

**The de Bohun Dynasty: Power, Identity and Piety 1066-1399**

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## **Declaration of Authorship**

I Lucia D. Pascual hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Abstract**

This thesis uses the existing evidence relating to the de Bohun family, earls of Hereford and Essex, to examine the importance of family lineage and pious practices among the nobility of thirteenth and fourteenth century England. Primary sources relating to the family include several wills, inventories, marriage contracts, and fragments of accounts, as well as thousands of records relating to royal administration. The thesis analyses the existing evidence for the family over several generations, starting at the time the first Humphrey de Bohun arrived in England in 1066 with William the Conqueror and ending with the death of the family's last co-heiress, Eleanor de Bohun, in 1399. First, it explores the royal service, marital alliances and extraneous, often fortuitous, circumstances that led to the de Bohuns' accumulation of titles and lands over three and a half centuries. Second, it focuses on the development of the concept of lineage and family identity as a means of distinguishing the family as members of a magnate class and ensuring family memory. It examines the definition of family by analysing who family members were responsible for within the direct, patriarchal line, as well as the broader relationships with family members outside the main line. Third, the thesis analyses the use of heraldry in manuscripts and the names given to children to ensure family memory. Finally, the thesis examines the evidence of wills and religious and administrative records to gain insight into the piety exercised by members of the de Bohun family as a means of justifying their noble status and obtaining divine protection for themselves and their family in life and after their death.

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## Introduction

Ever since humans developed an objective understanding of themselves as mortal beings, they must have sought to establish a sense of identity and desired some form of immortal life. This need has been expressed in different ways throughout history, depending on such varied elements as social development, scientific discovery, race, nationality and culture. This thesis is an attempt to throw light on this aspect of human emotion among the members of the nobility in post-conquest medieval England. To do so, it analyses the existing evidence relating to one of the longest living magnate families of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the de Bohun family, earls of Hereford and Essex.

The Norman invasion of England in 1066 marked the beginning of a new era for the English nobility. The Norman men who accompanied William across the sea brought with them a new concept of knighthood: a mobile group of full-time cavalymen defined by their military skills and employed to defend their lords' interests.<sup>1</sup> Although at first they did not form a cohesive social group, during the course of the twelfth century knighthood came to be associated with nobility.<sup>2</sup> This important development, accompanied by an increase in the level of literacy and symbolism, triggered a social transformation centering around a new consciousness of what it meant to be noble. Those members of the nobility who had considered themselves to be above knights, sought to distinguish themselves from them. They became more self-conscious of their noble identity.<sup>3</sup> As a result, during the thirteenth century the concept of family lineage grew in importance

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<sup>1</sup> David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> According to Crouch, in England this change was at least in part a result of the knight's adoption of chivalry, an ethical code of conduct based on the previously existing ideals of noble conduct, and of England's pre-Conquest division into shires, where knights became men of importance. The subject is discussed in Crouch, *The English Aristocracy*; and David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (London: Routledge, 2014), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Crouch asserts that this change was not exclusive to England. It was a universal transition throughout north-western Europe.

and became one of the defining characteristics of what it meant to be noble. On a practical level, lineage provided a basis for legal claims of lands, titles and wealth. Yet it also brought honour and status, as blood became associated with the heroic deeds of ancestors. From here, it was only a small step to the mythologisation of a family's origins, the development of heraldry, and the creation of funeral monuments and other physical representations of family memory.

In this climate, it is not surprising to find that magnates placed great emphasis on the creation of strong family dynasties, often at the expense of individual desires or preferences. The preservation of the family name, as well as its lands and possessions, became of paramount importance. Each member of the family was expected to live up to the duties and responsibilities that came with noble blood, to protect other family members, and to contribute to the present and future glory of his or her family. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this commitment to the family existed in two different forms. On one level the family existed in a patrilineal line, with duties of responsibility and the inheritance of lands and wealth flowing from father to children in a continuous vertical descent. However, there also existed ties of 'kinship' among family members, where lateral branches of the family supported each other and often obtained personal advancement in return.

The commitment to the family also had a spiritual aspect. Most men and women believed in the Christian idea that God was an omnipotent presence that had created men in his image and ruled over them from his kingdom of heaven. Consequently, God could determine the outcome of their earthly lives, helping them or hindering them as it saw fit, and ultimately offering each deserving human the possibility of ascending to heaven. In this view of the world, piety was the currency through which men and women could gain spiritual favor for themselves and other members of their dynasty. God could protect them in times of turbulence, ensure fertility for the continuation of their line, and allow them to live in eternal comfort, but he exacted a price. Piety also provided a means by which noble magnates and their families could justify their privileges on earth. In a society that believed all men were created equal under the eyes of God, magnate



families needed to obtain validation for their special status. The men sought this through crusading and religious patronage, and their wives and daughters spent most of their lives engaged in prayer, the religious education of their children, and acts of charity.

The de Bohun family provides a particularly interesting case study on the development of nobility in medieval England because they were one of the longest surviving magnate families whose ancestors arrived with William the Conqueror. Their longevity allows us to study their gradual accumulation of landed wealth and power, which they achieved through royal service and strategic marriage alliances, often to families who failed in the male line. They are also a notable example of the importance to their society of lineage and family memory. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), earl of Hereford and Essex, had mythologized his family's origin, using the swan as a badge to associate his family with Godfrey de Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem and descendant of the mythical Swan Knight. This enhanced the family's prestige by establishing its members as crusaders and powerful warriors. In addition, it ensured family memory by creating a legendary aura that the family's descendants were eager to embrace long after the death of the last co-heiresses, Eleanor (d. 1399) and Mary (d. 1394) de Bohun.

## **Historiography**

In the last century, medieval historians have studied the English nobility with a particular focus on war, military achievements, and estate accumulation. Several historians have also focused on the nobility's development into a distinct social group, and the increasing importance to them of their dynastic legacy. This has included studies on genealogy and heraldry focusing on the representation of noble families' dynastic ambitions: their coats of arms, badges, and effigies. There have also been extensive studies on noble piety, including many articles dedicated to the piety of noble men and women and their patronage and ownership of religious books. More recently, historians have studied the lives of medieval

women, using the admittedly fewer primary sources available at their disposal. There are now substantial biographies of most medieval queens and some medieval noblewomen. There are also several studies of the role of noblewomen in medieval society, which often revolved around dynastic themes and the preservation of family memory.

In 1957, G. A. Holmes published a study on the estates of earls in fourteenth century England. It discussed, among other things, how these magnates accumulated land through several generations and their commitment to preserve their titles and lands for their descendants using any legal means at their disposal, such as strategic marriages and tenurial arrangements: entails, enfeoffments and trusts, that kept land out of the King's hands.<sup>4</sup> Holmes' contemporary, Bruce McFarlane, spent most of his life studying the English nobility. He viewed the nobility of medieval England as a fluid, ever changing, group of men, whose lands were accumulated or divided according to factors such as royal service, extinction in the male line, parental love and unforeseen circumstances such as the inheritance of estates by married females who were never meant to inherit. His well known Ford lectures for 1953, published in 1973, discussed some of these themes, including the English nobility's accumulation of power and land through royal service, the influence of the rapid rate of extinction on the recruitment of new blood, and the evidence of parental love which, in McFarlane's opinion, was one of the main sources of land dispersal.<sup>5</sup> Historian R. R. Davies' book on English medieval lordship, written in the years before his death in 2005 and published posthumously in 2009, includes chapters on the nobility's commitment to preserving lands and titles within the family, their sense of identity, and the importance of family memory. He uses several examples to illustrate the nobility's obsession with lineage, the continuation of their line, and their desire to ensure the survival of their lands and titles.<sup>6</sup> Another historian notable for his studies on

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<sup>4</sup> Holmes, G.A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> McFarlane, K.B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, R. R., *Lords & Lordship in the British Isles in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), *passim*.

the English nobility is Nigel Saul. He has written extensively on the subject of noble memory and identity, including several studies on the evidence of tomb brasses and effigies as family memorials. His most recent book, "For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England 1066-1500", published in 2011, expands on the concept of chivalry identified by Maurice Keen, discussing its meaning and impact on various aspects of medieval society. Saul reflects on the shift across Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from knighthood, an individual honour, to lineage and nobility, with its emphasis on family and heredity.<sup>7</sup> This shift has also been the subject of several recent books by David Crouch, who specializes in the period 1000-1300. He has argued for an interpretation of the creation of social classes in North Western Europe based on chivalric culture, rather than feudalist theories. He views the social importance of lineage after 1200, and the stratification of society into classes, as a result of the development of chivalry among Anglo Norman knights. In his view, knighthood came to be equated with nobility, causing magnates to become more self-conscious about their noble identity. This created a seismic shift in perceptions of nobility that led to the creation of a more visible and exclusive group of barons that was closer to the King.<sup>8</sup> Other historians who have written about English magnate families in the middle ages include David Walker, Chris Given-Wilson, Alastair Dunn, Carole Rawcliffe, Joel Rosenthal and Jennifer Ward.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-At-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996); Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England 1066-1500* (London: Bodley Head, 2011), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, *passim*; Crouch, *The English Aristocracy*, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> David Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 86 (1957), 66-84; David Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79 (1961), 174-211; Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1987); Chris Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and Credit, Public and Private: The Earls of Arundel 1306-1397', *The English Historical Review*, 106 (1991), 1-26; Alastair Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power in England and Wales 1389-1413* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Carol Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Joel T. Rosenthal, *Nobles and the Noble Life 1295-1500* (London: George Allen & Unwin,

There have also been several studies on the subject of noble piety. Many relate to particular noble men and women, such as Henry, duke of Lancaster (d. 1361), author of “Le livre de Saynts Medycyns”; Edward Plantagenet, the Black Prince (d. 1376); John of Gaunt (d. 1399); Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397); and Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke (d. 1377), to name a few.<sup>10</sup> Other studies have focused on either the nobility as a whole, or larger groups within the nobility, such as women, the Lollard knights and Edward III’s soldiers.<sup>11</sup> Jeremy Catto has noted the personal aspect of fourteenth century religion among the high nobility,

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1976); Joel T. Rosenthal, ‘Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500’, *John Rylands University Library*, 64 (1981-82), 522-48; Jennifer Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Fowler, *The King’s Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont First Duke of Lancaster 1310-1361* (Surrey: Unwin Brothers, 1969); Margaret Wade Labarge, ‘Henry of Lancaster and Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines’, *Florilegium*, 2 (1980), 183-91; Katherine Batt, *Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster: The Book of Holy Medicines*, The French of England Translation Series, 8 (Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014); David Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007); Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1992); Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971); Hilary Jenkinson, ‘Mary de Sancto Paulo, Foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge’, *Archaeologia* (Second Series), 66 (1915), 401-446.

<sup>11</sup> Crouch, *The English Aristocracy*; Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972); Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002); Ward, *English Noblewomen*; K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1972); J. A. F. Thomson, ‘Knightly Piety and the Margins of Lollardy’, in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, eds Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 95-111. There have also been several studies on the piety of the gentry. See Nigel Saul, ‘The Religious Sympathies of the Gentry in Gloucestershire, 1200-1500’, *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 98 (1980), 99-112; Colin Richmond, ‘The English Gentry and Religion, c. 1500’, in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the Conference Held at Strawberry Hill, Easter 1989*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (London: Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 121-150; Christine Carpenter, ‘The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England’, in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (London: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 53-74.

particularly the soldiers and courtiers of the intimate royal circle.<sup>12</sup> His arguments are reflected in the pious practices of some male members of the de Bohun family. Rowena Archer and Joanna Laynesmith, writing about the piety of noblewomen, have drawn attention to the fact that it is often very difficult to determine how much of their piety was merely conventional, and that it is important to weigh the evidence in the context of time and place.<sup>13</sup>

Much has also been written by historians over the last two centuries on the subject of heraldry and, in particular, medieval seals and badges. Four of the most important works on this subject are the heraldic studies made by Charles Boutell; Harvey's "Guide to British Medieval Seals"; Michael Siddons' "Heraldic Badges in England and Wales"; and John Hope's "Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers".<sup>14</sup>

The military careers of the individual de Bohun earls are relatively well known and documented, although in most cases this is limited to short, general biographies found in Dugdale's *Baronage*, Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*.<sup>15</sup> Some historians have also studied specific aspects of the de Bohun family. In 1803, Henry Gough published a book on the history of Pleshey Castle, the de Bohun family seat in Essex, including much information on the creation of Pleshey College by Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397)

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<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H. R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (Duckworth, 1981), pp. 43-55.

<sup>13</sup> See Rowena E. Archer, 'Piety in Question: Noblewomen and Religion in the Later Middle Ages', in *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), pp. 118-140; J. L. Laynesmith, 'The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York: A Reputation Reconsidered', in *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 27-43.

<sup>14</sup> *Boutell's Heraldry*, ed. C. W. Scott-Giles (London: Frederick Warne, 1950); P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London: British Library, 1996); Michael Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); W. H. St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (London: John Hogg, 1913).

<sup>15</sup> *ODNB*, VI, 441-48; William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London: Newcomb, 1675; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977), I, 179-88; *CP*, VI, 457-477; XIV, 380-82.

and his wife, Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399).<sup>16</sup> In 1846, T. H. Turner published a transcription of the will of Humphrey VII (d. 1322), as well as part of an Inventory of goods forfeited by the Earl.<sup>17</sup> In 1896 Melville Bigelow published translations of most of the surviving wills of the de Bohun family, some of which had been published in 1780 in their original form by J. Nichols.<sup>18</sup> In 1897, Viscount Dillon and St John Hope published a transcription of an Inventory of goods and chattels forfeited from Pleshey castle in 1397.<sup>19</sup> Historian David Walker has written extensively on the subject of medieval Wales, including its marcher lordships, and several of his publications relate to the earldom of Hereford in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, including the transcription and publication of many of the earldom's charters.<sup>20</sup> G. A. Holmes' analysis of the estates of fourteenth century magnates, already mentioned, used some of the evidence relating to the de Bohun family to analyse the land accumulation and retainers of three generations of de Bohuns, beginning with Humphrey VII (d. 1322) and ending with the last de Bohun earl, Humphrey IX (d. 1373). Art historian Lucy Sandler has published numerous books and articles on the surviving religious manuscripts of the de Bohun family, and this has

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<sup>16</sup> H. Gough, *The History and Antiquities of Pleshey in the county of Essex* (London: Nichols and son, 1803).

<sup>17</sup> T. H. Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, with Extracts from the Inventory of his Effects. 1319-1322', *Archaeological Journal*, 2 (1846), 339-49 (pp. 342-45, 348-49). A translation of the entire inventory was published by Melville Bigelow in 1896. Melville M. Bigelow, 'The Bohun Wills', *American Historical Review*, 1 (1896), 414-435 (pp. 426-35). A new translation has been published by Jennifer Ward. Jennifer Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune and the Bohun Family in the Early Fourteenth Century', *The Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History*, 39 (2008), 162-171 (pp. 168-70).

<sup>18</sup> Bigelow, 'The Bohun Wills', I, 414-435; Melville M. Bigelow, 'The Bohun Wills, II', *American Historical Review*, 1 (1896), 631-649; *A Collection of all the Wills now known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England*, ed. J. Nichols (London: Nichols, 1780).

<sup>19</sup> Viscount Dillon and W. St John Hope, 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and seized in his castle at Pleshey, co. Essex, 21 Richard II. (1397); with their values, as shown in the Escheator's Accounts', *The Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), 275-308.

<sup>20</sup> David Walker, 'A Letter from the Holy Land', *English Historical Review*, 72 (1956), 662-65; David Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester'; David Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century'; 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201', in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 22, Camden Fourth Series, vol. 1, ed. David Walker (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 1-75; David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

also been a subject of study for art historian Lynda Dennison.<sup>21</sup> Jennifer Ward has written two articles relating to the de Bohun family and Joan de Bohun (d. 1419), the last countess of Hereford.<sup>22</sup> Jenny Stratford has transcribed, and commented on, several inventories containing the forfeited goods and chattels of Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397) that include many objects belonging to his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, and her family. She has also written several articles relating to the library at Pleshey and the personal books owned by Thomas and Eleanor.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> L. F. Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary at Longleat', in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination 1200-1400* (London: Pindar Press, 2008), pp. 606-42; L. F. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter and Hours of Humphrey de Bohun and the Manuscripts of the Bohun Family* (London: British Library, 2014); L. F. Sandler, 'Mary de Bohun's 'Livret de Saints' in Copenhagen, in *Tributes to Nigel Morgan, Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford and M. A. Michael, (Harvey Miller, 2010), pp. 65-76; L. F. Sandler, 'The Bohun Women & Manuscript Patronage in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Patronage, Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. C. P. Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2013); L. F. Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours and Psalter', in *Tributes to Kathleen L. Scott: English Medieval Manuscripts and their Readers*, ed. M. V. Hennessy (London: Harvey Miller, 2009), pp. 231-50; L. F. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family* (London: Harvey Miller, 2004); Lynda Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1988); On the possible connection of Egerton MS 3277 with Thomas and Eleanor see Lynda Dennison, 'British Library, Egerton MS 3277: a Fourteenth-Century Psalter-Hours and the Question of Bohun Family Ownership', in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 122-155. For the de Bohun manuscripts see also Jeremy Catto, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (London: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 112-25.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune'; Jennifer C. Ward, 'Joan de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, c. 1370-1419: family, land and social networks', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 32 (2001), 146-53.

<sup>23</sup> Jenny Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012); Jenny Stratford, 'Clerks, Forfeiture and Books: Richard of Bury and Thomas of Woodstock', in *Tributes to Nigel Morgan Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas*, eds Julian M. Luxford and M. A. Michael (London: Harvey Miller, 2010), pp. 162-74; Jenny Stratford, 'La Somme Le Roi' (Reims, Bibliotheque Municipale, MS. 570), The Manuscripts of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and the Scribe, John Upton', in *Le Statut Du Scripteur Au Moyen Age: Actes du XIIe colloque scientifique du Comite International de paleographie latine (Cluny, 17-20 juillet 1998)*, eds Marie-Clotilde Hubert, Emmanuel Poulle, Marc H. Smith (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2000), pp. 267-282; Jenny Stratford, 'Richard II's Treasure and the Forfeitures of 1397', in *People, Places and Perspectives: Essays on Later Medieval & Early Tudor England in Honour of Ralph A.*

## Methods

This thesis is not a biography of the de Bohun family or its members, and it does not seek to repeat what has already been published regarding the de Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex. Instead, it uses the available evidence relating to the de Bohun family to illustrate particular themes of family, identity and piety relating to the nobility as a whole. In order to accomplish this, it first explores the royal service, marital alliances and extraneous, often fortuitous, circumstances that led the de Bohuns to accumulate power and lands over three and a half centuries, rising to become one of the preeminent magnate dynasties of fourteenth century England.

Wealth and status were and remain the goal of many aspiring families. Yet those who achieve this also inherit its social and moral obligations along with the responsibility for its preservation. The second theme of this thesis, therefore, is an analysis of the more personal aspects of magnate families: the development of the concept of lineage and family identity in the de Bohun family and its effect on family memory. The thesis examines who members of the de Bohun family felt responsible for within their family unit and the surviving evidence of family relationships. It also looks at how members of the de Bohun family proclaimed their family identity and lineage through the designs of their seals, and the use of coats of arms and badges in personal possessions.

The third and last part of the thesis analyses the piety of some members of the de Bohun family. Aside from the obvious desire of individuals to spend eternity in Heaven, all efforts to create and preserve a dynasty on earth also required spiritual support, since mortals were considered subject to the will of God. From the outcome of battles to the siring of male heirs, it was essential to obtain religious favour. This also allowed noble families to justify their power and

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*Griffiths*, eds Keith Dockray and Peter Fleming (London: Nonsuch, 2005), pp. 29-46.



status on earth. The existing evidence relating to members of the de Bohun family provides a particularly good example of the pious practices of the nobility in fourteenth century England. The evidence of crusading and pilgrimage, religious patronage, wills, and the religious manuscripts created for the family, indicate that they followed the orthodox religious practices of the time. However, there is also evidence of a deeper, introspective, individual piety of the kind found by Catto among some members of the fourteenth century nobility.

There have been many biographies focusing on particular members of the medieval nobility, but most studies do not focus on one particular family through several generations. The studies that have focused on more than one generation of a family, such as Carole Rawcliffe's study of the Stafford family, Holmes' study of the estates of fourteenth century earls, Michael Altschul's study of the Clare family, or Michael Burtscher's work on the earls of Arundel, often focus on particular earls and the administration of lands and accumulation of wealth.<sup>24</sup> Few fourteenth century historians have focused on the personal sense of identity and piety of one noble family's members throughout the family's history. This is essential in order to understand how families accumulated power and developed into a dynasty. It is also necessary in order to examine how the concept of nobility changed after the early thirteenth century, as discussed by Crouch and Saul. In addition, although we cannot know exactly how much each generation knew about the preceding ones, it is not implausible to assume that the family's history had some influence on its members during their lifetime and that some of this knowledge was carried over from one generation to the next. Understanding the family's progression through time allows the evidence of actions relating to particular individuals to be put into context, as well as allowing us to view themes common to the entire family, such as the adoption of particular symbols to enhance the family's image, or common practices important to the family, like a

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<sup>24</sup> Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*; Michael Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: the Clares 1217-1314* (Maryland: John Hopkins Press, 1965); Michael Burtscher, *The Fitzalans: Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Lords of the Welsh Marches (1267-1415)* (Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 2008).

commitment to crusading. In the case of the de Bohun family, the evidence of accumulation of lands and titles can be traced from the time of the first Humphrey. However, most of the evidence relating to identity and piety dates from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. Understanding the family's ascent to power and history before this time helps put into context the family's heritage and the things that may have been important to members of the family when developing a sense of identity, such as their role as Marcher lords and their ancient blood connections to Scotland's royalty.

Another reason to focus on one noble family when studying themes of identity, piety and family memory is that many studies of the nobility do not take into account women in the context of their family, although they are key components of any attempt to create a strong family unit. Noblewomen carried and transmitted to their children the same family identity as men, and they were often heiresses of great wealth, the only ones left after the male line had ended as a consequence of illness, war or politics. Their female condition often ensured longer lives than their male counterparts and, as widows, they often proved equal to men in the administration of land and preservation of family fortunes, ensuring good marriages for their children and the building of monuments that proclaimed the eternal glory of their families. From a dynastic perspective, women were as important to medieval society as men, and in some respects more so. Studying noble women in the context of the careers and practices of their fathers, husbands and sons allows for a better understanding of their motivations and for a comparison between the role of both genders in the context of the family.

The information gathered by studying the de Bohun family throughout its history contributes new knowledge to the already existing mass of historical work relating to the English nobility. It also provides additional evidence to confirm certain trends or themes already suspected or established by previous historians. However, the method chosen in this thesis is not without its drawbacks. The main criticism must be that the length of time studied, over three centuries, makes it difficult to be sufficiently knowledgeable on the history of the period to ensure an understanding of the context in which the family lived and acted during any

particular time. In addition the amount of evidence to sift through is very large. Attempting to examine all of it can take precious time that might be better spent in detailed analysis of a particular type of evidence. These are valid concerns. To counteract this, I have attempted to keep the thesis focused on narrow themes, and have used the available evidence accordingly, choosing to study in detail only the evidence directly relevant to those themes. When compiling the first chapter, relating to the de Bohuns' rise to power over several generations, I have had to rely heavily on the published biographies of the de Bohun earls and on general histories of the period of time in which they lived, rather than detailed knowledge of the political intricacies of any one particular reign. However, the main aim of this chapter was to study the family's progression and accumulation of power from one generation to the next, often looking at the family's history or a particular earl's career to understand his political or marital choices. For this narrow purpose, a general knowledge of the period in which they lived was hopefully sufficient, if not ideal.

## **Sources**

The de Bohuns are one of the greatest and most ancient magnate families of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for whom records survive, and this is a good reason to study them in and of itself. Primary sources relating to the de Bohuns include several wills, inventories, marriage contracts, fragments of accounts, illuminated manuscripts and records relating to religious chantries and foundations, as well as thousands of records relating to land and royal administration. Most of the records relating to the lands and marriage contracts of the de Bohun family have survived as part of the collection of documents owned by the Duchy of Lancaster, now held in the National Archives. This is due to the marriage of one of the last two co-heiresses of the family, Mary de Bohun (d. 1394), to Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV. Further lands were taken into the duchy of Lancaster when Joan de Bohun, the last countess of Hereford, died in

1419. Her dower lands were partitioned between her granddaughter Anne, countess of Stafford, and her grandson, King Henry V.<sup>25</sup>

As with any study of this nature, we must be satisfied with piecing together a puzzle that is missing many, if not most, of its parts. The surviving primary sources for the men and women in this study are not complete and often lack coherence, but they are still better and more numerous than those surviving for many noble families of their time. Perhaps the most cohesive set of primary sources with respect to the de Bohuns, other than their religious manuscripts, are the nine wills that survive for members of the family and close relatives. Six of the wills survive in the Archbishops' Registers held in Lambeth Palace Library. One more will survives in the register of wills proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, another will is preserved among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster, and another will is preserved in the archives of King's College, Cambridge. The drastically varying length of medieval wills and their comparison with surviving inventories is a constant reminder that wills probably offer an incomplete picture of the bequests made by a testator prior to death. Many arrangements with loved ones may have been made during the last years, months or weeks of the testator's life, and it is to be expected that sometimes these arrangements included the most valuable, personal, or expensive items treasured by the testator. Nevertheless, the de Bohun wills remain a valuable source of information. The wills include, on the male side, those of Humphrey VII, fourth earl of Hereford and third earl of Essex (d. 1322); John de Bohun, clerk (d. 1328); Humphrey VIII, sixth earl of Hereford and fifth earl of Essex (d. 1361); and Humphrey IX, seventh earl of Hereford, sixth earl of Essex and second earl of Northampton (d. 1373). On the women's side the surviving wills are those of Elizabeth de Badlesmere, countess of Northampton (d. 1356); Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391); Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399); Joan Beauchamp, Lady Bergavenny (d. 1435); and Anne of Woodstock, countess of Stafford (d. 1438).

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<sup>25</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, IV, pp. 135-40. A transcription of this division of property is printed in Gough, *History and Antiquities*, Appendix, pp. 104-112.

Another primary source is the existing inventories of goods belonging to Humphrey VII, fourth earl of Hereford (d. 1322) and Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397) as a result of the forfeitures of these goods to the crown after their owners were declared traitors in 1322 and 1397, respectively. Humphrey VII's inventory lists goods and chattels left for safekeeping at Walden Abbey and contains mostly jewels and religious objects. For Thomas of Woodstock, three inventories survive. One is an extensive list of his possessions at Pleshey Castle, a second one includes the goods taken from his London home, and a third one contains jewelry and plate delivered by his wife, Eleanor de Bohun. A fourth, unpublished, inventory lists goods returned to Eleanor.

A primary source that has been extensively studied by art historians is the group of religious manuscripts created for the de Bohun family after the marriage of Humphrey VII (d. 1322) and Edward I's daughter, Elizabeth (d. 1316). These manuscripts provide some insight into the piety of their owners, but the heraldry included in them also opens a window into the de Bohun's desire to commemorate their royal connections and ensure family memory.<sup>26</sup>

Records of the births and burials of members of the de Bohun family have survived in ancient manuscripts relating to the religious houses associated with the family: the Abbey of Llanthony, near Gloucester, and the Abbey of Walden, in Essex. These were transcribed and published by William Dugdale in his seminal work: *Monasticon Anglicanum*.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the main cartulary of the Abbey of Llanthony, compiled in the middle of the fourteenth century, contains the text of many charters issued by members of the de Bohun family and their predecessors, the Mandevilles.<sup>28</sup> Original documents relating to the chantry foundation of

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<sup>26</sup> These manuscripts are listed in the Bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds J. Caley, H. Ellis and Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817-30). Dugdale's sources included British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.XX and Cotton MS Julius D.X.

<sup>28</sup> TNA, C 115/74-85. Most of these charters have been published by David Walker. Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford'; Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford'.

William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 1361), at Walden Abbey and the joint religious activities of Eleanor de Bohun and Thomas of Woodstock in regard to the foundation of a college at Pleshey also survive, as well as three indentures relating to the de Bohuns' marriage negotiations. There are also several household accounts for Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1373) and Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399).<sup>29</sup> To these primary sources may be added the large amount of documents, mostly relating to land and marriage transactions, belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster; royal administrative records; inquisitions post mortem; and chronicle accounts of the period.

I have also been aided by the work of previous historians and by modern technology in several different ways. The many published transcriptions and translations of documents relating to the de Bohun family already mentioned above has saved me precious time. Although I have used the original documents in my research, the transcriptions and/or translations have served as guides, giving me the additional time necessary to broaden my period of study and its themes. The digital catalogue system used by the National Archives has allowed me to search through the multiple administrative records relating to the de Bohuns in an efficient and timely manner, and has also allowed me to find relevant, unpublished records, such as the inventory of goods from Pleshey castle returned to Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399), or the will of John de Bohun, clerk (d. 1328). The ability to photograph books and manuscripts at the Institute of Historical Research and the Society of Antiquaries and to search through digital editions of many antiquarian and out of print books online has also saved enormous amounts of time and allowed me to make connections which I would not otherwise have been able to make. Finally, the many recent websites aiding medieval historians, such as the Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, the Lexis Project, the Anglo-Norman Dictionary Project, British History Online, the Fine Rolls of Henry III, and the numerous transcriptions and translations of ancient chronicles have been invaluable sources of information.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See list of Primary Sources.

<sup>30</sup> <<http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk>>; <<http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home.html>>; <<http://www.anglo-norman.net>>;

The survival of records relating to the de Bohuns is not the only reason why the de Bohuns provide an excellent case study. The de Bohun dynasty lasted for nearly 350 years. During that time the family rose from relatively modest beginnings to become one of the preeminent magnate families of the fourteenth century. The first Humphrey de Bohun came over from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and his descendants built the family's fortune from one generation to the next through royal service and exceptional marital alliances that gave them two earldoms and the hereditary constablership of England, culminating in the marriage in 1302 of the de Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex with Edward I's daughter, Elizabeth Plantagenet. Yet they also suffered forfeitures and physical disabilities, and by the middle of the fourteenth century it was a younger son, William, earl of Northampton, who had to restore the family fortunes. The family's extinction in the male line at the end of the fourteenth century led to the marriage of its two co-heiresses, Eleanor and Mary, to Thomas of Woodstock and Henry Bolingbroke, respectively. This fortuitous alliance with the royal family ensured the family's remembrance and provides a window into the concept of lineage and family memory after a family's demise.

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<<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>>;  
<<http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/home.html>>;  
<<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/>>.

## Chapter 1

### The Creation of a Dynasty: How the de Bohuns Achieved Magnate Status

The de Bohun family arrived in England from Normandy with William the Conqueror. Their name derived from St Georges de Bohon, in what is now the department of Manche in the French region of Basse-Normandie.<sup>31</sup> The first Humphrey de Bohun, known as “Humphrey cum barba”, is said to have been William’s kinsman, but after the Conquest he was not granted large landholdings.<sup>32</sup> The Domesday survey taken in 1086 shows him to have been in possession of only the lordship of Tatterford, in Norfolk, worth 40 s.<sup>33</sup> Just over two centuries later, his descendant, Humphrey VII de Bohun, held two earldoms and enough land and wealth for Edward I to consider him a worthy son-in-law. The rise and transformation of the de Bohun family until their extinction in the male line at the end of the fourteenth century is a story of military service and strategic marriage alliances, aided by a significant amount of good fortune.<sup>34</sup> An analysis of the family’s slow and steady rise to power shows that it was achieved through royal service, marriage alliances and land accumulation. This allows us to draw some conclusions with regard to the interplay of military prowess, politics and alliances that led the Anglo-norman nobility to achieve magnate status in England.<sup>35</sup> As it accumulated power, the de Bohun family adopted heraldry associated with the families whose land they inherited. By 1220 Henry de Bohun

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<sup>31</sup> Graeme White, ‘Bohun, Humphrey (III) de (b. before 1144, d. 1181)’, in *ODNB*, vi, 442.

<sup>32</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 179.

<sup>33</sup> Tatterford is described as being “half a league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth” (approx. 1.5 x .375 miles). *Domesday Book*, eds Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p. 1171; <<http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/norfolk5.html>> [accessed 30 January 2014]; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 179. The survey also shows that Humphrey FitzBohun, presumably son of Humphrey de Bohun, had holdings in Norfolk. <<http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/landownersd-f.html>> [accessed 30 January 2014].

<sup>34</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Appendix A shows the de Bohun Family Tree.



(d. 1220) was using a coat of arms in his seal and by 1302 the family had adopted the swan as its badge.

## A. The Rise to Power

### a. 1066-1298

Humphrey I de Bohun (d. c. 1123), the son of the bearded Humphrey, made the first of the many advantageous marriages that would aid the de Bohuns in their ascent. King William Rufus arranged for his marriage to Matilda of Salisbury, daughter of Edward of Salisbury, sheriff of Wiltshire.<sup>36</sup> Considering Humphrey's modest landholdings at the time, the marriage was a great coup and reflects Humphrey's standing with the king. The bride brought with her several lands in Wiltshire, comprising most notably the honour of Trowbridge, so that their son, Humphrey II (d. 1164/5) was styled Lord of Trowbridge. The possession of these lands, combined with Humphrey II's position as steward to the king, which he had acquired from Henry I for 400 marks, made him an influential man. He married Margaret of Gloucester (d. 1197), eldest daughter of Miles of Gloucester (d. 1143), earl of Hereford, probably sometime between 1135 and 1143.<sup>37</sup> This was probably a political alliance, and it brought the de Bohun family their first earldom.

Miles of Gloucester held estates in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, along with other lands, forming the English honour of Caldicot in the March of Wales. Its *caput* was at Caldicot, in Gwent. These lands had been obtained through royal grants made to him and his father in exchange for royal service. Through his wife, Sybill de Neufmarché, Miles became lord of the Welsh marcher lordship of Brecon in 1121. In 1141-2 he acquired from Brian fitz Count the marcher lordship of Abergavenny.<sup>38</sup> His father had acquired the office of royal constable probably sometime in 1114, and Miles held it during his lifetime. In 1139 he was persuaded by his lord, Robert, earl of Gloucester, to support Empress Matilda, and for the rest of his life he remained loyal to her.<sup>39</sup> For this he was rewarded with the earldom

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<sup>36</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 179.

<sup>37</sup> White, 'Bohun, Humphrey (III)', p. 442; David Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles of, earl of Hereford (d. 1143)', in *ODNB*, xxii, 481-83 (p. 481).

<sup>38</sup> Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 40-41; Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford', pp. 174-75.

<sup>39</sup> Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles', p. 482; Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester', pp. 68, 72-3.

of Hereford on 25 July 1141. During the fight against Stephen's forces, Humphrey II, who had also deserted to Matilda's side in 1139, collaborated with Miles by drawing Stephen to Trowbridge in order to relieve the pressure on Gloucestershire.<sup>40</sup> In reward for his services, the empress confirmed Humphrey's lands and his stewardship in England and Normandy.<sup>41</sup> Considering the timing of Humphrey's marriage to Miles' daughter (1135-1143), it is not unlikely that the marriage was made as a result of Humphrey's political alliance with Miles in support of Matilda, as well as the proximity of their lands.

Humphrey II's marriage to Margaret (c. 1121- 1197), co-heiress to the fortune of her father Miles of Gloucester, was to be a significant factor in the de Bohuns' rise to magnate status. However, this was largely due to good fortune. At the time of the marriage between Humphrey II and Margaret of Gloucester, the possibility of Margaret becoming an heiress was remote. She was one of at least seven children, comprising four sons and three daughters, and it was not until 1165, twenty years after the death of her father, that Margaret and her sisters would become co-heiresses of their father's fortune. By then, king Henry II had stripped the family of their earldom, but not of the royal constableness, nor of their lands.<sup>42</sup> Margaret managed to obtain the lion's share of her father's inheritance, keeping the family's lands in England, concentrated in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, although she eventually had to give one third of them to her sister Lucy fitz Herbert.<sup>43</sup>

Humphrey II would never realize the extent of his contribution to the family dynasty. He died in 1165, and his son Humphrey III (b. before 1144, d. 1181) inherited the de Bohun lands in Wiltshire. Margaret of Gloucester would outlive both her husband and her son, and take custody of her grandson Henry de Bohun (c. 1175-1220) in 1181, passing on to him her inheritance at her death in 1197. This grandson would eventually become the first de Bohun to gain an earldom,

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<sup>40</sup> Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles', p. 482.

<sup>41</sup> White, 'Bohun, Humphrey (III)', p. 442.

<sup>42</sup> David Crouch, 'Roger [Roger fitz Miles], earl of Hereford (d. 1155)', in *ODNB*, XLVII, 526-29 (p. 528).

<sup>43</sup> Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', pp. 3-4. For a full discussion of the division of Miles of Gloucester's lands see Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford'.

becoming earl of Hereford, like his great-grandfather Miles, in 1200. Yet this was not a direct consequence of his grandmother's inheritance. The earldom had been taken from her family ten years before she inherited in 1165.<sup>44</sup> It is most likely that Henry would not have been in a position to receive the earldom had it not been for a combination of factors, including the outstanding service proffered by his father, Humphrey III, to king Henry II, which resulted in another advantageous marriage for the de Bohuns.

Humphrey III (d. 1181) was a great soldier. He fought alongside Henry II's justiciar, Richard de Lucy, at Berwick and Lothian in the war of 1173/74, led by the Scottish king William the Lion against King Henry II. In October 1173 he helped Henry II defeat and capture the earl of Leicester, who had rebelled against him in favour of the king's son, the younger Henry. At the close of 1174 he witnessed the treaty of Falaise, whereby William the Lion became the liege man of Henry II for Scotland, and for all his other lands.<sup>45</sup> It can be no coincidence that around the same time Humphrey III married Margaret (c. 1144 -1201), daughter of Henry of Scotland, earl of Northumberland (d. 1152), and sister of king William the Lion.<sup>46</sup> Humphrey married Margaret some time before 1175, so the marriage was most probably orchestrated by Henry II as a result of the treaty of Falaise.<sup>47</sup> The marriage allied Humphrey III with both the Scottish and English royal houses, and is evidence of his high standing with Henry II.<sup>48</sup> It is also at this time, by 1174,

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<sup>44</sup> When Miles of Gloucester's eldest son and heir, Roger of Gloucester, died in 1155, Henry II did not invest Roger's brother and heir Walter as earl in retaliation for Roger's conflicts with the king during his lifetime. Crouch, 'Roger fitz Miles', p. 528.

<sup>45</sup> White, 'Bohun, Humphrey (III)', p. 442; W. W. Scott, 'William I [known as William the Lion] (c. 1142-1214)', in *ODNB*, LIX, 57-64.

<sup>46</sup> She was the widow of Conan IV, duke of Brittany (d. 1171).

<sup>47</sup> In 1185 Humphrey III and Margaret's son and heir, Henry de Bohun, was identified as aged 10. David Walker, 'Bohun, Henry de, first earl of Hereford (c. 1175-1220)', in *ODNB*, VI, 441-2 (p. 441). The treaty of Falaise was signed in December 1174 at Falaise, in Normandy, where William the Lion was held captive by Henry II. It forced William to recognize Henry II as feudal overlord of Scotland.

<sup>48</sup> Margaret's grandfather, David I of Scotland, was the brother of Henry I's spouse, Matilda of Scotland (d. 1118), and their daughter, the future Empress Matilda (d. 1167), was therefore Margaret's father's cousin, making Margaret second cousin to Henry II. In addition, Margaret's daughter Constance (1161-1201), born from her first marriage to Conan, duke of Brittany, was married to Henry II's son

that Humphrey started attesting king Henry II's charters as royal Constable, indicating that he had to earn this office and did not inherit it at his father's death in 1165.<sup>49</sup> The inescapable conclusion is that Humphrey III was a worthy soldier and royal servant who enjoyed a close relationship with his King and was rewarded accordingly. His son would benefit from this in several ways.

When Humphrey III died in 1181, his son Henry was only six years old, and his grandmother Margaret of Gloucester became his guardian. Henry was given control of his father's lands by 1190, but he would have to wait until the death of his grandmother in 1197 to inherit her share of his great-grandfather Miles of Gloucester's lands. By then he was in his early twenties. Two years later king John came to the throne and, on 28 April 1200, he created Henry earl of Hereford.<sup>50</sup> This was a 'de novo' creation. It had been forty-five years since Henry's ancestor, Roger of Gloucester (d. 1155), died, and his descendants had not been given the title. In fact, Henry de Bohun had to sign a charter forfeiting any claims under the charter granted by Henry II to Roger of Gloucester.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that Henry's new earldom was obtained in order to keep his loyalties in check, given his Scottish relations. Henry's maternal uncle, William the Lion (c. 1142-1214), was king of Scotland, and William's only male heir, Alexander, was not born until 1198.<sup>52</sup> William's only surviving brother, David (1152-1219), was earl of Huntingdon and heir apparent to the Scottish crown until Alexander's birth, but he had only one surviving son, John (1206-1237), who was not born until 1206.<sup>53</sup> In this context, it is notable that Henry de Bohun was the first heir in the de Bohun family not to be named Humphrey. Instead, he was either named after king Henry II, to whom his father owed so much, or he may have been named after

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Geoffrey in 1181. This made Margaret's son, Henry de Bohun (d. 1220), Geoffrey's brother in law.

<sup>49</sup> Walker, 'Bohun, Henry de', p. 441; White, 'Bohun, Humphrey (III)', p. 442.

<sup>50</sup> Walker, 'Bohun, Henry de', p. 441.

<sup>51</sup> *CP*, VI, 458 and n. (a).

<sup>52</sup> Scott, 'William I', p. 61.

<sup>53</sup> Keith Stringer, 'David, earl of Huntingdon and lord of Garioch (1152-1219)', in *ODNB*, xv, 284-85 (p. 285).

his grandfather, Henry of Scotland, earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, perhaps in hopes of eventually inheriting at least some of his titles and lands.<sup>54</sup>

In 1200, shortly after receiving the earldom of Hereford, Henry accompanied his uncle William the Lion to do homage to king John at Lincoln for his English lands, bearing witness to this act.<sup>55</sup> We do not know if he had close ties to his Scottish family, but what is certain is that Henry de Bohun did not enjoy a close relationship with king John. He not only rebelled against him in 1212, when the King assumed the honour of Trowbridge and allowed the earl of Salisbury, William Longespée, to levy scutage from its tenants, but he also remained loyal to Louis of France even after the accession of Henry III. He reconciled himself with the new English monarch only after his capture at the battle of Lincoln on 20 May, 1217.<sup>56</sup>

Henry de Bohun married Maud fitz Peter (Mandeville), another marriage that would have significant consequences for the de Bohun fortunes because, once again against the odds, Maud would eventually inherit the earldom of Essex and some of its lands. Maud was the daughter of Geoffrey fitz Peter and Beatrix de Say, granddaughter of Beatrix de Mandeville, who was the sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville, first earl of Essex (d. 1144). In 1200 Geoffrey fitz Peter had been made earl of Essex by king John in right of his wife Beatrix, despite the rival claim of her cousin, Geoffrey de Say.<sup>57</sup> It is not clear when Maud married Henry de Bohun (their son was born after 1199), but she could not have been considered her father's heiress at the time, as she had three brothers, two of whom would successively inherit the earldom of Essex and hold it until 1226, long after Henry

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<sup>54</sup> The earldom of Northumberland had been surrendered to Henry II in 1157 and the earldom of Huntingdon was confiscated in 1174, but the earldom of Huntingdon had been restored to William the Lion in 1185 and given to William's brother and Henry de Bohun's uncle, David. Scott, 'William I', p. 57; Stringer, 'David, earl of Huntingdon', p. 284. It is possible that Henry de Bohun's name was the result of having an elder brother named Humphrey who died young, but there is no record of this.

<sup>55</sup> *CP*, VI, p. 458 and n. (b).

<sup>56</sup> Walker, 'Bohun, Henry de', p. 441.

<sup>57</sup> F. J. West, 'Geoffrey fitz Peter, fourth earl of Essex (d. 1213)', in *ODNB*, XXI, 772-73 (p. 772).

de Bohun's death in 1220. This appears to be yet another circumstance in which the de Bohuns benefitted from the failure in the male line of a powerful family.

Perhaps the most interesting question is how the marriage came about. Maud's father was a very powerful royal servant. He was appointed king's justiciar in 1198, governed as regent in king John's absence in 1204 and 1210, and presided over the exchequer.<sup>58</sup> He was clearly a man worth having as an ally. For his part, Henry de Bohun had royal Scottish blood, was constable of England, had just inherited a large estate, and had been created earl of Hereford, all of which made him a good candidate for marriage. Yet it may be that the marital alliance between the two men was also related to the barons' revolt against king John. Two of Geoffrey fitz Peter's sons, Geoffrey (d. 1216) and William, were married to daughters of the leader of the baronial movement, Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1235), lord of Dunmow, Essex and Baynard's castle.<sup>59</sup> Geoffrey the younger was Robert Fitzwalter's close ally, his wife being rumoured to have been raped by king John.<sup>60</sup> The fact that all of these men formed part of the baronial opposition against king John indicates that they had common interests that may have accounted for their marital alliances.

Henry de Bohun died while on crusade to the Holy Land on 1 June 1220.<sup>61</sup> He was succeeded by his son Humphrey IV (d. 1275), who, at the petition of king Alexander of Scotland and the barons of England, had possession of his family

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<sup>58</sup> West, 'Geoffrey fitz Peter'. According to West, the government ran in his name as regent when king John was in France, before the loss of Normandy in 1204, and again when the king was in Ireland in 1210 (p. 773).

<sup>59</sup> Matthew Strickland, 'Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1235)', in *ODNB*, XIX, 949-53.

<sup>60</sup> Matthew Strickland, 'Enforcers of Magna Carta (*act.* 1215-1216)', in *ODNB*, online edn, (2015) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93691>> [accessed 27 April 2016] (para. 4 of 11).

<sup>61</sup> Walker, 'Bohun, Henry de', p. 441. The Earl went with Saer de Quincy and Robert Fitzwalter, who sailed for the Holy Land in the Spring of 1219. Francis Charles Hingeston, trans., *John Capgrave's Book of the Illustrious Henries* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), p. 193. They were accompanied by Saer's son, Roger, and William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel. *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, W. Stubbs, ed., 2 vols (London: Longman, 1822), I, p. 22 (citing *Annales Londoniensis*); Richard D. Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, earl of Winchester (d. 1219)', in *ODNB*, XLV, 708-10 (p. 709).

lands by Michaelmas 1221. At the time of his inheritance young Humphrey's lands were concentrated for the most part in Wiltshire and the Welsh marches, including a share of the honour of Trowbridge, in Wiltshire, and the castle of Caldicot, in the Marches of Wales. He also controlled a considerable estate in Scotland.<sup>62</sup> Fifteen years later, in 1236, these estates would be augmented by his mother's inheritance, consisting of the title to the earldom of Essex and the honour and castle of Pleshey in Essex.<sup>63</sup>

Humphrey IV lived a relatively long life. Although his date of birth is uncertain, it is clear that he was no longer a child by 1225, when he witnessed the reissue of Magna Carta as earl of Hereford and his title to the third penny of Hereford was confirmed. He lived until 1275, making him a close contemporary of Henry III (1207-72), and he seems to have been on good terms with the king until the crisis of 1258. He was hereditary Constable of the king's army, like his father and grandfather before him, and served in several of the king's military expeditions throughout his life, particularly in Wales, where he spent much time both fighting and treating for peace. At the coronation of queen Eleanor in 1236 he carried out the ceremonial duties of marshal of the king's household. He was also one of the barons that took the cross with Henry III in 1250, although the crusade would be postponed several times and eventually abandoned for lack of finance.<sup>64</sup>

Humphrey's relationship with the king was not always friendly. In 1258 he was one of the baronial twelve chosen to draw up the provisions of Oxford in order to reform the realm, resulting in the exile of the king's Lusignan half-brothers. When Henry III was made to transfer royal power to a royal council of fifteen, Humphrey IV was a member of the council.<sup>65</sup> This demonstrates Humphrey's influential position and importance among the barons. Yet after the crisis he remained loyal

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<sup>62</sup> Nicholas Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV) de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275)', in *ODNB*, VI, 442-43 (p. 442); *CPR 1216-25*, pp. 242, 294. The manors of Oaksey (Wiltshire), and Wheatenhurst (Gloucestershire) were kept by his mother, countess Matilda, as dower and maritagium, respectively.

<sup>63</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV)', p. 443.

<sup>64</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV)', p. 443; H. W. Ridgeway, 'Henry III (1207-1272)', in *ODNB*, XXVI, 449-72 (p. 459).

<sup>65</sup> *CP*, VI, 461; Ridgeway, 'Henry III', pp. 462-63.



to the King, being sent to treat for peace with both France and Wales. In October 1265 he was one of the four keepers of the city of London for the King.<sup>66</sup>

Humphrey IV died in 1275, three years after the death of king Henry III. He outlived his eldest son, Humphrey V (d. 1265), by ten years, so that his grandson, Humphrey VI (c. 1249-1298), was heir to the de Bohun estates in 1275. This was fortunate for the de Bohuns. Humphrey V had been loyal to Simon de Montfort's cause and died in captivity on 27 October 1265, after being captured by the royalists at the battle of Lewes in May 1264.<sup>67</sup> Yet although he died a traitor, his father Humphrey IV was rewarded for his allegiance to the King by being allowed to regain those lands he had given to his son during his lifetime.<sup>68</sup> This allowed the de Bohun family to keep their lands and titles intact for the next generation.

Humphrey IV's two marriages did not bring him many lands, but the first one may have served a political purpose by bringing him closer to the royal family. After king Henry III's mother, Isabella of Angouleme, married Hugh (X) de Lusignan (1195-1249) in 1220, Humphrey IV married Hugh's cousin, Maud de Lusignan (1210-1241), daughter of Raoul de Lusignan and Alice d'Eu. Maud's dowry consisted of lands in Kent, and it is probably for this reason that Humphrey served as sheriff of Kent from 1239 until 1241.<sup>69</sup> Maud died on 14 August 1241 and the marriage did not bring significant gains to the de Bohuns. However, the fact that the bride was the king's kinswoman may reflect Humphrey's standing at court.<sup>70</sup> Despite his powerful position, or perhaps because of it, Humphrey IV's second wife was Matilda of Avenbury, a woman of no apparent significance of whom little is known. This may have been a love match, and it resulted in at least one son, John de Bohun, lord of Haresfield, being born to the Earl.

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<sup>66</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV)', p. 443; *CPR 1258-66*, p. 461.

<sup>67</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV)', p. 443.

<sup>68</sup> *CPR 1258-66*, p. 504. The lands consisted of the manors of Southam and Wheatenhurst and 100 shillings of land in Haresfield, Gloucestershire; the manor of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire; and the manors of Walden and Debden in Essex.

<sup>69</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV)', p. 443.

<sup>70</sup> *CP*, VI, 462.

By contrast, the marriages of Humphrey IV's children by his first marriage exploited their father's standing and were certainly entered into with the purpose of obtaining additional lands and alliances in Wales and Scotland. Humphrey V's first marriage was to Eleanor de Briouze, daughter and coheir of William V de Briouze (d. 1230) and his wife Eva, one of the daughters and coheirs of William II Marshal, earl of Pembroke. The Briouze family had held lands in Wales since the end of the twelfth century, and Eleanor inherited the lordship of Brecon from her father and the castle and town of Haverford, in Pembrokeshire, from her mother.<sup>71</sup> In 1267 her son, Humphrey VI de Bohun (d. 1298), inherited from her these lands and also the castles of Hay and Huntington, in Herefordshire.<sup>72</sup>

Humphrey V's second marriage was to Joan de Quincy (d. 1283), daughter of Robert de Quincy and Helen, daughter of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd (d. 1240).<sup>73</sup> Joan's father must have been one of the younger brothers of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland (c. 1195-1264), who was married to one of Humphrey V's sisters, Maud de Bohun.<sup>74</sup> Roger de Quincy was the greatest Anglo-Scottish landowner of his time. At his death, he held one of the largest agglomerations of land in baronial hands, with estates spread from Perthshire in the north to the channel coast in the south.<sup>75</sup> Roger was a contemporary of Humphrey IV and they must have shared a close relationship. He was invested with his lands at the same time as Humphrey IV, in 1221, and in 1258 he formed part along with Humphrey in the royal commission of fifteen appointed to reform the realm. Their fathers had both been part of the baronial

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<sup>71</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 182; *CPR 1258-66*, p. 495.

<sup>72</sup> *CIPM*, I, 205. Writ dated 21 February 1267 says heir was 18.5 yrs. It is interesting to note that Brecon had originally been brought into Eleanor's family by the marriage of William (II) de Briouze to Bertha of Gloucester, daughter and coheir of Miles of Gloucester and sister of Humphrey V's ancestor Margaret of Gloucester. Ralph V. Turner, 'Briouze [Braose], William (III) de (d. 1211)', in *ODNB*, VII, 674-77 (p. 674).

<sup>73</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 182; *CPR 1258-66*, p. 504; Richard D. Oram, 'Quincy, Roger de, earl of Winchester (c. 1195-1264)', in *ODNB*, XLV, 707-8.

<sup>74</sup> See Fine Rolls of Henry III, C 60/62, 1264-5, m. 10/28, <[http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll\\_062.html](http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_062.html)> [accessed 20 July, 2016]. Her sister and heir is named as Hawise, the name of Roger's sister. See *CIPM*, I, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Oram, 'Quincy, Roger de', p. 708.

opposition under king John.<sup>76</sup> This relationship, and Humphrey IV's Scottish lands and connections, may have been the reason for the alliance of their houses. Maud de Bohun was Roger's second wife, after his first wife, Helen, had only given him daughters. Humphrey IV must have hoped the union would result in a son and heir to the Quincy estates. Unfortunately for the de Bohuns, this did not happen. Maud died childless, and Roger's daughters by his first marriage divided his inheritance between themselves. Humphrey V's marriage to Maud's niece, Joan de Quincy, could perhaps have provided a suitable male heir, but this also was not to be. The couple only had daughters, and they must have predeceased their mother because Joan's heir at her death in 1283 was her sister Hawise.<sup>77</sup>

According to the Chronicles of Llanthony Abbey, Humphrey IV had three more daughters. The eldest, Matilda, married Anselm Marshall, youngest son of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke (d. 1219). Her sister Alice is said to have married Roger de Tony (d. 1277).<sup>78</sup>

When Humphrey IV died on 24 September 1275, it was his grandson Humphrey VI (c. 1249-1298), who succeeded to his grandfather's titles and lands. Humphrey VI inherited the earldoms of Hereford and Essex along with lands in the Marches of Wales (the castles of Caldicot and Brecon), Wiltshire (the manor of Oaksey), Gloucestershire (the manors of Wheatenhurst and Southam), Huntingdonshire (the manor of Kimbolton), Middlesex (the manor of Enfield), and Essex (the manors of Pleshey, Waltham, High Easter, Walden and Debden).<sup>79</sup> He was the first de Bohun earl to make Pleshey his home. Despite spending most of his life defending his lands in Wales, he died at Pleshey castle and was the first de Bohun earl to be buried at Walden Abbey, the traditional burial place of the Mandevilles. It is not clear where the de Bohuns resided before this time, but given their land holdings it is most probable that their family seat during the twelfth and early

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<sup>76</sup> Roger's father, Saer de Quincy, was brother in arms of Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1235), leader of the baronial movement.

<sup>77</sup> *CIPM*, II, 323 (writ dated 15 Dec 1284).

<sup>78</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135. Alice's marriage to Roger Tony is discussed later in this Chapter.

<sup>79</sup> *CIPM*, II, 70-71 (writ dated 27 Sept 1275); *CIPM*, II, 87 (writ dated 6 November 1275); *CPR 1258-66*, p. 504.

thirteenth century was first in Wiltshire, and later in Hereford. The castles of Hereford and Caldicot may have been their main residences considering the amount of time the de Bohuns spent in Wales. The castle of Hereford had been one of the principal seats of Miles of Gloucester and Caldicot had been his *caput*. Later, his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Margaret de Bohun, made the manor of Haresfield, in Gloucestershire, her administrative center and it became associated with the barony held by her grandson Henry de Bohun, and his heirs.<sup>80</sup> However, it is likely that the family's main seat remained in Caldicot. Margaret de Bohun (d. 1197) held the castle and granted to Llanthony Secunda, founded by her father Miles, the advowson of the church.<sup>81</sup>

Humphrey IV had certainly not considered Pleshey as the main family seat. Before 1266 he gave the honour of Pleshey, with its castle and manor, to his second son, Henry, specifying that if he died without heirs it should descend down the line to his brother John and, if John should die without heirs, then his brother Miles.<sup>82</sup> In 1264 Humphrey V, known during his lifetime as Humphrey "the younger" owing to his father's longevity, had received from his father the de Bohun manors of Walden and Debden, so it may be that his son Humphrey VI had an early attachment to Essex and decided to build his seat there.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester', p. 73; Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford', pp. 199, 202. A third of the manor of Haresfield was, however, given by Humphrey IV to his younger son John, born from his second wife Maud of Avenbury. It is therefore unlikely that this was Humphrey IV's main seat. J. M. Hall, 'Harescombe-Fragments of Local History', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 10 (1885-86), 67-132 (p. 77); J. M. Hall, 'Haresfield: Manors and Church', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 19 (1894-95), 279-737 (pp. 287-88).

<sup>81</sup> Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford', p. 202. The church itself had been granted to the canons by her uncle, Henry of Hereford.

<sup>82</sup> *CPR 1258-66*, pp. 543-44. The charter described the honour of Pleshey as consisting of Waltham, Easter and Berwick. It also gave to Henry the manor of Enfield in Essex.

<sup>83</sup> Humphrey V also received from Henry III some houses in Havering, Essex, to "dwell in with his wife and household", in November of 1264, shortly before his death. *CPR 1258-66*, pp. 385-6. It is also possible that the political and economic map was changing, making Essex a more desirable base. In this respect, it is interesting to note that in 1302 the marriage contract between Edward III and Humphrey VII stipulated that if Humphrey died without heirs the king would keep the family's Essex lands. See discussion below.

Humphrey VI was the first de Bohun to marry a woman of royal blood, paving the way for his son. He married Maud de Fiennes, daughter of Enguerrand de Fiennes and second cousin of queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I.<sup>84</sup> His marriage was arranged between his grandfather and the queen in June and July 1275, shortly before the Earl's death, despite the fact that Humphrey's wardship and marriage had been granted to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, when his father died in 1265.<sup>85</sup> To be free to marry, Humphrey had to promise de Clare one thousand pounds.<sup>86</sup> Under the terms of the marriage agreement negotiated by his grandfather, the queen gave Humphrey one thousand pounds, which she received from Maud's brother, William de Fiennes, and which presumably was used to pay Gilbert de Clare. In exchange, Humphrey VI dowered Maud with one third of his own lands and one third of his grandfather's lands. The couple also received the castle and manor of Hay jointly after Humphrey had restored it to the king.<sup>87</sup> It is not clear what Humphrey IV hoped to achieve through this marital arrangement, other than a distant alliance with the royal family. Perhaps he did not have much choice. The marriage may have been king Edward I's suggestion, designed to please his wife and keep the rebellious and powerful de Bohuns under close watch. Humphrey and Maud's son would go on to marry Edward's daughter, Elizabeth, thereby cementing the royal alliance and giving Edward I complete control of the de Bohun lands.

Despite Humphrey VI's attachment to Essex, he placed great importance on his lands in Wales. He spent most of his life at war in the Welsh marches, trying to ensure control of Brecon. This led to frequent clashes with neighbouring lords, sometimes forcing king Edward I to intervene, not always in the Earl's favour. Perhaps this explains why, at the end of his life, Humphrey VI joined sides with the

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<sup>84</sup> *CP*, vi, 466, n. (a). The marriage must have had a political element. Edmund Mortimer, lord of Wigmore (d. 1304), married in 1284 Margaret Fiennes, another member of the Fiennes family related to Eleanor of Castille. J. J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger (III) de, lord of Wigmore (1231-1282)', in *ODNB*, xxxix, 391-94 (p. 394).

<sup>85</sup> *CPR* 1258-66, p. 495.

<sup>86</sup> Scott L. Waugh, 'Bohun, Humphrey (VI) de, third earl of Hereford and eighth earl of Essex (c. 1249-1298)', in *ODNB*, vi, 443-44 (p. 443).

<sup>87</sup> *CCR*, II, 190-2.

king's marshal, Roger (VI) Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and opposed the king in his attempt to raise an army to march into Gascony. Once again, a de Bohun Earl dared to go against the king. Fortunately for Humphrey's heir, the crisis was resolved by the need to unite against the invading Scots, and Humphrey received a pardon before his death on 31 December 1298.<sup>88</sup>

Over 200 years after the first de Bohun landed in England, the family had transformed its prospects. The rewards of royal service had included marriage to the daughters and widows of powerful noblemen that, through a combination of luck and strategic alliances, allowed the de Bohuns to accumulate enormous wealth, titles and lands. It was not a straightforward path. From being lords in Wiltshire, their interests turned to Scotland, and later to Hereford and the Marches of Wales, before finally settling in Essex. Along the way, sons sometimes predeceased their fathers, but another de Bohun male heir stood ready to take their place. Several de Bohun men joined other powerful barons in rebellion against kings, not always with positive results. Yet the de Bohuns always recovered, and more often than not emerged unscathed. Through their upward trajectory, there is no doubt that they were successful in forming a powerful dynasty. By the time Humphrey VII de Bohun inherited his lands and titles in 1298, he owned a wide spread of lands in different counties and counted two important earldoms and the Constablership of England to his name. A mere glance at the inventory of some of his goods left at Walden Abbey serves as a striking reminder of the wealth and power his family had accumulated.<sup>89</sup> Yet it was not to last. Although Humphrey VII could never have predicted the demise of his house, it would only take two more generations to unravel all of the carefully woven threads that had led to the family's exalted status. Ironically, the end did not come with his treasonous death. Although it was a hard blow, the family recovered. Instead, it was that same age-old curse that had allowed the de Bohuns to prosper so successfully from the misfortunes of other families: the lack of male heirs.

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<sup>88</sup> Waugh, 'Bohun, Humphrey (VI)', p. 444. Humphrey's speech at a meeting between the king's representatives and the barons near London formed the basis for the barons' written Remonstrances against the king.

<sup>89</sup> The Inventory is discussed below. TNA, DL 25/29.

**b. 1298 - 1399**

Humphrey VI was succeeded by his son Humphrey VII (c. 1276-1322), who was about twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. On 16 February, 1298 the king took his homage and he inherited his father's lands in the counties of Essex (Saffron Walden, Quendon, Debden, Shenfield, Fobbing, Pleshey, High Easter and Great Waltham), Middlesex (Enfield), Hertfordshire (Stocke), Buckingham (Amersham), Huntingdonshire (Kimbolton), Wiltshire (Oaksey) and Gloucestershire (Wheatenhurst), as well as lands in Herefordshire (Huntington, Bromley, Kineton, La Hay and Weston and hundreds of Kingston and Tilington) and the Marches of Wales (castle of Caldicot, Brecon and manor of Newton).<sup>90</sup> Three years later, on 3 April, 1302, he entered into an agreement to marry Edward I's youngest daughter, Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), widow of the Count of Holland (d. 1299).

The marriage agreement was very favourable to the king and his daughter. Under the contract, Humphrey VII surrendered all of his lands and titles to the king, who then bestowed them upon Humphrey and Elizabeth to hold jointly in tail to the heirs of their bodies. If they failed to produce heirs, the lands in Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire, and the Constablership of England, would revert to the king after their death. The rest (the lands in Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales) could be disposed of according to the Earl's wishes.<sup>91</sup> Yet the Earl had most to gain. Royal patronage meant considerable additions to his already extensive lands. In April 1306 he was granted the lordship of Annandale in Scotland, forfeited from Robert de Bruce, and in July 1307 he received another of Bruce's forfeitures, the Essex

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<sup>90</sup> *CP*, VI, p. 467; *CIPM*, III, 424-26 (writ dated 7 January 1299); *CIM*, I, 508-10 (where lands in Wales and Herefordshire are estimated to be worth no less than 2000 marks per annum); Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 19.

<sup>91</sup> TNA, DL 25/3571 (Agreement whereby the King enfeoffed Humphrey VII and Elizabeth, jointly on their marriage, of all the Earl's lands); CChR, III, 33; *CP*, VI, 467; *CPR 1301-7*, p. 96; Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 183; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 19-20.

manors of Writtle, Hatfield, Baddow and Broomshaw.<sup>92</sup> In September 1317 the Earl was also granted the castle and land of Builth in Wales, forfeited from Llewellyn, prince of Wales.<sup>93</sup> If the Earl had no offspring, the marriage agreement would have meant the end of the de Bohun family line and the reversion of most of his lands and titles to the king.<sup>94</sup> However, if Humphrey VII and Elizabeth's union was fertile, as it turned out to be, the Earl could not only keep all his titles and lands, but his children would have royal blood, a fact that would prove particularly important after the Earl's forfeiture of his lands and titles for treason in 1322.

In the end, the union turned out to be very fertile. Humphrey and Elizabeth had ten children in thirteen years, resulting in four surviving sons (John, Humphrey, and twins Edward and William), and two surviving daughters (Eleanor and Margaret).<sup>95</sup> This ensured the survival of the de Bohun family into the next generation. Unfortunately, Humphrey and Elizabeth both died before their children attained their majority. Elizabeth died in childbirth in 1316, and the Earl was killed at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, when he sided with Thomas of Lancaster against Edward II and his favourites, the Despencers. Although he spent most of his life fighting with the king's forces in Scotland and Wales, the Earl often sided with the baronial movement against Edward II's favouritism and his financial policies. He was one of the most prominent lords ordainer elected in 1310 to draft the ordinances to 'ordain and establish the estate of the king's household and realm'.<sup>96</sup> In 1312 he was present and acquiesced to the execution of the king's favourite, Piers Gaveston. He was later pardoned, but the rise of the Despencers, and in particular the territorial ambitions of the young Despenser in

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<sup>92</sup> *CChR*, III, 66; *CPR 1330-34*, p. 368; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 19-20. Other privileges included a grant of free warren for the Earl and his heirs in his lands in Norfolk. *CChR*, III, 274.

<sup>93</sup> *CChR*, III, 367.

<sup>94</sup> In the year of Humphrey VII's marriage, 1302, Roger (V) Bigod, fifth earl of Norfolk (c.1245-1306), who had served as marshal of England with Humphrey's father and had no offspring, had surrendered his office and lands to Edward I on condition that they should be re-granted to him for life, and that he should receive an additional £1000 a year in land until his death. Michael Prestwich, "Bigod, Roger (IV), fifth earl of Norfolk (c.1245-1306)", in *ODNB*, v, 714-15 (p. 715).

<sup>95</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 135.

<sup>96</sup> J. S. Hamilton, 'Lords ordainer (act. 1310-1313), group of administrators commissioned in 1310 to reform the realm', in *ODNB*, xxxiv, 443-45 (p. 443).



the march of Wales, led the Earl to join other Marcher lords in the baronial movement against the king's favourites led by Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>97</sup> As a result of his alliance with Lancaster and his participation in the battle of Boroughbridge, the Earl was declared a rebel and a traitor and his lands and titles were forfeited to the crown. After his death, the fate of the de Bohun family rested with his brother-in-law, Edward II.

There is little information regarding the early fate of the de Bohun children after their father's death. John, Humphrey and Edward de Bohun were in the king's custody at Windsor on 24 March 1322, and surviving accounts indicate that they may have remained there for some time.<sup>98</sup> Certainly, both John and the de Bohun lands remained in the king's custody until 1 November 1326, when the lands were restored to John.<sup>99</sup>

Prior to his downfall, Humphrey VII had been one of the most important magnates of his time. His family had accumulated wealth and titles over two centuries, and his marriage to princess Elizabeth had been the crowning glory of the de Bohun family fortunes. Like many of his contemporaries, the Earl was aware of the importance of promoting and maintaining dynastic interests and he had made provisions for all his children during his lifetime and in his will. His wife's death in 1316 and his own tragic end seven years later, at a time when his children were still young, left his carefully laid plans in disarray. Yet his marriage to Elizabeth may have protected his children. Edward II seems not to have unduly interfered with their father's plans for their future. He eventually restored the Earl's eldest

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<sup>97</sup> J. S. Hamilton, 'Bohun, Humphrey (VII) de, fourth earl of Hereford and ninth earl of Essex (c. 1276-1322)', in *ODNB*, vi, 444-45. Despenser had been wed to Eleanor de Clare (d. 1337), eldest daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (d. 1295), and at his death he inherited in right of his wife a vast portion of the de Clare lands, mostly located in Wales. When he proceeded to try to obtain additional lands, in particular the lordship of Gower, Humphrey VII took the lead for the marcher lords against Despenser. Hamilton, 'Despenser, Hugh, the younger', p. 918.

<sup>98</sup> John, Edward and Humphrey remained in custody at least until 1324, along with Edmund and Roger Mortimer, and a fragmentary account survives for Humphrey and Edward for the year 1325-6. Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 165; TNA, E 101/378/16; E 101/379/10; E 101/382/23. Humphrey appears to have been granted a weekly allowance for life of 13s 4d. *CPR 1330-34*, p. 148.

<sup>99</sup> *CPR 1324-27*, pp. 345-46.

son and heir, John, to his lands and titles, and he also honoured Margaret de Bohun's marriage contract to Hugh de Courtenay. The only action that Edward II took with respect to the de Bohuns which is unlikely to have received approval from the Earl was the choice of bride for the Earl's son and heir. Sometime in 1325, the king arranged John's marriage to Alice, daughter of Edmund, earl of Arundel.<sup>100</sup> The choice of bride was meant to reconcile the de Bohuns to the king's cause, but Arundel had been one of Humphrey VII's principal enemies, gaining rich rewards in forfeited lands through his loyalty to the king. He would not have been either the Earl or John de Bohun's choice as a father in law.

Where Edward II did respect his sister Elizabeth's wishes was with regard to her daughter Margaret. Despite her young age at the time, in 1315 Margaret de Bohun had been promised in marriage to Hugh de Courtenay (1303-1377), son and heir of Hugh de Courtenay (1275-1340), by her parents and queen Margaret, widow of Edward I. Courtenay appears to have been a good prospect. His father had a claim to the earldom of Devon through his cousin, Isabel, countess of Aumale and Devon (1237-1260), and would be declared earl of Devon in February 1334.<sup>101</sup> Humphrey VII agreed to pay 1,000 marks for Margaret's marriage, and later made provision for this payment in his will. In exchange, Hugh's father agreed to bestow land worth 400 marks jointly on his son and daughter-in-law, to be held by her for life free of rent if she outlived her husband.<sup>102</sup> Edward II honoured this contract. Margaret was married on 11 August 1325.<sup>103</sup>

Matters were soon to take a dramatic turn, however. On 24 September 1326, prince Edward landed with his mother, queen Isabella, in England. By 1 February 1327, he had been proclaimed king in place of his father. Many of those who had

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<sup>100</sup> *CPR 1324-27*, p. 281. There was a papal dispensation on 22 February, 1325 for John to marry one of the daughters of Edmund Earl of Arundel. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow, eds, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Letters*, 14 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893-1960), II, 242; *CP*, VI, 471, n. (h).

<sup>101</sup> *CP*, IV, 323-4.

<sup>102</sup> TNA, DL 25/3571, DL 27/14; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 162; *CPR 1313-17*, p. 267.

<sup>103</sup> *CP*, IV, 324; *CCR 1327-30*, pp. 444-5.

profited from loyalty to Edward II paid the consequences. Hugh Despenser the elder was tried and sentenced to death on 27 October, 1326. The earl of Arundel was convicted of treason and beheaded a few weeks later, on 17 November, and Hugh Despenser the younger met a similar fate on 24 November 1326.<sup>104</sup> The de Bohuns found themselves once again on the winning side, and their position as cousins of Edward III would pave the road to the recovery of their family's fortunes.

In 1327, the eldest of the late Earl's daughters, Eleanor, was married to James Butler, and Queen Isabella seems to have intervened to support the marriage negotiations. James' father, Edmund Butler, earl of Carrick and justiciar of Ireland, had died in London in 1321, and James had been made a ward of Edward II.<sup>105</sup> He received his father's lands in England in 1325 and was given licence to marry the person of his choice in return for 2,000 marks, to be paid at the rate of £200 per year.<sup>106</sup> He was created earl of Ormond in 1328. His marriage to Eleanor may have been influenced by a grant of lands made to her by a relative, Joan de Bohun (d. 1327). Joan was the sister and heiress of Alan, lord Plugenet (d. 1325), and the second wife of Henry de Bohun (d. 1314), grandson of Humphrey IV (d. 1275) through his son John de Bohun, lord of Haresfield (d. 1292).<sup>107</sup> On 10 October 1327, just before her death, Joan received licence to enfeoff Eleanor de Bohun for life with the castle and manor of Kilpeck (valued at £20 13s. 6d.) and a tenement

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<sup>104</sup> J. S. Hamilton, 'Despenser, Hugh, the younger, first Lord Despenser (d. 1326)', in *ODNB*, xv, 916-18 (p. 918); C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Edmund, second earl of Arundel (1285-1326)', in *ODNB*, xix, 757-58 (p. 758); Hamilton, 'Despenser, Hugh, the elder, earl of Winchester (1261-1326)', in *ODNB*, xv, 914-16 (p. 915).

<sup>105</sup> Robin Frame, 'Butler, Edmund, earl of Carrick (d. 1321)', in *ODNB*, ix, 124; Robin Frame, 'Butler, James, first earl of Ormond (c. 1305-1338)', in *ODNB*, ix, 144-45 (p. 144).

<sup>106</sup> *CP*, x, 118; *CFR*, III, 367-8; *CPR 1324-27*, p. 203; *CPR 1327-30*, pp. 175, 181, 403; *CCR 1323-27*, p. 551; *CCR 1327-30*, pp. 444-5.

<sup>107</sup> Nicholas Vincent, 'Plugenet, Alan (II) de, first Lord Plugenet (d. 1298)', in *ODNB*, XLIV, 601-2 (p. 601). In October 1325, Joan received seisin of the lands of her brother, Alan Plugenet, in the counties of Somerset (manor of Haselbury), Dorset (manor of Kington), Wiltshire (manor of Langford), Southampton (manor of Meon Stoke and Tangle), Berkshire (East Ginch), Gloucester (manor of Syston), Herefordshire (Kilpeck and a tenement called 'Trivel'), and the bailiwick of the forestry of the Hay of Herefordshire, all subject to the third of the lands held in dower by her sister-in-law, Sybil Plugenet. *CCR 1323-27*, pp. 408-9.

in Herefordshire, as well as the bailiwick of the forestry of the king's Hay of Herefordshire.<sup>108</sup> Joan's motivations may not have been completely selfless. On 29 September, 1327, Queen Isabella requested a pardon for all of Joan's debts due at the exchequer by herself or her ancestors to be levied out of the lands inherited by Joan from her brother Alan 'in consideration of the affection which the said Joan has shown to Eleanor de Bohun, ... by enfeoffing the said Eleanor of lands which are of her own inheritance.'<sup>109</sup> This indicates that the Queen intervened to ensure Eleanor had a dowry.

As for the de Bohun boys, the process of restitution started by Edward II on 1 November, 1326 was continued by his son. On 10 January and 3 February, 1327 John de Bohun was granted the corn, goods and chattels in the castles, manors, lands and tenements taken from his father, as well as all farms, rents and profits from the time the lands were taken "towards repairing and restoring the said castles, manors, lands and tenements" because during their time in custody they had been "in divers ways destroyed and wasted".<sup>110</sup> In addition, various household and chapel furnishings, textiles and books were returned to him from the royal Privy Wardrobe on 5 February, 1327.<sup>111</sup> John was knighted with king Edward III on 1 February, 1327. His marriage to Alice Arundel was short lived and did not produce any heirs, but neither did his second marriage to Margaret,

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<sup>108</sup> *CPR 1327-30*, p. 181; *CCR 1323-27*, pp. 408-9. Joan died before 18 December of that year, when her lands were taken into the king's hands. *CFR*, IV, 74.

<sup>109</sup> *CPR 1327-30*, p. 175. In November 1327, Joan de Bohun included the king and queen, as well as the former Edward II, their ancestors and heirs, in masses to be held in exchange for an alienation of advowson and chapels made to the dean and chapter of St Ethelbert, Hereford. *CPR 1327-30*, pp. 15, 186. She died shortly thereafter and was buried in the Lady Chapel in Hereford Cathedral, where her monumental tomb survives. On her tomb, see John Merewether, 'Account of the Opening of the Coffin of Joanna de Bohun, in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral', *Archaeologia*, 32 (1847), 60-63; L. Gee, 'Fourteenth Century Tombs for Women in Herefordshire', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead (= *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, 15 (1995)), pp. 132-37.

<sup>110</sup> *CPR 1324-27*, pp. 345, 346; *CPR 1327-30*, p. 5; TNA, DL 10/247.

<sup>111</sup> *BL*, Add. MS 60584; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 165; Jenny Stratford, 'The Early Royal Collections and the Royal Library to 1461', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 6 vols, ed. Lotte Hellings and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999-2011), III, 255-73 (pp. 257-9).

daughter of Ralph, second lord Bassett. This may have been owing to a physical incapacity. On 26 October 1330, John was allowed to grant the office of Constable to his brother Edward because he was considered “too infirm to execute his office”.<sup>112</sup> Two months later he undertook a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>113</sup> He died four years later, on 20 January, 1335, when he was only twenty-nine years old.<sup>114</sup> His marriage to Margaret does not appear to have been particularly advantageous for a man of his position, and it is not clear why he chose her, but his lack of heirs was not a threat to his family lineage. He had two surviving brothers, Humphrey and William, ready to take his place.

John’s brother, Humphrey VIII (c. 1309-1361), inherited his brother’s lands. They included those held by their father, the manor of Downe in Middlesex (from John’s wife Margaret Drayton), and a few additional manors in Essex that may have been new grants or acquisitions.<sup>115</sup> Humphrey may also have suffered from some disability. He survived his brother John by twenty-six years, but he never married and on 12 June 1338, less than three years after he inherited the office of Constable along with the earldom, he surrendered the office to his younger brother William for life.<sup>116</sup> He is chiefly remembered for being the patron of one of the earliest surviving de Bohun manuscripts, as well as for his deeply religious beliefs, as reflected by his will and his patronage of the Augustinian friars.<sup>117</sup> William’s twin, Edward, had drowned a year before John died, in 1334, and had not left any heirs. This meant that by 1335, when Humphrey became earl, William probably knew that he or his heirs were likely to be next in line. For the next twenty-five years he would be a close friend and ally of Edward III and one of his

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<sup>112</sup> *CPR 1330-34*, p. 14. At the same time he retained his brother William for one year for 100 marks and the proceeds of certain manors. TNA, DL 27/304.

<sup>113</sup> *CPR 1330-34*, p. 24.

<sup>114</sup> *CP*, VI, 471.

<sup>115</sup> John’s inquisition post mortem shows lands in Buckinghamshire (manor of Amersham); Hertfordshire (manor of Northampsted); Middlesex (Enfield and Downe); Essex (Farnham, Dunmow, Fobbing, Quendon, Baddow, Debden, Hatfield, Broomshawbury, Walden, Great Waltham, Pleshey and Wittle); Huntingdonshire (Kimbolton); Wiltshire (Oaksey); Gloucestershire (Wheatenhurst); Marches of Wales (La Hay, Brecon, Huntingdon and Caldicot); and London (a tenement named Blanch Appleton and quit rent from certain other tenements). *CIPM*, VIII, 25-9.

<sup>116</sup> *CPR 1338-40*, pp. 91, 95.

<sup>117</sup> See Ch. 2, 4.

most trusted military commanders, accumulating lands and an earldom along the way. Yet he would also have to ensure the continuation of the family line, producing children and negotiating advantageous marriages for them. His choice of partner must have been a matter of careful consideration.

In 1335, William made an advantageous marriage, probably secured at least in part by his position in court and his blood ties to Edward III. He married Elizabeth Badlesmere (d. 1356), sister and future co-heir of Giles de Badlesmere (1314-1338). Her father had fought at Boroughbridge in 1322 with William's father, and was captured and executed after the battle. Despite this, his son Giles recovered the extensive family lands and would die a very wealthy man. Elizabeth was not yet an heiress at the time of her marriage to William, but her only brother Giles had been married for seven years and did not have any children.<sup>118</sup> Although Giles was a young man (he would die three years later aged 24), the circumstances made Elizabeth's odds of inheriting better than average. Elizabeth's more immediate value, however, came from being the widow of Edward (II) Mortimer (d. 1331). As such, she brought to the marriage her dower in the Mortimer estates, which included lands in Kent, Surrey, Rutland and Dorset. This ensured some additional wealth for William during her lifetime.<sup>119</sup> William and his brother Edward had both participated in the capture of Elizabeth's father-in-law, Roger (I) Mortimer (d. 1330), and the papal dispensation obtained for William and Elizabeth's marriage stated that the alliance had been arranged to heal the enmity between the two families.<sup>120</sup> However, it is also likely that marriage to Elizabeth was Edward III's reward to William for his service.

During his lifetime, William was rewarded for his service to the king with lands and an earldom. In 1332 he was granted a group of manors that had belonged to the earl of Norfolk.<sup>121</sup> In 1337 he received the earldom of Northampton and lands

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<sup>118</sup> *CP*, I, 372-73.

<sup>119</sup> *CIPM*, x, 523-40.

<sup>120</sup> W. M. Ormrod, 'Bohun, William de, first earl of Northampton (c. 1312-1360)', in *ODNB*, VI, 447-448; Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, II, 527-28.

<sup>121</sup> He received the manors of Hinton and Speen in Berkshire; Haseley, Ascot, Deddington, Pyrton and Kirtlington in Oxfordshire; Wycombe in

to support it.<sup>122</sup> Until the reversions fell in, he had an annuity of £1,000 from the Exchequer, but the grant stipulated that his heirs would return £500 of the £1000 if they received the earldoms of Hereford and Essex. In addition, William also purchased lands around the lordship of Brecon, as well as the lands of John de Neville of Essex, the last of his line.<sup>123</sup>

Despite William's successful military career and his close relationship with Edward III, his family's succession must never have been far from his mind. As the only remaining de Bohun male heir capable of producing children, he had the responsibility of continuing his ancient and distinguished lineage. By the time he married his wife Elizabeth, she was twenty-two years old and had already given birth to a boy from her previous marriage to Edward Mortimer. This was a good sign of her fertility. However, after her second marriage it would be seven years before she gave birth to another boy, appropriately named Humphrey, born on 24 March 1342. Her only other child before her death in 1356 would be a daughter, named Elizabeth (d. 1385), probably after her royal grandmother. Despite the fact that Humphrey and Elizabeth were the only possible de Bohun heirs, William did

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Buckinghamshire; Long Bennington in Lincolnshire; Kneesal in Nottinghamshire; Newnham in Gloucestershire; Wix in Essex, and £42 rent at Bosham in Sussex. *CFR*, IV, 323-24; *CPR 1330-34*, p. 333; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 22-3 and n. 1.

<sup>122</sup> The lands included the castle and manor of Oakham and shrievalty of Rutland; the castle and manor of Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire; the castle, manor and town of Stamford and the manor and town of Grantham, in Lincoln; and the manors of Eastwood and Riley and the honor of Riley and the hundred of Rochford, in Essex. *CIM*, II, 418-20; *CChR*, IV, 401; *CPR 1334-38*, pp. 416-17; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 23 and n. 2.

<sup>123</sup> This consisted of the reversion of the manors of Great and Little Wakering and other tenements in 1356, and the manors of Wethersfield, Little Hallingbury, Chignal, Langham, Peldon, Thorp, Great Fambridge and Totham, all in Essex. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 23. *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 6 vols (Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1910-1993), III (1949), 115, 120; *CPR 1370-74*, pp. 265-6; *CPR 1354-58*, p. 607. See also TNA, DL 41/410. Other lands which appear in William's Inquisition post mortem as lands to be inherited by his heir (as opposed to those being held for life owing to the minority of his stepson Roger Mortimer) include the manor of Kneesal in Nottinghamshire; the manor of Hinton, in Berkshire, the manors of Deddington, Haseley, Pyrton, Ascot, Kirtlington and Finmere, in Oxfordshire; the manor of Wix, in Essex; the manors of Elmsett and Ofton in Suffolk; the town of Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire; and an acre of land in the manor of Shifnal, in Shropshire. *CIPM*, x, 524-30.

not enter into early negotiations regarding either of their marriages. Instead he waited until 1359, three years after his wife's death and only a few months before his own death.<sup>124</sup> By that time, he was probably forty-seven years old and the question of succession could no longer be postponed. Humphrey needed a suitable bride whose father could protect his interests, and Elizabeth needed a husband who could carry forward the de Bohun family's fortune and titles in the event of her becoming an heiress. William opted for making a double alliance with the same family, and the choice fell on the Arundels.

Richard Fitzalan (II), third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c. 1313-1376), known as 'Copped Hat', was the son of Edmund Fitzalan, second earl of Arundel (1285-1326) and Alice, sister and heir of John de Warenne, seventh earl of Surrey (1286-1347). Edmund had been closely associated with Edward II during Humphrey VII's rebellion, and Richard's first marriage, in 1321, had been to Isabella, daughter of the king's favourite, Hugh Despenser the younger. They were both children at the time.<sup>125</sup> The king had later arranged the marriage of John de Bohun to Richard's sister Alice. When Hugh Despenser and Edmund Fitzalan were executed and their estates forfeited in 1326, Richard Fitzalan was left in a precarious position, not only disinherited but also married to a woman whose family was widely reviled. Richard left England, returning only after the death of Roger (V) Mortimer in 1330. He was able to reclaim his land and titles, and throughout his long life he proved to be a very able and loyal servant of Edward III, becoming extremely powerful and wealthy in the process.<sup>126</sup> His successful career gave him the royal and papal support necessary to dissolve his marriage to Isabella Despenser on the grounds of consent, twenty-four years after its occurrence and despite their three children. His new bride, Eleanor of Lancaster (1318-1372), was an enlightened choice and a symbol of how far the Arundel fortunes had been reversed. She was the great-granddaughter of Henry III,

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<sup>124</sup> TNA, DL 27/19; DL 27/20.

<sup>125</sup> They were later said to have been seven and eight, respectively. C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard (II), third earl of Arundel and eighth earl of Surrey (c. 1313-1376)', in *ODNB*, XIX, 768-69 (p. 768).

<sup>126</sup> It is estimated that at death, his moveable goods were worth approx. £70,000 and his estates were worth approx. £4500 p.a. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard (II)', p. 768.



daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster (1281-1345), and sister of Henry of Grosmont, first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-1361).

Richard married Eleanor in 1345, and they had three sons and four daughters. On 1 July 1359, an indenture was made between Richard and William de Bohun whereby Richard's eldest son and heir, another Richard (1346-1397), would marry Elizabeth de Bohun. By the same indenture, William's son and heir, Humphrey IX, would marry one of Richard's daughters, Joan Fitzalan.<sup>127</sup> A papal dispensation was obtained for both marriages in September 1359.<sup>128</sup> William de Bohun died a year later, on 16 September, 1360, so his timing was impeccable. His marriage arrangements seem to have been very advantageous to his children, but it is worth considering the reasons why the marriage was agreed by both parties.

William and Richard were of the same age, they were both part of Edward III's inner circle, and they had similar military and diplomatic careers. This must have brought them into close contact throughout their lives.<sup>129</sup> Their children were of similar ages.<sup>130</sup> They were both among the few surviving families whose earldoms could be traced to the century prior to Edward III's reign, although the de Bohuns were considered a more ancient family.<sup>131</sup> There weren't many other choices. Other magnate families to be considered were the de Vere earls of Oxford, an ancient family like the de Bohuns, the earls of Lancaster, and the Beauchamp earls of Warwick.<sup>132</sup> Richard Arundel had already married into the Lancaster family. His nieces, Blanche and Maud, co-heiresses of Henry of Grosmont, first duke of

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<sup>127</sup> TNA, DL 27/19; DL 27/20.

<sup>128</sup> *CP*, I, 244; *CP*, VI, 473 and n. (i).

<sup>129</sup> They both fought at the naval battle of Sluys in 1340 and the battle of Crécy in 1346, and they were both involved in diplomatic negotiations with Avignon in 1343. See Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard (II)'; Ormrod, 'Bohun, William de', p. 448.

<sup>130</sup> William's wife gave birth to Humphrey in 1342 and Richard's wife gave birth to their son Richard in 1346.

<sup>131</sup> The Fitzalans had received their earldom in 1291. *CP*, I, 241.

<sup>132</sup> In 1337 Edward III created six new earldoms: William de Montagu, earl of Salisbury; William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon; Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk; William de Bohun, earl of Northampton; Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby; and Hugh Audley, earl of Gloucester. In 1354 he restored Roger Mortimer to his grandfather's earldom of March. Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, pp. 35, 42.

Lancaster (1310-1361), were among the most sought after brides, but they may not have been available for Humphrey IX. Blanche was married to John of Gaunt in 1360, and Maud was married to the duke of Bavaria.<sup>133</sup> It is difficult to know the details of the marriage negotiations taking place among magnate families at the time of Arundel and Northampton's agreement in 1359. Each family had various factors to consider, including lands, money and descent, as well as the ages of their children and the line of descent, including the various possible heirs or heiresses in the next generation. What is clear, however, is that Richard and William had different priorities that led them to consider the double match desirable.

William's line of descent was threatened by the fact that there were only two children in the next generation of de Bohuns, only one of which was male. Their family line was ancient, his son would inherit three earldoms and a large amount of land, and the unusual amount of cash bequests in his brother Humphrey's will indicates the family also had considerable wealth.<sup>134</sup> Yet if his son were to die or failed to produce children, William's daughter would inherit everything. If his son only produced daughters (as would eventually be the case), then those daughters would have to carry on the family line. The double match with Arundel ensured that, should either of these scenarios occur, Arundel would be able to control and influence the outcome. Arundel, in this sense, was a good choice. He was extremely wealthy, powerful, and well connected both by his close relationship with Edward III and his marriage to Eleanor of Lancaster. Arundel's son was not the best choice in terms of carrying on the de Bohun family name, as he was already the heir to both the earldoms of Arundel and Warenne. However, this may have been a risk worth taking in exchange for the lineage of Arundel's daughter, Joan.

By 1359 Richard Arundel, for his part, would have been less concerned with ensuring a line of descent. He had no fewer than three sons. In addition, although

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<sup>133</sup> Maud had been betrothed to Ralph Stafford in 1344, when she was only a small child and not yet a co-heiress.

<sup>134</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of this will.

land and wealth accumulation was always foremost in any father's mind, his position as one of the wealthiest men of his generation allowed him to place greater emphasis on lineage. He had already done considerably well in this regard. Apart from his own marriage to Eleanor of Lancaster, he had inherited the ancient earldom of Surrey through his mother, Alice de Warenne. His agreement to the double match with the de Bohuns may have been motivated by the fact that he was making an excellent match for his daughter Joan, and that his descendants from both Richard and Joan would benefit from royal blood on both sides of the family. As a secondary consideration, his heir's bride was only one step away from inheriting a vast estate that, together with Arundel's, would have made Richard (III) Fitzalan one of the wealthiest and largest landholders of the realm. Even if she did not become an heiress, her dowry would provide for Richard's heir until he inherited his father's lands fourteen years later, in 1376.

William de Bohun died on 16 September, 1360, and his brother Humphrey VIII died a year later, on 15 October, 1361. Their heir was William's son, Humphrey IX, who was eighteen years old at the time of his father's death. His double inheritance made him the de Bohun heir with the most earldoms and lands, but he also inherited a significant amount of debt. In 1370 he was still paying off a debt of 2,300 marks due to John Neville's executors.<sup>135</sup> In addition, his will, written on 12 December, 1372, is notable for its brevity and lack of bequests. In it, he leaves all his goods and chattels to his executors to bury his body and to pay for all of his debts and those of his father.<sup>136</sup>

Humphrey IX (d. 1373) was the last direct male descendant of the de Bohun earls. After a short military career, he died at the age of thirty-one, leaving two daughters as co-heirs, Eleanor and Mary de Bohun. By April 1374, only one year after her father's death, Edward III had secured for his youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock (1355-1397), the marriage of Eleanor. Thomas was the seventh (but fifth surviving) son of Edward III. Like any younger son at the time, he was in

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<sup>135</sup> Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 23 and n. 10.

<sup>136</sup> The remainder of his goods and chattels were to be used for the good of his soul and the souls of those to whom he was beholden. *Reg. Whittlesey*, f. 127r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 57-8; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 638-9.

need of an heiress, and his father was in a unique position to provide one. On 10 June 1376 he received the hereditary office of Constable in right of his wife, and in August the king granted him £1,000 per annum from the de Bohun lands to maintain this estate. One year later, on 23 April 1377, he was knighted, and a few months later, on 16 July 1377, just before the coronation of Richard II, he was created earl of Buckingham. In June 1380, when Eleanor came of age, Thomas became earl of Essex and had livery of her purparty. He was also granted custody of her sister Mary's share during her minority, but this ceased on 10 February 1381, when Mary was married to Thomas' cousin, Henry of Derby, destined to become the future king Henry IV.<sup>137</sup>

The de Bohun family's rise to power conforms in many ways to the upward trajectory of other noble families in their period. In return for valuable service to the king, they received offices, lands and titles, often through arranged marriages to the daughters of powerful noblemen. Where they differ from others is in their longevity as a family and in the many fortunate instances in their history where they married non-heiresses who later became heiresses. This combination of factors allowed them to accumulate three earldoms, the hereditary Constablership of England and groups of lands across several different counties, making them one of the most powerful families of the fourteenth century. The failure of the male line after three centuries must have been a terrible blow to the members of the last two generations of the de Bohun family. They must have realised this was an increasingly likely possibility but were ultimately helpless to prevent it. Yet this was a fate common to all magnate families, and the de Bohuns could be proud of their longevity. By 1373 the only other magnate family who could trace their ancestors to the followers of William the Conqueror were the de Vere earls of Oxford. It had been a long, well traveled road, and they would not be easily forgotten.

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<sup>137</sup> Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 24.

## **B. Chivalric Symbols: the de Bohun Coat of Arms and the Swan**

Heraldry, defined as ‘the systematic use of hereditary devices centred upon the shield’, developed in England during the twelfth century. Originally used to identify the heavily armed knight, by the second quarter of the twelfth century shield designs had become hereditary, being used consistently to associate their owners with certain lands, titles and offices.<sup>138</sup> Coats of arms became the visual representation of a family’s identity and the most important symbol of a magnate’s lineage and power. A magnate’s coat of arms associated him with his ancestors and their noble deeds. It also provided a means for a family to continue being remembered in some form even in the absence of direct male heirs. The choice of heraldic symbols by each generation of a family must thus have been carefully considered, and probably evolved as a family gained power through titles and offices and entered into marriage allowances with other noble families. The de Bohun family provides a unique example of this, owing to their ancient lineage and their longevity. The earliest evidence of heraldry associated with the de Bohun family comes from a charter with the seal of Henry de Bohun (d. 1220), dated from the period from 1200-1220, when he was earl of Hereford. During the following two centuries the de Bohuns would undergo some changes to their arms. They also adopted certain symbols, most notably the swan, to associate their family with powerful ancestors, both real and legendary, in order to increase the family’s prestige, announce their ancient lineage, and ensure family memory.

### **a. The de Bohun Coat of Arms**

The coat of arms now generally associated with the de Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex is *azure*, a bend *argent* with cotises *or*, between 6 lioncels *or*. This is the coat of arms described in the rolls of arms dating from the reign of Edward I and in most surviving impressions of de Bohun seals.<sup>139</sup> In practice, the colour silver

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<sup>138</sup> Adrian Ailes, ‘Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: the Evidence’, in *England in the Twelfth Century, Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 1-16 (pp. 1-2).

<sup>139</sup> *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272-1307)*, ed. Gerard J. Brault, 2 vols (London: Boydell Press, 1997), i, 78, 89, 96, 152, 179, 205, 210, 213, 248, 406, 435, 465, 513,

was usually represented as white, and thus on most surviving depictions the central bend in the de Bohun coat of arms is white.<sup>140</sup> It is presumably for this reason that the banner of Humphrey VII (d. 1322) is described in what is believed to be one of the earliest rolls of arms, the Roll of Caerlaverock, composed in the year 1300, as “a banner of deep blue silk, with a white bend between two cottices of fine gold, on the outside of which he has six lioncels rampant”.<sup>141</sup> This coat of arms is the one that modern historians associate with the de Bohun family. It has been assumed that the blue field with the six gold lions was taken from the arms of William de Longespée, earl of Salisbury, owing to the marriage of Humphrey I (d. c. 1123) to Matilda of Salisbury.<sup>142</sup>

Yet it appears that the de Bohun coat of arms in its earliest version did not have a bend cotised, or perhaps even six lioncels rampant. The seal impression of a seal of Henry de Bohun (d. 1220) has survived in an undated charter most probably created around the year 1200. The design on the seal shows a knight on a horse facing right. His right hand holds a drawn sword facing upwards and his left holds a shield with a single bend and one lion rampant on either side.<sup>143</sup> This is the only instance in which the de Bohun arms are recorded with single lions rampant, and Nicholas Vincent has speculated that perhaps this is merely the result of the

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ii, 59-61. This coat of arms is also represented in a facsimile copy made about 1640 from a Roll of Arms painted and written about 1260, Society of Antiquaries, MS 664 I, f. 23, reproduced in Anthony Wagner, *Heraldry in England* (Harmondsworth, 1946; repr. 1949, 1951). The inscription below the coat of arms reads “c. de Hereford de azur a sis lionceus de or do une bende de argent a deus cotune de or”.

<sup>140</sup> Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 27.

<sup>141</sup> *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons, and Knights who Attended King Edward I to the Siege of Caerlaverock in 1300*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Wright (London: John Camden Hotten, 1864), p. 4.

<sup>142</sup> Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 132.

<sup>143</sup> N. Vincent, ‘Feature of the Month: April 2015 – A Magna Carta Relic in Pennsylvania: Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and the Heraldry of Runnymede’, The Magna Carta Project

[http://magnacartaresearch.org/read/feature\\_of\\_the\\_month/Apr\\_2015\\_2](http://magnacartaresearch.org/read/feature_of_the_month/Apr_2015_2) [accessed 25 April 2016]. The original charter is in Franklin and Marshall College in Pennsylvania. However, a copy was made by Sir William Dugdale in 1638 and photographs of the original are in the Gloucestershire Record Office. Gloucester, Gloucester Archives D3360/1.

engraver's inability to represent six lioncels in the very small space occupied by the shield.<sup>144</sup>

Mathew Paris' depiction of the coat of arms of Henry de Bohun, count of Hereford (d. 1220) in his 'Historia Anglorum', painted between 1250 and 1259, shows a single white bend between six lions rampant.<sup>145</sup> The arms of Henry's son, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), appear in Mathew Paris' 'Liber Additamentorum', painted in or before 1244, and also show one single bend between six lions rampant.<sup>146</sup> This is the earliest de Bohun coat of arms recorded in manuscript form.<sup>147</sup> A seal impression of a "Hunfridi de Buhun" dated 1238, presumably Humphrey IV, also depicts a shield of arms with a single bend between six lions rampant.<sup>148</sup> The arms of Humphrey IV's son, Humphrey V (d. 1265), appear in a seal impression dated 1260 belonging to "...unfridi de buun", and they contain a single bend charged with fleur-de-lis between six lions rampant.<sup>149</sup> However, other seals also associated with Humphrey IV and dated 1236 and 1259, respectively, show the better known arms with a bend cotised, as does the shield in a copy of a roll of arms compiled on or before 1253.<sup>150</sup> It would therefore be logical to assume that Humphrey IV's shield originally contained a coat of arms with a single bend and, later, this changed to a bend cotised. The reason for the change may have been the Earl's inheritance of the additional earldom of Essex in 1236.

To complicate things further, there are two objects associated with the de Bohun family that are currently held in private collections: a broadsword and a heraldic

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>145</sup> BL, Royal MS 14 C VII, f. 106; *Rolls of Arms Henry III c. 1244-59*, ed. Thomas Daniel Tremlett and Hugh Stanford (London: University Press, 1967), p. 19.

<sup>146</sup> BL, Cotton MS Nero D 1, f. 171v; Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, pp. 5, 38.

<sup>147</sup> Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, pp. 5, 6, 10.

<sup>148</sup> W.G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols., 1892), II, 518; Roger H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals of the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, 2 vols (London, 1981), II, 1396.

<sup>149</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518.

<sup>150</sup> *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. Lewis C. Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 223; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252; Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, pp. 91-2, 116; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13. See also TNA, DL 25/1642 (seal of Humphrey IV after 1236 with a single bend but not identifying him as earl).

device which may have been mounted to the pommel of a saddle. They are both inscribed with a coat of arms that has two adjoining bends between six lioncels.<sup>151</sup> The broadsword, with a blade dating to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, shows this coat of arms on a copper shield on both sides of a pommel added in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.<sup>152</sup> The heraldic device has a central stem bearing a pennant faced on each side with the de Bohun coat of arms showing a bend cotised. However, a flattened cushion-shaped moulding at the base of the central stem bears two protruding arms, from the end of each of which hangs a shield faced with the same arms that appear in the sword, that is, the de Bohun coat of arms with two adjoining bends instead of a bend cotised.<sup>153</sup> The date of these objects is not known, and this unusual coat of arms does not appear in historical records of any kind, suggesting that it either pre-dates the coat of arms of Henry de Bohun (d. 1220), or it was very short-lived.<sup>154</sup>

It is thought that the arms of the de Bohuns were compounded of the arms attributed to Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford (*gules*, two bends, one *or* and the other *argent*) and those of Longespée, Earl of Salisbury (*azure*, six lions rampant *or*).<sup>155</sup> If so, this may explain why the de Bohuns had an early coat of

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<sup>151</sup> Photographs of the items are reproduced in Appendix B.

<sup>152</sup> The sword has a 70.7 cm double-edged fullered blade dated to the mid-eleventh century with a runic inscription clearly visible within one fuller. Two other swords with the same inscription have been discovered: one was found in England and is held in a private British collection and the other was found in Finland and is held in the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki. *Christies' Catalogue* "Out of the Ordinary", p. 70. This last sword and two other similar swords dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries are discussed in Ian Peirce, *Swords of the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 134-37.

<sup>153</sup> *Christies' Catalogue*, pp. 70-71 (3 September 2014). These objects were displayed at Christies' in London as lots 134 and 135 of an auction in August 2014.

<sup>154</sup> *Christies' Catalogue* dates the objects to the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The coat of arms with two consecutive bends does not appear in relation to the de Bohuns in any of the following: *Dictionary of British Arms*, ed. T. Woodcock, 2 vols (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1996); Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*; *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272-1307)*, ed. Gerard J. Brault, 2 vols (London: Boydell Press, 1997). It is also possible that the items are not authentic, but if so there is no apparent reason why an unknown coat of arms would have been included to represent the de Bohun earls of Hereford.

<sup>155</sup> Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 132; Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms*, pp. 106, 107; Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, p. 55. However, there is no evidence to



arms with two adjoining bends. The two bends later associated with Miles of Gloucester may not have originally been adjoining bends, but rather two separate bends. A shield with two separate bends appears in Eleanor de Bohun's (d. 1399) brass in Westminster Abbey, and was also used by her husband Thomas of Woodstock.<sup>156</sup> This coat of arms may have been used by them as a symbol of the hereditary office of Constable of England, inherited by Miles from his father, who first acquired it around 1114, and later held by the de Bohun family for several generations. Thomas may have adopted Miles' coat of arms when he became Constable by right of his wife, or perhaps after he became duke of Gloucester.<sup>157</sup>

There is no record of the de Bohuns using Miles' coat of arms prior to Thomas and Eleanor's use, if indeed that is the origin of the coat of arms. However, if the bends originated in Miles' arms, real or imaginary, then the later distribution of his two bends to adjoin each other may simply have been a matter of practicality, as the six lioncels would have made two separate bends difficult to fit into a shield. It is not inconceivable that the de Bohuns originally had two adjoining bends in their coat of arms, and Humphrey I (d. 1123) or his son, Humphrey II (d. 1165), added either a lioncel *or* or three lioncels *or* on each side to indicate the honour of Trowbridge acquired from Humphrey I's marriage to Matilda of Salisbury and the blood ties to that house.<sup>158</sup> When Henry de Bohun (d. 1220) obtained the earldom of Hereford in 1200, he may have changed the double bend in their coat of arms to a single bend. This would explain why Henry had a de Bohun coat of arms showing one lion rampant on either side of a single bend.<sup>159</sup> If the single lions

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verify that Miles of Gloucester had a coat of arms, and it may have been invented by later generations.

<sup>156</sup> For a discussion of Eleanor's brass see Ch. 2; Thomas used the coat of arms in his seals, which are reproduced in Appendices H, I.

<sup>157</sup> Miles and his family styled themselves 'of Gloucester' until he was created earl of Hereford in 1141 after which they adopted the style 'of Hereford'. Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', pp. 1, 1 n. 2, 4.

<sup>158</sup> If this is the case then the coat of arms with two adjoining bends preceded the inheritance of the earldom of Hereford and would thus have no connection with Miles of Gloucester.

<sup>159</sup> This assumes that Vincent is wrong in assuming that the surviving seal of Henry de Bohun showing only one lion rampant on either side of a single bend does not represent his true coat of arms but was rather caused by lack of space on

represent his true coat of arms, then he most likely inherited them and changed them during his lifetime to six lioncels. Henry's son, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), the first de Bohun to have the two earldoms of Hereford and Essex, later changed the de Bohun coat of arms to a bend *argent* cotised *or*, perhaps in order to represent the two earldoms and to better fit the six lioncels in a triangular-shaped coat of arms.<sup>160</sup>

What is not clear is why the coat of arms with two adjoining bends was at some point displayed along with the better-known coat of arms with a bend cotised, as can be seen in the surviving heraldic device. The only plausible explanation is that the coat of arms with two adjoining bends was meant to honour the owner's de Bohun ancestors. The fact that the Viking broadsword, a symbolic and obviously valuable weapon, has the de Bohun coat of arms with two adjoining bends in its pommel, would indicate that the owner of this coat of arms was an important man in the family. Perhaps it belonged to an early de Bohun patriarch, and the sword was transmitted from generation to generation as a prized heirloom. The owner of the heraldic device may have been a later de Bohun earl who chose to include the sword's ancient coat of arms along with the new de Bohun coat of arms (with a bend cotised) as a mark of pride and respect for his lineage. The earl in question may have been Humphrey VII (c. 1276-1322), fourth earl of Hereford. The inventory of his goods left at Walden Abbey includes a description of four swords, 'lun des armes le dit Counte', presumably meaning a sword with a coat of arms on

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the seal's shield. If he is right, then the de Bohuns may have had six lioncels in their arms since the marriage of Humphrey I to Matilda of Salisbury.

<sup>160</sup> Another explanation could be that the bends were used as a mark of cadence. However, this is highly unlikely. The de Bohun men chose to difference their coat of arms by adding symbols to the bend. The seal of Edward de Bohun (d. 1334), dated 1328, had a lozenge charged with three leopards on the bend, Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13; a seal of Oliver de Bohun, dated 1334, had three escallops on the bend, Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 521; the coat of arms of William of Northampton, earl of Northampton (d. 1360) had three stars or "mulletts" on the bend. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 522. But see, Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 105, showing that in the De Mounteney family, whose arms were *Gules*, a bend between six martlets *Or*, one member of the family, Sir John, differenced his family's arms for cadency by bearing *Gules*, a bend cotised between six martlets *Or*.

its pommel.<sup>161</sup> This could be the Viking sword. Support for the theory that the heraldic device was created for this Earl comes from the fact that it includes the figure of a swan at its base. As far as we know, Humphrey VII was the first de Bohun earl to have adopted this figure as his family's badge.

## **b. The Swan**

The de Bohuns are now traditionally associated with the symbol of the swan as a badge and heraldic figure, and this may have been the gift of Humphrey VII (d. 1322) to his descendants. The earliest dateable evidence linking the de Bohuns to the swan appears in an impression of his seal made in 1301.<sup>162</sup> It shows an image of a resting swan above his coat of arms. The swan also appears in combination with leopards, presumably representing his wife's royal lineage, in an account of goods in the king's possession after the forfeiture of the Earl's goods in 1322.<sup>163</sup> In his will, written in 1319, the Earl bequeathed to his son and heir his two most precious possessions: his armour, and a bed of green powdered with white swans.<sup>164</sup> At Walden Abbey, where some of his most precious possessions were stored for safekeeping, he left "eighteen green tapestries and bench-covers powdered with swans".<sup>165</sup> The swan was meant as a powerful symbol identifying the de Bohun family as descendants of Godfrey de Bouillon, conqueror and first ruler of Jerusalem. Godfrey was said to be a direct descendant of the Swan Knight, a mythical warrior identified in a popular legend that probably originated in oral tradition before the twelfth century.

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<sup>161</sup> TNA, DL 25/29; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 349; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 169.

<sup>162</sup> TNA, DL 27/42. The seal is reproduced in Howard de Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals* (Trowbridge, 1903; repr. 1984), p. xxvii.

<sup>163</sup> The account of John de Flete, keeper of the Privy Wardrobe from 1324 to 1341, lists, among many other items, a "colponat" with gold leopards and silver swans, an alb and stole embroidered with gold leopards and silver swans, and other items combining the arms of Hereford and England. British Library, MS, 60584, ff. 4v, 19; partly transcribed in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, 166. These items were most likely forfeited by Humphrey VII.

<sup>164</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 432; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', pp. 168-70.

<sup>165</sup> TNA DL 25/29.

It is not known when the legend of the Swan Knight first appeared in writing, or what its exact origin is, but the available evidence points to the region now covered by Belgium. It appears in literature in many forms and most likely began as an oral tradition. The common theme of the stories features a knight on a boat driven by a swan, who rescues a noble lady, marries her on condition that she will never ask about his origins, and then has to leave when her curiosity gets the better of her. At some point after the first Crusade, the story of the Swan Knight became associated with Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine and one of the conquerors of Jerusalem in the year 1099, and this association appears to have been well established by the middle of the twelfth century, not long after his death. The earliest references to the legend date from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when William, archbishop of Tyre (d.b. 1197), wrote a history of the Crusades stating a majority of people believed that Godfrey of Bouillon was descended from the Knight of the Swan. This indicates that the story was already well known at the time. Internal evidence in the Tyre manuscript dates the writing to before 1173, so the legend must have been current much earlier than that date.<sup>166</sup>

What has come to be known as the 'Cycle of the Knight of the Swan' or 'the Cycle of Godfrey of Boulogne' consists of five different lays arising from the *chansons de geste*, which were all amalgamated from different sources and written at different times. They glorify Godfrey de Bouillon, beginning with the birth of his ancestor Helyas and ending with the capture of Jerusalem, although they were not originally composed in chronological order.<sup>167</sup> There are six manuscripts in the

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<sup>166</sup> Robert Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan, Lohengrin and Helyas* (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1910; repr. Memphis, TN: General Books, 2010), pp. 3-6. The author discusses other evidence placing knowledge of the legend in the twelfth century, including a letter written by Godfrey's brother Baldwin, a Latin prose work, Dolopathos, mentioning the legend, and a passage referring to the legend in a poem of the same century called La Chanson d'antioche.

<sup>167</sup> Henry G. Gibbs, *The Romance of the Chevelere Assigne* (London: Early English Text Society, 1868), pp. xix-xxi. The five different lays are: The Chanson d'Antioch, the Chanson de Jerusalem, the Lay of the Captives (Chetifs); the Lay of Helyas, and Les Enfances de Godeffroy. For all the different versions in existence associated with the Cycle see Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*, pp. 14-30; *The Old French Crusade Cycle: Le Chevalier au Cygne and La fin d'Elias*, ed. Jan A. Nelson, 9 vols (Alabama: University of Alabama, 1985), II. For different versions of the legend

libraries of Paris containing part or all of the Cycle in its poetic form, and they are all believed to date from around the thirteenth century. The only manuscript to bear a definite date (1268) contains all five lays in the Cycle, so we know that by that date all of the different divisions had been amalgamated.

British Library Royal 15 E VI, known as the 'Talbot Shrewsbury Book' and dated to 1444-1445, contains a version of the Cycle covering three divisions that reflect the later French versions of the poem.<sup>168</sup> It is from this version that the first surviving English translation of the poems, British Library Cotton Caligula A ii., originates.<sup>169</sup> The translation was made by Robert Copland at the instance of his patron, Edward Duke of Buckingham, in the early sixteenth century. The motive for this translation was obviously Edward's desire to memorialize his descent from Godfrey de Bouillon through his de Bohun blood, which shows how important the family's association with this crusading legend was even four generations after the death of the last de Bohun heir.<sup>170</sup>

The French version of the Swan Cycle in the Shrewsbury manuscript and Copland's English version differ in many ways, but they tell, in essence, a similar

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see Sabine Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (New York: Cosimo, 1894, repr. 2007), pp. 327-40.

<sup>168</sup> British Library, MS Royal 15 E VI. The manuscript was commissioned by John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1453), in Rouen as a wedding gift for Margaret of Anjou on her marriage to king Henry VI. It may not be a coincidence that Joan de Bohun (d. 1400), daughter of Eleanor de Bohun and Thomas of Woodstock, was probably married to the earl's eldest brother, Gilbert. Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 152. Their daughter, named after Gilbert and John's mother, Ankaret, is said to have died c. 1408.

<sup>169</sup> The English poem consists of 370 lines contained in BL Cotton MS Caligula A. 2, which professes to be taken from some other book and appears to be an epitome of the 1083 lines of the French poem in BL MS Royal Collection 15. E. vj. Gibbs, *The Romance of the Chevelere Assigne*, p. i.

<sup>170</sup> Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*, pp. 27-28. The translation was printed by Caxton's assistant and successor, Wynkyn de Worde, in 1512. It states, "Here begynneth the history of the noble Helyas knight of the swanne, newly translated out of frensshe into englysshe at thynstygacyon of the puyssaunt and illustrious Prynce lorde Ed-warde Duke of Buckyngham". According to Jaffray, only one copy of the book has been known to exist, in the private library of the late Robert Hoe, Esq. of New York. BL Cotton MS Caligula A. 2 is the only known copy of a reprint of the original made by William Copland (son of Robert).

story of a queen who has seven children born with silver chains. Her evil mother in law orders the babies to be murdered in the forest and has them replaced with seven puppies. Needless to say, the children are not killed but abandoned and raised by a hermit. One day they are discovered, but when their chains are removed they are transformed into swans. One child retains his chain and by order of an angel is christened Helyas and becomes the Swan Knight. He is the hero who eventually returns his siblings to their human form by recovering their chains. Unfortunately, one of the chains has been melted to form a cup, leaving one swan brother unable to return to his human form. This swan guides his brother Helyas in a boat to various adventures including, in the French version, the assault of a city of Saracens where Helyas and his brother swan are rescued by 30 galleys under the guidance of Saint George. Their adventures eventually lead to Helyas rescuing the duchess of Bouillon and marrying her daughter Beatrice, by whom he has a daughter Ydain, mother of Godfrey of Bouillon. In both versions of the story, Helyas leaves his wife Beatrice when she breaks the oath she made not to enquire about his origins. However, from this point the stories differ. In the early French version Helyas leaves with his brother the swan never to be seen again. The later English prose has more religious overtones. In it Helyas does not simply leave his wife and disappear with his swan brother, but returns to his mother and father. The swan brother, through a religious ceremony involving the consecration of the body of Christ, is returned to his proper form and is baptized Emery. Helyas then becomes a "Religious" at a convent founded by his father. In the French version of the story Godfrey of Bouillon conquers and is crowned king of Jerusalem, whereas the English version simply alludes to Godfrey's future conquest by an act of God.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Gibbs, *The Romance of the Chevelere Assigne*, pp. ii-v. The two oldest versions of the French manuscripts are different to the remaining, later ones. In the earlier versions Elyas passes into obscurity after he departs from his wife and daughter in the swan boat. In the later French versions Elyas returns to Lillefort, recovers the chain belonging to his sixth brother, thus restoring him to human form. He then builds a chateau exactly like his former one at Bouillon, founds an abbey and retires to the monastery. The abbot of the original Abbey of Saint Trond, near Liège, sees this castle upon his return from the Holy Land, finds Elyas, and reunites his wife and daughter with him, after which Elyas dies. Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*, p. 21. For a detailed discussion of the two earliest French poems see pp. 14-21.

This story had all the elements that the thirteenth and fourteenth century nobility held dear. A valorous knight chosen by God to fight evil powers and overcoming them with His help, and royal and noble blood mixing to bring forth a Christian king for Jerusalem. The story illustrates the religious implications of lineage and glorifies the Crusades and its brave knights, the flower of the nobility.

There can be little doubt that Humphrey VII (d. 1322) used the swan as a symbol to associate his family with the legend of the Swan Knight. He named his sixth son "Aeneas", the middle English version of the Swan Knight's name, Helyas.<sup>172</sup> The Earl had achieved in his life almost everything a man in his position could wish for, but he desired something more intangible. He wanted the family to be remembered. For this he chose a powerful symbol of chivalry and piety, a symbol that marked his family as ones favoured by God. He was not the first earl to borrow a name from legend to glorify his family with illustrious ancestors. In the thirteenth century William Beauchamp, first earl of Warwick (d. 1298), had named his eldest son Guy in order to associate his new comital house with the legendary Guy of Warwick.<sup>173</sup> In the twelfth century other families also seem to have commissioned literary works that associated their ancestors with crusading ideals.<sup>174</sup>

There has been much debate over not only when but also why the de Bohuns chose the swan badge. Little is known of the early de Bohuns, so it is difficult to establish whether their claim to descent from Godfrey de Bouillon was factual or a

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<sup>172</sup> Two pictorial rolls of John Rous, a Warwickshire antiquary, completed in the 1480s with the purpose of glorifying the Beauchamp family refer to the Knight of the Swan as Eneas. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (New York, 1982), II, 323-24. For the argument that Enyas was the middle English version of the name Helyas see Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years' War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 120.

<sup>173</sup> *The Beauchamp Pageant*, ed. Alexandra Sinclair (Donington, 2003), 14. The Beauchamps also claimed descent from the Swan Knight. See Wagner, 'Swan Badge'; Sinclair, *Beauchamp Pageant*.

<sup>174</sup> See Emma Mason, 'Fact and Fiction in the English crusading tradition: the earls of Warwick in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988), 81-95.

very clever use of symbolism by later generations to gain prestige through association with a legendary hero of the Crusades. Historians over the years have come up with diverse explanations for the origin of the swan badge, all related to distant and obscure marital alliances. One theory is that it originated as the rebus or device of a person bearing the Danish name of Sweyn or Suene whose descendants married into the Mandeville or Gloucester families, from whom the de Bohuns obtained their earldoms.<sup>175</sup> Another popular theory is that it derived from the Tony family, again through marriage. It is possible that the adoption of the swan badge was a result of the marriage of Alice de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey IV (d. 1275) with Roger de Toni (d. 1277).<sup>176</sup> The Tonis were an ancient Norman family that had long been committed to crusading.<sup>177</sup> Robert de Toni (d.s.p. 1309) displayed a swan in his seal and a legend reading “chevalier au cing”, and was referred to by the author of the Caerlaverock poem as the knight of the swan. He served in the Scottish wars and was one of the signatories of the barons’ letter to the Pope of 1301, along with Humphrey VII (d. 1322).<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> J.R. Planché, ‘Badges of the House of Lancaster’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 6 (1851), 374-393, (p. 384); Henry Gough, ‘The Swan of Buckingham’, in *Records of Buckinghamshire, or Papers and Notes on the History, Antiquities, and Architecture of the County* (Aylesbury, 1868), 249-70 (pp. 251-2); Wagner, ‘Swan Badge’, pp. 127-45; John Cherry, ‘The Dunstable Swan Jewel’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 32 (1969), 38-53.

<sup>176</sup> A marriage contract was entered into when Roger was aged 3. *CP*, XII, 1, 772, n. (h). The contract is printed in *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason, *Pipe Roll Society*, n.s. 43 (1980), p. 214. According to the *Chronicles of Llanthony Secunda*, the marriage took place. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135. A cancelled entry for this marriage contract appears in the calendar of fine rolls of Henry III, although it is not in the original entries. *Fine Rolls of Henry III*, C 60/36, 1238-9, m. 7/249, <[http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll\\_036.html](http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_036.html)> [accessed 20 July, 2016].

<sup>177</sup> Ralph de Toni II (b. c. 970) fought at the siege of Salerno, in Italy, in 1015. Roger de Tony I (d. c. 1039) fought against the infidels in Spain. Roger de Tony IV (d. c. 1208) and his brothers accompanied King Richard I to the Holy Land in 1191 and fought against the Saracens. Ralph de Tony VI (d. 1239) took the cross and journeyed to the Holy Land in 1239, dying that year at sea, presumably on his voyage there. *CP*, XII, 1, 754-55, 756-57, 766, 770-71.

<sup>178</sup> Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals*, p. 115. Robert’s seal also contains an eight point star, and an eight point star also appears in a seal of Humphrey IV (d. 1275), above his shield. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252; TNA, DL 27/11; A.R. Wagner, ‘The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight’,



Another possible connection between the de Bohuns and the Bouillon family may be found in the fact that some of the Mandeville lands in Essex were originally owned by Godfrey de Bouillon's father, Eustace II, count of Boulogne (d. c. 1087). Godfrey de Bouillon's mother was Ida (1038/1043-1113), daughter of Godefroi II, duke of Lower Lotharingia (d. 1000/1020-1069), known as "Barbatus". Godfrey de Bouillon inherited the title of duke of Lower Lorraine from his maternal uncle, another Godfrey.<sup>179</sup> His father was the brother in law of Edward the Confessor, through his first wife, Edward's sister Godfigu (or Goda; d. c. 1047). In 1066, Eustace II joined William of Normandy in the conquest of England, and after the conquest held lands in eleven counties in England, with the majority of his holdings in Essex.<sup>180</sup> One of these holdings may have been Pleshey Castle, which was later given to the Mandevilles.<sup>181</sup>

As already discussed in the previous chapter, the first Humphrey de Bohun to settle in England seems to have come from more humble origins and nothing indicates any blood links to Godfrey de Bouillon, other than perhaps his similar sounding name, highly unusual among English magnates. It appears most likely that the de Bohuns, who so cleverly combined military careers with successful marriages, adopted the swan and its associations with Godfrey de Bouillon later in the thirteenth century, either as a result of the first de Bohun earl of Hereford's marriage to the Mandeville heiress, Maud, or, more likely, that of Humphrey IV's daughter Alice to Roger de Tony.<sup>182</sup>

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*Archaeologia*, 97 (1959), 127-45, plate XXXVII(d),(k); Wright, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, p. 18.

<sup>179</sup> Charles Cawley, *Medieval Lands*, Foundation for Medieval Genealogy <[http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/LOTHARINGIA.htm#\\_Toc260754326](http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/LOTHARINGIA.htm#_Toc260754326)> [accessed 19 May 2013].

<sup>180</sup> Heather J. Tanner, 'Eustace (II) [Eustace aux Gernons], count of Boulogne (d. c. 1087)', in *ODNB*, xviii, 648-9.

<sup>181</sup> For a list of Eustace's holdings as described in Domesday book see Williams, *Domesday Book*, pp. 988-95; <<http://domesdaymap.co.uk/name/194900/count-eustace-of-boulogne/>> [accessed 19 May 2013].

<sup>182</sup> For a different view, see Anthony R. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959), 127-46 (p. 136), where the author states his belief that the de Bohuns could claim descent from Count Eustace through the

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marriage of Humphrey de Bohun in 1275 to Maud de Fiennes, daughter of Engerrand de Fiennes.

## Chapter 2

### The Definition of a Dynasty: Family and Identity

Any family that is to endure through time benefits from, indeed requires, a commitment by its members to be loyal to the family unit and uphold its values, its honour and its good name. This concept is essential to understanding noble medieval families. Achieving power and longevity required royal service, good marriages, and divine favour. However, once the family obtained titles and lands, it was the family unit that helped to preserve it. The longer a family endured and the greater its accumulation of titles and wealth, the more important the family unit became. Individuals often lived short lives. The men fought battles, looked after their landed interests, married as well as possible, and produced heirs. The women generally married, produced heirs, and looked after the family's interests by contributing to the children's education, managing the household, engaging in pious activities and, when they survived their husbands, ensuring family memory through will bequests of heirlooms and the creation of appropriate burial monuments. Yet men and women alike were limited by their mortality, and their individual contribution to the family could only grow and endure through the combined efforts of other family members to protect and uphold the family's values, and through the education and commitment of the next generation to the family's ever-greater glory. This was particularly important for women. Unlike men, they could not count on their military prowess or diplomatic skills to win favour or advance their social status. Their place in society was determined by birth or marriage and their marriage was often influenced by their family's social status. By the thirteenth century, this social status was largely associated with lineage. Ancient lineage made women, by virtue of their birth, established members of the elite, upper echelon of society, and thus desirable brides and mothers for their noble counterparts.

In *The Birth of Nobility*, Crouch asserts that by the thirteenth century perceptions of lineage had changed in English society. Men and women became more self-

conscious in their search for individual distinction, and this led to a greater awareness and pride in one's lineage.<sup>183</sup> In his study of the higher nobility in the later middle ages, R. R. Davies noted that the nobility was obsessed with its identity and continuity through time. The honour of the family and the depth and continuity of the family name were to be upheld and defended at all costs.<sup>184</sup> Nigel Saul has also noted that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nobility, a concept belonging to the whole family, came to replace knighthood as the most desirable quality to which men and women aspired, bringing with it an increased awareness of heredity.<sup>185</sup> In what he has termed the "Great Debate" between lineage and virtue as a source of nobility or gentility, lineage provided the very essence of a person's gentility simply by virtue of his or her blood.<sup>186</sup>

This raises the question of the main motivation behind the importance given by a noble family to its continuity through time. Preserving the family name and titles through male heirs and ensuring the family's inheritance from heir to heir, allowed wealth, particularly landed wealth, to accumulate. Wealth generated power, which in turn brought privilege and promoted self-preservation, and this, arguably, benefitted the entire family.<sup>187</sup> Yet the accumulation of wealth alone cannot have been the only or even perhaps the main motivation behind the importance given to a family's continuation. Landed wealth was not lost when a family failed in the male line. It was inherited by heiresses and became part of their husband's patrimony, most often making an already wealthy magnate even wealthier. Yet we can still see a desire in such situations to preserve the woman's

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<sup>183</sup> Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p. 123.

<sup>184</sup> Davies, *Lords & Lordship*, p. 28.

<sup>185</sup> Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 162.

<sup>186</sup> Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 172. The rival view was that the essence of true nobility was to be found in virtue alone. See pp. 172-77.

<sup>187</sup> This is a separate question that also merits consideration. Howard Bloch argues that in France families gave precedence to the marriage contracts of elder children to the exclusion of younger ones in order to preserve the family's wealth. R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 169. McFarlane, however, has argued that, in England, the greatest threat to a noble family's dispersal of wealth was parental love of younger children, which led to overly generous land or cash provisions which divided the family wealth. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, pp. 61-2.

family heritage, at least in the form of heraldry. The noble deeds and successful careers of a woman's ancestors were considered worth remembering and passing on.<sup>188</sup>

Instead, the importance given to a family's continuation through time must have been tied both to an individual desire to be remembered and to the concept of lineage as the association of a person's blood with a particular family's history. For individual family members, the continuity of family memory through time ensured they would not be forgotten, fulfilling a primeval desire to be remembered and live on through future generations that may be partly explained by the culture of intercession, but also by a basic survival instinct that has been common to all civilizations since time immemorial. For the family's descendants, the continuation of the family through family memory ensured their ability to boast of a particular lineage: that is, the family's illustrious and powerful ancestors, its titles, its wealth, and its many connections with other noble families through time.

If a family's continuation depended upon an uninterrupted, direct, male blood-line, then it was destined to fail. No family could endure eternally through time. The perpetual possibility of the premature death or entire lack of male heirs from one generation to the next meant that all families were fated to disappear within a few generations. If, however, a family could survive through family memory and the identification of future generations with a particular blood-line, then the essence of a family, its history or "lineage", could become eternal. This extended view of a family's survival was embraced as a life-line of last resort among the medieval

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<sup>188</sup> Christine Carpenter, in her study of Warwickshire landed society, found that, in the fifteenth century, male entails were not generally used to exclude daughters when the male relatives themselves were distant relations. This led her to conclude that families did not place great importance on the preservation of the family name, but rather in the heraldry, which "could indeed be regarded as the single most important source of memory of the lineage amongst the gentry". The same could probably be said about the nobility. Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 248-54. The best example of the use of a spouse's heraldry in the de Bohun family is Thomas of Woodstock's adoption of his wife's family's titles and heraldry, discussed below.

nobility. Rather than depend on blood alone, the use of a family's name and/or heraldry came to be associated with a family's prestigious history, announcing the individual's lineage and imbuing direct and indirect descendants along both paternal and maternal lines with all the honour and prestige associated with being a member of that family.

Multiple examples from families who failed in the male line indicate that, once they envisioned this as a probability, their main concern was to perpetuate the name and arms of the family. Aristocratic history is littered with examples of families whose last surviving patriarch entered into negotiations to ensure his family's continuance by finding a male relative willing to carry on the family name and heraldry in exchange for its titles and lands. In the absence of one, or where the heir was a magnate with a prestigious name and title of his own, even non-kinsmen could be eligible. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey (d. 1347), had a nephew and putative heir in Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1376). Yet he struck a bargain with king Edward III whereby if John had an heir he or she would marry a member of the royal family, but if John did not have an heir then the king should have all of Warenne's lands in Wales, Surrey and Sussex to be granted to one of the king's sons provided 'the name, honour and arms of Warenne' were retained.<sup>189</sup> In the case of the de Bohun family, the husbands of the two last co-heiresses, Eleanor and Mary, embraced their wives' heraldry, as discussed below.

The available evidence relating to the de Bohun family provides a valuable example of the way in which family members confronted the challenges of ensuring the family's survival and its continuity through time. First, the evidence of land grants, will bequests and religious foundations indicates that individual family members protected and took responsibility for the welfare of their parents, their children and, occasionally, their grandchildren in a vertical, direct line. When they were childless, as in the case of Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), nephews and nieces stood to benefit. Surviving administrative records also suggest that some de

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<sup>189</sup> Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, pp. 28-9. For a discussion of the tactics used to maintain the family's lineage and continuity through time in the absence of male heirs of the body, see Davies, *Lords and Lordship*, pp. 28-30; McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, pp. 74-6.

Bohun family members in the wider sense of the word had life-long relationships built on trust with the main branch of the family, particularly when these relatives from lateral branches of the family did not have children of their own. This lends support to the view that, in practical terms, there was a larger sense of family than that suggested by wills and foundation documents. Second, the evidence of seals and burial places demonstrates that most members of the family along wide vertical and horizontal lines identified themselves as de Bohuns and announced it through their heraldry with great pride. In this sense the definition of the de Bohun “family” was a broad term, encompassing not just parents, spouses and children, but also members of the family outside the direct line, as well as connections made through marriage alliances to other powerful families.<sup>190</sup> Finally, the existing evidence relating to the descendants of the last de Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex suggests that this wider sense of identity and pride of lineage demonstrated through the adoption of a family’s heraldic emblems could extend beyond a family’s failure in the male line. The husbands of Humphrey IX’s co-heiresses, Eleanor and Mary de Bohun, were proud to display their wives’ ancient lineage, and their children and grandchildren continued to adopt the family’s heraldry. This shows that, in the end, a dynasty could endure through time even without male heirs because of the great importance which society placed upon lineage.

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<sup>190</sup> For a discussion of the pluralistic sense of family among the Anglo-French nobility in eleventh and twelfth-century England see Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, Ch. 4, 5; David Crouch, ‘The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry 1050-1250’, in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 17-37.

## **A. Relationships and Responsibility within the Family Unit**

The surviving wills, religious foundation charters, and land grants associated with the de Bohun family indicate that family members were concerned with taking care of their immediate family, consisting of their parents, their spouse, and their children. With occasional exceptions, uncles and aunts, cousins, siblings, and their progeny received will bequests only when the testator had no offspring or when there was a particularly close relationship. This tendency to restrict the family to one's immediate relatives may have arisen from practical considerations, given the young age at which many men and women were married, the number of children they produced and, perhaps most importantly, the limitations on communication imposed by distance. In practical terms, noble men and women could only have established close relations with those physically present in their everyday lives, and this often did not include uncles and aunts, cousins, or even siblings. This is particularly true of noblewomen. In addition, medieval noble families tended to be large and highly interrelated. In such circumstances, each member may have seen his role in life as limited to the preservation and protection of that small part of the family for which he or she was directly responsible. The assumption may have been that other members would do the same and, together, this would ensure the preservation of the entire family unit. In addition, the testator would have undoubtedly been motivated by a desire to keep valued items within the close family circle in order to ensure the survival of those objects which embodied the earthly remains of the givers, and ensured eternal remembrance of the family as well as the testator's soul. Who else would care enough to remember them when they were long gone? This desire is made explicit in several wills.<sup>191</sup>

### **a. Land Grants and Will Bequests**

At a personal level, the evidence of land grants and will bequests indicates that it was more often than not the testator's parents, spouse, children, and occasionally siblings and grandchildren, who were considered worthy recipients of gifts, to the

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<sup>191</sup> This is further discussed in Chapter 4.



exclusion of other members of the family. In wills, children's spouses were occasionally included as legatees. When the testator was unmarried and did not have children, as in the case of the reclusive Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), nephews and nieces stood to benefit. This can be best appreciated by looking at Appendix C, which contains a table showing which relatives were recipients of bequests in each of the surviving de Bohun wills. The table shows that most of the testators made bequests to their children and closest relatives, although the actual recipients change slightly depending on the marital status of the testators and their age at the time of death. Thus Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391) and Joan Fitzalan, lady Bergavenny (d. 1435), both of whom lived to be old women, included their grandchildren but no siblings, whereas Elizabeth Badlesmere, countess of Northampton (d. 1356), who predeceased her husband William de Bohun, included both of her sisters.

The earliest record we have regarding de Bohun family gifts relates to gifts of land made by Humphrey IV (d. 1275). The Earl had at least three sons after the birth of his eldest son and heir, Humphrey V (d. 1265): Henry, John (d. c. 1291) and Miles. The boys were born from different mothers, since the Earl married twice.<sup>192</sup> Perhaps in part because of this, the Earl made provisions for his younger sons during his lifetime. On 2 February, 1266, King Henry III confirmed a charter in which the Earl bequeathed to his son Henry the castle and manor of Pleshey, as well as the manor of Enfield, specifying that if Henry died without heirs the manors should be inherited by the Earl's son John and if John died then they should be inherited by the Earl's son, Miles.<sup>193</sup> The Earl also gave his son Miles land in Waresley (Huntingdon) with a remainder to Miles' brother John.<sup>194</sup> The

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<sup>192</sup> According to the chronicles of the priory of Llanthony, Humphrey IV had a son and four daughters with his first wife, Maud de Lusignan, and another son with his second wife, Matilda of Avenbury. This second son was named John, and was lord of Haresfield. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135. Based on the Earl's land grants to his younger sons, discussed below, Miles was younger than John and must therefore also have been Matilda's son. It is unclear if Henry was born from the Earl's first or second marriage.

<sup>193</sup> *CPR 1258-66*, pp. 543-4.

<sup>194</sup> TNA, DL 25/19; TNA, DL 27/11. Presumably, the Earl also provided lands for John. John's inquisition post mortem in 1292 shows that he held the manors of Haresfield in Gloucestershire, Wilsford and Manningford in Wiltshire, and Gussage

Earl's eldest son and heir, Humphrey V, died during the Earl's lifetime leaving a son, the future Humphrey VI, as his heir, and thus the Earl was providing land for his younger sons at the expense of his grandson's inheritance. The Earl must have wanted to ensure an income for his sons, and this desire overrode the interest in keeping the entire estate intact from one generation to the next.

Two generations later, Humphrey VII (d. 1322) showed a similar parental concern to provide for his younger children, although in his case most of the bequests were not land grants but cash. In his will, dated 11 August, 1319, the Earl bequeathed to his eldest surviving son and heir, John, what must have been two of his most treasured possessions, namely "toutz mes armures et un lit entire de vert poudre de Cynes blanches ove toutes les apurtenances".<sup>195</sup> In the early fourteenth century's chivalrous culture, the Earl's armour would have been deeply significant, as well as valuable. It would have included the armour left at Walden abbey, including a hauberk named "Bohoun", surcoats and shoulder-plates with the Earl's arms and four swords, "lun des armes le dit Counte. lautre de Seint George et le tierce Sarziney. le quarte de Guerre".<sup>196</sup> The green bed with the de Bohun swans was deeply symbolic and is most likely the "eighteen green tapestries and bench-covers powdered with swans" mentioned in the Walden inventory along with some of the family's most precious possessions.<sup>197</sup> The Earl bequeathed £2000 to each of his younger sons: Humphrey, Edward, William and Eneas, in order to buy lands or marriages or to use in any other way that might be profitable to them according to his executors.<sup>198</sup> This was not the only gift the Earl gave to his

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St Michael in Dorset from the earl of Hereford. *CIPM 1291-1300*, pp. 1-15. A document dated 1274/75 and sealed with the seal of Humphrey IV, records a grant to his son John of the service of one Walter Helyoun for tenements held of Humphrey. TNA, DL 27/320.

<sup>195</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 424, 432-33.

<sup>196</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 349; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 169.

<sup>197</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 432; Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', pp. 168-70. For a discussion of this bed, see below.

<sup>198</sup> TNA DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 316; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 424. The will stated that the money was to come from debts owed to him from the king and the count of Holland and that if the amounts received

children. In 1315, the Earl had granted land and two manors to his son William, and it is possible that he made other land grants to his sons and the records have not survived.<sup>199</sup> The Earl also made will bequests meant for the care of his daughters. Eleanor received £200 for her marriage apparel and Margaret received 200 marks for hers. Margaret's marriage to Hugh Courtenay's eldest son and heir had already been negotiated, and the Earl bequeathed 1000 marks owed to Courtenay under the marriage contract.<sup>200</sup> The Earl made an additional bequest in his will to his 'sister', Maud de Baskerville, of £40 for her marriage, indicating that he had a close enough relationship with her to merit the gift.<sup>201</sup>

Humphrey VII's second surviving son, the unmarried and childless Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), left will bequests to both of his sisters, one of his two brothers-in-law, two nieces and one nephew (his heir Humphrey). At the time of his death he had no surviving brothers, but he had multiple nephews and nieces by his sisters Margaret and Eleanor, so he must have had a relationship with the ones that he included in his will. Humphrey and Elizabeth, the children of William de Bohun, were both left symbolic heirlooms. Humphrey, soon to be the de Bohun heir, inherited "une noche d'or environne de grosses perles ove un ruby en my lieu assys entre qarte perles, troiz diamaunz entre troiz perles et troiz emerandes, et une paire de Paternostres d'or de cinquante pieces ove les gaudez q'rrez et ovez

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amounted to more than £8000, the additional amount received was to be divided among the Earl's four sons.

<sup>199</sup> The Earl granted William the reversion of a messuage, 140 acres of land, 4 acres of meadows and 20 s. of rent in Tilbrook, Dean and Pertenhall, and the manor of Hardwick (Bedfordshire), as well as the manor of Swineshead (Huntingdonshire) with the advowson of the church of that manor. TNA, DL 10/218; *CPR 1313-17*, p. 278.

<sup>200</sup> TNA DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 424.

<sup>201</sup> TNA DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 347; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 425. The marriage referred to was most likely Maud's second marriage, as she would have been at least in her twenties and her surname indicates a previous marriage to a member of the Baskerville family, lords of Eardisley, in Herefordshire. The family had been in Herefordshire since 1086. It is not clear whether Maud was a legitimate or illegitimate child. Her name indicates legitimacy, as Humphrey VII's mother was also named Maud. However, the Baskerville family, although ancient, was not of magnate status. See Brock Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society 1087-1265* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 93-7.

une croiz d'or enquele est une piece de la veroie croz n're seignour".<sup>202</sup> Elizabeth inherited a bed depicting the arms of England (to represent her grandmother Elizabeth Plantagenet), together with canopy, curtains and ten pieces of tapestry.<sup>203</sup> Humphrey's niece, Catherine d'Engayne, daughter of his sister Margaret, received £40.<sup>204</sup> Catherine was married to Sir Thomas d'Engaine, and is likely to have resided in Huntingdonshire.<sup>205</sup> This relative geographical closeness to Pleshey castle may be the reason for her relationship with her uncle.<sup>206</sup>

The Earl also remembered his two sisters. He bequeathed to his elder sister Eleanor two silver pots, twelve dishes and twelve silver saucers. To his sister Margaret he left items that had more personal meaning: a green bed with red roses with all its apparel, a chaplet with sapphires and large pearls, and a basin where he was accustomed to washing his head, that had belonged to their mother.<sup>207</sup> The basin is particularly symbolic since its value rested on having been used by both Humphrey and their mother. The Earl bequeathed to Margaret's husband, Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon, a large sapphire stone. This gift, along with the gifts to Margaret and her daughter Catherine, indicates that Humphrey VIII probably had a close relationship with Margaret and her husband.<sup>208</sup> In fact, although the evidence is scarce, it is likely that Humphrey VIII, his brother William, earl of Northampton, and their brother-in-law, Hugh de Courtenay, had a relationship of trust and mutual aid. William was Humphrey's only surviving

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<sup>202</sup> *Reg Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 50-1. Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 635. Translated to English it reads "a gold clasp surrounded with large pearls, having a ruby in the midst set between four pearls, three diamonds between three pearls and three emeralds, and a pair of gold paternosters of fifty pieces with square rosary beads and with a gold cross in which is a piece of the true cross of our Lord".

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 635.

<sup>205</sup> See Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 466-7.

<sup>206</sup> A Sir John d'Engaine was a close associate of Humphrey's brother and Catherine's uncle, William of Northampton. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 70, 75, 124. He is one of the few people mentioned in William's foundation chantry that is not related to him. See discussion below.

<sup>207</sup> *Reg Islip* f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 51; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 635. A chaplet was a string of 55 beads, one third of the length of a rosary, for counting prayers.

<sup>208</sup> *Reg Islip*, f. 179r; Bigelow, 'Bohun wills', II, 635.

brother and the father of the sole de Bohun heir. The earl of Devon enjoyed the same social status as his brothers-in-law and was of a similar age. He was part of the group of young noblemen that supported Edward III and, like William and Humphrey, took part in many of the same military campaigns to Scotland and Brittany during his reign.<sup>209</sup> In February 1347, William was at the siege of Calais with his nephew, the earl of Devon's eldest son Hugh Courtenay "junior", petitioning the king to excuse the earl of Devon from going on campaign abroad and from personal attendance to parliament and councils due to infirmity.<sup>210</sup> Two years later, William succeeded his nephew in the seventh stall (on the sovereign's side) of the order of the Garter.<sup>211</sup>

Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391), lived a very long life, dying at the age of about 80 years. She had at least six sons and five daughters, and outlived several of them. Her grandson by her third son, Edward Courtenay, inherited the earldom from his grandfather, Margaret's husband, Hugh Courtenay (d. 1377).<sup>212</sup> Margaret's will reflects her long life. She included gifts to no fewer than fifty-two people outside her family, among them priests, friends and household servants. Within her family, she left gifts to her three surviving sons: William, Philip and Peter; her daughters: Margaret, Elizabeth, Catherine and Anne; one of her sons-in-law, Margaret's husband John Lord Cobham; her grandson, the earl of Devon, and his wife; one granddaughter, Margaret Courtenay, daughter of her son Philip; one great-grandson, Hugh, second son of the earl of Devon; and one great-granddaughter, Margaret Drayton.<sup>213</sup> She also left bequests to Sir Hugh Luttrell,

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<sup>209</sup> He was in Scotland in 1333/4 at the same time as William and in Brittany in 1342 with Humphrey and William, the later having been appointed the king's lieutenant there. In 1356/7 Courtenay was again in Brittany on the king's special service. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 184-5, 639; W. M. Ormrod, *ODNB*, 'Bohun, William de'.

<sup>210</sup> *CPR 1345-48*, p. 528.

<sup>211</sup> Hugh Courtenay "junior" was one of the youngest founding members of the Order of the Garter and died before his father on or before 1349. George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, From its Foundation to the Present Time* (London: Pickering, 1841; repr. Forgotten Books, 2012), pp. 51-4.

<sup>212</sup> CP, IV, 324-5.

<sup>213</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1. Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641-2. She refers to the earl of Devon as her son, and to his son Hugh as "filiol".

most likely her grandson by her daughter Elizabeth, and Richard Courtenay, a minor and therefore probably a great-grandson.<sup>214</sup>

Margaret included all of her children in her will, but she did not include all of her living relatives. This indicates that those included, aside from her children, were members of the family with whom she had a special relationship or to whom she felt a duty of responsibility. The youngest members of her family included in her will received monetary bequests or plate. Her granddaughter Margaret Courtenay received 100 marks for her marriage, and her great-granddaughter Margaret Drayton received £20 for her marriage, as well as an additional £10. Richard Courtenay received silver vessels valued at £100, provided he lived to become an adult. Her great-grandson Hugh, second son of the earl of Devon, aged one at the time Margaret made her will, received six dishes and six saucers.<sup>215</sup> No bequests were made to his elder brother Edward, presumably because he was the family heir. The only other member of the family who received a bequest was her grandson Sir Hugh Luttrell (c. 1364-1428). He received six silver dishes and saucers, a fairly impersonal gift that nonetheless implies a special relationship. Luttrell was close to his maternal uncles and after Margaret's death he would go on to have a very successful career as a soldier, courtier and diplomat. By 1390, at the time of Margaret's impending death, he was a retainer of John of Gaunt and he would later transfer that loyalty to Anne of Bohemia and Richard II.<sup>216</sup>

Margaret's gifts to her children consisted of various heirlooms, books, furnishings and religious items.<sup>217</sup> The bequests for each child varied in size and value, but it

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<sup>214</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1. Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641-2. Margaret requested that Richard Courtenay's bequest of silver vessels valued at £100 be put in the care of her son William, archbishop of Canterbury and overseer of her will, until Richard come of age.

<sup>215</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1. Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641-42; CP, IV, 326.

<sup>216</sup> J. S. Roskell, L. Clark, C. Rawcliffe, eds, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1993) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/luttrell-sir-hugh-1364-1428>> [accessed 26 January 2016]. His uncle William, archbishop of Canterbury, left him 100 marks in his will. In 1400 he sailed to Calais with his uncle Peter, who was captain of the garrison there.

<sup>217</sup> The religious items are discussed in Ch. 4.

is not possible to know if this reflects her relationship with them. Thus her daughter Margaret Cobham received only £40, whereas her daughter Elizabeth received £40, two tablets and a book entitled 'Tristram'; her daughter Catherine was forgiven £40 in debt and bequeathed three books (two primers and a romance entitled 'Arthur of Britain'); and her daughter Anne received £20 and a ring with a diamond which Anne herself had previously given her mother.<sup>218</sup> Margaret's three living sons all received symbolic heirlooms, both secular and religious, including for each one a pair of silver basins enamelled with the family's heraldry, either the arms of Courtenay or the quartered arms of Hereford and Courtenay. Her eldest son and heir also received all her swans in the town of Topsham and twelve dishes and twelve saucers of silver and two silver chargers. Her son William, Archbishop of Canterbury, received "a gilt chalice and my missal, which I had from Sir William Weston, and my best bed with all the apparel which he may wish to choose, and my diamond which I had from Joan my daughter and 40 marks for a vestment and a silver goblet ['godet'] which I had from my brother of Northampton".<sup>219</sup> The goblet must have been given to her by her brother William before his death thirty years earlier and clearly had sentimental value as an heirloom. The bed was to remain in Canterbury Cathedral Priory after William's death.

Margaret's son Philip received all of the contents of Margaret's chapel, a silver cup which had belonged to the bishop of Exeter, and a special heirloom, her personal crucifix, which she had "carried for her worship", with instructions that it should pass to his son Richard upon Philip's death.<sup>220</sup> In addition, all of her sons received specific household furnishings. William was bequeathed Margaret's best bed with all the apparel that he might wish to choose. Philip received all the apparel at the family manors of Thurlestone, Yelton and Broadwindsor. Peter received the apparel at the manor of East Coker, as well as his mother's red and green striped

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<sup>218</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1. Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641-2.

<sup>219</sup> TNA, Prob/11/1; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641. The original will states "et moun lit melior ove tout lappareil qil voit eslire et mon dyamant qi javoye de Johane ma fille/ \_l [first letter illegible] mavez pour un vestment et un godet dargent q javoye de moun frere de Northampton". This is further evidence that Margaret and her brother William had a close relationship. See discussion below.

<sup>220</sup> TNA Prob/11/1; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 641-42.

bed, a Holland quilt striped with peacock's feathers and red velvet, a pair of linen sheets, and his mother's best coverlet of miniver. Finally, some of her children's spouses received token gifts. John Lord Cobham, married to Margaret, received a silver cup with an eagle. He must have been a figure of importance in the countess' life, as she made him overseer of her will together with her son William. The countess of Devon received £20, half of the amount Margaret gave to her own daughters.<sup>221</sup>

Margaret survived all of her brothers and sisters and was alive when her brother William's son and heir, Humphrey IX (d. 1373) married Joan Fitzalan (d. 1419) and when their two daughters, Eleanor and Mary, became co-heiresses of the de Bohun estates in 1373. She continued to live during most of Mary and Eleanor's lives. However, she did not remember them or their powerful husbands in her will. This may be because she did not have a close relationship with them, but it is most likely that she also simply did not feel responsible for them. All of her legatees were members of her immediate family; people for whom she felt responsible, like her grandchildren, or to whom she wished to leave particular heirlooms to remember her and her family through time, as exemplified by the gifts to her children.

Eleanor de Bohun, countess of Essex and later Duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399), made her will nine years after her great-aunt Margaret. By then, all of her paternal aunts and uncles had died, but she had several nieces and nephews from her sister Mary, as well as first cousins born from her uncle and aunt, Richard and Elizabeth, earl and countess of Arundel, both related to her by blood. None of them were remembered in her will. Eleanor's only legatees were her mother Joan and her four children: Humphrey, Anne, Joan and Elizabeth. They all received symbolic heirlooms, both religious and secular, and her children also received practical household items, educational books, and valuable plate. Her son and heir Humphrey received two beds together with mattresses, linen sheets and other

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<sup>221</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 641. Margaret's daughter Anne also received £20, but this was presumably because she was also bequeathed a diamond ring, which was a more valuable gift than the books and tablets given to her sisters.



bedding apparel; a cup made of beryl with a gold foot and cover, engraved and with a long sapphire on its handle; and four secular books, including a French poem of the 'historie de chivaler a cigne' (the story of the Swan Knight), and a Chronicle of France with two silver clasps enamelled with the arms of the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>222</sup> The poem was obviously meant as a reminder of the family's crusading links and ancient lineage and is one of the best examples of Eleanor's efforts to ensure the survival of the family's identity and memory. Most poignantly, however, Eleanor also bequeathed to her son family heirlooms including her personal crucifix, "un habergeon ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son pierre" and "un psalter bien & richement enlumines ove les claspes d'or enamailes, ove cignes blank & les armes de mon seigneur & pierre enamailes sur les claspes, & utres barres d'or sur les tissues en maner des molets, quell psautier me fuist lesses de remeindre a mes heirs & ainsy de heir en heir avauntdit".<sup>223</sup> Eleanor's grandfather, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 1360), had three mullets on the bend of his de Bohun coat of arms, to differentiate him as a younger son and to represent the earldom of Northampton. It may be significant that the arms of Northampton were on the book's fabric cover, and not on the clasps next to the de Bohun arms, indicating they may have been added at a different time. Perhaps this psalter was given to Eleanor's father, Humphrey IX (d. 1373) by his uncle Humphrey VIII, the sixth earl of Hereford (d. 1361), and he added the arms inherited from his father William de Bohun.

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<sup>222</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, ff. 163r, 163v; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 646-7; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 180-1. The other two books were Giles of Rome's "de regimine principum" (on the Rule of Princes) and a book of vices and virtues. They were most likely bequeathed because of their instructive and educational themes.

<sup>223</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 181; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills' II, p. 647. Translated to English it reads, "a coat of mail having a cross of brass marked on the spot against the heart" (Bigelow translates 'encontre' as 'opposite') and "a psalter well and richly illuminated, with gold clasps enamelled with white swans, and the arms of my lord and father enamelled on the clasps, and other bars of gold on the fabric in the form of mullets, which psalter was given to me to remain to my heirs, and so 'from heir to heir aforesaid'" (Bigelow's translation omits the words "on the fabric", which must refer to the fabric covering of the book).

Eleanor's mother Joan received a pair of coral paternosters. Her daughter Anne received an embroidered item of linen; a beautiful illuminated book entitled 'The Golden Legend'; a pair of paternosters that had belonged to her father Thomas; and her mother's best palfrey.<sup>224</sup> Joan received jewels; a silver gilt cup; various items of silver plate including twelve dishes, twelve saucers, two quart pots, twelve silver spoons, a flat basin, a ewer and six additional pieces; and three valuable beds (made of silk, cloth of gold of Cyprus and white tartaryn, respectively) with linen sheets, mattresses, fustians and blankets. Isabella, a nun at the Minoresses without Aldgate, received one bed of cloth of gold of Cyprus; several religious books, including a French Bible in two volumes with gold clasps enamelled with the arms of France; and £40.<sup>225</sup>

Generational bequests to heirs were not unique to the de Bohuns. Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun and her two siblings, one of whom was Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1397), were bequeathed coronets by their father on the condition that they keep it during their lives and then leave it to their heir "and so to remain from heir to heir".<sup>226</sup> Joan's will does not survive, but since she outlived all her children her heirs would presumably have been her eldest surviving granddaughter by Eleanor, Anne of Woodstock, or her eldest surviving grandson by Mary, the future Henry V. We know that her brother Richard fulfilled the conditions of his bequest. In his will, dated March 4, 1392, he specifically requested that "les couroune, bible en deux volumes, et un pair decretalx en fraunceis, et un grand paire de pater nostres d'or, ove un grand fermaille d'or, ovesqu' certaines autres joalx et reliques, contenez deinz un petit forcell de blanc lienz d'argent, oves des liouns massez enorrez, queux mon dit treshonure seignur

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<sup>224</sup> The will refers to the item of linen as an 'espiner', and Bigelow translates it as an apron. *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 648; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 182. Anne's gifts are less valuable than her sisters' but this may be owing to the fact that she had already been married at the time Eleanor made her will.

<sup>225</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, ff. 163v; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 648; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 182-3.

<sup>226</sup> *Reg. Sudbury*, f. 92; Nicolas, Nicholas Harris, *Testamenta Vetusta: being Illustrations from Wills of Manners, Customs, & c. As Well As Of The Descents and Possessions Of Many Distinguished Families From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols (London: Nichols and Son, 1826), I, 96.

et piere, qi Dieux assoile, devisa a moy et a mes heirs après mon deces, a demorer perpetuelment de heir en heir seignures d'Arundell en remembraunce de luy et de s'alme".<sup>227</sup> Only the coronet is mentioned in his father's will, so the rest of the objects must have been the subject of a personal arrangement made prior to his father's death.

Yet perhaps the most striking bequest in this regard comes from the will of Richard Fitzalan's daughter and Eleanor's maternal cousin, Joan Beauchamp, Lady Bergavenny (d. 1435). Joan was a formidable widow for over twenty years, and her only son, Richard, earl of Worcester, predeceased her in 1422, leaving a daughter as his heir. One of Joan's two daughters, another Joan, had married James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond (d. 1452), and had three sons and two daughters by him. The Earl was a de Bohun descendant, being the great-grandson of Eleanor de Bohun, countess of Ormonde (d. 1363). In her will, Joan Beauchamp grants her eldest grandson James, heir to the earldom of Ormond, "a bed of gold of swans, with tapetter of green tapestry with branches and flowers of divers colours, and two pair sheets of Raynes, a pair of fustians, six pair of other sheets, six pair of blankets, six matrasses, six pillows, and with cushions and banncoves that longen to the bed aforesaid, with all my stuff at Bergavenny [i.e. Abergavenny, Gwent], 'a pane of monyvere,' with all my armour in England and Wales".<sup>228</sup> At the time, James was a child, and therefore provision was made for the goods to be kept by her executors until he was twenty years of age. However, she also provided that if

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<sup>227</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 183; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 139-40. Translated to English, it reads, "the coronet, bible in two volumes, and a pair of decretals in French, and a large pair of gold pater nosters, with a large gold chain, with certain other jewels and reliques, contained in a small strong box of white [lienz] of/by silve, with massive lions gilt, which my said honored lord and father, on whom God have mercy, devised to me and my heirs after my death, to remain forever from heir to heir Lords of Arundel, in remembrance of him and of his soul". See also, Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 133. His niece Eleanor de Bohun received a bequest of "un petit table d'or de troisfoilles, ove un crucifix dedeins, et la coronacioun en la summite" (a small table of gold of three leaves with a crucifix within and the coronation at the top), the manifest motivation being expressed as "en remembraunce de moy, et qe ele vuile estre bien-voillant a mes ditz executours" (in remembrance of me, and that she may be well disposed towards my said executors). Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 134; See also, Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 134.

<sup>228</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, I, f. 455; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 226-27.

James should die “without issue of his body lawfully begotten” before the age of twenty, then the goods should be delivered to his brother John under the same conditions. Finally, if John should die before the age of twenty, then his brother Thomas was to “have [the same goods] to the same wise that John should have it”, and if that also failed, then the goods were to be sold. This bed in particular must have had some special value, for Joan’s long and detailed will went on to bequeath other beds and goods, including cash, to John and Thomas Ormond, and horses to all three brothers, without any conditions attached. Presumably it did not matter if these other possessions were never inherited and went on to be sold or disposed of. The swan bed, however, had to be given a better chance of staying in the family. Even more interesting is the fact that Joan did not include the brothers’ sisters, Anne and Elizabeth, as a final link in the inheritance chain of this particular bequest. Neither did she give it to her own son’s daughter. This fact, perhaps more than any other, indicates the particular value of the bed as a de Bohun heirloom. Joan clearly wanted to keep it within the male line, so it would survive into other generations. Perhaps Joan considered that giving it to a granddaughter would take away the heirloom value, as it would pass out of the family into that of her husband’s. In that case, it seems it was better to sell the bed to the highest bidder. A less romantic view, however, is that the bed was simply too valuable to be wasted on a granddaughter. A bed described as “of gold” in the inventory of the goods of Thomas Woodstock at Pleshey castle was valued at £182 3s.<sup>229</sup>

The swan bed’s provenance is an important question in determining its heirloom value and may explain why it was singled out in Joan’s will. It may have been a new bed commissioned by Joan to commemorate her mother’s family, but it seems more likely that it was inherited from her mother, since Joan placed such great value on it. Perhaps it is unlikely that it is the same bed mentioned in her great-grandfather’s will and in the Walden inventory, but they are all remarkably similar in description.<sup>230</sup> That bed was willed to Humphrey VII’s heir, John de Bohun (d.

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<sup>229</sup> E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, ‘Inventory of the Goods and Chattels, p. 289.

<sup>230</sup> As discussed above, Humphrey VII bequeathed to his son and heir, John, his entire green bed powdered with white swans. In addition, eighteen green tapestries and bench-covers powdered with swans appear in the inventory of goods at Walden Abbey that were forfeited to the crown.

1335), but since it was forfeited it is not clear if he ever received it. The only surviving record of goods belonging to Humphrey VII returned to his son John is in the account of John Flete, first keeper of the Privy Wardrobe from 1324 to 1341. Unfortunately, the description of goods returned to John is general and does not contain the details present in the surviving de Bohun wills and inventories. The only items returned to John that bear any resemblance to the “xviiij tapites et banquers de vert poudreez de cygnes” described in the Walden Inventory are some fabric covers described among other bed linens and furnishings at the beginning of the list as “De tapetis. lvij . De Banquers xiiij”.<sup>231</sup> If the swan bed coverings were returned to John and had then passed from heir to heir they would have eventually found their way to William of Northampton, John’s brother and Joan Beauchamp’s maternal grandfather, to be kept for the next heir, Joan’s uncle and Eleanor’s father Humphrey IX, seventh earl of Hereford (d. 1373). It is conceivable that William may have bequeathed them instead to his only daughter and Joan’s mother, Elizabeth de Bohun, but it is impossible to know.

All of the above bequests demonstrate a concern for keeping certain heirlooms in the family. These are, generally speaking, things of great value, such as Arundel’s coronets, various jewels, and the de Bohun swan bed. Among the bequests, however, there were also other personal objects that symbolized the family and its ancestry. As discussed above, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), bequeathed a bed with the arms of England (his mother Elizabeth being Edward I’s daughter). It is only necessary to take a brief look at Thomas of Woodstock’s inventory to realize the large number and variety of beds owned by the nobility, most of which, to judge from this inventory, did not depict the family badges or coats of arms.<sup>232</sup> It may only be a coincidence, but it is also interesting that the two beds bequeathed by Eleanor to her son and heir were “un lit de noir drap de damask” and “un lit de soy

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<sup>231</sup> Privy Wardrobe Account of John Fleet, British Library, Add MS 60584, f. 11v; TNA, DL 25/29.

<sup>232</sup> The inventory includes 16 beds of gold and silk and 8 beds of worsted. Dillon and Hope, ‘Inventory of Goods and Chattels’, pp. 289-291.

de baudekyn le champ blu, ove overaignes de blanc".<sup>233</sup> As already mentioned, Thomas' colours were red and black, and the de Bohun colours were blue and white.

Apart from the beds, there is other evidence of the importance of family emblems. Eleanor's book bequests to her heir included a 'chevalier au cygne' (a book about the Swan Knight), the de Bohun family legend, but also a psalter specifically designated as an heirloom to be passed down the generations, with clasps containing swans, the arms of her father, and those of her grandfather. This must have been a treasured object, and yet it is noteworthy that Eleanor did not provide for the psalter to be given to anyone else should her son die. In most wills, the testator would presume that the objects would pass on to the heir's own heirs, in this case his sisters. However, Eleanor specifically provides that "si en ensi soit qe aucun de mes dites enfants desviont devant moy, ou devant q'ils soient de la age an apres ma trespassement, qe touz lez biens qe les ay devisez demure a l'ordenance de mes executours come mes autres biens propres, de faire pur eux & pur moy apres lour bon avys & discrecion, si noun lez xl lib. et seinture qe jay devise a ma file Isabelle, veule qe remeigne a l'abbesse & eglise de soers menouresses devant dites".<sup>234</sup> Eleanor wrote her will on 9 August, 1399 at Pleshey Castle, and died 3 October, 1399. She must have been deathly ill for the two month period in between. Her son died on 5 September, but Eleanor did not change her will.<sup>235</sup> Even when she was writing the will she must have foreseen the possibility of her son's death, and yet knowing that her son was unmarried and that she and Mary were the last of the de Bohuns, she did not provide an alternative recipient for the psalter or any other heirloom, the most obvious of

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<sup>233</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 180-81; *Bohun Wills*, II, 646. Translated, they are described as "a bed of black cloth damask" and "a bed of silk baldachin, the field blue, with white embroidery".

<sup>234</sup> "if it should happen that any of my said children should die before me, or before they are of age a year after my death, that all the goods which I have bequeathed to them remain at the orders of my executors like my other personal goods, to do for themselves and for me according to their good advice and discretion, except the £40 and the girdle I have bequeathed to my daughter Isabella, I wish to remain with the Abbess and Church of Sister Minouresses aforesaid", Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 184; *Bohun Wills*, II, 649.

<sup>235</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 141. He was buried at Walden Abbey.

whom would have been any of her daughters or, in the male line, her nephew by her sister Mary, the future Henry V. As the eldest de Bohun daughter in an almost extinct family line, Eleanor's duty and her manifest willingness to carry on the de Bohun family name did not extend to her grandson Humphrey Stafford or her nephew Henry of Lancaster. Perhaps the thought of her son's death, after her husband and uncle's executions, was more than she could bear, and she preferred to leave the future of the family in the hands of her executors.<sup>236</sup>

## **b. Foundation Charters**

When looking at the question of which family members individuals felt responsible for, religious foundation charters also contribute some important clues. Prayers were considered essential to the well-being of individuals both in life and after death. They also formed an important part of family memory. Founders paying for prayers would have taken great care in deciding who was to be prayed for and commemorated, and this provides an insight into which family members they loved and felt responsible for. It might be argued that the choice was formulaic, in that society mores seem to have required one's parents, siblings and progeny to be remembered; nonetheless, it is still interesting to note whether there are any additions to or omissions from this. The fact that it involved some personal thought on the part of the founders is evident from the inclusion of individuals who were not directly related by blood, and must have been special in some other way. One would expect any relatives with a personal relationship to the founder to have been included as well. Two foundation charters survive in relation to the de Bohuns: one relates to a chantry at Walden Abbey, founded by William de Bohun, earl of Northampton in 1342; the second one is the foundation charter for Thomas of Woodstock and Eleanor de Bohun's college at Pleshey,

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<sup>236</sup> Humphrey died on his way back to England from Ireland, and thus there is a possibility that Eleanor never found out about her son's death or the news came too late for her to have the capacity to change her will. A history of the founders and benefactors of Walden Abbey states the date of his death (5 September) and that he was buried at Walden Abbey, but not the date of his burial. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

founded in 1395.<sup>237</sup> The provisions for prayers in them indicate a desire to protect the founders' immediate surrounding family, which included siblings as well as parents, children and grandchildren.

William's foundation ordinance for his chantry records an extensive list of beneficiaries to be commemorated during their lives and after their deaths, starting with Edward III, his maternal cousin. The list names William and his wife Elizabeth, followed by their son and heir, Humphrey. Next is William's brother Humphrey VIII, earl of Hereford and Essex (d. 1361), and their cousin, Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare (d. 1360), followed by William's sisters, Eleanor and Margaret. After these family members, two men outside the family are mentioned: William's close associate, Sir John d'Engaine, and the canon of Lincoln, Master Simon Islip. The dead to be remembered are William's parents, and his dead brothers and sisters. Prayers were also provided for Thomas de Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and earl Marshal (d. 1338); Henry de Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln (d. 1340); John de Bohun, clerk; Sir Roger de Clifford (d. 1322); and finally his wife's parents Bartholomew and Margaret de Badlesmere.<sup>238</sup>

Elizabeth de Burgh was William's maternal cousin and they had a close relationship that lasted throughout their lives. Her surviving household accounts demonstrate that they exchanged gifts and often visited each other.<sup>239</sup> Thomas de

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<sup>237</sup> For William's charter see TNA DL 26/56 and British Library, Harley MS 3697, ff. 258r-259r. For Thomas' charter see TNA, DL 41/425 (confirmation by Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, of the statutes of the College of Pleshey made on 20 February 1395). Thomas' charter is transcribed in Gough, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>238</sup> BL, Harley MS 3697, ff. 258r-259r; Jennifer Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 168.

<sup>239</sup> William received a grey palfrey from Elizabeth in 1340 and sent her a gift in 1352; he received letters from her at his manor of Rochford in June, 1340, and his wife received letters from Elizabeth in May of that year; in July 1340 the countess of Northampton probably visited Elizabeth as Elizabeth's accounts show that she provided tallow and a quart of honey for her palfrey. See Jennifer Ward, *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare*, ed. and trans., Suffolk Record Society, 57 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 25, 49, 61, 76, 88. Elizabeth visited William's manor of Rochford in August 1344. TNA, E101/92/24. She was at Saffron Walden on 13 July 1347. TNA, E101/92/30. William visited the manors of Clare or Bardfield, where Elizabeth resided, on 2-4 and 20 December, 1343 and 5-6 May and 30 July-



Brotherton, earl of Norfolk (d. 1338), was William's maternal uncle, Henry de Burghersh was William's nephew, and John de Bohun was most likely William's grandfather Humphrey VI's cousin.<sup>240</sup> Thomas, Henry and John were probably included because they had a close relationship with William, as they were certainly not the only members of the extended de Bohun family who had died during his lifetime. Thomas and Henry had both lived through the reign of Edward II and been part of the same conflict in which William's father, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), lost his life.<sup>241</sup> They both became part of Edward III's close circle of trusted soldiers and administrators, and in this capacity they most likely developed a closer relationship with William than other lateral family members.<sup>242</sup> However, they both died when William was still a young man in his

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1 August 1344. His wife visited Elizabeth alone twice in 1343 and once in 1344. TNA, E101/92/24. William visited Elizabeth twice in 1350, on 21 May and 8 September, and again on 8 September 1351. TNA, E101/93/4, 9. William visited Elizabeth in London on 17-18 July 1356. TNA, E101/93/18. In 1357-8 William made two visits to Bardfield, on 27 December and 11-12 March, and three visits to London on 30 June, 29 July and 29 August. TNA, E101/93/20. This information was provided by Jennifer Ward who very kindly shared with me her findings from Elizabeth's accounts regarding the relationship between William and Elizabeth de Burgh. The inventory of goods of Humphrey VII at Walden shows that as a small child William owned basins with escutcheons of England and Ulster. The most likely reason for this is that they were a gift from Elizabeth de Burgh, who was married to the son and heir of the earl of Ulster from 1308-1313. Ward, 'Clare, Elizabeth de', in *ODNB*, XI, 743-45 (pp. 743-44). Elizabeth's son, also named William, was the same age, and it is possible that she was one of William's godmothers. He may have stayed with her after his father's death, as there is no record to indicate he was at the tower of London with his brothers.

<sup>240</sup> Thomas de Brotherton was the eldest child of Edward I with his second wife, Margaret of France. Henry de Burghersh was the son of Maud Badlesmere, sister of Sir Bartholomew Badlesmere, William's father-in-law. See Nicholas Benett, 'Burghersh, Henry (c.1290-1340), bishop of Lincoln', *ODNB*, VIII, 800-802 (p. 800). John de Bohun, clerk (d. 1328) was the son of John de Bohun of Haresfield (d. 1292), who was the son of Humphrey IV (d. 1275) and his second wife, Maud of Avenbury. See discussion below.

<sup>241</sup> Thomas had tried to arrange negotiations with the earl of Hereford on behalf of the king in March 1321, although the attempt failed. Scott L. Waugh, 'Thomas of Brotherton, first earl of Norfolk (1300-1338), magnate', *ODNB*, LIV, 274-77 (p. 275). Henry de Burghersh's brother and uncle were allies of Humphrey VII and Thomas of Lancaster, and Henry's uncle was seized and executed, leading to Henry's fall from favor with Edward II. See Bennett, 'Burghersh, Henry', p. 801

<sup>242</sup> In 1332 William had obtained a group of manors that belonged to Thomas de Brotherton after the king had re-granted them to Thomas on the condition that on

twenties. The connection with his father Humphrey VII may thus have been an important reason for William's desire to include them in his chantry. He must have known them from an early age. This conclusion is supported by the fact that one of the three people mentioned as beneficiaries of William's chantry who was not related by blood, Roger de Clifford, was an ally of Humphrey VII who fought at Boroughbridge and, like the Earl, was imprisoned and executed soon afterwards.<sup>243</sup> One additional connection between William de Bohun, Thomas Brotherton and Elizabeth de Burgh was their common interests as lords of the Welsh marches.<sup>244</sup>

The only other de Bohun religious foundation whose statutes are known relate to the college of Pleshey, founded by Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397) and his wife, Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399) in 1395. The statutes contain 27 articles.<sup>245</sup> They begin with a general statement mentioning the family and friends for whose souls Thomas wished to make provision, namely: his nephew, king Richard II; his brothers John, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399) and Edmund, duke of York (d. 1402); his wife's father's cousin, William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury; his wife's uncle, Thomas Arundel (d. 1414), archbishop of York (1388-96); Robert Braybrook, bishop of London (d. 1404); his wife's uncle, Richard, earl of Arundel (d. 1397); Thomas, earl of Warwick (d. 1401); his mother-in-law Joan, countess of Hereford (d. 1419); Elizabeth, lady Despenser; Joan of Brittany, lady Basset; John, lord Cobham; Richard le Scrop, knight; Sir John Harleston; Sir George Felbrigg; Thomas de Ferriby, his clerk and counsellor; Eleanor, his dearest consort; their present and future children; friends; and benefactors. Among the dead are mentioned: Thomas' father Edward III; his mother Phillipa; his father in law

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his death they would pass to William. Waugh, "Thomas of Brotherton", p. 276; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>243</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 339.

<sup>244</sup> One example of this is a petition made in 1335 by Thomas de Brotherton, Henry earl of Lancaster, John de Bohun, earl of Hereford, John de Mowbray, Elizabeth de Burgh, William de Montagu and Hugh Audley as lords of the March requesting that the tenants who committed offenses in their Marcher lands be tried by the Marcher lords in their own courts and not by others outside their territory in Gloucestershire and other counties. TNA, SC 8/123/6141; SC 8/123/6140. See also TNA, SC 8/12/562; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 91.

<sup>245</sup> TNA, DL 41/425.

Humphrey IX (d. 1373); his sister in law Mary, countess of Derby (d. 1394); his dead ancestors, friends and benefactors; and the men who went with Thomas to France and Brittany between 18 July 1380 and 2 May 1381.

The 22<sup>nd</sup> article of the statutes prescribes the dates on which the foundation's beneficiaries should be commemorated every year. The list begins with the names of specific people to be commemorated after their death on the same day as the anniversaries of Thomas and Eleanor's deaths. They include Thomas' parents, Edward III and his wife Phillipa; Richard II; Robert Braybrook, bishop of London; Eleanor's parents, Humphrey IX and his wife Joan; Sir John Harleston, Thomas de Ferriby and Agnes de la Marche. This specific list of names ends with Thomas and Eleanor. The three people mentioned who were not family members must have been included as particularly close friends and/or valued members of Thomas and Eleanor's household since everyone else mentioned specifically in the preamble to the statutes is no longer mentioned and instead falls into general categories of people who are each assigned particular dates to be commemorated as a group.<sup>246</sup> This includes a commemoration on 7 February for brothers, sisters, children of both genders, cousins, relations and progenitors; on 19 September for all of Thomas' friends and benefactors; on 22 October for his servants and those to whom he was bound; and on the last day of May for members of a fraternity called "of May" which Thomas belonged to in his youth. Finally, the statute mentions the

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<sup>246</sup> John Harleston was a knight and distinguished soldier who was one of Thomas' captains in France, Brittany and Essex (1380-1); Ferriby was one of Thomas' principal officials. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 98-100. Agnes de la Marche may have been a beloved nanny or servant of Thomas' from childhood. An entry made on 9 May 1370 in the issue roll of Thomas de Brantingham, bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer shows a payment of £15 to Agnes de la Marche. The entry states, "to Agnes de la Marche, to whom the lord the king, by his letters patent, lately granted 10 l. yearly, to be received at the exchequer during her life, for the good service rendered by her, as well to the same Lord the king as to Edmund Langeley, the king's son . . .". Edmund was only a few years older than Thomas. *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer of England, containing payments made out of his majesty's revenue in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of King Edward III A.D. 1370*, ed. Frederick Devon (London: John Rodwell, 1835), p. 97.

anniversary on 26 August of the masters, wardens, priests, clerks, servants and benefactors of the college.<sup>247</sup>

The family members specifically mentioned in Pleshey's statutes include parents, siblings and children, providing further evidence of the fact that the definition of family, in terms of who one was responsible for and needed to protect or commemorate, revolved around a vertical, direct line of succession. Where cousins, uncles, aunts or more distant relatives were mentioned in the statutes other than in general categories of ancestors and relatives, it is clear that this was not just due to their status as family members but because their titles or occupations brought them into close proximity with the founder. This is obviously the case of Thomas Arundel, Richard Arundel and William Courtenay. Thomas and Richard Arundel were close friends and allies of Thomas, whereas William Courtenay was archbishop of Canterbury and as such a powerful figure with whom it was important to have close ties.

### **c. Other Evidence of Family Relationships**

The evidence of land grants, will bequests and foundation charters in the de Bohun family provides valuable information regarding those people whom the testators or founders wished to protect, felt responsible for, or were particularly close to. However, we must be careful not to extrapolate from this evidence that these were the only people with close family ties to the de Bohuns. The findings simply indicate that when approaching the time of death, each person in the family felt it his or her duty to look after those family members that he or she was immediately responsible for or, in the case of siblings, those members of the family who had grown up with them and were their closest relatives by blood.<sup>248</sup> When lateral family members were included, it is most likely because they had an

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<sup>247</sup> TNA, DL 41/425; Gough, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 179-80, Appendix, p. 81.

<sup>248</sup> It is difficult to draw conclusions regarding gifts made to siblings, as we cannot know if they were made out of family duty or true sentiment. However, the fact that they only appear in certain wills might indicate the gifts were made because there was an actual relationship between the siblings. There were, however, additional motivations. In Richard Fitzalan's case, for example, the gifts to his sisters were also meant as an incentive to avoid their interference with his will.

especially close relationship to the testator or founder during their lifetime. Yet there is no doubt that some uncles, aunts and cousins who are not mentioned in wills or foundation documents also maintained a close family relationship with the de Bohun earls of Hereford and their issue. Although it is difficult to find documentation relating to these relationships, surviving records often mention transactions that hint at them. Perhaps not surprisingly, the same family members mentioned in these records used seals that proudly displayed the de Bohun coat of arms and, in some cases, the de Bohun swan. This indicates that they also identified themselves as de Bohuns.<sup>249</sup>

As already discussed above, Humphrey IV (d. 1275) had at least three sons after the birth of his eldest son and heir, Humphrey V (d. 1365): Henry, John (d. c. 1291) and Miles.<sup>250</sup> The fate of Humphrey V (d. 1265), who died as a traitor before his father, is common knowledge. Yet Humphrey's brothers have been largely forgotten. John de Bohun (known as John of Haresfield) also identified with Simon de Montfort's cause. He was pardoned by the king in 1267.<sup>251</sup> After the death of his half brother Humphrey V, John remained close to his nephew, Humphrey VI (d. 1298), the next earl of Hereford. In January 1277, John accompanied him into Wales on the king's service.<sup>252</sup> Sometime after that, the Earl appointed his uncle John to be constable of the army in Wales during his absence.<sup>253</sup>

The fate of John's brothers, Henry and Miles, is not known, and it is most likely they died without issue. However, John of Haresfield married Joan de Baa and had

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<sup>249</sup> For a discussion of their seals and their sense of family identity see the next section.

<sup>250</sup> For the following discussion see Appendix A: the de Bohun Family Tree.

<sup>251</sup> *CPR 1258-66*, p. 556. It is not known whether Henry and Miles joined their brothers, but John and Miles together vouched for the good behaviour of Ralph de Berners, of Essex, an adherent of Simon de Montfort, obtaining his pardon from the king. *CPR 1266-72*, pp. 148-9.

<sup>252</sup> *CPR 1272-81*, p. 189.

<sup>253</sup> TNA, SC 1/22/117. This may have been owing to the Earl's pilgrimage to Santiago. On 2 January, 1278, the earl received protection to go to Santiago, leaving two attorneys to look after his affairs. *CPR 1272-81*, p. 249.

at least three children: Henry (d. 1314), John (d. 1328) and Edmund (d. 1349).<sup>254</sup> The elder John died in 1291/2, leaving his eldest son, Henry, aged 15, as his next heir.<sup>255</sup> Henry married Joan Plugenet, daughter and heiress of Alan Plugenet of Kilpeck (Herefordshire), and was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. As discussed in Chapter 1, after her husband Henry's death Joan was instrumental in providing lands for the marriage of Henry's cousin's granddaughter, Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1363). In 1316, Joan de Baa died leaving her son John, aged 30, as her next heir.<sup>256</sup> John was the cousin of Humphrey VI and in 1316 his cousin's son, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), was still alive and his children were very young. John and Edmund both identified themselves as de Bohuns in their personal seals, and the records show that they retained close ties with Humphrey VII and his children.<sup>257</sup> John is most likely to be identified with John de Bohun, clerk, mentioned in William de Bohun's foundation charter.<sup>258</sup> His will, dated November, 1327 indicates a close relationship with his de Bohun relatives. In it he

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<sup>254</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 135, mentions only Edmund. However, the inquisitions post mortem of John de Haresfield and his wife Joan make clear that they also had older sons named Henry and John. See below. Two more sons, Humphrey and William, may have predeceased them as they are mentioned in their brother John de Bohun (d. 1328)'s will. TNA, KER/624.

<sup>255</sup> *CIPM 1291-1300*, p. 2. Henry received the manor of Haresfield in Gloucestershire; the manors of Wilsford and Manningford in Wiltshire; and the manor of Gussage St Michael in Dorset.

<sup>256</sup> She left him substantial landholdings in Berkshire (Upper Lambourne, Bockhampton, Blackgrove, Ashbury and Idston), London, Norfolk (Riddlesworth), Lincolnshire (Pinchbeck, Gosberton, Anderby), Essex (Cold Norton) and Suffolk (Elmsett, Offton, Somersham). *CIPM, 1316-2*, pp. 34-35. In October 1316 John granted the land in Upper Lambourne from his mother's inheritance to his brother Edmund, keeping the reversion. He retained the lands in Berkshire, Suffolk, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. TNA, C 143/123/15. In January 1317 John also granted Edmund a manor in Friskney, Lincolnshire. TNA, DL 25/1812.

<sup>257</sup> For a discussion of their seals see below. There is only one surviving seal of an Edmund de Bohun and it is most likely that of Edmund, son of John, lord of Haresfield, despite being Humphrey VI's cousin. Humphrey IV lived a long life and Maud of Avenbury was his second wife so their son John would probably have been much younger than his half-brothers and sisters and his son Edmund would consequently also have been much younger than his cousin Humphrey VI. Edmund died c. 1349.

<sup>258</sup> John is referred to as 'John de Bohun, clerk', in documents dated 1331 when the prior and canons of Bricett, Suffolk, asked permission from the king to buy from Thomas and Richard Archer, John's executors, one third of the manor of Bricett in return for a chantry of three canons to be created for the soul of John de Bohun and his ancestors. TNA, SC 8/57/2843.

bequeathed to William two silver basins and a silver-plated cup with a silver cover.<sup>259</sup> In addition, in the original draft of the will he asks that a valuable gift bequeathed to his brother Edmund, a personal ring with a large sapphire, be kept in the custody of the earl of Hereford (at that time John de Bohun (d. 1335)). The original will provided that if Edmund did not have heirs, the ring should remain with the Earl and his heirs.<sup>260</sup>

Edmund was a close ally of Humphrey VII, and after Humphrey's death he continued to have a relationship of loyalty and trust with his nephew's children. On 9 August, 1318, Humphrey VII petitioned for a grant to Edmund de Bohun and his heirs of a weekly market at their manor of Pinchbeck, in Lincolnshire.<sup>261</sup> On 5 March, 1324, Edmund was allowed to pay 100 marks a year at the Exchequer towards a fine of 500 marks to save his life and have his lands returned after their confiscation for being an ally of Humphrey VII.<sup>262</sup> After Humphrey VII's death, Edmund was in the service of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> TNA, KER/624. John originally also bequeathed William a large silver pot but this was later crossed out.

<sup>260</sup> TNA, KER/624. This passage is partly crossed out and amended in the surviving copy of his will to provide that the ring did not need to be held in custody by the earl of Hereford and also to provide that, should Edmund die without heirs, the ring would belong to the priory of Kersey.

<sup>261</sup> *CChR*, III, 390.

<sup>262</sup> *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1319-27* (1912), p. 258. He was pardoned on 5 March, 1324. *CPR, 1321-24*, p. 368. This must be the same Edmund de Bohun who married Maud de Seagrave (d. 1335), daughter and heiress of Nicholas Seagrave, lord of Stow (d. 1321), second son of Nicholas de Seagrave, first lord Segrave (d. 1295). Edmund's father in law was a retainer of the earl of Lancaster through the reign of Edward II until his death and as such he probably had a close relationship to Humphrey VII. J. S. Hamilton, 'Seagrave [Segrave], Nicholas (d. 1321)', *ODNB*, XLIX, 596-97. In 1296/7, Humphrey VI (d. 1298), Edmund de Bohun's cousin, granted lands in Tickhill, Yorkshire, to Sir Nicholas de Segrave, presumably Maud's father. TNA, DL 25/22;

<sup>263</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 530. Edmund went on pilgrimage overseas after 3 March, 1331, when he nominated as his attorneys a Roger de Rivers and a Richard de Haresfield. *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 80. He may have gone with John de Bohun, earl of Hereford (d. 1335), who nominated attorneys for one year on December 1330 because he was going on pilgrimage to Santiago. *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 24.

John of Haresfield's (d. 1292) half brother, Humphrey V, and his wife, Eleanor de Briose, had a second son, Gilbert de Bohun, brother of Humphrey VI (d. 1298).<sup>264</sup> There is little evidence to enlighten us regarding Gilbert's life, but he seems to have been active in the king's service in Wales, and he had a close relationship with his brother Humphrey VI.<sup>265</sup> Before 1290/91, Humphrey VI gave Gilbert all the lands in Ireland that had belonged to their mother Eleanor.<sup>266</sup> In 1296, he nominated Gilbert as his attorney for two years while he went overseas to Brabant with the king's daughter Margaret, duchess of Brabant.<sup>267</sup> In 1316, his son and heir, Humphrey VII, granted Gilbert for life the manor of Southam, in Gloucestershire.<sup>268</sup>

Either Gilbert de Bohun or another sibling had a son, Oliver de Bohun.<sup>269</sup> Oliver identified himself as a de Bohun in his seal and was later in the service of his nephew's son, William de Bohun, along with his cousin Edmund, son of John of Haresfield. On 3 October, 1337, Edmund de Bohun and Oliver de Bohun accompanied William de Bohun overseas.<sup>270</sup> In 1346, Oliver de Bohun was granted lands by William as one of his feoffees.<sup>271</sup> That year he was also part of William's retinue at the siege of Calais.<sup>272</sup> Edmund's brother, John de Bohun, clerk (d. 1328), must also have had a close relationship with Oliver. In his will of 1327 he bequeathed him £10.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> TNA, DL 25/1752 (charter referring to Gilbert on 20 July 1316 as the uncle of the earl of Hereford and Essex).

<sup>265</sup> On 20 May, 1283, Gilbert de Bohun was given letters of protection for going to Wales on the king's service. *CPR, 1281-92*, p. 64.

<sup>266</sup> CP, VI, 463; TNA, DL 25/2044; See also TNA, DL 25/709.

<sup>267</sup> *CPR, 1292-1301*, p. 226. See also TNA, SC 1/26/117. In March 1297 King Edward I named Gilbert as keeper of the lands of Joan, countess of Gloucester and Hertford, in Ireland. *CFR, 1272-1307*, p. 383. In July 1313, Gilbert nominated a John de Bohun as his attorney in Ireland. *CPR, 1313-17*, p.1.

<sup>268</sup> TNA, DL 25/1752.

<sup>269</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135 (referring to Oliver as the grandson of Humphrey V).

<sup>270</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 530.

<sup>271</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 143; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 75.

<sup>272</sup> G. Wrottesley, 'Crecy a Calais', in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society, 18 (London: Harrison and sons, 1897), p. 86.

<sup>273</sup> TNA, KER/624.



Yet despite all of the evidence indicating relationships between the children of Humphrey IV (d. 1275) and between their descendants, there are other de Bohuns who do not appear to have had any relationship with the main branch of the family. The men and women of this collateral branch of the family are referred to as the de Bohuns of Midhurst. Their principal seat was the manor of Midhurst in Sussex, granted to a Savaric de Bohun by Henry I and confirmed to his heir Franco by Richard I in 1190, along with other lands in Sussex, including Easebourne.<sup>274</sup> Savaric had acquired de Bohun lands from his mother Muriel, granddaughter of the first Humphrey to arrive in England with William of Normandy in 1066. She was the daughter of this Humphrey's second son, Richard de Meri, and inherited the de Bohun lands from her brother Enjuger, the last of the male line. The main de Bohun line of the earls of Hereford descended from Richard's elder brother, Humphrey.<sup>275</sup> This tenuous and distant family relationship probably accounts for the absence of any evidence indicating a close relationship between the de Bohuns of Midhurst and the de Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex. Another reason for the distance is probably the fact that the de Bohuns of Midhurst never achieved the success of the family's main line and spent most of their lives as relatively minor landowners.<sup>276</sup> Further proof of the fact that they did not consider each other as family comes from the fact that the de Bohuns of Midhurst used a different coat of arms and chose to be buried at Midhurst and, later, at Easebourne.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> CPR, 1358-61, pp. 534-5; William D. Cooper, 'Midhurst: its Lords and its Inhabitants', *Sussex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1868), 1-84 (pp. 1-3).

<sup>275</sup> Hatton, *Book of Seals*, p. 304. See also Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 187-8; J. R. Planché, 'The Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Earls of Hereford', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 6 (1871), 179-91 (pp. 183-4).

<sup>276</sup> Only one member of the family, James de Bohun (d. 1367), was summoned to parliament. He was summoned from 1363-6 as Lord Bohun of Midhurst. He also fought at Crecy in 1346 and endowed the Benedictine nunnery of Easebourne. William D. Cooper, 'Midhurst: its Lords and its Inhabitants', *Sussex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1868), 1-84 (pp. 11-2).

<sup>277</sup> A Savaricus de Bohun of Midhurst who lived in the reign of Henry III sealed with a crescent within a border and his son Franco de Bohun (d. 1273) used a coat of arms *sable, three crescents or* and also *gules, a crescent within an orle of marlets ermine*. However, by 1284 Franco's son, John de Bohun of Midhurst, used arms which were *or, a cross azure*, and this is presumably what the family continued to use as it is also the coat of arms associated with Sir John de Bohun of Midhurst in 1432/33. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 96, 152, 210, 248 and II, 59; Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings', p. 190; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 151;

Yet perhaps the most important reason for the social distance between the two families is the fact that the de Bohuns of Midhurst had a male line that continued unbroken until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>278</sup> The grandchildren of Humphrey IV, by contrast, all failed in the male line with the notable exception of Humphrey VI. Henry and Miles, younger sons of Humphrey IV, seem to have died without issue. Henry, John and Edmund, the surviving children of Humphrey IV's remaining son, John of Haresfield (d. 1292), also had no children.<sup>279</sup> Their lands were inherited by their cousin Humphrey V's grandchildren. Gilbert de Bohun, Humphrey VI's brother, had one son, Oliver, but he also does not appear to have had any children.<sup>280</sup> His life was spent in the service of his cousin's son, William de Bohun. This lack of issue persisted into the last two generations of the main branch of the de Bohun family and was their ultimate downfall. It created a situation that may have led the lateral de Bohun uncles, cousins and nephews to band together as a family.

The lack of heirs in the de Bohun family in the fourteenth century may not have been purely a result of misfortune. It is worth considering whether they had an inherited illness that may have hampered their ability to beget heirs. This is suggested not only by the infirmities of John de Bohun, earl of Hereford (d. 1335), and his brother Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), discussed in Chapter 1, but also by the possible advance knowledge of a lack of fertility on the part of John de Bohun (1328) and Edmund de Bohun (d. 1349).<sup>281</sup> This may be the reason for their early

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Durrant, 'Midhurst: its Lords and its Inhabitants', p. 14. A facsimile impression of Savaric's seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (n).

<sup>278</sup> The last male heir was John de Bohun, who died in 1499. Durrant, 'Midhurst: its Lords and its Inhabitants', p. 14.

<sup>279</sup> John de Bohun's will dated 1327, suggests that he had two more brothers, Humphrey and William, who also died without issue. TNA, KER/624.

<sup>280</sup> It is not clear if Oliver was Gilbert's son or the son of a third, unknown, brother, but it is most likely that he was Gilbert's son.

<sup>281</sup> As discussed in Ch. 1, John surrendered his Constablership to his brother Edward in 1330 owing to infirmity. It was not surrendered to his next eldest brother, Humphrey, probably because Humphrey was also unable to carry out the office. When Edward died in 1334 the office must have returned to John and then upon John's death to his heir, Humphrey VIII. Yet in 1338 Humphrey surrendered

land grants to Humphrey VII's sons. The manor of Haresfield had been inherited by John and Edmund's eldest brother, Henry, at the death of their father John of Haresfield in 1292. It was held from their grandfather, Humphrey IV (d. 1275). Henry died at the age of 37, without heirs. John must have inherited the lands from Henry at his death in 1314, being then 28 years old and unmarried. In 1316/17 John granted land from his mother's inheritance to his younger brother Edmund, keeping the reversion.<sup>282</sup> This was a full ten years before John's death, although the motivation may simply have been to provide for his brother. John appears never to have married and the limited evidence of John's piety echoes that of earls John de Bohun and Humphrey VIII.<sup>283</sup> In his will he chose to be buried at the conventual church of Kersey, a house of Augustinian canons in Suffolk, and his title of "clerk", may indicate that he was a man of religion.<sup>284</sup> His principal executors were Thomas Archer, rector of the church in Elmsett, Suffolk, and his brother Walter.<sup>285</sup> Shortly before his death, John granted William de Bohun the reversion of lands held by him in Offton, Suffolk.<sup>286</sup> In March 1328, his executors granted William the manor of Elmsett and the reversion of lands in Elmsett and Somersham.<sup>287</sup>

Edmund de Bohun inherited the rest of his brother's lands upon John's death in 1328. He lived until 4 October 1349 and married Maud de Seagrave (d. 1335), daughter and heiress of Nicholas Seagrave (d. 1321), second son of Nicholas de Seagrave, first lord Seagrave (d. 1295). Yet not only did Edmund also fail to have any heirs, but starting nearly twenty years before his death he demised most of

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the office to his younger brother William. *CPR 1330-34*, p. 14; *CPR 1338-40*, pp. 91, 95. John and Humphrey both failed to have heirs. Very little is known of their younger brother Eneas, who also died without heirs. He died in 1331 so he must have reached the age of at least sixteen, his mother having died in 1316, and was probably older since he appears to have had a younger sister, Elizabeth, who died young. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

<sup>282</sup> TNA, C 143/123/15.

<sup>283</sup> For a discussion of their piety see Ch. 4.

<sup>284</sup> It is also possible that as a priest he was not allowed to marry, but if he had an official religious title it is not clear what it was.

<sup>285</sup> TNA, KER/624; DL 25/1957, 1958.

<sup>286</sup> TNA, DL 25/3339.

<sup>287</sup> DL 25/1957, 1958. They were granted by John to his executors in February 1328.

the lands he had inherited to William de Bohun and his brothers.<sup>288</sup> He may have sold the lands out of necessity, but his actions beg the question whether Edmund knew early on that he would not have any heirs.<sup>289</sup>

The above administrative records and land transactions show the affective and practical associations among uncles and cousins within the de Bohun family through several generations. They suggest that blood and kinship were important considerations to all members of the family. Lateral family members remained loyal to the head of the family and, in return, seem to have received valuable patronage. This seems to confirm the kinship patterns observed by Crouch.<sup>290</sup> However, it is important to note that the relationship among 'kin' was probably not devoid of affection. William de Bohun included his grandfather's cousin, John de Bohun (1328), among the few people to be commemorated in his religious foundation. John in turn remembered William in his will, as well as Oliver. Edmund probably accompanied John de Bohun on pilgrimage. Oliver was one of William's trusted feoffees. All of the relationships evident in the records imply that the men held each other in great esteem and trusted each other with important administrative matters. It is not a stretch to imagine they shared more than practical ties.

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<sup>288</sup> Some time around January 1330, Edmund gave Edward de Bohun land in Berkshire in fee simple and Edward re-granted it to Edmund for life. The land in question was in Upper Lambourn and Bockhampton, and had been granted to him by Edmund's brother, John, who inherited it from their mother. *CPR 1327-30*, pp. 485, 512. In 1333, Edmund and William de Bohun entered into an indenture regarding the manor of Haresfield, Gloucestershire. TNA, DL 27/139. By 1346 Edmund had granted the reversion of the manor of Wilsford to Humphrey VIII in return for 500 marks. TNA, DL 25/2043. When Edmund died on 4 October 1349, the only part of his parents' inheritance which he still owned was a life interest in the manor of Upper Lambourne, part of it from Edward de Bohun, and his remainder passed on to Edward's elder brother and heir, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), and later presumably to William. *CIPM 1347-52*, pp. 348-49.

<sup>289</sup> It is also possible that he simply sold the lands out of necessity or other valuable consideration.

<sup>290</sup> See Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, Ch. 5.

## **B. Self-Image and Identity**

Although the evidence of will bequests, land grants and foundation charters relating to the de Bohun family shows that family members most commonly bestowed gifts and prayers on direct, immediate relatives to the exclusion of more distant ones, the evidence of heraldry and burial wishes tells another story. When it came to self-image and identity, the definition of family was spread along vertical and horizontal lines to include a much wider number of relatives who identified themselves as members of the de Bohun family. The evidence of the coats of arms used by members of the de Bohun family who did not belong to the main branch of the family, however, is limited, and often depends on seals in surviving charters relating to land grants involving members of the main branch. These land grants were more common when the relatives in question did not have heirs. It is therefore difficult to ascertain whether other family members who had male heirs and survived for more than one generation continued to identify themselves as de Bohuns. If these men existed, there is no record of them. The only side branch of the de Bohun family for whom evidence has survived, the de Bohuns of Midhurst, did not identify themselves as de Bohuns.

However, most members of the de Bohun family for whom evidence survives took great pride in being identified as de Bohuns. This is evident from the design of their seals and from their burial wishes. Medieval seals were among the most important individual expressions of a person's identity. They were the physical representation of their owners in private and public written communications. The seal was the only image of an individual many recipients of communications were ever likely to see. Seal designs must therefore have been carefully considered. In an age that lacked the idea of portraiture, seals are perhaps the most visible evidence of how their owners viewed themselves and wished to be viewed by others.

The seals of de Bohun family members trace the family's sense of identity from early simple designs that identified the owner only through a legend, to the elaborate late fourteenth century seals combining several coats of arms and

badges exemplified by the seal of Eleanor de Bohun and her descendants. The different seal designs chosen by the de Bohuns show great individuality, providing an insight into their owners' sense of identity and personal values. All of the seals emphasize in their different ways the family's ancestry and blood ties, announcing their owners as privileged members of the de Bohun family, and many seals also include symbols related to their owners' piety. These were the two single most important aspects of an individual's identity, and the de Bohun seal designs show how they were combined.

In addition to their seals, the burial desires of the individual members of the de Bohun family offer another clue to their sense of identity as de Bohuns. Their choice of burial place, starting with Llanthony Priory and later moving to Walden Abbey, shows their progression from marcher lords to Essex noblemen and affords evidence of their wish to rest among their forebears and be remembered as de Bohuns. This desire to be remembered as a member of the family is particularly evident in the only surviving memorial brass, made to commemorate the death of the de Bohun family's last heiress, Eleanor de Bohun.

**a. Personal Identity: Seals<sup>291</sup>**

**i. The Seals of the Principal Members of the de Bohun Family**

The earliest surviving seal impressions of a member of the de Bohun family belong to the seals of Henry de Bohun (d. 1220), who was created earl of Hereford in 1200. As already discussed, a seal impression dated to the time that he was earl of Hereford, between 1200 and 1220, shows him on horseback, armed with a sword, shield and helmet, a classic image that was to recur in the seals of several of his descendants. The shield shows a coat of arms with a single bend and one lion

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<sup>291</sup> Appendix D reproduces some of the seal impressions of members of the de Bohun family.

rampant on either side.<sup>292</sup> Another seal, dated 1218, two years before his death, shows a head with a helmet facing right.<sup>293</sup> At the time, seal designs were in their early stages, and coats of arms had only recently come into existence. The earliest extant example, the decorated shield given by Henry I to his son-in-law, Geoffrey of Anjou, when he was knighted, dates from 1127.<sup>294</sup> The images on Henry de Bohun's seals portrayed him as a knight and warrior, his most important attributes, and his coat of arms distinguishes him as a de Bohun, showing that by c. 1200 family identity had already become inextricably linked with a knight's seal.

Henry de Bohun's son and heir, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), lived a long life. He was earl of Hereford for fifty-five years after his father's death in 1220, and earl of Essex from 1236, when he inherited the title from his mother. During his lifetime, he used several different seals, impressions from at least three of which survive. The first of these shows the earliest surviving design of the de Bohun coat of arms with six lioncels rampant. It is a small, round, 40 mm seal impression, dated to 1238, identifying its owner as "Hunfridi de Buhun" and depicting three lioncels on each side of a single bend.<sup>295</sup> At some point between 1238 and 1242 Humphrey IV changed the single bend in his coat of arms to a bend cotised. This was probably the result of his inheritance of the earldom of Essex from his mother in 1236, the bend cotised being adopted to represent the two earldoms.<sup>296</sup> The change can

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<sup>292</sup> See discussion in Chapter 1. TNA, D3360/1, reproduced in Vincent, 'Feature of the Month';

<[http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature\\_of\\_the\\_month/Apr\\_2015\\_2](http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature_of_the_month/Apr_2015_2) [accessed 25 August 2016]>.

<sup>293</sup> TNA, DL 25/9/3.

<sup>294</sup> Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 4; See also, Planché, 'Genealogy and Armorial Bearings', p. 188. According to Boutell, this shield was described by John of Marmoutier, Geoffrey's biographer, as a shield with little gold lions. An enamelled plate formerly on Geoffrey's tomb depicts him with a curved blue shield with four golden lions and the unseen part may have contained two more. The arms of his grandson, William of Longespée, earl of Salisbury, had six gold lions on blue. This may be the origins of the de Bohun arms, as discussed in Ch. 1.

<sup>295</sup> TNA, DL 27/10; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13 and plate 5; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518. See also TNA, DL 25/1642. A facsimile impression of this seal is held in the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (a). The legend in the seals has a reversed "N".

<sup>296</sup> As discussed in Ch. 1, it is possible that before the bend cotised the de Bohun coat of arms had a double bend.

first be seen in surviving impressions of the earl's equestrian seal.<sup>297</sup> It was a large, round, 63 mm seal, with a legend identifying the owner as "Humfridi de Boun Comitis Herfordie et Essesie". The seal impressions show the earl on horseback, galloping to the right. He wears chain mail, a surcoat and a flat-topped helmet, and holds a drawn sword on his right hand and a shield on his left. The shield displays the earl's coat of arms, mirrored in the counterseal. From the image in the counterseal, it is possible to know that the coat of arms has a bend cotised. The horse has a braided main, and below the horse is a twisting bifurcated tree in full bloom, with a slightly larger trunk pointing upwards and touching the underside of the horse, and another trunk growing towards the right. The counterseal has at its centre the de Bohun coat of arms, with a bend cotised. Above it is an eight-pointed star and on either side of the shield is a small shield of arms quarterly, representing the earl's mother, Maud fitz Peter, heiress to the Mandeville earldom of Essex, which she inherited in 1226.<sup>298</sup>

Humphrey IV's son, Humphrey V, died before his father, in 1265. During his lifetime he used his father's first coat of arms, with a single bend, differentiating it

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<sup>297</sup> TNA, DL 27/11; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13 and plate 5; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252 (dated 1259); Loyd, *Book of Seals*, pp. 222-23 (dated before 1243). A fine facsimile impression of this seal is held in the Society of Antiquaries, reproduced in Appendix D (b). The earliest known date in which this seal was used is 1242, the date of the seal impression in the charter described in Loyd's *Book of Seals*. The seal impression in the National Archives is dated between 1239 and 1275. Ellis describes the counterseal in DL 27/11 as having two shields of arms with indistinct details which might represent a lion rampant and a canton, but this is wrong. The shields in DL 27/11 represent the Mandeville arms. The *Book of Seals* defines the counterseal as having only one quarterly shield of arms on the dexter side of the main Bohun shield. This may be owing to the counterseal in the relevant document being damaged or incomplete.

<sup>298</sup> The Mandeville coat of arms was quarterly *or* and *gules*. Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, p. 17. Reproduced in C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries', *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), 1-61, plate VI(k). Another impression of a seal used by Humphrey IV, dated to the year of his death, 1275, shows he also used a small, round, 28 mm seal depicting the earl riding on horseback facing west with a flat topped helmet and carrying a hawk on his left wrist. TNA, DL 27/320; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13 and plate 5; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252 (dated 1274). Two facsimile impressions of this seal are also held by the Society of Antiquaries.



with several stars on the bend.<sup>299</sup> This man's son, Humphrey VI (d. 1298) succeeded his grandfather to the family's earldoms and estates. He was not the first de Bohun to be earl of Hereford and Essex, but he was the first de Bohun to make Essex his home and to be buried at Walden Abbey, the traditional Mandeville burial house, instead of Llanthony Priory, where his ancestors had been buried. A seal impression from a document dated 1275 shows that his seal had a diameter of 63 mm and was similar to that of his grandfather, but once again displays his personal taste and sense of identity.<sup>300</sup> Like his grandfather's equestrian seal, Humphrey VI's seal shows an armed man on horseback, galloping to the right. He wears chain mail, a surcoat and a flat-topped helmet, and holds a drawn sword on his right hand and a shield with his coat of arms on his left hand. Yet there are subtle differences. The seal design is simpler and chooses to emphasize the de Bohun coat of arms, without any explicit reference to the Mandevilles or any other badges or symbols. The shield held by the rider is smaller and wider and turned slightly more to the front, so that the coat of arms is in full view. The horse is wearing a trapper patterned with the same coat of arms, giving it further predominance. There is no tree under the horse. The counterseal has a diameter of 30mm and is very simple, showing only the de Bohun coat of arms. We cannot know why the earl chose to simplify his seal, but what is clear is that he was proud of being a de Bohun and that he viewed this simple fact as the essence of his identity. His earldoms were now intrinsically linked with the de Bohun family name, and he did not feel the need to remind others of their origins.

Humphrey VI's eldest son and heir, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), succeeded to the titles in 1298 and adopted a very different style from that of his father. His seals

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<sup>299</sup> TNA, DL 25/3451; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518. A facsimile impression of this seal is held in the Society of Antiquaries. The seal was 29 mm in diameter. The impressions date to c. 1260, so he most likely used this coat of arms until his death in 1265. Birch defines the stars as fleur de lys, but it is difficult to verify this shape given their small size and lack of definition. They look like four-pointed stars. There are at least nine of them but the defects in the seal impressions make it impossible to give an exact number.

<sup>300</sup> TNA, E 42/65; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 8 and plates 3, 4. The counterseal is also in TNA, DL 25/1444 and TNA, DL 25/27 (it is unclear if the seal in these two documents is the counterseal of Humphrey VI or the same design used as one of the secreta of his son and heir, Humphrey VII).

include many references to the family's past, probably reflecting his desire to draw attention to their lineage and create or reinforce symbols that would ensure family memory. Impressions of four of his seals have survived: one large equestrian seal measuring 70 mm and three smaller seals, two of these identified as private seals or "secreta", measuring 29 mm. All of the smaller seals contained a legend identifying them as belonging to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex. They had simple designs featuring the de Bohun coat of arms at the centre, with slight variations. The simplest, used to authenticate his will in 1319, had no decoration other than the Earl's coat of arms surrounded by a beaded border. The legend read "S' Humfridi de Bohun Comitis Hereford' et Essexie".<sup>301</sup> The other two seals had legends which identified the owner as "H de Bohun Comitis Hereford et Essexie", replacing the name of the earl with the word "Secret" or "Secretu". One of them, dated 1300, had a tree with five slipped leaves sprouting from the top and growing on each side of the coat of arms, with beaded borders.<sup>302</sup> The other, used by the Earl throughout his life, had three trefoils sprouting from the top and both sides of the central shield.<sup>303</sup> The trees in the earlier seal may have been purely decorative. If they had a particular meaning, it is now difficult to decipher. The trefoils, however, were a badge adopted by the Earl, and they can also be seen in his larger equestrian seal. Judging from the large number of surviving impressions of this seal and the wide range of dates, from 1307 to 1320, the seal was widely used by the Earl and the trefoil must have been a meaningful symbol. Its meaning, discussed below, was derived from the Mandeville earls of Essex and is probably religious.

Interesting as his smaller seals are, it is the Earl's more prestigious two-sided equestrian seal, measuring 70 mm, that tells us most about what was important to

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<sup>301</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; C 148/150; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 519; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 8. A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>302</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518. A facsimile impression of this seal is also held at the Society of Antiquaries and is reproduced in Appendix D (e).

<sup>303</sup> Impressions of this seal date from 1307 to 1320. TNA, DL 25/1541; DL 25/1543; DL 25/ 1363; DL 25/2029; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518. A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries and is reproduced in Appendix D (f).

him and how he wished to be viewed.<sup>304</sup> Although similar to the seals of his ancestors, Humphrey VII added certain variations reflecting both the fashion of the time and his own unique sense of identity. The seal identifies the owner as Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and constable of England.<sup>305</sup> The earldom of Essex is not mentioned, probably owing to lack of space, but it is included in the reverse of the equestrian seal, the counterseal.<sup>306</sup> The rider and the horse are both wearing fan plumes on their heads, over the helmet and trapping, respectively. The horse's trapper is adorned with the de Bohun coat of arms, but the trapper is longer than in Humphrey VI's seal and includes folds, denoting movement. The shield held by the earl is also larger, clearly displaying the six de Bohun lioncels with a bend cotised, and the entire image spills into the surrounding legend, the letters intersecting the rider's sword, the fan plumes, and the horse's hooves and tail. The effect of all of these changes is to add considerable glamour to the seal image, and bring into relief the importance and power of the rider. Compared to the earliest de Bohun equestrian seal, the difference is striking. Yet not all of these changes were the result of personal preference by the fourth earl of Hereford. There are a number of seal impressions belonging to the Earl's contemporaries that bear striking resemblances to the Earl's seal, reflecting the fact that seal designers followed fashionable trends.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Impressions of this seal date from 1301. TNA, DL 27/42; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13-14 and plate 6; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 252-3; TNA, E 26. The seal is reproduced in Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals*, xxvii. A fine facsimile impression of this seal and its counterseal is held at the Society of Antiquaries and is reproduced in Appendix D (d).

<sup>305</sup> The counterseal was a more personal seal, usually quite small, impressed at the back of the wax impression of a larger seal to corroborate the owner's principal seal on the front. However, sometimes the back of a two-sided seal is referred to as the counterseal, as is the case with Humphrey VII's seal. Harvey, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, p. 9.

<sup>306</sup> This was not unusual among magnates with two earldoms. Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford (1262-95) had a two-sided seal with a mounted knight on each side naming him with one title in the front and another in the back. Harvey *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, p. 45.

<sup>307</sup> Similar equestrian seals, many with counterseals, are those of John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey (d. 1305); Thomas, earl of Lancaster and Leicester (d. 1322); Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d. c. 1325); and Richard fitz Alan, earl of Arundel (d. 1302); as well as those of Henry de Percy, lord of Topcliff (d. 1315); Theobald de Verdon, lord of Weobley (d. 1309); John de St. John, lord of Halnaker (d. 1302); John FitzReginald, lord of Blenlevny (d. b.

Most remarkable is Humphrey VII's counterseal. Its legend identifies the owner as "Humfridi de Bohun" earl of Hereford and Essex. At the centre, and occupying most of the available space, is a large de Bohun coat of arms. It hangs from a strap carried by a large swan with its wings folded. On either side of the shield are two smaller quarterly shields, referring to his Mandeville descent, and from the top of each of these shields springs a three-leaved clover or 'trefoil'. The singularity of this design cannot be overstated. It is especially clear when the seal is compared to the ninety-six seals appended to the barons' letter to the pope dated 12 February, 1300, representing most of the English nobility at the time.<sup>308</sup> A great majority of these have common themes. Apart from the similarities in the equestrian images already mentioned above, almost a third of the counterseals contain wyverns on the sides of the shields or above them, and the next most popular animal is the lion. Twenty-seven seals have shields hanging from the central trunk of bifurcated trees, and nearly all of the seals have either a star or a cross on the legend, above the coat of arms. Very few seals have any meaningful, unique personal symbols outside the coat of arms. The counterseal on Humphrey VII's equestrian seal, by contrast, has three.

The first is the swan, the symbolism of which has already been discussed in Chapter 1. The surviving evidence relating to the Earl indicates that he cared deeply about continuing his family dynasty and contributing to its long-term success. He was probably the first de Bohun earl to use the swan as his badge and he also named one of his children Eneas, after the knight of the swan. Both of these gestures indicate a conscious effort to create a glamorous past for his family linked to the crusades. The Earl's timing was propitious. The de Bohuns had by now accumulated two earldoms and their distant marital links to the royal family had been cemented by the earl's marriage to Edward I's daughter, Elizabeth. It

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1308); John le Strange, lord of Knockyn (d. 1309); Peter de Mauley, lord of Mulgrave (d. 1310); and Henry de Pinkney, lord of Weedon (d.1302). Five of these seals display riders and horses with fan plumes. All of the seal owners were, like Humphrey VII, signatories to the barons' letter to the pope dated 12 February, 1300. The seals are reproduced in Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and Their Seals*, pp. xxvi-xxxvi, 3, 5, 9, 21, 43, 45, 52, 69, 85, 126, 132.

<sup>308</sup> These seals are described in Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and Their Seals*.

was the right moment to celebrate the de Bohuns' achievements and create dynastic symbols that would endure in time, and this was something Humphrey VII seems to have been uniquely capable of doing. The use of the swan as a badge was an attempt by the Earl to associate his family with the legend of the Swan Knight, and it proved to be instrumental in ensuring the remembrance of the de Bohun dynasty for generations to come, although its initial use was sporadic. Of all the men in the family for whom seal impressions have survived, only two used swans in their seals and both of them belonged to the Earl's generation. One was the Earl's first cousin, Oliver de Bohun, son of a paternal uncle, perhaps Gilbert de Bohun. An impression of his seal dating from 1335, thirteen years after the Earl's death, shows a shield with the de Bohun coat of arms differenced with three scallops on the bend. Above and on each side of the shield is a swan standing with closed wings.<sup>309</sup> The other male member of the de Bohun family to use the swan was John de Bohun (d. 1328), grandson of Humphrey IV (d. 1275) and his second wife, Maud of Avenbury. A seal impression of his seal dated 1317 has been mostly destroyed by time, but it has the outline of the de Bohun coat of arms next to another coat of arms and, most interestingly, a swan facing left with closed wings above and below the shields.<sup>310</sup> Taken together, the seals of all three men place the use of the swan by male members of the de Bohun family between the years 1302 and 1335. In the next two generations it would be only the women who would display this symbol until it was adopted by Thomas of Woodstock after his marriage to Eleanor de Bohun.<sup>311</sup>

The second personal symbol in the counterseal of Humphrey VII's large equestrian seal is the Mandeville coat of arms found on each side of the de Bohun

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<sup>309</sup> TNA, DL 25/1590/1294. Although the figures on the bend are described as scallops in the description given in the national archives entry for this document, they are not well delineated and it is difficult to tell what they are at the present time. A facsimile impression of this seal is kept at the Society of Antiquaries and reproduced in Appendix D (q). Gilbert de Bohun did not use a swan in his seal and this is further evidence that Humphrey VII was the first de Bohun earl to adopt this symbol.

<sup>310</sup> TNA, DL 25/1812. The other coat of arms is illegible but probably belongs to his mother, Joan de Baa (or Bath).

<sup>311</sup> For a discussion of Thomas' use of the swan and other Bohun symbols see below.

shield. These shields represented the earldom of Essex inherited by the Earl's grandfather and their position mirrors the design of his grandfather's shield. Although the fourth earl's father had not used this symbol, choosing instead to concentrate on his de Bohun identity, the fourth earl resurrected it, making his Mandeville descent a conspicuous and intrinsic part of his identity in exactly the same way as it had been a part of his grandfather's identity. Yet the fourth earl added a third, previously unused, symbol: the trefoil.

The origin and meaning of the trefoil is a mystery. Its placement sprouting from the Mandeville shields indicates that it was probably a Mandeville badge. Its meaning remains obscure, but it may have been meant as a symbol of the Trinity, a central figure of worship for pious magnates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as discussed in Chapter 4. Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d. 1215) was buried in Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate.<sup>312</sup> The trefoil does not appear in earlier de Bohun shields, but it was also used by Humphrey VII in one of his private seals, as stated above, and was also used by the Earl's son and heir, John de Bohun, and by Humphrey VI's cousin, John de Bohun (d. 1328), both of whom appear to have been very pious.<sup>313</sup>

Humphrey VII had five sons and two daughters who survived to adulthood. The seals of John (d. 1335), Humphrey (d. 1361), Edward (d. 1335), William (d. 1360) and Eleanor (d. 1363) have survived and afford some clues as to their sense of identity and personal tastes. They were the children of a royal princess and their father had died as a traitor against the king, and this must have had some influence on how they chose to represent themselves. Royal leopards appear for the first time as a de Bohun symbol in the seals of Humphrey VIII, Edward and

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<sup>312</sup> John Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, 141. It was a house of Austin Canons founded in 1107/8 by Matilda, wife of Henry I, and the earliest post-Conquest monastery within the walls of the city of London. John Schofield and Richard Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological reconstruction and history*, MoLAS Monograph, 24 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), pp. 13, 152.

<sup>313</sup> TNA, DL 25/1759; TNA, DL 25/1957. It is likely that there were also small trefoils in William de Bohun's seal and in that of his son, Humphrey IX's seal. For a discussion of these seals, see below.

Eleanor, and of the symbols used by their father only Eleanor used the swan and only John used the trefoil.<sup>314</sup> In addition, Humphrey VIII changed the de Bohun coat of arms when he became the sixth earl of Hereford, choosing a pattern on the bend that was kept by his nephew and heir, Humphrey IX, although not by Humphrey IX's daughter and co-heiress, Eleanor. Some of the seals appear to have a geometric design that may have been pious in nature. All of these changes must have been purposeful. They reflect how each individual wished to represent him or herself as a member of the de Bohun family, but also their priorities. The particular symbols chosen reflect what they considered to be most important among the ancestral symbols used by their progenitors.

John de Bohun, fifth earl of Hereford (d. 1335), used a very elaborate geometric design in his seal. The central shield with the de Bohun coat of arms is encased by six lobes surrounded by an equilateral triangle. Inside three of the lobes on the top and sides of the shield is a trefoil. Outside the triangle on each side is a circle encased by six lobes and in each circle is a de Bohun coat of arms.<sup>315</sup> Between each of the circles are three indentations containing a four-leafed clover pattern, the middle one sitting inside each corner of the triangle, forming a total of nine indentations. The design of this seal, with its trefoils, its double triangle (one drawn around the central shield and an inverted one formed by the three smaller circles) and its nine clovers, may be evidence of John's piety. The limited amount of information on John de Bohun indicates that, like his brother Humphrey, he may have been exceptionally pious. We know that after surrendering the constabship of England in 1330 to his brother Edward owing to infirmity, he went on pilgrimage to Santiago.<sup>316</sup> In addition, unlike most de Bohun earls and family members, he was not buried at Walden Abbey or Llanthony Priory, but

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<sup>314</sup> Margaret's seal has not survived but her tomb at Exeter Cathedral includes two swans at her feet, indicating she also adopted the swan symbol. See discussion below.

<sup>315</sup> TNA, DL 25/1759; TNA, DL 25/1611; TNA, DL 25/1928; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 520-21; Hunter Blair, 'Armorial Upon English Seals', plate XI (o). A facsimile impression of this seal is also held at the Society of Antiquaries and reproduced in Appendix D (g).

<sup>316</sup> *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 14, 24.

instead at the Cistercian abbey of Stratford Langthorne, in Essex.<sup>317</sup> His will, if it existed, has not survived. Although the seal design is somewhat unusual, the same design was used by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Ralph, lord Basset.<sup>318</sup> Some support for the pious nature of the seal's design may be found in the fact that an almost identical seal design was used by Mary St Pol, countess of Pembroke (c. 1304-1377), founder of Pembroke College, Cambridge, a woman well known for her piety and religious benefactions throughout her life.<sup>319</sup>

Other than the emphasis on triple patterns, it is noteworthy that John has four de Bohun coats of arms on his seal. He chose not to use the Mandeville coat of arms or any other symbol despite the unique opportunity provided by the design of his seal. As a result his seal provided a powerful reminder of his pride in being a de Bohun. As the eldest male heir of a man who had died as a traitor, John's first years as earl of Hereford were marred by his family's loss of lands and possessions, many of which were never recovered, as well as a forced marriage arranged by his guardian, Edward II, to the daughter of his father's enemy, the earl of Arundel. This experience may have deepened his loyalty to his blood line, and his seal clearly declares the importance of his de Bohun identity.

John's brother, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), who became earl of Hereford and Essex in 1335 after John's death, had a seal similar to that of his brother. Surviving seal impressions show that it displayed the de Bohun coat of arms at the centre with

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<sup>317</sup> It is most likely that he chose to be buried at the Cistercian Abbey for pious reasons, since he did not die in battle and the only other member of the family who chose not to be buried at Walden Abbey or Llanthony Priory was his brother Humphrey VIII, a very pious man devoted to the Augustinians.

<sup>318</sup> TNA, DL 25/1645. A facsimile impression of this seal is also held at the Society of Antiquaries. Both impressions are damaged but it appears that she may have had a triple stem with flowers (perhaps lilies?) inside the three circles where John's seal displays the Bohun coat of arms. A few of his contemporaries had similar designs on their seals. See Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 96-97, pl. 4 (John de Botetourt, 1339), II, 36, pl. 12 (Richard de Ecclesall, 1362), 74, pl. 22 (Paul Montefiori, 1312); Hunter Blair, 'Armorial Upon English Seals', pl. XI (r) (Sir Hugh Courtenay, 1341) and (s) (Henry Sturmy, 1355), pl. XVI (cc) (Joan Braose, 1348).

<sup>319</sup> Her seal is reproduced in Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 131. Her counterseal is reproduced in Hunter Blair, 'Armorial Upon English Seals', pl. XVI (l).



three circles around it, one above and one on each side. In between each of the circles were three smaller circles. Unlike John's seal, however, the three large circles on Humphrey's seal each contained a leopard of England. The nine smaller circles contained a slightly curved line in the form of an S intersecting it. Most peculiarly, the central bend on the bend cotised of the de Bohun shield is not smooth. A pattern in relief, chequered or zigzagged, runs through it.<sup>320</sup> The royal leopards must represent the earl's royal blood through his mother, Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I, and display the earl's pride in being a member of the royal family. The patterned bend is more difficult to explain, but he is not the first de Bohun to have used it. The arms of his grandfather Humphrey VI (d. 1298) appear with a diapered bend argent cotised in some rolls of arms.<sup>321</sup> Humphrey VIII could have used the pattern on the bend in his coat of arms prior to becoming earl of Hereford, as a mark of cadence to differentiate it from his father's coat of arms, but he would have adopted his father's arms upon becoming earl.<sup>322</sup> In addition, his nephew and heir Humphrey IX also displayed the patterned bend in his seals, indicating that this was meant as a permanent change in the de Bohun coat of arms. It is possible that the pattern on the bend was simply hatching to indicate the difference of metals in the bend cotised. This was a practice used in early seals.<sup>323</sup> Whatever the intention, the change was not taken up by other members of the family. The patterned bend was not used by the Earl's younger brothers, William and Edward de Bohun, and it was not taken up by Humphrey IX's daughter and heiress, Eleanor de Bohun, or her husband, Thomas of Woodstock.

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<sup>320</sup> TNA, DL 27/168; DL 27/319; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14 and plate 6. DL 27/319 is dated October 1343 (17 Edward III). The date on the National Archives entry is wrongly given as 16 Edward I. A facsimile impression of this seal is kept at the Society of Antiquaries and reproduced in Appendix D (h).

<sup>321</sup> Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 89; but see, pp. 179, 205, 406, where the diapering is not mentioned.

<sup>322</sup> Humphrey VII (d. 1322) used a label *gules* on his Bohun coat of arms prior to becoming earl. He does not appear to have used any diapering. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 406.

<sup>323</sup> It can be seen in the quarters of the coat of arms in the seal impression of the seal of Geoffrey of Mandeville (d. 1215). Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals', p. 9 and plate VII.

Edward de Bohun (d. 1334), son of Humphrey VII and twin brother of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, differenced his de Bohun coat of arms with three leopards in a lozenge on the bend. A seal impression from his seal dated 1328 shows his coat of arms hung from ears of corn between two wyverns.<sup>324</sup> The leopards, also used by his brother Humphrey, are a reminder of his mother's royal blood. However, the ears of corn and the wyverns are unusual among members of the de Bohun family. The corn may be simply decorative and, as already mentioned, wyverns were very common on early fourteenth century seals. It is possible that Edward's seal design simply took on a popular image of the time. Yet the surviving de Bohun seals indicate that their owners were careful about symbolism, and they all exhibit a personal approach to their design. In addition, Edward's nephew, Humphrey IX, the last de Bohun earl of Hereford, also had a seal with a wyvern on it, placed along the sinister side of the central shield.<sup>325</sup> This may indicate that the wyvern had some meaning that was not merely decorative. Perhaps it was meant as a reminder of the fact that the de Bohuns were marcher lords.<sup>326</sup> More likely, the wyverns were related to the coat of arms of the family of Edward's wife, Margaret de Ros.<sup>327</sup> In any case, Edward did not choose any of the traditional de Bohun symbols, nor does his seal reflect the pious symbols of his elder brothers. His unusual choice of wyverns may be partly due to his status as a younger son, which gave him the freedom to choose a slightly less traditional design, and also made his wife's heritage take on greater importance.

The seal impressions in surviving documents of Edward's twin brother, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (c. 1312-1360), show that he used at least three seals during his lifetime. The first seal impression dates from 1330, before he

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<sup>324</sup> TNA, E 43/184; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13.

<sup>325</sup> TNA, DL 25/1638/1332.

<sup>326</sup> Although this is a possibility, the seals attached to the barons' letter of 1301 show that many lords who had no interests in the Marches of Wales used wyverns in their seals.

<sup>327</sup> She was the daughter of William de Ros (d. 1343), third lord of Hamlake, and Margery Badlesmere (d. 1363). The seals of her father and of her grandfather, William de Ros (d. 1315), first lord of Hamlake, show a wingless wyvern on either side of the Ros coat of arms. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, III, 451, 452; Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals*, p. 173.

became earl.<sup>328</sup> It has a simple design of a central shield surrounded by eight lobes. The shield has the de Bohun coat of arms differenced by a charge of three six-pointed pierced mullets on the bend, his mark of cadency. In between the lobes are three-leafed indented patterns.<sup>329</sup> After he was raised to an earldom, William used two different seals, with a probable change in design from the first to the second sometime in 1347 or 1348.<sup>330</sup> Both seals had a central shield with William's coat of arms. The first seal, impressions of which date between 1342 and 1347, had a six-pointed star on the legend above the shield and the centre shield was surrounded by an elaborate decorative pattern with four quatrefoils on each side of the shield and two above. In between these and the central shield were three small ball-flowers on each side of the shield and one above. They were so small that it is not possible to determine their exact design from the surviving seal impressions.<sup>331</sup> The second seal, used between 1347 and 1360, was slightly simpler in design. Instead of the tiny flowers, the shield was surrounded by the same mullets that were on the bend, three on each side and one above. In addition, the six-pointed star in the legend above the shield was also replaced with a pierced mullet.<sup>332</sup>

William received the title of earl of Northampton from Edward III in 1337, and one would expect his seals to reflect his earldom. Perhaps that is the significance of the mullets on the bend of his de Bohun shield, his mark of cadency, being added

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<sup>328</sup> TNA, DL 27/304. This seal is attached to the indenture of retainer for 100 marks made by his brother John, then earl of Hereford and Essex. See also TNA, SC 13/A205.

<sup>329</sup> These may have been meant as trefoils similar to his father's, but the design is very different as each figure has three separate leaves rather than a clover pattern.

<sup>330</sup> The dates of the documents to which the seal impressions are attached indicate that one seal was used between the years 1342 and 1347 and the second seal was used from 1347 until his death in 1360. He may have used the seals at an earlier date and he may have combined the use of both seals, but if this was the case the evidence has not survived. Facsimile impressions of these seals are kept at the Society of Antiquaries and reproduced in Appendix D (i), (j).

<sup>331</sup> TNA, DL 25/1961 (1346); DL 25/1526 (1344); DL 25/1460 (1347); DL 25/1840 (1343); DL 25/1898 (1342); DL 25/1899 (1346); DL 25/1459 (1337-60); Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 8, II, 14. Reproduced in Appendix D (i).

<sup>332</sup> TNA, DL 25/1625 (1352); DL 25/1741 (1357); DL 25/1620 (1348); DL 25/1933 (1359); DL 25/1559 (1348); DL 25/1636 (1357); DL 25/1637 (1358). Reproduced in Appendix D (j).

to the legend and the field surrounding the shield. Yet William clearly identified himself, first and foremost, as a de Bohun. All of his seals have the de Bohun coat of arms as the dominant component. He did not create a different identity when he received his earldom, nor did he change his coat of arms in any significant way. His seal identified him as a de Bohun until his death in 1360. This may be partly due to the fact that he knew early on in his life that his son would be the family's only heir, combining all three earldoms in the next generation.

The last of Humphrey VII's children for whom records of seal impressions have survived is his eldest daughter, Eleanor de Bohun, countess of Ormond (d. 1363). She had at least two seals. One seal measuring 1 in., dated 1338, a year after her husband's death, must have been very similar to the seals of her brothers John and Humphrey. It is described as one shield of arms divided per pale Butler and de Bohun, with three encircled lozenges surrounding the shield above and on either side, charged with three lions passant guardant in pale.<sup>333</sup> This symbol of England was a reminder of her royal heritage from her mother, and is similar to the lions passant guardant used by her brother, earl Humphrey VIII, and the leopards used by her brother Edward. A larger seal, dated 1358 and measuring 1<sup>3/8</sup> in., had four coats of arms within a cusped panel. Two de Bohun coats of arms stood at either side of this central panel.<sup>334</sup> A swan stood at the base, symbolizing the badge adopted by her father. This is the first record of the use of the swan by a member of the family after Humphrey VII's death in 1322.<sup>335</sup> Although the swan does not

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<sup>333</sup> Loyd, *Book of Seals*, pp. 268-69. The central shield had on the dexter side her first husband's coat of arms, a chief indented for the Butler earls of Ormond, and on the sinister side the Bohun coat of arms.

<sup>334</sup> Loyd, *Book of Seals*, pp. 266-67. The central shield was divided per pale, dexter blank, sinister ermine on a chevron three roundels. The top shield was also blank. These shields must represent her second husband, Thomas Dagworth, since the shield of Eleanor's first husband, James Butler, earl of Ormond, was *or* a chief indented *azure*, as shown in the Bohun manuscripts. See Chapter 3.

<sup>335</sup> In this respect it is worth noting that in March 1353 Eleanor was given safe conduct by the king of France to go on pilgrimage to the Roman court with 20 companions. TNA, C47/28/6/11.

appear in any of her brother's seals, it would also be used in her elder sister Margaret's tomb in Exeter Cathedral.<sup>336</sup>

Of all of Humphrey VII's sons, only William had an heir. William's son, Humphrey IX (d. 1373), would become the ninth earl of Hereford, sixth earl of Essex and second earl of Northampton. Impressions of two of his seals survive. His official seal, identifying him as earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton and Constable of England, measured 40 mm.<sup>337</sup> It had a central shield with the de Bohun coat of arms surrounded by a rich decorative pattern with arches and lobes similar to his father's last seal. As already mentioned, there was a pattern on the bend cotised, similar to the pattern found in the seal of his uncle Humphrey VIII (d. 1361).<sup>338</sup> The most logical explanation is that it was a change made to represent the third earldom of Northampton added to the de Bohun earldoms of Hereford and Essex, but it would be unusual for the change to be incorporated by Humphrey VIII during his lifetime, as he was never earl of Northampton.<sup>339</sup> The seal design also appears to incorporate circles intersected by wavy "s" lines, first seen in Humphrey VIII's seal, as well as what appear to be very small trefoils sprouting towards the central shield from a border of quatrefoils surrounding it.

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<sup>336</sup> Margaret's effigy is reproduced in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 34. It has two swans at its feet, with chains around their necks. The swans face each other and their necks are intertwined, their beaks resting on the floor. The tomb has been heavily restored, so it is not possible to be certain that the swans were originally there, or that they looked as they do now. However, a description of the tomb dating from 1822 states that it was much mutilated and that at Margaret's feet were "the remains of two birds". D. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 6 vols (London: the Strand, 1806-22), VI (1822), 323-45.

<sup>337</sup> TNA, E 329/422; DL 27/167; DL 25/1622; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 8, plate 4. A facsimile impression of this seal dated the year of his father and uncle's death, 1361, is also held at the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (k).

<sup>338</sup> This seal appears in Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 8, plate 4. The seal of his uncle Humphrey VIII, displaying the same chequered pattern on the bend, is in TNA, DL 27/319 and DL 27/168. It appears in Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14 and plate 6. The pattern on the bend cotised may indicate that the pattern in the sixth earl of Hereford's seal was not a mark of cadency, but rather a permanent change to the seal of the Bohun earls, but the seals of his wife Joan and his daughter Eleanor do not show any pattern on the bend cotised.

<sup>339</sup> It is possible that Humphrey VIII, knowing he would be childless and that William's son would be the family's heir, changed the family's coat of arms to reflect the acquisition of his brother's new earldom.

Two more seals attributed to Humphrey IX are evidenced by seal impressions in documents created while he was on campaign abroad. They were attached to documents authenticated while on crusade in the east.<sup>340</sup> Both seals measured 25 mm and identified the owner only as earl of Northampton. Both had the de Bohun coat of arms at its center. One had no other symbolism, other than two marks at the end of the legend representing a four-petalled flower and a wyvern.<sup>341</sup> The second seal had a wyvern with a curved spine and long tail lined with spikes standing on the left side of the shield, facing downwards. Above the shield, a small portion of a figure can be discerned, but it is not clear what it is, other than that it seems to also have spikes and is perhaps another wyvern. To the right of the de Bohun shield is a four-petalled flower.<sup>342</sup> These seals are, with small variations to account for personal titles, arms and badges, identical to the seals of other men attached to the same documents. It is therefore most likely that the seals were created for the men's use at Torun, perhaps because they did not carry their official seals with them.<sup>343</sup>

Humphrey IX was the first, and last, de Bohun earl to use wyverns in a seal, and it is not clear why he chose them. He was not the first member of his family to do so. His uncle Edward de Bohun (d. 1334) had also displayed them on his seal, as we have seen. Although it is possible that both men adopted the wyvern as a symbol of the family's status as marcher lords, it is most likely that their use of the wyvern is related to the women they married. Humphrey IX probably adopted the wyverns to represent the Lancastrian lineage of his wife Joan Fitzalan (d. 1419), whose mother was Eleanor Lancaster, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster (d.

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<sup>340</sup> The documents were sealed at Torun, in Bydgoszcz (Poland).

<sup>341</sup> TNA, 25/1639/1337. A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (I).

<sup>342</sup> TNA, DL 25/1638/1332. The legend appears to have the same symbols as the first seal: a flower and a wyvern.

<sup>343</sup> See TNA, DL 25/1639/1338 (Miles Stapleton); DL 25/1639/1339 (John Burley); DL 25/1639/1340, DL 25/1638/1335 (Walter de Weros); DL 25/1639/1341, DL 25/1638/1336 (Richard de Waldegrave); DL 25/1638/1334 (John Burley); DL 25/1638/1333 (Miles Stapleton).

1345). Wyverns appear in Henry's seal as well as the seals of his brother Thomas of Lancaster (d. 1322) and Henry's son Henry, duke of Lancaster (d. 1361).<sup>344</sup>

Humphrey IX's countess, Joan de Bohun (d. 1419) used a seal with a shield of arms hung from a twin tree and held on either side by the beak of a swan. The shield displayed the owner's proud heritage. The de Bohun coat of arms, with a bend cotised, impaled quarterly 1) and 4) a lion rampant (Fitzalan), and 2) and 3) checky (Warenne).<sup>345</sup> The twin tree bore some resemblance to the tree at the base of the seal belonging to her husband's ancestor, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), mentioned above. It is not possible to tell whether the bend on her de Bohun coat of arms was patterned, as it is too small. However, it is interesting that Joan chose to display the de Bohun swans while her husband did not. The only other member of the family in their generation to display it in a seal had been Joan's sister-in-law, Eleanor Butler. Joan's swans are elongated supporters, unlike the small resting swans used by all members of the de Bohun family before her, and they were probably taken up by Joan to reflect the family's crusading links, since her husband was a crusader.

The last seal impression of a seal belonging to a member of the direct line of descent of the de Bohun family that has survived is the seal of Eleanor de Bohun, daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey IX and that of Joan de Bohun. Eleanor and her younger sister Mary represented the last of the de Bohun blood line. They had no brothers, uncles or cousins at birth, which in an age of high mortality rates meant they always had a reasonable probability of being the last two surviving members of their family. This probability became a certainty after their father died in 1373. For a family like the de Bohuns, this would have been a great burden for the girls, and it is reflected in Eleanor's great pride in her paternal descent, visible in every object that she left behind, including her seal.

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<sup>344</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 339; III, 173-74, 382-83; Hunter Blair, 'Armorial Upon English Seals', pl. x (f), XI (e).

<sup>345</sup> TNA, DL 25/3379; DL 25/3380; DL 26/59; DL 27/316; DL 27/317; E 43/602; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 520. A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries and reproduced in Appendix D (m).

There is only one partial surviving impression of Eleanor's seal, and it dates from 1396/7, twenty-three years after she became her father's heiress and only three years before her death. It is therefore not possible to know if she had an earlier seal that was perhaps more traditional in design and closer to the appearance of her ancestors' seals. The existing impression of Eleanor's seal comes from a foundation document for the college she founded with her husband at Pleshey. A description of a complete impression of the same seal attached to a letter dated 1391 has also survived, as well as a drawing by Sandford taken from an unknown source, very likely the same letter.<sup>346</sup>

Eleanor's seal, round and measuring c. 50 mm in diameter, is unusual and provides an insight into her strong sense of lineage, as well as her piety. The surviving fragment of her seal and its description appear to confirm the accuracy of Sandford's reproduction. His drawing shows an angel standing on the nave of a boat holding between his arms a long rectangle charged with two bendlets. A swan stands on either side of the rectangle. Superimposed on the rectangle is a lozenge shaped shield of arms divided in two. On the sinister side is a shield divided quarterly, one and four France ancient, two and three England, within a bordure, representing her husband, Thomas of Woodstock. On the dexter side is the de Bohun coat of arms with a bend cotised and no pattern. The boat is surrounded by turbulent water and on its prow and stern stands a swan facing the inside of the boat, with a chain around its neck. The angel's wings, neck and head are visible at the top of the seal and he is wearing a tunic with a round neck.<sup>347</sup> The words surrounding the seal read "le seal a alianore duchesse de gloucestrie countesse de". The rest of the inscription, which would have been around the

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<sup>346</sup> TNA, DL 27/328; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13; Loyd, *Book of Seals*, p. 167; Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 125. See Appendix E. Sandford's drawing is included in Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals', p. 61, Plate XVII. Sandford's reproduction, with its incomplete legend, would seem to be a faithful reproduction of either a lost impression or an earlier, less damaged, version of the existing TNA impression.

<sup>347</sup> The description given by the author in Ellis' *Catalogue of Seals* states that below the angel's head is a cloud (shown by a nebuly line and downward rays). However, a close look at the only surviving seal impression shows this is most likely the folds of the angel's tunic around the neck. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13.



angel's head, is incomplete, but presumably the missing words identify Eleanor as countess of Essex. This legend would date the seal impression to some time after 6 August, 1385, when Thomas was created duke of Gloucester.<sup>348</sup>

The coats of arms in Eleanor's seal indicate, as was standard at the time, her de Bohun descent as well as her husband's arms. An angel holding a coat of arms appears on the seal of Margaret Plantagenet, countess (later duchess) of Norfolk (c. 1320-1399), granddaughter of Edward I and Eleanor's contemporary.<sup>349</sup> It also occurs on the canopy of the tomb of Henry Beaufort (d. 1447), bishop of Winchester and second son of John of Gaunt, as well as at the head of the tomb of Henry IV (c. 1366 – 1412) and his second wife, Joan of Navarre.<sup>350</sup> It is a pious symbol but, to judge from the examples above and numerous others, not uncommon at the time. The figure of the ship, however, is much more unusual in women's seals. Ships present on seals often represented command of the seas. A ship similar to the one represented in Eleanor's seal appears on the seal of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, Admiral of England, son of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford.<sup>351</sup> Yet this cannot be the meaning in Eleanor's seal. Two other explanations are possible.

The ship is probably related to the legend of the Swan Knight, since in this legend the knight appears in a boat drawn by a swan. This may also be the meaning of the chains around the swans' necks, which do not include crowns, unlike other versions of chained swans, most notably those related to Thomas of Woodstock, Henry IV and Henry V.<sup>352</sup> Another possible explanation for the ship in Eleanor's seal is that it has a purely religious meaning, but this would also tie into the legend

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<sup>348</sup> The same drawing is included in Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals, p. 61, Plate XVII.

<sup>349</sup> Reproduced in Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 122.

<sup>350</sup> Sandford, *Genealogical History*, pp. 262, 274.

<sup>351</sup> *Archaeologia*, 14 (1803), 278, plate xlvii, fig. 5.

<sup>352</sup> There do not appear to be any chains or crowns in de Bohun swans prior to Eleanor and Thomas' use of that badge. For the assertion that Thomas of Woodstock and Henry Bolingroke were the first ones to add a golden coronet and chain to the de Bohun swans see Gough, 'Swan of Buckingham', p. 257; Charles Boutell, 'The Mounumental Brasses of London and Middlesex', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1 (1860), 67-112 (p. 75).

of the Swan Knight. The ship is an ancient Christian symbol. It represents “the Church tossed on the sea of disbelief, worldliness, and persecution but finally reaching safe harbor with its cargo of human souls”.<sup>353</sup> It is the means of conveyance between this world and the next, with the ship of the church transporting the faithful to their heavenly home. The French word “nef” is the name retained for the “nave” of a church, and this imagery is also evident in the story of Noah and the flood.<sup>354</sup> It is probably no coincidence that the Swan Knight travels in a boat and that boats conveyed crusaders from one country to another in their pilgrimage. The image of the ship contains several meanings and all relate to the same themes of chivalry, piety and salvation.

It is worth considering whether Eleanor’s seal design was influenced by her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, whose love of chivalry and tradition makes it likely that he was active in reviving the de Bohun association with the legend of the knight of the swan. Unlike the previous two generations of men in the de Bohun family, Thomas used the swan in all of his known seals.<sup>355</sup> The introduction of a boat and chained swans in his wife’s seal may indicate both Eleanor and Thomas’ desire to remind everyone of the ancient crusader descent of the de Bohuns. Thomas showed great interest in crusading in his lifetime, and Eleanor was not only aware of her family’s association with the legend of the Swan Knight, but placed great importance on it.<sup>356</sup> As already discussed, she willed to her son and heir, Humphrey, a poem in French of the “histoire de chivaler a cigne”.<sup>357</sup> Her house at Pleshey also contained a very large tapestry valued at forty-five pounds of the story of Godfrey of Bouillon and his capture of Jerusalem.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Ralph F. Wilson, ‘Ship as a Symbol of the Church (Bark of St. Peter)’, in *Early Christian Symbols of the Ancient Church* (1985-2012), <<http://www.jesuswalk.com/christian-symbols/ship.htm> [accessed 10 June 2012]>.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>355</sup> For a description of Thomas’s seals see below.

<sup>356</sup> Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 78.

<sup>357</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v.

<sup>358</sup> E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, ‘Inventory of Goods and Chattels’, p. 288. There are only two tapestries in this inventory of Thomas’ forfeited goods that compare in size and value, and they both refer to the story of Charlemagne.

ii. The Seals of Lateral Members of the de Bohun Family

The seal impressions of the seals of several members of the de Bohun family descended from Humphrey IV have survived and bear testament to their loyalty to the family and their desire to be identified as de Bohuns. They used the de Bohun coat of arms, sometimes differenced by a change of colour on the bend cotised. It is probably no coincidence that these men did not have heirs, with the exception of Gilbert de Bohun, brother of Humphrey VI, whose only son, Oliver de Bohun, also seems to have died without issue.

The seal of John de Bohun of Haresfield (d. c. 1292), son of Humphrey IV, consisted of a shield bearing the de Bohun coat of arms.<sup>359</sup> Seal impressions of another seal, dated 1313, belonging to Joan de Bohun, his wife (d. c. 1316) show that her seal design was a pointed oval with a shield also containing the de Bohun coat of arms with a bend cotised hanging from three trees.<sup>360</sup>

Evidence of the coats of arms used by John of Haresfield's three sons: Henry, John and Edmund, have also survived. The arms of Henry (d. 1314) were *azure*, a bend *gules* cotised between six lions rampant *or*.<sup>361</sup> An impression of a small, 20 mm. seal belonging to his brother, John de Bohun (d.c. 1328), survives in a document dated three months after he wrote his will. It shows a lozenge bearing the de Bohun coat of arms surrounded by four lobes. A trefoil appears at the border of each intersection between the lobes. As already mentioned, John had an earlier

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<sup>359</sup> It appears on a seal impression dated 1286. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 520. See also, Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 213 and II, 61. A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (p).

<sup>360</sup> TNA DL 25/1797; TNA DL 25/1798; TNA DL 25/1801; TNA DL 25/1802; DL 25/1803; TNA DL 25/1804. The documents are signed in Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire, land that is mentioned in her inquisition post mortem in 1316. *CIPM, 1291-1300*, p. 2. The trees in her seal are very similar to the 1316 seal of Gilbert de Bohun, except that the trees in her seal are larger. See below.

<sup>361</sup> Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 212 and II, 59.

seal measuring 23 mm. with two coats of arms and a swan at its base.<sup>362</sup> The seal of Henry and John's younger brother, Edmund de Bohun (d.c. 1349), consisted of a round seal with the de Bohun coat of arms.<sup>363</sup> His arms are described in a roll of arms of the reign of Edward II as having a bend *argent* and *gules*.<sup>364</sup>

Humphrey VI's brother, Gilbert de Bohun, had a seal measuring 25mm with the de Bohun coat of arms with the bend cotised, hanging from three small trees or bushes. His arms are described in the same roll of arms mentioned above as being the arms of Hereford with three scallops *gules* on the bend.<sup>365</sup> The seal impression of a seal belonging to Gilbert's son, Oliver de Bohun, has also survived. It dates from 1335, measures 22mm, and shows a shield with the de Bohun coat of arms differenced with three scallops on the bend. Above and on each side of the shield is a swan standing with closed wings.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> TNA, DL 25/1957/1624; TNA, DL 25/1812/1488. These seals are reproduced in Appendix D (r) and (s). The smaller seal is probably a counterseal.

<sup>363</sup> TNA DL 25/1811 (document, dated 1317, relating to property in Friskney, Lincolnshire). See also, TNA, DL 25/1805; TNA, DL 25/2043; TNA, DL 27/139; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 518; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13.

<sup>364</sup> *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Edward II*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (London, 1829), p. 79. The arms of a Humphrey de Bohun are also included in the roll and described as the arms of Hereford with a bend ermine (p. 80). Given that the author states that the roll was most likely compiled between 1308 and 1314, this Humphrey may be Edmund's brother, mentioned in the will of John de Bohun (d. 1328). Alternatively, they could have been the early arms of Humphrey VIII.

<sup>365</sup> Nicolas, *A Roll of Arms*, p. 81. The surviving impressions of this seal are dated 1316 and 1234-1300. TNA, DL 25/1752; TNA, DL 25/709. See also, Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, I, 212 and II, 59.

<sup>366</sup> TNA DL 25/1590/1294; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 521 (dated 1334). A facsimile impression of this seal is held at the Society of Antiquaries. It is reproduced in Appendix D (q). Although the figures on the bend are described as scallops in the TNA catalogue, they are not well delineated and it is difficult to tell what they are. However, the fact that they are scallops is probably confirmed by the description of Gilbert de Bohun's coat of arms, described above. This is also evidence that Oliver was Gilbert's son. Interestingly, the letter "N", for "BOHUN" in the legend of the seal is inverted in the same way as one of the seals of Humphrey IV. See Appendix D (a).

## b. Burials

Any discussion of a medieval family's sense of identity must take into account the burial desires of its members, since few factors are more suggestive of how a person viewed himself or herself and wished to be remembered than how and where he or she chose to be buried. In an age when it was common for noble families to be identified with a particular religious house, the de Bohuns constituted no exception. Two religious houses are particularly associated with the family: Llanthony Priory and Walden Abbey. Llanthony Priory, near Gloucester, was founded by Miles earl of Hereford in 1136, originally as a cell of the Priory of Llanthony in Monmouthshire, and for this reason called Llanthony Secunda.<sup>367</sup> This church was the burial place of Miles, his brothers and sisters, and of the de Bohun family until the death of Humphrey VI, third earl of Hereford and second earl of Essex in 1298, after which time the family began to be buried at Walden Abbey.<sup>368</sup> Walden Abbey had been founded as a Benedictine priory in 1136 by Geoffrey de Mandeville, the first earl of Essex of that family, and raised to the rank of an abbey in the reign of Richard I. It was dedicated to the honour of God, St. Mary and St. James.<sup>369</sup> The first de Bohun earl of Essex, by right of his mother, was Humphrey IV (d. 1275), the second earl of Hereford. Yet it was not until his grandson's death, in 1298, that a de Bohun earl came to be buried at Walden. We can only speculate as to why the second de Bohun earl of Essex chose a different burial place from that of his ancestors, but since he died at Pleshey, which came to the de Bohuns with the earldom of Essex, it is most likely that he developed in his lifetime a stronger allegiance to the religious house associated with his new ancestral home. A Chronicle of Walden Abbey states that "fecit multa bona nostro monasterio".<sup>370</sup> For the next three generations, except in a few exceptional circumstances, the de Bohuns would rest at Walden Abbey. The exceptions were either the result of treason or piety. Humphrey V (d. 1265), son of Humphrey IV (d. 1275), died in captivity at Beeston Castle, near Chester, and

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<sup>367</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 127.

<sup>368</sup> See Appendix F, showing the burial places of the de Bohun family, the Gloucester earls of Hereford, and the Mandeville earls of Essex.

<sup>369</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 133.

<sup>370</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 134.

was buried at Combermere Abbey.<sup>371</sup> Humphrey VII (d. 1322) died in battle at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, and was buried at the church of the Friars Preachers in York, although he had expressed a desire in his will to be buried at Walden Abbey. Both of them died in treasonous circumstances fighting against their king. John de Bohun (d. 1335/6), fifth earl of Hereford, was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Stratford Langthorne, near London.<sup>372</sup> Although it is not clear why he was buried there (no will has survived), this is most likely the result of a personal desire on his part arising from his piety. Like his brother Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), John had to surrender the constablership of England in 1330 to his brother Edward owing to infirmity. He then went on pilgrimage to Santiago. His brother Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), expressed a wish in his will to be buried at the church of the Austin Friars in London, and this was due to his devotion to the order, which is evident from his will and patronage.<sup>373</sup> The last members of the de Bohun family to be buried at Walden were two children of Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399): her son and heir Humphrey (d. 1399) and her daughter Joan (d. 1400).

It is not clear where other members of the de Bohun family descending from Humphrey IV were buried. We know only that his grandson John de Bohun (d. 1328) wished to be buried at the conventual church of Kersey, in Suffolk.<sup>374</sup> However, Humphrey IV's son, John de Bohun of Haresfield (d. 1292), chose to re-bury his mother, Matilda of Avenbury, at Llanthony Priory seventeen years after her death. She had died at Sorges in Gascony in 1273 and been buried there, and her son had her body moved to Llanthony and buried "with great solemnity" in the priory's choir next to Humphrey IV.<sup>375</sup>

### c. Burial Monuments

Only two burial monuments survive commemorating members of the de Bohun family, and this is because they were not at Llanthony Secunda or Walden Abbey,

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<sup>371</sup> Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey IV de', p. 443.

<sup>372</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

<sup>373</sup> See Ch. 4.

<sup>374</sup> TNA, KER/624.

<sup>375</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135.

which were both destroyed. One, the monument of Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391), survives as part of a joint commission with that of her husband in Exeter cathedral. Their effigies rest above a tomb chest in a chantry established at the cathedral by her son William and possibly herself in 1385, six years before her death.<sup>376</sup> Margaret's effigy has two swans at its feet, with chains around their necks.<sup>377</sup> The tomb has been heavily restored, so it is not possible to be certain that it is a true replica of the original.

The second surviving de Bohun monument, belonging to Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399), survives in Westminster Abbey. All three monuments reflect their owner's pride in being a member of the de Bohun family, but Eleanor's is distinctive. She was the last de Bohun heiress and wanted to be remembered as such. Eleanor's brass at Westminster Abbey symbolizes her profound family loyalties and her desire to be remembered as an important link between illustrious families. The first fact to be noted is that she chose to be buried at Westminster Abbey, rather than Walden Abbey, the traditional de Bohun resting place, or the college of Pleshey founded by her and her husband. It is not unusual that she should choose to be buried with her husband, as this was standard practice at the time and Thomas was of higher status, being a member of the royal family with access to the most prestigious burial place. Eleanor's great-grandfather, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), had buried his first two children, who died at a very young age, at Westminster Abbey, presumably because of the rights afforded by his marriage to Elizabeth Plantagenet.<sup>378</sup> Humphrey's loyalties later changed, and Elizabeth herself was buried at Walden Abbey, the resting place

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<sup>376</sup> Her husband's executors were granted royal permission to grant two churches to endow the chantry in 1377 and his tomb was made in 1378. David N. Lepine, 'The Courtenays and Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', *Devonshire Association Transactions*, 134 (1992), 41-58 (pp. 52-3).

<sup>377</sup> The effigy is reproduced in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 34.

<sup>378</sup> Sir Charles Peers and Lawrence E. Tanner, 'On Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 93 (1949), 151-60; see also Ward, 'Wheel of Fortune', p. 162, which discusses the surviving account roll for the journey of their first-born son from Knaresborough (north Yorkshire) to his burial in Westminster Abbey.

chosen by Humphrey for his own burial.<sup>379</sup> Before Eleanor, no other members of the de Bohun family, with the exception noted above, had been buried at Westminster.

Eleanor's will is very specific with regards to her burial place and very interesting in the context of her husband's death. She wished to be buried "in the church of the Abbey of Westminster, in the chapel of Saint Edmund the King and of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, next to the body of my lord and husband Thomas Duke of Gloucester, son of Edward third, and if the body of my said lord should be removed in time, I wish my body to repose and stay in the aforesaid chapel and place."<sup>380</sup> Eleanor's desire to be buried in Westminster Abbey arose from a wish to be near her husband, but also out of a sense that Westminster Abbey provided the best venue for her and her family to be remembered. This was the place where kings and queens were buried, and she wanted to not only lay among them, but also to have her brass seen, her epitaph read, and her and her family remembered for eternity. It is not clear why she feared Thomas' removal to another resting place, but presumably this was due to his status as a traitor and her fear that his nephew the king might not wish him to be in such a prominent and honourable place. When she wrote her will, Richard II was still on the throne. It appears that Thomas may have been moved once before, after an initial burial at Pleshey College.<sup>381</sup> If Thomas' body was removed from Westminster, Eleanor's

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<sup>379</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 135. Elizabeth died before her husband, and since she did not leave a will we cannot know who chose her final resting place, but presumably it was Humphrey who decided where she should be buried. He was killed at the battle of Boroughbridge and his wish to be buried at Walden Abbey was not fulfilled.

<sup>380</sup> The original states "en lesglise de labbeie de Westmonstre eins la chapell de saint Edmond le Roy et de saint Thomas de Cantirbirs juxte le corps de mon Sr [seignour] et mari Thomas Duc de Gloucestre et cete fitz au Roy Edward le tierce et tout foit q le corps de mon dit seignour et mari soit en temps avenir remue, si veule q mon corps repose et demer en lavantdit chapelle et lieu". *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 177-78.

<sup>381</sup> Gough says that on arrival in England the Duke's body was deposited at Pleshey college, but a warrant was issued to Eleanor to convey it to Bermondsey Abbey and there keep it in the church until further orders. Presumably after this the body was conveyed to Westminster Abbey. Gough, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 142-43 (citing Holinshed and Weever). Holinshed writes that the duke's body was "with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of



desire to be near him took second place to her need for her and her family to be remembered as one of the most powerful and ancient families of her time.

Another insight into Eleanor's personality and sense of identity appears in the description of her desired burial written in her will. She specifies that her body should be covered with a black tapestry with a white cross and an escutcheon of her arms in the middle of such cross, and four round wax tapers and eight plain lamps at the four corners. She further specifies that fifteen poor men, each holding a torch, should surround her coffin, five at the front and five on each side, and that each should be dressed in "a gown, a hood, and a pair of breeches of good strong blue cloth of deep color, and let the said gowns and hoods be lined with white".<sup>382</sup> She ends by stating that all of the tapers, lamps and torches should only be lit around her dead body during the time of the divine service. It is perhaps in this dramatic and detailed account of how she wished her funeral to be conducted, more than anywhere else, that we get a sense of Eleanor's pride in her lineage and the importance she gave to public display and ceremony. Her words conjure an unforgettable image, probably common at the time, but not often glimpsed, of the burial of a great fourteenth-century noblewoman. Her coat of arms, presumably the same as that shown on her seal and thus featuring the royal arms of England and old France impaling de Bohun, features prominently in the centre of the white cross on her coffin, for all to see. Her body, carried by fifteen men into the church, is lit up by a total of twenty-seven lights during the service. Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that she chose to dress the fifteen poor men in rich blue cloth lined in white, the de Bohun colours. Eleanor's description of the correct

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Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected." *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. H. Ellis, 6 vols (London: J. Johnson, 1807), II, 837. This was later repeated by Weever and Sandford, both of whom added that his relics were later removed and laid under a marble inlaid with brass in the king's chapel at Westminster. John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments, of Great Britain, Ireland and the Islands adjacent* (London: Tooke, 1767); Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England* (London: Nicholson, 1707), p. 233.

<sup>382</sup> The original states "en un goune, un large chaperon, un pe de chauses de bon fort drap blu de p[ro]found colour et soient les dites gounes et chap[er]ons doubles ove blanket". *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 178; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, pp. 644-45.

blue to be used is reminiscent of the “deep blue silk” in Humphrey de Bohun’s banner described in the roll of Caernaveron, already discussed.<sup>383</sup> She may have wanted a royal burial at Westminster Abbey, but during her funeral Eleanor wished to remind everyone that she was a member of a great and ancient family dynasty: the de Bohuns.

Eleanor’s brass, reproduced in Appendix G, shows an effigy of a woman with her hands joined at the centre in prayer, surrounded by “a triple canopy, springing from pinnacled shafts and richly decorated with cusping, spandrel-ornaments, pinnacles, crockets and finials; six shields of arms suspended from the canopy-shafts; and a border inscription on fillets of metal”.<sup>384</sup> She is wearing a simple tunic and above the head “is adjusted a coverchef, from beneath which are apparent a wimple and coif or species of cap, both of them plaited or crimped”.<sup>385</sup> The long mantle around her shoulders is tied very simply at the front and her head rests upon two richly decorated square pillows with tassels, superimposed at odd angles to each other. The coats of arms on her dexter side represent, from top to bottom, her husband’s (old France and England, quarterly, with a silver bordure to differentiate it from his father the king), her father’s (*azure*, a bend *argent* cotised *or* between 6 lioncels *or*) and a shield held by an angel and showing two bends which Boutell and others have attributed to Miles earl of Hereford, from whom the earldom of Hereford passed to the de Bohuns (*gules*, two bends, the one *or*, the other *argent*). On her sinister side the first shield displays the arms of Thomas of Woodstock impaling those of de Bohun and Hereford, quarterly. The second shield represents the arms of Eleanor’s father and mother, bearing de Bohun impaling, quarterly, 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> *gules*, a lion rampart *or* (Fitzalan) and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, *chequée or* and *azure* (Warren).<sup>386</sup> The lower sinister coat of arms has not survived but Sandford details it as being a swan gorged and chained.<sup>387</sup> The

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<sup>383</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>384</sup> Boutell, ‘Monumental Brasses’, p. 69. Appendix G shows a drawing of Eleanor’s brass reproduced in Boutell, ‘Monumental Brasses’, p. 67. A drawing of Eleanor’s brass is also reproduced by Sandford. It predates Boutell’s by over a century, but it is not as detailed. Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 232.

<sup>385</sup> Boutell, ‘Monumental Brasses’, p. 71.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

<sup>387</sup> Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 232.

corbels on the canopy have a lion and a plain swan on opposite sides, and running along the bottom of the effigy is some foliage with small round circles enclosing swans with closed wings, some plain and some with coronets and chains. The spandrel ornaments in the canopy on either side show the face of a lion and the middle ornament has a swan with closed wings and a coronet and chain.<sup>388</sup> It is likely that the brass was originally enamelled, since the swans adorning the bottom border still show signs of this.

It is interesting that in her dexter side, where the arms of her husband and father appear, Eleanor includes not just her de Bohun lineage, but also the coat of arms with two bendlets which historians have associated with Miles of Gloucester, from whom the de Bohuns inherited the earldom of Hereford.<sup>389</sup> The same shield appears on two of Thomas's seals, in one of them as a small shield impaled quarterly with de Bohun, exactly as it appears on the sinister side of Eleanor's effigy.<sup>390</sup> The shields on Eleanor's brass thus take her family line as far back in time as possible, to the origins of the earldom of Hereford.

The inscription on Eleanor's brass proclaims her exalted status as the daughter and wife of exceptional men. It reads as follows:

+ Cy gist Alianore de Bohun eisne fille & un des heirs a lonurable  
seigneur mons' Humfrey de Bohun Counte de Hereford' Dessex & de  
Northampton' & Conestable Denglet're. ffemme a puissant & noble  
Prince Thomas de Wodestoke filz a tresexcellent & trepuissant seigneur  
Edward Roy Denglet're puis le conquest tierz & Duc de Gloucestre  
Counte Dessex' & de Bukyngham & Conestable Denglete're Qe morrust

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<sup>388</sup> Boutell, 'Monumental Brasses', pp. 72, 76-77. Sandford's drawing does not show any of these details.

<sup>389</sup> For the significance of these arms see the discussion of her husband Thomas' seals below.

<sup>390</sup> Reproduced in Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 125. Since Thomas was not styled earl of Hereford, the logical explanation is that this shield stood for the Constableness of England, an office assumed by Thomas by right of his wife.

le tierz jour Doctob'r lan du [grace Mill ccclxxxix D'qui alme Dieux face  
Mercy. Amen.]<sup>391</sup>

These words make clear the importance to Eleanor's society of lineage and family history. Eleanor is defined by her status as daughter and wife of extremely powerful men, and each one of their titles is enumerated for all to remember. She is first defined as daughter and heiress, and second as wife. This may simply be the natural order in which these events occurred in her life, but it gives the distinct impression that being born a de Bohun and becoming co-heiress of her family fortune was just as important as being married to a prince. The heraldic symbols decorating the brass reinforce this message to the fullest extent possible. The inscription and heraldry are also meant as a remembrance of Eleanor's father, Humphrey IX (d. 1373) and her husband Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397), both now defunct.

There is no evidence to suggest who commissioned Eleanor's brass, but the amount of detail in her will regarding her burial arrangements suggests that she may have given some thought to its design during her lifetime. It is possible that the design may have been influenced by that of Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London (d. 1404). The bishop's canopied brass in St Paul's cathedral, now lost but illustrated by Dugdale, looks remarkably similar to Eleanor's.<sup>392</sup> Braybrooke had confirmed the statutes of Pleshey College in 1395, and he accompanied Richard II to Ireland in 1399, at the time that Eleanor's son and heir, Humphrey, died. Bishop Braybrooke was close to Thomas of Woodstock during his lifetime and his nephew, Gerard Braybrooke (d. 1429), is the first named executor in Eleanor's will. He was appointed constable of Pleshey castle by Eleanor's mother, Joan, countess of Hereford, for the nine months following Eleanor's death, and remained in Joan's council until her death in 1419, being named as an executor in her will. Gerard

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<sup>391</sup> Boutell, 'Monumental Brasses', p. 77. The words in brackets are not legible in Eleanor's brass and were taken by Boutell from written records of Eleanor's brass.

<sup>392</sup> The bishop's brass, drawn by W. Hollar for W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London: Warren, 1658), is reproduced in W. Benham, *Old St. Paul's Cathedral* (London: Seeley, 1902), plate 20b. I am grateful to Dr. Nigel Saul for first suggesting this similarity.

Braybrooke was also an executor of his uncle Robert's will.<sup>393</sup> Given the similarities between Robert's brass in St. Paul's Cathedral and Eleanor's brass, it is very likely that Gerard had a hand in their design and execution, although Joan de Bohun must also have had some input. Regardless of who designed the brass, there is no doubt that Eleanor would have been proud of it. It announces to the world her ancient lineage and her ties to the royal Plantagenets, and its beauty and simplicity continue to impress those who see it and ensures that centuries later her family is still remembered.

The matrix of one more monument, that of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham (d. 1460) and his wife, Anne, in Pleshey church, has also survived, providing details of what the monument must have looked like. Their joint inlaid brass is now lost, but from the outlines of its matrix, now set against the east wall of the nave, it appears that it represented the duke wearing the long full robe of the order of the garter probably over armour, his head resting upon a tilting helm surmounted by his crest: out of a ducal coronet gules, a swan's head erect between two wings elevated. Anne was represented attired in a long full gown, probably also heraldically emblazoned, with her head on a cushion supported on each side by small figures of angels. Above the effigies was a double-triple canopy in two tiers or stages, sixty-six inches in total height.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> Gerard Braybrooke was constable of Pleshey castle from c. October 1399 to c. June 1400. <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/braybrooke-sir-gerard-ii-1354-1429> [accessed 14 May 2015]>

<sup>394</sup> Few brasses now existing have a canopy as elaborate as this. Miller Christy and W. W. Porteus, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 7 (1900), 1-32 (pp. 25-28).

### **C. The de Bohun Descendants: Pride of Lineage**

The de Bohun family provides a striking example of how a dynasty could survive and be remembered long after the death of its last representative. This was the result of their descendants' willingness to embrace their ancient de Bohun lineage and use the symbols long associated with the family. What makes the de Bohun family unique is that this occurred not only in Eleanor de Bohun's line of descent, culminating in the Stafford dukes of Buckingham, but also in the royal line of descent from Eleanor's younger sister, Mary de Bohun. The motivation for the Stafford family is not difficult to understand. Laying claim to a lineage that was more ancient than their own enhanced the legitimacy of their titles and gave them enormous prestige. Yet the reasons why Thomas of Woodstock and Henry of Lancaster embraced their wives' heritage despite their own superior royal blood are less obvious.

#### **a. Thomas of Woodstock**

Thomas of Woodstock was enormously proud of his royal heritage. When he married Eleanor de Bohun, however, he embraced his wife's de Bohun inheritance and sought to make it his own. He seems to have attempted to combine their lineages to create a unique dynasty. The ultimate expression of this desire was his foundation of Pleshey College jointly with his wife.<sup>395</sup> It is not clear why Thomas identified himself so strongly with his wife's de Bohun family and its ancestry. As a royal prince, his own lineage took precedence over his wife's and would have been sufficient on its own. Other men in a similar position did not necessarily take any personal pride in the extinct lineages of their wives. Anthony Goodman has pointed out that John of Gaunt, Thomas' brother, did not identify himself primarily with his wife's Lancastrian ancestry, at least in emblematic terms, adopting his own collar of "esses" and preferring instead to emphasize his royal heritage.<sup>396</sup> Thomas' use of the swan and his wife's coat of arms are probably linked to his position as a younger son, his piety and his love of chivalry. Thomas received the

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<sup>395</sup> The foundation of Pleshey college is discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>396</sup> Goodman, 'John of Gaunt', pp. 73-4.

earldom of Essex and the Constableness of England in right of his wife, and his revenues throughout his life came mostly from de Bohun lands.<sup>397</sup> In addition, many of his servants were from families that had traditionally served the de Bohuns.<sup>398</sup> This is important to understanding his willingness to identify himself with the de Bohun family, as it helped him to obtain the loyalty and support of men he needed for his military retinue. Yet this is only one aspect of Thomas' identification with the de Bohun family. On another level, the de Bohun family's history, as represented by its heraldic symbols, must have resonated with Thomas' piety and his love of chivalry. The de Bohuns were an ancient family associated with all the romantic ideals related to crusading and military prowess, and Thomas was particularly susceptible to the appeal of these values. He was a devout man, as shown not only by his attempt in 1391 to go to Prussia on crusade, but more personally by his relationship with the minoresses next to his London home, his patronage of several religious houses, and his foundation of Pleshey College.<sup>399</sup> He was also the son of Edward III and a man of his time, who loved ancient tradition and the timeless codes of chivalry. Evidence of this can be seen, among other things, in the many historical and romantic tomes in his extensive library, his authorship of a treatise on the order of battle in the Court of Chivalry, and his great pride in being a member of the Order of the Garter.<sup>400</sup>

i. Thomas' Seals

The clearest manifestation of Thomas' willingness to embrace his wife's heritage can be seen in the surviving impressions of five of his seals, including two seals

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<sup>397</sup> For a discussion of Thomas' finances see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 88-94. For a discussion of all the lands and mansions returned to Eleanor after the forfeiture of Thomas' possessions, including the castle and manor of Pleshey, the manors of High Easter, Waltham, Great Waltham, Wicks and Shenfield, see *CIM*, VI, 120-22, 130-1.

<sup>398</sup> Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>399</sup> See discussion in Ch. 4.

<sup>400</sup> On Thomas' crusading see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 57-8. Thomas and Eleanor patronized the abbeys of Westminster, St Albans, Barking and Walden, as well as several other religious houses: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 82. For a full discussion of Thomas of Woodstock's character, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 74-86.

designed for the college of Pleshey. These combine de Bohun swans and royal symbols, such as the ostrich feather and the lion, with his royal coat of arms and his wife's coat of arms, which impaled her husband's arms with those of her de Bohun ancestors. Yet Thomas went further, resuscitating old de Bohun symbols which had significance for him, such as the Trinity trefoil and a coat of arms associated with Miles of Gloucester.

Drawings of two of Thomas' personal seals appear in Sandford's *Genealogical History*. A small one, attached to a letter of attorney and dated 8 January 1391 has a legend that reads "le seal \_\_\_\_ s \_\_\_\_ du Roy duc de gloucestrie \_\_\_\_ Angleterre", and must have originally stated "le seal Thomas fils du Roy duc de gloucestrie contabulaire Angleterre". It has three shields suspended from a bifurcated tree. In the middle of the tree hangs Thomas' personal shield as son of Edward III, showing the arms of England and France with a border. Above it is a helmet with a crowned lion at its crest. From the two separate branches of the bare tree trunk hang two identical blank shields with two bends. At the bottom of the tree, on each side of the trunk, are two swans, with no chains or crowns. On four corners surrounding the coats of arms and swans are pointed decorations ending in fleurs de lys.<sup>401</sup>

The second drawing shows a much larger impression of another seal belonging to Thomas that was attached to the foundation charter of Pleshey College. It was impressed in green wax, and the legend states that it is the seal of Thomas as son of the king of England, duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham and Constable of England. In it is a knight in full armour on horseback with a sword on his right hand and a shield on his left. The shield, armour and the horse's trappings are all decorated with Thomas' coat of arms. The field behind the horse and rider is diapered with swans and ostrich feathers. Above the seal is a much smaller counter seal attached with a string. According to Sandford, this measured 1.5 inches in diameter and was impressed in red wax. It shows three circles forming a triangle inside a larger circle with, in between the circles, three trefoils.

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<sup>401</sup> These seals are reproduced by Sandford in his *Genealogical History*. See Appendix H. Sandford, *Genealogical History*, pp. 125, 229.



The top circle contains Thomas' helm and crest. The dexter bottom one contains Thomas' arms. On the sinister side is a shield quartered with the de Bohun coat of arms (one and four) and a blank shield with two bends (two and three).<sup>402</sup>

An impression of a third personal seal dated 1395 shows Thomas' coat of arms surrounded by an ostrich feather on each side with a garter laid along each quill. An open winged swan sits atop the coat of arms in a way remarkably similar to the design of the counterseal used by Humphrey VII (d. 1322), fourth earl of Hereford.<sup>403</sup> The main difference is that in Thomas' seal the swan is ducally gorged and chained, a characteristic that was probably introduced by Thomas.<sup>404</sup>

The impressions of two seals designed for the college of Pleshey have also survived.<sup>405</sup> The larger one is round and has symbols representing the Trinity at the centre, surrounded by the four apostles. The two founders, Thomas and Eleanor, are in separate niches below the Trinity. On the dexter side above his image is Thomas' coat of arms, hanging from a bush, and on the sinister side is Eleanor's own coat of arms, impaling the de Bohun arms with those of her husband. Below both shields is a swan with closed wings. In between the swans and the coats of arms is a small trefoil. A smaller oval seal shows the kneeling figures of Thomas and Eleanor offering a church to the figure of the Trinity. Above and below them are their respective coats of arms. In between the two coats of arms at the bottom of the seal is a swan.

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<sup>402</sup> Sandford, *Genealogical History*, pp. 125, 229. The seal is reproduced in Appendix H.

<sup>403</sup> TNA, DL 27/170; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 43; Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 162. For a discussion of Humphrey VII's seal see Ch. 2. The seals are reproduced in Appendix I.

<sup>404</sup> There is no evidence of any chains or crowns in de Bohun swans prior to Eleanore and Thomas' use of that badge. For the argument that Thomas of Woodstock and Henry Bolingroke were the first ones to add a golden coronet and chain to the de Bohun swans see Gough, 'Swan of Buckingham', p. 257; Boutell, 'Monumental Brasses', p. 75.

<sup>405</sup> The seals are reproduced in Appendix K. An impression of the smaller seal, measuring 70x40mm is in TNA, DL 25/754/590. A fragment of the larger seal, measuring 100mm in diameter, is in TNA, DL 25/743/589. See also, Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 703-4.

The most interesting aspect of Thomas' seals is the way in which he has adopted three de Bohun symbols: the swan, the trefoil and the arms with two bends, and has made them his own. These symbols were not simply those used by his father-in-law. In fact, not one of them was used by Humphrey IX (d. 1373) as an identity badge in any of his surviving seal impressions.<sup>406</sup> Thomas actively sought de Bohun symbols from the family's past that resonated with him and enriched his own image in valuable ways. By making these images part of his own identity he was taking on the de Bohun mantle left vacant by the family's failure to have male heirs. Yet he was also portraying himself as a pious knight with ties to an ancient crusading family and reminding everyone of the centuries-old hereditary right imbued in his title as constable of England.

The de Bohun symbol of which Thomas made the greatest use of was the de Bohun swan. This is interesting because, as already discussed, Humphrey VII (d. 1322) was the only de Bohun earl to use the swan in his seal. The swan must have appealed to Thomas not only as a symbol of the de Bohuns' ancient heritage, but, perhaps more importantly for a man of Thomas' piety, as a symbol representing the Crusades and the bloodline of Godfrey de Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem. Thomas and Eleanor's homes at Pleshey and London contained many furnishings embroidered with swans, and the inventories of their goods make several references to Godfrey de Bouillon. At Pleshey, one of the largest tapestries of Arras, worth £45, represented Godfrey de Bouillon's conquest of the city of Jerusalem, and the libraries at both Pleshey and London contained copies of the history of Godfrey de Bouillon.<sup>407</sup> Thomas possessed many items associating him personally with the swan badge. An inventory of goods delivered by Eleanor to the king after his death contains items such as "two silver ewers with swans in the manner of the letter T".<sup>408</sup> When Thomas and Eleanor's first child, Anne, was born in 1383, John of Gaunt presented Thomas with a christening gift consisting of "a

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<sup>406</sup> For a discussion of Humphrey IX's seal see Ch. 2.

<sup>407</sup> E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels', pp. 288, 303; TNA, C 257/58 6A (now faded and illegible in parts), transcribed in *CIM*, VI, 223-25 (224). The book at Pleshey is described as "j large livre de Godefray de Boillou ove claspes dargent enorrez t enamaillez" and was valued at 13s 4d, whereas the book in London was valued at double that price, 26s 8d.

<sup>408</sup> Stratford, *Richard II*, p. 416.

pair of silver basins gilded and engraved on the borders with collars and swans, and with Thomas' arms in the bowls".<sup>409</sup> Five years later, in 1388, Thomas gave to St Albans' Abbey a round brooch containing a swan with wings raised.<sup>410</sup>

Thomas' use of the trefoil in both his personal counterseal and next to the swans in the largest seal designed for Pleshey must have been motivated by his devotion to the Trinity. The design of the counterseal itself, with three coats of arms in a triangular formation inside a circle, must have been meant as a reference to the Trinity. As discussed in Chapter 4, Thomas was not alone in his devotion to this fundamental symbol of Christianity. It enjoyed widespread popularity among the royal family and the nobility during the fourteenth century. Yet, as also discussed, Thomas' use of the trefoil in his seals had been echoed by his wife's ancestors probably as early as the twelfth century, and this is most likely what inspired Thomas to adopt the symbol.<sup>411</sup>

The third de Bohun symbol adopted by Thomas was inspired by his title as constable of England. The blank shield with two bends that appears in Thomas' first two seals discussed above was most likely meant to represent this hereditary office traditionally held by the de Bohun family. It also appears on Eleanor's seal, as a lozenge held by an angel, and by itself on her brass effigy. Here, it has no relation to Thomas. It represents her lineage as a proud member of the de Bohun family, hereditary constables of England. A description of the arms of the constable of England does not appear in any of the early rolls of arms, yet the inventories of the goods forfeited from Pleshey castle and from Thomas and Eleanor's London home refer to the arms of the constable being printed on certain items on their own, evidencing the fact that, at least at that time, they existed as arms independently of the de Bohun coat of arms. The obvious conclusion is that the "arms of the constableness" referred to in the inventories is the blank shield with two bends used by Thomas and Eleanor. This coat of arms is most likely to have originally belonged to Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford, from whose

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<sup>409</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 240.

<sup>410</sup> BL, Cotton MS Nero D.x, f. 110; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 243.

<sup>411</sup> See Ch. 2.

family the de Bohuns received the hereditary right to be constables of England.<sup>412</sup> However, there is no evidence that the arms were used by the de Bohuns before Thomas, as they do not appear in any of the surviving seals relating to the family.<sup>413</sup> Thomas was appointed to the office of Constable in right of his wife, but he was never earl of Hereford. Instead, he received the earldom of Essex, represented by the quartered coat of arms belonging to Geoffrey de Mandeville.<sup>414</sup> Thomas never used de Mandeville's coat of arms. Since Thomas had no right to use the de Bohun coat of arms, except to represent his wife, he may have started using the blank shield with two bends to signify his office of Constable.

ii. Thomas' Brass

Thomas' brass over his burial place in Westminster Abbey is now lost, but known to us from the engraving in Sandford's *Genealogical History*. The faint impression of the inlays in the surviving Purbeck marble slab bears out the general accuracy of Sandford's engraving.<sup>415</sup> The brass was of quite exceptional character. It showed Thomas and Eleanor standing, one above the other, below an image of the Holy Trinity surrounded by Thomas' parents and all of his siblings, each standing under a small canopy surmounted by his or her coat of arms.<sup>416</sup> The memorial purpose of the brass appears to be the placement of Thomas firmly within the

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<sup>412</sup> Sandford associates the blank shield with two bends with the arms of Miles of Gloucester, earl of Essex. Boutell describes it as *gules*, two bends, one *or* and the other *argent*. However, there is no independent proof of this in surviving charters, rolls of arms, or seal impressions. Miles of Gloucester's seal as reproduced in *Archaeologia* 14, plate xlvii, p. 278, does not show any arms, and there are no rolls of arms at such an early date. The use of the double bended coat of arms seems to be unique to Thomas and Eleanor and I have not been able to find any primary source that identifies these arms as Miles'. See Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 229; Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, pp. 132-5. See also, Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms*, p. 107.

<sup>413</sup> As already noted, however, the arms were used by Eleanor de Bohun in her tomb effigy. They continued to be used by Thomas and Eleanor's daughter, Anne. They appear in the chasuble associated with her, the only place where it is clear that the bends were one gold and one silver. See discussion below.

<sup>414</sup> This coat of arms is represented in Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals', plate VI (k). It appears in the seals of the earlier de Bohun earls of Hereford. See discussion above.

<sup>415</sup> This information was provided by Dr. Nigel Saul.

<sup>416</sup> Appendix J reproduces the drawing of Thomas' brass that appears in Sandford.

royal family, reminding viewers of his lineage. It is one of the strongest indications of the importance placed by Thomas and his society on family memory and descent, and echoes a theme already used by Thomas in his furnishings at Pleshey.<sup>417</sup> The symbol of the Trinity was obviously important to Thomas, since he dedicated his secular college to it, and it is not surprising to find it taking pride of place in his brass.<sup>418</sup>

We do not know who commissioned the brass, but it is possible that when Thomas founded Pleshey College, which was clearly meant to serve as the burial place for his new dynasty, he gave some thought to what he wanted his memorial to look like. As already discussed, Hollinshed writes that Thomas was buried at Pleshey college in a “goodly Sepulchre provided in his Life-time” and that his reliques were later removed and buried under a marble inlaid with brass in Westminster.<sup>419</sup> One of the seals of Pleshey College, reproduced in Appendix K, bears a remarkable similarity to Thomas’s brass, suggesting that Thomas may have helped design a brass for his tomb at Pleshey. However, Thomas does not appear to have written a will before being arrested, and there is no indication that he knew his life was in imminent danger. The brass may have been commissioned by Eleanor after her husband’s death. Given Eleanor’s preoccupation with lineage and her desire to be buried at Westminster, as befitted a royal wife, it is not inconceivable that she may have designed her husband’s brass. She may also have petitioned for Thomas’ burial at Westminster, rather than the College at Pleshey, where he was first taken upon his body’s arrival in England. Considering the importance placed by both Thomas and Eleanor on lineage, it is easy to imagine them designing a brass that, more than any other, announced to the world Thomas’ royal descent.

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<sup>417</sup> Among the items retrieved from Pleshey by the king’s men was a set of tapestries with the arms of King Edward and his sons with a red and black border (Thomas’ colours), powdered with swans and the de Bohun arms. E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, ‘Inventory of Goods and Chattels’, p. 289.

<sup>418</sup> For a discussion of the Trinity and its relationship to the fourteenth century nobility see Ch.4.

<sup>419</sup> Ellis, *Hollinshed’s Chronicles*, II, p. 837.

## b. Thomas and Eleanor's Descendants

Thomas' dream of a new family dynasty was short lived. His son and heir, Humphrey, died unmarried shortly before his mother in 1399. The combination of the forfeitures relating to Thomas' treason and the death of the only male heir destroyed many of the sources of family memory that could ensure the family's survival and continuation. Yet all was not lost. One daughter, Anne, had been married to the heir of the Stafford family. This marriage had been carefully planned and executed by Thomas. When Anne's first betrothed, Thomas Stafford (d. 1392), died she was promised to his younger brother and when he in turn expired shortly thereafter, Anne married the third surviving brother and heir, Edmund Stafford (d. 1403), fifth earl of Stafford.

Anne continued to identify herself as a de Bohun, and used the swan in her seal. The surviving impression of her seal shows a shield upheld by a swan with open wings. The shield contains a quatrefoil of arms showing a chevron on a scrolled field on the dexter side (Stafford), impaling quarterly 1) France modern, 2) and 3) England (Thomas of Woodstock), 4) a bend cotised between six lions rampant (de Bohun).<sup>420</sup> Between the lobes on the dexter side, one of the surviving impressions shows a Stafford knot, but the other corresponding badges have not survived.<sup>421</sup> It is interesting to note that the swan in Anne's seal has open wings and no crown or collar. The swan supporting her father's coat of arms also had open wings, but it was gorged and chained.<sup>422</sup> The red velvet orphrey on a chasuble associated with Anne contains multiple swans with crowns and chains, one at each side of 12 different shields representing the union of Anne with Edmund Stafford. The orphrey appears to have been adapted from lavish household furnishings, perhaps a nuptial bed.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> TNA, E 213/68; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 98; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, III, 536-37.

<sup>421</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, III, 536-37.

<sup>422</sup> For a drawing of this seal see Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 162.

<sup>423</sup> The chasuble is in the private ownership of Humphrey Butler-Bowdon. It is reproduced in *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, ed. Clare Brown, Glyn Davies and M. A. Michael (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 246-48. Four shields are represented in a vertical line at the front (Stafford, England

Edmund Stafford had his own family symbols on which to draw. However, his family was not so ancient as the de Bohuns, so embracing the symbols of his wife's de Bohun bloodline enhanced his own family's prestige. In addition, his son would inherit the de Bohun lands from his mother and a claim to the de Bohun earldoms. This was probably the reason for Edmund's adoption of the swan. A seal impression of a seal dated 1402 shows that he used the swan as a crest on a helmet in his seal over his own coat of arms.<sup>424</sup> This symbol would be later adopted by his son, Humphrey Stafford.

Edmund and Anne's son and heir, Humphrey Stafford, first duke of Buckingham (d. 1460), proudly laid claim to his de Bohun identity, combining the heritage of both his mother and father. He inherited the earldoms of Hereford, Stafford and Northampton, and his seal after 1442 reflects this, showing a shield couchant quarterly impaling (1) the royal arms of his grandfather Thomas; (2, 3) the de Bohun coats of arms for the earldoms of Essex, Hereford and Northampton; and (4) the arms of Stafford. Like the seal of his father, Humphrey's seal shows as a crest a swan's head and neck between two wings coming out of a coronet, an image also shown in his Garter Stall plate.<sup>425</sup> He is represented by the same coat of arms among the weepers on the side of the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. The swan was also used as a symbol by his wife. A psalter belonging to her contains multiple illustrations of swans, as well as two Stafford badges: antelopes and wheel hubs.<sup>426</sup>

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with a border (Woodstock), Clare, Stafford, in descending order). The orphrey at the back forms a cross, with one shield on each horizontal side (from left to right: Clare, Stafford), and six shields along the vertical axis (de Bohun, Woodstock, Clare, de Bohun, Miles of Gloucester (the constable arms) and, under a canopy, Woodstock). Stafford knots appear above and below the shields.

<sup>424</sup> Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, III, 537.

<sup>425</sup> TNA, E 213/377; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, 98; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, III, 538-9; Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 38. Humphrey's seal is reproduced in Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals', plate XII as well as in Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen*, p. 95.

<sup>426</sup> New York Public Library, MS Spencer 3, pt. II.

Humphrey's descendants continued to use the de Bohun symbols. His son Henry (d. c. 1475) used a standard showing a ducally gorged swan with open wings.<sup>427</sup> Humphrey's grandson and heir, Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham (d. 1483), used only the royal coat of arms of his great-great-grandfather Thomas of Woodstock.<sup>428</sup> However, the de Bohun coats of arms and the swan reappear in the heraldry of Henry's two surviving sons: Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, earl of Hereford, Stafford and Northampton (d. 1521), and his younger brother Henry, earl of Wiltshire (d. 1523).<sup>429</sup> An impression of Edward's seal made in 1519 shows that he used a quartered coat of arms with the arms of Thomas of Woodstock, de Bohun of Hereford, de Bohun of Northampton, and Stafford. Furthermore, the shield of arms on his seal is surrounded by a Garter and surmounted by a crest on a helmet with mantling, a swan's head, neck and wings elevated issuing from a coronet.<sup>430</sup> Edward appears to have been very proud of his de Bohun and Stafford ancestry, using all of the Stafford and de Bohun family badges and adding a previously unknown badge of uncertain origin: a widow's mantle.<sup>431</sup> In 1513 he appeared at the meeting of Henry VIII and Emperor Maximilian in France dressed in "purple sattin, his apparell and his bard full of Antelops and Swans of fine gold bullion and full of spangles".<sup>432</sup> In 1512, Edward commissioned from one Robert Copland a translation into English prose of the French romance "The Knight of the Swan".<sup>433</sup> The reason Edward desired a translation of this romance was given in Copland's own words. He claimed it as an honour for his patron that "from the Knight of the Swan 'linially is dyscended my

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<sup>427</sup> It is reproduced in Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen*, p. 234, fig. 139 and Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, plate XXVII. Henry was a benefactor of Pleshey College and chose to be buried there with his parents, as discussed in Ch. 4. His seal is unknown, so it is not clear whether he used the de Bohun coat of arms.

<sup>428</sup> Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 31.

<sup>429</sup> Edward Stafford was also a benefactor of Pleshey College, as discussed in Ch. 4.

<sup>430</sup> Loyd, *Book of Seals*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>431</sup> An inventory of his plate forfeited to Henry VIII after his execution in 1521 shows several items with these badges, including many swans, and the west gate of his residence at Thornbury Castle displayed a swan badge on a shield along with Edward's other badges. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.2, 272, 244. A surviving floor tile from Thornbury castle with the arms and badges of Edward is reproduced in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 64. It shows a Stafford knot, a flaming cart-nave, a swan and a mantle.

<sup>432</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.2, 244.

<sup>433</sup> Gibbs, *Chevelere Assigne*, pp. xix-xxi.



sayde Lorde”<sup>434</sup> Nearly a century and a half after the death of the last de Bohun earl of Hereford and over two hundred years after Humphrey VII first introduced the swan symbol into his seal as a reminder of the family’s ancient Christian lineage, a Bohun descendant continued to take pride in laying claim to the de Bohun mythic inheritance. Copland’s statement indicates that Edward Stafford’s reasons for identifying himself as a member of the de Bohun family were not simply materialistic. He may have wanted to remind others of his claim to the de Bohun titles and lands, but he was also obviously proud of his ancient lineage in and of itself. Edward’s brother, Henry, also identified himself as a member of the de Bohun family. He did not have a fortune of his own, and became his brother’s retainer and manager of his estates.<sup>435</sup> Yet he too proudly displayed his ancestry. An impression of his seal dated 1519 is quartered with the de Bohun coat of arms.<sup>436</sup>

### **c. Mary’s Descendants**

Eleanor de Bohun’s descendants were not the only ones to remember their de Bohun lineage. Mary’s marriage to the future Henry IV paid off handsomely when it came to family memory. Henry, like his uncle Thomas, was quick to adopt the de Bohun heraldry. As a consequence of his succession to the throne in 1399, the swan remained a royal symbol until the reign of Edward IV. The de Bohun coat of arms is even memorialized in the Edward IV roll, a genealogical table created for Edward IV when he acceded to the throne, illustrating the advantages to family memory of marrying into the royal family.<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> Gibbs, *Chevelere Assigne*, p. xi.

<sup>435</sup> Barbara J. Harris, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478-1521* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 52-53.

<sup>436</sup> *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, ed. T. Woodcock, Janet Grant, Ian Graham, 2 vols (1996), II, 88-89.

<sup>437</sup> US, Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E201. The Roll is digitally illustrated and discussed in <http://www.freelibrary.org/medieval/edward.htm>. It is also reproduced in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 1.

After Mary's death in 1394, Henry took the title of duke of Hereford and a cast of his seal in 1399 shows a shield with his arms (France and England, differenced with a label) impaling the de Bohun arms.<sup>438</sup> Henry made extensive use of the image of the swan.<sup>439</sup> Henry IV's wardrobe accounts before he became king often mention payments for collars with swans, including a payment made in 1397-8 to Herman Goldsmith for making silver collars in the form of swans for Henry's sons John, Henry and Thomas.<sup>440</sup> The symbolism of the silver collars is particularly interesting in relation to the swan legend.

A manuscript in the Harleian Collection dating from the early sixteenth century contains an illustration of a standard born by Henry, probably as duke of Hereford, showing badges of the house of Lancaster and a ducally gorged and chained swan at the centre, parted per fess with the livery colours white and blue.<sup>441</sup> These were, incidentally, the same livery colours worn by the de Bohuns. Holinshed tells us that at the tournament in Coventry that resulted in Henry's banishment in 1398, Henry appeared "mounted on a white courser, barded with green and blue Velvet, embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes of goldsmiths work, armed at all points".<sup>442</sup>

Henry IV's son, the future Henry V, made the swan one of his principal badges. An impression of his seal as prince of Wales shows a swan with open wings above his shield, which looks remarkably similar to Thomas of Woodstock's seal and that of Humphrey VII, already discussed.<sup>443</sup> His wardrobe accounts and the inventories made after his death also make frequent mention of swans. His wardrobe account of 1413/14 states that much of his plate was decorated with swans and provides evidence that the prince used the swan as his livery badge. He ordered "680

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<sup>438</sup> Reproduced in Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, plate 42.

<sup>439</sup> For a full discussion of the use of the swan by Henry IV and Henry V see Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 240-43.

<sup>440</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 241.

<sup>441</sup> T.W., 'Banners, Standards, and Badges, Temp. Hen. VIII', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, III, 49-76 (pp. 56-57), referring to BL, Harleian 4632, ff. 209-225; Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 238.

<sup>442</sup> Ellis, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, p. 847; repeated by Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 266; Gough, 'Swan of Buckingham', p. 258.

<sup>443</sup> Wagner, 'Swan Badge', plate xxxiv (a).

pensels made of bukram stamped with a white swan, sixty standards of worsted each sewn with a white swan, and a trapper of black and red velvet embroidered with swans of gold".<sup>444</sup> A roll dated 1422 containing articles supplied for Henry V's royal ships mentions guidons and standards containing antelopes, ostrich feathers and swans.<sup>445</sup> Yet perhaps the most eloquent testament to Henry V's attachment to the swan appears in his chantry at Westminster Abbey. Swans and antelopes collared and chained to beacons are carved in the frieze above his tomb, and an inventory made in 1467 of the ornaments of Westminster Abbey includes two bankers for the altar of Henry's chapel "wrought with antelopes and swans and the king's arms".<sup>446</sup>

Henry V also appears to have understood the swan as a symbol of Godfrey de Bouillon and the legend of the swan knight. He borrowed from his aunt, Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmoreland (d. 1440), two chronicles of the crusades entitled "the Chronicles of Jerusalem and the voyage of Godfrey de Bouillon".<sup>447</sup>

There is not much evidence that Henry VI used the swan as his emblem, although Writhe's Garter Armorial, dating from c. 1488, gives as one of his badges a swan with wings displayed *argent*, beak *gules*, legs *sable*, ducally gorged and chained *or* on a white background.<sup>448</sup> Henry's son Edward, however, appears to have used the swan badge as prince of Wales. A drawing of his seal shows a swan with open wings ducally gorged and chained standing over his coat of arms.<sup>449</sup>

A swan is also one of the supporters on Edward's arms in the south choir aisle of St George's Chapel in Windsor, and the background of the panel is diapered with swans and feathers.<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 242-3.

<sup>445</sup> W. G. Perrin, *British Flags: Their Early History and their Development at Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 44.

<sup>446</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 243; Gough, 'Swan of Buckingham', p. 258 and plate 256, fig. 3.

<sup>447</sup> Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned', pp. 605-6.

<sup>448</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 243. The same badge is given on a blue background for Henry V.

<sup>449</sup> Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 246; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 243.

<sup>450</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 243.

What is particularly interesting about the de Bohun family is that their heiresses married into the royal family. Considering Thomas and Henry's royal lineage, there was no reason why they should have embraced their wives' symbols with such undeniable enthusiasm. Equally or even more puzzling is the extensive use of the swan by Henry V and its adoption by his grandson, Edward, as prince of Wales. It might appear that the Staffords had more to gain from de Bohun worship, and the choice of Humphrey as a name for the Stafford heir is indicative of where the family's dynastic priorities lay. However, Humphrey Stafford was also descended on his father's side from the ancient families of de Clare and Beauchamp. In terms of lineage, his royal blood was still his greatest asset on his mother's side. His descendants, Edward and Henry Stafford, could add to their pedigree the blood of the Beauforts, at a time when a Beaufort king occupied the throne.

At least part of the reason for the success of the de Bohun family's memory as reflected in their descendants' use of the swan badge must lie in the swan's association with crusading and its value as a chivalric symbol of honour, piety and military prowess. The Swan Knight was chosen by God to fight against evil forces and sire a line of Christian kings. His descendants, both male and female, were rightfully proud of this and wished to remind others of their special status as "the chosen ones". Thomas of Woodstock, Henry IV, Henry V and Humphrey Stafford shared many characteristics that made them ideal candidates for the swan symbol, not least of them their culture, piety, military achievements and love of chivalric traditions. In common with many of the noble soldiers and courtiers of their time they also shared a special devotion to the Trinity, a symbol particularly associated with the Order of the Garter, the Black Prince, and the warrior knights close to the royal circle.<sup>451</sup> The legend of the Swan Knight and its association with the conquest of Jerusalem embodied all of the principles these men and their companions held dear.

When Humphrey VII, fourth earl of Hereford, chose to associate his family with the Swan legend, he could scarcely have imagined the contribution it would make to

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<sup>451</sup> See Ch. 4.

the family's eternal remembrance. A mighty warrior with great dynastic ambitions, he must have been extremely proud of his marriage to a royal princess and his enviable number of sons. But these achievements paled in comparison to the chivalrous image he forged for himself and his descendants through the adoption of the swan symbol. Much like his contemporary, Guy of Warwick, Humphrey realised the power of lineage and its value to future generations, and in forging a powerful image he ensured that his family would be forever remembered.

## Chapter 3

### The Preservation of Dynastic Memory:

#### Manuscripts and Names

All fourteenth-century families were aware of their mortality and the fact that at some distant time in the future they might fail in the male line. Most witnessed this calamity in other families and even benefitted from it, as we have seen. Because of this, during their lifetimes members of noble families were preoccupied with ensuring family memory. They created precious objects that might outlive them and used certain family names from one generation to the next in order to commemorate ancestors and ensure their remembrance. The members of the de Bohun family seem to have been very concerned with ensuring family memory. Inventories of the family's goods and chattels show that coats of arms, badges and livery colours were widely used in beautiful books and on silver, jewellery, valuable furnishings and even clothing.<sup>452</sup> In most of the objects, the pairing of de Bohun arms with those of the royal family is a recurring theme. Apart from the obvious prestige of the royal arms, the symbolic status of the king and his heirs meant that the royal family and its heraldry could, at some level, be considered eternal, and de Bohun family members may have sought to benefit from this association.

The material display of the de Bohun family's heraldry served a double purpose. During the owner's lifetime, it drew attention to his or her position as a member of a powerful noble family, related to the king. Most of the objects were richly decorated and valuable. They were used in every day life, so that those who saw them could appreciate the great wealth of the owner. The heraldry included in the objects was added as a reminder of the owner's family lineage, but also to

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<sup>452</sup> E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels', pp. 288, 303; TNA, C 257/58 6A; *CIM*, vi, 223-25; Stafford Record Office D 641/1/3/2, mm. 1-2, published in Stratford, *Richard II*, pp. 405-17. These inventories are well known and are often used by historians. See e.g. Christopher Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 76-79; Ward, 'Wheel of Fortune'; Stratford, *Richard II*; Turner, 'Inventory'.

associate the wealth and value of the objects with the greatness of the family thus represented. Yet the objects served an even greater purpose as an essential element of family memory. Most of the objects were meant to survive their owners and last through several generations, if not eternally. The heraldry included in them helped to perpetuate family memory by reminding descendants of their illustrious ancestors. In the event of the death of all descendants, the objects would continue to ensure the family's eternal remembrance through their beauty and symbolism. This is most obvious in the eleven surviving illuminated manuscripts commissioned by the de Bohun family between 1316 and 1397.

The preservation of family memory was also accomplished through the use of names given to children. In most noble families the same names were used from one generation to the next, with variations often occurring as a result of a wife's more prestigious lineage or a wish to honour a godparent, a saint, or a particular king or queen. Not all of the names used by the de Bohun family have survived. Children who died young are not always recorded and some sisters and daughters married into families whose records have not survived. However, a study of the known names given to de Bohun children from one generation to the next suggests that there was a desire to ensure family continuity and commemorate ancestors.

## A. The Manuscripts of the de Bohun Family

Illustrations of coats of arms and symbolic badges in manuscripts provide evidence of their owners' desire to commemorate and memorialize their family and its distinguished connections. Books were precious, often personal objects, as can be seen from the number of book bequests in wills. Books were meant to survive their owners into the future. Like effigies, tapestries, or stained glass windows, they had a strong symbolic meaning, and those who commissioned them probably took much care in choosing the illustrations inside them. The de Bohun family is well known for its patronage of literary works and liturgical illuminated manuscripts, many of which may have been produced at a private scriptorium in Pleshey Castle.<sup>453</sup> At least eleven manuscripts dating from the period between 1316 and 1397 are associated with the family.<sup>454</sup> They are among the most important group of manuscripts to be associated with one medieval family.<sup>455</sup> Most of the manuscripts are beautifully illuminated and full of

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<sup>453</sup> Lucy Sandler and Linda Dennison have established that there was a workshop at Pleshey that produced illuminated manuscripts, with resident illuminators. See L. F. Sandler, 'A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts', *Speculum* (1985), 364-72; Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources'. On the de Bohun manuscripts, see also M. R. James and E. G. Millar, *The Bohun Manuscripts*, Roxburghe Club, 1936; L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), I, ills. 364-5, 372-4, II, nos. 137, 141; Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*; Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*; Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary'; Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277', pp. 122-155.

<sup>454</sup> Ten of these manuscripts contain many similarities of form and content unique to the de Bohun manuscripts. See Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 122-26; Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 92-97. For a list of the manuscripts, their dates and the folios in which heraldry and the name of Humphrey appears see Appendix L. The dates and descriptions of heraldry are taken from Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 11 and Appendix 1; Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 250-69; and Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277', Appendix 1.

<sup>455</sup> Other manuscripts associated with the de Bohun family include: a Book of Hours and Psalter belonging to Elizabeth, countess of Northampton (d. 1356), in private ownership, formerly Astor MS A.I; a fragmentary Hours with de Bohun arms, belonging to Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 18.6.5; a missal belonging to Anne, countess of Stafford (d. 1438), Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.11; and a Psalter belonging to Anne, duchess of Buckingham (d. 1480), New York, Public Library MS Spencer 3(b), part II (the Wingfield Psalter). See Appendix L, Nos. 11-15. For Elizabeth de Bohun's fragmentary Hours, now in private hands, see Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, no.



symbolism, including many heraldic coats of arms. Some manuscripts were meant to be displayed and to proclaim the wealth, lineage and status of their owners; others were smaller and more private, yet all of them were meant to serve as memorials of the de Bohun family. As such, they are invaluable evidence of their owners' desire to remind present and future readers of the family's illustrious lineage.

In order to understand why the de Bohun manuscripts were created and the meaning of the heraldic symbols contained in them, it would be helpful to know who commissioned them. However, identifying patrons has proved to be a difficult task. Although many attempts to determine the dating and the ownership of the manuscripts have been made using the techniques of stylistic analysis, heraldry and personalized text, most recently by art historians Lucy Sandler and Lynda Dennison, the difficulties inherent in these methods have led to different opinions. As a result, it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty who commissioned these manuscripts and who owned them in later years.<sup>456</sup> We only know the approximate period of time in which the manuscripts were commissioned. The first manuscript, the Longleat Breviary, was probably commissioned sometime after 1316, and another nine manuscripts were produced from *circa* 1345 to 1390.<sup>457</sup> These dates at least allow us to look at the heraldry in the context of the family's history. The three earliest manuscripts produced after the Longleat Breviary were probably commissioned by Humphrey VIII, sixth earl of Hereford (d. 1361), at Pleshey.<sup>458</sup> After the death of Humphrey VIII in 1361, six more manuscripts were commissioned during the life of the seventh earl, Humphrey IX (d. 1373), and the lives of his wife Joan (d. 1419), and

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111. For MS Adv. 18.6.5, see Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours and Psalter', pp. 231-50.

<sup>456</sup> Appendix L reflects the main discrepancies in dating relating to the manuscripts based on the latest research published by Dennison and Sandler.

<sup>457</sup> Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 10. For a discussion of the Longleat MS see Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary'.

<sup>458</sup> These manuscripts are listed in Appendix L, Nos. 2-4: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1826; Oxford, Exeter College, MS 47; and London, British Library, Egerton MS 3277. Sandler believes that the Egerton Psalter may have been commissioned by Humphrey IX (d. 1373).

daughters Eleanor (d. 1399), and Mary (d. 1394).<sup>459</sup> Some of the manuscripts appear to have been worked on at different stages, sometimes being continued and finished after the original patron died. Sandler has argued that all six of the later manuscripts were commissioned by Joan de Bohun to commemorate the marriage of her daughter Mary with Henry Bolingbroke, but there is no consensus on this.<sup>460</sup>

Most of the de Bohun manuscripts contain several illustrations of the de Bohun coat of arms, but they also contain the coats of arms of other families allied by marriage with them, including: the royal coat of arms of England pre-1340 (representing the union of Humphrey VII with Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), daughter of Edward I); England post-1340 (presumably representing Edward III, cousin of Humphrey VIII and/or the alliances of Eleanor and Mary de Bohun to Thomas of Woodstock and Henry Bolingbroke, respectively); the Butler earls of Ormond (representing the marriage of Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1363) with James Butler, in 1327); and the Courtenay earls of Devon (representing the marriage of Margaret de Bohun (d. 1391) with Hugh de Courtenay, in 1325). Some of the later manuscripts contain in addition: the Lancaster coat of arms; the arms of Castile and Leon; the royal 'heir apparent' arms used by Edward the Black Prince (d. 1376) (believed by some to be the arms of John of Gaunt); and the de Bohun arms for the earldom of Northampton.<sup>461</sup> A glaring omission is the coat of arms of the

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<sup>459</sup> These manuscripts are listed in Appendix L, Nos. 5-10: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.4; Germany, Schloss Pommersfelden, MS 2934 (348); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 547 4°; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 517 4°; and Baden Baden, Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2.

<sup>460</sup> See L. F. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 203, 213-14; Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 26. But see Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources'.

<sup>461</sup> The coats of arms are: England pre-1340 (*gules* three lions passant *or*); England post-1340 (*azure* semy de lis *or* and *gules* three lions passant guardant *or* quarterly); Butler earls of Ormond (*or* a chief indented *azure*); Courtenay earls of Devon (*or* three torteaux a label of three points *azure*); Lancaster (*gules* three lions passant guardant *or*, a label of three points *azure* semy de lis *or*); Castile and Leon (quarterly *gules* a castle *or* and argent a lion rampant *purpure*); Edward, prince of Wales (d. 1376) or the Heir Apparent (England post-1340 with a label of three points *argent*); John of Gaunt (England post-1340 with a label of three points *ermine*); de Bohun, earldom of Northampton (de Bohun, the bend differenced with three mullets *gules*).

Fitzalan earls of Arundel (*gules a lion rampant or*), which only appears in one of the earlier manuscripts, BL Egerton MS 3277, together with other arms, in what seems to be a political context, different than the placement of the other coats of arms discussed above.

Given the difficulty in determining exact dates for the manuscripts, and the degree of inter-relatedness among the nobility of the time, the heraldry included in the manuscripts has been subject to various interpretations that have also influenced the determination of date and ownership of the manuscripts. The conclusions of Dennison and Sandler on the meaning of the diverse coats of arms have been largely dependent on the dating of the manuscript arrived at through primarily stylistic grounds. Yet even assuming that the range of dates provided by Sandler and Dennison is correct, there are other possible conclusions regarding the meaning of the manuscripts' heraldry and consequently their commissioning, intended purpose, and ownership. A different approach, comparing and contrasting the heraldry in the different manuscripts as a whole as dynastic symbols meant to commemorate the family's lineage and alliances, can yield slightly different conclusions, if perhaps no more definite answers.<sup>462</sup>

One of the most important questions raised by the de Bohun manuscripts is the question of what and/or who they were meant to honour or commemorate. The heraldry in the de Bohun manuscripts is not retrospective, as is the case for example with genealogical tables such as the Edward IV roll.<sup>463</sup> Its main purpose does not appear to be to commemorate the ancient lineage of the de Bohun family harking back to William the Conqueror. Instead, the manuscripts appear, as a whole, to have been created for the purpose of commemorating the alliance between the de Bohun family and the royal family through the marriage of Humphrey VII and Elizabeth Plantagenet in 1302, and the family's eternal connection to the royal house thereafter through their children, cousins to

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<sup>462</sup> In the following discussion, I have assumed that Sandler and Dennison both have valid evidence on stylistic grounds for their dating of the manuscripts and I have taken their dates as the only possible options. The only assumptions questioned relate to the interpretation of the heraldry in the manuscripts.

<sup>463</sup> This roll is discussed in chapter 2.

Edward III, and their descendants. The manuscripts do not contain any heraldry associated with any other marital alliances prior to 1302, despite the fact that there were several other important unions, such as the marriage of Humphrey III (d. 1181) with Margaret (d. 1201), sister of King William of Scotland, or the unions that brought claims to the earldoms of Hereford and Essex. This could be partly due to a lack of knowledge of the family's history. It is impossible to know how much each generation knew about the ones preceding it and the limited studies on this subject indicate that this varied with each family.<sup>464</sup> The de Bohun seal designs, however, suggest that the de Bohun earls valued their ancestors' lineage and often proudly adopted their symbols to represent this.<sup>465</sup> Thus it is likely that the decision not to include past family heraldry was, at least in part, a conscious one.

The manuscripts also do not include heraldry representing the marriage alliances between members of the de Bohun family and other noble families between 1302 and 1373. The only exceptions are the marriage alliances made with the Butler, earls of Ormond, and the Courtenay, earls of Devon. These were important families but their inclusion in the earlier manuscripts is most likely due to their being the main alliances that the family formed during the life of the most likely commissioner of the manuscripts, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361). It is unclear why they continued to be included in later manuscripts unless it was as a result of the manuscripts being worked on over several generations of de Bohuns after their initial commission by Humphrey VIII or his son Humphrey IX.<sup>466</sup> What the manuscripts do include, in abundance, is heraldry associated with the royal family, in various different forms.<sup>467</sup> Regardless of who commissioned them, or who were

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<sup>464</sup> See Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry'.

<sup>465</sup> See discussion of seals in Ch. 2.

<sup>466</sup> Another possible explanation is that the scribes were using the earlier models when creating the later manuscripts. However, Sandler states that a sampling of text passages contained in various de Bohun psalters indicates that the scribes did not all copy the same model. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>467</sup> The Lancaster arms are also royal arms, since they are the arms of Edmund, first earl of Lancaster (d. 1272), second son of king Henry III. His arms were *gules*, three lions *passant guardant or*, a label of three or five points *azure*, each charged with three fleurs de lys *or*. He used a label of five points and also of three points, suggesting that the number was unimportant at that time. His brother Edward (d.

their intended owners, it is clear that the manuscripts were meant to record for eternity the union of the de Bohuns with the royal house, forever associating all members of the de Bohun family and their descendants with the royal family. This was an important development to commemorate, but it became much more important in a family soon to fail in the male line. By 1345, when the first manuscripts were created, this was a probability that must have loomed large in Humphrey VIII's mind. After the Earl's death in 1361, his nephew and heir, Humphrey IX, must have spent the last years of his life preparing for this near certainty.<sup>468</sup>

A second question raised by the manuscripts is their intended future use: that is, the extent to which their owners were concerned to ensure that they remained within the family. This question affects the interpretation of the manuscripts because it is possible that some of the coats of arms were changed by later owners, like Edward III's son, Edward, prince of Wales (d. 1376), or King Henry V (d. 1422). Both are believed to have bought books from the de Bohun family.<sup>469</sup> Yet this question also has more general implications. Once manuscripts like these were created, did it matter whether they remained within the family or not? While there were obvious advantages to ensuring manuscripts remained in the ownership of those who would care for them and feel a sense of obligation to pray for their ancestor, their status as memorials was not necessarily affected by future ownership. Humphrey VIII left only two books in his will: a missal and an antiphoner, to remain perpetually in the chapel of Pleshey castle.<sup>470</sup> This begs the

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1307), the king's eldest son, used the same arms with a label of three and sometimes five points azure. Sandford, *Genealogical History*, pp. 102-3; Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, p. 115 (Glover's Roll).

<sup>468</sup> Sandler has noted that five of the de Bohun manuscripts (Vienna, Egerton, Exeter, Bodleian and Pommersfelden) contain prayers coupling Joachim and Anna, the Virgin's parents, which is a rare phenomenon. She believes that the poignant wording of the antiphon, 'O God who willed that Joachim and Anna, afflicted by the pain of sterility would become fruitful through the miraculous birth of Mary, grant we beseech thee that we will be made fruitful on earth by the gift of thy grace and that by the intercession of the holy Virgin we will be united with them in glory', suggests the de Bohun family was concerned with their continuity. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 96.

<sup>469</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>470</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r.

question whether he was concerned with the future ownership of his other psalters. It is possible that he gave them to his nephew and heir, Humphrey IX, before his death. However, Edward, prince of Wales purchased three of the Earl's psalters from Humphrey's private confessor and executor, William of Monkland, after Humphrey's death.<sup>471</sup> Humphrey IX did not leave any manuscripts in his will, perhaps because he had no male heir. Eleanor de Bohun left several books in her will, but they did not include most of the surviving de Bohun manuscripts.<sup>472</sup> In any case, the evidence of other wills and studies of book ownership indicates that psalters and other religious books often changed hands from one family to another.<sup>473</sup> This may be partly because books and the memorials contained in them were seen as eternal, whereas families could never be so. Life was temporary and chaotic. Families failed in the male line. Books were forfeited and sold to the highest bidder. Executors sold books to obtain money to fulfil the many wishes of the testator, and sometimes kept them. Perhaps book owners were not overly concerned with whether some of their books ended in other noble hands. The important thing was that they survive and that future readers should be reminded of the families represented in them.

#### a. The Earlier Manuscripts

The earliest surviving manuscripts associated with the de Bohuns include a Breviary at Longleat House dated during the last years of earl Humphrey VII's life and three manuscripts commenced from 1345 to 1361, during the life of

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<sup>471</sup> *Register of Edward the Black Prince Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 4 vols (London: his Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933), IV, 476.

<sup>472</sup> For a discussion of the possibility that books described in Eleanor's will may be some of the books that are part of the surviving de Bohun manuscripts see Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 268-69.

<sup>473</sup> Isabella, duchess of York (d. 1392), left various books in her will and among them she bequeathed to Thomas Woodstock her psalter with the arms of Northampton, presumably referring to the de Bohun arms used by Eleanor de Bohun's grandfather, William de Bohun (d. 1360). Her husband, Edward, duke of York (d. 1415), left no books in his will. However, a breviary owned by him was kept by one of his executors who later bequeathed it in his will. Henry le Scrope, Lord of Masham (d. 1415) left in his will a breviary covered in red velvet given to him by Thomas of Woodstock. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned', I, 460-61 (citing TNA, Prob 11/1, ff. 49b-50), 281, II, 851.

Humphrey VIII (d. 1361): a Psalter in Vienna (known as the Vienna Psalter), a Psalter in Exeter (known as the Exeter Psalter), and a Psalter and Hours of the Virgin in the British Library (known as the Egerton Psalter).<sup>474</sup>

i. The Longleat Breviary

An illuminated Sarum breviary at Longleat House is the earliest surviving manuscript associated with the de Bohun family. Its first folio contains the coats of arms of England pre-1340 and of de Bohun, along with a third shield which has not yet been identified. The calendar entries in the original hand contain an obit for the death of Elizabeth Plantagenet, countess of Hereford, on 5 May, 1316, as well as a dedication on 16 March to the parish church of Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire, of which the de Bohuns held the advowson. The calendar also contains certain additions made in the fifteenth-century including dedications of the parish churches of Spalding and Pinchbeck, in Lincolnshire. These additions have led Lucy Sandler to conclude that the breviary was originally intended for the use of the rector or parish priest of the church of Kimbolton, but later adapted for Lincolnshire use. Based on the calendar entries and the heraldry, Lucy Sandler has dated this manuscript to between 1316, after Elizabeth's death, and 1322, the year after Humphrey VII's death.<sup>475</sup>

This manuscript provides evidence of the commissioning of manuscripts by the de Bohun family long before the better known examples of the manuscripts commissioned by Humphrey VII's son, Humphrey VIII, thirty years later. It also affords the first example of the de Bohuns' use of heraldry to commemorate Humphrey VII's royal alliance with Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I. The manuscript may have been commissioned by Humphrey VII after his wife's

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<sup>474</sup> They are listed in Appendix L, Nos. 1-4. Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 10; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1826; Oxford, Exeter College, MS 47; and London, British Library, Egerton MS 3277.

<sup>475</sup> Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century Breviary', pp. 607-9. The advowson of the parish church and of the nearby Stoneley priory belonged to the de Bohuns as lords of Kimbolton. *VCH: Huntingdonshire*, eds William Page, Granville Proby and S. I. Ladds (London: St Catherine Press, 1936; repr. Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1974), p. 85.

death, but the unknown third shield on folio 1 provides a clue to a possible different origin. According to Sandler, the shield in question is in poor condition but appears to display a coat of arms *argent a chevron gules*, although the chevron might be *sable* or *azure*. A duplicate of the shield appears in the May calendar page, but the tincture is no clearer. Sandler has proposed John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln from 1310 to 1320, as a possible candidate for the owner of the arms represented in the shield. His arms are said to have been *argent a chevron between in chief two escallops and in base a cross crosslet fitchy gules*.<sup>476</sup> The problem with Dalderby as a candidate, apart from the fact that his arms are not an exact match, is that it is not clear why his arms would be next to those representing the union of Humphrey VII and Elizabeth unless the arms had been added by him as an owner.

A better candidate for these arms is Joan de Baa (b.c. 1261- 1316), who married John de Bohun, lord of Haresfield (d. 1292), great-uncle of Humphrey VII. She was an heiress and brought to the marriage lands in, among other places, Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire.<sup>477</sup> One of her sons, Edmund de Bohun (d. 1349), inherited the manor of Pinchbeck and was living there in 1318.<sup>478</sup> There is no evidence of Joan's paternal arms, yet the arms of a Sir Walter de Baa are described in a roll of arms of the reign of Edward II as *gules a chevron between three mullets, argent*.<sup>479</sup> John de Bohun (d. 1292) had a close relationship with his nephew, Humphrey VI, and John's sons appear to have had a close relationship with Humphrey VII and his sons.<sup>480</sup> If the arms represented in the breviary are those of Joan de Baa's

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<sup>476</sup> Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century Breviary', pp. 608-9. Sandler justifies this connection on the grounds that Dalderby instituted the rector of Kimbolton, which was in his diocese.

<sup>477</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-2, pp. 34-35.

<sup>478</sup> On 9 August, 1318, Humphrey VII petitioned for a grant to Edmund de Bohun and his heirs of a weekly market at their manor of Pinchbeck, in Lincolnshire. *CChR*, III, 390.

<sup>479</sup> *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Richard II*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (London: William Pickering, 1829), p. 154. A Sir Walter Baa was paid a life annuity of £30 by Thomas, earl of Lancaster in 1313-4. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 72 n. 5. He also appears as a witness of a license issued to that earl in 1302. See TNA, DG 21/11.

<sup>480</sup> For a discussion of John of Haresfield and his relationship with the main branch of the de Bohun family see Ch. 2.



family, as appears likely if they were originally placed with the de Bohun arms on the first folio, then the manuscript may have been commissioned as a gift by one of John de Bohun of Haresfield's sons to commemorate their lineage and in particular their association with the de Bohun family and their cousin Humphrey VII's alliance with the royal family. This may have happened before or after the earl's death, as it is worth noting that in 1326 John, earl of Hereford, was living in Kimbolton castle, and Eneas de Bohun is said to have died in Kimbolton in 1331.<sup>481</sup> The manuscript may have been bequeathed to Edmund de Bohun or acquired by him or his heirs after the death of one of the de Bohun earls.<sup>482</sup>

ii. The Vienna, Exeter and Egerton Psalters

The Vienna, Exeter and Egerton Psalters were completed in various stages, and it is not easy to draw conclusions regarding their ownership and execution. However, they all appear to have been commissioned by Humphrey VIII, sixth earl of Hereford (d. 1361).<sup>483</sup> All three manuscripts contain the words "*servus famulus tuus Humfridus*" in the *memoriae* (personal prayers), indicating they were commissioned for one of the earls.<sup>484</sup> Dennison and Sandler believe that the manuscripts were worked on by different hands over a period of several years, at least two of them being completed by later generations of the de Bohun family.<sup>485</sup>

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<sup>481</sup> Page, *Victoria History: Huntingdonshire*, p. 77; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

<sup>482</sup> As discussed in Ch. 2, Edmund was probably in the retinue of Humphrey VII's son, William de Bohun.

<sup>483</sup> Sandler believes that the Exeter Psalter may have been commissioned the year after Humphrey VIII's death and that the Egerton Psalter was commissioned sometime during the lifetime of Humphrey IX. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 38-45 and Appendix p. 346.

<sup>484</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 95-96. Sandler notes that the *memoriae*, or suffrages of saints, were personal prayers often in the voice of an individual, anonymous or named, and thus were among the most variable components of books of hours. She states that as a group the series of prayers in the Egerton Psalter is characteristic of the de Bohun manuscripts, both in choice and order of names, and never appears in the same way in other English or Continental manuscripts.

<sup>485</sup> See Appendix L. Dennison believes the Vienna Psalter was completed before the death of Humphrey VIII, but Sandler disagrees and gives its completion date as 1373, the year of the death of Humphrey IX. Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277', p. 124; Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 20-22, Appendix I.

The main purpose of the manuscripts, other than to serve as devotional books, appears to be to commemorate the union of the de Bohun family with the royal family. The common heraldry is simple. All of the manuscripts contain the arms of de Bohun and England pre-1340, symbolizing the union of Humphrey VII with Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), daughter of Edward I, in 1302. The Exeter Psalter has these arms on several folios and contains no other arms, but this absence may be owing to the fact that several of its folios are missing.<sup>486</sup> The Vienna and Egerton Psalters contain additional arms that have been subject to different interpretations.

The Vienna Psalter contains one folio with the arms of Butler and Courtenay, and one folio towards the end with the arms of England post-1340 and the same arms with a label and what appears to be a gold bordure, perhaps painted later over the original arms. These arms, without the bordure, represent the arms of the heir apparent to the English throne after 1340 and appear in several de Bohun manuscripts.<sup>487</sup> Since both Sandler and Dennison agree that the manuscript was not completed any later than 1373, the royal arms of England post-1340 could not have been added to represent the marriages of Eleanor and Mary de Bohun to members of the royal family. As for the arms of the 'heir apparent' Dennison believes these arms are there as a result of the purchase of the psalter by the Black Prince from the sixth Earl's estate, and that the bordure is not a bordure but simply background colour.<sup>488</sup> Sandler believes that these arms, in all the manuscripts, were included as a symbol of dynastic continuity. She argues that they were meant as "an expression of faith in the continuity of the royal line" and

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<sup>486</sup> A number of key folios, including the *Beatus* page, have been excised. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 267.

<sup>487</sup> They appear in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>; and Baden-Baden, Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2. See Appendix L. Before 1376 the arms of the 'heir apparent' were used by Edward, prince of Wales. Between 1376-77, they were used by his son Richard, earl of Chester (later Richard II). Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 364.

<sup>488</sup> Dennison believes the shield was placed on a ground of burnished gold. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 252.

the importance of stability in the royal succession, as well as expressing “general support of the abstract idea of royal succession”.<sup>489</sup>

An alternative possibility, which may explain the inclusion of both royal arms in the Vienna Psalter, is that the arms were indeed meant to represent dynastic continuity, but in a slightly different sense from that suggested by Sandler. The arms of England post-1340 and the ‘heir apparent’ were probably added to indicate Humphrey VIII’s royal lineage and the family’s position as close relatives of the king. Humphrey VIII and his brothers were Edward III’s cousins. By 1345, the earliest possible date of the psalter, the royal arms used by Elizabeth Plantagenet had changed. Humphrey VIII therefore added both forms of the royal arms to his psalter, one representing Elizabeth Plantagenet’s actual arms and another representing the newly changed royal arms. This indicated the length of time that the de Bohuns had been associated with the royal family, and their continued association with it. The arms of the heir apparent represented the idea of dynastic continuity in the sense that the royal family was eternal and the de Bohuns would also be eternal in their association with it. This is in many ways a more logical explanation for the arms of the heir apparent than the idea that the label was added by the Black Prince after he purchased psalters from Humphrey VIII’s estate. Why would the prince wish to add a label to a small coat of arms in a heraldic composition that was otherwise clearly meant as a symbol of de Bohun glory? It would have been more natural for him to have indicated ownership by adding his coat of arms independently on the margin, in the same way that Margaret of Anjou and John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, did on the right margin of the first folio of the Fitzwilliam Psalter.<sup>490</sup> It is also worth adding that the later de Bohun manuscripts contain the ‘heir apparent’ arms, even though the

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<sup>489</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 213. These arms have sometimes been identified as those of John of Gaunt (an ermine label instead of *argent*), but Sandler believes that these arms as represented in the Lichtenthal Psalter, Fitzwilliam Psalter and the Copenhagen Hours have been mistakenly taken to be John of Gaunt’s by historians, because they overlooked the fact that the label *ermine* is really a label *argent*, and thus the coats of arms represent the ‘heir apparent’ in all de Bohun manuscripts. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 203-16.

<sup>490</sup> See Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950, f. 1, reproduced in Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 14, Figure 9.

manuscripts had not been completed at the time prince Edward purchased the manuscripts from Humphrey's estate.<sup>491</sup>

The Egerton Psalter also displays the arms of England post-1340 and, in three different folios, the coats of arms of several noble families, including Fitzalan and Beauchamp, that were probably added to represent political alliances. It is likely that there was additional heraldry, as nine of the manuscript's main folios have been excised. In addition, the Egerton Psalter contains an image of a kneeling lady with a robe decorated with the de Bohun arms and a jacket decorated with the arms of England pre-1340. This is most likely meant to represent Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316); however there have been varying interpretations.<sup>492</sup> Sandler has argued that the Egerton Psalter may have been continued in the 1380s by Humphrey IX's wife, Joan de Bohun, but Dennison has made a powerful case for its completion by Thomas of Woodstock.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> After 1377, no one used the arms of the 'heir apparent' as Richard II did not have any children, so the next person who could have added them would have been Henry V, as prince of Wales. The fact that Henry V may have overpainted a label over several of what were originally plain royal coats of arms in different manuscripts is a possibility that cannot be discarded completely. Dennison believes that the arms of the 'heir apparent' that appear in folios 1 and 3 of the Fitzwilliam psalter were meant to represent John of Gaunt and were left *argent* in error. She notes that Mary was in effect John of Gaunt's ward until she came of age in 1384. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 266, 268, 364.

<sup>492</sup> BL, Egerton MS 3277, f. 131v. Similar images appear in the Bodleian Psalter and the Copenhagen Hours. See discussion below. All of the images are reproduced in Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 16-17 (figs. 11-13). Dennison believes the image in the Egerton Psalter is most likely to represent Eleanor de Bohun. Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277'. Catto agrees with this interpretation. See Catto, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', p. 118.

<sup>493</sup> See Lynda Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277'. See also, Catto, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', pp. 117-19. The Egerton Psalter contains, uniquely for the de Bohun manuscripts, the Arundel arms, but they are in folios containing several shields seemingly unrelated to the de Bohun marital alliances. This manuscript is also unique in other ways. Despite being worked on from 1380 to 1389, it does not contain any Lancastrian arms (although nine of the major folios, including the *Beatus* page, are missing, so they may have been there). It also includes the arms of Beauchamp, earls of Warwick (f. 123), the device of St. George (f. 114v) and the arms of Cobham or Knights Hospitaller. There are also four shields alongside mourners in what appears to be an Arundel burial, all of which have East Anglian connections (ff. 142, 145v). Lynda Dennison has noted the political symbolism of the iconography in the context of the lords appellant and has hypothesized that

Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), probably a recluse at Pleshey, childless, unmarried, and possibly disabled, had more cause than many to celebrate his parents and the brilliant alliances of his sisters, and these manuscripts may have been part of a larger collection commissioned by him.<sup>494</sup> Before he came of age, this earl lived through the death of his mother Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), as well as the death of his father, Humphrey VII, as a traitor, in 1322. After a brilliant career that culminated in a royal marriage, the family's titles, lands and wealth had been forfeited, and regained slowly through the royal service and connections of the fourth earl's many sons. Yet the future of the family remained dark. The sixth earl witnessed the deaths of his younger brother Eneas (d. 1331), his eldest brother John, the fifth earl of Hereford (d. 1335), and his brother Edward (d. 1334), all childless. By 1345, when the Vienna Psalter was first commissioned, only his brother William remained alive, and William only had one son and heir. The Psalters would have been wonderful commemorations of the glory of the de Bohun family at its zenith. The de Bohun marital alliances, particularly the alliance between Humphrey VII and Edward I's daughter Elizabeth, were a source of pride that enhanced the de Bohun name and needed to be memorialized and passed on to future generations. No one was better positioned to do this than Humphrey VIII, whose pride in his maternal royal lineage was so strong that he used the royal symbol of a lion rampant three times in his seal.<sup>495</sup> The importance to him of his mother's royal lineage is also visible in other objects that he left behind. In his will, he bequeathed to the order of the Augustinian friars a black vestment with the arms of England on the borders. He also bequeathed to his only niece, Elizabeth de Bohun, recently married to Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel,

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this manuscript may have belonged to Thomas of Woodstock or been a gift to the earl of Arundel from either Eleanor or Joan de Bohun. The manuscript contains the arms of Courtenay, but not Butler, although it is most likely that these appeared in the missing folios.

<sup>494</sup> As already stated, Sandler and Dennison have established that there was a workshop at Pleshey that produced illuminated manuscripts, with resident illuminators. See Sandler, 'A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts'; Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources'.

<sup>495</sup> For a discussion of his seal see Ch. 2.

his bed with the arms of England.<sup>496</sup> Taken in the context of the sixth earl's piety, as discussed in Chapter 4, the personalized text in the manuscripts referring to "Humfridus" and the lavish illumination of the royal coats of arms in these manuscripts are entirely in keeping with what we know of the Earl's personality and sense of identity.

#### **b. The Later Manuscripts**

The commission and ownership of the six de Bohun manuscripts dated after Humphrey VIII's death in 1361 has been more disputed. These include: a Psalter in Cambridge (the Fitzwilliam Psalter); a Psalter and Hours of the Virgin in Oxford (the Bodleian Psalter); a fragment from a Book of Hours in Germany (the Pommersfelden Book of Hours); an Hours of the Virgin in Copenhagen (the Copenhagen Hours); a Legends of the Virgin Mary, St Margaret, and St Mary Magdalene in Copenhagen (the Copenhagen Legends); and a Psalter and Office of the Cross in Germany (the Lichtenthal Psalter).<sup>497</sup> Much of the discussion has revolved around the interpretation of heraldry and in particular the inclusion of certain additional coats of arms in some of the manuscripts that are not present in the earlier ones. These include: Castile and Leon, either John of Gaunt or the arms representing the royal 'heir apparent', and Lancaster.<sup>498</sup>

It is difficult to understand the exact relation between these coats of arms and the de Bohun family during the last three decades of the fourteenth century because the arms themselves are subject to different interpretations depending on their context. Sandler and Dennison have assumed that the arms of Castile and Leon, where they appear, represent John of Gaunt.<sup>499</sup> However, they could also

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<sup>496</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 47, 51; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 633, 635.

<sup>497</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.4; Schloss Pommersfelden, MS 2934 (348); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 517 4<sup>o</sup>; and Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2.

<sup>498</sup> See Appendix L, which lists all of the heraldry in the manuscripts.

<sup>499</sup> The Fitzwilliam Psalter is the only de Bohun psalter that contains the arms of Castile and Leon. They appear in a different form in the Romance of Lancelot,

represent Eleanor of Castile, whose daughter Elizabeth married Humphrey VII.<sup>500</sup> The arms of the 'heir apparent', believed by some to be those of John of Gaunt, have already been discussed.<sup>501</sup> The arms of Lancaster, where they appear, are generally believed by both Sandler and Dennison to represent the marriage of Mary de Bohun with John of Gaunt's son, Henry Bolingbroke, in 1381.<sup>502</sup> Yet Henry does not appear to have used these arms in his seals, so either they were meant to represent Henry's maternal Lancastrian lineage, or perhaps they were meant to represent Joan de Bohun's maternal Lancastrian lineage (or both).<sup>503</sup>

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London, British Library, Royal MS 20.D.iv, but there they were either part of the original 'imaginary' arms or over painted at a later date. See discussion below.

<sup>500</sup> According to Dennison, Gaunt assumed these arms when he laid claim to the crown of Castile and Leon on his marriage to Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, in September 1371. The arms are shown alone on his great seal of Castile and Leon and he also used these arms on the seal he used in England, impaled with his arms as duke of Lancaster, between 1371 and 1388. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 364. See *Dictionary of British Arms*, II, 244; Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 244; Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen*, plate VII. The arms of Eleanor of Castile in 1291 (quarterly 1 and 4 a castle, 2 and 3 a lion rampant) are reproduced in Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen*, p. 91. The arms of Eleanor's daughter and Elizabeth Plantagenet's sister, Mary of Woodstock (d. 1332) were three leopards (England) dimidiating quarterly, 1 and 4 a castle, 2 and 3 a lion rampant (Castile and Leon). In her seal, dating from 1301, this shield of arms is surrounded by a leopard above, a castle to the left and a lion to the right. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 70, plate 21 (P1720).

<sup>501</sup> Sandler believes that all of the arms representing England post-1340 with a label are those of the heir apparent, and not John of Gaunt, and that in folio 1 of the Fitzwilliam Psalter in particular the arms are not just a symbol of 'dynastic continuity', but are also meant to imply that Henry Bolingbroke holds a rank on a par with that of the heir apparent. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 14 (fig. 9), 207, 213.

<sup>502</sup> Henry's father, John of Gaunt, married Blanche, daughter of Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster, in 1359. John was created duke of Lancaster on 13 November 1362, after Henry and his eldest daughter Maud died, leaving Blanche as the only heir. Simon Walker, 'John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340-1399)', in *ODNB*, xxx, 174-83 (p. 175).

<sup>503</sup> Joan's mother was Eleanor of Lancaster, daughter of Henry, third earl of Lancaster (d. 1345). The reminder of her Lancastrian lineage would have become more important after her daughter Mary's betrothal to Henry Bolingbroke. Dennison believes that the Lancaster arms in the Fitzwilliam Psalter and the Bodleian Psalter are those of Henry of Grosmont and were not used by John of Gaunt or Henry Bolingbroke as dukes of Lancaster. However, she believes the arms represent the duchy of Lancaster as they were still employed on seals of that duchy after Grosmont's death. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 367. Sandler

The context thus becomes all-important. The arms of Lancaster and the 'heir apparent' (or Gaunt) are the most difficult to interpret since the only difference between them and the arms of England pre or post 1340, respectively, is an added label which is not only often faded, but could also have been over-painted at a later time.<sup>504</sup> Ultimately, the question of who these arms were originally meant to represent rests on our willingness to accept the addition of the arms of the heir apparent as a symbol of dynastic continuity, and/or the later addition of labels to what may have initially been intended to be coats of arms representing the royal arms of England pre and post 1340.

To further complicate interpretation, the heraldry and text in the later manuscripts do not always correspond with contemporary events at the time in which the manuscripts appear to have been created. Some of the later manuscripts, completed after 1370, contain the arms of Butler and Courtenay, although those alliances antedate the manuscripts by over forty years. Yet these manuscripts do not contain any other de Bohun alliances made in the period in between. Even more difficult to interpret is the fact that the Bodleian Psalter and the fragment of the Pommersfelden Book of Hours, both of which are dated by

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believes that the arms were used by Henry Bolingbroke prior to 1399, and that they represent his marriage to Mary de Bohun. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 204. There is limited evidence that Henry Bolingbroke used the arms of Lancaster as his own. His known seals show that he used the arms of England post-1340 with a label of five points either each charged with three fleur de lys (the label used by Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster (d. 1322)) or two labels charged with three fleur de lys and three labels charged with ermine (representing his father John of Gaunt). Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 55; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 339, 383-4; Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen*, plate xxiv; Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. 242. He also used a different seal as duke of Lancaster impaling his wife's de Bohun arms with his own arms and those of Edward the Confessor. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 384; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, I, plates 41, 42. However, Sandford in his *Genealogical History* states that the arms of Henry in 1386, when he was earl of Derby, were impaled with those of de Bohun in an east window of the chancel of Rochford church, in Essex, and they are described as '*Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale Or, a label of France*'. Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 266. It is interesting that Rochford manor is probably where Joan de Bohun lived in widowhood, and it is not inconceivable that she may have been involved in the creation of the window.<sup>504</sup> The label would have been added only a few years after the original heraldry so six centuries later it would be difficult to know the difference.



Sandler to 1380-94 in the belief that they were made for the marriage of Mary de Bohun, also contain text with *memoriae* in the voice of “Humfridus”, even though the last Humphrey earl of Hereford had died in 1373.<sup>505</sup> In addition, the Bodleian Psalter and the Copenhagen Hours, which both date from after 1370, show a woman attired in the heraldry of England pre-1340 and de Bohun, who also appears in the earlier Egerton Psalter.<sup>506</sup> This woman has been described by Sandler as being Mary de Bohun, based on her interpretation of the manuscripts, but equally, and in some ways more logically, she could represent Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), or Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399).<sup>507</sup> In the earlier Egerton Psalter this woman almost certainly represents Elizabeth or Eleanor, and not Mary.

In an effort to resolve all of these difficulties, Sandler has suggested a possible solution that unites all of the manuscripts into one common purpose. In her view, all of the later de Bohun manuscripts were commissioned by Joan de Bohun, countess of Hereford (d. 1419), to commemorate the marriage of her daughter Mary with Henry Bolingbroke in 1381.<sup>508</sup> Sandler argues that Joan introduced the many different heraldic coats of arms into the de Bohun manuscripts in order to preserve the memory of the de Bohun family in perpetuity. Any text referring to ‘Humfridus’ was therefore meant as a reminder of the de Bohun earls, and the arms of the ‘heir apparent’ were added to represent ‘dynastic continuity’ in the sense of support of the abstract concept of royal succession.<sup>509</sup> This interpretation of the manuscripts, while possible, is open to question, not least because there is

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<sup>505</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.4.; Schloss Pommersfelden, MS 2934 (348). The text might be referring to Thomas and Eleanor’s son, Humphrey, but he was either not yet born or a very small child at the time the manuscripts are dated.

<sup>506</sup> See London, BL Egerton MS 3277, f. 131v. The manuscript can be seen in [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton\\_ms\\_3277\\_fs001ar](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_3277_fs001ar) [accessed 3 June, 2016].

<sup>507</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 208, 211.

<sup>508</sup> Sandler, *The Lichenthal Psalter*, p. 26; Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 18, 213.

<sup>509</sup> Sandler, ‘The Bohun Women’, p. 283; Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 208, 213-14. In Sandler’s view the arms of England pre-1340 worn by a lady on a manuscript dated after 1361 represents Mary, and the Castile and Leon coat of arms represents the heir apparent, rather than Eleanor of Castile.

no explanation that can reconcile all of the inconsistencies between the dating on stylistic grounds and the heraldry contained in the manuscripts. If ‘dynastic continuity’, as suggested, was the main basis for the inclusion of the “Humfridus” text in manuscripts not commissioned for a Humphrey, then the same principle must be applied to the heraldry indicating de Bohun alliances. The various coats of arms might be representing ancestors or ancestral alliances rather than contemporary events or people. For example, the arms of Castile and Leon could be representing Eleanor of Castile rather than John of Gaunt, and the Lancastrian coat of arms might be emphasizing Joan de Bohun’s Lancastrian lineage.

It is possible that Joan commissioned some of the manuscripts, but what is clear is that they were not all commissioned as memorials of the de Bohun family as a whole from the time of Humphrey VII’s marriage to the 1380s (the time many of the later manuscripts are dated by Sandler on stylistic grounds). Not only do they not include all of the de Bohuns’ powerful alliances during this time, including Humphrey IX’s marriage to Joan; there is the further point that some of the manuscripts, although dated after 1373, contain heraldry that is almost exclusively concerned with the de Bohun alliances between 1302 and 1327.<sup>510</sup> This also makes it unlikely that the manuscripts were all commissioned for the purpose of commemorating Mary’s alliance to Henry. Even those manuscripts containing the arms of Lancaster have numerous de Bohun, Butler, Courtenay and royal shields reminiscent of those seen in other de Bohun manuscripts, including the earlier ones.

One of the most significant difficulties in accepting Joan de Bohun as patron of all of the later manuscripts is the near absence in all of them of the coat of arms relating to the Fitzalan earls of Arundel, despite the many marriage alliances between the two families. In 1325 John de Bohun, fifth earl of Hereford (d. 1336) married Alice Fitzalan (d. bef. 1336), daughter of the earl of Arundel. In 1359, the year before the death of Humphrey VIII, the next de Bohun heir, Humphrey IX (d. 1373) and his sister Elizabeth de Bohun (d. 1385), children of William de Bohun,

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<sup>510</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.4; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>; London, British Library, Royal MS 20.D.iv.

were the subject of a double marriage to Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1397) and his sister Joan (d. 1419), respectively.<sup>511</sup> Two other marital alliances made by Humphrey VII's children are unrepresented in the manuscripts. Edward de Bohun (d. 1334) married Margaret de Ros (d.c. 1342), daughter of William de Ros and Margery Badlesmere; and in 1335 William (later earl of Northampton) (d. 1360) married Elizabeth Badlesmere (d. 1356), soon to be co-heiress of a great fortune. The fact that the Ros and Badlesmere coats of arms are absent from all de Bohun manuscripts could be attributed to the fact that the families did not hold earldoms and thus were not considered sufficiently worthy of commemoration.<sup>512</sup> In fact this can be the only explanation for the absence of the Badlesmere coat of arms from manuscripts commissioned by or for the memory of Elizabeth Badlesmere's son, Humphrey IX. However, the same reasoning cannot explain the absence of Arundel arms. John de Bohun's marriage to Alice Fitzalan was a political alliance made at a time when the Arundels could have been considered enemies of the de Bohun family.<sup>513</sup> The absence of their arms from a manuscript created by the de Bohuns after Alice's death might be excused on this basis. Yet it seems inconceivable that half a century later Joan de Bohun would have commissioned manuscripts for the marriage of her daughter Mary meant to memorialize the glory of the de Bohun dynasty and their powerful marital connections, and not have wished her family to be represented in those manuscripts.<sup>514</sup>

It could be argued that the manuscripts were only meant to commemorate alliances made through the marriage of female members of the de Bohun family

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<sup>511</sup> One of the de Bohun manuscripts, BL Egerton 3277, associated with Joan's husband, Humphrey IX, contains the Fitzalan coat of arms (f. 142 and 145b). Yet, as already discussed, it is represented as part of a group of coats of arms in what appears to be a political context and not as representative of a marital alliance. This manuscript is unique in other ways as well. See Dennison, 'Egerton MS3277'.

<sup>512</sup> The Badlesmere coat of arms appears in the Psalter commissioned by Elizabeth Badlesmere, countess of Northampton. See Appendix L, 12.

<sup>513</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>514</sup> The only other explanation could be that the manuscripts were only meant to commemorate alliances made through female members of the family. This theory would not hold true of the marriage of Humphrey VII to a member of the royal family, but perhaps an exception was made because of the obviously superior lineage of Elizabeth Plantagenet.

(the Courtenay and Butler marriages), and that Elizabeth Plantagenet was an exception because of her royal status. However, Elizabeth de Bohun (d. 1385), countess of Arundel, was Humphrey IX's sister and her marital alliance with Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, should have been commemorated to the same extent as the Butler and Courtenay alliances of her aunts Eleanor and Margaret. In addition, before Humphrey IX had children, his sister Elizabeth was his only heir. The Arundels had been chosen by their father William as the family who would inherit the de Bohun estates and continue their lineage should Humphrey IX fail to produce any children. It would thus seem illogical that any manuscripts commenced after 1360 would fail to include the Arundel arms to represent the next generation's powerful alliance with another illustrious family. The answer to the absence of Arundel arms from the manuscripts must lie in the manuscripts' intended purpose.

Even assuming that the range of dates suggested by Sandler and Dennison's studies is correct, the principal purpose of most of these manuscripts seems to have been the need to memorialize the de Bohun's royal lineage through Humphrey VII's union with Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316). This argues against Sandler's suggestion that all of the later manuscripts were commissioned by Joan de Bohun for her daughter Mary's wedding. The heraldry indicates that many of these later manuscripts could have been commissioned and owned by any member of the de Bohun family who lived during the time in which the manuscripts were created. If the manuscripts were created after 1373, the most obvious alternative candidate is of course Mary's elder sister, Eleanor de Bohun. Thomas and Eleanor were betrothed by April 1374 and they must have been living in Pleshey by 1380, when Eleanor came of age. Joan, by contrast, is likely to have been living in a different de Bohun manor, perhaps Rochford.<sup>515</sup> In addition,

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<sup>515</sup> On 27 July, 1380, Mary, who was a ward of the king, was given in marriage to John of Gaunt's son, Henry, in exchange for 5,000 marks. *CPR 1377-81*, p. 537. The suggestion that Joan was living at Rochford was made in one version of Froissart's *Chronicles*. Froissart writes that Henry Bolingbroke and Mary's aunt, sister to the earl of Arundel, arranged for Mary to escape and be married at Rochford Hall. If the story is true, then Froissart was confused and this noble lady must have been Eleanore and Mary's mother, Joan de Bohun, since she was the earl of Arundel's sister and she is likely to have lived at Rochford Hall, in Essex. Froissart,

Thomas and Eleanor are the only members of the family to have had a son and heir named Humphrey. This means that some of the manuscripts that contain personal prayers in the name “Humfridus” may have either been meant for him or completed for his later ownership.

i. The Fitzwilliam and Bodleian Psalters

Two manuscripts of smaller dimensions than the earlier de Bohun Psalters, the Fitzwilliam Psalter and the Bodleian Psalter, appear, on stylistic grounds, to have been executed around the same time.<sup>516</sup> Their close stylistic relation has led Sandler and Dennison to treat them as sister books.<sup>517</sup> However, Dennison and Sandler disagree on the exact date of the manuscripts by at least a decade on both stylistic and heraldic grounds. Dennison believes that they were commissioned by Humphrey IX (d. 1373) between 1370 and his death in 1372/3, because the Bodleian MS contains prayers to “Humfridus” in five different folios, presumed by her to mean Humphrey IX.<sup>518</sup> Sandler dates the manuscripts to c. 1380-94, after the marriage of Mary de Bohun and Henry Bolingbroke, on the basis of the Lancastrian heraldry contained in them.<sup>519</sup> The differences in dates thus revolve largely around the meaning of the heraldry and the personalized text. Yet a close

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*Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries From the Later Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV*, trans. Thomas Johnes, 2 vols (1868), p. 263. Sandler has suggested that perhaps the Pleshey Illuminators moved with Joan. Sandler, ‘The Bohun Women’, p. 282, n. 16.

<sup>516</sup> These two manuscripts are Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.4, nos. 4 and 5 in Appendix L. Freeman and Sandler believe the same two artists who worked for Humphrey VIII, one of whom is presumed to be the Austin friar John de Teye described in Humphrey VIII’s will as his “Illuminator”, continued to work on these manuscripts. Lucy Sandler has argued that this illuminator lived at Pleshey and recruited another friar, Henry Hood, in 1384 as an apprentice to work with him on the de Bohun commissions. Lynda Dennison has identified both of their hands working together in most of the de Bohun manuscripts. See Sandler, ‘A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts’, p. 128.

<sup>517</sup> Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 252; Sandler, ‘The Bohun Women’, p. 294.

<sup>518</sup> Dennison, ‘Egerton MS 3277’, pp. 127-28. The Bodleian Psalter also contains personalized text referring to “Humfridus” in the saint memorials.

<sup>519</sup> Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 145-46 and Appendix I. Sandler believes the text references to “Humfridus” symbolise “dynastic continuity”. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 208.

examination of the heraldry reveals such differences between the two manuscripts that it is difficult to imagine them being made for the same owner or purpose, even if they were created at the same time.

The Fitzwilliam psalter contains heraldry in fourteen different folios, including not just the usual combinations of the de Bohun coat of arms with the arms of England pre-1340 and the arms of Butler and Courtenay seen in earlier manuscripts, but also some additional coats of arms.<sup>520</sup> The first folio of the manuscript contains the arms of England post-1340, Castile and Leon, the heir apparent (or John of Gaunt), Lancaster, de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton.<sup>521</sup> In three other folios, the Lancaster arms appear next to those of England (pre and post 1340) and de Bohun. They also appear once on their own. In marked contrast, the Bodleian psalter has only three folios containing heraldry: the opening folio contains the arms of de Bohun and England pre-1340 (representing the union of Humphrey VII and Elizabeth Plantagenet); folio 169 has the arms of England pre-1340, Lancaster, de Bohun, de Bohun, Butler, de Bohun, and Courtenay, in that order; and folio 181v contains an image of a woman wearing heraldic garments pairing the arms of England pre-1340 with de Bohun.<sup>522</sup>

In the Fitzwilliam Psalter, the presence of the coats of arms of Lancaster and Castile and Leon, associated with Henry Bolingbroke and his father John of Gaunt, does not necessarily mean that the manuscript was prepared for Mary de Bohun. The coats of arms of Butler and Courtenay also appear several times in the manuscript, to represent other de Bohun alliances. However, the presence of these coats of arms in the first folio with the arms of de Bohun and England post-1340, and their positioning, do appear to commemorate the alliance between

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<sup>520</sup> Dennison has argued that this Psalter was bequeathed by Eleanor de Bohun to her son in her will. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 268-69.

<sup>521</sup> The Fitzwilliam Psalter is one of only three de Bohun manuscripts, the others being the Pommersfelden fragment and the Lichtenthal Psalter, which contain the coat of arms of the earldom of Northampton. It appears ten times.

<sup>522</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.4.4, ff. 1, 169, 181v. Sandler identifies this woman as Mary de Bohun. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 145-46, 152. Jeremy Catto agrees with this interpretation, although he thinks the manuscript was originally commissioned by Humphrey IX. See Catto, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', p. 120.

Mary and Henry of Bolingbroke.<sup>523</sup> This makes Dennison's date of 1370-72 difficult, since at that time Mary was a baby or very small child and there is no evidence to indicate a contract for her to marry Henry until several years later.<sup>524</sup> There would have been no reason at that time for John of Gaunt or his son to be represented in a de Bohun manuscript.

However, it is possible that Dennison's date is still correct. If the arms are original, the Castile arms may have been included to represent Elizabeth Plantagenet's mother, Eleanor of Castile, and all of the Lancaster arms may have originally been those of England pre-1340 (Elizabeth Plantagenet), with a label added at a later time.<sup>525</sup> This explanation would be consistent with the arms in the rest of the manuscript. The arms of de Bohun paired with England pre-1340 appear in two different folios in the manuscript.<sup>526</sup> Another two folios show precisely the same arms but one of the two coats of arms representing England pre-1340 has a label, converting the arms into those of Lancaster.<sup>527</sup> If the labels on the England pre-1340 arms were erased, these last two folios would resemble the previous ones. This theory gains support from the evidence relating to the Bodleian Psalter.

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<sup>523</sup> Folio one shows the following coats of arms from top to bottom read in order from left to right: England post 1340, Castile and Leon, John of Gaunt or the 'heir apparent', Lancaster, de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton. Psalms 2-9 show the same coats of arms in the same order. Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, pp. 14 (fig. 9), 206.

<sup>524</sup> Dennison believes the coats of arms on the first folio were meant to represent John of Gaunt (England post-1340, Castile and Leon, John of Gaunt), and Humphrey IX (de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton). She relies on this as evidence to support her dating on stylistic grounds to after September 1371, when Gaunt lay claim to the throne of Castile, and before 1373, when Humphrey IX died. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 252-53.

<sup>525</sup> In this regard it is worth noting that the inventory of the goods taken at Pleshey in 1397 includes, among the clothing, a furred gown of Cyprus gold fabric with castles, worth 67s.. E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels', p. 303. Alternatively, the Lancaster arms could have been meant to represent Joan de Bohun's maternal lineage.

<sup>526</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950, ff. 123, 165v. In each case the folio contains two shields of arms for de Bohun (one of them representing de Bohun of Northampton) and two shields of arms for England.

<sup>527</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950, ff. 62, 99.

When all the evidence relating to the Bodleian Psalter is taken into consideration, the idea that the manuscript was commissioned after 1380 for Mary is difficult to accept. First, the prayers to “Humfridus” in five different folios are evidence that the manuscript was prepared for the use of a male named Humphrey. If the ‘Humphrey’ prayers represented dynastic continuity rather than ownership they would have been included in the Fitzwilliam Psalter. In addition, although prayers in a female voice seem to have been added later, the original gendered prayers were in a male form.<sup>528</sup> Second, the image of the woman in heraldic garments in folio 181v is most likely to represent Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), as in the Egerton Psalter, rather than Mary de Bohun.<sup>529</sup> If the woman is not Elizabeth Plantagenet, and the coats of arms she is wearing are merely representative of the union of de Bohun and the royal family, then Eleanor de Bohun would also fit the description and is perhaps a more likely candidate for the arms. The fact that the woman in the manuscript is being presented to the Virgin by Mary Magdalene does not necessarily imply that the woman’s name is Mary.<sup>530</sup> Mary Magdalene was a popular figure and many noble men and women prayed to her. Thomas of Woodstock specifically invoked her in his appeal for Richard II’s mercy prior to his execution.<sup>531</sup> In addition, prayers to Mary Magdalene occur in two of the earlier

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<sup>528</sup> The prayer ‘*O beata et intemerata*’, addressed to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, is gendered in that it begs for mercy for the supplicant sinner, either as *peccator* or *peccatrix*. In the Bodleian Psalter it remains in the male form. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 125. Four short prayers cast for ‘ego indigna et peccatrix’ were inserted at the beginning to be recited before or after the psalms and monastic offices. Catto, ‘The Prayers of the Bohuns’, p. 120.

<sup>529</sup> Only Elizabeth would have officially worn a dress representing the de Bohun coat of arms and a jacket representing England pre-1340. Mary would have presumably had a dress representing de Bohun and either Lancaster or England post-1340, or a combination of the two.

<sup>530</sup> For a different view, see Catto, ‘The Prayers of the Bohuns’, p. 120.

Catto believes the psalter belonged to Humphrey IX and was inherited by Mary, who added four short prayers in the female voice in the memoriae. He believes the image of the lady being presented to Mary Magdalene is an image of Mary as countess of Derby.

<sup>531</sup> Thomas asked that Richard “will, for the passion that God suffered for all mankind, and the compassion that he had for his Mother on the Cross, and the pity that he had for Mary Magdalen, that he will vouchsafe for to have compassion and pity ...”. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 379; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 78.



de Bohun Psalters.<sup>532</sup> The image might indicate Mary's ownership if there were more evidence to support this. Yet the only significant evidence to suggest Mary as the owner of the Psalter is the Lancaster coat of arms in folio 169.<sup>533</sup>

This coat of arms in the context of the other heraldry is problematic. The arms may, once again, have originally been England pre-1340. The label turning it into a Lancastrian coat of arms could have been added by a later owner, perhaps Mary or her husband after their marriage, or their son Henry V. Prayers in the female voice were added at an unknown later date, and prayers indicating male ownership were added in the fifteenth century.<sup>534</sup> This explanation is much more consistent with the heraldry in the rest of the manuscript.<sup>535</sup> The only other coats of arms represented in the manuscript are de Bohun and England pre-1340, on the first folio, and the same heraldry worn by the woman in folio 181v. It would also be consistent with the heraldry in other de Bohun manuscripts where two

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<sup>532</sup> The prayers occur in the Egerton (f. 163) and Exeter (f. 123) Psalters. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>533</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.4, f. 169. The coats of arms represented in folio 169 are: top left to right England pre-1340, Lancaster; middle left to right de Bohun, de Bohun; bottom left to right Butler, de Bohun, Courtenay. See Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 205 (fig. 139).

<sup>534</sup> The prayers are on folio 230v. Dennison states that the prayers in the male voice were added c. 1410-20. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 253. Henry V received a missal and breviary from his grandmother, Joan de Bohun, before 1415. In addition, after her death in 1415, he is known to have paid her executors £73 'pro diversis libris et al' that had belonged to her. Susan Hagen Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300-1450' (unpublished PHD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980) p. 344; Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 7.

<sup>535</sup> Where the Lancastrian coat of arms appears in other de Bohun manuscripts, most notably the Fitzwilliam and Lichtenthal Psalters, it is most often accompanied by both the royal coat of arms representing England post-1340 and the coat of arms of the 'heir apparent' or Henry's father, John of Gaunt.<sup>535</sup> Only in one instance, in the Lichtenthal Psalter, does it appear paired solely with the de Bohun arms. However, in that manuscript the previous two heraldic folios paired the arms of de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton; and the arms of England post-1340 and John of Gaunt, respectively. The following folio paired Butler and Courtenay. This shows that clearly the pairing of arms was not necessarily meant to represent a particular de Bohun alliance. *Lichtenthal Psalter*, ff. 98v, 111v, 124v, 140v. The folios are reproduced in Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 90 (pl. 22), 92 (pl. 23), 96 (pl. 24), 98 (pl. 25).

royal coats of arms appear with two or three de Bohun coats of arms on the same folio.<sup>536</sup>

On the evidence of the heraldry in the Bodleian Psalter and the references to “Humfridus” in the memorials of the Bodleian text, it is most likely that the Bodleian manuscript was created in 1370 for Humphrey IX, and the royal arms of England pre 1340 were later changed by the addition of labels to represent the union of Mary de Bohun and Henry Bolingbroke. Given the stylistic similarities between the manuscripts, the Fitzwilliam Psalter could have been created at the same time. If the labels added to the royal coats of arms representing England pre-1340 in both manuscripts were erased, the heraldry would be consistent with their other folios and what I believe was their original intended purpose: the commemoration of the union of the de Bohun family with the royal house in 1302. The Bodleian Psalter’s heraldry clearly indicates a wish to commemorate the alliance of Humphrey VII and Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316). The manuscript contains a simple, clear message harking back to the first de Bohun manuscript: the Vienna Psalter. The references to ‘Humfridus’ in the memoriae at lauds are completely consistent with this interpretation, as all of the earlier psalters include them. The most likely original owner of both the Fitzwilliam Psalter and the Bodleian Psalter is Humphrey IX (d. 1373).<sup>537</sup>

ii. The Lichtenthal Psalter, the Pommersfelden Book of Hours, the Copenhagen Hours, and the Copenhagen Legends

The Lichtenthal Psalter, the Pommersfelden Book of Hours, the Copenhagen Hours, and the Copenhagen Legends all appear to have been produced for members of

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<sup>536</sup> See Fitzwilliam Psalter, MS 38-1950, f. 123, 163v; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1826, f. 100 (partly reproduced in Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, pp. 12 (fig. 7), 19 (fig. 15)).

<sup>537</sup> If the Lancaster arms in the Fitzwilliam Psalter are original then we would have to accept Sandler’s dating, but then the Bodleian Psalter is more likely to have been commissioned by Thomas of Woodstock and Eleanor de Bohun, whose first son was also named Humphrey.

the de Bohun family over the ten years following the death of Humphrey IX.<sup>538</sup> Dennison believes these books were completed in one single campaign, the Pommersfelden manuscript being dated *circa* 1375-80 and the Copenhagen manuscripts *circa* 1380.<sup>539</sup> Her analysis has not included the Lichtenthal Psalter.<sup>540</sup> Sandler believes that all of the manuscripts were produced after Mary de Bohun's betrothal between 1380 and 1394.<sup>541</sup>

The Lichtenthal Psalter contains heraldry that is similar to that in the Fitzwilliam Psalter. The first illuminated folio contains the arms of England post-1340, the 'heir apparent' (or John of Gaunt), Lancaster, de Bohun, de Bohun of Northampton, Butler and Courtenay.<sup>542</sup> Folio 124v pairs the arms of Lancaster and de Bohun.<sup>543</sup> As in the Fitzwilliam psalter, there are no prayers to "Humfridus", but this may be because the Hours of the Virgin, where the prayers would be, is not attached to it.<sup>544</sup> The first folio does not include the coat of arms of England pre-1340, unless the Lancaster arms are read as being originally those royal arms. All of this indicates that the Psalter may have been meant to commemorate the marriage of Mary de Bohun and Henry Bolingbroke, but this is by no means certain. In particular, the addition of the Butler and Courtenay arms at the bottom of the first

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<sup>538</sup> See Appendix L, Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9. Schloss Pommersfelden, MS 2934 (348); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 517 4<sup>o</sup>; Baden Baden, Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2.

<sup>539</sup> During this time, Eleanor and Mary would have been children. Eleanor came of age in 1380, although she was betrothed to Thomas of Woodstock by April 1374, shortly after her father's death. Mary married Henry Bolingbroke in 1381, before she came of age.

<sup>540</sup> Dennison has not examined the Lichtenthal Psalter in her PHD thesis, probably because it was only identified as a de Bohun manuscript in 1987.

<sup>541</sup> Baden-Baden, Lichtenthal Abbey, Archive MS 2. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 145. Sandler believes John de Teye and the main illustrator of the Egerton Psalter worked on the Lichtenthal Psalter together with a third artist. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 126. All four manuscripts are similar in format and text-block dimensions. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 121.

<sup>542</sup> Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2, f. 8, reproduced in Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 57, plate 14.

<sup>543</sup> Other pairings are de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton; England post-1340 and heir apparent (or Gaunt); and Butler and Courtenay.

<sup>544</sup> Sandler believes that if it was originally present it would have been like that in the Bodleian Psalter and included the prayers to 'Humfridus'. Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 126.

folio and again paired on folio 140v seems odd in a Psalter whose main purpose was to celebrate the marriage of Mary and Henry Bolinbroke. In addition, the stylistic similarities of this manuscript with the Pommersfelden Book of Hours and the Copenhagen manuscripts suggests caution is required when accepting the originality of the Lancastrian coat of arms. Once again, if the label on the 'Lancastrian' coat of arms was erased, the heraldry in the psalter would be perfectly consistent with the heraldry in earlier de Bohun manuscripts and with the manuscript's remaining heraldry. The arms would be commemorating the union of the de Bohun family with the royal family.

Unlike the Lichtenthal Psalter, the Pommersfelden Book of Hours contains a reference to "servus famulus tuus Humfridus" in the memorials, indicating, as in earlier de Bohun psalters, that it was probably meant for one of the de Bohun earls. The surviving folios represent only a fragment of the original manuscript, so the heraldry is most likely incomplete and this makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions regarding its ownership. However, the heraldry in the opening folio shows the coat of arms of de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton by themselves and folio 2r and 2v contain the arms of England post 1340 paired with de Bohun and de Bohun of Northampton; and the arms of Butler and Courtenay, respectively.<sup>545</sup> There are no arms representing Henry of Bolingbroke or his father, as would be expected in the opening pages of a manuscript meant to commemorate Mary de Bohun's marriage.<sup>546</sup> In addition, folio 4v contains some coats of arms not common in the de Bohun manuscripts. At the top of the page the arms of the Holy Roman Empire (*or* an eagle displayed *sable*) are paired with those of St George and at the bottom the arms of the count of Holland (*or* a lion rampant *gules*) are paired with Butler.<sup>547</sup> These are unusual pairings and remind us that perhaps it is best to be cautious about assuming that paired arms have any

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<sup>545</sup> Dennison describes the de Bohun coats of arms in folio 1 as being those of the earldom of Hereford and Essex and not Northampton. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 363.

<sup>546</sup> See Fitwilliam Museum, MS 38-1950, f. 1 and Lichtenthal Abbey, Archiv MS 2, f. 8, reproduced in Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 14 (fig. 9) and Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, p. 57, plate 14, respectively.

<sup>547</sup> Pommersfelden MS, f. 4v, reproduced in Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 212 (fig. 144).

particular significance. If the rest of the manuscript had survived, there might have been clues to the significance of these arms. However, it is worth noting that the arms of the Empire and the Holland arms, both of which can be associated with Elizabeth Plantagenet's first marriage to the count of Holland, also appear in the inventory of Humphrey VII's goods in Walden Abbey.<sup>548</sup> On the basis of the limited evidence available, it is more likely than not that the Pommersfelden manuscript was commissioned on the initiative of Humphrey IX or his daughter Eleanor, and the prayers to "Humfridus" relate to either the earl or his grandson, Humphrey (d. 1399).<sup>549</sup>

The two Copenhagen manuscripts share many stylistic similarities, but the Copenhagen Legends has no heraldry, so its purpose and ownership rest partly on an analysis of the Copenhagen Hours. These manuscripts were long thought to have reached Copenhagen through the marriage of Mary's daughter, Philippa, to King Eric of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. This was strong evidence of their ownership by Mary de Bohun. However, it is now clear that the manuscripts did not reach Denmark until 1728.<sup>550</sup> Their ownership must thus rest solely on internal evidence.

The first folio of the Copenhagen Hours contains a drawing of a kneeling woman with robes identical to those seen in similar women portrayed in the Bodleian Psalter and the Egerton Psalter. As already discussed, this is most likely to be a representation of Humphrey VII's wife, Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. 1316), the same

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<sup>548</sup> Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon, owned an ewer with the arms of Holland, as well as a girdle that had, on the strap-end, three escutcheons with the arms of France, Spain and the Empire. These were most likely gifts inherited from her mother. They are listed in the inventory of goods taken from her father, Humphrey VII, after he deposited them at Walden Abbey. TNA, DL 25/29.

<sup>549</sup> Joan may have carried out her husband's original commission, without offering additional input. Depending on Eleanor's age at the time the manuscript was commissioned, her husband Thomas of Woodstock is another likely candidate. Dennison notes that the manuscript was probably begun for Humphrey IX but the illuminations were added after his death. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', pp. 266-67.

<sup>550</sup> See Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 168, where she concludes based on new evidence relating to the covers of the manuscripts that the Copenhagen manuscripts were not in Denmark before 1728, the date when their buyer, Thott, began making his major purchases.

woman commemorated in the earlier de Bohun psalters. The only evidence to the contrary lies in folio 6v, where the arms of England post-1340 appear with those of de Bohun and what appear to be the arms of either the heir apparent or John of Gaunt.<sup>551</sup> The arms are most likely the same arms of the 'heir apparent' which occur in the other de Bohun manuscripts starting with the Vienna Psalter.<sup>552</sup> This would make most sense considering the manuscript's heraldry as a whole. Apart from the woman on folio 1, the rest of the arms are de Bohun three times, England post-1340 once, and one coat of arms representing St George.<sup>553</sup> There are no Lancaster arms and no arms of Castile and Leon. There are also no arms representing the de Bohun earldom of Northampton, although that earldom was held by Mary's father, Humphrey IX, and thus should have been included in a manuscript either owned by him or meant to represent his daughter's lineage. Finally, there are no arms representing England pre-1340. The Copenhagen Hours, like the Bodleian Psalter, appears to be mainly concerned with commemorating the de Bohuns and their royal lineage, but the lack of shields representing the earlier royal arms would indicate that the manuscript was commissioned later, probably by Thomas of Woodstock and/or Eleanor de Bohun. The presence of the arms of the heir apparent does not change this interpretation, as already discussed. There is no reason to assume that the manuscript was meant for Mary. If the arms of the heir apparent are in fact those of Mary's father-in-law, John of Gaunt, then it is possible that the psalter was made for Mary, as it is difficult to find a different explanation for his arms in a de Bohun psalter. The absence of any other arms, however, makes this unlikely unless, as Dennison has

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<sup>551</sup> Sandler thinks the arms represent the heir apparent. Dennison believes they were meant to represent John of Gaunt. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 366.

<sup>552</sup> Another possibility is that the label on the coat of arms turning the arms of England post-1340 into those of John of Gaunt or the 'heir apparent' was over-painted by a later owner, perhaps Henry V as prince of Wales. However, considering how common the 'heir apparent' arms are in other de Bohun manuscripts I believe that, as already discussed, the arms simply represent the de Bohun's connection to a supreme, eternal house.

<sup>553</sup> As already discussed with respect to the Bodleian psalter, the combination of two coats of arms representing England post-1340 and one de Bohun coat of arms would not be inconsistent with the heraldry appearing on other manuscripts. The arms of St George possibly refer to the Order of the Garter. They also appear in the Egerton Psalter, as noted above.

suggested, the psalter was once part of a psalter-hours that contained additional heraldry.<sup>554</sup>

The Copenhagen Legends contains no heraldry, and its association with Mary is largely based on its stylistic similarities to the Copenhagen Hours and its presumed provenance, now discredited.<sup>555</sup> The fact that it contains the legends of the Virgin Mary, St Margaret and St Mary Magdalene is not significant, since these saints were not only popular at the time, but also symbolic of all females in the de Bohun family. Mary Magdalene's association with Thomas of Woodstock and the prayers to Mary Magdalene in earlier psalters have already been discussed. St Margaret was the patron of childbirth, and several de Bohun ancestors were named Margaret. In earlier generations it was such a popular name for a de Bohun girl that Humphrey VII (d. 1322) named two of his daughters Margaret. Sandler has pointed out that the content of the manuscript was designed to appeal to women and its illustrated texts in Anglo-Norman were meant to be read by a noblewoman whose customary spoken language was Anglo-Norman.<sup>556</sup> This makes it likely that the manuscript was intended for one of the de Bohun women, a possible candidate being Eleanor de Bohun.

**c. BL, Royal MS 20.D.iv<sup>557</sup>**

The Romance of Lancelot known as Royal MS 20.D.iv has been associated with the de Bohuns by virtue of the over-painted miniatures and coats of arms included in two of its folios. Although the manuscript was produced c. 1300, Sandler and Dennison believe that the over-painted illuminations can be traced to the illuminators working at Pleshey. Sandler believes this work was done sometime between 1360 and 1380, whereas Dennison provides a more precise date of 1384-5.<sup>558</sup> The heraldry indicates once again a desire to commemorate the de Bohun's royal lineage by representing the union of Humphrey VII (d. 1322) and Elizabeth

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<sup>554</sup> Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 266.

<sup>555</sup> See above.

<sup>556</sup> Sandler, 'Mary de Bohun's 'Livret de Saints'', pp. 70, 73.

<sup>557</sup> [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_20\\_D\\_IV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_20_D_IV)

<sup>558</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 347; Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 265.

Plantagenet (d. 1316), as evidenced by the pairing of the coats of arms of England pre-1340 and de Bohun in the first folio. The de Bohun coat of arms appears in one other folio. The only other over-painted coat of arms that appears in the manuscript may be that of Castile and Leon. It appears twice in two separate folios, although the arms are different than those appearing in other de Bohun manuscripts.<sup>559</sup> Dennison believes these arms to be over-painted, but Sandler disagrees.<sup>560</sup> Even if the arms were over-painted, the context of the remaining heraldry obviously indicates that they would have been meant to represent Elizabeth Plantagenet's mother, Eleanor of Castile, and not John of Gaunt.<sup>561</sup> There would be no reason to add the arms to represent John of Gaunt's claim to the throne of Castile in a manuscript otherwise completely bereft of heraldry related to the de Bohuns or Henry Bolingbroke's Lancastrian heritage. The de Bohuns were very fond of Arthurian lore and kept many books related to Arthurian romances.<sup>562</sup> This manuscript could have been owned by any member of the family. If the arms were over-painted after 1360 then it is another example of its owner's desire to commemorate the de Bohun's earlier ties with the royal family.

#### **d. Thomas of Woodstock and the de Bohun Manuscripts**

As Dennison has pointed out, the lack of a connection between any existing de Bohun manuscripts and Thomas of Woodstock, who is known to have both created and commissioned manuscripts and to have lived at Pleshey with a library of almost two hundred books, seems slightly odd. This lack could be due to the chance survival of a limited sample of the manuscripts connected to the de Bohuns,

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<sup>559</sup> The arms are transposed, showing Castile in the first and fourth quarters, and the tinctures of the quarters identified as Leon are *sable* a lion rampant *argent*, rather than *argent* a lion rampant *gules*, or *purpure*. See British Library, Royal MS 20.D.iv, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_20\\_D\\_IV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_20_D_IV) [accessed 24 May, 2016]; Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 163. The manuscript also contains coats of arms showing fleur de lys on an azure background and three leopards on a gules background, described as imaginary by Sandler and by the British Library online catalogue entry.

<sup>560</sup> Sandler believes the arms are original and imaginary, like other coats of arms represented in the manuscript. Sandler, *Illuminators & Patrons*, p. 163.

<sup>561</sup> For a different view see Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 265.

<sup>562</sup> This is discussed in Ch. 4.



or to the dispersal of Thomas' manuscripts after the forfeiture of his goods. All of the chapel books listed in the inventory of Pleshey castle were sold to new owners, and we must presume that most of the secular books followed the same fate.<sup>563</sup> Yet it is also possible that some of the existing de Bohun manuscripts created or completed after Humphrey IX's death were commissioned by the combined patronage of Thomas and Eleanor.<sup>564</sup> As discussed in previous chapters, Thomas was very proud of his wife's ancestry and often combined their arms and symbols. This is most evident in the seals of Pleshey College, meant to signify the beginning of a new dynasty.

The identity of those who commissioned the manuscripts and their exact purpose may never be known. Yet regardless of who commissioned them or why, their dynastic purpose is absolutely clear. Their heraldry and text are a testament to the de Bohun family's desire to commemorate for eternity their royal connections. They evidence the family's attempt to create a record that would continue into the future and ensure that they would never be forgotten.

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<sup>563</sup> On the dispersal of Thomas' books see Stratford, 'Clerks, Forfeiture and Books', pp. 163-71.

<sup>564</sup> It is likely that the psalter left by Eleanor to her son in her will, and the book with psalter, primer and other devotions left to her daughter Joan are among the books listed in the inventory of goods taken from Thomas and Eleanor's London house and returned to Eleanor. It is also possible that some or all of these books are among the surviving de Bohun manuscripts. TNA, C 257/58 6A, transcribed in *CIM*, VI, 224. See Ch. 3, 4.

## B. Names

Another indication of how the medieval nobility preserved family memory can be gathered from the names chosen for their progeny. Children stood for the continuation of the family line, and their names were chosen as a way of recalling an ancestor and encouraging emulation of his example in the present. When analysing family memory and pride of lineage, there is no more obvious example of the importance given to ancestry and its memory than the fact that children were given the same name as their ancestors. We cannot be certain, but presumably they were expected to know who their ancestors were and live up to their names. Here, however, historians must tread carefully. The fourteenth and fifteenth century nobility were interrelated to a very high degree and seem to have shared a small pool of names, like William, Henry and John, for boys, and Margaret, Elizabeth and Eleanor, for girls, to name a few. Names were often associated with saints, and it is hard to know at which point the saint took second place to the continuation of a family name. In addition, girls were also often named after queens, regardless of their royal links, and this often carried into the next generation, even if the queen in question was no longer alive. Children of both genders might also be named after their godparents. First sons were, of course, named after their fathers, resulting in a long string of earls of the same name from generation to generation. When a first born son died young, a brother might be renamed with the same name.<sup>565</sup> Yet it is precisely the fact that there was so much repetition that allows us to look at family names and make deductions when a new name was chosen, or when younger siblings in a large family had to be named, by which point all of the obvious names were no longer available.

Looking at the de Bohun family, it is not difficult to see why certain names were chosen. The name Humphrey, given to all first sons with only one exception, was not taken from either the Mandeville earls of Essex or the Gloucester earls of

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<sup>565</sup> In the de Bohun family this happened with Humphrey VII's first born son, Humphrey, and also with his first born daughter, Margaret. Both names were given to younger children for the second time.

Hereford. The de Bohun heirs were named Humphrey from the time of William the Conqueror, when they first arrived in England. Their bloodline was obviously more important than any title or office. As far as we know, the only de Bohun first son not to be named Humphrey was Henry de Bohun (d. 1200). It is possible that he was a second son, his eldest brother having died young. In any case, he was probably named after king Henry II and/or his maternal grandfather, king Henry of Scotland.

Henry de Bohun's only son and heir, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), named his younger sons Henry, John (d.c. 1292) and Miles.<sup>566</sup> The name Henry was obviously a nod in the direction of his grandfather. John's name may have had a religious derivation, and after this time John became a popular name in the de Bohun family.<sup>567</sup> The name Miles must have been given in honour of Miles of Gloucester, but it seems not to have been used again in the family.<sup>568</sup> John de Bohun (d.c. 1292), known as John of Haresfield, named his own sons Henry (d. 1314), John (d.c. 1328), Humphrey, William and Edmund (d.c. 1349). William was a very popular royal name, dating back to William the Conqueror. Edmund was a new name that may have come from his wife's family but in any case was most likely given in honour of St Edmund.

Humphrey IV's eldest son, Humphrey V (d. 1265), named his second son Gilbert, and Gilbert named his own son and heir Oliver. These were fairly unusual names. Gilbert may have been a significant name in his mother's family since one of her ancestors was Giles de Briouze, bishop of Hereford (d. 1215), a similar name.

The de Bohun sons of Humphrey VII (d. 1322), who was married to Edward I's daughter Elizabeth, were named Humphrey, John, Humphrey, Edward, William and Eneas. Edward and William were twins. The second Humphrey was named after the family's first son and heir died as an infant. Edward was perhaps named

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<sup>566</sup> *CPR 1258-66*, pp. 543-4.

<sup>567</sup> It recurred to a much greater extent among the de Bohuns of Midhurst, but this is probably a coincidence arising from the popularity of the name at the time.

<sup>568</sup> This is probably because in 1236 the family inherited the claim to the earldom of Essex.

in honour of Edward I, his maternal grandfather. Eneas was most unusual and not to be repeated in the family. He was named after the knight of the swan, a legend that his father wished to associate with the de Bohun family, as already discussed. The girls were named Eleanor, Margaret, and Isabella. Eleanor was a very common name among the nobility, but it would probably be fair to assume that this de Bohun daughter was named after her grandmother, Queen Eleanor of Castile. Margaret, the patron saint of childbirth, was an important name for Humphrey VII and his wife since two daughters were named Margaret, the first having died young. There had been several Mauds and Margerys married to de Bohuns before this time. There had also been two important figures in the family named Margaret. One was Margaret of Scotland (d. 1201), wife of Humphrey III (d. 1181). She was the sister of the Scottish king, William the Lion (d. 1214). The other Margaret was Margaret of Gloucester (d. 1187), daughter and coheir of Miles of Gloucester, through whom the de Bohuns first obtained a claim to the earldom of Hereford and the Constablership of England. However, Elizabeth de Bohun was known to be close to her step-mother, Margaret of France, and it is also possible that this was the motivation behind her daughter's name.<sup>569</sup> Isabella is more interesting. Why not Elizabeth, like her mother? Most likely, the name was chosen in honour of Queen Isabella of France.<sup>570</sup>

Despite the obvious fertility of Humphrey de Bohun and Elizabeth Plantagenet, the next generation of de Bohuns had few children. Only William, Eleanor and Margaret had issue and of these three, Margaret had by far the most. William's children were named, predictably for the child likely to be the next de Bohun heir and his only sister, Humphrey and Elizabeth. Elizabeth was presumably named after both her mother, Elizabeth de Badlesmere, and her royal grandmother. Eleanor and Margaret married the earl of Ormond and the earl of Devon,

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<sup>569</sup> This example illustrates the problem with trying to draw conclusions based on names, since the pool of names used among the nobility and the royal family was so small, the nobility imitating royalty, except in cases such as the name "Humphrey" where we can be sure it was not borrowed from either the royal family or religion.

<sup>570</sup> Elizabeth Plantagenet died in 1316 at the age of 34 and Isabella was her youngest child of at least ten children, so it is most likely that Isabella was born when Isabella of France was on the English throne.

respectively, so both were constrained by the traditions in their husbands' families. Yet they both managed to give their children some de Bohun names. Eleanor's second daughter was named Eleanor, and Margaret named her seventh son Humphrey. The fact that she waited until her seventh son is presumably an indication of the fact that she was not an heiress. The Courtenays clearly did not feel they had to take on the de Bohun mantle. However her first daughter, the eighth child, was named Margaret, and her second daughter was named Elizabeth. Both these names had royal associations and thus perhaps had more to commend them to the Courtenays.<sup>571</sup> As evidence that her family was not the only consideration when choosing a name, Margaret also chose a legendary name for one of her younger children: Guinevere.<sup>572</sup> This was neither a traditional de Bohun name nor one often used in the nobility of her time. The many Arthurian romances bequeathed in Margaret's will probably account for its choice.

This background serves to put into context the names chosen by Humphrey IX (d. 1373) and his two surviving daughters and co-heiresses, Eleanor (d. 1399) and Mary (d. 1394). Humphrey IX married Joan Fitzalan, daughter of the earl of Arundel and Eleanor of Lancaster.<sup>573</sup> Thus we would expect the choice of names for their progeny to be influenced by such distinguished families. Yet they only had two daughters, and neither carried her mother's name (the name Joan being a traditional choice among the Fitzalans and also one used by the earls of Lancaster). Eleanor may have been named after her maternal grandmother, but her paternal great-aunt had also been named Eleanor. It was a very popular name. The choice of Mary at this point is unusual. It may have been chosen for religious reasons. Mary may have been born on one of the feast days associated with the Virgin Mary. However, the name Mary appears twice in the family tree of the earls of Lancaster, Joan's maternal lineage. One of Joan's aunts and one of Joan's sisters was named Mary. Elizabeth de Bohun (d. 1385), Humphrey IX's sister and only sibling,

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<sup>571</sup> In the two previous generations, it does not appear that there was a Margaret Courtenay, although the youngest sister of the tenth earl, Margaret de Bohun's sister in law, was named Elizabeth.

<sup>572</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135.

<sup>573</sup> Joan Fitzalan's mother was Eleanor of Lancaster, daughter of Henry, third earl of Lancaster (1281-1345) and Maud Chaworth. Eleanor's eldest brother, Joan's uncle, was Henry of Grosmont, first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-1360/1).

married Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1397). Of her eight children, the third son was named William, like his grandfather, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, and the first and fourth daughters were named Elizabeth and Margaret, both de Bohun names. The other two names chosen, Alice and Joan, were names often used by the Arundel family.<sup>574</sup>

This brings us to Eleanor and Mary de Bohun, co-heiresses and last in line of the de Bohun earls. It is very interesting that Thomas and Eleanor chose to name their first son Humphrey, in the tradition of his de Bohun male ancestors, rather than Thomas or another royal name. This fact shows the importance that was given by Thomas to Eleanor's family and the continuation of her lineage. Thomas was an extremely popular name in the royal family and in many noble families at the time, but it was not a name that had been traditionally used by the de Bohuns. Their daughters' names, Anne, Joan and Isabel, are also interesting. The choice of Anne, a name heretofore unknown in both the royal and de Bohun families, may have been chosen in honour of Queen Anne of Bohemia, who married Richard II on 20 January 1382, the same year that historians presume Anne of Woodstock may have been born.<sup>575</sup> The name Joan was presumably chosen in honour of her maternal grandmother, although Thomas had two sisters named Joan, so clearly this was an important name in his family as well. Isabel, as we have seen, was a popular name in its English form. However, it is probably significant that Thomas and Eleanor chose the continental form of the name. Thomas' grandmother was Queen Isabella of France, and one of his sisters was named Isabella. Eleanor's great aunt, as discussed above, was probably named after the same Queen Isabella.

Eleanor's sister, Mary de Bohun, had six children with Henry Bolingbroke, all with royal or Lancastrian names except for one. Her fourth son was named Humphrey,

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<sup>574</sup> Going back two generations, there do not appear to have been any Elizabeths, and only one Margaret, born before 1302.

<sup>575</sup> See Carole Rawcliffe, 'Anne of Woodstock, countess of Stafford (c. 1382-1438)', in *ODNB*, II, 227-28.

in honour of his de Bohun ancestors.<sup>576</sup> Her daughters were named after her husband's mother and grandmother, Blanche and Phillipa.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about noble medieval families based on the names given by parents to their young progeny. Most of the names used were common to most noble families, arising from kings and queens, martyrs and saints, and this makes it nearly impossible to know where the name arose or who exactly it was meant to honour or commemorate. The examples above provide a very small, limited sample of what could be an interesting study. However, there is no question that names had great significance, were chosen carefully, and were meant to commemorate ancestors and perpetuate the family's lineage. If we look closely, some patterns are clearly discernible, such as the fact that boys were named after their fathers and paternal ancestors, and girls were often also named after paternal ancestors. Not surprisingly, royal maternal ancestors, where they existed, were given greater precedence, to remind everyone of this important family connection. In some cases distinctive names arise, breaking the norm and making it easier to guess the parents' intentions, or demonstrating a particular affinity. Based on the limited analysis discussed above, it would seem that a woman's lineage was considered important, since some of the younger children were named after her family, but took second place to the husband's lineage, at least when the husband was a member of an equally powerful family. In Eleanor de Bohun's case, as she was an heiress, her son took her family's name, even though her husband was a prince of the royal blood. Her first daughter, however, was given a royal name, perhaps to please Richard II and his new queen, commemorating her birth on the same year that a queen of England was crowned.

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<sup>576</sup> The names of Mary's children were Henry, Thomas, John, Humphrey, Blanche and Phillipa.

## Chapter 4

### Divine Intervention: The Piety of the De Bohun Family

For most medieval noble families, power, wealth, fertility and immortality could not be achieved without God's will. Religion was an intrinsic part of life, woven deeply into the fabric of society and family life. In an age of limited scientific discovery, poor astronomic and medical knowledge, and high mortality rates, it is not surprising that people both believed and found refuge in the teachings of the Church. Piety was a means to obtain divine favour for an individual and his or her family both before and after death. Yet the comfort and perceived security to be gained from religion came at an exacting price, particularly for the higher nobility. A life of privilege did not make for an easy entry into Heaven. Noble men and women needed to be charitable and virtuous to justify their possession of wealth. For men, this could be achieved through crusading and pilgrimage, as well as through religious bequests and the creation of chantries. Women, generally more limited in their ability to travel and in their financial means, engaged in a more modest but probably continuous pattern of benefactions, and took on the role of guardians of their family's religious needs. As heads of their domestic household they were able to teach and set an example of pious behaviour to their children and servants. Those who survived childbirth often outlived their husbands, and took on the role of ensuring the family was remembered through tomb effigies, chantries and prayers.

Modern studies of fourteenth-century religion and piety have focused on the development of individualism and introspection as reflected by the rise of mysticism and lollardy, literacy and the greater availability of vernacular texts, the move from psalters to books of hours as the main service book of the laity, and the increase in the practice of confession, encouraging the systematic examination of conscience. There has been much debate among historians as to whether this development may have presaged the beginning of a change in society that led to or



at least sowed the seeds of the sixteenth century reformation.<sup>577</sup> What seems certain is that by the late fourteenth century there was growing criticism of the Church and its role in society, and Wycliff's beliefs enjoyed some popularity, finding particular support among members of the nobility, including John of Gaunt, the Black Prince and his wife Joan of Kent.<sup>578</sup>

The last two decades have also produced extensive research on religious book ownership, particularly of women and nuns, opening up debate on the pious practices of noblewomen and the relationship between social and individual spheres of piety.<sup>579</sup> Although these studies have revealed the extensive use and sharing of religious books by noblewomen, as well as their patronage of religious manuscripts and vernacular translations, some have argued that the ideal vision of female piety as shown in surviving books may not have been commensurate with the reality of noblewomen's everyday life.<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility', pp. 43-55; Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion', pp. 121-150; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 293-99; Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', pp. 53-74; Nigel Saul, 'The Religious Sympathies of the Gentry'; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Thomson, 'Knightly Piety', pp. 95-111. For the development of prayer books see Nigel Morgan, 'Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2012), II (2008), 291-316; Nigel Morgan and Paul Binski, 'Private Devotion: Humility and Splendor', in *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, eds Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), pp. 163-233.

<sup>578</sup> Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 295-97.

<sup>579</sup> Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety*; Karen J. Jambeck, 'Patterns of Women's Literary Patronage: England, 1200-ca. 1475', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 228-65; June H. McKash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996); Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002); Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London: The British Library, 2003); Jane H. M. Taylor and Lesley Smith, eds, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (London: British Library, 1997).

<sup>580</sup> Archer, 'Piety in Question', pp. 118-140. See also, Laynesmith, 'The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York', pp. 27-43.

The evidence of wills, books, inventories and religious foundations associated with the de Bohun family sheds some light on the debate about late medieval noble piety and needs to be reviewed in the context of the themes mentioned above. By the fourteenth century, the de Bohuns were firmly entrenched in the imaginative chivalrous, knightly class, being an ancient, wealthy and established family with strong links to crusading. Predictably, the existing evidence relating to both men and women in the de Bohun family shows them to have been deeply pious, following all the orthodox conventions of their times. Yet they were also knowledgeable and cultured, and there is much evidence of the individual preferences and contemplative thought first noted by Catto among the fourteenth-century soldiers and courtiers close to the throne. Perhaps less obviously, this evidence is also present in relation to some of the de Bohun women.

## A. Crusading, Pilgrimage and Religious Patronage

### a. **Crusading and Pilgrimage**

To the medieval mind, taking the cross and going to the Holy Land to fight the infidel represented the pinnacle of the knightly quest. Not only did the crusader obtain remission of sins as a reward, but he also gained prestige, honour and status for him and his family in both heaven and earth. It was a source of chivalric pride to be treasured by family members, and, as already discussed, this was reflected in their literature, personal ornaments and household furnishings. Crusading ran in families, and the de Bohuns are often mentioned among those who took the cross from generation to generation, along with families such as the Scropes and the Beauchamps.<sup>581</sup> There is no evidence that any de Bohuns other than Henry de Bohun (d. 1220) and Humphrey IX (d. 1373), actually fought in the Crusades. Most of them only went on pilgrimage to Santiago. Yet there is ample evidence of their consistent commitment to the values of crusading through several generations, and this makes them stand out from other families. They were also devout and pious, as their wills and religious patronage demonstrate, and actively sought to associate their family with the glory of crusading. Through their use of the swan emblem, they associated their family with Godfrey de Bouillon, ruler of Jerusalem after the First Crusade. The Inventories of the goods forfeited from Pleshey Castle and Thomas and Eleanor's London home in 1398 also show that the de Bohuns owned several household furnishings and manuscripts relating to the Crusades, presumably to remind themselves and everyone around them of the family's pride in its crusading ancestry.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, pp. 219-238.

<sup>582</sup> The entries include "un grand piece de Aras florissez dor de Cire de lestorie de Charlemayn" worth £48 12s, "un pece de Aras sanz or de lestorie de dit Charlemayne" valued at £9 4s 4d, and "un pece Daras de lestorie Godefrey de Boillon florissez de la gayn de la Citee de Jerusalem" valued at £45. E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels', p. 288. Books entitled "Godfrey de Bouillon" were found at both Pleshey Castle and the Duke and Duchess' London home.

Despite the de Bohuns' reputation as a crusading family, only three de Bohun earls are recorded as taking the cross, and at most two of them were actively engaged in holy war. It is possible that others went and we have no record of it. The first de Bohun earl of Hereford, Henry de Bohun (d. 1220), one of the twenty-five Barons appointed to enforce Magna Carta, died on 1 June 1220, while on crusade to the Holy Land, during the Fifth Crusade (1213-21).<sup>583</sup> It is not known how he died, but he appears to have travelled to the Holy Land with Saer de Quincy (d. 1219) and other lords who left England in the spring of 1219.<sup>584</sup> They arrived later that year at Damietta, in Egypt, where crusaders were attempting to take over the city.<sup>585</sup> Saer de Quincy died shortly after arrival on 3 November that year from illness and was buried at Acre.<sup>586</sup> Nothing more is known of Henry but since he is recorded as dying on 1 June, 1220 and his body was buried at Llanthony it is possible that he died on his way back from the Holy Land or shortly after his arrival in England.<sup>587</sup>

Henry's son, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), took the cross in 1250, and had license to make his will on 13 September 1251, but it is not clear whether he went to the Holy Land.<sup>588</sup> The third and last de Bohun earl to take the cross was Humphrey IX (d. 1373). He fought in the East with Peter I of Cyprus, taking part in a raid on Tripoli in September 1367.<sup>589</sup> This crusade was not funded by Edward III.

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<sup>583</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135; *Complete Peerage*, VI, 459.

<sup>584</sup> Hingeston, *John Capgrave's Book*, p. 193. They were accompanied by Saer's son Roger, Robert Fitzwalter, leader of the baronial movement against King John, and William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, I, 22.

<sup>585</sup> Caroline Smith, 'Damietta, Siege of', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. Clifford J. Rogers, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) I, 526-28.

<sup>586</sup> Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de', p. 709.

<sup>587</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135. A chronicle of the reign of Edward I records his death with that of Saer de Quincy in Jerusalem. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, I, 23 (citing *Annales Londonienses*).

<sup>588</sup> *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albini, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1880), v, 98-9.

<sup>589</sup> *Guillaume de Machaut: The Capture of Alexandria*, trans. Janet Shirley, (Ashgate, 2001), p. 147 and n. 3, 167; *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927), p. 51; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Despite papal pressure, the king declined to take the cross in the Alexandrian campaign. Hereford must therefore have had his own personal motivation for taking the cross, whether it be family tradition, pious beliefs, the possibility of financial lucre, or a combination of all three. His will indicates that he had significant debts at the time of his death, probably at least partly related to his father's large purchases of land.<sup>590</sup>

In addition to crusading, the de Bohuns had an obvious predilection for the cult of St James, reflected in their many pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela. This may have been related to their patronage of Walden Abbey, which was dedicated to the honour of St Mary and St James. Travel to Santiago was certainly much easier and less expensive than travel to the Holy Land, and it served the dual purpose of showing commitment to Christian beliefs in support of the Church while at the same time continuing the crusading traditions central to the family's image. In 1237 Humphrey IV, the first de Bohun earl of Essex, went on pilgrimage to Santiago.<sup>591</sup> He had just inherited the earldom from his mother Maud, sister and heir of William de Mandeville, at her death in 1236. The Earl's eldest son predeceased him, dying in captivity in 1265, but his grandson and heir, Humphrey VI (d. 1298) had protection to go on pilgrimage to Santiago in January 1278.<sup>592</sup> The next de Bohun earl, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), may not have had the time in his busy military career to go on pilgrimage, for after this time no de Bohuns seem to have made the pilgrimage until December 1330, when John de Bohun (d. 1335/6) went to Santiago, after surrendering the constablership of England to his brother

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Press, 1988), pp. 289, 292. Humphrey IX may have intended to go to Jerusalem as he was given an indulgence to visit Jerusalem with 50 attendants and, if occasion serve, to fight against the enemies of the Catholic faith there. TNA, DL 27/140.

<sup>590</sup> In 1370 Humphrey IX was still paying off a debt of 2,300 marks to the executors of John Neville of Essex for the lands purchased from him by William de Bohun. John de Neville was the last of his line and agreed to sell his inheritance to William during their lifetimes. William also acquired several other lands during his lifetime. See Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 23.

<sup>591</sup> *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 178. Before going, he made his will, which was confirmed by the king. It has not survived, but he would not die until 48 years later so presumably there were others.

<sup>592</sup> *CPR, 1272-81*, p. 249. He had protection to go on 2 January, until Michaelmas (29 September).

Edward de Bohun in October of the same year due to infirmity.<sup>593</sup> In 1331 Edmund de Bohun (d. 1349) also went on pilgrimage beyond the seas, nominating attorneys in his absence for one year, although it is not known if he went to Santiago or elsewhere.<sup>594</sup> In March 1353 Humphrey VII's eldest daughter, Eleanor de Bohun, countess of Ormond (d. 1363), was given safe conduct by the king of France to go on pilgrimage to the Roman court with 20 companions.<sup>595</sup>

**b. Religious Patronage**

i. Walden Abbey and Llanthony Priory

Both Llanthony Secunda and Walden Abbey received the patronage of the de Bohun family, and this patronage continued even after the death of the last de Bohun earl of Hereford in 1373. The de Bohuns' continued patronage of Llanthony Secunda long after they ceased to be buried there is probably a consequence of both its location in the de Bohun lands inherited from Miles of Gloucester and the importance attached by later generations of the de Bohun family to the memory of their ancestors.

Llanthony Secunda received many lands and endowments from its founder, Miles of Gloucester, and his sons. These were confirmed and augmented by Margaret de Bohun (d. 1197), Miles' daughter and co-heiress.<sup>596</sup> Margaret's grandson, Henry de Bohun (d. 1220) and his son Humphrey IV (d. 1275) must have also been patrons of the church, although there are few surviving records of their gifts to the priory.<sup>597</sup> After Henry's death a charter records that a canon was employed to officiate in the convent for the soul of their patron, Henry de Bohun.<sup>598</sup> In 1290, Humphrey IV's son, John de Bohun, lord of Haresfield (d. 1292), gave half an acre

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<sup>593</sup> *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 12, 14, 24, 26. He went overseas again in October 1333, but his destination is not recorded. *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 471.

<sup>594</sup> *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 80.

<sup>595</sup> TNA, C 47/28/6/11.

<sup>596</sup> See Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford'.

<sup>597</sup> Humphrey IV also founded the London house of Augustinian Friars, also known as Austin Friars, in Broad Street in 1253. Stowe, *A Survey of London*, I, 177.

<sup>598</sup> TNA, DL 27/7.

of land in Haresfield for the good of the souls of his father and his mother Matilda of Avenbury.<sup>599</sup> Humphrey VI was the first de Bohun who desired to be buried somewhere other than Llanthony. Yet his son, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), continued to have very close ties to the priory. He sought refuge there when he was fighting against the king's forces at the end of his life, and stored important family documents and other valuable items at the house. The prior, William of Pendebury, supported the Earl by providing him with money and retaining valuable deeds and other objects from the king's officers. He later delivered them to the Earl's son and heir, John de Bohun.<sup>600</sup> In 1328, Humphrey VII's son, John de Bohun (d. 1335), earl of Hereford and Essex, obtained a licence to alienate the advowson and church of Kington, in Herefordshire, with its annexed chapels, to Llanthony Secunda.<sup>601</sup> His brother and heir, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), provided in his will for a new chapel of the Trinity to be built at Llanthony and donated to it forty marks, a silver gilt chalice of sixty shillings worth of weight, and two pairs of vestments.<sup>602</sup> Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399) bequeathed £13 8s. 6d. to the prior and convent and 100s. to its canon, William Sheldon.<sup>603</sup> Eleanor's daughter, Anne of Woodstock (d. 1438), countess of Stafford, was the first member of the de Bohun family since 1275 to choose to be buried at Llanthony. In her will dated October

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<sup>599</sup> *CPR, 1281-92*, p. 372; J. N. Langston, 'Priors of Llanthony by Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 63 (1942), 1-144 (p. 64).

<sup>600</sup> On 20 January, 1324, the prior was examined before the king after being accused of coming to the assistance of the Earl while he was at Gloucester by sending him two pack horses, accommodating him and his servants at the priory, and giving him 10 marks when he left for the North. The prior was also accused of sending notice to the Earl that the king had seized his goods and chattels, including those held at Llanthony, and of retaining "a chest with deeds and evidences, a sword, and two trunks covered with leather, in which the Prior knew that there were many things which might be of great use to 'Johan de Bohun', the Earl's son, and which he sent to the latter at Windsor Castle, by 'Thomas de Barton', Canon of Llanthony". *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, ed. Francis Palgrave, 2 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1827-34), II (1830), 367. See also, TNA, SC 8/56/2785, SC 8/56/2786 (charter of Humphrey de Bohun and related petition preventing the king's officers from interfering with the priory's possessions dated c. 1324).

<sup>601</sup> *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 235.

<sup>602</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 633-4.

<sup>603</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 179. The only other religious houses mentioned in Eleanor's will were Westminster Abbey, where she was buried, and Walden Abbey.

1438 she bequeathed 100 marks to the church, and she was presumably a patron during her lifetime.<sup>604</sup>

Walden Abbey also received the family's support and served as its safe house. Their first patron was probably Humphrey VI (d. 1298), the first earl of Hereford to be buried at the Abbey. The manuscripts associated with the Abbey state that he "did much good" to its monastery.<sup>605</sup> As we know from the inventory of goods handed over to the King's escheator, Sir Nicholas de la Beche, by the Abbot of Walden in 1322, Humphrey VII (d. 1322) kept an extraordinary quantity of valuable possessions at Walden Abbey, including a very large number of jewels, plate, tapestries, books, clothing and household possessions belonging to him and his children.<sup>606</sup> The Earl was a patron of the house. This is shown by the fact that in October 1317 the abbot and convent of Walden were allowed to appropriate the churches of Aynho in Northamptonshire and Kingham in Oxfordshire to hold in return for prayers for the soul of the Earl's wife, Elizabeth (d. 1316), on the anniversary of her death.<sup>607</sup> In 1342 his son, William, earl of Northampton, founded a chantry at Walden and gave them the advowson of the priory of Berden and the reversion of the manor of Berden.<sup>608</sup> After his death, the abbey found five additional monks to pray for his soul in consideration of this and other benefits.<sup>609</sup> William's brother, Humphrey VIII, built a cloister.<sup>610</sup> In his will he bequeathed to Walden Abbey £100 of silver for prayers, a silver bound copy of the gospels for the Lady Chapel, a vestment of red velvet with four garments, and a large silver gilt crown for the statue of the lady in said chapel. He also left £40 to the Abbot of

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<sup>604</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, I, f. 479; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 278. Copies of Anne's personal letters to the prior, John Wyche (d. 1436) have survived and are evidence that she must have had a close relationship to Llanthony Priory during her lifetime. See TNA, C115/76 (Register of prior John Wyche (1408-1436)).

<sup>605</sup> "fecit multa bono nostro monasterio", Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 134, 141.

<sup>606</sup> TNA, DL 25/29.

<sup>607</sup> *CPR*, 1317-21, p. 39.

<sup>608</sup> TNA, DL 26/56; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 133; *VCH: Essex*, eds W. Page and J H. Round, 2 vols (London: Dawson, 1907), II, 113, 143; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp110-115> [accessed 12 May 2016]/pp143-144 [accessed 10 May 2016].

<sup>609</sup> TNA, DL 27/17 (letters of obligation by Walden Abbey to find five extra monks to pray in consideration for the reversion of Berden).

<sup>610</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 140; Page, *VCH: Essex*, II, 113.



Walden.<sup>611</sup> In the next generation Humphrey IX 's wife, Joan de Bohun (d. 1419), was a benefactor. After her husband's death, Joan adorned the nave of the church with stone sculptures, covered the roof with lead, rebuilt the steeple, donated costly vestments, and enriched the altar, including a donation to it of a cross of gold with several pieces of the true cross.<sup>612</sup> Eleanor de Bohun and her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, were also patrons of Walden Abbey. She bequeathed to them a blue vestment embroidered with deer of gold of Cyprus.<sup>613</sup> In 1393-4, Walden Abbey was involved in the foundation of Pleshey College. It granted to Thomas and Eleanor certain lands and the advowson of the church of Pleshey in exchange for a rent of 10 marks in the manor of Haddiscoe (Norfolk) and the duke's help in acquiring additional property to the value of 20 marks annually.<sup>614</sup>

## ii. The College of Pleshey

In 1395 Thomas of Woodstock and Eleanor de Bohun founded a college of nine chaplains at Pleshey dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The existing parish church was moved and incorporated into the college. The foundation statutes of the college survive, as well as an inventory of its physical possessions, and both serve to illustrate the importance of the college to its founders.<sup>615</sup> Secular colleges were popular at the time, providing a more flexible approach to liturgical celebration and intercession than monasteries. Founders could set up their own rules and regulations as they saw fit. Thomas' father, Edward III, had set an example by creating the priestly college of St. George at Windsor, and other noblemen soon followed, among them Thomas' brother in law, the earl of Arundel.<sup>616</sup> Thomas must have wanted to have his own secular college to signify the glory of his royal line. The two seals of Pleshey College, illustrated in Appendix K, give some

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<sup>611</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 633, 635.

<sup>612</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 134, 140.

<sup>613</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 179; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 645.

<sup>614</sup> Page, *VCH: Essex*, II, 113. The lands in Pleshey and the advowson of the church were granted to Walden Abbey by Joan de Bohun on 25 September, 1393. TNA, DL 26/59.

<sup>615</sup> TNA, DL 41/425; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels'.

<sup>616</sup> Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, pp. 211-12.

indication of Thomas' piety and his motivations. The largest shows Thomas and Eleanor below a central figure of the Trinity. The de Bohun swans appear below their respective coats of arms. It is a symbol of the union of the ancient line of de Bohun and the royal line of England. A second, smaller oval seal shows Thomas and Eleanor kneeling and offering a church to the Holy Trinity above them.<sup>617</sup> As already discussed, the image of the Holy Trinity is very similar to that depicted in Thomas' lost brass.<sup>618</sup> If Holinshed is to be believed, Thomas provided for his own burial at Pleshey "in a goodly Sepulchre provided in his life-time".<sup>619</sup> This, of course, never happened, since his body was eventually buried in Westminster Abbey on the south side of the shrine of King Edward the Confessor. Why this happened is a question that remains unanswered. It is possible that King Richard II did not want Pleshey College to become a martyr's shrine.

At the time of the College's foundation, Thomas could not have predicted his untimely death less than two years later. After the death of her husband and son in short order, Eleanor and her children appear to have given up on the idea of Pleshey College as a dynastic institution. Eleanor's only son and heir, Humphrey, was buried at Walden Abbey. Her daughter Joan, who died shortly after, was also buried there.<sup>620</sup> Yet it is a measure of the importance given to Thomas' royal lineage and the desire to preserve his memory, that his descendants continued their allegiance to Pleshey College. Thomas and Eleanor's daughter, Anne, presented a master to the college and in her will dated 16 October 1438 she bequeathed £20 annually for the term of twenty years for certain priests to celebrate divine service for her at Pleshey.<sup>621</sup> Anne herself chose to be buried with her second husband at Llanthony Priory, but her only son by Edmund Stafford, Thomas' grandson and heir, Humphrey Stafford, first duke of

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<sup>617</sup> Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 185.

<sup>618</sup> See Ch. 2.

<sup>619</sup> Ellis, *Hollinshed's Chronicles*, II, 837.

<sup>620</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141. Given that Eleanor wrote her will shortly before her son's death and died soon after him it is possible that it was Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun, who arranged the burial of her grandson Humphrey (d. 1399), and she was probably responsible for the burial at Walden of her granddaughter, Joan de Bohun (d. 1400).

<sup>621</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, I, f. 479; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 279; Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 183.

Buckingham (d. 1460), was a benefactor of Pleshey and chose to be buried there, as did his wife, Anne Neville (d. 1485), although she outlived him by more than twenty years.<sup>622</sup> In his will, the Duke bequeathed lands and tenements of 100 marks per year to ensure that Pleshey would be augmented with three priests perpetually and seven poor men to pray for his soul, the souls of his wife and children, and the souls of his ancestors. He also asked for a chapel to be built on the North side of the church, dedicated to the Virgin and the Trinity, where the seven poor men could pray for the aforesaid souls.<sup>623</sup> His wife, Anne Neville, duchess of Buckingham, presented a master to the college in 1477 and obtained licence to amortize lands in the amount of 40 marks a year to the collegiate church.<sup>624</sup> At least two of their sons were also buried here. Their third son, Henry Stafford, willed his body to be buried at Pleshey and bequeathed £160 to buy 12 marks worth of livelihood per year for a priest to sing perpetually for his soul.<sup>625</sup> Humphrey and Anne's younger son John, earl of Wiltshire, may have been buried in the middle arch in 1499.<sup>626</sup> John's son and heir, Edward, founded a perpetual chantry at Pleshey with a yearly rent of £13 4 s., although he chose to be buried with his mother's family at Lowick, in Northamptonshire.<sup>627</sup> Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (d. 1521), presented two masters to the College, and appears to have left some money to Pleshey in his will.<sup>628</sup> This was, however, the last of Thomas' descendants to be connected with Pleshey. When the Duke was executed, the patronage of Pleshey went to the crown.

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<sup>622</sup> Christy, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', p. 25.

<sup>623</sup> Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 296.

<sup>624</sup> Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 183.

<sup>625</sup> Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 167; Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 183. Gough states the amount as £16, but this is obviously an error.

<sup>626</sup> Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 164. Gough cites a note in Dugdale's *Baronage* for this statement, but I have not been able to verify it.

<sup>627</sup> Gough, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 183-84.

<sup>628</sup> Gough, *History and Antiquities*, p. 184. Edward's will is not extant, but it appears that he was allowed to make one before his execution. William Catesby left Edward's wife, Katherine Neville, £100, stating that part of it was to be used to execute Edward's will, particularly an amortization of land to Pleshey. Daniel Williams, 'The Hastily Drawn up Will of William Catesby', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 51 (1975-76), 43-51 (p. 49).

### c. The de Bohuns and the Cult of the Trinity

The cult of the Trinity was founded in Canterbury by Thomas Becket on his consecration in 1162, but it was only established as a general festival by Pope John XXII in 1333.<sup>629</sup> It gained popularity among the royal and noble soldiers and courtiers in the fourteenth century. As has already been seen, Thomas of Woodstock and his wife Eleanor dedicated Pleshey College to the Trinity. The image of the Trinity in the college's seals and the image of the Trinity in Sandford's depiction of Thomas' lost funeral brass show Thomas' personal attachment to the cult.<sup>630</sup> The Trinity's popularity in the fourteenth century was probably due to the royal family's patronage of this cult and is one more example of the chivalrous culture reflected in loyalties, traditions and symbols that bound together fourteenth century knights. The Order of the Garter, created in 1348, was under the patronage of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin and Edward the Confessor, as well as St George. However, it is Edward III's eldest son, the Black Prince, who is best known for his personal devotion to the Trinity.<sup>631</sup> The prince was born within fifteen days (the quindene) of Trinity Sunday and all the chroniclers agree that he had a particular interest in this cult. The earliest portrait of him is a lead badge that shows him kneeling by the Trinity, encircled by the Garter, and the same pose appears in the frontispiece to one of the manuscripts of Chandos Herald's "Life of the Black Prince", written about ten years after his death.<sup>632</sup> The prince seems to have held a great feast each year on Trinity Sunday, and at the end of his life he was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, in the Trinity Chapel beside Becket's shrine, under a canopy painted with the image of the Trinity.<sup>633</sup> The sermon preached by Thomas Brinton, bishop of Rochester, soon after the prince's death, gives us some insight into the symbolism of the Trinity. The bishop stated,

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<sup>629</sup> Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince* (London: Allen Lane, 1978), p. 240.

<sup>630</sup> See Appendixes J and K.

<sup>631</sup> Green, *Edward the Black Prince*, p. 167.

<sup>632</sup> Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, p. 241.

<sup>633</sup> Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, pp. 241, 237. In 1357, sixteen swans were ordered for the feast on Trinity Sunday.

Any prince should excel his subjects in power, wisdom and goodness, just as the image of the Holy Trinity represents these, the Father being power, the Son wisdom and the Holy Spirit goodness. But this lord prince had all three qualities in the highest degree.<sup>634</sup>

The prince's devotion to the Trinity may have been the main precursor to its popularity, for there is no question that during the fourteenth century several knights and notable figures showed devotion to this cult. Richard, fourth earl of Arundel (d. 1397), left a will commending his soul to the Trinity and making provisions for his father's foundation of a perpetual college of thirteen chaplains and fifteen clerks in honour of the Trinity.<sup>635</sup> Sir Miles Stapleton (d. 1364), a founder member of the order of the Garter, founded a perpetual chantry in the priory church of Ingham, between 1355 and 1360, consisting of a warden and two priests performing service in honour of the Holy Trinity.<sup>636</sup> Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster, was also a devotee of the Trinity. At the end of his book, 'Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines', he writes,

I wholly commend myself subject, along with all my friends, dead and alive, and all Christians, to the pity, mercy, and grace of the most Holy Trinity, that is to say, to the compassion of the powerful Father, to the mercy of the Son, full of knowledge and of wisdom, and to the good grace of the Holy Spirit, in whom is, and from whom is, all good grace. And these three are all one in the Holy Trinity, with all their virtues, to whom I commend myself, body and soul, as is stated above.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, p. 235.

<sup>635</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 120, 123.

<sup>636</sup> Caroline Shenton, 'Stapleton, Sir Miles, of Bedale (1320?-1364)', in *ODNB*, LII, 280-81; *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, ed. John Chambers (London: 1829), p. 732. Stapleton was at the siege of Alexandria with Humphrey IX. Galbraith, *Anonimale Chonicle*, p. 51.

<sup>637</sup> Blatt, *The Book of Holy Medicines*, p. 277.

What is most interesting is that this devotion occurred even among so-called “Lollard” knights, as well as those following more orthodox practices. Three wills survive of the ten knights suspected of having Wycliffite tendencies: those of Sir Thomas Latimer (written on 13 September 1401); Sir Lewis Clifford (written on 17 September 1404); and Sir John Cheyne (written on 1 November 1413).<sup>638</sup> In their wills, containing language referring to themselves as “wretched and sinful”, both Cheyne and Clifford recommend their souls to the Trinity.<sup>639</sup>

In this context, it is perhaps not surprising to find that Humphrey VIII (d. 1361) was also a devotee of the Trinity. In his will he left his soul to God, the Trinity and Saint Augustine and ordered his executors to build a chapel of the Holy Trinity at Llanthony Priory.<sup>640</sup> Yet the de Bohun family’s connection to the cult of the Trinity may have begun much earlier. As already seen in the discussion of de Bohun seals, it is most likely that the trefoil design in many of the family’s seals, beginning with Humphrey VII, was meant to represent the Trinity. The Trinity symbol in Humphrey VII’s counterseal sprouts from two Mandeville coats of arms, indicating that it was probably a Mandeville badge. Geoffrey de Mandeville (d. 1215) was buried in Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>638</sup> McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 207. McFarlane argues that only the seven names derived from Walsingham’s chronicle: Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Richard Sturry, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir William Neville, Sir John Clanvow, Sir John Montagu, and Sir John Cheyne, should be considered Lollard Knights, based on the limited evidence connecting the other three knights mentioned by Knighton with Lollardy. See McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 148-53.

<sup>639</sup> Sir John Cheyne’s will states, “. . . at the beginning I most unworthy and God’s traitor recommend me, wretched and sinful wholly to the grace and to the great mercy of the blissful Trinity”. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 211 (citing *Reg. Arundel*, II, f. 203v). Sir Lewis Clifford’s will states, “. . . I most unworthy and Goddis traytor recommaunde my wrechid and synfule soule hooly to the grace and to the grete mercy of the blessed trynytie”. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 341. Latymer’s will does not mention the Trinity.

<sup>640</sup> *Reg. Islip*, ff. 178-179, f. 178.

<sup>641</sup> Stow, *A Survey of London*, I, 141.

## **B. The Personal Piety of Members of the de Bohun Family**

In common with other medieval noble families, the evidence relating to the de Bohuns shows them to have owned and valued traditional religious objects, venerated popular saints, supported churches and monastic foundations, and provided for chantries and multiple prayers in full acceptance of the culture of intercession. Owing to the survival of some of their detailed wills, as well as the inventory of goods left by Humphrey VII at Walden Abbey and their personally commissioned manuscripts, the piety of four members of the de Bohun family can be studied in greater detail: Humphrey VII (d. 1322); Humphrey VIII (d. 1361); Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391); and Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399).

### **a. Humphrey VII (d. 1322)**

Humphrey VII, fourth earl of Hereford (d. 1322), is the first de Bohun for whom a will survives. In it, he bequeaths his soul to Jesus Christ and the Virgin, and requests that his body be buried at Walden Abbey next to his wife Elizabeth. His will mentions only one religious object. He bequeaths to one of his executors, John Walewayn, the king's escheator in South Trent, "a cup printed and embossed with fleurs de lys that belonged to St. Edmund of Pontigny".<sup>642</sup> He left the very large sum of 1000 marks for his funeral, but did not give particular details of how it should be conducted, merely stating that the bodies of his mother, father, and wife should be "as honourably covered as my body, and that over all our bodies there shall be only one hearse with one course of lights".<sup>643</sup>

Yet the size of the amount left for "the carriage of my body from the place where I die to the Abbey of Walden and for alms and for my burial and for [the commemoration of] my departure during my burial and for all other things

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<sup>642</sup> "une coupe emprente et enboce de flurs de lis le quel fut a seint Edmon de Pounteny". TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 425. Saint Edmund de Pontigny was Edmund Rich (d. 1240), who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1234.

<sup>643</sup> "auxi honestement covertz come mon corps et qe entre touz noz corps ne soit qe une herce de une course de luminaire". TNA, DL 25/29; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 346; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 423.

pertaining to it”, shows that he must have expected a lavish funeral in keeping with his position.<sup>644</sup> In contrast, he left a total of £131 13s 4d in benefactions to the four monastic orders and to religious houses connected to the de Bohuns “pur messes et autres oreisons chaunter et dire pur malme”: £20 each to the Dominican Friars and Franciscan Friars; 20 marks each to the Augustine Friars and Carmelite Friars; £10 to the Abbot and Convent of Walden; £10 to each of the priors and convents of Llanthony near Gloucester, Farleigh, Brecon, Hurley, and Worcester; and 100 shillings to the prior and convent of Stoneley.<sup>645</sup> The will does not go into any detail concerning how the money left to religious houses for masses and prayers should be particularly spent. However, one of his three executors was Bartholomew Denefeud, the Abbot of Walden, so presumably the Earl felt his soul was in good hands. It is hard to look at the amounts gifted and the lack of detail regarding prayers without concluding that the Earl was more concerned with appearances than the exact nature and number of prayers said to aid his passage into heaven. No doubt both concerned him, but he must have expected the Abbot to spend a great deal of money in showing off the family’s wealth and prestige.

Two surviving written records provide additional insight into the Earl’s religious possessions, which were substantial. The first source is a passage at the end of the inventory of goods and chattels owned by the Earl’s family found in Walden Abbey and delivered by the abbot to Sir Nicholas de la Beche under the supervision of Sir Nicholas de Engaine, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, dated 1322.<sup>646</sup> After a description of the items in Walden Abbey is a list of chapel items found in a chest

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<sup>644</sup> “le cariage de mon corps du lieu la ou je sui mort tauntqe al Abbeye de Waledene et pur aumosnes faire et pur mon enterrement et pu la departie faire a mon enterrement et pur toutes autres choses qe a ce apendent”. TNA, DL 25/29; Turner, ‘The Will of Humphrey de Bohun’, p. 346; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, i, 422.

<sup>645</sup> TNA, DL 27/14; Turner, ‘The Will of Humphrey de Bohun’, p. 347. The word for Stoneley is written as Stonle in the original will, and Turner has interpreted it as Stoneley, an Augustinian priory in Huntingdonshire, near Kimbolton (n. l). The advowson of the priory belonged to the lords of Kimbolton. A similar word, “Stonle” appears in the wills of his children Humphrey and Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon. It is most likely that they are all referring to the same priory.

<sup>646</sup> TNA, DL 25/29.



in the chapel of Denny Abbey, Cambridgeshire, that must have formed part of the Earl's private domestic chapel.<sup>647</sup> These included:

two missals; one book of saints' lives; two books of antiphons; two breviaries; one glossed psalter in two volumes; three graduals; one manual; one book of epistles; two books of tropes; one psalter with a hymn book; the canon of the mass on its own; five chasubles; five albs; three amices; four stoles; four maniples; four girdles; two corporal-cloths with cases; six tunics; four choir-copes; six large and three small towels; two cloths for the lectern; one cloth of gold; one cushion; two surplices; one rochet; two gold chalices; two crosses; one table of relics; two gold cruets; one silver censer; one little chest with relics; one purse with charters; one latten, enamelled vessel; one silver-gilt box; one paper<sup>648</sup>

The items indicate a conventional approach to religion, marked by the presence of relics and a complete set of books for the mass.

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<sup>647</sup> It is not clear why this was added to the same manuscript describing the goods taken from Walden Abbey, but an order from the king had also been made for the forfeiture of the Earl's goods in Cambridgeshire. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1319-27*, p. 120.

<sup>648</sup> Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p 169. The original manuscript states: "ij. Messals. j. legende. ij. Auntesfiniers. j. porthors. j. sautier glose en ij. volumes. iij. greieles. j. manuel. j. epistolarie. ij. tropiers. j. Sautier ovesqes. j. ympner. le canoun de la messe per sei. x. chesibles. x. aubes. iij. amites. iiij. estoies. iiij fanoums. iiij ceyntures. ij. corporaux ovesqe les cas. vj. tunicles. iiij. chapes de quer. vj. touwoilles graundes. iij. petiz touwailles. ij. draps pur lectroun. j. drap dor. j. oriller. ij. surpliz. j. Rochet. ij. chaliz dorrez. ij. croiz. j. table des reliques. ij. cruetz dorrez. j. ensenser dargent. j. petit cofyn ove reliques. j. bourse ove chartres. j. vessel de latoun enaumaille. j. borste dargent dorre. j. paper". TNA, DL 25/29. Lucy Freeman Sandler has noted that a similar set of books and furnishings was owned by the Knights Templar at their hospital of Denny before their property was confiscated in 1308 and may have found its way to the Earl. Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary', pp. 606-07. See *VCH: Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ed. L. F. Salzman, 2 vols (London: Dawsons, 1948), II, 260.

The second written source regarding the Earl's religious possessions is the account roll of John de Flete, keeper of the Privy Wardrobe in the Tower from 1324 to 1341. The receipt section of Flete's account shows books charged to Flete at the end of the reign of Edward II, and includes an entry for books belonging to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, including "67 liturgical books (13 missals, 8 breviaries, 12 graduals, 2 ordinals, 3 primers, a legendary, 2 manuals, 7 psalters, 6 antiphoners, 4 graduals with tropers, 4 other tropers, 2 epistolaries, 2 collectars, an illuminated canon of the mass bound separately for display on an altar . . .".<sup>649</sup> The collection may include the books listed in the Walden Inventory, but it shows a large number of additional liturgical books, perhaps forming part of the chapels at the Earl's different places of residence.

The Walden Inventory lists objects owned by each of the fourth Earl's children in specific detail, although it is not clear how the escheator knew this. Presumably the Abbot of Walden kept the objects in separate categories for each individual member of the family. These objects must have been set aside for the children by the Earl and his wife, and seem to have included Elizabeth's jewels, as well as gifts made to the children, perhaps at christenings. It is noteworthy that of the many items listed for each individual child, including many valuable items of jewelry and plate, only the girls possessed religious objects. Eleanor, the eldest daughter, is listed as the owner of:

one painted wooden table for an altar; one cross with a silver-gilt foot; two little silver basins for the chapel; one ivory image of Our Lady in a closed tabernacle; one little ivory image of St Katherine; two silver candlesticks for the chapel; one bucket and one silver sprinkler for holy water; two cruets and one silver bell; and one silver incense-boat; one silver-gilt censer . . . one silver-gilt chalice for the chapel . . . one gold tablet with one escutcheon of the arms of Holland . . . one flower of Our Lady . . . one little tablet with a crucifix, and one enameled picture of Our

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<sup>649</sup> Stratford, 'Royal Library to 1461', pp. 257-58 (citing account of John Flete, British Library, Add MS 60584, ff. 10v-12v).

Lady . . . one rosary of amber and another of silver, and three enamels . . .<sup>650</sup>

Margaret had:

one pax with one silver-gilt image; three goblets of which one [is of] gold, one of silver-gilt and enamel, with one ewer to match, and one of crystal with a silver-gilt foot, with one ewer to match; one silver censer; one gold ewer with the arms of Holland; one silver bucket for holy water; one silver sprinkler with it . . . two little ivory images of the Blessed Virgin Mary . . . one little gold tablet enameled inside; two rosaries, one of coral, and the other of jet with gilt beads . . . and one alms-dish in the shape of a boat.<sup>651</sup>

At the time the inventory was written, in 1322, Margaret was about eleven years old and Eleanor would have been older. They would not be married until 1325 and 1327, respectively.<sup>652</sup> Most if not all of these items must have been meant for private chapels or travelling altars, and may have formed part of the girls' dowries, as otherwise they would have been in their personal keeping. The numerous references to the small size of some of the items may indicate that they were meant for personal use, rather than for a large household. It is also possible that the size refers to the fact that the items were owned by children. The saints mentioned in the inventory are typical of that period. The cult of the Virgin was the most popular among noblewomen at the time, and Saint Catherine was one of the principal saints venerated by women. Margaret's will, written in 1391, sixty-nine years after the date of the inventory, shows that she still venerated the Virgin.

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<sup>650</sup> Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', p. 169. The word for enamels in the original inventory is "aymaux". Bigelow translates it as "diamonds". Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', I, 432 and n. 3. Turner has an incomplete transcription.

<sup>651</sup> Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune', pp. 168-9. TNA, DL 25/29; Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun', p. 138.

<sup>652</sup> Margaret's marriage contract to the earl of Devon's heir had been agreed in 1315, when she was five years old. TNA, DL 27/13 (marriage contract); *CP*, IV, 323-4.

## b. Humphrey VII's Children

Most of the Earl's ten children died as young adults and either did not write wills, or they have not survived. We have little information regarding their pious beliefs, with two noteworthy exceptions: the Earl's fourth son, the second one among his siblings to be named Humphrey, who became sixth earl of Hereford after the death of his brother John; and the Earl's second daughter, Margaret. Humphrey and Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon, both left long wills and both appear to have had time at the end of their lives to reflect on their deaths, thus allowing us to discern their religious practices and concerns at that time. John de Bohun's choice of burial in a Cistercian house and his pilgrimage to Santiago may indicate that he too was more than conventionally pious. The military career of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, the only son to provide a de Bohun heir for the next generation, is well documented, but his will has not survived, and the only evidence for his piety is contained in the chantry he founded at Walden and some clues provided by his brother Humphrey's will.<sup>653</sup>

### i. Humphrey VIII (d. 1361)

The sixth earl of Hereford and Essex died at Pleshey castle on 15 October, 1361. His will is dated shortly before this date, on 10 October, 1361, indicating that at the time he wrote his will he was deathly ill, probably as a result of the plague.<sup>654</sup> It is not known exactly when he was born, but it is probable that at the time of his death he was close to fifty-two years of age. Many historians have pointed out that the sixth Earl probably suffered from a physical disability, based on the fact that he surrendered the hereditary Constablership of England to his brother, William de

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<sup>653</sup> For William de Bohun's military career see Ormrod, 'Bohun, William de'; Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>654</sup> *Reg. Islip*, ff. 178-79. The will indicates it was written on the Sunday after Saint Dennis, and the feast of St Dennis is on the 9 October, which in 1361 was a Saturday. The cause of death was suggested to me by Professor Nigel Saul, based on other plague related deaths occurring at the same time, particularly those of Reginald, 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Cobham (d. 5 October 1361) and his father in law, Thomas Berkeley (d. 27 October 1361). See Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory*, pp. 150-51. It is noteworthy that Henry, duke of Lancaster and William, earl of Northampton also died about the same time.

Bohun, on 12 June 1338, for life.<sup>655</sup> This may also be the reason he died unmarried and did not achieve the fame of his younger brother William. However, he appears to have participated to some extent in military affairs, at least during the earlier part of his life. In August 1339 he travelled to Wales “for the safekeeping of those parts”.<sup>656</sup> According to Froissart, in 1340 he fought with the King and his brother William, earl of Northampton, at the naval battle of Sluys.<sup>657</sup> Between 1345 and 1347 he was busy trying to regain the lordship of Builth, a task begun by his brother John and continued by their nephew, Humphrey IX.<sup>658</sup>

The sixth Earl’s will is long and detailed, and indicates that he was a deeply pious man, obsessed with ensuring his passage into heaven. His will in many ways exemplifies some of the features that have been associated with the religious beliefs of his time. It evidences a move to a contemplative, more individual piety, particularly through the obvious influence of the Earl’s private confessor, yet it also has all the features of the conventional, orthodox faith in the way that salvation was to be achieved: the buying of prayers; the creation of chantries; the payment of debts; and the provision for pilgrimages. Humphrey VIII, like his contemporary Henry, duke of Lancaster (d. 1360), appears tortured by the idea that his status and sins, including his wealth and vanity, will create a difficult passage through Purgatory. His will is an obvious attempt at showing contrition and purchasing redemption.

The first aspect of the Earl’s piety that is laid bare in his will is his predilection for the Augustinian friars. Contrary to all other de Bohun earls of Hereford, he chose to be buried at the London house of Augustinian Friars, also known as Austin Friars, in Broad Street. According to John Stow, this house was founded by

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<sup>655</sup> *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 91, 95.

<sup>656</sup> *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 356-57.

<sup>657</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles of England*, I, 73. According to Dugdale, in 1346 he attended the king into France, relieving Aguilon, then besieged by the French; and in 1359, only two years before his death, he again attended Edward III into France. However, I have not been able to verify his sources. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 184-85.

<sup>658</sup> Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, pp. 21-2; TNA, SC 8/34/1693; SC 8/34/1694; SC 8/34/1695; SC 8/34/1969; SC 8/244/12200; (petitions from the Earl to the king requesting the return of his family’s castle and lands in Builth). See *Rot. Parl.*, II, 185 for related petition dated to parliament of January 1347.

Humphrey IV (d. 1275), in 1253, although recent studies show that the foundation is most likely to have occurred sometime after 1260.<sup>659</sup> Another member of the de Bohun family had also chosen to be buried in the priory of an Augustinian order. Humphrey IV's grandson, John de Bohun of Haresfield (d. 1328), chose to be buried at Kersey, in Suffolk, a small priory of Austin canons, and his executors created a chantry of three canons to pray for his soul and that of his ancestors in the priory of Bricett, another house of Austin Canons in Suffolk.<sup>660</sup> Stow states that Humphrey VIII rebuilt the church of the London Austin Friars, where he was eventually buried, in 1354, seven years before his death.<sup>661</sup> The Earl's relationship with the Austin friars appears to have been very close. His personal confessor at the time of his death, William of Monkland, was an Austin friar, and the Earl made him one of the executors of his will as well as leaving him £100 in silver, his personal silver drinking cup, a small silver pot, six silver dishes and six silver saucers. The gifts were conditional on his remaining in a place where he could "especially pray for us", and the Earl asked the provincial prior to ensure that William would remain at the local Augustinian house always "and that his room be beautiful and honest, befitting a master of divinity".<sup>662</sup>

These words, the gifts associated with them, and Monkland's role as executor of the Earl's will and person responsible for the Earl's burial and commemorative prayers indicates that the friar's influence may have been responsible for some of the provisions of the Earl's will, particularly the large amounts of money spent on

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<sup>659</sup> Stow, *A Survey of London*, I, 177; Nick Holder, 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Royal Holloway, 2011), p. 140. Tuscan hermits following the rule of St Augustine had arrived in England by 1249.

<sup>660</sup> For his burial see his will dated December 1327. TNA, KER/624. The chantry was created in return for three parts of the manor of Great Bricett. TNA, SC 8/57/2843; King's College Estates Records, KCAR 6/2/069/01/2/1. The fourth part of the manor or Bricett was granted to the canons in 1346 at the request of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton. King's College Estate Records, KCAR 6/2/069, GBR/59.

<sup>661</sup> Stowe, *A Survey of London*, I, 177.

<sup>662</sup> the original words are "plus specialment prier pur nous" and "et q'il eyt sa chaumbre bele et honeste, et soit cione com' une mestre de divinite". *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 50; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 634.

alms, perhaps even going so far as contributing to its drafting.<sup>663</sup> In his will, the Earl often asks his executors to heed the advice of his confessor and the Augustinian brethren when fulfilling the terms of the will and at one point specifies that “by the advise of our confessor and of our executors” allowance be made to all the parish churches where he has stayed “so nothing shall be in arrears of tithes or offerings, or of any other thing that pertains to the right of the church, whatever it is”.<sup>664</sup> Most importantly, at the end of his will, the Earl includes a clause providing that, after all of the wishes expressed in his will are complied with, his executors should spend the enormous sum of 10,000 marks in chantries and works of charity “by the counsel and advice of the brothers before named”. This clause encapsulates the great influence that the Augustinians had over the Earl and his absolute trust in their unique power to save his soul. The inclusion of this clause as the last sentence of the will seems odd. It almost reads as if, understanding the insurmountable obstacles that lay ahead before passage into heaven, the Earl was making a last desperate attempt to ensure the salvation of his soul. How much his confessor, Monkland, influenced these last thoughts is something we will never know.<sup>665</sup>

The Earl desired a relatively modest burial, and his will has been hailed as the first surviving to reflect what would later become a more popular trend for burials

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<sup>663</sup> Private confessors, usually friars, were customary in noble families by 1350, as exemplified by John of Gaunt’s confessor, the Carmelite John Kenningham, and Margaret Marshall’s confessor, William Woodford. Some of the countess’ charities originated in penances set by her confessor. Catto, ‘Religion and the English Nobility’, p. 50.

<sup>664</sup> The words in the original will are “si riens soit arare de dismes, ou d’offrendes, ou de nule autre chose qap’tenoit a la droite de la eglise quele qele soit”. *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 54; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 636.

<sup>665</sup> William of Monkland may have become the prior of the London Austin Friars, as a ‘William de Ainukelan’ is recorded as prior of that house in 1364. See W. A. Carter, ‘The Priory of Austin Friars, London’, in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 18 (1912), 25-44, 57-82 (pp. 57-58). The historian Luigi Torelli, in his nine-volume history of the Augustinians written in the seventeenth century (*Secoli Agostiniani*) claimed that William of Monkland was a friar of royal blood and a member of the family of Hereford and Essex, who entered the convent of Huntingdon as a young novice against his family’s wishes around the year 1361. He also claims that he died a few years later, probably in Germany. Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 107-13.

“without pomp and circumstance”.<sup>666</sup> His body was to be conveyed to the choir of the church of the Austin Friars by Monkland, and receive a private burial, in the presence of only one bishop, the poor friars, and the Earl’s household.<sup>667</sup> This wish no doubt reflects the Earl’s deep piety at the time of his death, embracing the belief that austerity and simplicity were the best recommendations to ensure eternal salvation. Although reminiscent of the later Lollard wills, the Earl’s wishes most likely stemmed from a desire to emulate the clergy.<sup>668</sup>

Perhaps the most striking feature in Humphrey’s will is the Earl’s great concern with ensuring his passage into heaven, reflected in the language of the will and in the large sums bequeathed to religious individuals and institutions and works of charity in exchange for prayers to benefit his soul. The will mentions specific cash expenditures of over £7,427 for this purpose (including the 10,000 marks already mentioned), in addition to several general requests to his executors to provide for chaplains to say prayers or go on pilgrimages without specifying an amount of money, and bequests of numerous valuable religious objects. In contrast, the Earl left a total of £679 13s 4d in cash to secular individuals, including £40 to his niece, Katherine d’Engayne, £100 to buy a parcel of land for John de Mortimer and his children, and the remaining £539 to fifty-three individuals, including his executors and members of his household.

The amount of money left for prayers is very large in comparison to some of the amounts left by his contemporaries in their wills and reflects not only the testator’s anxiety about ensuring an easy transition into heaven, but also his enormous wealth. It is difficult to provide comparison with other wills because there is no way to account for the value of bequests of religious gifts, such as vestments, plate, jewelry and relics, present in different proportions in other wills. Humphrey VIII’s will has a surprisingly small number of these gifts. Keeping this in mind, it is worth noting that Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1375), possibly

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<sup>666</sup> Catto, ‘Religion and the English Nobility’, p. 50.

<sup>667</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 178v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 45; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 631.

<sup>668</sup> See Carpenter, ‘The Religion of the Gentry’, pp. 61-2; McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 211.



the wealthiest magnate of his generation, bequeathed in his will 6,800 marks to various religious houses. Unlike Humphrey, however, he left 16,600 marks in personal bequests to his family.<sup>669</sup> Marie de St. Pol and Elizabeth de Burgh, two aristocratic widows notable for their large wealth and pious disposition, left religious cash bequests in their wills of approximately £788 and £706, respectively.<sup>670</sup> All three of these testators, however, had founded religious institutions during their lifetime which took up large amounts of their fortunes, so perhaps a more apt comparison is Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster (d. 1380). His will has some of the same pious language and concerns found in Humphrey VIII's will and he was also one of the wealthiest magnates of his day. He left a total of £1,793 in religious bequests to several religious institutions.<sup>671</sup>

Humphrey left some personal bequests to his family, as discussed in Chapter 2. His most important religious heirlooms were left to his nephew and heir, Humphrey IX (d. 1373), who received a pair of gold paternosters with fifty pieces and a gold cross with a piece of the true cross.<sup>672</sup> Yet, as already noted, Humphrey VIII's bequests to his family are small in comparison to the amounts spent for his own soul. His purchase of prayers and his orders to create chantries also do not specify any beneficiaries other than himself.<sup>673</sup> One suspects from the obsessive language of the will that he may have feared any dilution of prayers. The only

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<sup>669</sup> The earl of Arundel's realizable assets in 1376 reached the enormous sum of £72,245. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and Credit', pp. 1, 14.

<sup>670</sup> Jenkinson, 'Mary de Sancto Paulo', pp. 432-35; Ward, *Elizabeth de Burgh*, pp. 141-49. These amounts do not include small cash gifts made to the nuns and friars in various religious houses. Both women also bequeathed large amounts of valuable religious objects and relics.

<sup>671</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 104-17. Of this, £1,000 was left to the Abbey of Wigmore. Unlike Humphrey, however, Edmund bequeathed a large amount of valuable religious objects, fabrics and vestments to many different religious institutions.

<sup>672</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 50-1; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 635.

<sup>673</sup> Joel Rosenthal, in his study of beneficiaries of prayers in noble wills and licences to alienate in mortmain found that only a small proportion of licences in which beneficiaries of prayers were specified had a single beneficiary (7 out of 121), and this pattern was to a large extent retained in wills, with most wills specifying the testators' spouse and parents. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 15-16, 23.

exceptions are a request for a chaplain to go to Jerusalem and pray on the way for his parents and himself, and a request for his executors to find five chaplains to chant all the year for his soul and that of his servants, and to pray for him.<sup>674</sup> The selfish nature of the Earl's religious provisions may partly be due to the fact that he was unmarried, but it contributes to the image of him as a recluse influenced by the Augustinian friars who accompanied him in his seclusion. One wonders what the Earl's heir, Humphrey IX, thought of his uncle's enormous amount of religious bequests. Nigel Saul has noted other cases in which wealthy testators with no male heirs have spent freely on chantries, hospitals and fine dwellings.<sup>675</sup> Their motivation was probably to ensure family memory. Yet Humphrey VIII had a male heir (though not his son) and a large proportion of the money left in his will was spent on intangible things.

The Earl entrusted his spiritual requests to the Augustinians. In his will he asks his confessor and his executors to appoint the holiest men they can find, secular or religious, to pray for him immediately after his death.<sup>676</sup> He also leaves Monkland, brother William Wilhale, master of divinity, and brother Geoffrey de Berdefeld three hundred marks of silver to have fifty friars of their order

to chant masses, that is to say, placebo et dirige, commendation, and other devout prayers for us every day through the whole of the first year after our death, and that each of them chant for us the same year a full trental of masses, and that thirteen of the same fifty brethren keep vigil day and night in whatever place they are assigned at the discretion of the three brethren above named, some to relieve the others through the whole year aforesaid and say 'placebo et dirige', psalters, and other devout prayers, and that the aforesaid brethren shall be sworn of this our will

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<sup>674</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 45; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 637.

<sup>675</sup> See Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp. 236-9.

<sup>676</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 55; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 637.

to do faithfully according to the requirement of our confessor and of the other two brethren named, under the oversight of our executors. And if one of the three brethren die, the two shall choose another in his place, under the oversight of our executors.<sup>677</sup>

There are other examples of requests for large numbers of prayers in medieval wills, but few can match the above request.<sup>678</sup> The Earl's obsessive concern with prayers and remembrance of him is visible throughout his will. Most of his numerous bequests end with a reminder that the gift is bestowed in exchange for prayers, or that particular objects are given in order that he might be perpetually remembered. Apart from his numerous cash bequests to religious institutions, he orders that eighteen chalices be made to distribute to eighteen different "poor churches" so that "we are in the prayers of all the people worshiping at said church for all days".<sup>679</sup> The Earl also provided for a perpetual chantry in honour of God, our Lady and St Anne in the Augustinian priory of Stoneley. The will specifies that this chantry was interrupted by the death of his brother William and should be completed.<sup>680</sup> This is

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<sup>677</sup> *Reg. Islip*, ff. 178v, 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 46-7; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 632-3. The original will states "a chaunter messes a dire placebo et dirige, commendation et autres devoutes priers pur nous chescun jour p'tot le p'mer an q'nous demerouns, et q' chescun de eux chante pur nous mesme l'an un plen' trental de messes, et q' treise de mesme les cinq'nte freres veillent jour et noet en quele place q'il soient assignez p' la discessioun de troiz freres avant nomes, les uns a reposer les autres p'tout l'an avantdit, et dient placebo et dirige, sauters et autres devoutes priers et q' les freres avantdiz soient jures de ceste n're voluntie p'faire leument solent l'ordinance de n're confessor et des autres deux freres desus nomes p' vewe de noz executours. Et si l'un de troiz freres demye, choisent les deux un autre en soen lieu p' vewe de noz executours".

<sup>678</sup> The only example I have found of a larger amount of prayers is that of Matilda, queen of Henry I, after whose death 47,000 prayers should have been offered within 8 days. For a discussion of testators' requests for large numbers of prayers see Sally Badham, *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late Medieval English Parish* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2015), pp. 148-9.

<sup>679</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 50; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 634-5.

<sup>680</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 55; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 637. William, earl of Northampton, whose will has not survived, may have been involved in the building of this chantry. The will refers to "Stonle", which is most likely the Augustinian priory of Stoneley, in Huntingdonshire, near the de Bohun

particularly interesting because the cult of St Anne was not overly popular at the time of William's death in 1360.<sup>681</sup>

Despite his obvious love of the Augustinians, the Earl did not forget Walden Abbey or Llanthony Priory, the traditional burial places of the de Bohuns. The abbot of Walden, another William, was the first person named as an executor of his will, before William of Monkland. Walden Abbey received a bequest of £100 in silver, as well as "une tixt d'argent", a vestment of red velvet, and "a large silver gilt crown, lined and having a stripe in the front and of a span in height", to be made by his executors and offered at the Lady's chapel to be worn by the image of the Lady in perpetual remembrance of the Earl.<sup>682</sup> Llanthony Priory also fared well. It received 40 marks to be distributed among the canons for their prayers, and the Earl ordered that a new Chapel of the Trinity should be built at his expense in perpetual remembrance of him. To this chapel he bequeathed a silver gilt chalice of the weight of sixty shillings to be made by his executors, two pairs of vestments, and two pairs of curtains.<sup>683</sup> The chapel in the castle of Pleshey received a chalice, a green vestment, a missal and an antiphoner, to serve in the chapel forever.<sup>684</sup>

The Earl also remembered the de Bohun institutions patronized by his father: the priories of Brecon (100 marks), Farleigh (40 marks), Hurley (£20), and Stoneley (20 marks); as well as Notley (20 marks) and the Abbess and nuns of Caen in Normandy (£30). This last institution must refer to the Benedictine "Abbaie de Sainte-Trinite", also known as the "Abbey aux Dames" founded by William the

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castle of Kimbolton. In 1366 Humphrey IX granted the advowson of the church of Kimbolton to the prior and convent of Stoneley. TNA, C 143/358/5.

<sup>681</sup> This may be related to the de Bohun family's need for fertility. See p. 157, n. 468. Sandler has noted that five of the de Bohun manuscripts contain prayers coupling Joachim and Anne, the virgin's parents, who were sterile, and containing a prayer for fertility.

<sup>682</sup> Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 633; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 48; *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r. The original language of the will is "une g'unt corone d'argent doire, une doublez & p'let en le frount, ed de une espaume de haut". Bigelow writes that "une tixt d'argent" refers to a silver-bound copy of the gospels.

<sup>683</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 48-9; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 634.

<sup>684</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 50; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 634.

Conqueror and his wife, Matilda of Flanders, in the eleventh century. Matilda was buried there in 1083. It is interesting that the sixth Earl chose to remember this abbey, as it may show the Earl's concern with the de Bohuns' ties to Normandy and William the Conqueror, as well as the Norman connection to the cult of the Trinity. The friars preachers of Brecon (£10) and Chelmsford (£10) also received bequests. All of these bequests were accompanied by the proviso that they were made in exchange for prayers.<sup>685</sup>

In common with most wills, the Earl's will shows a concern with ensuring the payment of his debts, but, as with the prayers, his deep anxiety regarding this matter sets him aside from others. He mentions the payment of debts on several occasions, ensuring even the smallest debt, known or unknown, does not remain unpaid. He also demonstrates a wish to make up for his wealth and status in life, which he obviously saw as an impediment to his passage into heaven. This is not only reflected in his desire for a relatively simple burial. The language he uses in the will also emphasizes his awareness of his wealth as an impediment to enter heaven. He states that he wishes to be buried among the poor friars of the order of St Augustine because the riches and honours that God has given him "is nothing in the end but vain glory (conceit)".<sup>686</sup> He also states that all of his jewels remaining after his debts are paid should be sold and the money spent in alms, "because we have had great delight in looking at them".<sup>687</sup>

The Earl's orthodox piety is evident not only in his concern to obtain prayers, but also in the religious symbolism evident in his will, and in the text of the three personal illuminated psalters attributed to him that still survive. The number thirteen, symbolic of the twelve apostles and Jesus appears several times. The Earl wishes to have thirteen wax tapers around his hearse, each of the weight of five pounds. He also orders that thirteen of the fifty Augustinian friars praying for

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<sup>685</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 49-50; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 634.

<sup>686</sup> Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 631; *Reg. Islip*, f. 178v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 44. The original language of the will is "nest a la p'fyn q' ueyne gloire".

<sup>687</sup> Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 636; *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 54. The original language of the will is "par resoun q' nous avoins ew graunt delig't de eux regarder"

him keep vigil night and day. Later in his will he orders that thirteen chalices be made “in the name of God and his twelve apostles” and five chalices “in the name of the 5 joys of our lady”. The symbolic number seven also appears in his will. He wishes the surplus from his will to be spent on alms and seven works of charity, and ten thousand marks to be spent in chantries and in another seven works of charity.<sup>688</sup> These symbolic numbers were commonly used by medieval testators and must have been a regular part of the church’s teachings.

The Earl’s commissioning of the de Bohun psalters is indicative of not only his concern with liturgical magnificence but also his wish for personalized worship. All of the de Bohun manuscripts attributed to him have personal prayers with the words “servus famulus tuus Humfridus”, rich illuminations and coats of arms, so they must have been designed for his personal use.<sup>689</sup> He had several more psalters, for his confessor William of Monkland sold three psalters from the Earl’s estate to the Black Prince.<sup>690</sup> The surviving de Bohun psalters attributed to the Earl are heavy, large books, difficult to handle, and very similar in content and illustrations. It has therefore been suggested that they were prepared for his different residences, and were placed near the Earl in his chapel during worship, so that he could follow the mass.<sup>691</sup> This seems like a reasonable explanation considering the Earl’s piety. In addition, the largest psalter, Egerton MS 3277, contains a text of Robert Grosseteste’s *Confessioun*, in French, reminding a penitent of the mortal sins to guard against, followed by two short prayers in Latin. This is unusual (there is only one other known text of Grosseteste’s confession) and was obviously inserted at someone’s bequest, perhaps the Earl or his

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<sup>688</sup> *Reg. Islip*, ff. 178v-179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 45-47, 50, 53, 56; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 632, 636-7.

<sup>689</sup> See Ch. 3 and Appendix L. The three psalters attributed to the sixth Earl are Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Ms 1826; Oxford, Exeter College MS 47; and London, British Library, Egerton MS 3277. Considering the detailed content of the Earl’s will, it would appear that these manuscripts were either given to his nephew and heir prior to his death, or purchased by his heir from the executors, since his will only mentions a missal and antiphoner to be left for the chapel at Pleshey. See Ch. 4.

<sup>690</sup> *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols (London: Public Record Office, 1930-33), IV, 476; Catto, ‘The Prayers of the Bohuns’, p. 114.

<sup>691</sup> Catto, ‘The Prayers of the Bohuns’, pp. 114-15.

Augustinian confessor. It is further proof that the Earl's piety was not merely conventional, but deeply felt.<sup>692</sup>

The contemplative nature of the Earl's piety reflected by his will and his psalters is one more example of the increasingly introspective nature of religion in fourteenth century England. It was a century that saw a rise in the construction of private chapels with private confessors and "the growth of a conscious, articulate and puritanical moral fervor among the laity".<sup>693</sup> Humphrey VIII's piety can be compared to the piety of Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, as evidenced by his authorship of the *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, written in 1354, and his multitude of religious bequests throughout his lifetime. In his book, a penitential treatise, Grosmont alludes to his five senses, infected by the seven deadly sins, suggesting remedies appropriate for each cause of infection.<sup>694</sup> It brings to mind the long confession in Humphrey VIII's psalter, Egerton MS 3277, reminding penitents of the long list of mortal sins to guard against. In addition, both men were committed to the cult of the Trinity and shared a veneration for relics, as exemplified by Humphrey's heirloom cross and Lancaster's donation of a holy thorn from Christ's crown to his college of Leicester. These were interests shared by many of their contemporaries.<sup>695</sup> Henry of Grosmont was Humphrey's contemporary and their fathers were close allies. Henry's uncle, Thomas of

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<sup>692</sup> MS Egerton 3277, ff. 166-168b. Robert Grosseteste was bishop of Lincoln from 1235-1253. The other known copy of Grosseteste's *Confessioun* is in Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Philol. 296, ff. 59-66, printed in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 33, 1909, pp. 573-75. Grosseteste sent a copy of his injunctions for the rule of his household to the widowed countess of Lincoln, but of the fourteen extant copies of these rules, none is known to have belonged to a noble household. Archer, 'Piety in Question', p. 181 and n. 81.

<sup>693</sup> M. H. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History* (London: Methuen & Co, 1973), p. 226. See also, Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', pp. 63-4; Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility', p. 46.

<sup>694</sup> Kenneth Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont First Duke of Lancaster 1310-1361* (Toronto: Elek Books, 1969), pp. 193-95. See also Batt, *Henry of Grosmont*. Henry's text compares his body to a fortified castle and this has led historians to suggest that he may have read Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour*, among other religious treatises. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, p. 193; Batt, *Henry of Grosmont*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>695</sup> Batt, *Henry of Grosmont*, p. 11. For a discussion of the cult of the Trinity see above.

Lancaster, had fought with Humphrey's father at the battle of Boroughbridge on 16 March 1322, where the de Bohun earl lost his life and Lancaster was captured and executed for treason.<sup>696</sup> In 1359, Humphrey VIII's nephew and heir was married to Lancaster's niece, Joan Fitzalan.

Yet despite the similarities in terms of private devotion apparent in both men, Humphrey VIII and Henry of Lancaster left very different wills, attesting to their different social status, careers and religious inclinations. The main differences are found in how the men used their money to provide for religious bequests, and especially in the influence of the Augustinian friars at the end of Humphrey VIII's life. Lancaster's will is relatively short and simple. As the grandson of a king and a duke in his own right, he provides for a much more elaborate funeral than Humphrey's, although he still does not wish for "vain things or unnecessary things like armed men or covered horses, nor other vain things".<sup>697</sup> His money was to be employed to reward his servants and clear his debts, and his only religious bequest was to his college of Leicester, founded by him during his lifetime. His executors included some religious men, but mostly relatives and friends.<sup>698</sup> Lancaster's will is not reflective of his religious patronage, as he was extremely generous to many religious institutions during his lifetime. He was also concerned with prayers for the soul of his parents and ancestors, as well as his own, and this was often a condition to his religious beneficence.<sup>699</sup> Unlike Humphrey, Henry's commitment to his new college of secular canons at Leicester, in the hospital of the Annunciation of St Mary's Newark, originally founded by his father in 1330,

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<sup>696</sup> Humphrey VIII left money in his will for a good man to offer 40 shillings at the tomb of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, in Pontefract. Lancaster provided for a fourth chaplain in the chapel in Pontefract castle and to the anchorites of St Helen's at Pontefract he assigned a livery in the hospital of St. Nicholas and provided for a chaplain to celebrate divine service in the chapel of the house. *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 54; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 637; Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, p. 187-88.

<sup>697</sup> "chose veine ne de bobounce, come des homes armeez, ne des chivals couvertz, ny autres choses veines". Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 84.

<sup>698</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 83-7. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, p. 217.

<sup>699</sup> Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, pp. 187-88.



meant that enormous sums were being spent towards prayers for his and his family's salvation in one institution.<sup>700</sup>

Other men and women whose wills may be compared to Humphrey's in terms of religious distributions and pious devotion are those of Mary de St Pol, Elizabeth de Burgh and Edmund, earl of March. Yet none of these wills comes close to Humphrey's obsessive language or self-interest. Elizabeth de Burgh left small religious donations ranging from £10 to £2 to an astounding 65 orders and houses of friars in 33 different places; 19 different religious houses, hospitals and parish churches; and 2 shrines. She also left larger donations to Clare Hall, Cambridge; the Minoresses without Aldgate, where she was buried; and St. Paul's Cathedral, including numerous valuable religious offerings. Marie de St. Pol in contrast left much larger bequests to a smaller number of religious institutions, as did the earl of March. All of them left very large amounts of relics and religious offerings including vestments and plate, and Elizabeth de Burgh left many of these to her friends and relatives as well as religious houses. In contrast, Marie de St. Pol left to her confessor 20 marks and a breviary received from the queen, and provides in her will that she wishes "that my confessor is involved in the execution of my will and I ask him to counsel and help my executors as if I had named him my executor".<sup>701</sup> She often asks her executors in her will to heed his advise, particularly in relation to her household and servants. However, she does not name him as an executor. The language of her will also does not convey the same obsession with prayers that is contained in Humphrey's will.

Perhaps the closest will to Humphrey's in terms of pious language is that of the earl of March. All of March's cash bequests to the 28 religious institutions named in his will are conditional upon specific prayers for him, his wife and all Christian souls, said in specific ways that vary according to the type of institution. He

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<sup>700</sup> The statutes specified that obits of the duke's parents and himself were to be celebrated every year upon their several anniversaries, and every day the dean, canons and vicar were bound to say a special collect for Edward III and his queen, their children and heirs. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, p. 191.

<sup>701</sup> "que mon confessour soit a mettre cest mien testament a execucion' et lui prie que vueille conseiller et aider a mes executours aussi auant que ce ie le nominasse mon executour". Jenkinson, 'Mary de Sancto Paulo', p. 434.

provides detailed instructions to each institution on how the prayers should be conducted and specifies that if the institutions cannot meet his demands the money should instead be given to another religious institution that is willing to do so.<sup>702</sup> The multitude of religious offerings made in his will, most of them to be kept in perpetuity by the Abbey of Wigmore, include innumerable amounts of vestments and relics. Apart from the ubiquitous true cross he also left such coveted relics as the bone of St Richard the Confessor and the finger of St. Thomas Cantilupe, a bishop of Hereford.<sup>703</sup> Mortimer's executors, however, were a mixture of religious and secular men of high status, including Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, bishop of London and John Gilbert, bishop of Hereford.<sup>704</sup>

By comparison to his contemporaries, Humphrey VIII's piety appears to have been much more influenced by the Augustinian friars and their vision of the world. He chose to spend his money in renewing the church of the friars in London and doing works the friars approved of and his will conveys a sense of isolation and introspection that makes him appear almost like one of the brethren he so obviously adored. Humphrey's will and the liturgical manuscripts owned by him also evidence his love of tradition and his great pride in his family's ancestry and lineage. In many ways, he is a classic example of the age of chivalry. He chose to rebuild and be buried in a religious institution founded by the first de Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex, not one inherited from the families whose women brought them earldoms. However, he still made significant bequests to the other religious institutions associated with, and patronized by, his family. He remembered in his will a Norman Abbey founded by William the Conqueror. He venerated the Trinity which, as already discussed, was probably a cult popular with the knights of the Order of the Garter and associated with chivalry and honour. He commissioned magnificent psalters to commemorate his parent's union and serve as eternal family memorials. Although he did not go on pilgrimages, as his ancestors had done (possibly owing to his infirmity), the Earl contributed to that most noble of

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<sup>702</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 112.

<sup>703</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>704</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 114, 116.

de Bohun traditions by leaving monetary bequests for a chaplain to go to Jerusalem to pray for his parents and himself. He also requested that a good man go to Canterbury to offer 40 shillings of silver and that another such man offer 40 shillings at the tomb of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, in Pontefract.<sup>705</sup> This last request is most interesting, given the de Bohun family history, and is yet another example of the Earl's family loyalty. The earl of Lancaster was not only his father's closest ally but also his mother's royal cousin.

ii. Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391)

Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon lived to the age of eighty-one, and her long and detailed will shows that she had plenty of time to consider the needs of her soul. She was very fortunate in that at the time of her death her fourth son, William, was Archbishop of Canterbury, an office he had held since 1381. She made him and her son-in-law, John, Lord Cobham, the overseers of her will. In it, Margaret commended her soul to God and to "dame Seint Marie", and left instructions for a relatively simple funeral. She asked her executors to have only two tapers of five pounds each on her hearse, one at her head and one at her feet, and she desired that her body be buried at the end of thirteen weeks. During each day of such time she ordered that "placebo et dirige" and masses be said for her and her husband. She must have expected a crowded funeral, since she asked for her hearse to be surrounded by barriers to keep the people from harm.<sup>706</sup>

Margaret left a total of over £500 to religious institutions. Unlike her father, she was very specific as to how her money should be spent. She ordered £20 to be spent in alms at her funeral and £20 to be distributed to poor men and women.<sup>707</sup>

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<sup>705</sup> *Reg. Islip*, f. 179v; *Nichols, A Collection of Wills*, p. 54; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 637.

<sup>706</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, ff. 17-18; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 639. Placebo and Dirige were the opening words of the vespers and matins masses for the dead. The number thirteen was symbolic for the twelve apostles and Jesus, as seen in the will of her brother, the sixth earl of Hereford.

<sup>707</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 639. She left additional small amounts to each of the nuns and monks in several religious houses, but it is not

She ordered £200 to be distributed among the daughters of knights and gentlemen for their marriages and to the poor clerks for their schooling, although from this amount she assigned a total of £86 13s 4d to specific individuals, including two granddaughters.<sup>708</sup> She also wished to have one hundred poor men fully clothed, including shoes.

Margaret was also concerned with masses and offerings to shrines. She ordered that £14 10 s should be spent on specific masses, consisting of £10 for the Friars Minor of Exeter to say seven annual *diriges*, and £4 10s to the Friars Preachers of Exeter for 3 annual *diriges*. She also requested ten trentals for the souls of her husband and herself during the first year after her death, although she did not specify how much money should be spent on this.<sup>709</sup> A bequest of £20 was given to the shrine at St Albans, one of only two bequests to shrines, and therefore presumably a site of importance to Margaret.<sup>710</sup> St Albans was the first English Christian martyr and his shrine was located at St Albans Abbey (Herts.), the premier Benedictine abbey of England. It had many royal and noble benefactors, including Margaret's niece Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester and her husband Thomas of Woodstock.<sup>711</sup> It is interesting that Margaret chose to give this sum to a Benedictine foundation, like Walden Abbey, near the lands of her ancestral

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possible to quantify this since we do not know how many residents were at each institution.

<sup>708</sup> “entre les filles de chivalers et gentis homes en aide de l\_ mariages et as povres clerks trouer a lescole”. TNA, Prob 11/1, ff. 17-18; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 640, 642-3. She specified that of the £200, 100 marks were to go to the marriage of her granddaughter Margaret, daughter of Philip de Courtenay, £20 to her granddaughter Margaret Drayton, 100 shillings to Richard Hydon, 60 shillings to Richard Trist, and 40 shillings to William Typepe.

<sup>709</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 639-40. A trental was a service of thirty masses, three to be said on each of the ten chief festivals: Christmas, the Circumcision, the Purification, the Annunciation, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and her Nativity. *Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London: Part 2: 1358-1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1890), p. viii.

<sup>710</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17. Bigelow translates this bequest in Margaret's will erroneously as £200. Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 640.

<sup>711</sup> Thomas and Eleanor were received as members of the confraternity of St Alban in 1378 and 1386, respectively. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 82. Thomas is recorded as a donor in the St Albans Book of Benefactors. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.VII, f. 110.

family, and not one associated with her husband's family, but this may have just been a coincidence since it was such a popular shrine. The only other bequest made specifically to an altar or shrine was 40s and her wedding ring, which were to go to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham, at Walsingham (Norfolk). By Margaret's time, this shrine was an important centre of pilgrimage, as popular as the shrine of Thomas Becket in Canterbury.<sup>712</sup>

Margaret left 100 shillings to each of the four monastic orders of Preachers, Minorites, Carmelites and Austins. She also singled out the Friars Minorites and Friars Preachers of Essex, giving them £16 13s 4d and £2, respectively. She gave varying amounts to the heads of several religious houses, and smaller set amounts to each monk, nun or friar therein. The largest amounts, 100 shillings each, went to Forde Abbey (Dorset), and Hinton Charterhouse (Somerset). The monks and friars there each received 3 shillings 4d, and 2 shillings, respectively. She made a smaller bequest of 40 shillings to the prior and canons of Bearliche and made several small bequests to the nuns of Canonleigh, Polslo, Cornworth and Ilchester, consisting of 1 mark for each Abbess or Prioress and 3s 4d per nun.<sup>713</sup> She also left several bequests ranging from twenty to forty shillings to each of the altars at the parish churches of Crewkerne, Colyton, Exminster, Okehampton, Chudleigh and Plympton, and for the repair of the chancel at Colyford and Musbury.<sup>714</sup> All of these places are located in Devon or Somerset, and were associated with the Courtenay family.

To the cathedral church of Exeter, her burial place, Margaret left only the highly symbolic basins in which her husband had washed his hands, to be used in the high altar. Presumably, she had already donated sums to the cathedral. The great east window was repaired and re-glazed by glazier Robert Lyen in 1391, the year of her death, and contains her arms: Courtenay impaling de Bohun, in its original

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<sup>712</sup> Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, p. xvi. The shrine was in a priory belonging to the Augustinian Canons, surrounding the remains of a house said to replicate the house where the Virgin Mary had received the news of the annunciation by the angel Gabriel.

<sup>713</sup> The sisters of Ilchester only received a general amount of 13s 4d.

<sup>714</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 640-41.

position in the south quatrefoil above the figures of two canonized kings, St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund the Martyr. The arms of her son William, archbishop of Canterbury from 1381 to 1394 and executor of her will, were originally paired with Margaret's in the corresponding quatrefoil on the other side of the window.<sup>715</sup> The Courtenay family were patrons of the cathedral and it is most likely that Margaret and her son William contributed to the 1391 re-glazing.

Margaret made several bequests to religious individuals totalling over £17. This is a small amount in proportion to the total amount bequeathed in her will, but many of these bequests appear to have arisen from personal relationships, since she does not refer to the persons concerned merely by their ecclesiastical title as priors of an institution and the gifts do not follow a general pattern. She left 100 shillings to brother John Trewynt; 60 shillings to bishop John Ware; 40 shillings to "mon moigne de Donkeswelle", presumably a monk at the Cistercian Dunkeswell Abbey, in east Devon; her best pater noster to the bishop of Exeter; 60 shillings to the Abbot of Cleeve; 40 shillings to Sir John Dagnel, a parson; and 40 shillings to Stephen, hermit of Crewkerne. It is possible that some of the many unidentifiable names in her will were also members of religious institutions. If her will included a bequest to her confessor, a likely probability, then he may be brother John Trewynt, judging from the much larger amount of money she left him, but her executors seem to have included only secular men of her family and household other than her son William. Being the mother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, there was obviously no need for her to have any other religious authority in charge of her will's execution.

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<sup>715</sup> *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, ed. Michael Swanton (Devon: The Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 1991), pp. 99, 104. Lyen reused many figures from the window's original glazing, dating between 1304 and 1311, including the three old testament figures of Abraham, Moses and Isaiah below Margaret's shield of arms, and a group of six figures on the north side of the window including representations of St Margaret, St Catherine, St Mary Magdalene and St Barbara. The de Bohun shield of arms also appears in pride of place at the top north quatrefoil, above the old testament figure of Abraham, although it is not clear when it dates from.

A few religious objects are mentioned in her will. Most of her religious possessions must have been part of her chapel and were bequeathed in bulk to her son Philip Courtenay who received “all of my chapel with books, vestments, candle holders, censers, surplices, and everything else related to said chapel”, a silver cup that belonged to the bishop of Exeter, and “the cross that I carry for my solace”.<sup>716</sup> The crucifix was to go to his son after him. The paternoster bequeathed to the bishop of Exeter has already been mentioned. In addition, she left her red missal (“mon rouge messall”) to John Dodyngton, steward of her household.<sup>717</sup> She bequeathed to her daughter Elizabeth, by then married to her second husband Sir Andrew Luttrell, “a tablet of wood painted for each day for the altar and my tablet of Cyprus with the hand”.<sup>718</sup> To the chantry altar of the tomb of her husband and herself she left “vi towellys ove vi fromures et xii autres towellys vi drapes pour lautier vi aubes vi amyces ove les appareuyes vi chesyplys vi stoles ove vi fanomis et ii cruettys roundez fortz”.<sup>719</sup> To her daughter Katherine (d. 1399), married to Thomas Engaine, she left two primers. Finally, she left to her son William, Archbishop of Canterbury her missal which she had received from Sir William Weston.<sup>720</sup>

Margaret’s will is conventional in the sense that she left the usual religious objects owned by the nobility of her time, asked for prayers for her and her husband, and remembered several religious institutions associated with her family, as well as bequests to most of her family and household servants. The language used does not dwell on past sins or seem unusually preoccupied with her passage into heaven. The will holds few surprises and is similar to many other wills written by her contemporaries.<sup>721</sup> Perhaps the most notable aspect of her will is the number

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<sup>716</sup> tous ma chapell ove livres vestments chaundelers sencers surplys et tous autres appartenauntz a ma dit chapel”, “la crucifix q ie porto amoins soler”. TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17. Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 641. Bigelow translates “amoins soler” as “for my worship”.

<sup>717</sup> See TNA, SC 8/253/12636 for John Dodyngton’s identification as steward of Margaret’s household.

<sup>718</sup> “un tablet de fust depentez pour chescun iour pour le autier et mon tablet de cepresse ove le meigne . . .”. TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17; Bigelow, ‘Bohun Wills’, II, 641.

<sup>719</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 18.

<sup>720</sup> TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 18.

<sup>721</sup> See Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, for similar wills.

of people and religious institutions that appear as recipients of her bequests, not including the members of her large family, and the variety of ways in which she chose to distribute her many charitable donations. Apart from her religious bequests and gifts to her family, approximately £130 were distributed among fifty-two individuals, most of whom must have been members of her household.<sup>722</sup> This was a woman who clearly kept a large household, a chapel, and held personal ties to many different religious houses. Although this may just be a result of her old age and the wish to remember all of the different houses patronized by the Courtenays, this is not the sense one gets from her will. Perhaps her long life as a widow allowed her time to visit and maintain friendships with the many religious institutions attached to her husband's family. In contrast to her brother Humphrey's will, Margaret's seems well balanced. She is clearly concerned with the needs of her soul, but also with a fair apportionment of her personal, non-secular goods among her family, and personal gifts to servants and friends. Like her niece, Eleanor, whose will is often used as an example of noblewomen's ownership of books, Margaret's will also contains an unusual number of books, not all of which are religious. Her will mentions nine books, apart from those left to her son Philip as part of her private chapel. Of these nine books, three are romances, and one appears to be a medical book. Her daughter Elizabeth received a book entitled 'Tristram' and her daughter Catherine received two primers and a book entitled 'Arthur of Britain'. Her son William and one of her executors, sir John Dodynton, each received a missal, and Agnes Chambernon, probably a close friend or household companion, received a book entitled 'Vices and Virtues', a book entitled 'Merlin', and a book entitled 'Medycynys et Marchasye'.<sup>723</sup> These were appropriate choices for any woman at the time, covering three areas that must have been essential to any female head of household: religious instruction, health and ailments, and historical/fictional education and entertainment. The book bequests reflect Margaret's romantic tastes as well as her piety. She named one of her youngest daughters Guinevere, and this coupled with her choice of romantic texts for the women closest to her reveal that Margaret obviously

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<sup>722</sup> In contrast, £160 were distributed among her three surviving daughters (£40 each) and two daughters in law (£20 each). TNA, Prob 11/1, f. 17.

<sup>723</sup> It is not clear what was meant by "marchasye".



enjoyed the Arthurian tales popular during her lifetime.<sup>724</sup> These books must have been read and valued by Margaret and, together with the amount of different bequests and people made in her will, show a different side of her that make her piety appear less all consuming than her brother's or that of other noblewomen who, by the end of their lives, made religion an intrinsic, all-inclusive, part of their life.

Margaret's will may be compared with that of her niece's child, Joan, Lady Bergavenny (1325-1335). Joan was the daughter of Elizabeth de Bohun, countess of Arundel (d. 1385) and daughter of William de Bohun, Margaret's brother. Joan died in 1435 at the age of sixty after being a very wealthy widow for twenty years. Her heir was her daughter Joan (d. 1430), married to James Butler, earl of Ormonde (d. 1452). Joan chose to be buried at the Black Friars in Hereford, where she endowed a chantry.<sup>725</sup> In her will she shows a desire for a large number of prayers and a concern for her executors to spend a considerable amount of money on charity that will help her passage into heaven. She also leaves many bequests to her executors and her servants. However, her charity is concentrated on the poor, rather than religious institutions. The total number of cash bequests in her will is £1,473 1s. 2d., including 1,000 marks to be spent on her funeral. She asked for 5,000 masses to be sung after her death in all haste and she bequeathed 300 marks to the friars to find two priests to sing perpetually, one in the morning and one in the evening, for her, her husband, her parents, Hugh Burnell, all her "good doers" and all Christian souls.<sup>726</sup> She also provided for five priests to sing for twenty winters for the same beneficiaries at two other locations.<sup>727</sup> Unlike Margaret, Joan's religious munificence was limited to the Black Friars and the rest of her religious bequests were spent on the poor, on the repair of bridges and causeways, and on prisoners.<sup>728</sup>

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<sup>724</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 135.

<sup>725</sup> Christine Carpenter, 'Beauchamp, William (V), first baron Bergavenny (c. 1343-1411), in *ODNB*, IV, 607-09 (pp. 608-09).

<sup>726</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 225.

<sup>727</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 226.

<sup>728</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 226.

More similar to Margaret's will is that of another one of her contemporaries, Elizabeth de Juliers, countess of Kent (d. 1411). Elizabeth's first husband was John, earl of Kent, grandson of Edward I. In her will, dated 29 June 1411, Elizabeth desired to be buried with her husband in the friars minors at Winton, and she left small bequests up to 40 shillings to 18 different religious institutions as well as individual bequests to multiple chaplains, friars, an anchorite, and the brothers and sisters of two hospitals of between 6s. 8d. and 13s. 4d..<sup>729</sup> However, unlike Margaret, Elizabeth's bequests are formulaic and do not appear to arise from personal relationships. Most of her bequests are expressed in the form of general mentions of all the religious individuals in particular institutions.

**c. Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399)**

The evidence of Eleanor's piety comes from her will, the Inventories of goods forfeited after Thomas' execution, and her personal psalter, the content of which shows her to have taken her prayers beyond the usual conventions of the time. Her piety may have been heavily influenced by that of her parents. Her father spent much of his adult life as a crusader, and her mother, Joan de Bohun, was a generous benefactress of Walden Abbey and is associated with several surviving religious books, including Simeon MS, British Library Add 22283, whose contents are entirely religious and moralistic verse and prose.<sup>730</sup> Eleanor appears as a partner in all the documentation and seals relating to the foundation of Pleshey College, but it is difficult to judge her role in this foundation. The most likely explanation for her involvement is that as an heiress her approval was required for the college's endowments. However, given the rest of the evidence regarding

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<sup>729</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 212-15.

<sup>730</sup> Her name "Joan boun" appears in very small print in the margins. A. I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 163-81 (pp. 167-68). Joan de Bohun is associated with other religious books. Her death is noted in the Luttrell Psalter; she may have owned an Anglo-Norman apocalypse (Oxford, New College MS 65); and Thomas Hoccleve translated for her the verse "Complaint of the Virgin". Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), p. 257; Jambeck, 'Patterns of Women's Literary Patronage', pp. 236-37.

her piety, it is possible that Eleanor was more than a passive contributor to the college's creation.

Eleanor's will is unusual in many ways. Of her seven executors, one was a woman and three were priests, and of the three overseers of her will, one was the prior of Christ Church in London.<sup>731</sup> This alone shows that she valued her relationship to men of the Church and placed her trust in them. She bequeathed a total of thirteen books to her family, of which nine were religious in theme, including the richly illuminated psalter given to her son Humphrey, a beautiful illuminated manuscript of the Golden Legend given to Anne, a personal psalter given to Joan, and six books given to Isabella: a French bible in two volumes, a book of decretals, a book of mystery stories, a book containing "De Vitis Patrum" and the pastorals of Saint Gregory, and two psalters.<sup>732</sup> Eleanor is one of only a few noblewomen in England known to have bequeathed a copy of the Bible, and the number of book bequests in her will exceeds that of most other wills of her time.<sup>733</sup> A study of extant aristocratic wills for the period 1350-1500 found that out of 251 wills studied, only 71 left book bequests, and of those almost three quarters left 3 or

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<sup>731</sup> Her executors were Sir Gerard Braybrook Jr.; Sibilla Beauchamp; John de Boys, steward of her household; Nicholas Miles, parson of Debden; Hugh Painter, chaplain of her free chapel in the castle of Pleshey; William Underwood, parson of Dedham; and William Newbole. Her overseers were Robert Exeter, prior of Christ Church in London; her 'very dear cousin' Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; and her worthy friend Sir Thomas de Stanley, clerk of Rolls. *Reg. Arundel*, I, ff. 163v-164r; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 649; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 184. One of her executors, Nicholas Myles, was rector at Thomas' living of Debden, in Essex, and had witnessed the resignation of the parish church of Pleshey into the bishop of London's hands as part of the process of creating the new college at Pleshey. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 83.

<sup>732</sup> Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 181-83. Bigelow translates the book given to Anne as "a beautiful book and well illuminated in gilt lettering, in French", but it is clear from the original will that the book given to Anne is a version of the Golden Legend. The original will reads, "Item un livre beal et bn enlumines de legenda aurea en francois". *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 182; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 648.

<sup>733</sup> The other women who are known to have bequeathed bibles are Elizabeth de Burgh (d. 1361) and Isabella Duchess of York (d. 1392). Archer, *Piety in Question*, p. 122. Rosenthal has also found a mention of a bible bequeathed in the will of a woman named Elizabeth Darcy. See Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', p. 543.

fewer books and only a handful explicitly named 7 or more books.<sup>734</sup> Eleanor's book bequests are particularly interesting in light of the forfeitures occurring at Pleshey after her husband's death. Some hundred and forty-two books seized from Pleshey castle and Thomas and Eleanor's home in London are recorded in the Inventories of forfeited goods.<sup>735</sup> They are a testament to their owners' taste for history, romances and religious texts. Although we do not know who first purchased the books, it is likely that many of the books were already part of the Pleshey library before Eleanor's marriage to Thomas, and thus reflect de Bohun tastes.<sup>736</sup> The Inventory shows that the chapel at Pleshey contained thirty-nine service books, and of the eighty-three books in the castle's library, twenty-one were devotional in character. There were also several sets of the Gospels and Bible in English.<sup>737</sup> The library contained works of many kinds in Latin, French and English, including "romances in the modern sense, among them the *Roman de la Rose*, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, *Lancelot and Alexander*, as well as sacred writ, devotional works, canon and civil law, chronicles and histories, French songs and at least two medical treatises".<sup>738</sup> The library in London contained another thirteen books of which twelve were religious, including a *Vitas Patrum* (lives of the fathers), the *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend), Latin and French Bibles, and the remnant of a psalter glossed in French.<sup>739</sup> The only book that was not strictly

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<sup>734</sup> Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', pp. 536-37.

<sup>735</sup> TNA, E 136/77/4; TNA, C 257/58 6A.

<sup>736</sup> The library at Pleshey would have suffered from the forfeiture of the fourth Earl's possessions, but the account of John de Flete mentioned earlier shows that, of the sixty-seven liturgical books taken from Humphrey VII, twenty-four were returned to his heir John de Bohun. The successive earls and William of Northampton would have added to that library. See Stratford, 'Royal Library to 1461', pp. 258-59. For a discussion of the books that are known to have been purchased or bequeathed to Thomas, see Stratford, 'La Somme Le Roi', pp. 267-82.

<sup>737</sup> E 136/77/4; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels'; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 80.

<sup>738</sup> Stratford, 'La Somme le Roi', p. 269.

<sup>739</sup> TNA, C 257/58 6A; *CIM*, vi, 224. These last books were probably the same ones willed by Eleanor to her children, as she seems to have purchased back most of the goods taken from her London home. See discussion below. *CCR*, 1396-99, pp. 191, 241. The other books were: a book called 'Meistre des Istories', a book 'concerning nuns and their rule', a book of seven psalms, a psalter, two missals and a primer. *CIM*, vi, 223-24. The 'Meistre des Istories' was probably the Bible Historiale, a French adaptation of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastic* by Guyart des Moulins (c. 1291-95), since a fourteenth century manuscript in the British

speaking religious, although it dealt with the capture of Jerusalem, was deeply significant to the de Bohun family. It recounted the history of Godfrey de Bouillon, knight of the swan, and is almost certainly the book bequeathed by Eleanor to her son and heir in her will.

Eleanor left relatively small sums of money to religious institutions, but this may be explained by the fact that she had little to give, as the foundation of Pleshey College and her husband's forfeitures must have drained her family finances. In addition, she may have made other pious provisions in her lifetime that we are not aware of. The monetary pious bequests in her will amount to a total of approximately £40, benefitting the convent of monks of Westminster Abbey, where she wished to be buried, the Abbess and convent of Sister Minoresses without Aldgate, and the prior and convent of Llanthony and its canon. The only other religious institution remembered in her will was Walden Abbey, to which she left a vestment.<sup>740</sup> The choice of institutions clearly reflects Eleanor's commitment to the places significant to her family. Her London home adjoined the church of the Minoresses without Aldgate, where her daughter Isabella was first a nun and later abbess.<sup>741</sup> Martha Carlin has suggested that Thomas and Eleanor may have occupied either the whole or a portion of the house of Elizabeth de Burgh, William de Bohun's aunt.<sup>742</sup> The home adjoined the conventual church

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Library with this subject contains a note on its provenance stating that it is "le Bible ent[er] oue tixt et glose le mestre / de histories". London, British Library, Royal MS 19 D II.

<sup>740</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 179; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 645.

<sup>741</sup> This was the abbey of Minoresses of the order of St. Clare in the parish of St Botolph Aldgate, dedicated to the Virgin. Isabella was Eleanor's youngest daughter and she had been placed in the monastery as a child. In 1401 she had not yet professed her vows and after her sister Joan's death she was asked whether she wished to leave the order in order to safeguard her father's inheritance. She stayed and later became its abbess. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, v, 385; Carlin, 'St Botolph Aldgate', p. 8. In 1304 Thomas arranged for the appropriation of an advowson to their convent. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 79.

<sup>742</sup> Elizabeth had a large mansion built at the Minoresses in 1352 and was buried there. Martha Carlin, 'St Botolph Aldgate Gazeteer: Holy Trinity Minorities (Abbey of St. Clare 1293/4-1539)', in *Historical Gazeteer of London Before the Great Fire*, ed. Derek Keene (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research,

of the minoresses, and a door connected the two buildings so that Thomas and Eleanor could enter the church as they pleased.<sup>743</sup> Thomas and Eleanor had also been patrons of Westminster Abbey during their lifetime. In 1387 they donated “vestments of cloth of gold embroidered with their initials, a silver-gilt thurible adorned with images of saints and two silver candlesticks, carved in the shape of angels, bearing shields with the arms of the earls of Essex and Hereford.”<sup>744</sup> In 1391 the Duke gave the convent a magnificent set of altar and mass furnishings and plate, including a vestment of cloth of gold, red with black velvet orphreys with the letters “T” and “A”, swans and flowers.<sup>745</sup>

Eleanor’s will does not mention Pleshey College or its chaplain, Paul Kirketon. This is probably owing to the fact that so much was donated to the College during Thomas’ lifetime, but it is also possible that after Thomas’ death the College lost its significance to her. On 6 July 1396, Thomas and Eleanor had had license from the king to augment the number of chaplains and make other alterations to the college, and a similar request was made to Pope Boniface IX. However, the alterations were never completed, presumably due to Thomas’ death.<sup>746</sup> Eleanor may not have had the funds to proceed with the original plans, yet the fact that her son Humphrey and her daughter Joan were not buried at Pleshey may indicate that the family did not view the College as the new family burial seat.<sup>747</sup> Her daughter Anne chose to be buried at Llanthony Priory. It was not until two generations

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Social and Economic Study of Medieval London, 1987; unpub. typescript), 68/1, pp. 1-51 (pp. 1, 37-40).

<sup>743</sup> Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, v, 544.

<sup>744</sup> Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 84-5 (citing the execution of a deed by which the abbot and convent bound themselves to observe the anniversary of Thomas and Eleanor).

<sup>745</sup> Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 85. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, eds C. Babington and J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series, 9 vols (London: Longman, 1865-86), IX (1886), 260-61.

<sup>746</sup> Page, *Victoria History: Essex*, p. 194; British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=39870>> [accessed 1 June 2013].

<sup>747</sup> It is not known who made the decision to bury the children at Walden, but their relative youth suggests that either Eleanor or her mother, Joan de Bohun (d. 1419) may have buried Humphrey and that Joan buried her granddaughter Joan after Eleanor’s death.

later, at the death of Eleanor's eldest grandson, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham (d. 1460), that the College became the burial place of a de Bohun heir.

Another interesting aspect of Eleanor's will is her obvious knowledge of the prayers associated with mass and religious devotion, and the care she put into ensuring that the religious observances pertaining to her and her husband be performed in a precise way. Of the thousand masses that she requested from her executors for her soul "in as short a time after my death as they can", she named four-hundred and ninety, and then proceeded to detail how the name of Thomas and herself should be introduced into the masses.<sup>748</sup> Her will states

and as to all theses said masses, before the priest begins 'Et ne nos,' the said priest shall say aloud, turning towards the people, 'For the souls of Thomas sometime Duke of Gloucester and Eleanor his wife and all Christian souls for charity, pater noster,' and [then] shall he turn towards the altar and say in secret a pater noster and begin the mass; and in all the said masses shall be said the prayer of 'Deus que es summa nostre redemptiones, spes, qui in terra promissionis,' &c., with the 'secretum' and 'post communionem' and the names of my said lord and myself, the said Thomas and Eleanor.<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>748</sup> Her will states the prayers should be "xx de l'assumpcion nostre dame, cl de requiem, l. de mon seignour Seint John le Baptistre, l. de Seint John l'Evangelistre, xxx. de Seint Leonard, xxx. de touz Seints, l. for the soule of Thomas sum tyme Duc of Goucestre, xx. de nativite nostre seignour, xx. de resurrection, xx. de l'assencion, l. de Seint Michell archangel, xx \_\_\_", Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 179-180; *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

<sup>749</sup> Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 646. "et qe a tous ceuz dites messes, devan qe le prestre commence *Et ne nos*, qe le dit prestre die en haut tournant vers le people, "For the soule of *Thomas sum tyme Duc of Gloucestre and Alianore his wyf*, and all cristeyn soles, for charitee *pater noster*;" & turnier vers l'autier & dire un pater noster en secree, & comencier la messe, & en toutes les ditz messes soit dit le oreison de "Deus " qui es summa nostre redemptionis spes, qui in terra " promissionis, &c." ove le secretum & post com[munionem] & les nouns de mons dit seignour & moy nomes la eins Thomas & Alianore". Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 180. Nichols has added his own punctuation, including quotation marks, italics and the symbol "&" to the original version, which does not contain any, and has substituted full words for medieval abbreviations. *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

This passage and the detailed instructions left in her will regarding her burial, discussed in Chapter 2, indicate Eleanor's familiarity with the mass. They also show her meticulousness and attention to detail, which is apparent in the many descriptions of objects throughout her will.

Eleanor also bequeathed various religious possessions, with the often-stated intention of eliciting prayers on behalf of herself and her husband. Her personal psalter, left to her daughter Joan, has already been mentioned, as well as her bequest to her son Humphrey of Thomas' coat of mail bearing a cross.<sup>750</sup> In addition, she left Humphrey what must have been one of her most precious possessions, described as "a cross of gold hanging from a chain with an image of the crucifixion and surrounded by four pearls with my blessing as a thing of mine which I have most loved".<sup>751</sup> Crosses were commonly worn and much valued in the de Bohun family. The crosses bequeathed by Humphrey VIII and Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon, have already been mentioned. Eleanor's grandmother, Elizabeth countess of Northampton, bequeathed to the church where she was buried her most personal possession, a cross she wore made of wood from the saviour's cross and containing a thorn from his crown.<sup>752</sup> Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun, made a donation to the altar of Walden Abbey of a cross of gold with several pieces of wood from the cross used in the Crucifixion.<sup>753</sup> It is possible that this last crucifix is the same one bequeathed to her husband by his uncle Humphrey, the sixth Earl, but these crosses were common among the nobility.<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> See Ch. 2.

<sup>751</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 181-2; Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 647-48. The original will states "un crois dor pendant *par un cheyne ove une ymage du crucifix & iiii perles entour ove ma beneison, come chose du myen qe jay mieux amee*" (original abbreviations extended and shown in italics).

<sup>752</sup> *Reg. Islip*, ff. 122-122v; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 60.

<sup>753</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 134.

<sup>754</sup> Pieces of the true cross are often mentioned in will bequests of this period. Thomas, earl of Warwick (d. 1369) in his will bequeathed three crosses made of gold containing pieces of the true cross. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 80. See also Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 111 (will of Edmund earl of March), II, 768 (will of William Bishop of Winchester).



Eleanor's mother, Joan, received a pair of coral pater nosters "requerant a ele checun jour de sa benoison entirement a ma poverouse alme".<sup>755</sup> The beads' main purpose was clearly to elicit prayers for Eleanor. If her mother should predecease her, Eleanor wished the beads to belong to the church of sister minoresses without Aldgate to remain inside the Abbey forever "pur un memorial de moy".<sup>756</sup> Another pair of paternosters, made of gold with four jet ornaments, was left to Eleanor's eldest daughter Anne. They had belonged to Thomas. Eleanor's last bequest also belonged to Thomas and although it was not a pious object, it had a pious intent. She left his black leather belt with gold bars "which he used many years and after he was in his last sickness" to their daughter Isabelle, with instructions that if she died it should remain with the Abbess and the church of Minoresses without Aldgate.<sup>757</sup> The belt must have either been retained by her or purchased by her after his death. These last two bequests, together with the coat of mail left to Humphrey and the prayer instructions given in her will, demonstrate Eleanor's commitment to her husband and her sense of loyalty to him. She clearly saw it as her duty to ensure his passage into heaven and keep his memory alive among his children.<sup>758</sup>

Further insight into Eleanor's piety comes from her only surviving book, a personalized psalter and Book of Hours now in the National Library of Scotland.<sup>759</sup> This may be the same psalter bequeathed to Joan in her will as "a book with the psalter, primer, and other devotions with two gold clasps enamelled with my arms,

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<sup>755</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 180.

<sup>756</sup> *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 180.

<sup>757</sup> The original states "le quele quele il usa mesmes meint ans & apres qil seust on son darrein desaise". *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 183-4. Nichols transcribes "ans" as "avis" and Bigelow translates it as, "which he used much in life and afterwards had in his last sickness". Bigelow, 'Bohun Wills', II, 649. It is not clear if Thomas was sick before he was arrested or if Eleanor is using a euphemism for his death.

<sup>758</sup> Only fifty of the one thousand masses requested by Eleanor were specified as being for the soul of Thomas. However, she also specifies that before every mass the priest should say aloud that the masses are for the souls of Thomas and Eleanor. *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, pp. 179-180.

<sup>759</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18.6.5.

which book I have much used".<sup>760</sup> Lucy Sandler's detailed study of this manuscript demonstrates that Eleanor was a devout woman, beyond the conventional practices of the time. The manuscript, dating between 1389 and 1397, pairs the Hours of the Virgin with the Psalter, reversing the order followed earlier in the fourteenth century and allowing the owner to open the book with the prayers most often used. Most of the devotional texts are voiced in the feminine gender, making the book personal to Eleanor as a reader. To the normal elements of the English Books of Hours, Eleanor's manuscript adds the Litany of the Virgin, the Psalter of St Jerome and the variant forms of the Hours of the Virgin for Advent and Christmastide. This was relatively rare at the time. Yet most striking is the long general confession in Latin preceding the main Hours of the Virgin text. This is in the female voice and attributes to the peccatrix a vast array of sins. One section is based on the seven vices, with numerous subdivisions mentioning all the possible ways in which the sin may be committed. Another section lists the ways in which the five senses might arouse sinfulness, including "videndo, loquendo, audiendo, gustando, orando, tangendo, operando, cogitando, consenciando, delectando, incedendo, sedendo, iacendo, vigilando, dormiendo".<sup>761</sup> This confession is not only unusual in its length, but also in that it is written from the penitent's point of view. Most penitentiary manuals at the time were composed from the confessor's viewpoint.<sup>762</sup> In addition, Eleanor's psalter contains numerous personalized prayers preceding, following and inserted between the manuscript's other contents. They include Eleanor's name or identify her in the female gender as "peccatrix", and they address God directly, not through his saints. Sandler has noted that in the manuscript

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<sup>760</sup> The original states, "un livre ove le psautier, primer et autres devocions ove deux claspes dor enamaillez ove mes armes quele livre iay plus usee". *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v; Nichols, *A Collection of Wills*, p. 183. The argument against it being the same book given to Joan is the unfinished nature of the book and the lack of Eleanor's arms. See Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 264.

<sup>761</sup> Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours', pp. 233-44. Translated by Sandler as "in seeing, speaking, hearing, tasting, pleading, touching, labouring, thinking, agreeing, enjoying, walking, sitting, lying, waking, sleeping".

<sup>762</sup> Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours', p. 234 and n. 15.

the lay owner's participation in the Mass, as represented by the instructions and Mass texts, is dramatically increased, to the degree that the role of participant is nearly merged into that of celebrant. Each section of the mass included in the text was re-worded to incorporate a reference to Eleanor, either identifying her by name or calling her *peccatrix*. Some prayers replace those said by the priest in low voice, which the lay participant was not expected to hear . . . [these prayers] give Eleanor, as a layperson, her own 'track' in the celebration of the Mass and allow the expression of devotion while the priest performs part of the liturgy closed to the public. Elsewhere, however, the prayers to be said by the owner of the book are nearly identical to those said by the priest in the Sarum rite, whether he recites them *tacita voce* or not.<sup>763</sup>

This description of Eleanor's use of the psalter concords with Eleanor's detailed instructions for prayers in her will, her ownership of religious books, including a Bible, and everything we know about her and her husband. We get the feeling that, at least during the last decade of her life, her piety was not passive, but rather that she was an active participant in her faith, unusually well instructed and knowledgeable. Her Latin, though perhaps limited to the recital of established prayers, must have been good enough for her to understand what she was saying. All the prayers in her manuscript, including the personal prayers, were in Latin, sometimes introduced by Anglo-Norman rubrics.<sup>764</sup> One might argue that the Psalter was prepared for her by a confessor, or even at her husband's instructions, but the evidence indicates that she took an active role in its preparation and this interpretation is further supported by an erased inscription at the end of the book stating "Cest livre feust a Alianore de bohun duchesse de Gloucestre le quel ele fist escrire".<sup>765</sup> Yet though Eleanor's participation in the mass and her obvious devotion to confession and personal prayers show evidence of individualism, her piety was also obviously orthodox and conventional, as all the evidence shows.

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<sup>763</sup> Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours', p. 235.

<sup>764</sup> Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours', p. 235.

<sup>765</sup> "This book belonged to Eleanor de Bohun duchess of Gloucester which she made [others] write (fist ecrire)". National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18.6.5.

It is a commonly held belief that Eleanor took the veil and entered Barking Abbey after Thomas' death. This fact is first mentioned by the antiquarian John Weever in 1631, over two centuries after Eleanor's death, and repeated by Sandford in 1707 (citing Weever).<sup>766</sup> However, the evidence from primary sources does not support this statement. Eleanor died at Pleshey castle, and her surviving accounts for the year 1397-8 show that she was busy managing the estates inherited from her father. In the summer of 1398 she travelled with Thomas Heveningham, her constable at Pleshey, from Essex to her marcher estates, stopping off at Bristol. On 21 July she was in Northampton, where she was granted a 1,000 mark exchequer annuity by the king.<sup>767</sup> In addition, there is no evidence that Eleanor was a patron of Barking Abbey or had any special relationship with it. Based on her will, she would have been much more likely to enter the Minoresses without Aldgate. Eleanor's purchase of most of the contents of her London home after her husband's death indicates that she planned to spend much time there.<sup>768</sup> Perhaps the confusion regarding the last years of her life arose from Eleanor's well-known piety, which made her a candidate for seclusion in widowhood, and the fact that Barking Abbey was the preeminent Benedictine house for noblewomen and was located in Essex.<sup>769</sup> The reason for Eleanor and Thomas' predilection for the Minoresses without Aldgate is not known, but the evidence of bequests, wills and

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<sup>766</sup> Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, p. 394; Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 261.

<sup>767</sup> Alastair Dunn, 'Exploitation and Control: The Royal Administration of Magnate Estates, 1397-1405', in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (London: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 27-43 (p. 40).

<sup>768</sup> By 26 December, 1397, Eleanor had agreed to pay the treasury a total of £440 11s. 1d. for goods from her London home and Pleshey. *CCR*, VI, 241. The king's command was made on 28 December, asking Clement Spice to return to Eleanor £180 18s. worth of goods and chattels (from Pleshey) and asking Richard Whittington to return to her goods to the value of £259 13s 1d. (from London). *CCR*, VI, 190-91. The £180 18s. coincides with the total value of the items set forth in the unpublished inventory detailing goods returned to Eleanor on 2 January, 1398 from her Essex manors, including Pleshey. See TNA, E 136/77/5. The inventory describing the goods returned to Eleanor from the London forfeitures does not survive or has not been found. However, the £259 13s. 1d. paid for the London items is very close to the total value of the goods and chattels taken from Thomas and Eleanor's London home, as per the values set forth in the Inventory. See *CIM*, VI, 223-25. But see, Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>769</sup> Walden Abbey was a Benedictine priory.

other records indicates that it was a popular house among the royalty and nobility. It had been founded in 1293/4 by Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and his wife Blanche.<sup>770</sup> Eleanor's grandmother, Eleanor of Lancaster, countess of Arundel (d. 1372) is likely to have been a frequent visitor to the house, as was the countess' brother, Henry, duke of Lancaster (d. 1361).<sup>771</sup> Eleanor's grandfather, William, earl of Northampton visited his aunt Elizabeth de Burgh's residence at the Minoreesses on several occasions.<sup>772</sup>

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<sup>770</sup> Carlin, 'Holy Trinity', pp. 1, 3.

<sup>771</sup> In 1364 Eleanor of Lancaster was granted an indult to enter the enclosed monasteries of Minoreesses in England with four honest matrons, but not to eat or pass the night therein and in 1366 she obtained an indult to enter the monasteries of Minoreesses once a year with four honest matrons aged forty. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV (1902), 38, 56. Henry received a papal dispensation in 1349 to enter with ten people and was a frequent visitor of Elizabeth de Burgh at her house in the Minoreesses after 1352. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, ed. W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, I (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), p. 166; Carlin, 'Holy Trinity Minories', pp. 37-8.

<sup>772</sup> Carlin, 'Holy Trinity Minories', pp. 37-8.

## Conclusion

The surviving evidence relating to the de Bohun family provides a striking example of how medieval noble families embraced the concepts of lineage and family memory. It also gives us an insight into the pious practices and introspective nature of religious worship among members of the nobility during the fourteenth century. The de Bohun family survived in a direct, patrilineal, line for over three centuries from 1066 to 1373. Although they began as minor members of the Anglo Norman nobility, their royal service allowed them to form lucrative marriage alliances and accumulate wealth and lands. Their longevity ensured their gradual rise to become one of the most powerful families of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. With their success came an increasing awareness of the importance of creating a powerful image that would validate their higher social status and last through eternity. The adoption of heraldry associating them with the Swan Knight, ancestor of Godfrey de Bouillon, mythologized the family's origins and provided the de Bohuns with an alluring lineage and sense of identity. Their alliance with the royal family in 1302 cemented the family's magnate status. It inspired the creation of beautiful illuminated manuscripts to celebrate the family's royal ties and ensure its eternal remembrance. At the same time, the de Bohuns understood the importance of God in an uncertain world threatened by political turmoil, disease and infertility. Like other nobles of their period, they followed conventional religious practices and spent much of their wealth in the patronage of the religious institutions associated with the families from which they received their earldoms: Walden Abbey and Llanthony Secunda. Yet the surviving evidence of individual members of the family shows that they were also deeply pious and introspective in their worship. They appear to have truly believed in the need to justify their privileges and be worthy of eternal life. In the end, the family would follow the fate of all other magnate families of their time. In 1373 the last de Bohun earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton died without male heirs. Yet the family's most valuable possession, its lineage, was embraced by his daughters, their husbands, and the family's descendants for generations to come. It ensured that, through the centuries, the family would never be forgotten.

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### Abbreviations

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|---------------------------|---|
| <i>CCR</i>                | <i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (London: HMSO, 1892-)  |
| <i>CChR</i>               | <i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1923-7)  |
| <i>CIM</i>                | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1219-1485</i> , 7 vols (London: HMSO, 1916-2003)  |
| <i>CIPM</i>               | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> , 23 vols (London: HMSO, 1904-2004)   |
| <i>CP</i>                 | <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and Great Britain</i> , ed. V. Gibbs, 13 vols in 14 (London: St Catherine Press, 1910-59, 1998) |
| <i>CPR</i>                | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (London: HMSO, 1891-)   |
| <i>ODNB</i>               | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)                |
| <i>Reg. Arundel I-II</i>  | London, Lambeth Palace Library, <i>Register of Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury (1396-97, 1399-1414)</i>                                       |
| <i>Reg. Chichele I-IV</i> | London, Lambeth Palace Library, <i>Register of Archbishop Henry Chichele of Canterbury (1414-43)</i>  |
| <i>Reg. Sudbury</i>       | London, Lambeth Palace Library, <i>Register of Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury (1375-81)</i>   |
| <i>Reg. Whittlesey</i>    | London, Lambeth Palace Library, <i>Register of Archbishop William Whittlesey of Canterbury (1368-74)</i>  |
| <i>Rot. Parl.</i>         | <i>Rotuli Parliamentarum</i> , 6 vols (1278-1504)   |
| TNA                       | The National Archives, London   |
| <i>VCH</i>                | <i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i> , H. A. Doubleday, W. Page, L. F. Salzman, and R. B. Pugh, eds (1900-)                             |

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PROB 11/1/24

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E 136/77/4

Inventory of goods and chattels taken from Pleshey (6mm) (printed in Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and Seized in his Castle at Pleshey, Co. Essex, 21 Richard II. (1397); With Their Values, as Shown in the Escheator's Accounts', *The Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), 275-308)

E 136/77/5

Inventory of livery of goods and chattels (1m) (Pleshey, 2 January 1398)

E 136/77/6

Accounts for carriage of goods and chattels of Duke of Gloucester from Pleshey to Westminster (1m) (1397)

E 407/6/123

List of ornaments in Pleshey chapel



C 257/58, 6A

Goods taken from the Duke of Gloucester's London home (printed in translation in *CIM*, 6 (1392-1399), pp. 223-25)

C 47/14/4/24

Writ of distraint and appraisal of goods of Thomas, late duke of Gloucester (1397-98)

DL 25/3571

Agreement, indented, whereby Edward I enfeoffed Humphrey de Bohun and Elizabeth, the king's daughter, jointly on their marriage, of all the Earl's lands (1301/02)

DL 27/13

Indenture and articles of agreement for the marriage of Hugh de Courtenay and Margaret de Bohun (1314/15)

DL 27/19, DL 27/20

Indenture of marriage articles between William de Bohun and Richard earl of Arundel for the marriage of their children (1359/60)

DL 27/63

Grant of Indulgence for Humphrey de Bohun by Simon, master of the order of preaching friars (1352)

E101/365/17

Account of daily household expenses of Humphrey V (3mm)

E101/365/14

Memoranda of debts for household expenses of the countess of Hereford (1303/04)

E101/365/20

Account of daily expenses of the countess of Hereford's household (1303/4)

E101/366/30

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E 101/367/1

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E101/370/30

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DL 28/32/19, DL 28/32/20

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DL 29/42/815

Accounts from reeve of Pleshey, 1397-98 (4-5 mm)

DL 29/680/11012

Accounts from reeve of Caldicott, 1397-98 (1-2 mm)

C 49/76

Thomas of Woodstock's confession of treason

C 133/8/9; C 133/10/9; C 133/92/8; C 137/10/50; C 137/11/50; C 137/24/48  
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*Reg. Islip*, ff. 178-9

Will of Humphrey de Bohun, sixth earl of Hereford (1361)

*Reg. Whittlesey*, f. 127 r,v

Will of Humphrey de Bohun, seventh earl of Hereford (1373)

*Reg. Arundel*, I, ff. 163-64  
Will of Eleanor de Bohun (1399)

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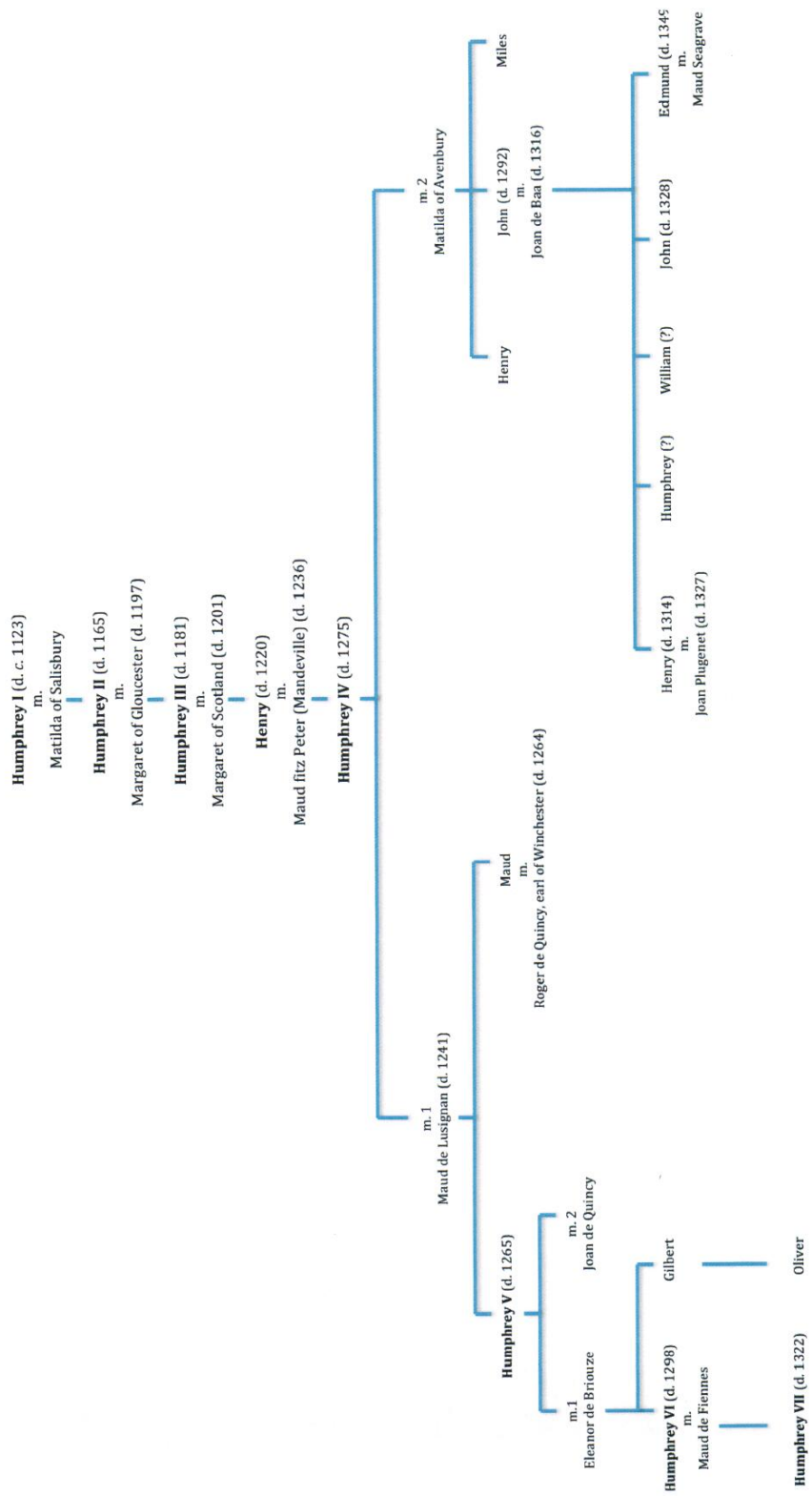
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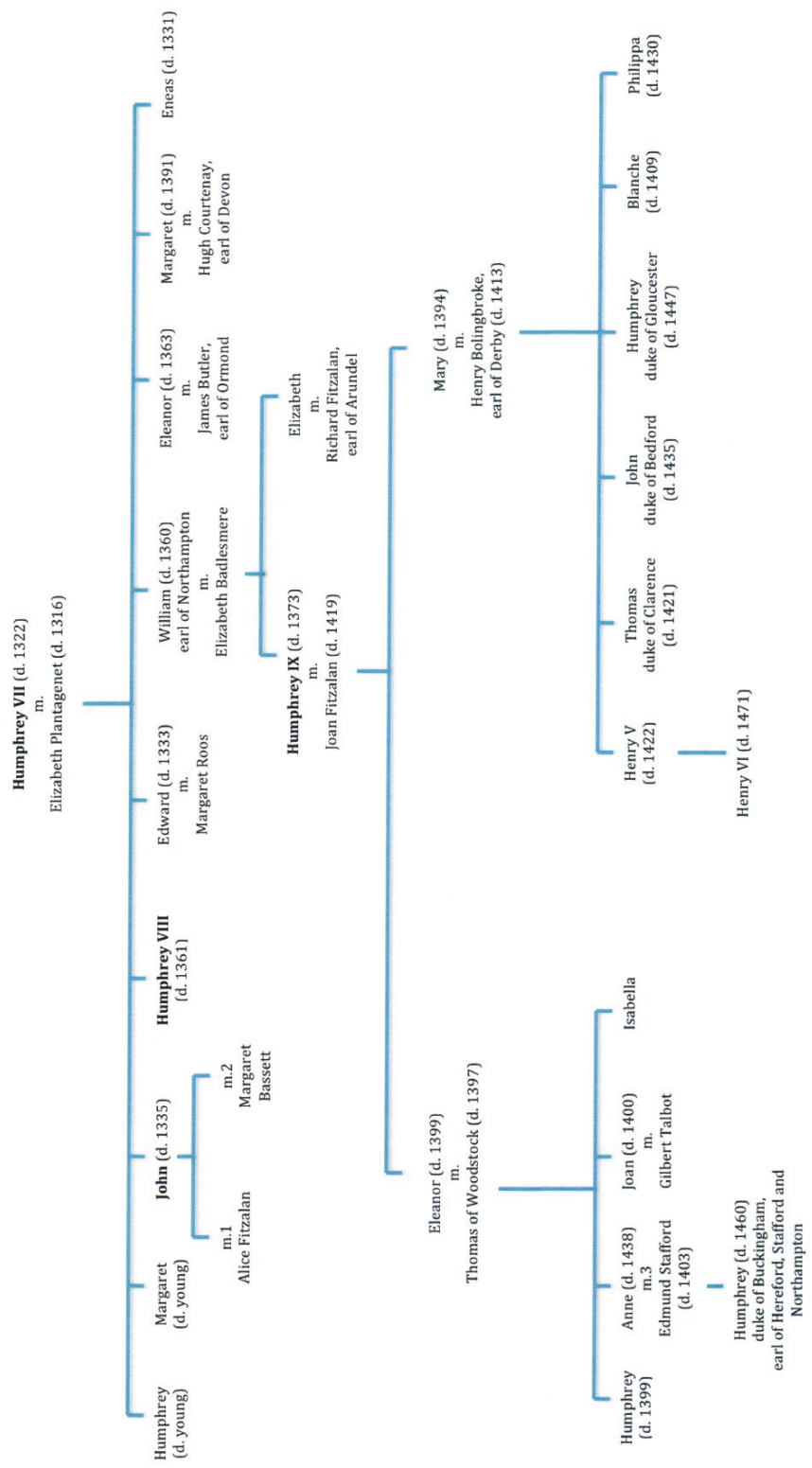
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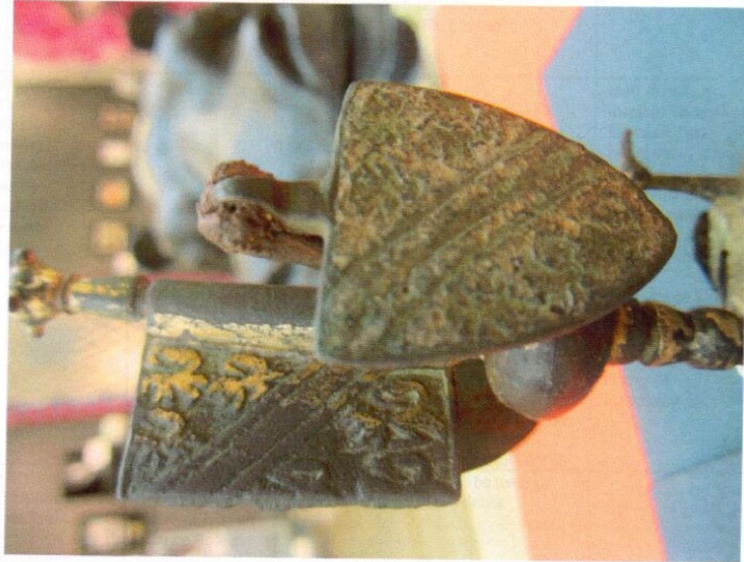
## Appendices

## Appendix A: The Family Tree of the de Bohun Family





**Appendix B: Sword Hilt and Heraldic device with de Bohun coats of arms  
(private ownership)**





## Appendix C: Will Bequests in the de Bohun Family

| Person  | Executors   | Oversight   | Recipients of Bequests   | Other Bequests or Payments  |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| Humphrey (VII), fourth earl of Hereford and third earl of Essex (d. 1322)<br><b>TNA DL 27/14</b>  | John Walewayn<br>Bartholomew Denefeud (Abbot of Walden)<br>Sir John de Walden   |   | King Edward II (brother-in-law)<br>Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere (friend)<br>Humphrey de Bohun (son)<br>Edward de Bohun (son)<br>William de Bohun (son)<br>Eneas de Bohun (son)<br>Eleanor de Bohun (daughter)<br>Sir Hugh de Courtenay (for daughter Margaret de Bohun's marriage portion)<br>Margaret de Bohun (daughter)<br>John Walewayn (executor)<br>Maud de Bascreville ("sister")<br>Household   |   |
| Humphrey (VIII), sixth earl of Hereford and fifth earl of Essex (d. 1361)<br><b>Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Islip, ff. 178-9</b>                                   | William, Abbot of Walden<br>William Monkland, (confessor)<br>Nicholas de Newton<br>Thomas de Walmesford<br>Stephen atte Roche (clerk) |   | John Mortimer<br>John de Teye (Illuminator)<br>William Monkland (confessor)<br>Brother William's children (future heir Humphrey and his sister Elizabeth)<br>Lady Catherine d'Engayne (niece by sister Margaret)<br>Sister Eleanor<br>Margaret's husband Hugh<br>Sister Margaret<br>Abbot of Walden (executor)<br>Nicholas de Newton (executor)<br>Thomas de Walmesford (executor)<br>Stephen Roche (executor)<br>William Agodeshalf<br>Housekeepers (Sir Walter Blount and wife Marian)<br><b>LONG, DETAILED LIST OF SERVANTS</b> | Man to offer at tomb of Thomas of Lancaster in Pontefract<br><br>Unusually lengthy pious bequests: Agustinians<br>3 other London orders<br>Students of 4 orders in Oxford and Cambridge<br>Abbey of Walden<br>Priory of Llanthony |
| Humphrey (IX), seventh earl of Hereford, sixth earl of Essex and second earl of Northampton (d. 1373)<br><b>Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Whittlesey, f. 127 r,v</b> | Guy de Bryane<br>John de Moulton<br>Robert de Tye<br>John de Gyldesburghe<br>Philip de Melreth  | Richard, earl of Arundel (brother in law)<br>Joan de Bohun (wife)<br>Adam Fraunceys | All goods and chattels to be used to pay his and his father's debts  |   |
| Margaret de Courtenay (d. 1391)<br><b>TNA PROB 11/1/24</b>  | Philip de Courtenay (son)<br>Peter de Courtenay (son)<br>Robert Wylford<br>John Dodyngton<br>Otis Chambernoun<br>Stephen Denclyve     | William, Archbishop of Canterbury (son)<br>John Cobham (son-in-law)                 | Margaret Courtenay (granddaughter)<br>William Courtenay (son, archbishop of Canterbury)<br>Sir John Cobham (son-in-law)<br>Margaret Cobham (daughter)<br>Elizabeth Lutrell (daughter)<br>Katherine Dengayne (daughter)<br>Edward Courtenay (earl of Devon, her grandson)<br>Maud Camoys (wife of Edward, earl of Devon)<br>Philip de Courtenay (son)<br>Anne Courtenay (daughter)<br>Peter Courtenay (son)   | Pious bequests to various West Country monasteries, including Canonleigh, Polsloe, Cornworthy, Forde, Ilchester and Beaulieu, and friaries at Exeter and elsewhere.   |

|   |   |  |  |   |
|---|---|--|--|---|
|   |   |  | <p>Sir Hugh Luttrell (probably father of her son in law)<br/> Richard Courtenay (grandson?)<br/> Hugh Courtenay (grandson, son of Edward, earl of Devon)<br/> Anneys Chambernon (wife of executor Otis Chambernon?)<br/> Alyson Anst<br/> Margaret Drayton (granddaughter)<br/> Household and friends (52 people) (including Thomas Staneys, John Radston, Sir Henry Brokelond, Sir John Dodyngton, Sir John Stowford, Sir Laurens Hankyn, Sir John Hamond, Sir Nell Brode, Sir Thomas Attelee, Sir John Dagnet, Otis Chambernon and Sir Walter de la Tombe)<br/> Bishop of Exeter</p> |   |
| <p>Elizabeth de Bohun, countess of Northampton (d. 1356)<br/> <b>Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Islip, f. 122</b></p> |   |  | <p>Earl of Hereford (brother-in-law)<br/> Humphrey (son)<br/> Elizabeth (daughter)<br/> Maud de Vere (sister)<br/> Margery Roos (sister)<br/> Agnes Devereux<br/> John Avenell<br/> Richard Waldegrave</p>   |   |
| <p>Joan Lady Bergavenny (d. 1434)<br/> <b>Lambeth Palace Library Reg. Chichele 1, f. 455</b></p>                    | <p>Mr. John Bathe (canon of Wales)<br/> Robert Darcy<br/> Bartholomew Brokusby<br/> Walter Kebell<br/> Sir William Creke<br/> John Bultus (Creke and Bultus can only take action with others)</p> |  | <p>Sir James (grandson and heir to Earldom of Ormonde through daughter Elizabeth m. to James, Earl of Wiltshire)<br/> John of Ormond (second grandson, brother to James)<br/> Thomas of Ormond (third grandson, brother to James and John)<br/> Elizabeth Ormond (granddaughter, sister of the above)<br/> John Gray<br/> Bartholomew Brokesby (executor)<br/> Robert Darcy (executor)<br/> Walter Kebell (executor)<br/> Household</p>  | <p>Masses for husband, father, mother, herself and Sir Hugh Burnel knt.<br/> Wards under governance of Robert Darcy, Bartholomew Brokesby and Walter Kebell<br/> Five priests to sing 20 winters for her, father, mother, husband, son<br/> Richard Earl of Worcester, Sir Hugh Burnell Knt. and all my good doers and all Christian souls, two in parish of Rochford and two in Kirby Bellars in Leicestershire<br/> Brokesby and Kebyll to be at Hereford every yr on anniversary to see that obit and remnant of obsequies be done to profit of her soul</p> |
| <p>Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399)<br/> <b>Lambeth Palace Library Reg. Arundel, 1,</b></p>        | <p>Gerard Braybrook Jr<br/> Sibilla Beauchamp<br/> John de Boys (steward)<br/> Sir Nicholas Miles (parson of Debden)<br/> Sir Hugh Painter (chaplain of free chapel in Pleshey)</p>               | <p>Sir Robert Exeter (Prior of Christ Church in London)<br/> Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester (my very dear cousin)</p> | <p>Joan de Bohun (mother)<br/> Humphrey de Bohun (son)<br/> Anne (daughter)<br/> Joan (daughter)<br/> Isabella (daughter)</p>  | <p>Written before her son died, but not amended after his death</p>   |

|   |   |  |  |   |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| ff. 163-64  | Sir William Underwood (parson of Dedham)<br>William Newbole   | Sir Thomas de Stanley (clerk of Rolles, my worthy friend)        |  |   |
| Anne countess of Stafford, Buckingham, Hereford and Northampton, and Lady of Brecon (d. 1439)<br><b>Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Chichele 1, f. 479</b> | Thomas, bishop of Worcester (son)<br>Henry, Earl of Eu (son)<br>William Bourchier (son)<br>John Bourchier (son)<br>Sir Nicolas Wimbush (clerk)<br>Sir Roger Aston, Knight<br>John Fray<br>Robert Frampton (Barons of the Exchequer)<br>William Palmer | William (Alnwick) Bishop of Lincoln<br>Humphrey Earl of Stafford | None in this will  | There is a previous will referred to in this will, which has not survived, and presumably contained detailed bequests.  |
| Anne, duchess of Buckingham (d. 1480)<br><b>Dugdale, Baronage, p. 167, citing Logge, f. 14b</b>   | John Morton, bishop of Ely<br>Lord Hastings<br>Lord Dinham<br>Sir Thomas Bourchier<br>Sir Thomas Montgomery<br>William Huse<br>John Clopton   |  | Henry Duke of Buckingham (grandson)<br>Joan Beaumont (Beauchamp) (daughter)<br>John Stafford (son)<br>Margaret Beaufort (daughter in law, countess of Richmond and wife of son Henry)<br>Daughter Montjoy (stepdaughter)<br>Edward Knivet (grandson by daughter Joan)<br>Household (named in original will)  |   |
| Humphrey, duke of Buckingham (d. 1460)<br><b>Nichols, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 295-7; Dugdale, Baronage, p. 166, citing Stockton 167b</b>                | Anne (wife)<br>Thomas Bourchier (Archbishop of Canterbury and half brother)   |  | Henry (third son)<br>Margaret Beaufort (wife of Henry)   |   |
| Richard, fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey (d. 1397)<br><b>Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel 1, f. 183</b>                             | His brother "of Everwyk"<br>John Charlton (son in law)<br>John Cobham<br>Richard Scrope<br>Payn Tiptoft<br>Thomas Ashbourne<br>Robert Pobelowe<br>John Gamul<br>John Cockyng<br>Thomas Young<br>Thomas Harling  |  | Philippa (second wife)<br>Richard Fitzalan (son)<br>Thomas Fitzalan (son)<br>Alice Charlton (daughter)<br>Elizabeth Mowbray (daughter)<br>Margaret (daughter)<br>Thomas Fitzalan (brother)<br>Margaret, duchess of Norfolk (maternal aunt)<br>Joan de Bohun (sister)<br>Alice Holland (sister)<br>Eleanor de Bohun (niece)<br>John Charlton (son in law and executor)<br>John Cobham (executor)<br>Richard Scrope (executor) | Will written 1392 (five years before his execution)<br>Very concerned with honouring his father and debts owed to him<br>Multiple arrangements re: college foundation<br>Gifts of one cup each to sisters conditional on not interfering with executors<br>Gift to Eleanor to |

|  |  |  |  |                                  |
|--|--|--|--|----------------------------------|
|  |  |  | Thomas Ashbourne (confessor and executor)<br>Payn Tiptoft (executor)<br>William Percy (friend?)<br>John Cockyng (executor)<br>Thomas Young (executor)<br>Thomas Harling (executor) | ensure her cooperation with will |
|--|--|--|--|----------------------------------|

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family  
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(a) Seal of  
Humphrey IV  
(d. 1275)



(b) Obverse and reverse (counterseal)  
impression of seal of Humphrey IV  
(d. 1275)

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family**



(c) Obverse and reverse (counterseal) impression of seal of Humphrey VI (d. 1298)  
(TNA, E 42/65)

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family  
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(e) Seal of Humphrey VII  
 (d. 1322)



(f) Seal of  
 Humphrey VII  
 (d. 1322)



(d) Obverse and reverse (counterseal) impression of  
 seal of Humphrey VII  
 (d. 1322)

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family**  
**Images reproduced by kind permission of the Society of**  
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**(g) Seal of John de Bohun,  
earl of Hereford (d. 1335)**



**(h) Seal of Humphrey VIII (d. 1360)**



**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family  
Images reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries  
of London**

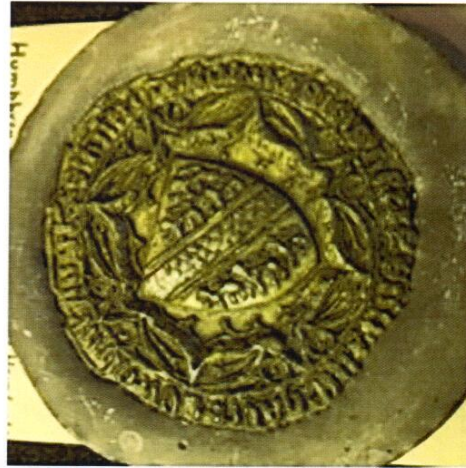


(i) Seal of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 1360)



(j) Another seal of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 1360)

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family  
Images reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries  
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(k, l) two seals of Humphrey IX  
(d. 1373)



(m) Seal of Joan de Bohun,  
countess of Hereford  
(d. 1419)

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family  
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(n) Seal of Savaric de Bohun



(o) Seal of Joan de Bohun  
(d. 1316)



(p) Seal of John de Bohun  
(d. 1292)



(q) Seal of Oliver de Bohun

**Appendix D: Seals of the de Bohun Family**



(r) Seal of John de Bohun (d. 1328)  
TNA DL 25/1812/1488



(s) Seal of John de Bohun (d. 1328)  
TNA, DL 1957/1624

**Appendix E: Seal of Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester**  
(drawing reproduced from Sandford, *Genealogical History*. Seal  
impression: TNA, DL 27/328)



## Appendix F: Burial Places of the de Bohun, Mandeville and Gloucester Families

| Subject <sup>773</sup>   | Place of Burial   |
|--|---|
| Miles of Gloucester (d. 1143), earl of Hereford, created Constable of England<br>m.<br>Sybil de Neufmarche (lordship of Brecon)  | Llanthony Secunda (founded it 1136)<br><br>Llanthony Secunda  |
| Roger of Gloucester (or Fitzmiles) (d. 1155), earl of Hereford, Constable of England (brother of Miles)<br>m.<br>Cecily FitzJohn   | Llanthony Secunda (at father's head) Becomes monk<br><br>unknown  |
| Walter of Hereford, lord of Abergavenny, Brecon, Constable of England (brother of Miles)   | unknown   |
| Henry of Hereford, lord of Abergavenny, Brecon, Constable of England (brother of Miles)  | Llanthony Secunda   |
| Mahel of Hereford (brother of Miles)   | Llanthony Secunda   |
| Margaret de Bohun (sister and co-heir of Miles) (d. 1187)<br>m.<br>Humphrey (II) (d.c. 1165), lord of Trowbridge   | Llanthony Secunda (near her parents, several siblings and eldest son)<br><br>unknown  |
| Humphrey (III) (d. 1181), Constable of England (from 1174)<br>m.<br>Margaret of Scotland (daughter of prince Henry of Scotland and Ada de Warenne, d. of earl of Surrey)                 | Llanthony Secunda<br><br>unknown  |
| Henry de Bohun (d. 1220) Constable of England, earl of Hereford in 1200<br>m.<br>Maud de Mandeville (d. 1234) (heiress of earldom of Essex)  | Llanthony Secunda<br><br>unknown  |
| Henry de Bohun (dies young)  | Llanthony Secunda   |
| Humphrey (IV) (d. 1275), earl of Hereford and from 1236 earl of Essex and Constable of England<br>m.1<br>Maud de Lusignan (daughter of Count of Eu)<br>m.2<br>Maud de Avenbury (d. 1273) | Llanthony Secunda (heart at Wokeley)<br><br>Llanthony Secunda (with daughter Alice de Tony)<br>Llanthony Secunda (dies at Sorges, Gascony, but reburied at Llanthony by son John in 1290) |
| Humphrey (V) (d. 1265)<br>m.1<br>Eleonor de Briouze<br>m.2<br>Joan de Quincy   | Combermere Abbey (dies near Chester after capture at battle of Evesham)<br>Llanthony Secunda<br><br>Unknown   |

<sup>773</sup> All information in this table obtained from *Monasticon*, *CP*, *Dugdale's Baronage*, and *ODNB*.

| <b>Subject</b>  | <b>Place of Burial</b>  |
|---|---|
| Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d. 1144)   | Temple Church (founded Walden Abbey 1136)   |
| Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d. 1165) (son)   | Walden Abbey (confirms and ratifies father's foundation)  |
| William de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d. 1189)(brother)   | Body in Normandy, heart in Walden Abbey   |
| Beatrice de Say (d. 1200) (sister of founder)   | Walden Abbey  |
| William de Mandeville (son and heir), earl of Essex (d. 1228)<br>m.<br>Cristina   | body in Shouldham Priory (with father William de Say), heart in Walden Abbey<br><br>Shouldham Priory                |
| <b>Humphrey (VI) (d. 1298)</b> , earl of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England<br>m.<br>Maud de Fiennes (second cousin of Queen Eleanor of Castille)      | <b>Walden Abbey</b> (dies at Pleshey) (patron of Walden Abbey)<br><br>Walden Abbey                                  |
| Humphrey (VII) (d. 1322), earl of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England<br>m.<br>Elizabeth Plantagenet (d. of Edward I) (d. 1316)                         | York Friars Preachers (desires Walden but killed at battle of Boroughbridge and buried in York)<br><br>Walden Abbey |
| baby son Humphrey (d. 1304)   | Westminster Abbey   |
| baby daughter Mary  | Westminster Abbey   |
| Eneas de Bohun (d. 1331)  | Walden Abbey  |
| Edward de Bohun (d. 1333)<br>m.<br>Margaret Roos  | Walden Abbey (dies in Scotland)<br><br>Walden Abbey   |
| John de Bohun (d. 1335), earl of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England<br><br>m.1<br>Alice Fitzalan (d. of Earl of Arundel)<br><br>m.2<br>Margaret Basset | Stratford Langthorne (Cistercian)<br><br>Walden Abbey<br><br>Unknown  |
| William de Bohun (d. 1360), earl of Northampton<br>m.<br>Elizabeth de Badlesmere (d. 1356) (widow of Edmund Mortimer)   | Walden Abbey (founds chantry in 1342)<br><br>London Blackfriars   |
| Humphrey (VIII) (d. 1361), earl of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England (unmarried)  | Austin Friars London (chantry at Walden Abbey)  |
| Humphrey (IX) (d. 1373), earl of Hereford,  | Walden Abbey (at foot of his father)  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Essex, Northampton, Constable of England<br>m.<br>Joan Fitzalan (daughter of Earl of Arundel) (d. 1419)   | Walden Abbey (great benefactress of Abbey)  |
| Elizabeth de Bohun (daughter of William de Bohun) (d. 1385)<br>m.<br>Richard Fitzalan (d. 1397), earl of Arundel and Surrey   | Lewes Priory<br><br>Beheaded and buried at Augustinian Friars Bread st. (in his will he desired Lewes Priory) |
| Margaret de Bohun, countess of Devon (d. 1391)  | Exeter Cathedral (next to her husband)  |
| Mary de Bohun (d. 1394) (sister of Eleanor)<br>m.<br>Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) (d. 1413)   | St Mary of the Newarke, Leicester (Lancastrian foundation)<br><br>Canterbury Cathedral                        |
| Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1399), son of Thomas and Eleanor  | Walden Abbey  |
| Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399) (daughter of Humphrey (IX))<br>m.<br>Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397)   | Westminster Abbey<br><br>Westminster Abbey  |
| Joan de Bohun (d. 1400) (daughter of Thomas and Eleanor)  | Walden Abbey  |
| Anne of Woodstock (d. 1438) (daughter of Thomas and Eleanor)<br><br>m. 1<br>Thomas Stafford (d. 1392)<br>m.2<br>Edmund Stafford (d. 1403)<br>m.3<br>William Bourchier (d. 1420) | Llanthony Secunda<br><br>unknown<br><br>Austin Friars, Stafford<br><br>Llanthony Secunda                      |
| Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham (d. 1460)<br>m.<br>Anne Neville (d. 1480)   | College of Pleshey<br><br>College of Pleshey  |



**Appendix G:  
Reproduction  
of Brass of  
Eleanor de  
Bohun in  
Westminster  
Abbey  
(reproduced  
from C.  
Boutell, 'The  
Monumental  
Brasses of  
London and  
Middlesex')**



Appendix H: Seals of Thomas of  
Woodstock  
(reproduced from Sandford, *Genealogical  
History*)



THO: S. P. GLO:



**Appendix I: Seals of Humphrey VII and Thomas of Woodstock**

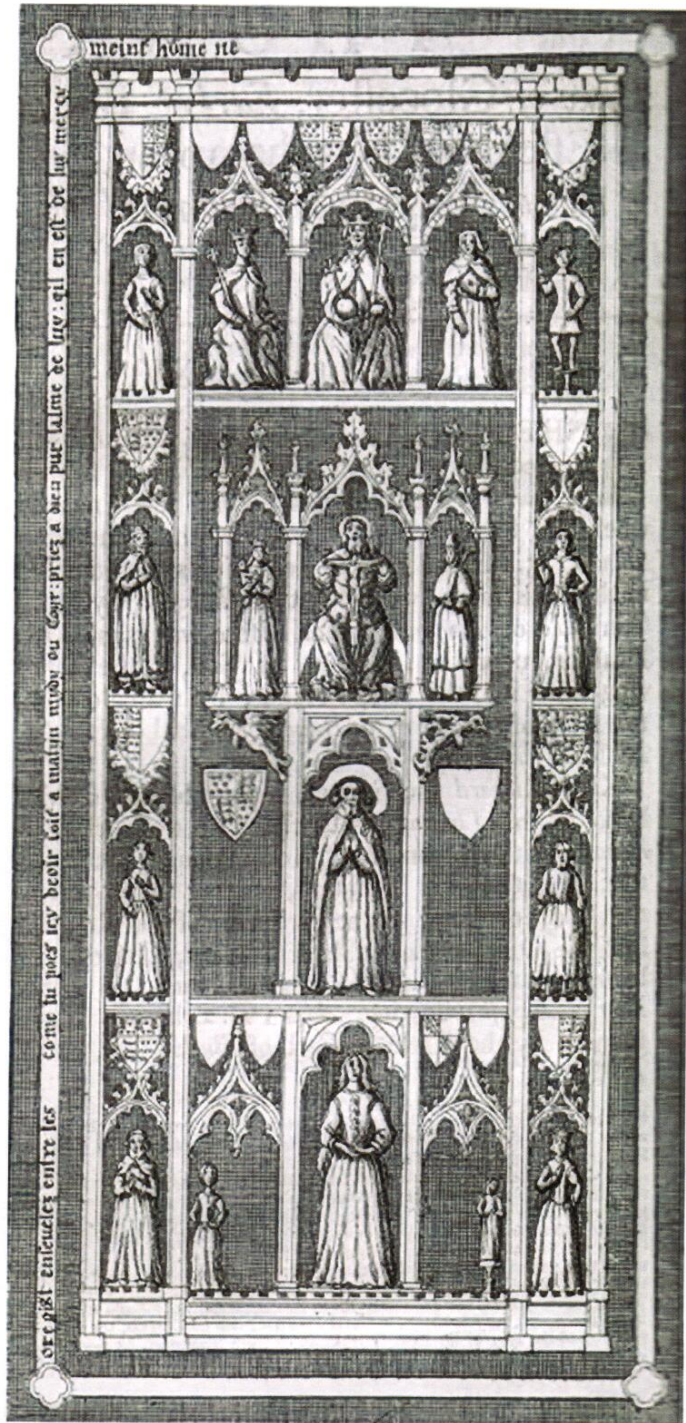


**Counterseal of Humphrey de Bohun, 1301.  
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London)**



**Seal of Thomas of Woodstock, 1394  
(TNA, DL 27/170)**

**Appendix J: Reproduction of Thomas of Woodstock's Lost Brass  
(reproduced from Sandford, *Genealogical History*)**





**Appendix K: Seals of Pleshey College  
(reproduced from Gough, *History and Antiquities*)**



## Appendix L: List of Existing de Bohun Manuscripts and their Heraldry

| Manuscript  | Date<br>Dennison <sup>774</sup>   | Date<br>Sandler                                     | Heraldry  |
|---|---|---|---|
| <p><b>1. <u>Sarum Breviary</u></b></p> <p>Longleat House,<br/>Marquess of Bath,<br/>MS 10</p> |   | 1316-1322   | <p>Folio 1<br/>England pre-1340, de Bohun,<br/>Unknown (<i>argent</i> a chevron <i>gules</i>,<br/><i>sable</i> or <i>azure</i>)</p> <p>Folio 117v<br/>Unknown (same as f. 1 but more<br/>faded)</p>   |
| <p><b>2. <u>Psalter</u></b></p> <p>Vienna, National-<br/>bibliothek, MS<br/>1826</p>          | <p>c. 1345-50 (ff. 7-<br/>49v, 50, 57, 58v,<br/>63v, 85v, 143v)</p> <p>c.1350-55/60 (ff.<br/>1-6, 51-160)</p> | <p>begun c.<br/>1350,<br/>completed<br/>by 1373</p> | <p>Contains words “servus<br/>famulus tuus Humfridus” in<br/>saint memorials ff. 151v,<br/>152v, 153, 155<sup>775</sup></p> <p>Folios 6v, 7, 25v, 91v (2x),<br/>118v, 129, 136, 137, 145v,<br/>159<br/>de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 7<br/>de Bohun (twice), Butler; Courtenay;<br/>England post-1340</p> <p>Folio 100<br/>de Bohun (three times); England pre-<br/>1340 (twice)</p> <p>Folio 113v<br/>England pre-1340</p> <p>Folio 141<br/>de Bohun (twice); Heir Apparent<sup>776</sup>;<br/>England post-1340</p> |

<sup>774</sup> The dates are taken from Dennison, *BL Egerton MS 3277*, Appendix 1; and Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, Appendix 1, unless otherwise specified. Manuscripts 10 and 12-13 are not included by Dennison in her Appendix and thus the date provided is Sandler’s, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>775</sup> Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 251.

<sup>776</sup> Dennison believes the label was over-painted. Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 251.

|   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| <p><b>3. <u>Psalter</u></b></p> <p>Oxford, Exeter College, MS 47</p>  | <p>c. 1355-60/61 (ff. 20-77v historiated initials and borders; ff. 20-126 verse initials and line fillers; ff. 21, 21v, 22, 23, 24, 25 borders)</p> <p>c. 1380/85 (ff. 9-19v)</p> <p>c. 1390/1400 (ff. 79-126 historiated initials and borders)</p> | <p>begun c. 1360, completed c. 1390 (f. 83-end)<sup>777</sup></p> | <p>Contains words “servus famulus tuus Humfridus” in saint memorials (six times between f. 118 and f. 122)<sup>778</sup></p> <p>Folios 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 de Bohun</p> <p>Folios 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 14v<br/>England pre-1340</p>   |
| <p><b>4. <u>Psalter and Hours of the Virgin</u></b></p> <p>London, BL Egerton MS 3277</p> <p>(nine of its major folios excised)</p> | <p>c. 1360/61 (ff. 7-170 preparation of text, verse initials and line-fillers)</p> <p>c.1380-85 (ff. 9-19v)</p> <p>c. 1390-1400 (ff. 79-126 historiated initials and borders)</p>   | <p>begun after 1361?, completed in 1380s</p>                      | <p>Contains words “servus famulus tuus Humfridus” in saint memorials (six times between ff. 160v and 163v)<sup>779</sup></p> <p>Folio 23v<sup>780</sup><br/>France Ancient (<i>Azure semy de lis or</i>)</p> <p>Folio 29v<br/>France Ancient; England pre-1340; de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 68v<br/>France Ancient; England post-1340</p> <p>Folio 99v<br/>de Bohun; England post-1340</p> <p>Folio 114v<br/>St George (<i>Argent a cross gules</i>)</p> <p>Folio 120v<br/>de Bohun; England pre-1340</p> <p>Folio 123<br/>Beauchamp, earls of Warwick (<i>Gules a fess between six crosses crosslet or</i>)</p> |

<sup>777</sup> L. F. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter and Hours of Humphrey de Bohun and the Manuscripts of the Bohun Family* (London: British Library, 2014), p. 38.

<sup>778</sup> Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 251.

<sup>779</sup> Dennison, ‘Egerton MS 3277’, p. 127 n. 15.

<sup>780</sup> All of the heraldry in the Egerton Psalter is taken from Dennison, ‘Egerton MS 3277’, Appendix Three (p. 155).

|   |  |                   |  |
|---|--|-------------------|--|
|   |  |                   | <p><b>Folio 129</b><br/>Cobham or Knights Hospitaller (<i>Gules a cross argent</i>)</p> <p><b>Folio 131v</b><br/>Inside initial: kneeling lady with robe and jacket of the arms respectively of de Bohun and England pre-1340</p> <p><b>Folio 133</b><br/>de Bohun; Courtenay; England pre-1340</p> <p><b>Folio 142</b><br/>Bardolf (<i>Gules three sexfoils or</i>); St Edmund (<i>Azure three crowns or</i>); FitzAlan, earls of Arundel (<i>Gules a lion rampant or</i>); Montfitchet of Essex or St Owen (<i>Gules three chevrons or</i>); Neville of Essex (<i>Azure a lion rampant or</i>)</p> <p><b>Folio 145v</b><br/>Bardolf; de Bohun; St Edmund; England pre-1340; FitzAlan; Montfitchet; Neville</p> |
| <p><b>5. <u>Psalter</u></b></p> <p>Cambridge,<br/>Fitzwilliam<br/>Museum, MS 38-<br/>1950</p> | <p>1370-72/73 (ff. 1-217v)<sup>781</sup></p> | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p><b>Folio 1</b><sup>782</sup><br/><u>Top Horizontally</u>: England post-1340; Castile and Leon; Heir Apparent<sup>783</sup>; Lancaster<br/><u>Bottom</u>: de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p>Large shields of Margaret of Anjou and John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, added in fifteenth century</p> <p><b>Folio 1v</b><br/>England post-1340</p> <p><b>Folio 2v</b><br/>Castile and Leon</p> <p><b>Folio 3</b><br/>Heir Apparent<sup>784</sup></p> <p><b>Folio 4</b><br/>Lancaster</p> <p><b>Folio 5</b><br/>de Bohun</p>  |

<sup>781</sup> The text after folio 217v is fifteenth century.

<sup>782</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 206-8.

<sup>783</sup> Dennison believes these arms were intended to be those of John of Gaunt and were left *argent* by mistake. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 364.

<sup>784</sup> Dennison believes these arms were intended to be those of John of Gaunt and were left *argent* by mistake. Dennison, 'Stylistic Sources', p. 364.



|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  | <p><b>Folio 5v</b><br/>de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p><b>Folio 7</b><br/>Butler</p> <p><b>Folio 7v</b><br/>Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 29</b><br/><u>Four shields at corners of miniatures, horizontally:</u> de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; Butler; Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 46</b><br/>de Bohun; England post-1340; Lancaster</p> <p><b>Folio 62</b><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; England pre-1340; Lancaster</p> <p><b>Folio 78</b><br/><u>Horizontally:</u> de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; Butler; Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 99</b><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; England pre-1340; Lancaster</p> <p><b>Folio 120</b><br/><u>Horizontally:</u> de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; Butler; Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 123</b><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; England pre-1340 (twice)</p> <p><b>Folio 142v</b><br/><u>Horizontally:</u> de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; Butler; Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 163v</b><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; England pre-1340 (twice)</p> <p><b>Folio 174v</b><br/>Butler; Courtenay</p> <p><b>Folio 207</b><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> |
|--|--|--|--|

|  |  |                   |   |
|--|--|-------------------|---|
| <p><b>6. <u>Psalter and Hours of the Virgin</u></b></p> <p>Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.4</p>  | <p>c. 1370-75 (ff. xii v, 1-274)</p>   | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p>Text with memorials of saints in voice of “servus [or famulus] tuus Humfridus” (ff 225, 225v, 226v, 227, 227v)</p> <p>Added short prayers cast for <i>ego indigna et peccatrix</i> at beginning of memoriae (ff. iii<sup>v</sup>-iv<sup>v</sup>)<sup>785</sup></p> <p>Added prayer in male voice c. 1410-20 (f. 230v)<sup>786</sup></p> <p>Folio 1<br/>de Bohun; England pre-1340</p> <p>Folio 169<br/><u>Top from left:</u> England pre-1340; Lancaster<br/><u>Middle from left:</u> de Bohun; de Bohun<br/><u>Bottom from left:</u> Butler; de Bohun; Courtenay</p> <p>Folio 181v<br/>Woman in heraldic garments representing England pre-1340 and de Bohun being presented to the Virgin by St. Mary Magdalene.</p> |
| <p><b>7. <u>Fragment of Memoriae and Gospel Sequences from a Book of Hours</u></b></p> <p>Germany, Schloss Pommersfelden, MS 2934 (348)</p> <p><b>(Several folios missing)</b></p> | <p>c. 1373-80 (ff. 1-14)<br/>Written out for Humphrey IX but not illuminated for him<sup>787</sup></p> | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p>Contains words “servus famulus tuus Humfridus” in saint memorials (ff 2, 3v, 4, 5, 7)</p> <p>Folio 1<sup>788</sup><br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p>Folio 2<br/>England after 1340; de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p>Folio 2v<br/>Butler; Courtenay</p> <p>Folio 4v<br/><u>Above:</u> Holy Roman Empire (or an eagle displayed <i>sable</i>) paired with St George<br/><u>Below:</u> Holland (or a lion rampant <i>gules</i>)<sup>789</sup> above Butler</p>   |

<sup>785</sup> Catto, ‘The Prayers of the Bohuns’, pp. 120-21.

<sup>786</sup> Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 253.

<sup>787</sup> Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 254.

<sup>788</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, p. 211.

<sup>789</sup> The Arundel arms are “or a lion rampant gules”, the exact reverse of the Holland arms. Dennison believes the illuminators may have intended to include the Arundel arms and made an error. Dennison, ‘Stylistic Sources’, p. 259.

|  |                            |                   |  |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <p><b>8. <u>Hours of the Virgin</u></b></p> <p><b>Copenhagen,<br/>Kongelige<br/>Bibliotek, MS<br/>Thott 547 4°</b></p>                                     | <p>c. 1380 (ff. 1-66v)</p> | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p>Folio 1<sup>790</sup><br/><u>Initial</u>: Reading lady wearing pre-1340 arms of England and de Bohun, with same background panel; de Bohun; de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 6v<br/>England post-1340; John of Gaunt; de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 14v<br/>de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 17v<br/>St George</p> <p>Folio 28v<br/>de Bohun</p>  |
| <p><b>9. <u>Legends of the Virgin Mary, St Margaret, and St Mary Magdalene</u></b></p> <p>Copenhagen,<br/>Kongelige<br/>Bibliotek, MS Thott<br/>517 4°</p> | <p>c. 1380 (ff. 1-38)</p>  | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p>No heraldry</p>   |
| <p><b>10. <u>Psalter and Office of the Cross</u></b></p> <p>Baden-Baden,<br/>Lichtenthal Abbey,<br/>Archiv MS 2</p>  |                            | <p>c. 1380-94</p> | <p>Fol. 8: Psalm 1<sup>791</sup><br/>England post-1340; Heir Apparent; Lancaster; de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton; Butler; Courtenay</p> <p>Folio 98v: Psalm 101<br/>de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p>Folio 111v: Psalm 109<br/>England post-1340; Heir Apparent</p> <p>Folio 124v: Psalm 119<br/>Lancaster; de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 140v: Canticles<br/>Butler; Courtenay</p> |

<sup>790</sup> Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 208-11.

<sup>791</sup> The heraldry in this manuscript is taken from Sandler, *Lichtenthal Psalter*, pp. 32-33.

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| <p><b>11. <u>Romance of Lancelot</u></b></p> <p>France, c. 1300</p> <p>London, BL, Royal MS 20.D.iv</p>          | <p>c. 1384-5 (ff. 1, 102v overpainted miniatures with de Bohun arms by Egerton Artist alias Henry Hood)</p> | <p>Sandler dates the miniatures c. 1360-80</p>      | <p>Folio 1 de Bohun; England pre-1340</p> <p>Folio 102v de Bohun</p> <p>Folio 295v Castile and Leon</p> <p>Folio 301 Castile and Leon</p>  |
| <p><b>12. <u>Fragmentary Hours with de Bohun arms</u></b></p> <p>Private Owner, formerly Astor MS A.I</p>        |   | <p>c. 1345-50</p>                                   | <p>Folio 26 Badlesmere (<i>argent</i> a fess between two bars gemelles AND a canton <i>gules</i>); Mortimer</p> <p>Folio 53 Badlesmere (<i>argent</i> a fess between two bars gemelles <i>gules</i>); de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton (<i>azure</i> on a bend <i>argent</i> between two cotises and six lions rampant <i>or</i> three mullets <i>gules</i>); Mortimer (barry of six <i>or</i> and <i>azure</i>, an inescutcheon <i>argent</i>, on a chief <i>or</i>, gyroned <i>azure</i>, two pallets <i>azure</i>)</p> <p>Folio 70v de Bohun; de Bohun of Northampton</p> <p>Folios 91v, 101v, 115, 127v, 140v de Bohun of Northampton</p> |
| <p><b>13. <u>Book of Hours and Psalter</u></b></p> <p>Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 18.6.5</p> |   | <p>1389-1397<sup>792</sup></p>                      | <p>Multiple spaces for shields left blank</p>  |
| <p><b>14. <u>Missal</u></b><sup>793</sup></p> <p>Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.11</p>                       |   | <p>After 1419 and before 1438, probably c. 1420</p> | <p>Folios 7, 8v, 24, 30, 31v, 151, 165, 182v, 187, 195v, 197, 229v, 233, 244, 261, 277, 284, 296, 301v, 302v</p> <p>In roundels on lower border: (i) <i>or</i> a bend <i>gules</i> (Stafford); (ii) quarterly, France ancient, 2 and 3 England, 4, a bend dexter <i>argent</i> between three leopards passant <i>or</i> (de Bohun); (iii) quarterly, 1 and 4 <i>argent</i> a cross engrailed <i>gules</i> between four water bougets <i>sable</i> (Bourchier); 2 and 3, <i>gules</i> gouty <i>or</i> a fess <i>argent</i>, within a bordure <i>argent</i>.</p>   |

<sup>792</sup> According to Lucy Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Psalter and Hours', p. 232, n. 7.

<sup>793</sup> Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, II, 189, I, illustration 247.

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| <p><b>15. <u>Psalter</u></b><sup>794</sup></p> <p>New York, Public Library MS Spencer 3(b), part II (Wingfield Psalter)</p> |  | <p>c. 1450 to before 1467</p> | <p>Folio 19<br/>In letter stem, Stafford knot</p> <p>Folio 38<br/>Two antelopes salient (leaping), attired, gorged, and chained; wheel-nave</p> <p>Folio 47v<br/>Antelope attired couchant, gorged and chained; swan gorged and chained, with wings displayed; band of Stafford knots and wheel-naves around text and picture space</p> <p>Folio 68v<br/>Wheel nave within circle of knots; scrolls with motto 'Mercy and Grace' around text and picture</p> <p>Folio 79v<br/>Antelope attired sejant (sitting on haunches), gorged and chained; band of Stafford knots and wheel-naves around text and picture; swan badges at corners</p> |
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<sup>794</sup> Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 293-95.