

HERALDIC BADGES IN ENGLAND AND WALES

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Wales Herald Extraordinary

Herodr Arbennig Cymru

VOLUME I INTRODUCTION

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FOREWORD

MY INTEREST in heraldic badges was first aroused while I was studying the heraldic content of Welsh poetry. I was puzzled by allusions to ‘the grating’ in poems addressed by two poets to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, who was custodian of the lands of two successive lords of Powys during their minority at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. These allusions had eluded the editors of the works of these poets, although one of them had suggested that there might be some heraldic meaning. Since in one case the allusion came in lines immediately following a description of Lord Dudley’s arms, I wondered if the grating might perhaps be his heraldic badge, and investigation showed this to be indeed the case.

This led me to a wider study of badges, and I found that although a number of important studies of different aspects of the subject were available, no comprehensive general study of heraldic badges had been published. Francis Sandford in his *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, first published in 1677, illustrated many royal seals and monuments, some showing heraldic badges. John Anstis described some royal badges in his *Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* of 1724. Thomas Willemet described some royal badges in *Regal Heraldry*, and Sir Henry Ellis, principal librarian to the British Museum, made a study of royal badges in a series of letters addressed in 1822 to the president of the Society of Antiquaries of London, illustrated with drawings and water-colours in BL, Add. 41314. Two writers who made valuable contributions to the study of certain badges in the first half of the nineteenth century were Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas and J G Nichols. Sir William St John Hope published many studies at the end of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century which include descriptions of badges.

Some lists of badges and other manuscripts containing badges have been published, of which F P Barnard’s *Edward IV’s French Expedition of 1475* is a fine example. H Stanford London gave excellent surveys of the subject of badges in general, and of royal beasts. He also wrote on the subjects of the broad arrow as a government badge and official badges, and made many studies of individual badges, especially of the greyhound and a various monsters.

A number of other badges have been studied in some detail. A few examples are Sir Anthony Wagner’s study of the swan badge and the Swan Knight; John H Harvey’s ‘The Wilton Diptych — a re-examination’, which examines the badges of Richard II; and John Cherry’s ‘The Dunstable Swan Jewel’. More recent studies which make important contributions to the study of badges are ‘The Dublin Civic Swords’, by Claude Blair and Ida

Delamer, which examines those of Henry of Lancaster, later Henry IV; Jenny Stratford has described the badges of John, Duke of Bedford, in *Bedford Inventories*; R W Lightbown's *Medieval European Jewellery* treats a number of aspects, in particular collars; and *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* studies in detail the badges of that king and his second wife. A C Fox-Davies's *Heraldic Badges*, which reproduced a number of lists of badges, nearly all of which had already appeared in print, with a short discussion, is disappointing.

The present work is an attempt to provide such a general study, and is the result of many years spent investigating the available sources of all kinds, whether in heraldic manuscripts, seals, or monuments, directly, or in learned publications or records. Volume I consists of a general survey of badges, and treats the nature and use of heraldic badges and our sources of information on them. The volume is completed by three sections: (1) a selection of extracts from unpublished records; (2) a tract containing an alphabet of badges; (3) a short vocabulary.

Volume II is a dictionary of heraldic badges, and is divided into two parts, the first treating royal badges, listing the badges used or said to have been used by individual members of the English royal houses, and then discussing these badges in alphabetical order, followed by a section on territorial badges. Part 2 of Volume II, after a section on badges of office, is a dictionary of badges which are recorded for non-royal persons and families, subjects of English sovereigns. It also records some badges whose owners have not been identified, and a selection of rebuses.

Volume III contains ordinaries of heraldic badges and livery colours. These are followed by a bibliography and list of manuscripts consulted, and finally the indexes.

The period covered in this study runs from the spread of badges in the fourteenth century down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, by which time the heyday of heraldic badges was past.

The study of badges touches on so many specialized fields, such as costume, ecclesiastical vestments, furnishings, armour, weapons, horse furniture, ceremonial, tournaments, warfare, flags, jewels and plate, charters, illuminated manuscripts and paintings, buildings and monuments, seals and coins, that it is not possible to have expert knowledge in every field. I hope therefore that specialists in their particular fields will forgive the shortcomings of this work, and I will be grateful for corrections.



It is with pleasure that I express my thanks to all those who have helped and encouraged me in this study. I particularly wish to thank the late Mr J P Brooke-Little, Mr Hubert Chesshyre, Mr Thomas Woodcock, Mr Peter Gwynn-Jones and the late Sir Anthony Wagner for their encouragement.

I am especially indebted to the late Mr John Goodall who was so generous with his advice, and also Dr Adrian Ailes, Mr John Cherry, Mr John Clark, Mr Bernard Nurse, Mrs Ann Payne, the late Mr Brian Spencer, Dr Jenny Stratford and Mr Robert Yorke.

I wish to express my thanks to the staffs of the British Library, the National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office), the National Library of Wales, the Bodleian Library and the Society of Antiquaries of London for their patience and help.

I am indebted to Professor David Morgan Evans, former General Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, and to his successor, Dr David Gaimster, for their help, to the late Mrs Janet Clayton, formerly the Society's Publications Manager, and to Dr Susan Wright, who undertook the copyediting of the text.

Mrs Susan Davies examined my transcripts of extracts from records, and gave me valuable advice on their presentation. M. Jean-Pierre Lœvenbruck photographed casts of seals at the Archives nationales, Paris. Mrs Carol Evans assisted with the checking of the bibliography, and the indexes were compiled by Mrs Susan Vaughan.

The drawings of knots and badges in Volume III were prepared by Mr John Roberts, based on originals made by Miss Leonora Williams-Wynne (knots) and Mr Paul Antonio (badges).

That this book has at last been published is in great measure due to Miss Kate Owen, the Society's Publications Manager, who exercised patience and perseverance during the many years when publication seemed an illusive goal, and who eventually steered me in the direction of Dr Richard Barber, of Boydell & Brewer, to whom I am greatly indebted for much help and encouragement and who compensated for previous disappointments by bringing this long-delayed project to fruition in such a speedy, positive and professional manner.

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1 BADGES

THE MUCH-QUOTED REMARK put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Clifford when addressing the Earl of Warwick, ‘Might I but know thee by thy household badge,’ with Warwick’s reply ‘Now, by my father’s badge, old Nevil’s crest, The rampant bear chain’d to the ragged staff, This day I’ll wear aloft my burgonet’¹ and the scene where the rivals of the Houses of York and Lancaster recommend their partisans to take respectively the white and red roses to show their allegiance,² remind us of the role played by heraldic badges in earlier days.

WHAT IS A BADGE?

Origin of the word ‘badge’

According to the *Middle English Dictionary* the word *bage* or *bagge* comes from old French, and is of unknown origin. This dictionary cites its use in French in 1334 in a grant in the Eton College Archives: ‘*un bageys de deux coulours*’. Edward, Prince of Wales, in his will of 1376, mentions ‘*noz bages des plumes dostruce*’.³ The entry in the *Middle English Dictionary* cites the occurrence of the word in English in a number of cases during the first half of the fifteenth century including *Promptorium Parvulorum*, under ‘bage or bagge of armys’, c 1440,⁴ and Sir Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte Arthur*, ‘their bagis’.

Definition

Many attempts have been made to define heraldic badges, but none of them has been entirely satisfactory. Nicolas Upton (c 1440) drew a distinction between royal livery badges and arms or badges. The former, he said, are only for livery, and are emblems by which a ruler’s nobles, feudatories and vassals are recognized by others.⁵ According to Sir William St John Hope a badge is ‘any figure or device that is assumed as the distinctive mark or cognizance of an individual or family; and it should be borne alone, without any shield, torse, or any other accessory’.⁶ Rodney Dennys defined the badge as ‘a distinct device, which is never borne on a shield or as a crest’ although many of the fifteenth- and

1 2 *Henry VI*, v.1.201–4.

3 Nichols, *Wills*, 68.

5 Upton, *De Studio Militari*, 35: ‘*Notandum tamen est quod ista signa ut predixi regia, prout signum accipitur pro sua liberata, non sunt sua Arma vel bagia, sed solum modo liberate, & sic sunt signa per que ipsorum nobiles feudatorii & vasalli ab aliis cognoscuntur.*’

6 Hope, ‘The Artist’s Treatment of Heraldry’, 236. The text reads ‘store’, presumably in error for ‘torse’.

2 1 *Henry VI*, ii.4.27–33.

4 *Promptorium Parvulorum*, I, 20.

sixteenth-century badges were later also used as crests or supporters. Usually employed as a mark of ownership, or worn on liveries of retainers.⁷ Sir Anthony Wagner reminded us that ‘the same beast, bird, monster, or other device might appear not only as its owner’s badge on his retainers’ liveries, but also as his crest upon his helm, and as the supporter of his shield or banner of arms. The word badge has thus a narrower and a wider meaning.’⁸ D L Galbreath came near the mark with: ‘*Les badges, ou devises, sont des emblèmes parahéraldiques, non contenus dans un écu, employés librement comme motifs décoratifs par leur possesseur et comme signes de ralliement ou de parti par ses partisans.*’⁹ In a revised edition of Galbreath’s work by Léon Jéquier, the definition is less satisfactory: ‘*Les devises sont des marques spéciales, employées librement comme motifs décoratifs par le possesseur et d’autres, tout comme les cocardes de notre temps.*’¹⁰ According to Michel Pastoureau: ‘*Il s’agit de marques propres à un individu ou à un groupe de personnes, constituées par une figure (animal, plante, objet), accompagnée ou non d’une sentence, et dont la composition et l’utilisation ne sont soumises à aucune règle ... On les utilise comme motifs décoratifs, comme signes de ralliement et surtout comme marques de propriété, associés ou non aux armoiries.*’¹¹ Perhaps the most satisfying definition is that of Hugh Stanford London who described the badge as a mark of ownership or allegiance, whose most important and distinctive use was for display on a lord’s standard in the field and the livery of his retainers but which was also borne on belongings and decorations.¹²

Although these definitions vary, they show clearly that the two chief uses of badges were, firstly, hierarchical and military, where they were borne either on standards as a rallying point for retainers in war or in tournaments, or worn by them in order to show their allegiance; and, secondly, for decorative purposes, on dress, furnishings, plate, jewellery, or monuments. Royal badges in particular were much used in pageantry. In all these cases badges proclaimed ownership and identity.

HISTORY, LAW AND CUSTOM

Restrictions

It has been widely asserted that badges were never displayed on shields, nor placed on wreaths, and that they were never the same as the crest or supporter, or a charge taken from the coat. These restrictions appear, however, to be an example of a wish to make practice in former times conform to rules laid down much later. It can easily be shown that many badges were the same as the owner’s supporter or crest, in some cases without the crest-wreath, but later increasingly with it; that in many cases the badge was a charge taken from the crest or arms; and that badges were often displayed on shields.

7 Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, 206.

9 Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason* (1942), 217.

10 Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason* (1977), 211.

12 London, *Royal Beasts*, 4.

8 Wagner, ‘Swan Badge’, 127.

11 Pastoureau, *Traité*, 218.

Displayed on shields Badges were often displayed on shields on buildings or monuments, as well as at tournaments and funerals, and the following are some examples of this practice. Their use on shields as ‘arms for peace’ is discussed below.¹³ Badges of Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, are carved on shields over the arcades of the nave of Mold Church, Flintshire, from the end of the fifteenth century, and a number of devices are carved on shields in St Giles’s Church, Wrexham, and in the vault of the holy well at Holywell, Flintshire, from the same period. At least five badges of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, are displayed on shields over the west gateway of Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, built in 1514, and the sword badge of Lionel Dymoke (d 1519) as the King’s Champion is shown on a shield on his brass at Horncastle, Lincolnshire.¹⁴ The sled badge of the Stourtons is carved on a shield on the margin of the altar-tomb of Edward, sixth Baron Stourton (d 1535), in Stourton Church, Dorset.

Charges from arms There are many examples of badges which were charges taken from their owners’ arms, or else from the arms of families from which they were descended. Badges taken from the bearers’ arms include the hart’s head, borne by Sir William Stanley of Holt, the martlets on the standard of Sir John Wogan, and the helm of the Cholmondeleys.¹⁵ Sir William Pierrepoint used a lion and cinquefoils from his arms. An example of a badge taken from the arms of a family from which the bearer was descended in the female line is the annulet of the Cliffords which is derived from those in the arms of the Viponds. Annulets appear around the shield on the seal of Robert Clifford, whose mother was a Vipond heiress, in 1301. A second example is the cross moline Argent on the standard of the lords Willoughby de Eresby which is derived from the arms of Bek of Eresby. A third is the garb badge of the Hungerfords and later of the lords Hastings which was derived from the arms of Peverel. Other examples are the white lion of the Berkeleys derived from Mowbray, the popinjay of Lumley from the arms of Thwenge, and the arch of Dinham from the arms of Arches.

Multiple badges

A man might have a large number of badges, especially where he had inherited from several families. A well-known instance of this is Percy, Earl of Northumberland, for whom a number of standards are given in the manuscripts of the early sixteenth century, each with a different badge, and derived from the different families which he represented. These could presumably serve as rallying points for different groups of retainers from the different estates, or be used merely to display his many-sided inheritance. The Beauchamps, Nevills, de Veres and Somersets were other great families for whom a large number of badges are quoted, but even relatively modest knightly families might display several badges on their standards.

13 Chapter 3, under Military, Arms for peace.

14 Lodge, *Scrivelsby*, 53.

15 References to these and other examples quoted in this chapter will be found in both parts of Volume II.

(I keep silent).⁹⁶ In 1406 the Duke of Burgundy appeared at festivities dressed in black with the Duke of Orleans's *devise*, a staff full of knots with his motto.⁹⁷

In Italy badges were called '*impresè*', and later developed in a very different way, with enigmatic allusions which appear to have been designed to hide their owner's identity, whereas the object elsewhere was to proclaim ownership and identity.⁹⁸ As will be seen later, this type of badge became fashionable in England in the tournaments of the Tudor and Jacobean periods.

The origin of badges

Some devices appear very early. A crescent and a star or sun, either separately or together, appear on the seals of some of the Norman and Plantagenet kings. Crescents alone appear on the seals of the dukes of Normandy just before AD 1000, and stars or suns alone on the seals of Henry I and Stephen in the first half of the twelfth century.⁹⁹ The star and crescent appear as a combined device on the first seal of Richard I, and separately on Richard's second seal. The crescent and star or sun were used as devices by rulers in other European countries.¹⁰⁰

Geoffrey Plantagenet's shoes were adorned with golden lions, and his armorial plaque at Le Mans shows a lion on his cap; and the kings of England were using the lion or leopard as an emblem as early as Richard I, who in addition to the leopards in his arms had a lion painted on the crest of his helmet, seen on his seal of 1195. In 1191 his saddle was decorated with a pair of golden lioncels. Henry III had a lion put up on a gable of the hall at Windsor in 1237, and had robes decorated with leopards.

Roses were much used by members of the royal house for decorating furnishings, bed-hangings, vestments, jewellery and plate from the thirteenth century on, and it is difficult to distinguish which roses are badges and which decoration, nor is it possible to distinguish any consistent use of roses of a particular colour by individuals or branches of the royal house before the fifteenth century. The use of roses for decoration was of course not confined to the royal house.

We have already mentioned the swan and the ostrich feather. Edward III used many devices, including griffins, eagles, falcons, crowns, fleurs-de-lis, roses, suns, greyhounds and castles. The wardrobe accounts record that he had many garments and hangings decorated with clouds, and it is possible that this is the origin of the sunburst badge which is said to have been one of his devices, and was a badge much used by his grandson Richard II.¹⁰¹ A most interesting finding is that Edward III was supplied, probably in 1374,

96 The plane with shavings is painted in the lower margin of a folio of a manuscript made for John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, MS 9475, ill. in Pastoureau, 'Toison d'Or', 100. There are many contemporary references to the plane, often accompanied by shavings, for example, Laborde, *Ducs*, I, 21 no. 88, 22 no. 88, 29 no. 28 and 58 no. 200; even the wife of the Duke of Burgundy's rival, Valentine, Duchess of Orleans, had jewels in the form of planes: *Ducs*, III, 219 nos 6036, 6038. See also Slanička, *Krieg der Zeichen*.

97 Plancher, *Bourgogne*, III, 234.

98 Neubecker, *Sources*, 212–13. For the general use of badges in Italy, see Boulton, 'Insignia of Power'.

99 For these emblems and others in this section, see Volume II.

100 Volume II.1, p. 74.

101 Clouds are mentioned in accounts from 1342 to 1361. Examples are Ext 12, m. 4/2, 6, 7; Ext 15, m. 9/7 and m. 11/12; Ext 16, m. 4/ll. 3, 115, 120; Ext 18, m. 8/2.

with a set of hangings of red worsted embroidered with circles of chains and locks with in the middle of them harts lying on terraces.¹⁰² Thus it would appear that a device similar to that which became Richard II's favourite badge was already used by his grandfather.

Other beasts and badges in early use were the bear and ragged staff of the Beauchamps, the white hind of the Holands, the Stafford knot, the white lion of Mortimer, the eagle and griffin of Montagu, the griffin of the Despencers, the crescent of the Percys, and the horse and spray of oak of the Fitz Alans.

From the mid-thirteenth century seal-engravers appear to have sought to fill in the spaces about the shield with appropriate devices, sometimes floral designs or tracery, but often later with dragons, lions, or other beasts. It has been suggested that this was the origin of the later supporters, or 'beasts', holding the shield on either side. Although many of these early devices do not appear to have any heraldic significance, some badges first appear on seals. Two mermaids with combs and mirrors appear as supporters on the seal of Thomas, third Baron Berkeley in 1335, and regularly on the seals of his successors.¹⁰³ Falcons appear on the seal of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, in 1391 and 1396.¹⁰⁴ Badges are seen on the seals of many of those who served in France during the Hundred Years' War. These include a seal showing the earliest evidence for the use of the portcullis by the Beaufort family. Two other examples are those of Sir Richard Gethin, whose badge was a knotted cloth with bats' wings, and Sir John Fastolf, who used a poppy leaf.

The use of badges increased greatly from the mid-fourteenth century on, and this vogue reached its apogee during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This development was encouraged by the cult of chivalric display which flourished at the time, but Michel Pastoureau suggests that two important factors which provoked the spread of the use of badges in the mid-fourteenth century were the decline of the military importance of coats of arms and the increasing and restrictive influence of the heralds on the development of heraldry, leading to a stultifying rigidity. The desire to escape from this rigidity led to the appearance of a new type of personal emblem, freely adopted or changed, much more flexible in use than coats of arms, and not subject to a system of rules.¹⁰⁵ The second half of the fourteenth century was the period which saw the development of the fashion for livery badges, and also the wearing of badges, called 'arms for peace', instead of coats of arms by those participating in 'jousts of peace', whereas the arms were worn for 'jousts of war' or 'jousts à outrance'.¹⁰⁶ It is probable that the increased use of badges as tournament devices also owes much to the changes in tournament practice during that period. In continental countries it became the custom to have *Pas d'armes* on a theme, with the challengers having a common device, and in England teams of knights bearing the same device and dress were formed for tournaments.¹⁰⁷

Traditionally armies and contingents in them had been commanded by noblemen with their feudal levies. Malcolm Vale suggests that the badge or device began to replace

102 Ext 21, m. 15/6.

103 *BM Seals*, nos 7392 etc.

104 *BM Seals*, no. 12671 ♦; Douët d'Arcq, no. 10206 ♦.

105 Pastoureau, *Traité*, 218–19; Pastoureau, 'Origines de l'Emblème', 327–34.

106 Jousts of peace and arms for peace are discussed below, pp. 63–5.

107 These team badges are discussed below, pp. 66–8.

the coat of arms in warfare at a time when changes in military organization and practice were also taking place. He cites Contamine, who notes a tendency towards the substitution of standards and ensigns for banners and pennons, associated with the rise of standing armies in France and Burgundy. He argues that this can be related to the appointment of professional captains who were not necessarily nobles, and the dissociation of military command from social status. Devices on standards were borne in the Burgundian army in 1465 at the battle of Montlhéry, and among the booty captured by the Swiss after the Burgundian defeats between 1474 and 1477 were standards bearing badges and mottoes. The standards of Charles the Bold's standing companies of ordnance bore St Andrew's cross, and his badges of flints and steels, together with his motto *Je lay emprins*. When badges of the kind worn in the tournament were borne in battle the distinction between the arms for peace and for war disappeared.¹⁰⁸

But standards and other types of flag bearing badges were used in England much earlier than this. Standards bearing a single leopard were already used by Edward III as early as 1347–9 and by Richard II, and the latter had large numbers of pennons made with his ostrich-feather badge for his Scottish campaign in 1385. Subsequent kings of England all had standards and pennons with badges. Others than princes also had standards and pennons with badges, as well as banners of their arms. All the flags of various types ordered by the Earl of Warwick when he left to take command in France in 1437 were decorated with his beast and/or badge.¹⁰⁹ In addition, in England at any rate, the senior military commanders continued to be princes or great noblemen, and most lesser commanders to be noblemen or gentry prominent in their own area, although they were joined by some men of obscure origin.

It has been suggested that this use of badges was caused by the tendency of coats of arms to become multi-quartered, which made them less easily recognized than the simple coats which had been borne in earlier days,¹¹⁰ but, as Juliet Barker points out, recognition would be even more important in battle, and for the most part coats of arms had not become very complicated by the mid-fourteenth century, when the fashion for badges in tournaments began.¹¹¹ Even when arms did become multi-quartered, in the fifteenth century and later, there is evidence that the simple arms continued to be used on the shield, even if the quarterings were used on the trappers.¹¹²

Canting or punning badges

A large number of badges were derived from a play on the bearer's name, and are called canting or punning badges. A boar (Latin *verres*) is seen over the shield on the seal of Hugh de Vere in 1300 and 1301, and was one of the many badges used regularly by this family. The mulberry tree was a badge of the Mowbrays, dukes of Norfolk, and is said to have been embroidered on housings of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, at Coventry,

108 Vale, *War and Chivalry*, 97–8 and notes.

109 Examples are given in Chapter 3 under Military, Use on standards and other flags (pp. 68–73).

110 Vale, *War and Chivalry*, 88.

111 Barker, *Tournament in England*, 186.

112 Examples can be seen on the seals of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland (*BM Seals*, nos 6258, 6295).

and on the trapper of his horse before the expected contest in 1398 between him and the Duke of Hereford. Several ladies whose name was Margaret adopted the ox-eye daisy (French *marguerite*) as their badge, and some named Catherine took Catherine wheels. If the derivation of many of these badges is obvious to us today, such as the hemp-bray of the Brays, the escallops of the Scales, or the ragged staff (resembling *grés* or steps), or the badger (grey) of the Greys, others are more obscure, and some seem to be based on somewhat far-fetched puns which were considered reasonable enough in their day.

Many devices which were adopted as badges were objects in common use at the time, but whose nature is now difficult to determine, especially when portrayed without explanation. Examples of objects with which we are no longer familiar are the crampet of the Wests, lords De la Warr, which is a chape or metal plate covering the point of the scabbard, and the cranket of the de Veres, a small crank for winding up a crossbow.

Rebus

A variation on the punning badge is the rebus, which has been described as a pictured riddle or 'painted metaphor'.¹¹³ Dallaway describes it as the representation of names by familiar images.¹¹⁴ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* it is an enigmatical representation of a name, word or phrase by figures, pictures, arrangements of letters, and so on, which suggest the syllables of which it is made up. The word rebus is variously explained as denoting 'by things instead of by words' (Latin *non verbis sed rebus*), or else as having been taken from satirical pieces composed by clerks in Picardy for the annual carnival, which dealt with current topics, entitled 'about things which are going on' from the Latin *de rebus quae geruntur*.

A rebus consists either of a picture combined with a word or letters, such as the badge of Sir John Pechey, which was a peach charged with the letter 'e', the letters AL with a cock for Alcock, or the ox and ford with the letters EN for Oxford; or else of a depiction of the words or syllables composing the name, such as an eye with a slip of oak, or a man falling from a tree, both used by John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, in his chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey.¹¹⁵ Other examples are the tournament shield (*escu*) bearing the word 'fort', which is one of the badges used by the Fortescues. Many names ending in *-ton* lend themselves to the formation of rebuses, where a tun or barrel is combined with an object or letters forming the rest of the name. Examples of this are the rebus of Stapleton, where a staple is fixed on a tun, or Morton, where the letters MOR appear on a tun. In some cases the rebus represents a placename rather than a surname, as with Savile of Oulton, whose rebus in 1584 was an owl on a tun, with his initials G M S. Clergymen were particularly given to rebuses, which are often found carved on ecclesiastical buildings.

Although the most typical rebuses belong to one or other of the two categories mentioned above, there are many which include only part of the name. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443–65, used some rebuses which represented the whole of his name,

113 Planché, *Pursuivant*, 220–1.

114 Dallaway, *Science of Heraldry*, 120.

115 The examples cited in this section are described in Volume II.2, pp. 331–41. For John Islip's rebus, see Plate 17.

composed of a beacon and a tun, but another of his rebuses was his initials T B with a mitre, placed between two beacons. In the same way, although Sir Thomas Babington sealed in 1502 with a device of a baboon sitting on a tun, the Babington family also used as rebuses a tun by itself or with a vine growing from the bunghole. John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells 1473–98, used a gun with a strap as his rebus. An eagle, the emblem of St John the Evangelist, was sometimes used as a rebus for ‘John’, as in the case of John Cantlow, Prior of Bath 1489–99, whose rebus was an eagle holding in its beak a scroll with the words ‘Prior Cantlow’. The Paschal Lamb, an attribute of St John the Baptist, was used in a similar way as a rebus for ‘John’, and John Wheathamstead, Abbot of St Albans 1421–60, used both these as rebuses.

Some devices which are clearly rebuses were also used as heraldic badges on standards, such as those of Pechey, Fortescue and Stapleton already mentioned, but the distinction between rebus and canting badge cannot always be clearly drawn. A device which may be an early example of a rebus is the sword which was the device on seals of the Longespee family, earls of Salisbury, in the thirteenth century.

Stories and legends

Some badges may have been adopted with allegory in mind, but often stories have been made up at a later date in order to explain their origin. Varying explanations were later given for the fiery cresset badge which was attributed, probably mistakenly, to Henry v. One tells us that it was ‘burning with his sudden and whott alarms in France’, but another that it was ‘shewing there by that although his virtuous & goode parte had been formerly obscured, yet now by his good raigne they should shine as the light of crescet & be come a Guide to his people.’ Shakespeare gives a scene where the rival Houses of York and Lancaster are said to have adopted the white and the red rose respectively after the meeting of the Dukes of Somerset and York in a garden ended in a quarrel. But it is probable that the white rose was already being used by the House of York before this time, whereas evidence for the use of the red rose as a specifically Lancastrian badge earlier than the battle of Bosworth is uncertain.¹¹⁶ It was suggested in some later sources that the white rose of York was placed in front of a sun to commemorate the appearance in the heavens of three suns converging in one before the victory by Edward IV at Mortimer’s Cross in February 1461.¹¹⁷ Edward is said to have ordered the opening of the Yorkist fetterlock to signify that the falcon which was shut up in the fetterlock was free now that the House of York had attained the throne.

Badges sometimes allude to exploits or family traditions. They are sometimes the expression of a legend, such as the swan badge borne by many princes and others to indicate a supposed descent from the Swan Knight. According to Willement, Holinshed relates how ‘after the honor of this victory’ [Flodden], ‘Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrie, (as a note of the conquest,) gave to his servants this connizance (to wear in the left arme,) which was a white lion, (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensign of that house,)

¹¹⁶ See Volume II.1, under Rose.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian, Ashm. 1121, p. 236; BL, Harl. 6085, fol. 22.

standing over a red lion, (the peculiar note of the Kingdom of Scotland,) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.¹¹⁸ The buckle of the Pelhams and the crampet of the Wests, lords De la Warr, have both been said without foundation to commemorate the capture of King Jean II of France at Poitiers. Sydney Anglo quotes suggestions that King Stephen used a sagittary as his badge because he gained the kingdom when the sun was in that sign, and because he won a great victory by the aid of his archers.¹¹⁹ Ferdinand of Aragon adopted the pomegranate as a badge to celebrate the retaking of Granada from the Moors, and is said to have adopted the sheaf of arrows in tribute to the decisive part which they played in its capture. However, Lightbown quotes the use of a collar of the latter device by Isabella of Castile in 1473, and her husband's possession of a collar of the same device.¹²⁰ It is probable, however, that there are other such origins the significance of which now escapes us.

Badges of office

A few badges were associated with certain offices, such as the whistle and the cresset with the office of admiral, or the purse with the office of treasurer. These are dealt with as part of the dictionary of badges.¹²¹ There is one example of a badge combining the family badge with that of an office. This is a Bourchier knot with the purse of the treasurer and was probably the badge of Henry Bourchier, Viscount Bourchier, who was Treasurer of England during the second half of the fifteenth century.¹²²

Swan marks

Some marks used for the identification of the owners of swans were heraldic, in some cases their badges, in others devices taken from their arms.¹²³ The examples of the Steward family and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, are mentioned above, the latter being particularly interesting in that it bears a difference of cadency.¹²⁴ Other examples are a cross crosslet fitchy, the swan mark of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (d 1554), and the maunch mark of John Hastings of Yelford, Oxon (d 1541).¹²⁵ Lady Margaret Beaufort had a herd of swans on the Thames bearing her badge, presumably the portcullis.¹²⁶

Lists of badges

An alphabet of badges According to Larwood and Hotten, '[John] Bagford [1650–1716] in his "Notes about the art of printing", has jotted down a list of signs originating from badges.'¹²⁷ The list or tract which they reproduce contains some 100 names of badges,

118 Quoted in Willemt, *Regal Heraldry*, 73; I have not succeeded in finding the reference in Holinshed, *Chronicle*.

119 Anglo, *Spectacle*, 72n.

120 Lightbown, *Jewellery*, 290, quoting Ferrandis, *Inventarios Reales*, 22, 24. See also Volume II.1, p. 50.

121 See Volume II.2, pp. 1–11.

122 Ibid, under Lord Treasurer. This badge is illustrated in Plate 52.

123 Ticehurst, *Mute Swan*, pls XVI, XVII.

124 See above, pp. 9–11.

125 Ticehurst, *Mute Swan*, n. 119, pl. XVII, nos 37 and 28.

126 Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 239.

127 Larwood and Hotten, *Signboards*, 133–5, referring to BL, Harl. 5910, pt ii, fols 154–155v, partly repeated fol. 157r–v.

arranged in alphabetical order, starting with ‘Antilope’ and ending with ‘Unicorn’ or ‘Wheatsheaf’, with the names of the persons whose devices they were said to be. However, there are several much earlier copies of this list, one dating from the end of the sixteenth century, so that Bagford must have copied it from an earlier source. There is another copy, almost identical, in the Bodleian Library, and at least one other in the British Library. The latest certain date appears to be that of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was knighted in 1584. Some of the names in the list do not, however, seem important enough ever to have inspired the naming of inns after them, and others, such as the ‘Cock of Britaine is he yt shall wyne ye holy Crosse’, ‘The son of Man’, denoting the king of England, and the black bloody dragon, for ‘ye child with ye chaplet’, are not really heraldic and are taken from ‘prophetic’ texts. In none of these lists is it stated that they are inn-signs, although the elephant is said in BL, Harl. 5910 to have been used as a house sign. This copy also omits the badges from prophetic texts. I therefore believe that the list is an alphabet of heraldic badges and some other emblems and not, as suggested by Larwood and Hotton, a list of inn-signs.¹²⁸

Other tracts There are many manuscript copies, the oldest dating from before 1460, of a list of badges sometimes said to be those of the Duke of York, sometimes those of Edward IV, indicating the lordships from which they are derived. These copies are largely similar, and full details from them are given later in this work.¹²⁹

A second list occurs in many copies, largely similar but with some variation. It appears to consist of two parts, the earlier consisting of badges of dukes from the second half of the fifteenth century, including Edward IV’s brothers, some foreign princes, and a few other lords; and the later part including badges of peers and a smaller number of knights. Many of these later lords bore titles whose first creations date from the end of the 1540s and the beginning of the 1550s. The latest certain date appears to be 1551, and several of the titles became extinct in that year or very soon after.¹³⁰ Both these lists also occur in the Welsh language, and the Welsh texts have been edited with an English translation.¹³¹

Family accounts

The accounts of noble families record expenditure on the provision of badges for funerals, livery and household decoration. In addition to the items quoted elsewhere in this study, the manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland include the following items.

1. The household account of Sir Thomas Lovel for 1522–3 includes payment to a glazier for ‘vj^{xx} small badgeis, wynges, trewlofes, and squerelles, xvj great badgys ... iiij of the Kynge’s badgeis crowned, ij of the Kynge’s and Quenis, crowned ...’.¹³²
2. Household account of Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, for 1541–2: 1542, ‘item, paid to Richard Wright, paynter, the laste daye of January ... his bill. ... lxiijs. vijd. for hachmentes wrought upon canvasse with my Lorde’s armys in the Gartier, and a crownall

128 Various texts of this alphabet are discussed and the Alphabet is edited below, pp. 301–7.

129 Volume II.1, pp. 39–42.

130 Copies of this list are found in BL, Harl. 2113, fol. 95v; Bodleian, Ashm. 763, fols 191–193v; Bodleian, Ashm. 840, pp. 221–4; CA, R 21, fol. 93v; BL, Lansdowne 870, fols 7–9; and two lists from Wroxton in *Her. & Gen.*, VIII (1873), 337–51.

131 Siddons, ‘Lists’.

132 *Rutland MSS*, IV, 265.

over the same gilte, the shelde garnysshed with the peacock and the bull hede, at xvjs. viijd. the pece.¹³³

3. An inventory of Thomas, Earl of Rutland, 1543–4, includes mentions of falcons' wings and true-loves, 'water bogys' (water-bougets) and 'my lord's armes'.¹³⁴
4. In 1611 the sum of iijs. vjd. was paid for engraving peacocks on seven spoons.¹³⁵

Territorial badges¹³⁶

Certain devices may be called 'territorial badges', in that they are said to be the badges of those territories. These territories are Anjou, the earldom of Chester, Cornwall, Guienne, Ireland, Normandy, Ulster, Wales and North Wales. Most of these occur in Tudor manuscripts, and were probably adopted for the Tudor ceremonies and pageants, and royal funerals. Of these the white wolf of Chester and the red dragon of North Wales are beasts sometimes shown as bearing banners of arms.

Some are found earlier, such as the black dragon of Ulster which is included in the list of the 'badges of the Duke of York', dating from before 1460; the hand of Ulster is seen on a seal of Richard, Duke of York, of 1447–53; the harp occurs in the arms of Ireland as recorded in a thirteenth-century manuscript and another of the 1460s, and as the crest of Ireland in the Rous Roll; the castle with a tower and steeple is painted on a helm by Ballard next to the arms of Wales in the Welsh section of his book of c 1480; the basket with a greyhound is given in both versions of the Rous Roll.

Traditional kings of Britain¹³⁷

Banners of the arms attributed to four traditional kings of Britain, that is Arthur, Belinus, Brutus and Cadwaladr, supported by beasts, were widely displayed at Tudor ceremonies as a result of Henry VII's claim to descend from Cadwaladr. The arms on the banners were already of considerable antiquity, but the beasts do not occur in association with these kings before Tudor days, although the red dragon was an ancient Welsh device.

The red dragon so much used in Tudor display, including being set up in royal palaces and gardens, is undoubtedly that attributed to Cadwaladr. The rams which were among beasts set up in Hampton Court Palace gardens, and which are seen on the ceiling of the Chapel Royal at St James's Palace, were probably those of Belinus. The red lions were possibly those of Brutus, and I wonder whether perhaps some of the black bulls may have been those of Arthur, although most of them were those of Clarence.¹³⁸ Although in the manuscripts Arthur's bull is shown or described as charged with three crowns, the descriptions of the bulls set up at royal palaces give no further detail.

133 *Rutland MSS*, IV, 319.

135 *Ibid*, 473.

137 See Volume II.1, p. 3.

134 *Ibid*, 346–7.

136 See Volume II.1, pp. 261–3.

138 See Volume II.1, pp. 3, 61.