'You know me by my habit': Heralds' Tabards in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

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The principal role of heralds in the late middle ages was in many ways a direct response to war. From their appearance in the second half of the twelfth century heralds of arms were closely involved in the announcing, marshalling and judging of tournaments, those knightly exercises that were in many respects mock warfare. It was at these chivalric, and often international, displays that they gained an unrivalled knowledge of the armorial bearings of the combatants. This in turn led from at least the early fourteenth century to their greater employment on campaign. Here it became the heralds' duty to recognise the enemy banners, to act as envoys of peace or war between the opposing sides, to draw up the battle lines in order of precedence and rank, and to make important announcements. Should the day end in battle, they were also to record their masters' deeds of valour and to count the dead. Occasionally they had to decide and declare which side had won. At sieges it was the heralds' task to call upon the castle or town to surrender and, on behalf of their lord, to help negotiate the terms.[1] In the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth heralds were constantly employed on diplomatic missions, either on their own as their master's sole representative or as part of an ambassadorial party; sometimes such journeys took them far afield and away for many months.[2]

At home the heralds' membership of royal and noble households, coupled with their experience of marshalling troops and organising tournaments, was similarly put into use conducting public ceremonies. As a kind of secular high priesthood of chivalry (to quote Maurice Keen)[3] with an unrivalled knowledge of precedence and precedent, heralds were called upon to help proclaim and stage-manage important social functions and public spectacles. In the fourteenth century heralds appeared at knighting ceremonies, and from 1400 they regularly participated in coronations and funerals of members of the royal family and of the nobility.

[1] Heralds in warfare: P. Adam Even, 'Les fonctions militaires des hérauts d'armes: leur influence sur le développement de l'héraldique', *Archives héraldiques suisses*, vol. 71 (1957), pp. 2–33; T.R. Davies, 'The heralds in medieval warfare', *The Coat of Arms*, vol. 9 (1966–67), pp. 245–58.

[2] J. Ferguson, *English Diplomacy 1422–61*, Oxford 1972, pp. 166–67; H.S. London, *The Life of William Bruges: The First Garter King of Arms*, Harleian Society 111, 112 (1970).

[3] M. Keen, 'Chivalry, heralds and history', in the same, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle* Ages, London 1996, pp. 63–81 (76).

On these occasions the heralds wore some form of distinctive badge or armorial clothing which clearly identified them with their personal master and proclaimed their representative status. The late thirteenth-century poem, *Li Contes des hiraus*, speaks of heralds wearing *cote armoire* or *cote hardie* (short sleeveless gowns often open at the sides), and Edward I's tourneying legislation, the Statute of Arms dating to 1292, refers to the *houces des armes* of the senior officers of arms or 'kings of heralds' or 'kings of arms' as they were known.[4] Manuscript illuminations of the late fourteenth century depict heralds (at least on the continent) wearing short capes or gowns that wrapped round the body and bore their masters' arms. Examples can be seen in the Bellenville Armorial (about 1370) and in the famous self portrait of the herald Gelre about a decade later.[5] These capes are not dissimilar to the sleeveless surcoats seen worn by unestablished 'freelance' heralds on the continent in the following century. These were wandering heralds who did not have a permanent master. They are shown wearing a number of plain or simply decorated shields on their 'tabards'; an example is worn by the presiding herald in Konrad Grünenberg's well-known depiction (dated 1483) of the inspection of crested helms before a tournament in Germany.[6]

By the mid-fifteenth century, however, a herald's outer garments usually took the now familiar form of a loose tabard sometimes split at the sides and decorated front and back and on the open sleeves with the heraldic bearings of the owner's master. A drawing of the lost brass of John Couson, Clarenceux King of Arms, who died in 1428, depicts him wearing a long tabard with only slightly developed sleeves, too small to repeat the royal arms of his master. His tabard is fringed at the bottom.[7] As a king of arms he wears a crown,

[4] *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels 1866, vol. 1, *Li Contes des hiraus*, ll. 460, 476, 516, quoted A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1956, App. B (21); J. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100–1400*, Woodbridge 1986, p. 58. *Cote hardie*: J.L. Nevinson, 'Civil costume' in *Medieval England*, ed. A.L. Poole, 2 vols, Oxford 1958, vol.1, pp. 300–313 (305, 306); *houces*: J. Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols, London 1724, vol. 2, pp. 294–97. In the late 13th-c. poem by Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, ed. M. Delbouille, Liège 1932, ll. 298–99, the herald Bruiant wears a *garnaiche que d'armes estoit painturee*, quoted Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 31.

[5] Armorial de Bellenville: BN ms. fr. 5230; Armorial de Gelre: BR MS 15652–56, f. 122; both illustrated D.L. Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason*, new edn, revd by L. Jéquier, Lausanne 1977, figs 74 and 73, and O. Neubecker, *Heraldry, Sources and Meaning*, London 1976, pp. 11, 166. Gelre: M. Keen, *Chivalry*, Yale 1984, p. 140 and n. 69.

[6] Illustrated Galbreath, *Manuel*, fig. 39, and Neubecker, *Heraldry*, p. 161; comp. examples illustrated *ibid.*, p. 18; Davies, 'Heralds', figs 7, 8; and the illustration of the noted jouster Marx Walther of Augsburg at a Shrovetide joust in R. Barber and J. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1989, pp. 62–63.

[7] Illustrated A. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, London 1967, pl. VI; comp. the illustration of an anonymous English king of arms in the treatise by John de Bado Aureo, Oxford, Bodley MS Laud. misc. 733, f. 1; K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols, London 1996, vol. 2, pp. 271–73. Chaucer refers to the tabards of kings of arms with

which he would have worn at his creation and on special occasions such as coronations or major tournaments.[8] A portrait of the first Garter king of arms, William Bruges, which was probably made sometime between 1430 and 1440, depicts him in more familiar tabard with open armorial sleeves.[9] As a king he too wears a crown, though his is a much more elaborate affair studded with small empty shields.[10] Like Gelre Herald he wears a small dagger. The rule that heralds should not carry arms appears to have originated in the mid-fifteenth century.[11] Bruges may be wearing a ribbon and pendant badge in this portrait, but the position of his hands makes it difficult to be certain. In about 1420 he petitioned Henry V for the right to wear a collar on solemn days, but heralds in England do not seem to have worn official collars of office until the next century.[12]

Late medieval tabards of this kind can be seen in the richly illuminated *Livre de Tournois* by King René of Anjou, produced between 1460 and 1465. In an opening scene two heralds are depicted calling the tournament at Bruges open. They are accompanied by two trumpeters. The heralds wear cloth hats and loose fitting tabards displaying the arms of their respective masters, the Lord of Gruuthuse and the Lord of Ghistelle. The tabards are split down the sides with small sleeves and are lined. The heralds are not armed, unlike the trumpeters who carry daggers and wear plate armour, mail and a helmet.

'many riban and many frenges' in his *House of Fame*, quoted in full in Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 18–19. Perhaps only kings' tabards were fringed.

[8] Crowns of kings of arms: London, *William Bruges*, pp. 95–96. The kings of arms wore their crowns at the tournament between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy in 1467, *English Historical Documents, IV, 1327–1485*, ed. A.R. Myers, London 1969, p. 1172, and at the coronation of Richard III, *Coronation*, pp. 45, 282. Examples of kings of arms being crowned: C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1913, p. 384, Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 137; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 43.

[9] BL Stowe MS 594, f. 5v, illustrated and discussed London, *William Bruges*, frontispiece; Scott, *Later Gothic Mss*, vol. 2, p. 241.

[10] Bruges' elaborate crown: London, *William Bruges*, p. 95; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 88.

[11] Heralds being unarmed: Adam Even, 'Fonctions', p. 8; Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, p. 293. In the Statute of Arms (1292) kings of arms were to carry blunted swords and wear no armour. Provision is made in 1358 to an English herald for a habergeon and a kettle hat (helmet), probably for defence, *Register of Edward, The Black Prince, Part IV 1351–65*, London 1933, p. 245. At Agincourt Henry V commanded the heralds to attend to their duties and not to use arms, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. A. Curry, Woodbridge 2000, p. 72. A picture of a herald, possibly a pursuivant, dated *c.* 1450–60 and executed in eastern France, depicts him with a dagger, BodlL MS Douce 278, f. ii verso; O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 1, *German, French and Spanish Schools*, Oxford 1966, p. 708, pl. 54.

[12] Garter's collar Wagner: *Heralds of England*, p. 88. A portrait of Jean Le Fèvre de Saint Rémy, first Toison d'or King of Arms (1430), depicts him at his desk in tabard and wearing what appears to be a linked gold collar, BN ms. fr. 16830, f. 1, illustrated Wagner, *ibid.*, pl. V.

Their trumpet banners carry arms identical to those on the heralds' tabards, the two items (as we shall see later) often being produced together.[13]

Both Jean Coutois, Sicily Herald, in the 1430s and the English lawyer, Nicholas Upton, in the 1440s, mention that heralds wore their tabards with the front and back long and the sleeves short.[14] They go on to describe the practice whereby pursuivants, that is, junior or probationary heralds, wore their tabards transversely, namely, with short front and back and with long sleeves. Thus, on promotion pursuivants simply swivelled their tabards to the side. This distinction is clearly visible in René of Anjou's *Livre de Tournois* where the duke of Brittany's king of arms and heralds wear their ermine tabards in the fashion of their masters, whilst his pursuivants wear the same tabard sideways. This neat visible distinction of rank lasted in England until the late seventeenth century.[15]

The *Livre de Tournois* also depicts another, less well-known aspect of the herald's uniform in the fifteenth century. This was his small badge of office. Heralds would not have worn their tabards when making their long and often dirty journeys but instead more comfortable and practical riding gear. However, like messengers, they wished to be identified as neutral agents of their masters and, therefore, when not tabarded, wore a small shield of arms to identify on whose behalf they were making the journey and to assert their immunity, such as it existed. According to Upton, foot messengers wore a shield of their lord's arms on their belts, messengers on horseback wore a small shield behind the right shoulder, pursuivants wore them on their left shoulder, and heralds wore them on their chests.[16] In the *Livre* the duke's king of arms is portrayed in his tabard and is accompanied by two pursuivants in travelling clothes, each wearing a shield of arms on his left shoulder. On their arrival, however, the pursuivants are shown in their tabards for the ceremonial announcement of

[13] BN ms. fr. 2692, ff. 3v-4, illustrated René d'Anjou, *Traité de la Forme et Devis d'un Tournoi*, Paris 1946, p. 9; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pl. 1; Neubecker, *Heraldry*, pp. 12–13. Trumpeters accompanied heralds and the two were sometimes listed together in Exchequer accounts under 'minstrels' (e.g. PRO, E101/351/26, m. 1; *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, ed. B.E. and C.R. Byerly, London 1977, p. 167, no. 1694), but heralds never blew trumpets, though some pursuivants were recruited from old minstrels who could no longer blow the trumpet, Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 47.

[14] *Parties inédites de l'oeuvre de Sicile*, ed. P. Roland, Mons, 1867, p. 88; F.P. Barnard, ed., *The Essential Portions of Nicholas Upton's De Studio Militari before 1446*, trans. John Blount, Oxford 1931, pp. 1, 3; also Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 289–90. Sicily's portrait in tabard of his master the king of Aragon: BN ms. fr. 387, f. 4, illustrated Neubecker, *Heraldry*, p. 19.

[15] E.g. at the presentation of the prizes, where the king of arms with wand of office announces the winner supported by two kneeling pursuivants: BN ms. fr. 2693, f. 70v; illustrated Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 187. The same distinction in the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, 1511, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c.1800*, ed. R. Marks and A. Payne, London 1978, p. 47 and colour plate, and in drawings by Lely dating to the 1670s, illustrated Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pls XXVIII, XXIX.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

the tournament itself.[17] All three men are unarmed. When Louis XI urgently needed a herald to send to the English camp during Edward IV's expedition to France in 1475 he chose a young servant on whose person he affixed a small shield of arms borrowed from *Plain Chemin*, a minor herald of the Admiral. A tabard hastily constructed from two trumpet banners was packed into the servant's saddle and he was sent on his way. Before entering the English camp he put on his make-shift tabard to represent his diplomatic status; although initially arrested he was allowed to complete his mission.[18]

The contrast between the travelling 'uniform' and ceremonial tabard is also well illustrated in the *Pageant of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick*, produced after 1483 and probably before 1493. The scene depicting the earl leaving France for Lombardy on his travels to the Holy Land in 1408 includes two heralds on horseback. On his right a French royal herald wears a full armorial tabard slit at the sides and on his left is the herald of Sir Pandolph Maletete, who has ridden from Verona. The latter is not in a tabard, but dressed in a jacket with a small shield (presumably that of his master) on his left shoulder; he is armed with a long sword.[19] It is not always easy in this famous work to distinguish Warwick's personal herald from the earl himself, since both men wear identical tabards; private heralds of medieval noblemen usually wore their master's arms. Nearly always, however, Warwick's herald can be distinguished from the earl and his other followers by the fact that he wears riding boots or shoes and does not wear leg armour. Usually, but not always, he is unarmed. These differences in costume can be applied as a general rule to other illuminated manuscripts of the period.

The Pageant of Richard Beauchamp clearly shows heralds wearing their full armorial tabards on a number of occasions: delivering messages,[20] presiding at tournaments,[21] in attendance at a feast,[22] or accompanying their master or other important person.[23] Further manuscript illuminations of the second half of the

[17] BN ms. fr. 2692, ff. 9v, 11, 13, 17, illustrated Neubecker, *Heraldry*, pp. 14, 15.

[18] Philippe de Commynes, *Memoirs*, trans. M. Jones, Harmondsworth 1972, pp. 244–45. Makeshift banners and tabards made out of trumpet banners: Curry, *Agincourt*, pp. 60, 71, 162, 174, 215. In June 1452 Henry VI gave Lisbon Herald of the king of Portugal 'an escutcheon of our arms' presumably to wear on his way back to Portugal, PRO, E404/68/132; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 86.

[19] BL Cotton MS Julius E iv art. 6, f. 7; *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, KG 1389–1439*, ed. Viscount Dillon and W.H. St John Hope, London 1914, pp. 25, 26.

[20] *Ibid.*, ff. 7, 14, 14b (armed here on two occasions).

[21] *Ibid.*, ff. 15, 15b, 16, 17b.

[22] *Ibid.*, f. 6b, depicts a herald of the king of France at a Whitsuntide feast. Upton states that the heralds were to wear their masters' coats of arms at great feasts and weddings, kings' and queens' coronations and ceremonies of princes, dukes and other great lords, Barnard, *Essential Portions*, p. 3.

[23] *Pageant*, f. 7. A signet warrant was issued to deliver tabards from the great wardrobe to Somerset Herald and Bluemantle Pursuivant, 30 June 1503, to attend upon the Princess

fifteenth century depict tabarded heralds doing likewise: delivering messages,[24] marshalling at tournaments,[25] acting as envoys before battle,[26] negotiating at sieges,[27] and taking part in court ceremonial such as the dubbing of new knights.[28]

The same can be found in contemporary writings. Exchequer accounts refer to tabards being specially ordered from the great wardrobe for heralds to wear when delivering messages or acting as envoys,[29] and, as we shall see later, they list payments for tabards to be worn by heralds at coronations and royal funerals. A letter describes the herald of René II, Duke of Lorraine, in 1475 as one 'who wore his hat in the manner of one who speaks as his master's mouthpiece and bearing his coat of arms'.[30] Edward I's Statute of Arms states that kings of arms were to wear their coats of arms and no more, in other words, no defensive armour. They were also to carry no concealed weapons

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Mary, Queen of Scots, into Scotland, PRO, E101/415/7/94. I am grateful to Dr Hannes Kleineke for this reference.

[24] A messenger dressed as an English herald in a tabard of the royal arms is in the 15th-c. paintings depicting the life of St Ursula, Bruges, Couvent des Soeurs Noires, painting no. 50612, illustrated A. Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, London 1978, pl. VII.

[25] E.g. a herald in royal tabard at a tournament at Smithfield in 1441/42 before Henry VI, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 775, f. 277v; Scott, *Later Gothic Mss*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[26] E.g. the English herald in a late 15th-c. illumination from *Froissart's Chronicles* on the 1327 Weardale campaign attempting to negotiate with the Scots, BN ms. fr. 2643, f. 18, illustrated P. Johnson, *The Life and Times of Edward III*, London 1973, pp. 14–15; also M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience*, Yale 1996, p. 4; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 20.

[27] E.g. the late 15th-c. copy of Jean de Wavrin's *Chroniques d'Angleterre*, BL MS Royal 14 E iv, f. 57; comp. *CP*, vol. 11, App. C, pp. 39–104 (43–44).

[28] E.g. Writhe's magnificent *Garter Book*, produced about 1488, which depicts squires about to be created knights of the Bath attended by trumpeters with heralds in tabards of the royal arms, Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, pp. 42, 130–31; illustrated Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pls X-XII. Heralds were paid at the knighting of several squires before Henry IV's coronation, PRO, E404/15/21; and before Edward IV's coronation, PRO, E404/ 72/1/14, Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 182, and were sometimes present at knighting ceremonies before battles, Adam Even, 'Fonctions', p. 11.

[29] E.g. a signet warrant was issued to Somerset herald dated 2 December 1496 to deliver a tabard for his journey to Hungary, PRO, E101/415/7/16; I am grateful to Dr Hannes Kleineke for this reference.

[30] *Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre*, ed. J.J. Champollion-Figeac, vol. 2, pp. 495–96, quoted C.T. Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War*, Edinburgh 1973, p. 101. When, in 1528 Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, and the French king of arms, Guienne, had to deliver their respective masters' defiance to the Emperor Charles V at Burgos, it was only after they had been given a promise of safe conduct and permission to deliver their messages, that they donned their tabards, which they had been holding over their right arms, Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 160.

except their (presumably ceremonial) blunted swords.[31] Froissart's *Chronicles* refer to heralds at sieges dressed in their tabards,[32] and at Agincourt we read of the English and French heralds working closely together, both parties being again dressed in their respective tabards.[33] Thus, in Shakespeare's *Henry V* the senior French herald, Montjoy king of arms, introduces himself at Agincourt with the simple explanation: 'You know me by my habit', that is, by my armorial tabard. In England, the *Black Book of the Household* of Edward IV speaks of kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants present at court on the five feasts of the year, once more wearing their royal tabards.[34]

As already mentioned, private heralds wore the arms of their master. Thus in 1453 after the battle of Chatillon the herald of the earl of Shrewsbury placed his own tabard emblazoned with the Talbot arms over the mutilated body of his dead master.[35] In a touch of armorial cross-dressing heralds could also wear the arms of another lord whom they were temporarily representing. In 1463, for example, the royal heralds including Garter who were officiating at the funeral of Richard Neville earl of Salisbury wore the deceased earl's arms. Having offered up various accoutrements of the late earl, and to symbolise that they were no longer his servants, they took off his tabards. To show that he was now the servant of his new lord the present earl's herald then put on the special coat of arms that Garter had offered up at the altar.[36]

At Edward IV's funeral in April 1483 the royal heralds took off their tabards emblazoned with the royal arms and flung them into the open grave. Having swiftly donned new coats in token of their new sovereign, they then immediately cried out: 'The king lives, the king lives, the king lives!'[37] At the interment of Henry VII's son and heir, the fifteen-year old Prince Arthur, in 1502 his own pursuivant, 'sore weeping', likewise cast his tabard into the grave but, without a new office, was unable to put on a new coat.[38] And at the close

[31] Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 58; also n. 11, above.

[32] *CP*, vol. 11, p. 43; *The Chronicles of Froissart*, trans. J. Bourchier, ed. G. Macaulay, London 1895, p. 293, ch. 426; comp. n. 27, above.

[33] Curry, *Agincourt*, pp. 169, 217.

[34] Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 96–97. Four heralds were to be provided for in Henry VI's household in 1455, A.R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth-Century England*, London 1985, p. 244.

[35] Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 84, and refs cited there.

[36] 'What was a cote armure? A surcoat? And a tabard?', *Herald and Genealogist*, ed. J.G. Nicholas (1863), vol. 1, pp. 253–54; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 106–07. Further examples of heralds wearing the arms of another lord: *CP*, vol. 11, pp. 43–44.

[37] Full account: Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Royal burials', see Bibliography under 1998.

[38] J. Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*, Gloucester 1793, p. 141; 'What was a cote armure?', p. 254. The herald may have been John Wrythe's son and successor as Garter, Thomas Writhe, created by Henry VII as Wallingford Pursuivant to the newly knighted Prince Arthur in November 1489, J. Anstis, *Observations Introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath*, London 1725,

of Henry's own funeral seven years later his officers of arms took off their royal tabards and hung them on the rails of the hearse crying: 'The noble king Henry the seventh is dead!'. They then put the same tabards back on again and cried out in a loud voice: 'Long live the noble Henry the eighth!'.[39] On these occasions, as at the elaborate reburial of Edward IV's father, Richard, Duke of York, in July 1476, they would have worn their tabards over black mourning habits with mourning hoods upon their heads. Doubtless these sombre garments were much the same as those shown in contemporary depictions of the funerals of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 and of Queen Elizabeth in 1603.[40]

Edward's death came fairly suddenly, three weeks before his forty-first birthday. The fact that new tabards had to be made swiftly for occasions such as funerals, coronations and tournaments and were sometimes expendable suggests that they were not always of the highest quality. The great wardrobe accounts speak of several tabards having to be produced as part of a single order which might also include trumpet banners, flags, and horse caparisons. To keep costs down and to speed up production the royal arms were usually 'stamped' or 'beaten' (*vapulare*) on to the tabards. This achieved a rich effect similar to cloth of gold.[41] Payment for the coronation of Henry V's queen in 1421 includes six tunics of arms for the heralds, twenty-six trumpet banners and twelve flags all 'stamped' with the arms of the king.[42] This amounts to some 600 leopards and 600 lilies all having to be stamped on to material in this one consignment alone. Twenty nine tabards (presumably for heralds) and 44 trumpet banners and three flags of France were stamped with the royal arms for Henry VI's London coronation in 1429.[43] Fifteen stamped tabards were made for the reburial of Richard, Duke of York, and a dozen for Richard

Appendix, p. 41; W.H. Godfrey and A. Wagner, *Survey of London Monograph: College of Arms*, London 1963, p. 43. He later became Wallingford Pursuivant to Prince Henry, but was still not a herald in ordinary when created Garter in 1505.

[39] Dallaway, *Inquiries*, p. 141; 'What was a cote armure?', p. 254.

[40] (York) *Reburial*; (Sidney) Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pl. XVIII; (Elizabeth) Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, no. 80, where William Camden, Clarenceux, carries the armorial surcoat/tabard that will be offered up at the funeral service. Black cloth issued to the heralds for various funerals in Henry VII's reign: PRO, LC2/1 ff. 4v, 17.

[41] This technique: K. Staniland, 'Court style, painters, and the Great Wardrobe', in *England in the Fourteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1982 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod, Woodbridge 1986, pp. 236–46 (241–42).

[42] PRO, E101/407/4, f. 64, and comp. ff. 37, 71v; dated 8 & 9 Henry V [1420–22]; I am grateful to Dr Michael Siddons, Wales Herald Extraordinary, for this reference.

[43] PRO, E101/408/10, m. 2, and comp. mm. 5, 6. There are numerous references in the Exchequer accounts during Henry VI's reign to coats of arms stamped with the arms of the king, though it is not always stated that these were specifically for the heralds, e.g. PRO, E101/409/2, f. 35, dated 17 & 18 Henry VI [1438–40]; E101/409/7, m. 2, dated 20 & 21 Henry VI [1441–43]; and E101/409/6, m. 13v, dated 19 & 20 Henry VI [1440–42].

III's coronation.[44] In the early 1440s John Worsope and John Norfolke were paid the very modest sum of 3d. for stamping six trumpet banners and four coats of arms with the royal arms and two coats and a horse trapper with the arms of John Astley for a tournament at Smithfield.[45] Clearly stamping was a quick and cheap method of production.

For Henry VII's coronation, however, the king's painter produced 'xij cotes of armes for heraulde, beten and wrought in oyle colers with fyne gold' each costing 30s.[46] Heralds' tabards had been painted on the continent since the end of the thirteenth century and the development of oil painting in the following century meant that brilliant colours could be achieved on silk fabrics.[47] Although heralds and pursuivants continued to receive painted tabards throughout the sixteenth century, Garter was issued with an embroidered tabard for the funeral of Henry VII, and from at least the time of Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533, all the kings of arms were given embroidered rather than stamped or painted coats; moreover, since 1634 all the officers of arms in England have been given embroidered coats.[48]

[44] *Reburial*, p. 33; *Coronation*, pp. 113, 145, 182; *Materials Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 14; and comp. PRO, E101/409/18, m. 3, dated 25–27 Henry VI [1446–49] when 12 heralds coats of tartarin stamped with the arms of the king were made.

[45] PRO, E101/409/7, m. 2, dated 20–21 Henry VI [1441–43]; comp. (the same payment?) E101/409/4 m. 3, E101/409/5 m. 3; E101/409/6, f. 13v.

[46] *Materials Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 14.

[47] Above, n. 4; *Coronation*, p. 65.

[48] PRO, SP1/229, f. 4v, *Letters and Papers HVIII*, vol. 1, pt 1, London 1920, p. 19; and PRO, LC2/1, f. 102v, comp. f. 98v where the cost of the material and labour of a velvet tabard for Garter is given; PRO, E36/113, f. 64v, *Letters and Papers HVIII*, vol. 6, London 1882, p. 245; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 80, 83. Chaucer refers to heralds' tabards wonderfully and richly embroidered, *The House of Fame*, ll. 1324–28; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 19. Embroidered tabards in 15th-century Exchequer accounts were probably not for heralds, but for ceremonial purposes, to be worn by the king or offered up at royal funerals, e.g. the tabards of France and of England quartering France worked in embroidery over velvet for Henry VI's coronation in 1429, PRO, E101/408/10, mm 2, 5; comp. similar coat costing £12 in E101/409/18, m. 3, dated 25–27 Henry VI [1446–49], and the rich embroidered coat to be offered up at Prince Arthur's funeral in 1502, PRO, LC2/1, ff. 17v, 29. The 'fair herolds cote of tharmes of England of gold, the ground velvet' found at Fotheringay during the Dissolution and possibly relating to York's burial there in 1476 was probably the coat of arms offered up during the funeral by Norroy king of arms, *Reburial*, pp. 10, 36. A richly embroidered coat was offered at Edward IV's funeral by Garter, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Royal burials', p. 378. Appliqué, although used in the 14th century for banners, and on at least one occasion for Edward III's heraldic tunic, does not appear to have been used in the 15th century for tabards, possibly because of the edges fraying on the silk fabric, F. Lachaud, 'Armour and military dress in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England' in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France. Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M. Strickland, Stamford 1998, pp. 344–69 (358–59); F. Lachaud, 'Embroidery for the court of Edward I (1272–1307)' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 37 (1993), pp. 33–52 (49–50); K. Staniland, 'Court style', p. 237; the same, *Embroidery*, London 1991, pp. 29, 33.

Most tabards mentioned in the fifteenth-century great wardrobe accounts were made of tartarin – silk textile produced in Italy; often they were lined with buckram.[49] Five coats of sarsinet – a very fine and soft silk material – were made for the heralds at the investiture of the prince of Wales in September 1483, and sarsinet was also used for the heralds' tabards at the coronations of Richard III and Henry VII; again some were lined with buckram.[50] In the following century it became the practice for the different ranks of heralds to have tabards made from different materials, a practice that still exists. Thus, at Henry VII's funeral Garter was given a tabard of that most costly silk fabric – velvet, and for Anne Boleyn's coronation the tabards of the three kings were made of velvet, those of the heralds were made of damask, and those of the pursuivants of sarsinet.[51]

Not surprisingly costs varied depending on the material and manufacture of the tabard. Those richly embroidered coats of arms made for the king or to be offered up ceremonially at funerals were the most expensive. In 1450 William Tendale, Lancaster King of Arms, was paid the princely sum of £20 (twice his annual salary) for a tabard he is alleged to have lent to the king during Jack Cades' rebellion; this appears, however, to have been exceptional.[52] A Chancery dispute of 1454 between Agnes, widow of William Bruges, and John Smert, Bruges' son-in-law and successor as Garter, refers to two tabards of her late husband worth £13 6s 8d (presumably £6 13s 4d each). Agnes had lent these to Smert before he received his own as Garter.[53] Generally, however,

[49] Tartarin may also have been produced in Spain. The plain (unstriped) version was frequently used as a ground for stamped decoration and was moderately priced. I am grateful to Lisa Monnas for this information. Buckram lining: PRO, E101/409/6, f. 13v; E101/409/2, f. 35; E101/408/10, mm 5, 6; LC2/1, ff. 3v, 17.

[50] *Coronation*, pp. 174 (80, 81 for date), 113, 142, 145; *Materials Henry VII*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 14. Garter's velvet tabard for Henry VII's funeral was lined with satin, PRO, LC2/1 f. 98v.

[51] PRO, LC2/1, f. 98v; E36/113, f. 34. The reigns of Henry VII and later: 'What was a cote armure?', p. 255 and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 80, 83. By the mid-16th century customary livery clothing given to officers of arms also varied in quality depending on rank, PRO, E36/113, f. 35, though this was not used to make tabards, S.M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340–65*, Woodbridge 1980, p. 77; C. Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast*, Cardiff 1978, p. 162. Heralds' livery: Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 77–78.

[52] PRO, E404/69/19; Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, p. 297; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 80; Godfrey and Wagner, *Monograph*, p. 105. In the 1460s and 70s provincial kings of arms were usually paid £20 per annum, Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 99; E404/74/2/29; *CPR, 1476–1485*, pp. 18, 141, 389, 465. Heralds were initially paid £10 per annum, e.g. Windsor Herald in 1444, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS, 1861–64, vol. 1, p. 442, and then 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), e.g. creation of Chester Herald *c.* September 1473, *CPR, 1476–1485*, p. 415; also Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 99.

[53] PRO, C1/24/224–26; London, *William Bruges*, pp. 30, 95, 118; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 80; Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, p. 345, n. *f.* Garter Bruges was receiving (amongst other payments) an annual salary of £40 a year at his death in 1450 and his successor

tabards cost between £1 and £2.[54] This figure rose with the introduction of more expensive materials and the use of embroidery in the sixteenth century and presumably also, following the incorporation of the heralds in 1484 and 1555, with the need for greater permanence as coats were passed on in the College of Arms. Garter's embroidered tabard at Henry VII's funeral, for example, cost £20.[55]

The heralds, dressed uniformly in these tabards, must have made quite a spectacle. The Bohemian visitor, Gabriel Tetzel, who witnessed the churching of Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth, following the birth of Elizabeth of York in February 1466, noted that the procession included 24 heralds and pursuivants who would have been suitably attired. Edward IV, he concluded, 'had the most splendid court that one can find in all Christendom'.[56] Increasingly, however, heralds' tabards were only to be seen at such public spectacles. The decline of the tournament, the rise of the professional ambassador and diplomat, the virtual disappearance of the private herald, and the increasing involvement of the royal heralds in more peaceful pursuits such as the granting and recording of arms, and the deciding of genealogies, meant that their role in warfare, mock or real, substantially decreased in the sixteenth century. The tabard, despite its symbolic representation of diplomatic status, was never a significant talisman warding off attacks; much more mundane letters of protection were a better safeguard.[57] Nevertheless, these brightly emblazoned coats readily lent themselves to more public ceremonial displays and provided a useful indicator as to who were the marshals of such events. To this day, moreover, the heralds' tabards continue to add a dignified splash of colour and regal splendour to state occasions.

initially £20 which was raised to £40 in 1461, London, *William Bruges*, pp. 27, 30, 31. Garter Writhe was appointed at £40 per annum in 1478, *CPR 1476–1485*, p. 118.

[54] In 1437 the earl of Warwick paid £1 each for two tabards presumably for his private herald, W. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, London 1730, vol. 1, p. 408. Tabards for Richard III's coronation cost £2 2s. 4d. each, *Coronation*, p. 113. Figures vary for the cost of the tabards for Henry VII's funeral between £1 10s. each plus 1s. each to sew and line them, *Materials Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 14; £1 8s. 4d. and £2, PRO, LC2/1 ff. 101, 101v, and the draft accounts, PRO, SP1/229, f. 4, for the funeral refer to 26 coats of arms made for the funeral at a total cost of £42 16s. 8d. although this payment is cancelled through. The tabards for the funerals of his sons, Arthur and Edmund, cost £1 13s. 4d. each, PRO, LC2/1 ff. 3v, 17, and in 1528 John Browne, the king's painter, was paid £2 for a sarsinet tabard for Nottingham, the pursuivant of the duke of Richmond and Somerset, illegitimate son of Henry VIII, *CP*, vol. 11, p. 43.

[55] PRO, SP1/229, f. 4; LC2/1 f. 102v. The cost of a velvet tabard for Garter (possibly the same tabard) at the funeral: LC2/1 ff. 97v, 98v.

[56] *English Historical Documents, IV*, p. 1168; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 258–59. Eighteen officers of arms were present at Richard III's coronation, *Coronation*, p. 45.

[57] Ferguson, *English Diplomacy*, pp. 164–66.