Richard III in the final charge at Bosworth. Constable of Barnard Castle and MP in 1487.

### **WIL3**

Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

An alabaster effigy of Robert, Lord Hungerford of Farleigh Hungerford (d.1461) on a restored tomb chest located within the the seventh bay of the southern arcade. The monument was previously located in the Hungerford Chantry (see below) but was removed to its present position by Wyatt in 1790.

At this time three of the original panels were inserted in each side of the tomb chest (the ends are plain): each panel is of a similar design to those in the Cheney monument (WIL2) but all are very badly eroded. Very finely executed carving (eg. in the detail of the highly decorative sword belt) with remnants of colour (mostly red), especially in the slab of the tomb chest. The figure is depicted in late fifteenth-century armour, is bare-headed and with the head resting on a cushion supported on either side by an angel, one of which is badly damaged.



**A deeply incised Lancastrian collar with closely-packed, long-serifed letters S on a 29 mm wide strap with raised and rebated cable edges: nine**

letters visible on the dexter and eleven on the sinister, each 17 mm wide and 20 mm long. There are pronounced but badly eroded pointed chapes (27 mm wide and 48 mm long) and a simple torret (28 mm wide and 25 mm long) with plain clasp and annulet pendant (32 mm diameter with a 9 mm diameter centre). In Stothard the letters are shown as gold on a green strap and the pendant as a circlet of nine 'pearls' attached to the collar by a simple clasp and chapes.<sup>35</sup> None of this detail has survived.

The Hungerford collar closely resembles that on the effigy of Sir John Chideock at Christchurch Priory (HAM1).

Hungerford's will directed that he was to be buried before the altar of St. Osmond which is believed to have been in the Lady Chapel, almost certainly next to the north wall which separated the Lady Chapel from the Hungerford Chapel which Robert's widow, Lady Margaret Hungerford, had founded in his memory. Like the Beauchamp Chapel, this was destroyed by Wyatt in 1789. Hungerford served in France under the Duke of Bedford and sat in Parliament 1450-54. He was taken prisoner at Towton in 1461 and beheaded at Newcastle.

## WIL4

Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Reference in both Stothard and W.J. Fletcher to two brasses (now lost) in the chantry chapel which formerly stood in the second bay from the east on the north side of the nave.<sup>36</sup> This 'iron cage' structure was made by John Ewley of Bristol in 1430 for Walter, Lord Hungerford who died in 1449 and was buried with his first wife Catherine Peverell who had predeceased him by several years. As originally placed in the chapel, the Purbeck marble tomb slabs, richly adorned with brasses must have been side by side and flush with the floor, the sleeper wall between the pillars having been cut away to make room for the chapel. The iron chantry chapel was removed to the south side of the chancel during the Wyatt 'restoration' of 1789. There is no surviving illustration of the brasses other than a drawing of the grave slabs and empty matrixes by Schnebbelie.<sup>37</sup> This shows a military figure with the head resting on a helm with a crest of a garb (from the Peverell arms) flanked by two sickles (a Hungerford badge).<sup>38</sup>

**There is evidence at the shoulders of a (presumably) Lancastrian collar.**

<sup>35</sup> A. Stothart, 'Hungerford Tombs at Salisbury Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Dorset Field Club*, 19 (1888), p.21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.45; F. Fletcher, 'The Hungerford Chantry', DNHAS *Proceedings*, 28 (1907), p.220.

<sup>37</sup> H. Schnebbelie, *The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chantry Chapels* (London, 1970), plate 31.

<sup>38</sup> The background of the grave slab was also strewn with Hungerford sickles.

## **POST-TUDOR COLLARS**

### **DEVON**

#### **DEV3**

Crediton, Church of the Holy Cross.  
Effigy of Sir William Peryan (d.1604).

**Collar of SS with portcullis and small annulet pendant.**

### **HAMPSHIRE**

#### **HAM5**

North Stoneham, St. Nicholas.  
Effigy of Sir Thomas Fleming (d.1613).

**Collar of SS (Judicial) with letters and knots alternating (Ss on left side are inverted) and linked by portcullises endways. Triple rose pendant.**

Recorder and afterwards MP for Southampton. Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1604, Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1607 (tried the Gunpowder Plotters).

### **WILTSHIRE**

#### **WIL5**

Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.  
Effigy in south transept. Lord Chief Justice Hyde (d.1650).

**Collar of SS (Judicial).**

Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

## B APPENDIX

### PROVISIONAL CATALOGUE OF LIVERY COLLARS ON LATE-MEDIEVAL AND TUDOR MONUMENTS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND AND WALES

The counties are those which existed before 1974.

\* collars for which only documentary evidence survives.

#### **BEDFORDSHIRE**

Apsley Guise	brass	Sir John Guise	1501	SS
Bromham	brass	Thomas Wildville (appropriated by Sir John Dyve 1535)	1435	SS
Houghton Regis	effigy	Sir John Sewell	1433+	livery?
Turvey	effigy	Sir John Mordaunt	1506	SS

#### **BERKSHIRE**

Aldermaston	effigy	Sir George Forster	1526	SS
Burghfield	effigy	Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury	1460	Yorkist
Faringdon	brass	Thomas Faryndon	1396	abraded
	effigy	Sir Thomas Unton	1533	SS
Windsor	effigy	George Manners, Lord Ros	1513	SS

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Bletchley	effigy	Richard, Lord Grey of Wilton	1442	SS
Great Missenden	brass	John Iwalleby	1436	SS(?)
Lillingstone Lovell	brass	Thomas Clarell	1471	Yorkist
Taplow	brass	Richard Manfeld	1455	abraded
Thornton	effigy	John Barton	1434	Yorkist(?)

## CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Borough Green	effigy	John de Burgh	1370+	SS
	effigy	Sir John Ingoldesborpe	1420	SS
Ely	effigy	John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester	1470	SS
Isleham	brass	Sir John Bernard	1451	SS
Great Stoughton	effigy	Sir James Dyer	1553	SS

## CHESHIRE

Acton	effigy	Sir William Mainwaring	1399	SS
Barthomley	effigy	Sir Robert Foulshurst	1389	SS
Cheadle	effigy	Sir John Hondford	1461	SS
	effigy	Sir John Hondford	1473	SS
Chester	effigy	Sir Adam Troutbeck		SS *
	effigy	wife		SS *
	effigy	unidentified Troutbeck		SS *
Macclesfield	effigy	a Downes of Shrigley	1475	SS
	effigy	Sir John Savage	1449	SS
	effigy	Sir John Savage	1495	Yorkist
	effigy	Katherine, wife	1495	roses

	effigy	Sir John Savage	1528	SS
Malpass	effigy	Sir Randle Brereton	1522	SS
Mottram in Longendale	effigy	Sir John Lovell	1408	SS
	effigy	wife	1423	SS
Over Peover	effigy	Sir John Mainwaring	1410	SS
	effigy	Johanna, wife	c1410	SS
	effigy	Sir Randle Mainwaring	1456	SS

## CORNWALL

Duloe	effigy	Sir John Colshull	1415	SS
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## CUMBERLAND

Corby Castle		figure in monument believed to represent Henry IV	1399	SS
Crosthwaite	effigy	Sir John de Derwantwater ??		***
	effigy	unidentified female		plain
Greystoke	effigy	John, Baron Greystoke	1436	SS
Millom	effigy	Sir John Hudleston	1494	Yorkist
Wetherall	effigy	Sir Richard Salkeld	1518	SS
	effigy	Jane, wife	1518	SS
Workington	effigy	Sir Christopher Curwen	1450	SS

## DERBYSHIRE

Ashbourne	effigy	Edmund Cockayne	1403	SS
	effigy	Sir John Cockayne	1447	SS
	effigy	John Bradbourne	1483	Yorkist(?)
Aston-by-Trent	effigy	lady of Hunt family	temp. Henry IV	SS
Bakewell	effigy	Sir Thomas Wendesley	1403	SS
Barlow	inc.slab	Robert Barley	1467	Yorkist

Cubley	effigy	Sir Nicholas Montgomery	1465	Yorkist
Duffield	effigy	Sir Roger Mynors	1536	SS
Kedleston	effigy	Sir John Curzon	1446	SS
	effigy	Sir John Curzon	1490	SS
Longford	effigy	Sir Nicholas Longford	1385	SS
	effigy	Sir Nicholas Longford	1429	SS
Mugginton	brass	Nic. Kniveton	1400 (br.1475)	SS
Norbury	effigy	Nicholas Fitzherbert, Lord Norbury	1473	Yorkist
	weeper	on tomb of son, John		Yorkist
	weeper	on tomb of son, Ralph		Yorkist
	effigy	Ralph Fitzherbert, Lord Norbury	1483	Yorkist
Radbourne	effigy	Ralph de la Pole	1491	SS
Repton	effigy	Sir Robert Frauncis	1476	Yorkist
Sawley	brass	Roger Bothe	1478	Yorkist
Sutton Scarsdale	inc.slab	John Foljambe	1499	abraded
Swarkestone	effigy	Richard Harper	1573	SS
Tideswell	effigy	Sir Thurston de Bower	1423	SS
Youlgreave	effigy	Thomas Cockayne	1488	Yorkist

## DEVON

Modbury	effigy	Sir John Champernowne	roses?
Tamerton Foliot	effigy	of the Gorges family	SS

## DORSET

Marnhull	effigy	John Carent	1478	Yorkist
Melbury Sampford	effigy	William Browning	1467	Yorkist
	effigy	John Browning (erected 1467 and appropriated by Giles Strangways 1547)	1416	Yorkist
Netherbury	effigy	knight of Moor family	c1480	SS
Puddletown	effigy	Thomas Martyn	1470	Yorkist
	effigy	another Martyn		personal?
Thorncombe	brass	Sir Thomas Brooke	1415	SS
	brass	Joan, wife	1437	SS
Wimborne Minster	effigy	John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset	1444	SS
	effigy	Margaret Beauchamp, Duchess of Somerset	1444	SS

## DURHAM

Brancepeth	effigy	Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland	1484	Yorkist *
	effigy	Elizabeth Percy, wife	1484	Yorkist * <sup>1</sup>
Redmarshal	effigy	Thomas de Langton	1440	SS
Staindrop	effigy	Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland	1425	SS
	effigy	Margaret Stafford, wife	1425	SS
	effigy	Joan Beaufort, wife	1425	SS

<sup>1</sup> The wooden Nevill effigies were lost when Brancepeth Church was destroyed by fire in September, 1998.

**ESSEX**

Dunmow Priory	effigy	Joan Devereux, mother of Walter Fitzwalter	1409	SS
	effigy	Walter, Lord Fitzwalter	1432	SS
	effigy	wife of above	1432	roses
Little Bentley	brass	Sir William Pyrton	1490	SS
Little Easton	brass	Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex	1483	Yorkist
	brass	Isabella, wife	1483	Yorkist
Little Horkesley	brass	Sir Thomas Swynborne	1412	SS
Roydon	brass	Thomas Colte	1471	Yorkist
	brass	Joan, wife	1471	Yorkist
Tolleshunt Knights	effigy	a de Pateshull	1380	personal
Walthamstow	brass	Sir George Monox		SS
Wethersfield	effigy	Ann Tyrell, wife of Sir Roger Wentworth	1482	Yorkist
Wormingford	brass	Thomas Bowden	c1460	abraded

**GLOUCESTERSHIRE**

Berkeley	effigy	James, Lord Berkeley	1463	Yorkist
	effigy	James Berkeley, his son	1452	Yorkist
Bristol	effigy	Sir Maurice Berkeley	1464	Yorkist(?)
Gloucester	effigy	Thos. Bridges	1410	SS
	effigy	wife	1410	SS
Icomb	effigy	Sir John Blaket	1431	incomplete
Mangotsfield	effigy	John Blount	1444	SS
Wotton-under-Edge	brass	Thomas, Lord Berkeley	1417	decorative

**HAMPSHIRE**

Christchurch	effigy	Sir John Chideock	1446	SS
Southampton	effigy	Sir Richard Lyster	1553	SS(J?)
Thruxtion	effigy	a de Lisle	1550	SS
Godshill (IOW)	effigy	Sir John Leigh	1529	SS

**HEREFORDSHIRE**

Bredwardine	effigy	Sir Roger Vaughan	1415	SS
Clehonger	brass	Lady of Aubrey family	c1470	decorative
Eye	effigy	Sir Richard Cornewall	1540	SS
	effigy	Sir Rowland Cornewall	1520	SS
Hereford	brass	Isabel, wife of Richard Delamere	1435	SS
Kington	effigy	Thomas Vaughan	1469	Yorkist
Ledbury	brass	Thomas Caple	1490	SS
Weobley	effigy	Sir Walter Devereux	1402	SS
	effigy	Sir John Marbury	1437	SS
	effigy	Alice, wife	1437	SS

**HERTFORDSHIRE**

Aldbury	effigy	Sir Rob. Whittingham	1471	SS
	effigy	wife	1471	SS
Bennington	effigy	Sir Edward Benstead	1432	SS
Broxbourne	brass	Sir John Say	1478	Yorkist
Digswell	brass	John Peryent	1415	abraded
	brass	Joan, wife	1415	SS
St. Albans	brass	Sir Anthony Grey	1480	Yorkist

Sandon	brass	John Fitzgeffrey	1480	*****
Sawbridgeworth	brass	John Leventhorpe	1435	abraded
	brass	John Chauncey	1479	abraded

## KENT

Ash	effigy	John Septvans	1458	SS
Barham	brass	John Digges	c1455	abraded
Bobbing	brass	Sir Arnold Savage	1420	SS
Canterbury	effigy	John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset	1410	SS
	effigy	Thos, Duke of Clarence	1421	SS
	effigy	Joan, Queen of HIV	1437	SS
Gillingham	brass	John Bamme	1488	plain *
Hackington	effigy	Sir Roger Manwood	1592	SS
Herne	brass	Christina, wife of Matt. Phelip	1470	Yorkist
Little Chart	effigy	Sir John Darell	1509	SS
Minster-in-Sheppey	effigy	unidentified military	c1475	Yorkist
Teynham	brass	John Frogenhall	1444	SS
Thanet	brass	Nicholas Manston	1444	SS

## LANCASHIRE

Clitheroe	effigy	unidentified military	c1460	Yorkist(?)
	effigy	lady	c1460	Yorkist
Omskirk	effigy	Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby	1572	SS
Sefton	brass	Sir William Molineux	1548	SS
Warrington	effigy	Sir John Boteler	1463	***

effigy	wife	***
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### **LEICESTERSHIRE**

Ashby-de-la-Zouche	effigy	unidentified pilgrim	C15th	SS
Bottesford	effigy	John, Lord Rous	1421	SS
	effigy	William, Lord Rous	1414	SS
Castle Donnington	effigy	Robert Hazelrigg	1529	SS
Gaddesby	effigy	a Segrave (?)	1520	SS
Leicester	effigy	Mary Harvey	temp.HIV	SS
Thurlaston	effigy	John Turville	c1509	SS
	effigy	wife	c1509	SS
Nosley	inc.slab	a lady	1406	SS(?)

### **LINCOLNSHIRE**

Broughton	effigy	Sir Henry Redford	1409	SS
	effigy	wife	1409	SS
Gunby	brass	Sir Thos. Massingberd	1405	SS
	brass	wife	1405	SS
Lincoln		decoration on tomb of Joan Nevill	1440	SS *
Stamford	effigy	Sir David Philip	1506	SS
	effigy	Anne, wife	1506	SS
Uffington	effigy	a Badlesmere	mid-C14th(?)	SS
Wellingore	effigy	Sir Rich. Buslingthorpe	1430	SS
Great Grimsby	inc.slab	unidentified civilian	1410	SS(?)

## LONDON

Bishopsgate	brass	Robert Rochester	1514	SS
	effigy	Sir John Crosby	1474	Yorkist
	effigy	Agnes, wife	1474	Yorkist
Fleet Street	brass	Lawrence Dalton		SS
Shoreditch	effigy	Sir Simon Burley	1387	SS
	effigy	Sir John Ebrington	1483	Yorkist *
Southwark	effigy	John Gower	1408	SS
Tower of London	effigy	Sir. Rich. Chomondley	1544	SS
St. Dunstan	brass	Lawrence Dalton		SS

## MIDDLESEX

Northolt	brass	Henry Rowdell	1452	plain
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## MONMOUTHSHIRE

Abergavenny	effigy	Sir. William ap Thomas	1450	SS
	effigy	Sir Richard Herbert	1510	SS
	effigy	Sir Ricchard Herbert	1459	SS
Newport	effigy	John Morgan	1493	SS

## NORFOLK

Ashwellthorpe	effigy	Sir Edmund de Thorpe	1417	SS
	effigy	Joan, wife	1417	SS
Burham Thorpe	brass	Sir William Calthorpe	1420	SS
	brass	Lady Isabella Delamere	1421	SS
Holme-next-the-Sea	brass	Henry Notingham	1405	decorative
Raveningham	brass	Margaret Willughby	1483	Yorkist

Rougham	brass	Sir. William Yelverton	1472	Yorkist
Shernbourne	brass	Sir Thomas Shernborne	1458	SS
Soley	sculpture	Oliver Groos	1438	SS
Stokesby	brass	Edmund Clere	1488	roses?
Stradsett	brass	Thomas Lathe	1418	SS(?)

## NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Blakesley	brass	Matthew Swetenham	1416	SS(?)
Charwelton	effigy	Sir Thomas Andrewe	1564	SS
Cranford St. Andrew	brass	Maude Fossebrook	1418	SS
Deene	effigy	Sir Robert Brudenell	1531	SS
Dodford	effigy	Sir John Cressy	1444	SS
Fawsley	effigy	Sir Richard Knightley	1534	SS
	sculpture	weeper (son?)		SS
Great Addington	effigy	Sir Henry Vere	1516	SS
Greene's Norton	effigy	Sir Thomas Greene	1457	SS
	effigy	Philippa, wife	1457	SS
Horton	effigy	William, Lord Parr	1546	SS
Lowick	effigy	Edmund Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire	1498	SS
	effigy	Ralph Greene	1418	SS
Marholm	effigy	Sir John de Wittelbury	1410	SS
Spratton	effigy	Sir Hugh Swinford	1371	SS
Upton	effigy	Sir Richard Knightley	1537	SS
	effigy	Jane, wife	post 1537	SS

## NORTHUMBERLAND

Chillingham	effigy	Sir Ralph Grey	1443	SS
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## NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Aston-by-Trent	effigy	lady of Hunt family	temp HIV	SS
Holme Pierrepont	effigy	Sir Henry Pierrepont	1499	Yorkist
Hoveringham	effigy	Sir Robert Gouxhill	1403	SS
Ratcliffe-on-Soar	effigy	Ralph Sacheverall	1539	SS
Strelley	effigy	Sir Sampson Strelley	1391	plain
Sutton Bonington	effigy	Thomas Stanton (?)	1486	Yorkist
Uffington	effigy	William de Albini		SS
Whatton	effigy	Sir Adam de Newmarch	c1380	SS
Worksop	effigy	Sir Thomas Neville	1406	SS(?)
	effigy	Joan Fernivall		SS

## OXFORDSHIRE

Adderbury	brass	military figure	1460	SS(?)
Broughton	effigy	Lady Eliz. Wykeham	early C15th	SS
	effigy	Lord Say and Sele		abraded
Dorchester	brass	Sir John Drayton	1417	SS
Great Tew	brass	John Wykotes	1422	SS(?)
Minster Lovell	effigy	William, Lord Lovell	1455	florets
North Aston	effigy	Sir John Anne	1490	SS
Northleigh	effigy	Sir William Wilcote	1411	SS
	effigy	Elizabeth, wife	1442	SS
	brass	Thomas Beckingham	1431	SS(?)
Stanton Harcourt	effigy	Sir Robert Harcourt	1471	Yorkist
	effigy	Sir Robert Harcourt	1503	SS

**RUTLAND**

Burley	effigy	military figure		Yorkist
	effigy	wife		Yorkist
Little Casterton	brass	Sir Thomas Burton	1381	SS
Exton	effigy	Sir John Harrington	1524	SS

**SHROPSHIRE**

Chetwynd	effigy	Sir .... Piggot	temp HVI	SS
Clavering	effigy	Sir Robert Broke	1558	SS(J)
Kinlet	effigy	Sir Humphrey Blount	1478	Yorkist
	effigy	Sir John Blount	1531	SS
Shrewsbury	inc.slab	Nicholas Stafford	1471	Yorkist
Tong	effigy	Sir Richard Vernon	1451	SS
	effigy	Benedicta, wife	1451	SS
	effigy	Sir Richard Vernon	1517	SS
	effigy	Sir Henry Vernon	1525	SS
Wroxeter	effigy	Chief Justice Bromley	1555	SS(J)

**SOMERSET**

Backwell	effigy	Sir Walter Rodney	1467	Yorkist
Chew Magna	effigy	Sir John St. Loe	1448	SS
	effigy	Agnes, Lady St. Loe (?)		SS
Dunster	effigy	Sir Hugh Luttrell	1428	SS
Henstridge	effigy	William Carent	1476	plain
Hutton	brass	John Payne	1496	SS(?)
Ilton	effigy	unidentified lady	1470	personal?
Long Ashton	effigy	Lady Choke	c1470	Yorkist

North Cadbury	effigy	Wilm. Baron Botreaux	1391	SS
Nunney	effigy	Sir John Paulet	1436	SS
Porlock	effigy	Sir John Harrington	1417	SS
Rodney Stoke	effigy	Sir Thomas Rodney	1470	Yorkist
Yatton	effigy	Sir John Newton	1488	SS
	effigy	Sir Richard Newton	1449	SS
	effigy	Lady Emmota Newton	1475	SS

## STAFFORDSHIRE

Burslem	brass	military figure	1420	SS
Dudley	effigy	military figure		SS
	effigy	military figure		SS
	effigy	wife		SS
Elford	effigy	Sir Thomas Arderne (?)	1391	SS
	effigy	Matilda, wife	1391	SS
	effigy	Sir William Staunton	1450	SS
	effigy	Sir William Smythe	1525	SS
Kinver	effigy	John Hampton	1472	SS
Leigh	effigy	Sir John Ashenhurst	1523	roses
Patshull	effigy	Sir Richard Astley	1532	SS
Tamworth	effigy	Sir John Ferrers	1512	SS

## SUFFOLK

Barsham	brass	Sir Robert Suckling	1415	SS
Bures	effigy	Richard de Vere, Earl of Oxford	1417	SS
	effigy	Alice, wife	1452	florets
Bury St. Edmunds	sculpture	John Baret	1480	SS

	brass	Jenkyn Smith	1480	Yorkist
Chilton	effigy	Robert Crane	1500	SS(?)
	effigy	Anne, wife	1500	SS
Dennington	effigy	William Phelip, Lord Bardolph	1441	SS
	effigy	wife	1445	SS
Holbrook	brass	Sir Gilbert Debenham	1493	Yorkist?
Letheringham	brass	William Wingfield	1509	decorative
Mildenhall	brass	military figure	1390	personal *
Sotterly	brass	wife of Thos. Playters		SS
Wrentham	brass	Ela, wife of Rich. Bowet	1400	SS

## SURREY

Betchingley	effigy	Sir Robert Clayton		SS
Carshalton	brass	Margaret, wife of Nicholas Gaynesford	1498	Yorkist
Cheam	brass	John Yerde	1449	abraded
Horley	brass	Lady (of Salmon family?)	1420	SS(?)
Merstham	brass	John Newdegate	1498	abraded
Oakwood	brass	Edward de la Hale	1431	SS

## SUSSEX

Arundel	effigy	Thos., Earl of Arundel	1416	SS
	brass	Thomas Salmon	1430	SS *
	brass	Agnes, wife	1418	SS
	effigy	John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel	1435	SS
	effigy	Joan Neville, wife	1462	Yorkist

	brass	John Threel	1465	abraded
Bodiam	effigy	Sir Edward (?) Dallingrugge		SS
Chiddingley	effigy	Sir John Jefferay	1575	SS
Easebourne	effigy	Sir David Owen	1542	SS
Horley	brass	Lady Salmon (?)	1420	SS(?)
Hurstmonceux	effigy	Thomas, Lord Hoo	1455	SS
	effigy	Sir Thomas Hoo	1486	SS
Lewes	brass	a Warrenne	c1430	SS(?)
Stopham	brass	Richard Bartlot	1462	abraded
Trotton	brass	Thomas, Baron Camoys	1419	SS
	brass	Elizabeth, wife	1419	SS

## WARWICKSHIRE

Astely	effigy	Sir Edward Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby	1457	SS
	effigy	Lady Elizabeth L'Isle	1483	Yorkist
Aston	effigy	Sir Thomas Erdington	1433	SS
	effigy	Joan or Anne, wife	1460	SS
	effigy	Sir William Harcourt (?)	1462	Yorkist
	effigy	Sir William Holte	1518	SS
Baginton	brass	Sir William Bagot	1407	SS
	brass	Margaret, wife	1407	SS
Coleshill	effigy	Sir Simon Digby	1519	SS
Compton Winyates	effigy	Sir William Compton	1528	SS
Emscote	effigy	John Hugford	1485	Yorkist(?)
	effigy	Thomas Hugford		Yorkist(?)
Warwick	effigy	Margaret, wife of Sir William Peito	temp. Ed.III	SS *

Wellesbourne Hastings	brass	Sir Thomas le Strange	1426	SS
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### **WESTMORLAND**

Beetham	effigy	military figure	early C15th	plain
Kirby Lonsdale	effigy	military figure	C15th	eroded

### **WILTSHIRE**

Bromham	effigy	Sir Roger Tocotes	1492	SS
Salisbury	effigy	Sir John Cheyney	1509	SS
	effigy	Robert, Lord Hungerford	1459	SS
	brass	Walter, Lord Hungerford	1449	SS *

### **WORCESTERSHIRE**

Bromsgrove	effigy	Sir Humphrey Stafford	1450	SS
	effigy	Sir John Talbot	1501	SS
Fladbury	brass	Edward Peytoo	1488	abraded
Kidderminster	brass	Walter Cookesey	1407	SS
	brass	Maud Harcourt		SS
	brass	Sir John Phelip	1415	SS
	effigy	Sir Hugh Cokesay	1445	SS
Martley	effigy	Sir Hugh Mortimer (?)	c1459	Yorkist
Stanford-on-Teme	effigy	Sir Humphrey Selway	1493	SS

### **YORKSHIRE**

Barmston	effigy	William Monceux	1446	SS
Brandesburton	brass	Lady Lora St. Quinton	1398	SS(?)
Burton Agnes	effigy	Sir Walter Griffith	1481	SS
	effigy	Joan, wife	1481	SS

Croft	sculpture	Sir Richard Clervaux	1490	SS
Darfield	effigy	John Bosevile	1410	SS
Escrick	effigy	Sir Roger Lascelles (?)	c1450	SS
	effigy	wife	c1450	SS *
Giggleswick	effigy	Sir Ricard	Temp est. 1488	SS
Halsham	effigy	Sir John Constable	1407	SS
Harewood	effigy	William Gascoigne	1465	Yorkist
	effigy	Sir William Gascoigne	1487	SS
	effigy	Sir Edward Redman	1510	SS
	effigy	Sir Richard Redman	1426	SS
	effigy	Sir William Ryther	1426	SS
Harpham	brass	Thomas de St. Quinton	1445	SS(?)
Helmsley	brass	Thomas, Lord de Ros	1465	Yorkist(?)
Methley	effigy	Sir Robert Waterton	1424	SS
	effigy	Cecily, wife	1424	SS
	effigy	Lionel, Lord Welles	1461	decorative
Owston	brass	Robert de Haitfield	1417	SS
	brass	Ade, wife	1409	SS
Pickering	effigy	Sir David Roucliffe	1407	SS
	effigy	Margery, wife	1407	SS
Ripon	effigy	Sir Thos. de Markenfield	C14th	park pale
Routh	brass	Sir John Routh	1410	SS
	brass	Agnes, wife	1410	SS
Ryther	effigy	Sir William Ryther	1475	Yorkist
Selby	effigy	John, Lord Darcy	1411	SS
South Cave	effigy	Sir Henry Lound (?)	c1410	SS
South Cowton	effigy	Sir Richard Conyers	1493	SS

Swine	effigy	Sir Robert Hilton	1410	SS
Thornhill	effigy	Sir John Savill	1481	Yorkist
Tickhill	effigy	Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam	1495	SS
Wadworth	effigy	Sir Edmund Fitzwilliam	1430	SS
Wentworth	effigy	Sir William Gascoigne	1460	SS
West Tanfield	effigy	Sir John Marmion	1386	SS

## WALES

Beaumaris	effigy	Sir Rowland Bulkely	mid-C15th	SS
Carmarthen	effigy	Sir Rhys ap Thomas	1525	florets
Llandaff	effigy	Sir Chris. Matthew	1526	SS
	effigy	Sir David Matthew	1461	SS
	effigy	Sir William Matthew	1528	SS
Llandegai	effigy	William Griffith	1480	Yorkist
Montgomery	effigy	unidentified	late-C15th	Yorkist
Ruabon	effigy	John ap Elis Eyton	1526	SS
Slebech	effigy	Sir Henry Wogan	1526	SS

## IRELAND

Dublin	effigy	Sir Roland FitzEustace	1482	Yorkist
Lusk	effigy	James Bermingham	c1480	Yorkist

**COLLARS (AS INSIGNIA OF OFFICE)****DEPICTED IN POST-TUDOR MONUMENTS**

(J) = judicial (M) = mayoral (H) = herald or king of arms

\* an apparent anomaly

**BEDFORDSHIRE**

Eyeworth	effigy	Sir Edmund Anderson	1605	SS(J)
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**CHESTER**

Over Peover	effigy	Sir Philip Mainwearing	1648	SS
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**DEVON**

Crediton	effigy	Sir William Peryan	1604	SS
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**ESSEX**

Walthamstow	brass	Sir George Monox	no date	SS(M)
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West Ham	effigy	Sir Thomas Foot	1688	SS(M)
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**HAMPSHIRE**

North Stoneham	effigy	Sir Thomas Fleming	1613	SS(J)
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**HERTFORDSHIRE**

Abbots Langley	effigy	Lord Raymond	1732	SS(J)
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Tring	effigy	Sir William Gore	1707	SS(M)
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**LONDON**

Fleet Street	brass	Lawrence Dalton, Norroy	SS(H)
St. Paul's	brass	Sir George Nottage	1885 SS(M)
Spitalfields	effigy	Sir Robert Ladbrooke	1748 SS(M)
Westminster	effigy	Sir Thomas Richardson	1634 SS(J)

**NORFOLK**

Tittleshall	effigy	Sir Edward Coke	1634	SS(J)
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**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE**

Brington	effigy	Lady Penelope Spencer	1667	SS *
Stoke Doyle	effigy	Sir Edmund Ward	c1720	SS

**OXFORDSHIRE**

Wolvercote	effigy	Sir John Walter	1630	SS(J)
Burford	effigy	Sir Lawrence Tanfield	1625	SS(J)

**SUFFOLK**

Bury St. Edmunds	effigy	James Reynolds	1738	SS(J)
Redgrave	effigy	Sir John Holt	1710	SS(J)

**SURREY**

Albury	wall mon.	Sir Robert Godschall	1742	SS(M)
Betchingley	effigy	Sir Robert Clayton	1707	SS(M)
Guildford	effigy	Sir Robert Parkhurst	1637	SS(M)

## WILTSHIRE

## GLOSSARY

Note: terms shown in *italics* are cross-referenced.

**a bouche** Fifteenth-century shield shape, depicted with a notch cut into the *dexter* side to allow for the free movement of a lance in the tournament.

**Annulet** A ring.

**Argent** Silver (most often depicted as white).

**Armiger** One who bears arms by lawful authority.

**Armorial** (i) Concerned with *armory*.  
(ii) A manuscript or book concerned with armory.

### Armorial bearings

The properly authorized devices appertaining to a particular *armiger*. These include the elements of a *coat of arms* (ie. the shield of arms, helmet and coronet of rank, *wreath*, *crest*, *mantling*, *supporters*, insignia of honour and of office), personal and livery *badges* and *flags*.

**Armory** (i) The hereditary use of an arrangement of charges centred on a shield. Not to be confused with *heraldry*.  
(ii) The study of (i).  
(iii) A dictionary of armorial bearings listed alphabetically by surname.

**Azure** Blue.

**Badge** An armorial device, not part of a *coat of arms*.

**Banner** A square or oblong flag emblazoned with the devices depicted in the shield of arms. As such it is essentially a personal flag, in contradistinction to the *standard* and *guidon* which were mustering flags used by retainers and troops.

**Base** The area at the base of a shield, the opposite of *chief*.

**Bend** In a shield, a broad band extending from *dexter chief* to *sinister base*.

Blazon	(i) A verbal or written description of armorial bearings. (ii) To describe armorial bearings using the terminology and conventions of armory.
Cadency	In armory, the symbols whereby different male members of a particular family and its cadet branches may be identified. The cadency mark of an eldest son is a <i>label</i> , for example
Chape	The (usually tapering) termination of a strap.
Chapeau	A ceremonial cap affixed to the helm in a coat of arms in place of a <i>wreath</i> .
Charge	A single device or geometrical shape depicted in relief.
Chevron	In inverted V issuing from the base of a shield.
Chief	(i) A broad, horizontal band covering the uppermost portion of a shield. (ii) The uppermost portion of a shield, the opposite of <i>base</i> .
Coat of Arms	Correctly this term should be applied only to the devices on a shield of arms, surcoat or <i>banner</i> . However, it is now invariably used as a synonym for <i>armorial bearings</i> .
Conjoined	Joined together.
Couchant	A beast when lying down with its head erect.
Cranket	An adjustable pot-crane. (see Fig.1, p.32)
Crest	A three-dimensional device mounted on the helmet and so depicted in a coat of arms, together with the <i>wreath</i> and <i>mantling</i> .
Cross bottony	A cross with each limb terminating in a trefoil.
Dexter	The left-hand side of a shield when viewed from the front. Used also in this study when describing effigies. The opposite of <i>sinister</i> .
Displayed	With wings expanded – ‘spread-eagled’.
Ducally gorged	Having about the neck a coronet comprising strawberry leaves set on a rim.
Emblazon	To depict armorial bearings in colour.

Engrailed	Having a scalloped edge, with the points facing outwards.
en soleil	Environed by rays of the sun.
Erased	Torn off in a horizontal plane, leaving a ragged edge.
Escallop	A stylized shell.
Falchion	A broad-bladed sword with a curved front edge.
Falcon and fetterlock	A Yorkist device derived from Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (1341-1402) who bore as a badge the silver falcon of Plantagenet confined within a golden <i>fetterlock</i> . His grandson, Richard Duke of York (1411-60) depicted the fetterlock with an open clasp in which the falcon was no longer confined: a clear allusion to his ambitions. (See Fig. 1, p.32)
Fess	A broad horizontal band crossing the center of a shield.
Fetterlock	A shackle for a horse, depicted as a barrel-lock with a hinged, elliptical clasp.
Fitchy	Pointed at the foot: usually applied to a cross, the lower limb of which is pointed.
Flags	In the context of this study, the armorial flags: the <i>banner</i> , <i>standard</i> and the <i>guidon</i> .
Fretty	Lines interlaced.
Garb	A stylized wheatsheaf.
Garnished	Adorned or decorated.
Gorged	Encircled about the throat with (eg.) a crown.
Griffin	A beast with the body, hind quarters, ears and tail of a lion and the head, wings and talons of an eagle.
Guardant	Head turned to face the observer.
Guidon	A battle flag bearing a badge or badges on a background of the livery colours.
Gules	Red.

## Heraldic heiress

An armigerous woman who has no brothers living and no nephews or nieces from deceased brothers becomes her father's heraldic heiress upon his death. (See *impaled*.)

Heraldry	All matters relating to the duties and responsibilities of the Officers of Arms. The term is frequently and erroneously used as a synonym for <i>armory</i> , which is but one of the heralds' many duties.
Hurt	A blue roundel.
Impaled	Side by side. The term is most often applied to the arms of a man and wife which are depicted side by side in a single shield, those of the husband to the dexter. The arms of an <i>heraldic heiress</i> are depicted on a small shield (an escutcheon of pretence) at the centre of her husband's arms.
Label	A horizontal band near the top of a shield from which depend three or more short pieces. The <i>cadency</i> mark of an eldest son.
Latin cross	A plain cross, the lower limb of which is longer than the other three.
Lined	Having cords or chains attached.
Lodged	Of a stag when <i>couchant</i> .
lyre-type	A stylized collar in the shape of an inverted lyre. Frequently found in monumental brasses.
Mantling	Also known as the lambrequin, a protective cloth affixed to a helmet by means of a <i>wreath</i> , and so depicted in a coat of arms.
Marshalling	The discipline of assembling the constituent elements of a coat of arms, and the various devices of which each is composed, in a manner which accords with accepted armorial practice and convention.
Martlet	A stylized bird, similar in appearance to the house martin, swallow or swift, but always depicted without feet.
Maunch	A stylized sleeve, cut off at the shoulder and with a long lappet pendant from the cuff. The best known example is that in the arms of Hastings: Argent a Maunch Sable.
Murrey	An uncommon armorial tincture of mulberry colour, more often employed as livery than for armorial purposes.

Or	Gold, often depicted as a rich yellow.
Panache	A fan of feathers, generally of three rows. Most frequently found in <i>crests</i> .
Passant	Walking.
Quartered	A shield divided into four or in which four or more coats of arms are depicted.
Quartering	A method of <i>marshalling</i> by which a number of coats of arms are assembled within a single shield.
Ragged staff	A roughly pruned bough.
Rampant	Standing upright on the hind legs.
Rebus	A pictorial pun on a name.
Sable	Black.
Segreant	Of a <i>griffin</i> when <i>rampant</i> .
Semy	Scattered.
Sinister	The right-hand side of a shield when viewed from the front. Used also in this study when describing effigies. The opposite of <i>dexter</i> .
Standard	A long mustering flag bearing a badge or badges on a background of the livery colours
Statant	Standing on all four paws with the head erect.
Sunburst	Rays of light issuing upwards from behind a cloud.
Sun in splendour	A Yorkist badge comprising a golden sun with alternate wavy and straight rays and (sometimes) a human countenance.
Supporters	Figures, usually beasts, chimerical creatures or (more recently) of human form, placed on either side of a shield in a coat of arms to 'support' it.
Toret	A trefoil-shaped clasp.
Torse	A synonym for <i>wreath</i> .
Torteau	A red roundel.

Triquetra	A device comprising three equal interlaced arcs. A symbol of the Blessed Trinity.
Vert	Green.
Wreath	A band of twisted strands of material worn about the helmet to secure the <i>mantling</i> and to conceal the base of the <i>crest</i> where it was laced or bolted to the tournament helm. In a coat of arms the wreath is conventionally depicted as having six visible twists. In armory, a crest is invariably depicted with its wreath.

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